

'THAT GREAT COUNTRY TO WHICH WE MUST
CONSTANTLY LOOK'

~

AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a transnational study of the development of Australian federation from 1890 to 1901. It provides a detailed analysis of the influences of and use of the United States in the debates in the Australian federation conventions, notably the Australasian Federation Conference, 1890, National Australasian Convention, 1891, and the Australasian Federation Convention in three sessions over 1897 and 1898. The use of the United States as a constitutional model for the framers of the Australian Constitution is widely acknowledged in histories of federation and in Australian-American studies. However, the manner in which the American example was used (particularly in debates on topics outside the questions of how to structure a federal parliament) and the attitudes expressed towards the United States at the federation conventions has not previously been explored in depth.

The thesis looks broadly at the influences on and responses to the United States in this decade, including Australian responses to the Spanish-American War, and specifically at how the example of the United States was used during the convention debates. I argue that there was a strong level of interest in and awareness of the United States when developing the Australian Constitution, with federalists looking beyond the United States Constitution to consider American experience and history.

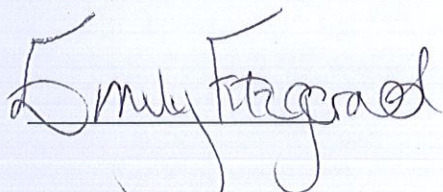
In addition, this thesis explores the response to Australian federation in the United States. Using newspaper records from across the United States, it demonstrates the extent of American interest in the development of Australian federation, which was greater than previously realised, and the manner in which this was discussed.

This thesis thus contributes to and links the body of work on the cultural and intellectual connections and influences between Australia and the United States, and the body of work on the history of federation in Australia.

DECLARATION PAGE

This is to certify that:

- (i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the preface;
- (ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other materials used; and
- (iii) the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Emily Fitzgerald'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name 'Emily' and the last name 'Fitzgerald' clearly distinguishable.

Emily Fitzgerald

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	1
DECLARATION PAGE	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
INTRODUCTION	13
THESIS AIM.	14
SCOPE OF THE THESIS.	17
CHAPTER BREAKDOWN.	19
BACKGROUND TO FEDERATION.	20
REASONS FOR FEDERATION.	20
COLONIAL ACHIEVEMENT.	21
THE FEDERAL MOVEMENT PRIOR TO 1889.	22
THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.	23
PASSAGE OF THE CONSTITUTION.	24
FEDERATION ACHIEVED.	25
LITERATURE REVIEW.	26
AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES.	26
GENERAL HISTORIES OF AUSTRALIA.	34
HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.	35
<i>FEDERATION MEMOIRS.</i>	35
<i>MID TWENTIETH CENTURY.</i>	36
<i>LATE TWENTIETH TO EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.</i>	38
STUDY OF FEDERALISM.	42
ERLING M HUNT AND DELEGATES' KNOWLEDGE.	43
<i>DELEGATES' KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNITED STATES.</i>	46
AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIPS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION.	53
METHODOLOGY.	55
TRANSNATIONALISM.	55
NATIONALISM.	59
ARCHIVES.	64
FEDERATION CONVENTION DEBATES.	64
DIGITISED NEWSPAPERS.	66
<i>AUSTRALIA IN UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS.</i>	68
ANGLO-SAXONISM.	69
CHAPTER ONE THE ANGLO-SAXON TRIANGLE	76
AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE 1890s.	77
OFFICIAL AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS.	77
TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY.	79
POLITICAL RELATIONS.	83
CULTURAL AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS.	86
EACH POINT OF CONNECTION SHAPING THE OTHERS.	88
BRITISH-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS IMPACT ON THE UNITED STATES.	88
BRITISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS IMPACT ON AUSTRALIA.	89

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.	93
SPANISH AMERICAN WAR.	96
DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR.	96
BRITISH RESPONSE.	98
AUSTRALIAN RESPONSE.	99
AUSTRALIA AND AMERICAN EXPANSION INTO THE PACIFIC.	108
AUSTRALIAN DESTINY IN THE PACIFIC.	111
 CHAPTER TWO THE SEARCH FOR A FEDERAL MODEL	 119
A GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT.	122
FEDERAL MODELS.	123
BRITAIN.	123
UNITED STATES.	125
CANADA.	129
EUROPEAN MODELS.	131
LATIN AMERICAN MODELS.	134
A BLEND OF ALL	135
 CHAPTER THREE USES OF THE UNITED STATES MODEL	 141
RIVERS.	142
UNITED STATES CONTROL OF RIVERS AND RIPARIAN RIGHTS.	145
NAVIGATION VS. IRRIGATION.	147
RIGHT TO MURRAY WATER.	148
DEFINING WATER RIGHTS IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION.	150
GEOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.	153
OUTCOME.	154
RAILWAYS.	156
RAILWAYS AND THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT.	157
RAILWAYS AT THE CONVENTIONS.	158
<i>THE UNITED STATES INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AND ENGLISH RAILWAY COMMISSION.</i>	160
INTER STATE COMMISSION IN AUSTRALIA.	161
RELIGION.	168
GOD IN THE PREAMBLE.	171
LAWS WITH RESPECT TO RELIGION.	172
 CHAPTER FOUR UNITED STATES HISTORY AT THE FEDERATION CONVENTIONS	 179
THE PHILADELPHIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.	181
WHY THE CONFEDERATION FAILED.	181
STRUCTURAL MODEL.	183
COMPARISONS.	184
RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.	186
EQUAL REPRESENTATION.	187
MISUNDERSTANDING OF UNITED STATES HISTORY.	191
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.	193
INTEREST IN THE CIVIL WAR.	194
THE CIVIL WAR IN THE DEBATES.	197
AN INDISSOLUBLE CONSTITUTION?	198
SUMNER AFFAIR.	201
RACE AND THE CIVIL WAR.	202

COL BELL AND THE CIVIL WAR.	203
EQUAL REPRESENTATION.	204
UNDERSTANDING.	206
GREAT MEN OF AMERICAN HISTORY.	208
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.	209
JOHN MARSHALL.	211
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.	213
JUDICIAL DECISIONS.	215
JUDICIAL DECISIONS AND TRADE.	219
 CHAPTER FIVE CONSIDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES	 223
POLITICAL CONNECTIONS.	223
AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION IN UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS.	227
NEWSPAPERS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE.	228
<i>RESEARCHING FEDERATION IN UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS.</i>	<i>228</i>
<i>UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1890s.</i>	<i>231</i>
COVERAGE OVERVIEW.	235
<i>COVERAGE OF THE CONVENTIONS.</i>	<i>238</i>
<i>OTHER REASONS FOR DISCUSSING FEDERATION.</i>	<i>240</i>
<i>EDITORIAL TECHNIQUES TO CONSIDER.</i>	<i>242</i>
TRADE.	245
INDEPENDENCE AND REPUBLICANISM.	246
AUSTRALIA AND UNITED STATES - SAME PATH.	249
IMPERIAL FEDERATION.	252
JAPAN AS A COMPARISON POINT.	256
 CONCLUSION	 260
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 263
 APPENDIX 1 - UNITED STATES WRITERS USED	 287
 APPENDIX 2 - UNITED STATES COVERAGE OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION	 291

INTRODUCTION

January 1, 1901 was a day of celebration throughout Australia. It was the first day of the new century, and the six self-governing colonies were coming together officially to form the Commonwealth of Australia - as Edmund Barton famously declared, 'a nation for a continent and a continent for a nation'.¹ In Sydney there was a grand parade, five miles long, down decorated streets, including floats, marching bands, tradesmen, and troops from across the empire, marching beneath a series of ten representative arches created by the community. The arches, around fourteen metres high and seven and a half metres across, represented the produce of the country, the commonwealth, and also included community arches from the American, French, and German communities. The parade marched towards Centennial Park, where, amid hymns, prayers, and proclamations, the Commonwealth was inaugurated. Lord Hopetoun, selected by Queen Victoria for the role, was sworn in as Governor-General of Australia, and the oath of office was taken by newly-appointed Prime Minister Barton and his cabinet. Celebrations continued into the evening and into the next week, with a banquet, parties, and the Sydney Town Hall strung with lights to spell the slogan, 'one people, one destiny'. Such celebrations were repeated four months later in Melbourne for the opening of the first federal parliament on 9 May, 1901. The ceremony took place at the Royal Exhibition Buildings, and was presided over by Prince George, Duke of York, the grandson of Queen Victoria, who would become King George V. Again the ceremonies involved parades with military (and were attended by warships from the United States, Germany, Denmark and Russia) and arches reflecting imperial themes.²

This was a key moment in Australia's national story, as the different Australian colonies shed that title to become states in the Australian nation. It is also an imperial story, one of how the British empire was developing, and the different approaches taken to the maturation of the white settler colonies within the empire. Furthermore, for all that they celebrated the 'nation' being created, it was not a separate nation-state. There were still

¹ Geoffrey Blainey, 'A Nation for a Continent,' *New Federalist*, 8 (2001): 10.

² Roslyn Russell and Philip Chubb, *One Destiny! The Federation Story - How Australia Became a Nation* (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 2009), 1-21; Helen Irving, *To Constitute A Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, updated ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6-24.

ties to the empire, both formal and practical, including in terms of foreign policy. These are the stories most commonly told about Australian federation.

And yet, it is important to remember that it was also a transnational story. Australian federation happened within a global environment, as well as a national and imperial one. Fears of other nations, including Russia, France, Germany, China and Japan, helped to motivate the federal movement and, in developing the federation, the Australians considered what their place in the world would be. They looked to other nations to imagine their future and for models on how to bring the federation into existence. The primary example used for this was the United States.

THESIS AIM

My intention with this thesis is to take this key point in Australia's development, and explore the influence of the United States on Australia, together with United States responses to Australian federation. In looking at how the delegates at the Australian federation conventions read or interpreted the United States as a whole, rather than just the document that is the American Constitution, I am elaborating on the argument made by Helen Irving who, when looking at the federal models available to the Australians, stated that decisions were made based on 'both their own constitutional knowledge of different political arrangements, and by their idea (sometimes based on direct experience, but often enough second-hand) of the cultures of other systems'.³ Australian ideas about the United States, as well as American ideas about federalism, shaped and guided the creation of a federal constitution in Australia.

With this thesis, I am using federation (and more specifically, the Australian constitutional conventions) to explore how Australians engaged with the United States and, in turn, the engagement of the United States with the Australian colonies. My intention is to contribute to the body of work that looks at the cultural and intellectual connections and influences between Australia and the United States. This includes the work of historians such as Noel McLachlan, L.G. Churchward, Richard Waterhouse,

³ Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 62-63.

Phillip Bell, Roger Bell, and Marilyn Lake.⁴ It will also add to the body of historical work that uses a transnational framework when looking at the history of ideas and institutions in both Australia and the United States.⁵

Federation is arguably an unusual topic in this regard. It is an area in which there was an especially pointed focus on the United States, with the very obvious use of the model of the United States Constitution in developing an Australian constitution – a House of Representatives representing population and a Senate representing the states for example. This obvious emulation prompted the Australians specifically to articulate their views about the United States and is thus highly useful for encapsulating Australian attitudes to the United States at this time. That the United States and its constitution served as an important model for the Australian federation is an uncontroversial statement, something widely noted by historians and legal scholars alike. Yet – perhaps for that reason – it is something that has not been examined in depth.

While this thesis mainly examines United States influences on Australia, my intention is also to look at the connection from both directions. Federation also makes a useful case study in this regard, as it provides a specific focus point to seek American attitudes and views towards the Australian colonies. My aim then is to explore the response to federation in the United States, something that has not previously been discussed. There is much material to work with, with over nine hundred references to Australian federation found so far in American newspapers from 1890-1901.⁶ Australian federation was a topic that provoked editorial opinion and the expression of views about the Australian colonies that are useful for evaluating attitudes.

⁴ Noel McLachlan, “‘The Future America’: Some Bicentennial Reflections,’ *Historical Studies* 17, no. 68 (1977): 361-364; L.G. Churchward, *Australia and America 1788-1972: An Alternative History* (Sydney: APCOL, 1979); Richard Waterhouse, ‘The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests: The Australian-American Relationship, 1788-1908,’ *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 9, no. 2 (1990): 12-19; Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated: The United States in Australia*, Australian Retrospectives Series (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993); Marilyn Lake, “‘The Brightness of Eyes and Quiet Assurance Which Seems to Say American’: Alfred Deakin's Identification with Republican Manhood,’ *Australian Historical Studies* 38, issue 129 (2007).

⁵ See Anne Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, eds., *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU EPress, 2005).

⁶ Searching in the databases *Chronicling America*, *19th Century US Newspapers* and *Proquest Historical Newspapers* in March 2018. See Appendix Two for the full list.

This case study thus demonstrates the manner in which, as noted, federation is a transnational story, as well as a national and imperial one. It is my contention that the delegates at the Australian federation conventions considered the manner and extent to which the model would be used more than is generally acknowledged. They were weighing what the text of the constitution said, how it had been developed, and its practical application in American life. This enabled them to explore how similar and different Australian circumstances were to those of the United States, in order to then assess how relevant any examples could be for themselves.

In doing this, my aim is to demonstrate that the Australians located themselves within the wider world, as well as the British Empire. I am here building on the work of Lake, who argued that the ‘theorists of nation’ in Australia, such as Alfred Deakin, Edmund Barton and Henry Higgins, ‘drew on trans-national knowledge and were sustained by trans-national identifications; historians have subsequently radically contracted their horizons’.⁷ When introducing her argument about the need for a trans-national perspective on Australian history, Lake notes that, even when looking beyond the national framework, most Australian histories have still been limited to the relationship between Australia and Britain. She states that ‘the challenge of locating “Australia” in “one vast inter-connected world must include, but also take us beyond, the relationship between metropole and colony’.⁸ That is also my intention here.

Lake has also highlighted the importance of Anglo-Saxon racial identification to this Australian–American connection.⁹ This identity included the perceived superior abilities associated with it, including governance and, importantly, self-governance. This thesis will show how this shared racial identification was a key point that underpinned the use of the United States in the development of Australian federation. It enabled the assumption that what had occurred in the United States could reasonably be expected to repeat itself in Australia, given similar circumstances.

⁷ Marilyn Lake, ‘White Man’s Country: The Trans-national History of a National Project,’ *Australian Historical Studies* 34, no. 122 (2003): 354.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 350.

⁹ Lake, ‘British World Or New World? Anglo-Saxonism and Australian Engagement With America,’ *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013).

The record of the process of federation is rich with information about how the political leaders of the Australian colonies viewed the United States – what they thought of American history, culture, politics, the American position in the world – and their own development and future with the United States in mind. Sir Henry Parkes, introducing his resolutions to start discussion at the 1891 National Australasian Convention, stated that the United States was ‘that great country to which we must constantly look’.¹⁰

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

It is often noted that the impact the United States model had was particularly evident in the shape and powers of the Senate and the formation of a federal judiciary.¹¹ But this discussion rarely extends to consideration of how the United States model was debated at the federation conventions, or how areas beyond the mechanics of a constitutional structure were considered. By looking at the debates in the context of Australia-United States relations, I am looking beyond concerns about the simple structure of government to the way that the Australians considered, debated, used (and sometimes abused) the United States when deciding what they wanted for the Australian nation.

The Australians also of course looked to British examples, drew on British precedent, case law, or the (unwritten) British constitution, or read British authors writing on constitutionalism or federalism. They were creating a system of government within the British empire and attempting to make it as similar as possible to their existing and familiar government systems, which were British. This included a bicameral legislature operating under the principles of responsible government, with a cabinet made up of ministers within the House, the government only retaining power while it had the

¹⁰ Parkes, 04/03/1891, in *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention*, vol. 1, *Official Report of the National Australasian Convention Debates: Sydney, 2 March to 9 April, 1891* (Sydney: Legal Books, 1986), p.24.

¹¹ Geoffrey Sawyer, ‘Judicial Power Under the Constitution,’ in The Hon. Mr Justice Else-Mitchell, ed., *Essays on the Australian Constitution*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Law Book Co. of Australasia, 1961), 71; R. Else-Mitchell, ‘American Influences on Australian Nationhood,’ *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 62, (1976): 13; Noel McLachlan, *Columbus & Australia: New World Nationalism to the Gulliver Complex* (Parkville: History Department, University of Melbourne, 1994), 29; Raymond Evans et al., eds, 1901, *Our Future's Past: Documenting Australia's Federation* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 1997), 97; James Warden, ‘Federal Theory and the Formation of the Australian Constitution’ (PhD, Australian National University, 1990).

confidence of the parliament, the Queen as the executive (with a governor acting in her stead), and judicial appeals to the Queen's Privy Council. They certainly looked to British examples, as they did to Canadian, and Swiss - and French, German, Dutch, and Indian examples, too. These other international influences are, however, not the focus of this study. Acknowledging the strong level of interest in the United States does not diminish Australians' connection to, loyalty, and affection for the British empire. The Australians were able to do both, particularly of course given their common portrayal of the United States as a fellow Anglo-Saxon nation.

There is certainly room for further discussion of the manner in which these other examples were used, such as in Timothy Gassin's 2015 PhD Thesis 'Canada and Australia: Federation and Nationhood'.¹² My intention is to contribute to this wider area of study. But in choosing to focus on the use of the United States in Australian federation, I am limiting myself to discussing these other influences in Chapter Two, when looking at why they were not the primary model for federation, and when they intersect with use of the United States constitutional model.

Similarly, in this thesis I will not be able to examine all the varied uses of the United States through the federal conventions. These were prolific through the federation conventions, on many and varied topics, and there is not sufficient space to discuss them all.¹³ Instead, I am choosing to focus on areas that I believe are particularly useful for illustrating the conventions' uses of the United States, including case studies on the use of the United States in the discussions of rivers, railways, and religion, and the use of judicial precedent when framing the constitution. These are outside the frame of

¹² Timothy David Gassin, 'Canada and Australia: Federation and Nationhood' (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2016).

¹³ Just in the 1897-98 Conventions, topics in relation to which the United States was referenced included: Bounties; Capital; Citizenship; Compatibility; Congressional Power; Constitutional Amendment; Deadlocks; Debts; Division Of Powers; Divorce; Duties; Election Of Ministers; Electoral Boundaries; Equal Protection; Equal Representation; Executive; Federalism; Franchise; Full Faith And Credit; Governors; History; Judiciary; Money; Money Bills; Name; Observatory; Party Government; Pensions; Pop Culture; Powers Of Ministers; Presidential Elections; Presidential Salaries; Privileges And Immunities; Prohibition; Proportional Representation; Public Service; Qualification Of Members; Race; Railways; Referendum; Religion; Religion; Representative Government; Revenue; Rivers; Salaries; Secession; Senate; Size Of The House Of Representatives; Speaker; State Guarantees; State Liability; States Rights; Strikes; Taxation; Telegraph; Term Length; Territory; Trade; Treaties; United States British Heritage; United States Constitution; United States Popular Feeling; Vacating Seats; Vaccination; World Standing.

reference usually employed when discussing the use of the United States at the federation conventions.

CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Assessment of the Australian colonies and the United States in relation to federation requires consideration of the wider context. Chapter One, *The Anglo-Saxon Triangle*, looks broadly at the relations between the Australian colonies and the United States in the 1890s, both on an official and a popular basis, with reference to the concurrent Anglo-American and Anglo-Australian relations. The consideration of the British relationships is important because, while this thesis is demonstrating that there was a direct relationship between the United States and the Australian colonies, there was also a connection mediated through Britain, and the relationship both Australia and the United States had to Britain could shape and colour their view of each other. It also looks at Australian uses of the United States when imagining their future in the Pacific region, and United States expansion into the Pacific and Australian response to it, including the overwhelmingly positive Australian response to the United States' role in the Spanish-American War.

Chapter Two, *The Search for a Federal Model* looks at the different federal models that were available to the Australians. It argues that it was not inevitable that the Australians would (largely) follow the United States model, with other feasible options available. In doing so, the chapter also notes the key areas of the United States federal model that the Australians did use, noting in particular the design of the Senate and judicial review.

Chapter Three, *Uses of the United States*, argues that while the example of the United States is acknowledged in federation historiography when looking at the specific federal model, the consideration of the American example was broader than this. It looks at the debate on the extent of delegates' knowledge of the United States, and aspects of federation where the influence of the United States is not often noted, including questions of rivers, railways, and religion. These topics were related to the specific powers of the federal government, not the structure of the government. While there has been

some historical consideration of the influence of the United States on these individually, combining them develops a mosaic that shows a pattern of use and understanding. The chapter demonstrates that there was a broader interest in and awareness of the United States among the federation convention delegates, in line with the broader understanding as discussed in Chapter One.

Chapter Four, United States History at the Federation Conventions, builds on this to examine the way in which United States history was considered and deployed at the conventions. It focuses specifically on Australian references to the United States Constitutional Convention held in Philadelphia in 1787, the American Civil War of 1861-1865, and leading figures of United States history such as Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln. It also considers the use of United States judicial decisions to evaluate and interpret the United States constitution – all part of consideration of the United States constitution and how it had actually worked.

Finally, in order to look at the interplay between the Australian colonies and the United States at this time. Chapter Five, Considerations in the United States, utilises digitised newspapers from this period, along with the records of the United States consulates based in the Australian colonies, to investigate the extent to which Australian federation was considered in the United States. It argues that, while Australian federation was not a major news story, there was interest in and comment on the proceedings across the United States.

BACKGROUND TO FEDERATION

The story of the development of federation in the Australian colonies is one that can be told over a time period spanning from twelve to fifty years, depending on the parameters set. What follows is a very concise narrative of the federal story, to provide a basic framework for the discussion to follow.

REASONS FOR FEDERATION

There were a range of reasons motivating federation in the Australian colonies, and some

disagreement among historians as to which were the primary drivers. The most commonly cited issues were those of economics and defence.¹⁴ Inconveniences caused by having separate railway, postal, and coastal navigation systems suggested the benefits of union.¹⁵ It was also believed that the colonies would have a stronger position when dealing with the British government if they were united, and it was hoped that federation could resolve the issue of different railway gauges across the colonies and facilitate building a transcontinental railroad.

Others, most prominently John Hirst, argue that, while those were important factors, the driving motivator was nationalist sentiment. Hirst argued that commercial advantages would not have been sufficient motivation for the colonies to give up the powers that they did, and that the idea of a national identity was a necessary part of the equation.¹⁶ While practical considerations such as financial arrangements and defence were important in bringing about federation, Hirst makes a compelling argument about the importance of nationalist sentiment, and this is reflected in the convention debates.

COLONIAL ACHIEVEMENT

There was intense pride in what they had achieved within the colonies, individually and together, and it was a point of pride for the Australians that they were choosing to federate, rather than being forced together by circumstance. There was no shadow of war looming over them, they considered themselves socially progressive and, particularly during the 1890 and 1891 conventions, were economically strong. In declaring their achievements to date, the Australians placed these achievements, and by extension themselves, in a global comparative context. The United States was one benchmark for this, as was the United Kingdom.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ronald Norris, *The Emergent Commonwealth: Australian Federation, Expectations and Fulfilment 1889-1910*, Studies in Australian Federation (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1975), 2-5; Noel McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution: A History of Australian Nationalism* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1989), 171.

¹⁵ Brian Matthews, *Federation* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1999), 38

¹⁶ John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2-4.

¹⁷ Parkes 11/2/1890, *Official Record of the Proceedings and Debates of the Australasian Federation Conference, 1890, Held in the Parliament House, Melbourne* (Melbourne: Govt. Printer, 1890), 82; Walker, 30/03/1897,

Delegates at the federation convention debates also expressed satisfaction with the political structures and political freedoms in Australia, again framed as being equal or superior to all others in the world.¹⁸ Federation was not intended to fix a broken system within the colonies, but rather to further enhance one that was working well.

THE FEDERAL MOVEMENT PRIOR TO 1889

By the mid-nineteenth century all colonies except Western Australia were self-governing with a colonial constitution based on the British principles of responsible government; Western Australia achieved that in 1890. Formal connection to the empire was maintained through the colonial governor in each colony, and the Colonial Office in London. The local legislatures had drawn up their own constitutions, which were sent to the British Parliament for minor amendments and approval.

There were calls for federation in the Australian colonies almost from the moment that Victoria separated from New South Wales in 1850.¹⁹ Federation was advocated at different times by both British officials and colonial Australians. There was an attempt at a kind of confederation with the development of the Federal Council. It was proposed in 1883 in response to concerns about European powers in the South Pacific, with the first meeting in early 1886. However, this body had no legislative or budgetary authority, and never had all of the Australian colonies participating. In particular, despite the suggestion for the Federal Council originally coming from New South Wales Premier Henry Parkes, New South Wales never took part.²⁰

The question of establishing a federal government was revived in 1889, most notably with Parkes' Tenterfield Oration²¹, a speech given in the town of Tenterfield, New South

in *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention*, vol. 2, *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention: Second session, Sydney, 2nd to 24th September, 1897* (Sydney: Legal Books, 1986), 308.

¹⁸ Parkes, 13/03/1891, Grey, 17/03/1891, Gillies, 02/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney 1891*, 315, 422-23, 625.

¹⁹ J.A. La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*. Studies in Australian Federation (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1972), 1-2.

²⁰ John Hirst, 'Federal Council of Australasia,' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, rev. ed., eds Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001): 244-245; Russell and Chubb, *One Destiny!*, 86.

²¹ A.G.L. Shaw, 'Centennial Reflections on Sir Henry Parkes' Tenterfield Oration,' in *Steps to Federation:*

Wales, on his return from speaking to Queensland ministers about reviving the question of federation.²² After negotiation between Parkes and Victorian Premier Duncan Gillies, it was decided that delegates representing the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia and New Zealand would meet at the 1890 Australasian Federation Conference.²³

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS

Thirteen delegates, all sitting members of the colonial legislatures, met in Melbourne from the 6 to 14 February 1890, to discuss whether the Australian colonies were ready to develop a federation. They resolved that they were and that there was a need to hold a convention to draft a constitution. The result of this was the National Australasian Convention.²⁴ From 2 March to 9 April 1891, forty-five delegates, again all colonial members of parliament, met in Sydney and successfully developed a draft constitution. However, this constitution needed to be ratified in the colonial legislatures, where the issue of federation got lost in colonial politics and was allowed to slide. These official conventions were followed by a convention organised by the Federation League, held in Corowa, New South Wales, on 31 July and 1 August, 1893, to determine the will of the Australian public regarding federation, and to bring the issue back into prominence. Three years later the People's Federation Convention was held in Bathurst, from 16 to 20 November, 1896, to educate the public about federation and get a movement coming from the people, not just the politicians – although the two ‘peoples’ conventions’ were also well attended by politicians. Finally, the Australasian Federation Convention was held over three sittings – in Adelaide, 22 March to 23 April, 1897, Sydney, 2 to 22

Lectures Marking the Centenary of Federation, ed. Patricia Clarke (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2001), 9-10; Full text of the Tenterfield Oration available at John Williams, ‘The Tenterfield Oration of Henry Parkes,’ in *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History*, 1 (1998), 71-73; Note A. W. Martin has argued that ‘It seems doubtful whether this speech in fact achieved all the publicity or impact which is traditionally ascribed to it,’ A.W. Martin, *Parkes and the 1890 Conference*, Papers on Parliament 9 (Canberra: Senate Publishing Unit, Department of the Senate, Parliament House, 1990), 13.

²² Sir Daryl Dawson, ‘The Founders’ Vision,’ in *Australian Federation: Towards the Second Century: A Work to Mark the Centenary of the Australasian Federation Conference, Held at Parliament House, Melbourne, 6-14 February 1890*, ed. Gregory Craven (Carlton: Melbourne University, 1992), 8.

²³ W.G. McMinn, *A Constitutional History of Australia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 103; In this thesis this will be abbreviated to the 1890 Federation Conference.

²⁴ In this thesis this will be abbreviated to the 1891 Federation Convention.

September, 1897, and Melbourne, 22 January to 17 March, 1898, where a draft Constitution Bill was crafted, to be presented to the Australian people.²⁵

Each convention had a different focus. The official conventions, in 1890, 1891, and 1897-8, followed parliamentary procedure, modified slightly to suit the work they were doing and with some reference to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, at which the constitution of the United States was drafted.²⁶ Part of the parliamentary procedure that was followed was the creation of a Hansard daily report, in which a verbatim transcript of the discussion of the convention as a whole was recorded.

Both the People's Conventions also provide a record of proceedings for the conventions. However, it is recognised that without the services of Hansard (which were desired but not made available) this record is incomplete – indeed, in Bathurst, it is largely supplemented by the recordings of local newspapers for their account. As such, there is not the level of detail available for these conventions, which, combined with the level of impact that they had in comparison with the official conventions, has meant that, while they are considered here, they are not discussed as much as the official conventions.

PASSAGE OF THE CONSTITUTION

Both the experience of the failure of the 1891 Draft Bill and the increased movement towards democracy later in the 1890s meant that, when setting up the structure of the 1897/98 federation conventions, it was specified that the Bill would be put to the people for their approval. Referenda were held in New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania on 3 June, 1898, and in South Australia on 4 June, 1898.²⁷ While a majority 'yes' vote was received in all colonies, New South Wales fell short of the 80,000 votes required for the

²⁵ In this thesis these will be abbreviated to the 1897 Adelaide Convention, the 1897 Sydney Convention, and the 1898 Melbourne Convention, and as a whole as the 1897/98 federation conventions; While those attending this convention were representatives, having been popularly elected rather than delegated, for consistency through the thesis I will be following the historiographical protocol of continuing to refer to them as delegates. See La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, vii.

²⁶ Playford, Bird, 06/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 13-14; Jennings, 06/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, p.126; Cockburn 30/03/1897, Deakin, 20/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 349, 1008; Baker, 17/03/1898, *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention*, vol. 4-5, *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention: Third Session, Melbourne, 20th January to 17th March, 1898* (Sydney: Legal Books, 1986), 2986.

²⁷ Evans et al, 1901: *Our Future's Past*, 278-79.

referendum to pass.

A meeting of premiers, including Queensland Premier James Dickson, was held on 29 January to 2 February 1899, with federation as the topic. Reid successfully argued for amendments to the constitution including the federal capital to be located in New South Wales (but not Sydney) and that both houses could propose constitutional amendments.²⁸ The revised bill was again put to the people, this time including Queensland, in referenda from April to September, 1899, with the yes vote receiving sufficient majorities in each colony. Thus it was determined that Federation would proceed.

FEDERATION ACHIEVED

The final step in approving federation was having the Constitution Bill passed by the British Parliament. From the perspective of most of the Australian officials who travelled to London to ensure its passage, the Bill had received the approval of the Australian people and was unalterable. From the perspective of the British parliament, it was a Bill being put for their consideration like any other, and there were aspects with which they were not satisfied. They wanted a number of amendments, top of the list being maintaining the right to appeal to the Queen's Privy Court, rather than having the Australian High Court as the final court of appeal as had been decided at the 1897/98 Federation Convention.²⁹

Negotiations ensued and concessions were granted on both sides, including the allowance of Privy Court appeals for matters that included imperial concerns. The *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act* was passed by the British Parliament on 5 July, 1900, and received royal assent from Queen Victoria on 9 July, 1900. Western Australia held its referendum on 31 July, 1900, which received a yes vote, and on 17 September, Queen Victoria proclaimed that all six colonies would form the Commonwealth of Australia on

²⁸ John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000), 198.

²⁹ B.K. DeGaris, 'The Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Constitution Bill,' in *Essays in Australian Federation*, Studies in Australian Federation, ed. A.W. Martin (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 94-121.

1 January, 1901.³⁰

The Commonwealth was inaugurated and established with grand celebrations including a parade and proclamation ceremony in Sydney. Following the first federal elections in March 1901, the official opening of parliament occurred on 9 May, 1901 in Melbourne, where parliament would sit until moving to Canberra in 1927.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis sits at the intersection of two fields of study, the history of Australian federation and that of Australian-American relations. With federation history, the influence of the United States is just one part of the wider story. Similarly, in Australian-American studies, federation is either a precursor to the period being studied, or one moment in a long timeframe. As such, this influence and use of the United States has received limited attention. The intent of this thesis is to bring these two together, in order to focus on this specific aspect.

AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

A body of important scholarship has recognised and highlighted the significance of the connection between the Australian colonies and the United States and its evolution across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In his 1977 article, “‘The Future America’: Some Bicentennial Reflections’, Noel McLachlan argued that American influence on Australia, and specifically the nineteenth century idea that Australia was on the same path as the United States and could learn from American experience, had been ‘largely neglected by Australian historians’.³¹ This was, he believed, due to the dominance of British tradition in Australia particularly after World War I, and the consequent impact on Australian historiography.³² In both this article and his later book *Waiting for the Revolution: A History of Australian Nationalism*, McLachlan demonstrated this American influence, both in relation to the idea of Australia being a future America, and to

³⁰ Evans et al, 1901: *Our Future's Past*, 281.

³¹ McLachlan, ‘The Future America,’ 361.

³² Ibid., 361-62.

American influences on Australian nationalism.³³

Other historians have subsequently added to the body of knowledge on the cultural and intellectual influence of the United States on Australia. Phillip Bell and Roger Bell make a strong argument for approaching Australian-American relations from a cultural history standpoint, particularly in their book *Implicated: The United States in Australia*, exploring the influences of the United States on Australia across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and how that has shaped Australian culture.³⁴ While discussing the interactions that Australia and the United States have had, Bell and Bell argue the need to look at 'cultural relationships as the base for the public treaties and economic relationships'.³⁵ They, along with McLachlan, note the emphasis that has been placed on economic relations and emphasise the exchange of ideas between the two. As such, they include a discussion of federation as a part of the broader story they are telling.³⁶

The influence of the United States and American ideas on Australia has also been the focus of recent work by Marilyn Lake. She has taken two different but intersecting approaches. The first is through the transnational circulation of ideas about race, specifically 'whiteness,' and manhood.³⁷ The second focuses more specifically on the personal connections and shared progressive ideas between Australians and Americans. Three of the men she has written about were leading figures at the Australian federation conventions: Alfred Deakin, Andrew Inglis Clark and Henry Higgins. Lake has examined their travels in the United States, friendship with Americans and identification with the United States.³⁸ The connections and friendships between Australians and Americans

³³ McLachlan, 'The Future America'; McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*.

³⁴ Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated*.

³⁵ Bell and Bell, *Implicated*, x.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 47-51; McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, 167-73.

³⁷ Marilyn Lake, 'On Being A White Man, Circa 1900,' in *Cultural History in Australia*, eds Hsu Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: UNSW Press 2003); Lake, 'White Man's Country'; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008). See also Marilyn Lake, 'Federation and the Repression of Difference: The Gendered Relations of National and International Governance,' *Tasmanian Historical Studies* 8, no. 1 (2002): 5-17.

³⁸ Lake, 'Alfred Deakin's Identification with Republican Manhood'; Marilyn Lake, 'Looking to American Manhood: the Correspondence of Alfred Deakin and Josiah Royce,' in *Reading Across the Pacific: Australia-United States Intellectual Histories*, eds Robert Dixon and Nicholas Birns (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2010); Marilyn Lake, "'This Great America": H.B. Higgins and Transnational Progressivism,' *Australian Historical Studies* 44, no. 2 (2013): 172-88; Lake, 'British World or New World'.

and how these shaped progressive ideas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the focus of her forthcoming book, *Progressive New World: How Settler Colonialism and Transpacific Exchange Shaped American Reform*.³⁹ Thus Lake's work also intersects with federation, through these leading figures and through the racial ideas that were present during the debates, but it is not the focus of her work.

In these works described above, the primary focus has been on the impact and influence of the United States on Australia. The opposite approach is taken by Paul Giles in his book *Antipodean America*. Looking at the cultural interactions between Australia and the United States, he has argued that Australasian-United States relations are generally considered only through the limited view point of Americanisation, and that there is an assumption among Americanists that the interactions with Australasia are unimportant and therefore ignored, both from Australians and Americans.⁴⁰ Instead, Giles demonstrates the impact that both the idea of Australia and individual Australian have had on American literary traditions across the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

While these works have looked at the impact and influence of ideas on Australian culture, other works on Australian-American relations have focused on material interactions and influences - what McLachlan referred to as 'the "hard facts" of the evolving commercial, financial and diplomatic connections'.⁴¹ Both Richard Waterhouse, in 'The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests: The Australian-American Relationship, 1788-1908,' and L.G. Churchward, in *Australia and America, 1788-1972: An Alternative History*, look to the economic, political, and cultural relations between Australia and the United States (with again the primary perspective being on the influence of the United States on Australia).⁴² Waterhouse articulates why there is a need to look at the relationship in the nineteenth century, stating that prior to World War I, 'a

³⁹ Lake, 'British World or New World,' 43. Note book title as listed in the article is *Radical Yearning: Australian-American Friendships in the Progressive Era*.

⁴⁰ Paul Giles, *Antipodean America: Australasia and the Constitution of U. S. Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4-5.

⁴¹ McLachlan, 'The Future America,' 362.

⁴² Waterhouse, 'The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests'; Churchward, *Australia and America*.

consensus had existed in Australia that American influence was beneficial, in economic, political, diplomatic and cultural terms' and that 'the Australian-American relationship in the nineteenth century was complex and multi-dimensional and it is only by examining all the layers that we can understand why early twentieth century Australians were so effusive in their attitudes and policies towards the United States'.⁴³ In Waterhouse's article, the overall focus is on questions of defence, whereas in Churchward the primary focus is on economic relations. Churchward also argues for the importance of using a theoretical framework when considering Australian-American relations, making it clear that the framework he is using is Marxist. His argument is that Australia needs to become an independent nation, and that to do this it needs to become a socialist nation. Both Churchward and Waterhouse note the American influences on federation, which Churchward stated were 'both general and particular', but do not go into detail.⁴⁴

A common trait among works on the cultural, political, or economic history of Australian-American relations that include the nineteenth century is to look across a long timeframe. They often begin from the early days of the settlement at Sydney Cove, looking then across the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. This in itself is useful to demonstrate the scope of existing relations, but as a result limits the level of detail that can be provided on a particular topic. This can be seen in the works already noted, except for those by Lake. It can also be seen in the narrative histories of this relationship, such as that of Norman Bartlett in 1976, described in the introduction by Manning Clark as being 'the first overview' of Australian-American relations, and the German-born American Werner Levi's *American-Australian Relations*, published in 1947.⁴⁵ Both works describe the development of economic, cultural and political relationships between the two nations. They also both briefly mention the constitutional influence of the United States on Australian federation. However, while Bartlett uses a comment on the continued strength of the feeling the Australians had for Britain to lead into a discussion of British-American relations and the development of the United States as a global power in this period, Levi uses the account of federation as a brief introduction to

⁴³ Waterhouse, 'The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests,' 18.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 15; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 90-92.

⁴⁵ Norman Bartlett, *1776-1976: Australia and America Through 200 Years* (Sydney: The Fine Arts Press, 1976); Werner Levi, *American-Australian Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947).

a much longer analysis of American activities in the Pacific – a difference I believe that can be traced back to the national origins of the respective books. Included in this analysis there is an argument about Australia's inflated sense of its importance in the world at the end of the nineteenth century, and the manner in which the Australian people identified similarities between their immigration policies and those of the United States (such as the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1882), and as such began to identify with the United States, developing the idea of a special relationship between the two. This meant that, while the Australians had previously feared American presence in the region, by the time of the Spanish-American War they had begun to welcome it.⁴⁶ While this work does not discuss American influences on Australian federation to any great extent, then, it does suggest the need for greater study of the relations between the two at this time and explores the ideas that were held regarding the other. While Levi offers limited discussion of federation, he has a longer description of the importance of American precedents in the development of the Australian colonial constitutions in the 1850s and the extent of knowledge that the constitutional framers had at this time, which brings an interesting light to the debate about the extent of knowledge the framers of the Australian constitution had of the United States.

Another exception to this trend is Ruth Megaw's PhD thesis from 1966, 'Some aspects of the United States' impact on Australia, 1901-1923'.⁴⁷ Megaw is looking at the cultural, economic and political influences of the United States in a defined period of the early twentieth century, however she also frequently contextualises these with reference to how they manifested in the nineteenth century. As such, she provides information on cultural, trade, and legal links between the two in the period being explored here.

In addition to these works, there are also political studies of Australian-American relations focused more narrowly on diplomatic history and foreign policy. These include Roger Bell's *Unequal Allies: Australian-American Relations And The Pacific War*, Roger Bell and Coral Bell's *Dependent Ally: A Study in Australian Foreign Policy* and Joseph Camilleri's

⁴⁶ Levi, *American-Australian Relations*, 82-22.

⁴⁷ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia'.

Australian-American Relations: The Web of Dependence.⁴⁸ These works are naturally focused on the period of time when there were official diplomatic relations between the two nations, namely through the World War II military alliance and the ANZUS alliance formed in 1951. When looking at work on United States foreign policy more broadly, there is very little reference made to Australia in the nineteenth century - *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* volume covering 1865 to 1913 does not even have an index listing for Australia.⁴⁹ C. Hartley Grattan's 1961 book *The United States and the Southwest Pacific* was unusual in its discussion of Australian-United States relations, particularly looking into the nineteenth century.⁵⁰

Other works on the relationship, including *Pacific Orbit: Australian American Relations Since 1942* edited by Norman Harper do look more broadly at cultural and educational influences, as do works on the idea of Americanisation, such as Roger and Phillip Bell's "Americanization": Political and Cultural Examples from the Perspective of "Americanized" Australia', *Americanization and Australia*, a collection of chapters exploring the idea of Americanisation in Australia edited by Roger and Phillip Bell, or Richard White's 'A Backwater Awash: The Australian Experience of Americanisation'.⁵¹ These do provide a historical context for these connections. However, with the exception of Harper's *Pacific Orbit* (which also includes a comparison by Zelman Cowen of the Australian and United States constitutions), such historical contexts still mainly focus

⁴⁸ Roger J. Bell, *Unequal Allies: Australian-American Relations And The Pacific War* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1977); Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally: A Study in Australian Foreign Policy*, 3rd ed., Studies in World Affairs (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin in association with Dept. of International Relations, RSPacS, ANU, 1993); Joseph Camilleri, *Australian-American Relations: The Web of Dependence*, (South Melbourne: MacMillan Company of Australia, 1980); see also H.V. Evatt, *Australia in World Affairs* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1946); Bridge, *Munich to Vietnam*; Albinski, 'Australia and the United States'; Lee, *Australia Turns to the United States*; M. Rolfe, 'The Promise and Threat of America in Australian Politics,' *Australian Journal of Political Science* 32, Issue 2, (1997).

⁴⁹ Walter LaFeber, *American Search for Opportunity, 1865-1913* Volume 2 of *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See also Thomas G. Paterson, *American Foreign Relations: A History*, vol. 1, To 1920, 6th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005).

⁵⁰ C. Hartley Grattan, *The United States and the Southwest Pacific* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1961).

⁵¹ Norman Harper, ed. *Pacific Orbit: Australian-American Relations Since 1942* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1968); P. Bell and R. Bell, "Americanization": Political and Cultural Examples from the Perspective of "Americanized" Australia,' *American Studies* 37, no. 1 (1966): 5-21; Philip Bell, and Roger Bell, eds. *Americanization and Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1998); Richard White, 'A Backwater Awash: The Australian Experience of Americanisation,' *Theory, Culture & Society* 1, no. 3 (Special Issue 1983): 108-122; see also Norman Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend: A Study of Australian American Relations Between 1900 and 1975* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1987).

post-federation, beginning in 1940 with the first ambassador, or in some instances to 1908, when Prime Minister Alfred Deakin defied the British retention of foreign relations for the federated nation to invite the touring American Great White Fleet to stop in Australia.⁵² In the case of historian Carl Bridge, this historical context is provided to argue that there was no real connection between Australia and the United States, tying into the debate on Australian connections to Britain and the United States noted earlier, by arguing that the post-war alliance gets read backwards to colour how interactions earlier in the twentieth century are shaped.⁵³

A subset of this diplomatic history is evaluating Australian-American relations as part of the debate over British-Australian relations, largely focused on the post-World War II period. Alongside the works discussed above that demonstrate the long and ongoing connection, there have also been others that have argued that Australia was insular, living within the nation or the empire. Concluding his work on the relationship between Australia and Britain within the first two decades of the twentieth century, journalist and historian Gavin Souter stated that by 1919 Australia had taken its 'first occasional steps outside the British Empire into the world at large' and that, while Australians 'would continue by choice to dwell within that smaller, familiar sphere', they did so on their own terms. It had become clear, he concluded, that 'Australia's first obligation was to itself, but it also knew that it was a part of the world'.⁵⁴ Souter is not alone in expressing this idea that Australia only began slowly venturing outside of the British empire towards the middle of the twentieth century. When looking at Australia's position in the world, Neville Meaney has observed that 'Australia was a reluctant participant in international affairs', with no permanent Department of External Affairs or Foreign Office until 1935, and no diplomatic missions to foreign capitals until after World War II.⁵⁵

⁵² Roger Bell, *Unequal Allies*; Bridge, 'Relations With the United States'; Albinski, 'Australia and the United States'.

⁵³ Bridge, 'Relations with the United States,' 172.

⁵⁴ Gavin Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo: Australia: 1901-1919: The Rise of a Nation* (Sydney: Fontana, 1976), 307-8.

⁵⁵ Neville Meaney, 'Australia and the World,' in *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia*, ed. Neville Meaney (Sydney: Heinemann Educational Australia, 1989), 15; See also Carl Bridge, 'Relations With the United States,' in *Between Empire and Nation: Australia's External Relations from Federation to the Second World War*, eds Carl Bridge and Bernard Attard (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing,

Arguments such as these fit into a longstanding debate about Australia's relations with the two larger Anglo-Saxon powers the nation has looked to for protection, Britain and the United States. One perspective on this, described by historian Carl Bridge as the 'popularly received version, found in textbooks and on television screens', is of 'Britain leaving the Australian scene with the fall of Singapore in 1942, rather ignominiously and never to return. In this account, Prime Minister John Curtin read the signs and "looked to America", exchanging one great ally for another'.⁵⁶ This position has been presented by scholars such as Stephen Alomes, Russel Ward, and Henry S. Albinski.⁵⁷ While it has been challenged by Bridge, Stuart Ward, and others, they have done so to question the strength of this turn to the United States in the 1940s, and argue that strong connections to Britain endured beyond this.⁵⁸ Even when these works acknowledge United States cultural influences prior to World War II, they are placed in a twentieth-century framework.⁵⁹

Thus federation does not fit easily into the existing frameworks for discussions of Australian-American relations. It sits outside of the timeframe for the works that are looking at the twentieth century, which in turn are often looking at the actions of the federated government. For those that do consider the nineteenth-century connection, federation does not easily fit into categories of economic, cultural, or political relations as framed. The long time frames also mean that federation is just one point in a much longer story. Even an article such as 'American Influences on Australian Nationhood,' by New South Wales Supreme Court Justice Rae Else-Mitchell, looking specifically at how the

2000).

⁵⁶ Carl Bridge, *Munich to Vietnam: Australia's Relations with Britain and the United States since the 1930s* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1991), 2.

⁵⁷ Stephen Alomes, *A Nation At Last? The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880-1988* (North Ryde, NSW: Angus and Robertson, 1988), 115-17; Russel Ward, *A Nation for a Continent: The History of Australia 1901-1975*, rev. ed. (Richmond, Vic.: Heinemann Educational Australia, 1983), 316; Harry S. Albinski, 'Australia and the United States,' in *Australia: The Daedalus Symposium*, ed. Stephen R. Graubard (North Ryde, NSW, Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1985), 414.

⁵⁸ Stuart Ward, 'The "New Nationalism" In Australia, Canada And New Zealand: Civic Culture In The Wake Of The British World,' in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2007), 237; Bridge, *Munich to Vietnam*; David Lee, *Australia Turns to the United States 1955-1957*, Working Papers in Australian Studies (London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1993).

⁵⁹ Albinski, 'Australia and the United States,' 405-7; Alomes, *A Nation at Last?*, 110-11.

United States influenced Australian national development, federation only forms a small portion.⁶⁰ As such it is always noted, but the nature of the work means that there is not the scope to assess it in detail. A similar situation is found with the opposite perspective - that is, discussion of Australian-American relations in the historiography of federation.

GENERAL HISTORIES OF AUSTRALIA

The topic of federation is naturally covered in general histories of Australia. The amount of detail historians can provide on federation is shaped by the length of the work, the intended audience, and approach the work takes to federation. In some the use of the United States model is not included at all. In W.K. Hancock's *Australia*, federation was considered as a part of the wider discussion of Australian nationalism and Australia's relationship to Britain.⁶¹ Manning Clark framed federation within the themes of his narrative, the antagonism between nationalists and British imperialists, capital and labour, liberals and conservatives. In his six-volume history of Australia, Clark had a broader canvas within which he could discuss federation and was thus able to provide a more detailed overview of the process of developing it, and so can note Parkes' intention to use the United States as a particular model, and includes Alexander Hamilton as one of the Australian federalists' 'political teachers'.⁶² In his shorter history of Australia, the overview of federation is naturally briefer, focused on the nationalists and imperialists, without these references to the United States.⁶³

This is not to say that the United States as a model is never discussed in the single volume general histories of Australia. Stuart Macintyre's *A Concise History of Australia*, which he noted was written for an 'international audience' and aiming to connect the Australian story to a wider world history, observes that the Australian constitution was a blend of the British and American, and includes a discussion of the blending of British

⁶⁰ R. Else-Mitchell, 'American Influences on Australian Nationhood,' 12-15.

⁶¹ W.K. Hancock, *Australia* (London: Ernest Benn, 1930), 63-66.

⁶² C.M.H. Clark, *The People Make Laws, 1881-1915*, volume 5 of *A History of Australia* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), 123-74.

⁶³ C.M.H. Clark, *A Short History of Australia* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 178-79; see also John Hirst, 'Federation,' in Davison et al., *Oxford Companion to Australian History*, 245-46; Geoffrey Blainey, *A Land Half Won* (South Melbourne: MacMillan, 1980), 359.

imperialism and nationalism in relation to federation, and of the American influences on the radical movement, to lead into his discussion of federation.⁶⁴ John Molony in *The Penguin Bicentennial History of Australia* includes a brief mention of the United States as a model in his general overview of federation, which focused on the economic over nationalistic motivations and the strength of the British connection.⁶⁵ Russel Ward also gives a brief view of federation as part of the context for his discussion of Australia in the twentieth century, emphasising the British connection but noting the use of the American constitution as a model and a general discussion of the American, Canadian and Swiss examples.⁶⁶

HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION

Even in the works specifically relating to federation, the discussion of the American model is relatively limited. However, as with general histories, consideration must be given to the fact that authors of each work approach the topic with a specific question in mind, directing the focus of their discussion, and frequently the question of the federal framers' ideas about the United States fall outside of this.

FEDERATION MEMOIRS

The earliest works on federation are memoirs written by the delegates attending the federation conventions. Most well-known of these is Alfred Deakin's 'Inner History of the Federal Cause 1880-1900', written during the development of federation, 1898-1900.⁶⁷ Deakin never published this work himself; it was first published in 1944 edited by his son-in-law Herbert Brookes under the name *The Federal Story: The Inner History of the Federal Cause*, again in 1963 edited by J.A. La Nauze, who also included 1880-1900 in the title, and again in 1995 as '*And Be One People*': *Alfred Deakin's Federal Story* which retained

⁶⁴ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), xiii, 136-40.

⁶⁵ John Molony, *The Penguin Bicentennial History of Australia: The Story of 200 Years* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1987), 184-90.

⁶⁶ Russel Ward, *A Nation for a Continent: The History of Australia 1901-1975*, rev. ed. (Ringwood, Vic.: Heinemann Educational Australia, 1983), 4-10.

⁶⁷ Stuart Macintyre, introduction to '*And Be One People*': *Alfred Deakin's Federal Story*, by Alfred Deakin (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1995), xiv, xxii-xxiv.

the editorial work of La Nauze.⁶⁸ Deakin's work is valuable for the character sketches that it provides of his fellow federal convention delegates and their responses to different aspects of the convention debates.

Another delegate to write specifically on the development of federation was Bernard Wise, with *The Making of the Australian Commonwealth, 1889-1900: a Stage in the Growth of the Empire*.⁶⁹ More frequently, federation was a chapter or two in the lifetime memoirs of delegates, including Sir Robert Garran, Sir Joseph Carruthers, Sir Henry Parkes, and Quick.⁷⁰ In these examples, the delegates were often writing long removed from the events themselves, and so their accounts are shaped and coloured by the vagaries of memory, as well as the events that had occurred since. Garran, for example, was able to include a citation to Walter Murdoch's 1923 biography of Deakin in his memoir *Prosper the Commonwealth*.⁷¹

MID TWENTIETH CENTURY

There was a revival of interest in federation history mid-century, although this appears largely connected to the Melbourne University Press series 'Studies in Australian Federation'. Most prominent of these works was J.A. La Nauze's *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, which continues to be a leading work on Australian federation history. La Nauze stated his intention for his work to be 'a kind of supplement' to Quick and Garran's *Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth* and to help a future historian in writing a general history of federation.⁷² It is a constitutional history, examining how the Australian constitution was written, focussing on the text of the constitution and its drafting rather than the federation movement as a whole. As such, La Nauze does discuss the choice of the United States over the Canadian federal model, the

⁶⁸ Macintyre, 'And Be One People,' xxiv.

⁶⁹ B.R. Wise, *The Making of the Australian Commonwealth, 1889-1900: a Stage in the Growth of the Empire* (London: Longmans Green, 1913).

⁷⁰ Robert Garran, *Prosper the Commonwealth* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1958); Sir J.H. Carruthers, *A Lifetime in Conservative Politics: Political Memoirs of Sir Joseph Carruthers*, ed. Michael Hogan (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2005); Sir G.H. Reid, *My Reminiscences* (London: Cassell, 1917); Sir Henry Parkes, *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, and co., 1892); Sir John Quick, *Sir John Quick's Notebook*, ed. L.E. Fredman (Newcastle: Pogonoski, 1965).

⁷¹ Garran, *Prosper the Commonwealth*, 110.

⁷² La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, v.

influence of the United States constitution on particular clauses, and the level of knowledge the delegates had about the United States constitution.

La Nauze also wrote a number of articles and chapters that were subsequently compiled into a collection.⁷³ His work looked at specific clauses in detail, as well as biographical information about the key players in the federation conventions.⁷⁴ He had a particular interest in Alfred Deakin, about whom he wrote a two-volume biography.⁷⁵ La Nauze examined how the Australian constitution was written, and so focused particularly on the text and its drafting, chiefly the work of a subsection of the conventions, rather than on the wider discussion at the conventions. He explores what those writing the document knew of American constitutional precedent, but not how this was reflected in the debates.

The second key work in this series was an edited collection, A.W. Martin's *Essays in Australian Federation* from 1969.⁷⁶ The book included chapters from La Nauze, Geoffrey Serle, B.K. De Garis, Janet Pettman, Ronald Norris, and Patricia Hewett. The book covers a wide range of topics, including different campaigns for federation and economic motives for voting for or against federation.⁷⁷ However, it is only in La Nauze's chapter on the development of the clause stating that trade, commerce and intercourse would be 'absolutely free' that reference is made to the United States and American precedent.⁷⁸

Other historical works in this series included Richard Ely's *Unto God and Caesar*, on the

⁷³ J.A. La Nauze, *No Ordinary Act: Essays on Federation and the Constitution*, eds Stuart Macintyre and Helen Irving (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

⁷⁴ J. A. La Nauze, 'A Little Bit of Lawyers' Language: The History of "Absolutely Free", 1890-1900,' in *Essays in Australian Federation*, Studies in Australian Federation, ed. A.W. Martin (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 57-93; J.A. La Nauze, 'The Inter-State Commission,' *Australian Quarterly* 9 (1937): 48-58; J.A. La Nauze, 'The Name of the Commonwealth of Australia,' in *No Ordinary Act: Essays on Federation and the Constitution*, eds Helen Irving and Stuart Macintyre (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 158-172; J.A. La Nauze, 'Who are the Fathers?' in *No Ordinary Act: Essays on Federation and the Constitution*, eds Helen Irving and Stuart Macintyre (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 86-110.

⁷⁵ J.A. La Nauze, *Alfred Deakin: A Biography* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1965).

⁷⁶ Martin, *Essays in Australian Federation*.

⁷⁷ Geoffrey Serle, 'The Victorian Government's Campaign for Federation 1883-1889,' in Martin, *Essays in Australian Federation*, 2-54; B.K. DeGaris, 'The Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Constitution Bill,' in Martin, *Essays in Australian Federation*, 94-121; Janet Pettman, 'The Australian Natives' Association and Federation in South Australia,' in Martin, *Essays in Australian Federation*, 122-136; Patricia Hewett, 'Aspects of Campaigns in South-Eastern New South Wales at the Federation Referenda of 1898 and 1899,' in Martin, *Essays in Australian Federation*, 167-184.

⁷⁸ La Nauze, 'A Little Bit of Lawyers' Language,' 57-93.

question of religion in the Australian constitution, and Ronald Norris's *The Emergent Commonwealth: Australian Federation: Expectations and Fulfilment 1889-1910*, which notes briefly the rejection of the Canadian model for the United States model, especially regarding the creation of the Senate and the Judiciary.⁷⁹

The most direct discussion of the role of the United States in Australian federation in this period was by Joan Rydon, in her article 'Some Problems of Combining the British and American Elements in the Australian Constitution'.⁸⁰ However, while touching on the creation of the mixed system of government, Rydon's article relates to the impact this has had on the working of the government during the twentieth century.

LATE TWENTIETH TO EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The largest impetus for work on federation was the centenary anniversary of the events from 1989-2001. During this time many conferences were held on themes of federation, and articles, chapters and books were produced on the topic. This was supported in part by the federally-organised campaign to celebrate the centenary, and associated funding that was made available particularly for the production of works for a popular audience.⁸¹

One of the projects funded in part by the National Council Grants Program was the creation and production of a limited-run journal entitled *The New Federalist: The Journal of Australian Federation History*, edited by John Bannon and John Williams. The journal ran for eight volumes over four years and produced 111 articles on a range of topics on federation. The focus was on cultural aspects of federation. These included articles on who the federalists were, particularly noting people who had frequently been overlooked; what Australian society was like at the time of federation (including three articles on cricket grounds and federation); the location of the capital and debates and discussions on that, and questions about the referenda - why did people vote for (or against)

⁷⁹ Richard Ely, *Unto God and Caesar: Religious Issues in the Emerging Commonwealth*, Studies in Australian Federation (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1976); Ronald Norris, *The Emergent Commonwealth*, 4, 14.

⁸⁰ Joan Rydon, 'Some Problems of Combining the British and American Elements in the Australian Constitution,' *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 23, issue 1 (1985): 67.

⁸¹ John Bannon and John Williams, 'Voting "YES" for Federation History,' *The New Federalist: The Journal of Australian Federation History* 2 (1998): 1-2.

federation. Few were about the federation conventions themselves, and only one specifically on the constitution.

While the United States is mentioned in passing in many of these articles, there is only one specifically about the United States; 'The Other Metropolis: the Australian Founder's Knowledge of America', by Harry Evans.⁸² In this article Evans, Clerk of the Senate from 1988 to 2009, argued that it was well known that there were both American and British models for the Australian constitution, but that since about 1910 the American origins had been obscured by the way the constitution was used and the belief that it was a Westminster system - that since it was written there had been a shift back toward ideas of Empire. Thus he argued there is a myth that the founders had only a superficial understanding of the American political and constitutional system. Evans explores this by looking specifically at the development of the Senate.

The lead up to the centenary of federation also resulted in a number of single author books on federation. In *The Sentimental Nation*, John Hirst disputed the idea that federation was developed for purely pragmatic reasons, and demonstrated the important role of nationalism in the process – American influence is thus not his focus.⁸³ A central point for Hirst is the belief in federation as Australia's natural and great future. His first argument is that the leading federalists believed that it was God's will that Australia would become a nation, that it was its destiny. He argued that ideas of progress were inherent in the creation of nations. Further, he maintains that the federalists saw the proof of this destiny in their geographic and 'social uniformity', and that the new nation would be young and free, distant from the problems besetting the old world.⁸⁴

While Hirst looked at a specific aspect of Australian culture and federal development, constitutional law and history scholar Helen Irving took a wider cultural view in *To Constitute A Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*.⁸⁵ Her work complements that of La Nauze, in that while he explored the drafting and the decisions made in the

⁸² Harry Evans, 'The Other Metropolis: The Australian Founders' Knowledge of America,' in *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History* 2 (1998): 30-34.

⁸³ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 15.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-16, 19, 22-25.

⁸⁵ Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*.

process of writing the Australian constitution, she is looking at the cultural context for these decisions. She does address some of the cultural implications of following the American model. Like Hirst, she argued that federation was thought of by many as inevitable, noting also that 'in the western world evolution and progress were key words of this age, and Australians applied them to the Federation movement'. There was a belief in Australia's technological development and that there would be a mass population increase. Irving also talks of the cultural nationalism that was present at this time, the pride in being a young, free society. This pride and the hopes for Australia's future were played out in the utopias based on Australia, the great future that they believed was to be theirs.

In addition to this book and several articles on federation history published at this time, Irving also edited *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*.⁸⁶ This valuable work, intended 'to make the story of Federation accessible to popular readership, and to be the first comprehensive account of federation', provides an account of the federation movement from the perspective of each of the colonies and a series of encyclopaedia-style entries on topics relating to federation.⁸⁷ The *Companion* includes several entries directly relating to the United States, including 'American Civil War' by James Warden, which notes the impact this war had on the shaping of the constitution; 'United States Constitution' by Warden, which highlights the similarity of the preamble of the Australian constitution to that of the United States constitution and argues that the written aspects of the Australian constitution are largely those that have come from the United States; and 'Americans and Federation' by Irving, which notes that 'American culture and America's federal model were of constant interest in Australia in the 1890s'. These entries relate to the questions I am discussing, but they provide an overview rather than detailed discussion.

⁸⁶ Helen Irving, ed. *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See also Helen Irving, 'How the Nibble Became a Bite: What Was the Cause of Federation,' *Tasmanian Historical Studies* 8, no. 1 (2002); Helen Irving, 'The People and Their Conventions,' in *Power, Parliament and the People*, eds Michael Coper and George Williams (Leichhardt, N.S.W.: Federation Press, 1997); Helen Irving, 'History and the Constitution [address to the Sydney Institute on Tuesday 8 February, 2000],' *Sydney Papers* 12, no. 1, (2000).

⁸⁷ Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, iv.

Other single-author federation histories that were released at this time included *Federation* by Brian Matthews, a summary of the development of federation and key players intended for the general reader rather than providing original research, and Robert Birrell's *A Nation of Our Own: Citizenship and Nation-building in Federation Australia*, originally published in 1995, and republished as *Federation: The Secret Story* in 2001.⁸⁸ Birrell, a sociologist, looks at federation in the context of nationalism, examining 'the origins and impact of the movement to form an Australian nation' by looking at 'the social base of the movement, the factors shaping its ideology and its significance in the achievement of federation'.⁸⁹

Irving in the *Centenary Companion* and Matthews both note the intention to reach and educate the general reader about federation. Other works that had this aim included *1901: Our Future's Past: Documenting Australia's Federation*, a documentary reader on both federation and Australia at the time of federation.⁹⁰ It includes a chapter titled 'Australia in the World: Nation, Community and Identity'.⁹¹ The chapter discusses Australia's role in the Boer War, Boxer Rebellion and New Guinea at the time of federation as 'significant markers of Australia's place in the world in 1901', white Australia, and emphasises the connection to the British empire at this time. It does not make any connection to the United States at the time of federation, although does include a document (an editorial from the *Age* in 1908) on the Australian people's enthusiastic response to the visit of the United States' Great White Fleet.⁹²

Other academic works that were published in this period include compilations from conferences, including Gregory Craven's *Australian Federation: Towards the Second Century: A Work to Mark the Centenary of the Australasian Federation Conference, Held at Parliament House, Melbourne, 6-14 February 1890*, and David Headon and Jeff Brownrigg's *The People's*

⁸⁸ Matthews, *Federation*; Robert Birrell, *A Nation of Our Own: Citizenship and Nation-building in Federation Australia* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1995); Robert Birrell, *Federation: The Secret Story* (Potts Point, N.S.W.: Duffy & Snellgrove, 2001).

⁸⁹ Birrell, *A Nation of Our Own*, 1-2.

⁹⁰ Evans et al, *1901, Our Future's Past*. Other works for general readers include Kathleen Dermody, *A Nation at Last: The Story of Federation* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1997); Adeem Cremin, ed., *1901: Australian Life at Federation: an Illustrated Chronicle* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001).

⁹¹ Evans et al, *1901, Our Future's Past*, 177-260.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 237-40.

Conventions: Corowa (1893) and Bathurst (1896).⁹³ Many chapters and articles were also published apart from the works mentioned, with common themes being key figures involved in federation (particularly those who seem forgotten), nationalism, and gender.⁹⁴ Federation has received less attention in recent years, with the only work of note found being Carolyn Holbrook's 'What Sort of Nation?': A Cultural History of Australians and their Federation', which looks at the intention of the framers of the Australian constitution and how it has been regarded.⁹⁵

STUDY OF FEDERALISM

As well as histories of Australian federation, I have found it useful also to look to works on Australian federalism written by political scientists and legal scholars. The focus of these works is predominantly on how federation has worked in Australia, looking across the twentieth century.

In his book *Australian Federalism*, political scientist Brian Galligan argued that Australian federation and federalism has been split into different disciplines that do not always connect, with his book trying to bring them together.⁹⁶ He does this by bringing together the legal, economic, and political science perspectives; history is not included as a particular perspective. When looking at federation and federalism in Australia, the discussion is predominantly focused on the twentieth century - how federalism has

⁹³ Craven, ed., *Australian Federation*; David John Headon and Jeff Brownrigg, eds, *The People's Conventions: Corowa (1893) and Bathurst (1896)*, Papers on Parliament 32 (Canberra: Department of the Senate, 1998). See also David John Headon and John M. Williams, *Makers of Miracles: The Cast of the Federation Story* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1999).

⁹⁴ Patricia Fitzgerald Ratcliff, 'The Australia's Are One: John West Guiding Colonial Australia to Nationhood' in *Democratic Experiments: Lectures in the Senate Occasional Lecture Series 2004-2005*, ed. Kay Walsh, Papers on Parliament 44, (Canberra: Department of the Senate, Parliament House, 2006); Leslie Zines, 'Sir Robert Garran,' in Walsh, *Democratic Experiments*; Geoffrey Bolton, 'Samuel Griffith: The Great Provincial,' in *One People, One Destiny: Papers Given at a Series of Senate Department Occasional Lectures to Commemorate the Centenary of the National Australasian Convention 1891-1991* (Canberra: Department of the Senate, Parliament House, 1991); Kate Darian-Smith, 'Images Of Empire: Gender And Nationhood In Australia At The Time Of Federation,' in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2007).

⁹⁵ Carolyn Holbrook, "What Sort of Nation?": A Cultural History of Australians and Their Federation,' *History Compass* 15, issue 11 (2017).

⁹⁶ Brian Galligan, ed., *Australian Federalism* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1989). See also Mr Justice Else-Mitchell, ed., *Essays on the Australian Constitution*, 2nd edition, (Sydney: Law Book Co. of Australasia, 1961), 71-91.

evolved, the constitutional interpretation, the fiscal decisions, the political machinations within the federation. This does refer back to the process of federation - what it was that the constitutional framers intended and whether that even matters - but the process of federation itself is not one that receives a great deal of attention. The chapters in this work do include some reference to the development of the Australian constitution, but their focus is on the twentieth century and the way that federalism has worked in practice in Australia.

Works such as these are particularly useful for their discussions of the Australians' understanding of federalism and their knowledge and understanding of federalism in the United States. One political scientist who addresses this directly is Nicholas Aroney in his article 'Imagining a Federal Commonwealth: Australian Conceptions of Federalism, 1890-1901' and book *The Constitution of a Federal Commonwealth the Making and Meaning of the Australian Constitution*.⁹⁷ Another is James Warden in his PhD thesis, 'Federal Theory and the Formation of the Australian Constitution'. In this work, Warden undertakes an analysis of key works on United States federal theory - the *Federalist Papers*, James Bryce, and the States Rights tradition, and their influence in the nineteenth century, particularly how they were read by the Australian federalists.⁹⁸ Other useful works have been various annotated constitutions that, particularly in their introduction, provide overviews of the development of federation and federalism in Australia.⁹⁹

ERLING M HUNT AND DELEGATES' KNOWLEDGE

One major work that looks at the intersection of federation and Australian-American relations in detail is Erling Hunt's *American Precedents in Australian Federation*.¹⁰⁰ First published in 1930, it provides a constitutional history of federation focusing on the use of the American Constitution as a model. Interestingly, like the other early work on

⁹⁷ Nicholas Aroney, *The Constitution of a Federal Commonwealth the Making and Meaning of the Australian Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Nicholas Aroney, 'Imagining a Federal Commonwealth: Australian Conceptions of Federalism, 1890-1901,' *Federal Law Review* 30 (2002): 265-94.

⁹⁸ Warden, 'Federal Theory and the Formation of the Australian Constitution'.

⁹⁹ W. Harrison Moore, *The Constitution Of The Commonwealth Of Australia* (Melbourne, Maxwell, 1910).

¹⁰⁰ Erling M. Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, reprint edition, *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, no. 326 (New York: AMS, 1968).

Australian-American relations, it was written by an American; while Hunt indicates in his introduction that research for the work was undertaken in England as well as the United States, and thanks British academics for their assistance, while there is no indication that such an interaction was had with Australia.

The first third of the book provides an historical overview of the federation movement based on existing works on that topic, noting in particular American connections with the leading federalists, in the federation movements and at the conventions and associated parliamentary debates. The remainder of the book looks more specifically at different aspects of the constitution, providing a summary, although with little analytical analysis, of the arguments used at the debates regarding American influence on the Senate provisions, the House of Representatives, judiciary, states and the power of amendment.

While I am not detailing each area of the constitution to demonstrate the use of the United States in the way that Hunt has, I am taking a broader approach to the question of the impact of the United States on the Australian constitution. Hunt is looking at specific precedents that were utilised for individual clauses; I am looking at some of the broader discussions that took place, as well as putting the use of the United States in the context of the cultural and economic connection between the two at the time of federation. In this I am able to make use of scholarship and sources that were not available to Hunt at the time of writing.

Another key distinction between this thesis and Hunt's work relates to the level and extent of knowledge that the delegates at the federation conventions had regarding the United States, and the way that the example of the United States was used. Somewhat abruptly in his conclusion, Hunt argues that that the delegates at the Australian federation conventions had not learned from the United States, but simply used their knowledge of the United States to support their pre-existing ideas. I have made similar observations as Hunt, that delegates used examples from the United States that supported their personal positions. As such, delegates (usually from the smaller states) who wanted strong states' rights argued for a United States-style Senate and equal representation of

states within it, while those who did not pointed to the differences with the United States and the areas in which this model for the Senate had failed (discussed further in Chapter Four). This is something that is evident throughout the convention debates and will be outlined in more detail in chapters three and four of this thesis. However, the conclusion that I draw from this observation is in conflict with Hunt. For him, this use of the United States to support the prior positions the delegates brought to the conventions is a criticism, an indication that the United States did not have any real impact on the arguments made or the voting of the delegates at the conventions. He concludes that ‘Australian interest in the American Constitution was obviously not due to the fact that it was American, but to the fact that it was the classic example of federal government’ and that ‘the content quotations and citations from authorities on America seem, in the debates on these points, at least, simply to have bolstered opinions and attitudes which would have been much the same even without these particular arguments and illustrations’.¹⁰¹ In contrast, I conclude that the many references to the United States and citations from American authorities speak to the value that the United States had as a means of giving an argument weight, so that delegates would give different analyses and interpretations of the United States and its history in order to have the American example support their particular position. Furthermore, the delegates using the United States when it suited them goes to the heart of the development of the Australian constitution as a blended model drawing from a range of sources. The Australians used the different experiences as it suited them, in order to get what (from their individual perspectives) was the best possible constitution for the Australian federation. Hunt, while acknowledging that ‘American phrasing and American judicial decisions did, however, directly influence Australian drafting and provisions’, concludes that the American precedents were largely irrelevant to the debate proceedings.¹⁰² McLachlan has pointed to the extensive, specific use of the United States constitution throughout the development of the Australian to argue that ‘all of this renders inadequate Erling Hunt’s influential and ambiguous finding that “few Australians seemed to have desired to follow American precedents simply because of...their admiration of the United States”’ and I agree with

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 254, 255.

¹⁰² Ibid., 255-56.

this summation.¹⁰³

DELEGATES' KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNITED STATES

There exists in the historiography of Australian federation the idea, or 'minor myth', that Australians, with the exception of a small handful of delegates, sometimes even just limited to Andrew Inglis Clark as the exception, had very limited understanding and knowledge of the United States and its Constitution.¹⁰⁴ The 'limited understanding' argument was first presented by Hunt. Despite noting throughout his book the areas in which the delegates looked to and considered the United States (including briefly rivers and railways, which I discuss in Chapter Three), in his conclusion he asserted that few, if any, delegates had a 'profound knowledge or understanding of America' – that while some of the lawyers had 'very considerable book knowledge of American Constitutional history and law', none of the delegates 'had any first-hand knowledge of American Government worth calling such'. He continued that:

several had rather superficial knowledge of American political institutions, mostly derived from a more or less careful reading of Bryce and from such information as was made readily available by the newspapers or in manuals and reference works prepared especially for the conventions. A large number displayed almost no knowledge of America or American government, although they were, in general, followers of leaders who did possess such knowledge.¹⁰⁵

Hunt's argument has continued through the historiography of Australian federation. Most prominently, J. A. La Nauze stated of the 1891 Convention that, although there were some delegates who had some general knowledge of American history and government and some lawyers who were familiar with the role of judicial review in constitutional development, others knew very little at all and only a 'very few' had 'something like an expert knowledge of these things', these exceptions being Andrew Inglis Clark and Samuel Griffith.¹⁰⁶ La Nauze continued that, even by the 1897/98 Convention, 'still only a minority could be justly described as well informed'.¹⁰⁷ This

¹⁰³ Noel McLachlan, 'The Future America,' 381-82.

¹⁰⁴ Harry Evans, 'The Other Metropolis: The Australian Founders' Knowledge of America,' *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History* 2 (1998): 30-34.

¹⁰⁵ Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 256.

¹⁰⁶ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 273.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

argument that the delegates lacked knowledge of the United States has been repeated in several works, with Hunt cited as authority. Such assertions are frequently made as a passing comment, without any further discussion on the claim, and with less nuance or qualifications than are provided by Hunt or La Nauze.¹⁰⁸

When talking of delegate knowledge in the history of federation, much is made of their use of James Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*. Bryce was a Anglo-Saxonist, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford University, historian and Member of Parliament in England, who would go on to serve as the British Ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913, and an admirer of the United States and its people. The most famous and popular of his works was *The American Commonwealth*, which also helped to establish him as an 'international author on constitutionalism' and 'one of the foundational pillars of modern comparative politics'.¹⁰⁹ Bryce was frequently quoted and discussed at the federation conventions, and the respect that the delegates had for his work has been well noted, although Nicholas Aroney has observed that 'it is possible to overestimate his influence'.¹¹⁰ La Nauze described *The American Commonwealth* as a book so revered by the convention delegates, that he likens their regard for it for that of the Bible amongst 'an assembly of churchmen'.¹¹¹ He states that it was fortunate that it had been published just prior to the conventions, for it included enough discussion of American constitutional history and practice 'to allow lay men to think they had begun to understand them; to get a "feel", from an up to date and authoritative work, of what it was like to live, and practice politics in a federal society'. The idea of Bryce being seen as a Bible for the convention delegates has echoed through federation historiography.¹¹² However, little

¹⁰⁸ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 90-91; Norman Harper, ed., *Australia and the United States*, Documents and Readings in Australian History (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1971), 8; also includes extracts from Hunt 39-46; Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 3; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 435-36; James Warden, 'United States Constitution' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 431; E.M. Violette, Review of *American Precedents in Australian Federation* by Erling M. Hunt, *Journal of Modern History* 3, No. 2 (1931): 315-16.

¹⁰⁹ G. Maddox, 'James Bryce: Englishness and Federalism in America and Australia,' *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 34, no. 1 (2004): 53-69; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), 49-50.

¹¹⁰ Aroney, *The Constitution of a Federal Commonwealth*, 79.

¹¹¹ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 233-34.

¹¹² Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 6-7, 50; Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 3; Helen Irving, 'Bryce, James,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 341; Harry Evans, 'Bryce's Bible: Why Did It Impress the Australian Founders?' *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History*, 8 (2001): 89-92.

attention has been paid to the many other sources from and about the United States referred to and quoted from by the delegates across the federation convention debates.

When federation is looked at in fields other than history, such as law or political science, this use of United States sources is more frequently discussed. The idea of a lack of knowledge is most directly challenged by Harry Evans. Since 1910, Evans maintains, there has been a concentration on the British elements of the Australian constitution and the American elements have been ignored, reflecting 'the political and cultural history of the country', particularly the rise of Labor, party politics and the security of Empire after the Boer War and First World War.¹¹³ Evans uses the example of the construction of the Senate to argue his point, and notes that 'the state of their knowledge was fairly good', pointing also to the references to Lowell, Wilson, and accounts of the federation conventions.¹¹⁴

While particular attention has been paid to the extensive knowledge Andrew Inglis Clark had of the United States, he was not alone in this regard.¹¹⁵ Gregory Craven argues that, while the delegates did not engage in theoretical discussions of federalism – as Brian Galligan has noted elsewhere, they did not need to, as they were able to follow the practical models that were already in existence – 'it would be stretching belief to assert that the founding fathers were not aware of and did not implicitly approve justifications of federalism which had been prominent in American literature for over a century'.¹¹⁶ Nicolas Aroney has provided a detailed analysis of the influential sources on federalism and the different constitutional models. He notes that Bryce, Edward Freeman and A.V. Dicey were key explainers of different constitutional models, and that the Australians 'drew extensively on the opinions and commentaries on the American constitution by notables such as James Wilson, and John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison

¹¹³ Evans, 'The Other Metropolis,' 30-31.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 32.

¹¹⁵ Frank Neasy, 'Andrew Inglis Clark and Australian Federation,' in *One People, One Destiny*, 2; The Rt Hon Zelman Cowen, "'Is It Not Time?'" The National Australasian Convention of 1891 – A Milestone on the Road to Federation,' in *One People, One Destiny*, 14; Bolton, 'Samuel Griffith,' 28.

¹¹⁶ Gregory Craven, 'The States—Decline, Fall, or What?' in Craven, *Australian Federation*, 53; Brian Galligan, 'Australian Federalism: Perceptions and issues,' in *Australian Federalism*, ed. Brian Galligan (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1989), 5.

with the *Federalist Papers*, which were ‘decisively important in number of respects’.¹¹⁷ In addition, he notes the use of later writers, such as Marshall, Kent, Calhoun, Webster, Story, Cooley, Burgess, Willoughby, Baker, Foster, and Woodrow Wilson, who provided a range of influences on the Australian delegates and their approach to federalism.¹¹⁸

It is clear that many convention delegates had studied works pertaining to the United States model of government, and United States history and law. They referred to English authors such as Bryce and historians Sir Henry Maine and Goldwin Smith (who had lived in Canada for several decades), writing about the United States and therefore filtering knowledge of the United States through the English experience. But the Australians were also referencing and quoting from prominent American writers, including John William Burgess, Justice Joseph Storey, and Woodrow Wilson, and not so prominent American authors, such as John Milton Bonham, author of *Railway Secrets and Trusts*, Charles A. Prouty, a member of the Interstate Commission, and Seymour D. Thompson, a New York lawyer and former judge.¹¹⁹ Some of the works cited were on the history of the United States, others were works of political science. I have counted forty-seven different American authors who specifically named as sources during the federation convention debates, along with references to unnamed United States articles.¹²⁰ Delegates such as Higgins, Barton, Symon, Glynn and Isaacs were prominent among those who utilised American works, but the list also includes delegates such as Wise, Reid, Gordon, O’Connor, Quick, Deakin, Cockburn and Brunner. In addition, delegates utilised British and Australian works on the United States constitution and its working.

These sources were used to illustrate points and support explanations on topics including state and federal powers in the United States, the judiciary, railways and the Inter-State Commission, riparian rights, and taxation. Works such as Andrew Jackson Baker’s

¹¹⁷ Aroney, ‘Imagining a Federal Commonwealth,’ 269.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 269-70. See also Helen Irving, ‘Literature,’ Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 394; R. Else-Mitchell, ‘American Influences on Australian Nationhood,’ *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 62 (1976), 12; Ward, *A Nation For A Continent*, 5.

¹¹⁹ Glynn, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 933; Isaacs, 25/02/1898, Glynn, 09/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1515, 739. Note Bonham’s name incorrectly recorded as Bonham in the Convention Debates.

¹²⁰ See Appendix One. See also Gregory Craven, ed., *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention*. Vol. 6 *The Convention Debates 1891-1898: Commentaries, Indices and Guide* (Sydney: Legal Books, 1986), 253-54.

Annotated Constitution of the United States also provided information regarding significant cases that were used to support arguments.¹²¹ When Barton objected to calls for specific definitions of preferential rates to be inserted into the constitution, noting that by relying on the trade and commerce clauses as they stand they would have the benefits of American decisions based on ‘a very similar Constitution’, Sir Fredrick Holder – not a lawyer – interjected ‘we cannot put Baker’s *Annotated Constitution* into our Constitution’.¹²² Another source cited was Burgess’s 1890 book *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, on topics such as amendment of the constitution. Burgess, a Professor of Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law at Columbia University, took a strongly nationalist approach to federalism, including the belief that nationalism required ‘ethnical homogeneity, a common language and homogenous institutions to maintain national unity’.¹²³ This formed part of his racist critique of Reconstruction in the United States and opposition to enfranchisement of the former slaves, with a belief that the African American people specifically, and the non-white population generally, did not have the capacity to exercise political will.¹²⁴

Attempts were made to give the sources used extra credibility by noting the esteem in which the authors were held. *Constitutional Legislation in the United States* (1891) by Dr. John Ordronaux (abbreviated to simply ‘*Constitutional Legislation*’ by Richard O’Connor) is described as being a ‘well-known book’.¹²⁵ Henry Clay was described by John Gordon as ‘the great American statesman and jurist, a man whose opinion, I think, even the honourable member [George Reid] will treat with respect’; Isaacs called Burgess, Storey and Jesse Macy the ‘foremost political writers on the American Constitution’, and Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer’s 1894 work *The Referendum in America* was referred to by Wise as ‘a storehouse of all modern knowledge on this subject’.¹²⁶

As can be seen in the references here, while the delegates were referring to classic works

¹²¹ Barton, 01/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 411.

¹²² Barton, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne* 1898, 1322.

¹²³ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 57; See also Aroney, *Constitution of a Federal Commonwealth*, 96-98.

¹²⁴ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 57, 69-70.

¹²⁵ O’Connor, 22/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney* 1897, 1062.

¹²⁶ Gordon, 21/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne* 1898, 35; Isaacs, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 306; Wise, 10/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne* 1898, 2190.

such as the *Federalist Papers*, they were also utilising more recent work that could also consider how the United States Constitution had developed and the current circumstances of the United States, particularly in the post-Civil War and Reconstruction world. All of this worked in conjunction with the level to which the United States was a presence in and around the Australian colonies, as discussed in Chapter One. Hunt's argument centres on constitutional knowledge and does not account for these informal connections, or any subsequent awareness and understanding of the United States that the delegates had.

Hunt's argument regarding the Australian delegates' knowledge also revolves around his criticism that what knowledge they had was academic (or 'book knowledge') and that they did not have direct exposure to working with or visiting the United States federal government. Such an argument overlooks that there were delegates who had been to the United States on official travel, such as Deakin, Forrest and Parkes. Forrest specifically mentions in the convention debates his travel to the United States and observation of the working of the Senate while there, stating that 'some of us have travelled in the United States, and have had opportunities of observation there'.¹²⁷ It also does not account for the ongoing friendships between leading federation delegates and prominent legal scholars within the United States, as has been explored by Marilyn Lake.

The delegates were of course not equally well informed about the United States and American law and legal precedent. Andrew Inglis Clark was extremely well versed in comparatively constitutional models and specifically that of the United States, and he had been undertaking comparative studies of federal constitutions for twenty years prior to the federation conventions. Barton and Deakin are also listed as exceptions. However, as can be seen above, the list of delegates who demonstrated reading knowledge of the United States constitution and history also included other leading delegates at the conventions, included Higgins, Isaacs, Playford, Parkes, and Griffith.

Furthermore, while not every delegate had read the works of Bryce, Burgess, Storey, the *Federalist Papers*, or any of the other works noted above, there was at times an expectation

¹²⁷ Forrest, 14/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney* 1897, 486.

of familiarity with these works. Higgins commented that he ‘apprehends most members have read’ the debates on equal representation at the Continental Congress; Wise noted that ‘most honourable members in the subject will have already read’ the reports on the Interstate Commission; Barton remarked that ‘every hon member of the convention will remember the history of the “gerrymander”’.¹²⁸ Other works were not explicitly called out as something to be read, but were referred to with minimal introduction, suggesting an expectation that fellow delegates would know of the work.¹²⁹ To a degree, this may have been rhetorical posturing. The Australian Constitutional Conventions were open sessions and well attended by journalists, so speeches presented during the debates, while ostensibly targeted towards fellow delegates, would have also had an impact on the wider audience in mind. Even allowing for such flourishes, it is notable that there were only a small number of instances when fellow delegates would question who it was being referred to.

Those delegates who were not as well read were kept informed by fellow delegates and others who had read more broadly on these questions, through works such as Sir Richard Chaffey Baker’s *A Manual of Reference to Authorities for the Use of the Members of The National Australasian Convention*, Thomas C. Just’s *Leading Facts Connected With Federation: Comp. for the Information of the Tasmanian Delegates to the Australasian Federal Convention, 1891*, By Order of the Tasmanian Government, John Quick’s *A Digest of Federal Constitutions* and Robert Garran’s *The Coming Commonwealth*.¹³⁰ It can be seen in the bibliographies of these works that the authors looked to United States sources, and presented the information about the United States (and Canada, Switzerland, Mexico, Germany and Leeward Islands) for the convention delegates to use.

¹²⁸ Higgins, 15/04/1897, *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention*, vol. 3, *Official report of the National Australasian Convention debates : Adelaide, March 22 to May 5, 1897* (Sydney: Legal Books, 1986), 645; Wise, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne 1898*, 1272; Barton, 13/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney 1897*, 454.

¹²⁹ Barton, 21/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide 1897*, 1074; Wise, 07/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne 1898*, 603.

¹³⁰ Richard Baker, *A Manual of Reference to Authorities for the Use of the Members of the National Australasian Convention, Which Will Assemble at Sydney on March 2, 1891, for the Purpose of Drafting a Constitution for the Dominion of Australia* (Adelaide: W.K. Thomas & Co., 1891); Thomas Cook Just, *Leading Facts Connected With Federation: Compiled for the Information of the Tasmanian Delegates to the Australasian Federal Convention, 1891, on the Order of the Government of Tasmania* (Hobart: Mercury, 1891); John Quick, *A Digest of Federal Constitutions* (Bendigo: Printed for and published by the Bendigo Branch of the Australian Natives’ Association, 1896); Robert Garran, *The Coming Commonwealth: An Australian Handbook of Federal Government* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1897).

Knowledge of the United States was also demonstrated through the use (predominantly by the many lawyers at the conventions) of United States cases and judicial decisions. Familiarity was such that in the early years of the High Court, before a body of decisions had been built up, there was extensive use made of United States decisions.¹³¹ This is discussed further in Chapter Four.

AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIPS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATION

This thesis also sits alongside the work of Marilyn Lake, who has looked at transnational ideas of race and of manhood, particularly in relation to Australia and the United States in the late nineteenth century. Her work is important to my own, both in relation to her argument about the value of transnational history to the study of Australian history, and her findings about Australian-American connections around the turn of the nineteenth century. Lake has noted how researching Australian history from the United States has provided sources that ‘have illuminated and given new meaning to many aspects of our history and its wider ramifications’ and the benefits of using United States archives in formulating a transnational argument.¹³²

She, along with co-authors Henry Reynolds and Vanessa Pratt, locates Australian ideas of race, including the White Australia Policy, in the ‘global context of nineteenth century historical writings on race’.¹³³ This includes the racial ideas that were embedded in the historical writings of Charles Pearson, Freeman, and Bryce. Lake discusses the sharing of ideas of Anglo-Saxon superiority, notably the belief that only white men had the capacity for self-government. In *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Lake and her co-author Reynolds examine the spread of ‘whiteness’ as a racial idea and identification, to argue that transnational networks circulated these ideas and the means by which they were carried out (such as literacy

¹³¹ Megaw, ‘Some Aspects of the United States’ Impact on Australia,’ 439-57.

¹³² Marilyn Lake, ‘Researching Australian History in the New York Public Library: Reflections on Transnational History in Practice,’ *Melbourne Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (2013): 4, 10. See also Lake, ‘White Man’s Country,’ 347-48.

¹³³ Marilyn Lake, ‘The White Man under Siege: New Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia,’ *History Workshop Journal* 58 (2004): 44.

tests).¹³⁴

Lake particularly highlights the connections between Australia and the United States in this regard, arguing that Australian racial identification with the United States 'a key dynamic in the formation of the emergent national sense of self' - a connection she argues has been overlooked both by proponents of the idea of British race patriotism, that obscures ideas of Anglo-Saxonism and does not account for an Australian-American connection, and that Australian interest in and identification with the United States has been obscured by World War I and its aftermath, ignoring 'the strong sense of New World solidarity that the bound Australians to Americans'.¹³⁵

This then ties into federation and the development of the Australian federal constitution, a connection Lake specifically draws. She has observed how leading delegates at the Australian federation conventions used the ideas of Freeman, Pearson and Bryce when learning from American history, particularly the failure of radical reconstruction, concluding from these that 'a multiracial democracy was an impossibility'.¹³⁶ The Australians were guided by the experience of the United States when it came to race, particularly the assessment of the American experience of race and the perceived failure of bi-racial culture.¹³⁷

Lake has also written on the personal connections that existed between Australians and Americans, including Australian federalists Alfred Deakin, Andrew Inglis Clark and Henry Higgins. In particular she has noted the often overlooked interest in the United States and 'passionate identifications with American manhood' of Deakin, his long friendship with American philosopher Josiah Royce, and the friendships between Clark and Massachusetts Supreme Court judge Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr, and Higgins and Harvard Professor of Law, Felix Frankfurter.¹³⁸ In all of these connections, she notes the exchange of ideas between the Australians and Americans, as well as documents regarding

¹³⁴ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*; Marilyn Lake and Vanessa Pratt, "Blood Brothers": Racial Identification and the Right to Rule: The Australian Response to the Spanish-American War,' *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no.1 (2008).

¹³⁵ Lake and Pratt, 'Blood Brothers,' 16, 20; Lake, 'British world or new world?'

¹³⁶ Lake, 'The White Man under Siege,' 55; Lake, 'White Man's Country,' 356-57.

¹³⁷ Isaacs, 08/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 667-70.

¹³⁸ Lake, 'Alfred Deakin's Identification with Republican Manhood'; Lake, 'British world or new world?'

Australian federation including copies of the draft constitution and records of the debates. Lake's work then illuminates the circumstances that helped produce the situation I am documenting - of widespread deployment of American information and precedents at the conventions.

METHODOLOGY

TRANSNATIONALISM

With this thesis I will be responding to Lake's call for a historic account of Australian national development that looks beyond the relationship between the colonies and their British origin, instead placing Australian development in a more global context. In 'White Man's Country: The Trans-National History of a National Project', Lake argues that there is a 'tyranny of the national narrative in Australian history', and that 'trans-national networks and exchanges were crucial, not just to social and political movements, but to the process of nation-building itself'.¹³⁹ I will be re-assessing Australian federation history with a transnational approach.

The movement in favour of transnational history has been growing since the 1990s. Ian Tyrrell's article 'American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History' criticised the predominance of a national framework that supported and developed the idea of American exceptionalism - the longstanding idea of the United States as having developed differently to the nations of Europe, thus avoiding social issues of class and authoritarianism, and providing an example to the world of how a society can operate. Tyrrell called for a new transnationalism to broaden the understanding of American history.¹⁴⁰ He argued that a transnational approach could provide a broader context for nationalism and for American history generally.¹⁴¹ This is the aspect of transnational history that I believe will be most useful when looking at Australian national history.

¹³⁹ Lake, 'White Man's Country,' 347-48.

¹⁴⁰ Ian Tyrrell, 'American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History,' *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991): 1031-55.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. See also Ian Tyrrell, 'A Tale of Two Rivers: The Cooks River and the Los Angeles River in Transnational and Comparative Perspective,' in *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History*, eds Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 17-33.

Introducing a special issue of *The Journal of American History* on 'transnational perspectives on United States history', David Thelen explained the use of the term 'transnational' as involving exploration of 'how people and ideas and institutions and cultures moved above, beyond, through and around, as well as within the nation state, to investigate how well national borders contained or explained how people experienced history'.¹⁴² Similarly, Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake define it as 'the study of the ways in which past lives and events have been shaped by processes and relationships that have transcended the borders of nation states'.¹⁴³ In such attempts to define the term, all agree that it is a method used to look beyond the arguably artificial framework of the nation to explore how people experienced events, ideas, or movements; to see the connections between the people of different nations. Beyond this, however, there appears to be disagreement about what kind of history would be included in the term. When arguing against the move towards transnational history over national history, James Curran argues that it is a difficult term to pin down, not as self-explanatory as it appears.¹⁴⁴ Thelen's definition of transnational history includes comparative history, while Lake defines transnational history by separating it from comparative history, of which she argues the effect 'is to present parallel histories that reinforce the dominance of national paradigms in historical explanation', and from the history of internationalism.¹⁴⁵

I have chosen to look at Australia during the development of Australian federation in the last decade of the nineteenth century, a period rife with nationalism, nationalistic ideas and interpretations. I am examining the Australian people in this period, with a particular focus on the framers of the constitution, looking to see how they were influenced by and interacted with another nation, the United States, and from this examining their position in the wider world.

Curthoys and Lake observed that transnational history has a complex relationship with

¹⁴² David Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History,' *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3, Special Issue (1999): 965-75.

¹⁴³ Anne Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, eds, *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU EPress, 2005), 5.

¹⁴⁴ James Curran 'Australia at Empire's End,' *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013): 23-35.

¹⁴⁵ Lake, 'White Man's Country,' 348-349.

national history.¹⁴⁶ In his article, and in the critical response by Michael McGerr, Tyrrell positions transnational history in opposition to national history, and McGerr also takes this view in his response. Lake and others argue that transnational history needs to break away from the framework of national history in order to challenge it. However, far from 'transnational history ha[ving] difficulties coexisting with the traditional national histories', I will be using it to complement and indeed develop Australian national history.¹⁴⁷ This will present the argument that transnational history can be an extension of national history, rather than in conflict with it, broadening the scope within which we view national issues.

This is in keeping with the observations of Alecia Simmonds, Ann Rees and Anna Clark when introducing their recent edited collection *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History*, which aims to evaluate and critique the impact of transnational history on Australian national history. They observe that 'the transnational has not only become a type of contour-narrative to the nation, it has also helped complicate our understandings of national history'.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, introducing a volume of *History Australia* dedicated to questions of national and transnational history, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and David Lowe observe that 'one of the strongest trends in Australian historical writing over the last two decades has been a drive to emphasise the nation's connectedness with the rest of the world'.¹⁴⁹ By applying a transnational approach to what is inherently a national story, I aim to deepen our understanding of that story; not necessarily to challenge the existing interpretations but to add another perspective.

In taking this approach, I believe that I avoid the problem raised by McGerr, and echoed by Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, that a move towards transnational history risks ostracising an audience predominantly interested in national history, and as such creates

¹⁴⁶ Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 5.

¹⁴⁷ Michael McGerr, 'The Price of the "New Transnational History",' *American Historical Review* 96, no.4 (1991): 1065.

¹⁴⁸ Alecia Simmonds, Ann Rees and Anna Clark, 'Testing the Boundaries: Reflections on Transnationalism in Australian History,' in Clark et al., *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History*, 1-2.

¹⁴⁹ Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and David Lowe, 'Nationalism and Transnationalism in Australian Historical Writing,' *History Australia* 10, no. 3: 7.

bodies of work no longer relevant in political and cultural debate.¹⁵⁰ However, there is another danger in transnational history that Curthoys and Lake raise: an over emphasis on influence and connections, which risks underplaying the importance of Australian context. With this they note the aim to write Australian history as a story important in itself, and not merely as an epiphenomenon of events elsewhere. This desire has been important in Australian historiography since the 1970s, as historians reacted against earlier views of Australian history as purely a product of British history, the transplantation of British people in a distant and alien land.¹⁵¹

While I am wary of over-emphasising the American influence, I believe that the work I am doing aids in countering the older stereotype they discuss, showing a diversity in Australian colonial contacts beyond the British influence. Curthoys and Lake also note the work of Sean Scalmer as helpful ‘in thinking about ways in which to conceptualise outside influences on national histories’, as ‘he replaces the idea of imitation with the concepts of networks and circulation’. They note his useful argument that to borrow an idea is not simply to imitate it, ‘as local movements select only those actions from elsewhere that fit their own normative standards and which have been made meaningful in local discursive and political frameworks’.¹⁵²

Lara Putnam has noted the importance of digitised history in being able to undertake transnational history. Searchable archives are more readily available and it is easier to explore a peripheral tangent. She observes that ‘we could not be doing what we are, at the pace that we are, with the range that we are, if it were not for the search box before us’, and that this has ‘radically changed the questions we can tell’.¹⁵³ Putnam highlights that this has enabled transnational history to look at detail of connecting worlds that would previously have been inaccessible. But her article also warns of the danger in not applying proper historical analysis to this material; that in gaining easy access to primary source

¹⁵⁰ McGerr, ‘The Price of the “New Transnational History”,’ 1066; Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 13.

¹⁵¹ Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 12-13.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁵³ Lara Putnam, ‘The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,’ *American Historical Review* 121, no. 6 (2016): 380; see also Ann Rees, ‘Rebel Handmaidens: Transpacific Histories and the Limits of Transnationalism’ in Clark et al., *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History*, 54.

material and the speed of pinpointing keywords through search, it is important to ensure that materials not available digitally are still considered; that people underrepresented in sources that have been digitised are not overlooked; ensuring that material found is still placed in context; and that the sources themselves are considered and contextualised.¹⁵⁴

NATIONALISM

While looking at Australian federation from a transnational perspective, it is important to acknowledge the debate that exists about Australian national and British identity, particularly as led by historian Neville Meaney. It is my contention that the Australian people were and are able to hold multiple identities without them being in conflict. In my view, to take a transnational perspective and look at how the Australians positioned themselves within the wider world does not undercut either a national or imperial identity.

Arguments relating to the question of conflict between British and national identity in Australia range from the belief that the national identity of the people of the Australian colonies was solely British, with 'Australian' simply a regional identity analogous to 'Cornish', to the belief that Australian nationalism superseded any kind of British identity - a position that draws heavily on the radical nationalism of the 1880s.¹⁵⁵ These two positions take a binary, zero-sum approach to the question, and do not extend to the possibility of multiple identities for the Australians.

Discussions of the extent to which Australians were or are British are largely focused on the mid twentieth century. This is an interesting and useful point to pose this discussion, centering it on the question of whether Australia turned away from Britain (and towards the United States) during World War II, or if in fact Britain turned away from Australia in this period.¹⁵⁶ However, these discussions frequently present little reflection on how

¹⁵⁴ Putnam, 'The Transnational and the Text-Searchable,' 391-4.

¹⁵⁵ Neville Meaney, 'Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography,' in *Australia and the Wider World: Selected Essays of Neville Meaney*, eds James Curran, and Stuart Ward (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2013), 25-26.

¹⁵⁶ Bridge, *Munich to Vietnam*, 4-8; Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Ideal*, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 2-10.

the British and Australian relationship may have been different in the nineteenth century. The question being asked is whether Australia changed in the twentieth century, but the implication is left that the close relations of the 1920s and 30s had always been the case. Yet it has been convincingly argued by historians such as Lake that relations between Australia and Britain were more distant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The ready willingness of the Australian people to join with Britain in World War I is often presented as an example of Australian loyalty to empire. In contrast, Lake argues that it was actually the motivating factor that revived the imperial spirit and strength of affection towards Britain in Australia.¹⁵⁷ This is not to discount any expression of sentiment or loyalty towards Britain in this period, as such expressions were made clear in the federation debates. This expression is particularly directed towards the Queen, or to the Empire as a whole.

Neville Meaney and Stuart Ward have strongly argued that the people of the Australian colonies were British and identified as such.¹⁵⁸ It is clear that there were strong, tangible ties to Britain in the 1890s and beyond. However, I believe the argument can be taken to an extreme in this direction as well. In his article 'Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography', Meaney argues against the idea of a distinctive Australian nationalism prior to the 1970s. He states that:

the nature of the dominant idea which gives national character to a people, especially in a democratic political culture like Australia's, is revealed most authoritatively in the rhetoric of leaders of representative institutions, in the content of history and literature curricula, in oaths of loyalty and public rituals and in the popular enthusiasm for symbols, anthems and ceremonial days.¹⁵⁹

His argument is that these symbols in Australia were all British, until Britain left to join the European common market in 1973, with the ultimate argument being that 'the history of nationalism in Australia was not one of thwarted Australianness but rather

¹⁵⁷ Lake and Pratt, 'Blood Brothers,' 20.

¹⁵⁸ Neville Meaney, 'Britishness and Australia: Some Reflections,' in *Australia and the Wider World: Selected Essays of Neville Meaney*, eds James Curran, and Stuart Ward (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2013); Neville Meaney, 'In History's Page: Identity and Myth,' in *Australia's Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire: Companion Series, eds D. M. Schreuder and Stuart Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 363-88; Stuart Ward, 'New Nationalism'.

¹⁵⁹ Meaney, 'Britishness and Australian Identity,' 25-26.

thwarted Britishness'.¹⁶⁰ Meaney argues moreover against the idea of multiple identities, stating that:

In addressing these questions, it is also important to bear in mind that nationalism is a jealous god and that national myths are absolute in their exclusions as well as their inclusions, that a nationalism by definition is about a unique people; it is only in the post-nationalist Western era that dual nationality has come to be tolerated. Therefore the Australian puzzle cannot be resolved by a glib assertion that Australians shared two equal and complementary myths. If in Australia the nationalist era threw up two distinct myths about the same people then they had to be engaged in a violent struggle for supremacy, nothing less than a civil war - and clearly that was not the case.¹⁶¹

In taking this position, Meaney discounts any possibility of Australian national identity, insisting instead on the idea of British race patriotism alone. He is supported in this argument by Stuart Ward, who argues that the idea of a national and imperial identity cannot be compared to modern concepts of dual nationalism. These, he states, 'depend on the arbitrary personal histories of the individuals who can claim them'; they are 'acquired solely by virtue of the accident of their parentage'.¹⁶² Yet this argument sidesteps the question, for while it notes a difference in how multiple identities may be acquired (not every Australian has dual national identity) it does not explain why it is accepted that we now have the capacity for dual identity in a way that they are arguing earlier Australians do not. Meaney goes on to state that the Australians had a common culture with Britain, but sometimes had common interests with each other but different to Britain, and in these instances, common interest won out - which is why they chose national federation over imperial federation. However, they kept striving for imperial unity, and Britain kept failing to understand or incorporate their interests. This, he argues, accounts for differences in policy between the Australians and the British, but does not diminish their British race patriotism.

A fundamental issue in Meaney's argument, as noted by both Christopher Waters and Marilyn Lake, is the binary he sets up between national and British identity. Waters notes that he 'equates nationalism with the idea of almost complete independence and puts everything else together under the label of Britishness'. This observation is demonstrated

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 35; Meaney 'In History's Page,' 51.

¹⁶¹ Meaney, 'Britishness and Australian Identity,' 25.

¹⁶² Stuart Ward, 'New Nationalism,' 235, 261.

by Meaney in his response to Waters, when he states that the community of interest in Australia 'did not mean Australia was bent on seeking separation from Britain or disavowing membership of the British race', Waters not having suggested either was the case.¹⁶³ Lake states that:

it was misleading to pose the question of identity in binary terms in an analytical framework that requires Australian identity to be either an expression of Britishness or of Australian nationalism. Preoccupied with rebutting the presumed hegemonic status of radical national historiography, Meaney seemed oblivious to the possibilities of thinking about Australians' sense of identity as shaped, and reshaped, in dynamic relation to a wider and changing non-British world, that included the Americas and Asia.¹⁶⁴

She argues instead that in late nineteenth century Australia there was an Anglo-Saxon racial identification, which incorporated Australia, Britain, and the United States, and was linked through ideas of the Teutons to the Germans, but that this was realigned to a British racial identification in response to World War I. She argues that Meaney has conflated Anglo-Saxon identity with Britishness, and in doing so excluded any identification in Australia with the United States.¹⁶⁵

While Meaney does not restate his belief that it is not possible for a people to have multiple communal identities, he appears to be approaching Lake's argument from this perspective. He acknowledges that a 'small number' of liberals did have friendships with Americans and admired the United States, this 'did not mean that Australians had abandoned their Britishness'. He argued that "Anglo-Saxonism" as understood by Lake to mean some kind of Australian-American racial idea was never a basis for any kind of Australian national identity, overlooking the inclusion of the British within the Anglo-Saxon framework.¹⁶⁶ In this response, Meaney is reframing Lake's argument in terms of nationalism, and then critiquing it for not adequately addressing the parameters that he has set up.

In dismissing the possibility of multiple identities, Meaney also does not take into

¹⁶³ Christopher Waters 'Nationalism, Britishness and Australian history,' *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013): 15; Neville Meaney, 'The Problem of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Australian History: A Reply to Marilyn Lake and Christopher Waters,' *History Australia* 12, no. 2, (2015): 228.

¹⁶⁴ Marilyn Lake, 'British world or new world?' *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013): 40.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁶⁶ Meaney, 'The Problem of Nationalism,' 220, 219.

account the expressions of dual identity that were given in the late nineteenth century, particularly with regard to the federation debates, when representatives expressed both a local identity (to their home colony) as well as either an existing or a hoped for identity as an Australian.¹⁶⁷ Both of these encompassed a third level of British identification, while being distinct. These Australians stated their aspirations and intentions to create a new nation with its own national identity, although with a British culture and sentiment. These different layers of identification are visible when looking at federation from a transnational perspective; in addition it can be seen that the Australians also placed themselves within the wider world.

These Australians had grand ambitions for themselves in a new Australian nation. The delegates believed federation would enable Australia to be an equal to all others in the world, including Britain, and recognised as such, rather than being seen as a subservient and inferior colonial nation. This kind of thinking was not limited to the young radical nationalists of the stereotype. For instance Parkes, known for his dedication to empire, argued that the Australian colonies had the potential to become a great federation, standing equally among the world's nations.¹⁶⁸ He listed the benefits of federation, including national 'influence' arguing that a united Australia 'would be able to influence the destinies of civilized men in all parts of the world,' and that 'our national power would be incalculably increased by its being exercised by one strong intelligent head'. Even more importantly, he argued, was the national honour that it would bring, with each Australian citizen being equal to each British citizen - for, he asked, 'why should not the name of an Australian be equal to that of a Briton?'¹⁶⁹ Responding to the argument that it would end the idea of Britain as 'home', he argued that the Governor General would have a court equal to those of Europe. The federalists even commented on, without receiving accusations of disloyalty, the possibility or probability of Australia one day separating from the empire, although well in the future, and said with a tinge of

¹⁶⁷ *Proceedings, People's Federal Convention, Bathurst, November 1896* (Sydney: William Andrews and co., 1897), 78-80, 93, 101, 160; Parkes, 13/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 314; Clark, 14/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 111-12; Trenwith, 09/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 2050-51.

¹⁶⁸ Parkes, 11/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 223-25.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 225.

sadness.¹⁷⁰ This new nation would have a British culture and a British identity, and would represent British interests in the region - to the extent that they did not conflict with Australian interests - but still independent and proud. This can be seen even in their drafting of the constitution, and resistance to any changes by the British parliament. Such a sentiment is embodied in Deakin's description of Australians as 'Independent Australian Britons' - British in outlook and heritage, but with an independent view.

ARCHIVES

FEDERATION CONVENTION DEBATES

The primary archive for this thesis is the records of the debates of the Federation Conventions. These were recorded by Hansard reporters, and capture the discussions that took place during the official federation conventions. These reports are available in both printed and digital forms.¹⁷¹ This archive is rich in material, and throughout demonstrates the repeated use of the United States in the drafting of the Australian constitution. The convention debates were open to the public, with reporters often in the gallery covering the debates for the public unable to attend. This can be seen as both a strength and a weakness, for while it may have caused some delegates to be somewhat obtuse in their posturing, they would often also be speaking to what they believed the audience wanted to hear.¹⁷²

However, as a text, we do not get a full view of the conventions, as we miss inflection, and non-verbal cues and responses employed by the delegates - indeed, we cannot even see who was present in the chamber when any particular speech was made or point debated. When Edmund Barton noted early in the 1898 Melbourne Convention, during the discussion of rivers, that 'I have not said a word', John Gordon aptly noted 'the honourable member conveys a good deal by skies of the head, and interjections. When analyzed, these interjections do not mean much, but he intends them to mean a great

¹⁷⁰ Parkes, 13/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 323.

¹⁷¹ 'Records of the Australasian Federal Conventions of the 1890s,' *Parliament of Australia*, accessed 15/03/2018, www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/Records_of_the_Australasian_Federal_Conventions_of_the_1890s.

¹⁷² Peacock, Reid, 28/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 288-89.

deal'.¹⁷³ In not being able to observe responses beyond those verbalised by delegates, we are only able to observe a fraction of what was actually being communicated during the debates.

The records of the convention debates also do not include the debates and arguments that occurred in the Committees, before they presented their reports to the Drafting Committee and the Convention as a whole. However, J.A. La Nauze has argued that this was not such a limitation as it might seem, for:

the proceedings in the Committees are in fact often reflected in the debates in open Convention, and to some extent (though unofficially) in newspaper comment; but more important, the results of Committee discussion were embodied in the drafts of the Constitution to be discussed by the Convention. Every word, every line, was open to alteration, and it is clear from the debates that those who had failed to carry their views in secret committee on matters of importance to them took full advantage of a second opportunity to express them again, and to attempt to secure alterations in the drafts.¹⁷⁴

Transcripts are also available of some of the speeches of the Corowa and Bathurst Conventions, which I also consulted.¹⁷⁵

When using these debates as an archive, I took an immersive approach, electing to read the convention debates in full as opposed to undertaking a keyword search through the digitised records that are publicly available (though such searches were also useful when returning to a point). My intention in doing this was to ensure that I observed all the references to the United States, which might otherwise have been missed in a keyword search. It also provided me with a context for the references to the United States in the broader shape of the debates as they were taking place, and allowed me to see how such uses compared with references to other places such as Britain or Canada. This contrasts with the approach that I took to my other key archive, this being contemporary newspapers, where searching was the strategy.

¹⁷³ Barton, 21/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 36.

¹⁷⁴ La Nauze, 'Who are the Fathers?' 105-06.

¹⁷⁵ *Official report of the Federation Conference held in the court-house, Corowa, on Monday 31st July, and Tuesday, 1st August, 1893* (Corowa: Free Press Office, 1893); *Proceedings, People's Federal Convention*.

DIGITISED NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers are a valuable tool for measuring the social awareness in the United States about Australia. The coverage of events in newspapers is not a perfect indicator of public opinion, and there are other factors to consider, such as what other news was occurring at the same time, which influenced what was published from day to day. But newspapers are still a useful guide as to the general trend of reader interest. The sheer numbers of newspapers in this period in the United States demonstrates the American people's interest in them and, it can be assumed, the news that they contained. The number and circulation of newspapers began to increase in the 1830s with the rise of penny papers, as newspapers began to target the wider audience developing with the enlarged populations of the industrial cities.¹⁷⁶ However, it was after the Civil War that newspapers established themselves as the principal source of news.¹⁷⁷ There was a marked increase in the number of newspapers in the United States, rising from 4,000 dailies and weeklies in 1860 to over 13,226 dailies and weeklies in 1900, with 1,976 of these mainstream English language dailies.¹⁷⁸

In this thesis, I have utilised the digital newspaper archives that have become available in the past decade. These digitised newspaper programs are making newspaper records far more accessible, both in terms of the scope of newspapers available to be viewed, and the ability to search through large swathes of information. My thesis research, particularly the responses in the United States to Australian federation, would not have been possible without the large-scale digitisation of newspapers with key word search functions. Knowing the time it has taken me in the past to manually search through a limited number of newspapers on microfilm, and with a very small time frame to be searching through, undertaking a search over a ten-year period simply would not have been feasible. This is particularly the case given that, when starting the research, I had no indication how much I would be finding. Furthermore, the digitisation of newspapers meant that I

¹⁷⁶ Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978), 13.

¹⁷⁷ Ted Curtis Smyth, *The Gilded Age Press, 1865-1900*, *The History of American Journalism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 1; see also George F. Pearce, 'Assessing Public Opinion: Editorial Comment and the Annexation of Hawaii: A Case Study,' *Pacific Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (1974): 330.

¹⁷⁸ Smyth, *The Gilded Age Press*, x; John Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963), 127.

had easy access to newspapers that I otherwise would not have. Putnam has observed this as a general phenomenon of using digitised historical materials for research. She notes that previously, the costs, including substantial travel costs, associated with undertaking analogue research meant that a search such as this would not have been undertaken. Rees notes in an analysis of her own research using digitised sources that an analogue search would 'have prioritised the conspicuous maritime artery between Sydney and San Francisco, searchable newspaper databases illuminated a web of connections between regional sites throughout Australia and the United States'.¹⁷⁹ Without these resources, Putnam notes, historians had to limit investigations to look where information might have been expected to be found.¹⁸⁰

I have utilised the National Library of Australia's *Trove* platform, which was launched in 2008.¹⁸¹ *Chronicling America* is a platform provided by the Library of Congress, which provides access to newspapers digitised as part of the National Digital Newspaper Program since 2005.¹⁸² Subscription-only newspaper databases are also available, and I used the Gale 19th-Century U.S. Newspapers, which has been available since 2006, and the Proquest Historical Newspapers database.

As with any other historical source, there are limitations and factors that need to be considered when using digital newspapers. The technology gives access to a wealth of information, but the access is also limited by the quality of the technology. Digitisation is something that is still developing and improving, but even then new methods will not necessarily be applied to digitisation that has already been done. Search results can be greatly impacted both by the quality of the Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software being used, and the quality of the original scans that the OCR is reading. With the *Trove* and *Chronicling America* websites, the source material being digitised were often

¹⁷⁹ Rees, 'Rebel Handmaidens,' 54.

¹⁸⁰ Lara Putnam, 'The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,' *American Historical Review* 121, no.6 (2016): 381.

¹⁸¹ Cathy Pilgrim, 'The Australian Newspapers Beta service,' *National Library of Australia Gateways* 95 (2008), *Academic OneFile*,

<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A188159516/AONE?u=unimelb&sid=AONE&xid=7c9f6981>.

Accessed 14 Feb. 2018; <https://trove.nla.gov.au/general/about>.

¹⁸² 'About Chronicling America,' *Library of Congress*, accessed 12/03/2018, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/about/>.

not original papers, but microfilm copies.¹⁸³ Poor quality scanning photography when first microfilmed, or less developed OCR software, means that articles that meet the search criteria are not included in search results because the key words were not recognised. I am confident that there are relevant newspaper articles that I have not seen because of this.

Different databases also use different technology, meaning that there can be inconsistent results. There are different search options available, enabling the researcher to be more or less precise (as desired). As with other historical source material, the results found depend on the material available - in this instance, which newspapers were first selected to be microfilmed and of those, which were then selected to be digitised. Both *Chronicling America* and Trove aim to get a representative sample across the country. For *Chronicling America* especially, this is impacted by the local networks choosing to be involved in the National Digital Newspaper Program and having the resources to undertake the work. These gaps make it harder to draw overarching conclusions. Similarly, there are problems inherent in using newspapers regardless of the format. Newspapers have different run dates - for example, while the *New York Times* was in print across my period of interest, digitised copies of the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* are only available until 1895. There are also differences between daily and weekly publications that complicate any attempt at a direct comparison. These are by no means insurmountable limitations, and the value provided by the searchable access to this primary source material definitely outweighs the problems associated with using them.

AUSTRALIA IN UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS

What is apparent from a keyword search of digitised American newspapers of the period is that there was an awareness of the Australian colonies in the United States. This awareness was not limited to coastal cities sitting on the Pacific (such as Los Angeles or Seattle) or cities that may have focused on trade or diplomacy (such as New York or Washington) but rather were spread across the country. Searching across the three databases being used, from 1890 to 1901 there were 242,796 references to 'Australia'

¹⁸³ Pilgrim, 'The Australian Newspapers Beta service'; 'About Chronicling America'.

found.¹⁸⁴ As a reference point comparison (though one that does not account for differences in how baseball would have been reported in that period compared to now), there were 201,557 references to the word ‘baseball’ found.¹⁸⁵

Not all references to the Australian colonies were in news items or editorials. Some would have been shipping reports or mail reports - indicative of the direct connection of travel and correspondence between the two. Some were in reports on trade figures. Some reports undoubtedly related not directly to Australia or Australian physical exports, but instead to American practices given an Australian name, such as the secret ballot, also known in the United States as the Australian ballot, which was being implemented across different American states in this period.

However, news reports were also covering the events that were occurring in the Australian colonies in this period. This was not limited to Australian interactions with world affairs or in topics that were applicable to the United States as well that they could learn from, such as Australian responses to racial issues such as immigration. The American newspapers also demonstrate an interest in Australian domestic matters, such as federation. This is the focus of Chapter Five.

ANGLO-SAXONISM

An idea that was present during the development of federation and that played an important role in the sense of connection between the Australian colonies and the United States was Anglo-Saxonism. This was the belief in the connection between and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, which included the idea of a shared identity between the Australian and American people. The idea of Anglo-Saxonism (also framed with reference to ‘the English-speaking people’) enabled Australians to see the United States as a model for themselves – politically, socially, and constitutionally.¹⁸⁶ This was

¹⁸⁴ As of 9 March, 2018, Chronicling America found 176,186; 19th Century US Newspapers 44,235, and Proquest Historical Newspapers 22,375. Note Chronicling America search results were up by 15,441 from a search conducted on 14 February, 2018.

¹⁸⁵ As of 9 March, 2018, Chronicling America found 130,237; 19th Century US Newspapers 41,984, and Proquest Historical Newspapers 29,336.

¹⁸⁶ Paul A. Kramer, ‘Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and

reflected in the federation debates throughout the 1890s, in newspaper coverage of the United States, in other ephemera, and in the outpouring of support for the United States in the Spanish-American War.

The perceived superiority of the Anglo-Saxon people covered a range of skills, including industry, intelligence, and a sense of adventure, but was also particularly notable for the belief in a superiority when it came to self-government, with the argument that only 'the English speaking people' had the ability to self-govern effectively.¹⁸⁷ These inherent skills were seen as the basis for the economic, political and cultural success of the United States and the British Empire in the late nineteenth century.¹⁸⁸ The rhetoric of Anglo-Saxonism was that they were young, in contrast to old world Europe, vigorous, masculine, and racially pure.¹⁸⁹ The belief in the superior capacity for self-government enabled Anglo-Saxonism to be used as an argument for American imperialism in this period.

The idea of Anglo-Saxonism first developed in England, and became popular in the United States in the mid nineteenth century, peaking in the late 1890s.¹⁹⁰ There was a strong alignment with Protestantism, particularly as ideas of Anglo-Saxonism had begun in Britain to defend the idea of the superiority of the Anglican Church against the Catholic others (which included the Spanish), and thus were also said to share the virtues of Protestantism.¹⁹¹

There have been several key works that have explored the popularity of the idea of Anglo-Saxonism as a racial category used to argue the superiority of the Americans and the British. In his notable 1981 work *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of Anglo-American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, Reginald Horsman explored how the ideas of Anglo-Saxonism – the innate superiority of the Caucasian people – developed throughout American history and how they particularly flourished in the 1830s and 1840s, and formed the basis for the

United States Empires, 1880-1910,' *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002).

¹⁸⁷ Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (Rutherford N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University, Associated University Presses, 1981), 12.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons, 1322.

¹⁹⁰ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons, 1318; J.R. Hall, 'Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Anglo-Saxonism: The Question of Language,' in *Anglo-Saxonism & the Construction of Social Identity*, eds Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 134.

¹⁹¹ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' 1322.

American ideas of manifest destiny. Horsman argued that ‘the catalyst in the overt adoption of a racial Anglo-Saxonism was the meeting of Americans and Mexicans in the Southwest, the Texas Revolution, and the war with Mexico’.¹⁹² He argued that racial ideas such as Anglo-Saxonism helped distinguish the white Americans from the people of other races, including Mexicans, Asians, Native Americans and Africans, and could justify white expansion as well as the treatment of black and Native Americans.¹⁹³ The popularity of the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority and tie between the superiority of Anglo-Saxon political institutions and race linked to ‘the new scientific interest in racial classification,’ and the Romantic interest in language and national and racial origins.¹⁹⁴

More recently, Paul Kramer has examined the popularity of ideas of racial Anglo-Saxonism in the United States, and the use of the idea that the Anglo-Saxon people are best suited to self government in his works on the United States, late nineteenth century American imperialism and the Philippine-American War.¹⁹⁵ As well as describing the dominant ideas of Anglo-Saxonism in the United States, Kramer notes the importance of the Anglo-Saxon idea for American imperialists in justifying American action in the Spanish American war, and subsequent expansion to and annexation of the Philippines. Kramer argues that the Philippine-American War was a race war, ‘rationalized in racial terms’ and using racial ideas to justify the violence within it. He states that ‘American imperialists racialized themselves as “Anglo-Saxons” in order to legitimate the controversial U.S. war as racially and historically inevitable: Americans were inheritors of Anglo-Saxon virtues, foremost among them the capacity for empire building’.¹⁹⁶ Thus can be seen in both the work of Horsman and Kramer, the idea of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, particularly with regard to the belief that an innate ability for government and self-government was lacking in people of other races, was a key underpinning in the idea of Manifest Destiny – that it was the destiny of the American people to expand westward, firstly across the continent and then into the Pacific.

¹⁹² Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 208.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 8, 208-9

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 4-5.

¹⁹⁵ Kramer, ‘Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons’; Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

¹⁹⁶ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 89-90.

Kramer also discusses the problems encountered in the United States of a racial identification centred on British or Germanic heritage. A solution to this was to refer to the Anglo-Saxons as ‘the English-speaking peoples,’ making the idea more palatable in the United States, where it could encompass other white immigrants¹⁹⁷. In his opening chapter to *The Winning of the West*, titled ‘The spread of the English-speaking peoples’, future President and former New York Assemblyman Theodore Roosevelt noted the need for Americans to understand the spread of the Anglo-Saxons from the earliest times. American westward expansion was ‘the crowning and greatest achievement of a series of mighty movements, and it must be taken in connection with them’.¹⁹⁸ Roosevelt published five works on American history, culminating in *The Winning of the West*, and in all of these, and his other works including a book of children’s stories, he addressed and emphasised the central role and dominance of the Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking race.¹⁹⁹ For Roosevelt, there was a strong correlation between virtue and race, and, Sarah Watts has argued, ‘he made national wellbeing contingent on the cultivation of “vigorous manliness” and located its origins in the racial and territorial struggles of whites against savages and outlaws on the frontier’.²⁰⁰ Roosevelt strongly associated political will with manliness, and also believed in the association between superiority in political ability and Anglo-Saxon identity.²⁰¹ He agreed with Kipling’s assessment of empire and colonisation as the “White Man’s Burden”, as articulated in a poem of the same name, published in 1899 during the American debates on annexation of the Philippines, providing pro-imperialist advice to the United States.²⁰²

However, Roosevelt also stressed that, while connected to the British through this Anglo-Saxon heritage, from the time that Americans declared independence they also established themselves as a new race and now ‘belong to the English race only in the

¹⁹⁷ Kramer, ‘Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,’ 1323-24.

¹⁹⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1889), 7.

¹⁹⁹ Joshua David Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 59.

²⁰⁰ Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 156; Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 63.

²⁰¹ Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House*, 66; Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 62.

²⁰² Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House*, 10; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 11-12.

sense in which Englishmen belong to the German'.²⁰³ He believed in the importance of violence, battle, and physical struggle, such as that faced by those settling the United States and expanding across the frontier, in shaping and rejuvenating a race.²⁰⁴ In such a way, American exceptionalism could work in concert with the idea of Anglo-Saxonism and the superiority of the English-speaking peoples.

Questions of and ideas about race played an important role in foreign policy and international relations in this period. Anglo-Saxonism provided an almost tangible connection between Britain and the United States which could be used, as argued by Stuart Anderson, to bring the two nations together and enable the great rapprochement to occur. It is notable, however, that the spread of ideas relied on existing connections between the two, and also with the Australian colonies.²⁰⁵ In addition, in the United States, ideas of Anglo-Saxonism were used to support calls for expansion and the creation of an American empire – and thus were securely linked to American actions through the Spanish-American war. The British Empire served as inspiration for the United States with regard to colonialism and empire – those in favour of colonialism could justify it with reference to the belief that the Anglo-Saxon people had both a 'right and a duty' to conquer the world. By expanding to a Pacific empire, the United States was taking up its share of this burden.²⁰⁶

Anglo-Saxonism also connected the United States with other English-speaking nations, mainly British settler colonial societies such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada. It provided a sense of kinship between them, as noted in the Melbourne Age newspaper in 1898, remarking on the 'feeling of mutual friendship and confidence, founded upon the sense of kinship in blood, language and ideas'.²⁰⁷ Framing this kinship in the form of Anglo-Saxonism enabled the Americans to acknowledge this shared heritage, while still maintaining a distinction between them; with the United States an emerging world power standing outside the British empire.

²⁰³ Ibid., 20.

²⁰⁴ Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 65.

²⁰⁵ Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 13; LaFeber, *American Search for Opportunity*, 42.

²⁰⁶ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 11.

²⁰⁷ *The Age*, 23/4/1898, as quoted in Lake and Pratt 'Blood Brothers,' 21. See also Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 108.

In addition Australians could identify with the United States as another, earlier, New World nation within the Anglo-Saxon family. While the works on Anglo-Saxonism largely centred on the existence of the idea within the United States, Lake and Pratt also discussed the idea of Anglo-Saxonism in the Australian colonies. Specifically, in their article “‘Blood Brothers’: Racial Identification and the Right to Rule: The Australian Response to the Spanish-American War’, they examined the Australian response to the Spanish American War. In this, they note the ‘strong sense of New World solidarity that then bound Australians to Americans’.²⁰⁸ Similarly, Wellington argued that ‘Australia liked to see itself as a younger brother to America, and perhaps (with federation) to also have a great future’.²⁰⁹ This idea relied on their shared British heritage, but to an extent excluded the British. There was much admiration for the United States in the Australian colonies (although not uncritically). It was at this time that the United States was emerging as a great power, and was, for many Australians, an example of what they, as fellow new world Anglo-Saxons, would become. This identification with the United States as a new world nation would only strengthen the Australian support of the United States, as the Spanish-American War was framed as a conflict between the old world and the new.²¹⁰

Prior to the rise of Anglo-Saxonism as a popular belief, there was already a connection between the development of the Australian colonies and the United States. As Paul Giles noted in *Antipodean America*, the settlement of the Australian colonies began following the British loss in the American Revolutionary War. Arguing the impact that Australia has had on American literature, he notes that in the early years of the American republic, when hostility between the United States and Britain was still high, Australia was viewed ‘warily as a geopolitical extension of England, a new base in the Pacific from which it might seek to threaten the new United States’. By the early to mid-nineteenth century, for authors such as Herman Melville and Henry David Thoreau, ‘this political antagonism gets extended into a more theoretical awareness of Australia as America’s alter ego, the

²⁰⁸ Lake and Pratt ‘Blood Brothers,’ 20.

²⁰⁹ Raymond Wellington, ‘Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War,’ *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 56, no. 2 (1970): 118.

²¹⁰ Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles, eds, *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997).

colonial continent the latter might have become had it chosen not to pursue the path of independence'.²¹¹ The idea of Anglo-Saxonism provided a central point of connection between the United States, Britain and the Australian colonies, which will be discussed further in Chapter One.

²¹¹ Giles, *Antipodean America*, 3–4.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ANGLO-SAXON TRIANGLE

When discussing the impact of interests in the United States on the development of the Australian colonial constitutions in the 1850s, Noel McLachlan states: 'it is in the context of this general interest in things American - inventions, organisations, literature, laws - that interest in the American constitution should be seen'. Furthermore, he argued, 'only by treating the total range of interest can the force of the citation of particular exemplars be fully appreciated'.²¹² The use of the United States during the federation conventions did not occur in isolation. This chapter will therefore briefly look at some of the influences on and connections between the Australian colonies and the United States, in order to underscore the familiarity that the delegates at the conventions would have had with the United States.

Connections between Australia and the United States were also influenced by the changing relationship each had with Britain in this period. It can be seen that the dynamic of Australia, the United States and Britain is a triangle, connected at all points, with each relationship having an impact on the others. The extent of this impact is, however, not evenly distributed. The image of an asymmetrical triangle to describe the Australian relationship with Britain and the United States, both psychologically and strategically, was used by political scientist Coral Bell in her work on the post-war relations of these nations.²¹³ She notes that the United States and Britain were both central to the focus of the Australians, while Australia was on the periphery, although a friend, of the United States and Britain. She argues the need to look to both Britain and the United States when considering Australia's relationship with either, as we cannot understand one without the other.²¹⁴ Carl Bridge has argued that the Australian relationship with the United States is insignificant when compared to that with Britain,

²¹² McLachlan, 'The Future America,' 377-78.

²¹³ Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally*, 1. Triangle analogy also used by Giles, *Antipodean America*, 5-6; Bridge, *Munich to Vietnam*, 2; Churchward, *Australia and America*, xx.

²¹⁴ Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally*, 1-2, 5.

however I intend to demonstrate that this is something of a false comparison.²¹⁵ It is clear that the Australian-American relationship was not as strong or as encompassing as the British-Australian connection – it could not possibly be, with the Australian colonies members of the British empire. The connection between the Australian colonies and the United States was, however, significant and it had a discernible impact on Australian life.

Australian and United States interests connected and overlapped in relation to the large oceanic border they shared, the Pacific. This chapter will consider both the Australian aspirations for their new nation, which were at times shaped by their location on the Pacific Ocean, as well as the manner in which the United States was both an inspiration and rival for that destiny. This chapter will also note the United States expansion into the Pacific which occurred late in the 1890s, with particular attention to the Spanish-American War and the role of this war in aiding this expansion. I will look both at the British response to the war, and the manner in which it helped solidify Anglo-Saxon sentiment, and the enthusiastic Australian response to the war and Australian support for the United States, which included offers by Australians to fight with the United States. Using a small number of letters from these volunteers, this chapter investigates the reasons for their offers of service, which again relate to an Anglo-Saxon identification between the people of the Australian colonies and the United States.

AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE 1890S

OFFICIAL AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS

While there was no Australian diplomatic presence in Washington until 1940, there was an American consular presence in the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century. There had been a United States Consul office in Sydney since 1836, in Melbourne since 1852, and Consuls and Consular Agents were appointed in Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart, Newcastle, Albany, Fremantle and Townsville in the 1880s and 1890s.²¹⁶ While the original intention of appointing consuls to locations across the world was to provide

²¹⁵ Bridge, *Munich to Vietnam*, 4. See also Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, ix; Harper, *Australia and the United States*, ix.

²¹⁶ Consuls in Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart, Newcastle, Albany from 1884; Fremantle and Townsville from 1897.

support for United States citizens abroad (particularly seamen) and to protect United States commerce in these countries, by the 1890s the primary goals of the consuls had been extended to include promoting and furthering United States export trade.²¹⁷ For the Australian colonies, United States interests (as reflected in the reports provided by the consuls) were largely related to industry and resources, exports and trade, railways, law and government, and the possibility of a Pacific telegraph cable.²¹⁸ These interests were also reflected in those initially chosen to act as consuls – typically businessmen, who continued also to pursue their own commercial interests.²¹⁹ From 1880, consuls were required to send monthly reports on trade conditions in the Australian colonies.²²⁰

United States consular postings were political appointments, with each presidential administration appointing new consuls, confirmed by the Senate, to the various posts around the world.²²¹ Democratic president Grover Cleveland appointed Daniel Maratta as Consul-General in Melbourne and George Bell as Consul in Sydney in 1893, and Republican president William McKinley replaced Maratta with John P. Bray in 1897, although he did not replace Bell with Orlando H. Baker until 1900. All four men had a longstanding association with their respective parties, and appointment as consul or consul-general was a relatively lucrative reward that could also be used to appease senators in Congress. Their backgrounds were in business and newspapers as well as politics, and Baker had previously been appointed as consul to Copenhagen.²²² The consuls were well

²¹⁷ R.H. Working, 'United States Consular Reports: Evaluation and Present Possibilities,' *Business History* 23, issue 3 (1981): 301.

²¹⁸ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 58.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

²²¹ Chester Lloyd Jones, *The Consular Service of the United States: Its History and Activities*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1906), 23, accessed 16/03/2018, https://openlibrary.org/books/OL23290798M/The_consular_service_of_the_United_States.

²²² Maratta stood for Congress and was Chairman of the Democratic State Committee for North Dakota for eight years: 'The New American Consul: Mr. Daniel W. Maratta,' *Table Talk*, 8/9/1893. Bell campaigned for Cleveland, Robin McLachlan, 'A Foreign Agent Unmasked: Colonel Bell at Bathurst,' in Head-on and Brownrigg, *The People's Conventions*, 116; 'Colonel G. W. Bell, United States Consul At Sydney' *Australian Town and Country*, 21/10/1893. Bray was leader of the Republicans in North Dakota for years, held several public offices including state auditor, Chair of the Executive Committee, an 'aggressive Republican'. Suggestion his appointment was a win for Senator Hansborough and would ensure his vote on the tariff bill: 'New American Consuls for Australia,' *Daily Telegraph*, 06/08/1897; 'The New American Consul,' *Leader* 25/09/1897; Untitled, Dickinson Press, 03/07/1897. Baker, had previously served in diplomatic service; had written on economics from a republican point of view: Senator Allison pushed for his appointment; 'Consul to Sydney,' *DC Evening Times*, 18/06/1900.

received in Australia, both by the American community and the wider Australian population.²²³

The United States consuls in the Australian colonies also acted as a conduit between branches of government in the colonies and the states. In addition to requests directly from the State Department for information on the state of the colonies, both Australian colonial governments and American state and local governments contacted the consuls in order to obtain information about laws in existence, when preparing to draft similar laws, to see how they worked.²²⁴ The records of the consuls demonstrate that both Australian and American governmental bodies were happy to comply. Such an exchange of information, and willingness to use the other as a precedent, demonstrates both some awareness of the state of the other, and also at least a degree of affinity. This is something that the federation debates continue to demonstrate.

One additional official connection between the United States and the Australian colonies was the inclusion of Sydney as part of the United States expedition to the Pacific, authorised by Congress in May 1836. The expedition arrived in Sydney on 29 November, 1839, and was well received. The colonial government provided the expedition use of Fort Macquarie, and the officers were received and entertained by Sydney society.²²⁵

TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY

The Australian colonies and the United States have a long history of trade relations, going back to the earliest days of the Sydney settlement.²²⁶ L.G. Churchward has detailed

²²³ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 39; Robin McLachlan, 'A Foreign Agent Unmasked', in Headon and Brownrigg, *The People's Conventions*, 118; 'Farewell to Consul: Australian's Pay Tribute to George W. Bell,' *Morning Astorian*, 13/10/1900.

²²⁴ Assistant Secretary, Department of State, to Gilderoy Griffin, US Consul, Sydney, 24/07/1888, vol. 56R, no.112, Department of State Despatches, 1888-1892, United States National Archives; Gilderoy Griffin, US Consul, Sydney, to George L Rives, Assistant Secretary of State, 02/10/1888, vol. 56P, no. 267, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1885-1893, United States National Archives; US Consul General, Melbourne, to Edward A Maseley, Secretary, Washington, 22/03/1898, vol.59, p. 431, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; US Consul General, Melbourne, to R.G. Kent, Secretary of Victorian Railways, 26/03/1898, vol.59, p. 431, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives.

²²⁵ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 34, 38.

²²⁶ Bartlett, *Australia and America*, 24.

the early trade relations, beginning in the earliest days of the Sydney colony. Trade from the United States with the early Australian settlements began with individual merchants including speculative cargo for the colonies in order to have outward cargo on their trade routes to China (where there was little need for American goods). This was conducted in violation of the British Navigation Acts, which also prevented British merchants from trading with the colonies - something that made the trade even more appealing for the Americans, as there was thus a lack of competition. However, trade slowed in 1807 with a tightening of the Navigation Acts, and ceased altogether in 1813, following news of the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States. Churchward notes that when trade resumed in the 1830s, it was no longer simply one-way speculative cargo providing much needed basic supplies and liquor, but rather regular trade including manufactured goods, with the colonies also providing goods, notably wool, to the United States.²²⁷ Still, this was not an evenly balanced relationship, with trade to and from Australia only ever a small portion of American trade, and the impact of American trade on Australia much more significant.²²⁸

This trade was strengthened in the 1870s with the development of improved communications. One such improvement was the introduction of a regular steamer between Sydney, Melbourne, and San Francisco in the early 1870s.²²⁹ While nowhere near the peaks of the gold rushes, in 1877-1881 average annual imports from the United States to Australia were £1,180,000, and by 1892-1896 it was an annual average of £1,699,000. There was a marked increase in Australian exports to the United States, being £354,000 in 1877-1881, and £1,263,000 in 1892-1896.²³⁰ Consul Bell reported in 1898 that New South Wales trade with the United States had increased by fifty-four percent from 1893 to 1897, and that imports and exports with the United States represented over forty percent of foreign trade for New South Wales.²³¹ Exports to the

²²⁷ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 8-20, 27-34

²²⁸ Bartlett, *Australia and America*, 8-14. Churchward, *Australia and America* 54. See also Waterhouse, 'The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests,' 14.

²²⁹ Waterhouse, 'The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests,' 14; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 78.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

²³¹ United States Consul, Sydney, to Walter G Beach, Stanford University, 04/02/1898, vol. 56F, p. 31, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives.

United States included raw materials such as wool and coal.²³² The Pacific mail service, along with trade between Sydney and the United States, contributed to shifting the centre of American trade from Melbourne to Sydney.²³³

Bell stated to Walter Beach of Stanford University that 'the importance of Federation to our commercial interests is so great that I have kept in touch with the movement'. The United States consuls in Australia directly expressed their intention to promote American trade within Australia, and acted as a conduit, providing information, when requested, to American businesses and individuals, about the possibility of success for their product in Australia. Similarly, although less frequently, they would connect Australians who contacted them with businesses in the United States.²³⁴

In her thesis on the impact of the United States on Australia from 1901-1923, Ruth Megaw observed the private investment made by American companies in Australia, and expansion of American insurance companies into the Australian market. She argues that insurance, particularly life insurance, was an aspect of trade and commerce where the United States was 'the most important and virtually only direct overseas influence'.²³⁵ She also notes that this had a direct impact on the response in local firms and led to antagonism to all foreign investment firms among them, with this antagonism not simply limited to the United States.

There were manufactured goods where it was generally accepted that the American version was better suited to Australian conditions, and was therefore preferred, and other areas such as hats and boots where American styles became increasingly popular.²³⁶

²³² Churchward, *Australia and America*, 70, 73; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 165-67.

²³³ Ibid., 73.

²³⁴ US Consul General, Melbourne to William E. Pickells, Hardware Chambers, Melbourne, 03/03/1898, vol. 60, p. 56, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1899-1899, United States National Archives; US Consul General, Melbourne, to United States Export Association, New York, 03/06/1898, vol. 59, no. 573, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; William Kapus, US Consul, Sydney, to Josiah Quincy, Assistant Secretary of State, 10/05/1893, vol. 56P, no.48, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1885-1893, United States National Archives.

²³⁵ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 220.

²³⁶ Consulate of the US, Sydney to Secretary of State, 06/05/1897, vol. 59, p. 133, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives; George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney to William Harper, Philadelphia Museums, n.d., vol. 56F, p. 82, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; 'Some Suggestions Regarding Our Trade With Australia,' report US Consulate, Sydney,

American domestic technological developments such as stoves, wooden wash tubs, ice-chests and sewing machines were all introduced to the Australian colonies and had an impact on daily life.²³⁷ Farming conditions in the Australian colonies were more similar to those of the American west than of Britain, and so American manufacturers were better suited to provide equipment such as galvanised iron, fencing wire, windmills and pumps, lamps, padlocks, mowing machines, reapers and binders, disc ploughs, harrows and garden rakes.²³⁸ Similarly, American wagons and drivers were better suited to the rougher Australian conditions.²³⁹ Australian industry, including the wool industry, drew on American personnel and techniques, aided by the consuls who would forward requests for information on the latest developments. In the 1890s, ten percent of the University of Sydney's Fisher Library periodicals (largely scientific and engineering publications) were from the United States.²⁴⁰ In turn, Americans looked to technological developments in Australia that could be adopted.²⁴¹ Australian official delegations and private citizens would travel to the United States to study American developments, including Alfred Deakin, studying irrigation in the western United States.²⁴²

The Australian people were happy to follow British examples and use British technology - there was not a stampede toward the United States. But they also sought out American technology in the instances where it would be helpful in ways the British could not. As a result, American technological developments were pervasive in Australian society.

to Secretary of State, 05/03/1897, vol. 59, pp. 178-188, Report to the Department of State, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 113, 116-17.

²³⁷ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 66; Grattan, *The United States and the Southwest Pacific*, 112.

²³⁸ Bartlett, *Australia and America*, 151; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 73.

²³⁹ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 59, 66, 67, 73, 77, 82; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 150, 222, McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, 169.

²⁴⁰ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 300; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 89.

²⁴¹ Acting Secretary, Department of State, to Alexander Cameron, US Vice Consul, Sydney, 15/06/1892, vol. 56R, no. 164, Department of State Despatches, 1888-1892, United States National Archives; Grattan, *The United States and the Southwest Pacific*, 112.

²⁴² Bartlett, *Australia and America*, 163-69; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 77; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 230.

POLITICAL RELATIONS

The United States had an impact on political thinking in the Australian colonies, both indirectly, through observations made by Australians of American political culture, and directly, through the transnational interactions of a range of political movements. The impact of American thinkers on federation will be discussed in Chapter Four. The United States could be seen in Australia both as an example to follow and as one to avoid, as either ‘a utopian ideal or dystopian warning’.²⁴³ The influence of the United States was most pronounced among the progressive or radical left and in the labour movement. Those advocating republicanism looked to the United States for inspiration and guidance.²⁴⁴

Four key American political thinkers are generally noted to have had an influence on Australian economic and political thinking in the 1880s and 1890s: Henry George with *Progress and Poverty* (1879), which advocated a single land value tax; Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888), a utopian novel advocating nationalisation of land; Laurence Gronlund’s *The Co-operative Commonwealth* (1884), on socialism and capitalism, popularising the work of Karl Marx; and Ignatius Donnelly *Caesar’s Column* (1890), a dystopian novel advocating agrarian populism.²⁴⁵ George and Bellamy are particularly noted for their impact on ideas regarding land and agrarian rights. Ian Tyrrell notes that ‘George’s ideas were taken up in terms of land politics more in Australia and New Zealand than in the United States’.²⁴⁶ George toured Australia in 1890 and was well received by both the labour movement and members of parliament, and Churchward recounts that all four ‘were frequently discussed (and sometimes serialised) in the radical papers of the eighties such as William Lane’s *Boomerang* and Archibald’s *the Bulletin*, and

²⁴³ Bell and Bell, ‘Americanization,’ 6; David Mosler and Robert Catley, *America and Americans in Australia* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 15-16.

²⁴⁴ McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, 66; Mark McKenna, ‘Republicanism,’ Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 418.

²⁴⁵ Albinski, ‘Australia and the United States,’ 115; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 133; Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally*, 6-7; Else-Mitchell, ‘American Influences on Australian Nationhood,’ 11; Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated*, 31-2; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 115, 120-121; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 39. See also McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, 363, 379 for earlier American political influences.

²⁴⁶ Ian Tyrrell, ‘Beyond the View from Euro-America: Environment, Settler Societies, and the Internationalization of American History,’ in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 184-5.

in the numerous trade union and labour newspapers of the nineties'.²⁴⁷

The United States was held up as an example of what to avoid by the left, particularly in the Labor party once it began. They saw excessive capitalism and corruption in the American political experience, highlighting the violent end to the 1892 Homestead Strike and the use of the private Pinkerton security agency. The left also opposed the imperialistic expansion of the United States.²⁴⁸ The United States also had an influence on conservative politics in the Australian colonies. Coral Bell observed that Australian conservatives more closely resembled the political right in the United States than they did the British Tories, without the republicanism. The focus of the right in Australia was similarly on business and farmers, particularly small-government and states rights.²⁴⁹ In the 1890s, and into the twentieth century, Australian conservatives looked to the United States for precedents and examples, including with the development of federation.²⁵⁰

The Australian colonies and the United States were also connected through international political and social reform movements that existed in this period. This included labour organisations, such as the International Workers of the World (IWW) and the Knights of Labor, and social reform organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Movement.²⁵¹ Organisations such as this helped connect Australia and the United States in the international flow of ideas.

More directly, Roger Bell and Phillip Bell have noted the manner in which United States legislation was used, although they emphasise that it was not always reflected in the text of the Acts.²⁵² The United States precedent was also an example in the development of protectionist tariffs in the Australian colonies, such as those that existed in Victoria.²⁵³ This was noted in an interview with the Democrat Maratta, when appointed Consul

²⁴⁷ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 115; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 39.

²⁴⁸ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 18-20, 38-39.

²⁴⁹ Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally*, 7.

²⁵⁰ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 16; McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution*, 168-69.

²⁵¹ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 88, 116; Harper, *Australia and the United States*, 6.; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 346-49, 379-80; Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 133-34, Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c1991), 224, 226-28.

²⁵² Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated*, 26.

²⁵³ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 66.

General in Melbourne, the journalist commenting to him that 'America has set a lesson to the world in this respect that will not easily be lost sight of'.²⁵⁴

While the Australian colonies and the United States were involved in the same networks of transnational ideas, discussion is usually focused on the influence of American ideas on the Australian colonies and not the reverse. The disparity in size between the two plays a role in this - it was much more difficult for the smaller Australian colonies to have a significant impact on the ideas of the larger United States. The Australian colonies could, however, be an inspiration to some in the United States. The most significant and successful example of this was the adoption in the United States of the secret ballot, frequently known in the United States as the Australian ballot.²⁵⁵ This was adopted in Victoria in 1856, and was introduced to Britain, continental Europe, and Canada across the 1870s and 1880s.²⁵⁶ Ballot reform occurred across the United States in the 1880s and 1890s. The Australian experience was a reference point, with each state adopting its own form of the ballot, and by 1896, nearly ninety percent of American states had adopted the ballot.²⁵⁷

As can be seen, there were both direct and indirect connections with the United States and Australian political thought. This occurred through the example set by the experience of the United States, as well as through the distribution of influential works by American writers and transnational political and social movements. Such influences worked with, rather than superseding, British influences, but they still had an impact on Australian thinking.

²⁵⁴ 'The New American Consul,' *Table Talk*, 08/09/1893.

²⁵⁵ Also known as 'the Victorian ballot,' 'kangaroo voting,' and 'the penal colony reform' - Mark McKenna, *Building 'A Closet of Prayer' in the New World: The Story of the Australian Ballot* (London: Menzies Centre for Australian Studies 2002), 5; L.E. Fredman, *The Australian Ballot: The Story of an American Reform*, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1968).

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 5, 26, 36; John Hirst, *Making Voting Secret: Victoria's Introduction of a New Method of Voting that has Spread Around the World* (Melbourne, Victorian Electoral Commission, 2002), 3, www.vec.vic.gov.au/files/Book-MakingVotingSecret.pdf, accessed 15/03/2018.

²⁵⁷ McKenna, *The Story of the Secret Ballot*, 5, 36; Alexander Keyssar, *The Right To Vote: The Contested History Of Democracy In The United States*, (New York: Basic Books 2000), 143; Hirst, *Making Voting Secret*, 43; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 98; McKenna, *The Story of the Secret Ballot*, 37-38.

CULTURAL AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS

Knowledge of the United States spread through the transmission of popular culture, which also helped shaped Australians' (including the delegates at the federation conventions) image of the United States, both through the books they read and stories that were published in newspapers, positive and negative. These could generate and feed into stereotypes, with Americans expressing their concern about the way their country was portrayed.²⁵⁸ For the Australian colonies, this was largely through books, theatre and similar entertainment.²⁵⁹ Throughout Richard Waterhouse's study of the history of popular culture in Australia, the influence of the United States can be seen, particularly through popular entertainments such as theatre, minstrel shows, and circuses.²⁶⁰

By the 1870s and 1880s, with the developments in transportation that made travel across the United States and across the Pacific both cheap and easy, Australia became a part of the western United States theatre touring circuit, with American minstrel shows in particular commonly appearing in the Australian colonies.²⁶¹ While Australian vaudeville retained the British format until the early twentieth century, Waterhouse argues of minstrel shows that they had a 'formative influence on Australian variety [which] held important implications for Australian popular culture, serving as a conduit for American values'.²⁶² Australia was also included on the circuit for the travelling Wild West shows and circuses, which in turn shaped how domestic circuses operated, favouring the American rather than the British model.²⁶³ The influence of this popular culture can be seen during the federation convention debates, such as when Alfred Deakin likened Western Australian Premier John Forrest to Buffalo Bill in his Wild West show, arguing that Forrest was giving a performance of daring heroism, while leaving all the risks of

²⁵⁸ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 243.

²⁵⁹ Bell and Bell, *Implicated*, 7; Richard Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure: A History of Australian Popular Culture Since 1788*, (South Melbourne: Longman Australia, 1995), 58-59; Jill Julius Matthews, *Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance With Modernity* (Strawberry Hills, NSW: Currency Press, 2005), 10-11.

²⁶⁰ Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures*.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28; McLachlan, 'Future America,' 376.

²⁶² Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures*, 72.

²⁶³ White, 'A Backwater Awash,' 115; Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures*, 70.

federating to the eastern colonies.²⁶⁴

Waterhouse also discusses Australian circus and theatre performances in the United States. Australians were so well received there, that American circuses and theatre troupes would adopt Australian names and Australian-themed acts. He argues that 'it is an indication of how well known and liked Australia had become in the world of American show business, that American entertainers adopted such titles'.²⁶⁵ Here again the flow of interest and influence can be seen as going in both directions across the Pacific.

American publications were available in the Australian colonies from the 1830s, and American authors, such as Walt Whitman, Edgar Allen Poe and Mark Twain, were popular.²⁶⁶ Paul Giles has also demonstrated the influence that Australia had on United States literature across the nineteenth century.²⁶⁷

Another means by which Australians and Americans could be informed about the other was through their interactions as public speakers, undertaking lecture tours. In this instance, information about the other came through the interactions with the speakers, and then the speakers providing an account of their tour upon their return home, which would sometimes be published in newspapers.²⁶⁸

The movement of people from one to the other was the most direct connection between the Australian colonies and the United States. Travel between the two took the form of short-term travel, long-term visits, and permanent emigration, both from the United States and the Australian colonies. The opening of the Pacific mail service made travel and emigration easier, so that from 1871-1880, 9,886 Australians emigrated to the United States. This halved in the last twenty years of the century, before increasing again

²⁶⁴ Deakin, 13/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 515.

²⁶⁵ Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures*, 170.

²⁶⁶ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 238-39, 318-19; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 63-54, 85; McLachlan, 'The Future America,' 375.

²⁶⁷ Giles, *Antipodean America*, 3, 5. See also Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 8.

²⁶⁸ McLachlan, 'Future America,' 377; Lake, 'British World or New World,' 46. See also Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 328. For an example, see 'An Antipodean Journey: Miss Reynolds, First World's Secretary Of The Y.W.C.A: A Tour of Remote Association Houses,' *New York Times*, 12/7/1896.

in the twentieth century.²⁶⁹ From the 1850s, Australians traveling to Britain would frequently return via the United States.²⁷⁰ Individual travel between the Australian colonies and the United States could create lasting personal connections.

Even with emigration between the two, Americans in the Australian colonies were never a large portion of the overall population, and even less so for the Australians in the United States. However, the direct connection between people helped enable the other connections being discussed, and provided a direct impact on the ties at large. Thus it can be seen that there was throughout the 1890s (and indeed earlier in the century) an ongoing connection with the United States. These connections existed within the framework of Australian-British relations, and I do not suggest that they presented an overwhelming challenge to the dominance of British culture in the Australian colonies in this period, although this was the case in discreet areas. However, it is important to understand that there were many threads linking the Australian colonies and the United States in this period.

EACH POINT OF CONNECTION SHAPING THE OTHERS

BRITISH-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS IMPACT ON THE UNITED STATES

Australian-American relations were complicated by the British-Australian relationship. The Australian colonies were British colonies - they had been created and settled by the British government. While there had been an increase in the diversity of the population of immigrants during the gold rushes, for the most part immigrants to the Australian colonies were of British origin. During the period 1815 to 1914, 10.7 percent of British emigrants moved to the Australasian colonies (2,359,961 people), this being thirty-two percent of British emigration within the empire.²⁷¹ Even for those born in the colonies, most could identify a British heritage, which helped to strengthen the bond between the colony and metropole.

²⁶⁹ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 96; Ray Aitchison, *The Americans in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1986).

²⁷⁰ Churchward, *Australia and America*, 63.

²⁷¹ Schreuder, 'Australia and "Greater Britain," 1788-1901,' in *The Cambridge History of Australia*, eds Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 516.

In many regards the colonies were simply an extension of Britain into a new world, and British culture and customs were predominant in Australian society. The affection and reverence for Britain and British society - and in particular, for the monarchy embodied by Queen Victoria, is evident throughout the primary source material of this period. Australian governments were colonial governments, and therefore did not have control over issues of foreign policy or diplomatic relations. This dependent status meant that the Australians were unable to engage with the United States government beyond the consular services. United States consuls expressed frustration that developing new trade opportunities in the Australian colonies could be made difficult by the local preference for British styles and goods, and that the British character of the Australian people meant that they were slower to adapt to change, so that there was a need to introduce goods gradually.²⁷² As the movement towards federation developed, the consuls also noted with dismay that the Australians were looking to implement a preferential tariff in favour of Britain, which would make developing trade opportunities more difficult.²⁷³

BRITISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS IMPACT ON AUSTRALIA

The historical relationship between Britain and the United States played a significant role in how Britain approached its relationship with the Australian colonies. For Britain, the loss of the United States was a cautionary lesson in how to treat its colonies, and the level of independence that could be given to keep them satisfied and content to remain in the British Empire. McLachlan and John Hirst both noted that the British government changed the way it treated the Australian colonies based on its experience with the United States and the American revolution.²⁷⁴ In particular, the British government supported the development of self-government in the Australian colonies and did not seek to raise revenue from the Australian colonies. This helped to create a stronger

²⁷² Consulate of the US, Sydney to Secretary of State, 06/05/1897, vol. 59, p. 133, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives; 'Some Suggestions Regarding Our Trade With Australia,' report US Consulate, Sydney, to Secretary of State, 05/03/1897, vol. 59, pp. 178-188, Report to the Department of State, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives.

²⁷³ George W. Bell, United States Consul, Sydney, to William R. Day, Assistant Secretary of State, 14/03/1898, vol. 56Q, no. 130, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1893-1908, United States National Archives.

²⁷⁴ McLachlan, *Columbus & Australia*, 29; John Hirst, 'Empire, State, Nation,' in *Australia's Empire*, eds D. M. Schreuder and Stuart Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 145-47

Australian economy, with more money available to invest in infrastructure such as roads, railways, and the telegraph network. Hirst argues that this in turn led to the creation of a different 'social character' among the Australian people to that of those in Britain, particularly with different attitudes to authority.²⁷⁵

The ongoing relationship between Britain and the United States also impacted on how the United States was seen in world affairs, including by the Australian colonies, and could restrict the level of engagement that the colonies had with the United States. This was most notable during the War of 1812 and subsequent decades, which halted all trade between the Australian colonies and the United States.²⁷⁶ For much of the nineteenth century, the formal relationship between Britain and the United States was tense and acrimonious. For many decades after the Revolution, a power imbalance between them remained regarding trade, and there were ongoing conflicts about trade with British colonies and border disputes with Canada.²⁷⁷ These were gradually resolved, but some remained until arbitration led to the Treaty of Washington in 1871. This treaty settled border issues and led to Britain paying \$15.5 million in compensation for support British citizens had given to the Confederacy during the American Civil War, in spite of British neutrality. The Australian colonies contributed to this claim, supplies and repairs having been provided to the *Shenandoah* in Melbourne.²⁷⁸ The final escalation of conflict between the United States and Britain occurred in 1895, and nearly resulted in armed conflict, when the United States became involved in a decades old border dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana (now Guyana) that escalated with a diplomatic dispute between Britain and the United States over the validity of the Monroe Doctrine and its standing in international law. This was exacerbated by British condescension and American belligerence along with Anglo-phobic, anti-British and anti-imperial

²⁷⁵ Hirst, 'Empire, State, Nation,' 147.

²⁷⁶ Harper, *A Great And Powerful Friend*, 5.

²⁷⁷ Srdjan Vucetic, *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy Of Racialized Identity In International Relations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 33-34; Blake and Barck, *The United States In Its World Relations*, 126, 167, 177-79, 316-24, 500-04.

²⁷⁸ Blake and Barck, *The United States In Its World Relations*, 324-27; Harper, *Australia and the United States*, 26.

sentiment.²⁷⁹

For many decades Britain was thus still seen as the old enemy by many Americans.²⁸⁰ This was reinforced by popular history in the United States, including history textbooks, which portrayed the Revolutionary War as the fault of the British.²⁸¹ And yet, there were ongoing social, familial, technological and cultural connections between the two nations. Sixty-two percent of British migrants moved to the United States and, particularly in the upper-class social circles, trans-Atlantic marriages made literal the symbolic ideas of kinship between the two nations.²⁸² While they had more of a direct social and political impact in Britain, where the couples would live, they did provide and reinforce connections between the upper classes of Britain and the United States and help bring the two nations closer together.²⁸³

Technological advancement also made communication and connections between Britain and the United States easier. Printing and publishing developments helped mass produce cheap novels and other literary works, as well as spreading ideas across the Atlantic.²⁸⁴ There had been a longstanding interest in the literary works of each nation, but this increased from the 1890s, and the British critics, who had generally retained a strong sense of condescension towards American literary works, began to engage with the literary merits of American works.²⁸⁵ Histories of Britain were popular in the United States, as they were seen to be a part of American history; the British were less often interested in

²⁷⁹ Nelson Blake and Oscar Theodore Barck Jnr, *The United States In Its World Relations*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), 368-72; Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship*.

²⁸⁰ Marshall Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship: The Prime Facet of the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute: a Study of the Inter-reaction of Diplomacy and Public Opinion* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, c1992), 2-3.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 139; Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship*, 47-48.

²⁸² Deryck M. Schreuder, 'Empire: Australia and "Greater Britain", 1788-1901,' in *The Cambridge History of Australia*, eds Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 516; Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' 1327; Bradford, *The Great Rapprochement*, 152-53.

²⁸³ Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, "'Migrapounds': Remittance Flows Within the British World, c.1875-1913,' in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds. Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2007), 55; Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 147.

²⁸⁴ Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,' 1326.

²⁸⁵ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 138-39; Magee and Thompson, 'Migrapounds,' 55.

American history.²⁸⁶

These social connections aided the shift in relations during the 1890s that Bradford Perkins named the Great Rapprochement, fuelled in part by ideas of Anglo-Saxon kinship and unity.²⁸⁷ For the British government, the Venezuela crisis highlighted the depth of hostility and feeling that the Americans could still harbour towards Britain and it wanted to change that. There had also been a balancing of power regarding trade, as the United States had come to surpass Britain in quantity of goods produced, rivalling if not exceeding the British on the quality of these goods and making inroads into international markets.²⁸⁸

Changing power dynamics around the world also worked to bring the two powers together. After unification in 1871, Germany was a rising industrial power. In South America, Britain was the largest trade power, followed by Germany. As the United States made inroads into the South American markets, its target was to displace Germany, not Britain, and Britain feared Germany more than the rising power of the United States.²⁸⁹ From potential trade rivals, Britain and the United States became in many ways trading partners, to the point where other trade rivals in China saw any continued rivalry between them as a sham, and argued that they were colluding. German threats relating to South Africa had also aided conciliation in the Venezuela dispute, as the British were unwilling to be fighting on two fronts, and decided friendship with the United States was more valuable - this was in turn aided by ideas of Anglo-Saxonism.

The United States began to develop its own off-shore colonial empire in the 1890s with the annexation of Hawaii, an increasing role in Samoa and the acquisition of Cuba and the Philippines following the Spanish-American War. While there were many in the United States who opposed the development of an overseas empire and attempts to distinguish this American empire from that of the old world nations, Americans were hence no longer in a position to castigate the British for their empire and the subjugation

²⁸⁶ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 139.

²⁸⁷ Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England And The United States, 1895-1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 314.

²⁸⁸ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 121.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

of colonial peoples.²⁹⁰

When arguing the role of Anglo-Saxonism in the development of what became known in the twentieth century as the 'Anglosphere', International Relations theorist Srdjan Vucetic has forcefully argued that this rapprochement 'was caused by Anglo-Saxonism'.²⁹¹ He is not alone in arguing the importance of Anglo-Saxonism to the rapprochement between Britain and the United States.²⁹² By perceiving the United States as a fellow Anglo-Saxon imperial power, the British were identifying them as being similar or even an extension of themselves. A common heritage and common ideology meant that they could work together, and while the British were withdrawing from the Western Hemisphere militarily, they could be confident that the region was still controlled by an Anglo-Saxon power.

The Australians were looking to the United States on federation and constitutional development before this rapprochement occurred - first with their colonial constitutions, and then with the 1890 Federation Conference and the 1891 Federation Convention. However, the easing of relations between Britain and the United States would have made this easier, and also, for some, led to the extension of the ideas regarding Anglo-Saxon identification with the United States to the idea of an imperial federation including the United States.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

An alternate idea to national federation in the Australian colonies was that of imperial federation, creating a federal form of government that extended across the British Empire. Imperial federation had ties to the idea of Anglo-Saxonism, both in terms of racial ideas about who would or could be included in such a federation, and the idea that it would be a formal union of the English-speaking people. As such, there were even calls for extending this to an Anglo-Saxon union that incorporated the United States. It also,

²⁹⁰ Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 134-41; Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 67.

²⁹¹ Vucetic, *The Anglosphere*, 24.

²⁹² Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 75-83

along with Anglo-Saxonism, tied into the idea of 'Greater Britain' and the creation of a British world. Imperial federation could be seen as both in competition with Australian national federation, with the suggestion made that the Australians would need to choose between national or imperial federation, or as an extension of it, with Australian federation seen as a step towards imperial federation that would make its eventual achievement easier. This topic then would have been of interest to the people of the United States as, had imperial federation been successful, it would have altered their political and commercial relations with those involved, including Canada, Britain, and Australia.

From the 1870s there was an increased sentiment toward empire, both in the Australian colonies and in Britain. Prior to this, it was believed that the development of responsible government in the British colonies, including Australia, would ultimately lead to separation from the empire, which was not viewed as a particularly problematic occurrence. Discussions of imperial federation began in 1871, however general public interest was stirred from approximately 1884.²⁹³ The interest in imperial federation was aided by external factors such as the increased German colonialism in Africa and the Pacific, and Russian expansion into Asia, at the same time as rebellion within the British Empire in Africa.²⁹⁴ This was consolidated by the publication of lectures on *The Expansion of England* by John R. Seeley in 1883. However, while there were sentimental and practical reasons for the creation of an imperial federation, there was also a large stumbling block: the question of what form the federation would take. Support for the idea of Anglo-Saxonism did not always translate to support for imperial federation, as the British were not prepared to offer the dominion states equality within the federation.²⁹⁵

In Britain, imperial federation was a conservative idea that was seen as a means of strengthening the empire.²⁹⁶ One of the leading proponents was Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, who has been described as having 'an avowed imperialist agenda'.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ William Roy Smith, 'British Imperial Federation,' *Political Science Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1921): 284.

²⁹⁴ Smith, 'British Imperial Federation,' 284-85.

²⁹⁵ Meaney, "Britishness and Australian Identity," 32.

²⁹⁶ Schreuder, 'Australia and "Greater Britain,"' 519-20.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 521.

He went so far as to advocate abandoning free trade for a system of imperial preference.²⁹⁸ It was also supported by British Prime Minister Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury. The first Imperial Federation League was created in Britain in 1884 by men such as Sir George Baden-Powell, Sir Frederick Young and W.E. Forster, with branches formed throughout the Empire.²⁹⁹ At the first meeting of the Imperial Federation League in Melbourne on 5 June, 1885, attended by Melbourne dignitaries, the Mayor stated in his speech that the intention of the League was to 'maintain the integrity of the British Empire and to bring its parts into closer union'.³⁰⁰ The Imperial Federation League ended in 1893. However, in the nine years that it was in operation, it played an important role in educating the public throughout the Empire and stirring up imperial sentiment, as well as bringing about the colonial conferences.

Canada was central to the question of Imperial Federation, given its proximity to and relationship with the United States. If Canada was to join an imperial federation it would interrupt trading relations with the United States. However, there was also speculation that Imperial Federation without Canada would mean Canada trying for closer relations, if not inclusion, with the United States.

Beyond this, there was also hope expressed by advocates such as Chamberlain and Salisbury that imperial federation would ultimately lead to a broader Anglo-Saxon union, a formal federation of the English-speaking people that would include the United States. Chamberlain went so far as to declare that it was imminent in a speech given in Boston in 1898.³⁰¹ The possibility of this eventual Anglo-Saxon union was even used as an argument for voting for Australian federation.³⁰² A poem published in the *Maitland Weekly Union* in May, 1898, entitled 'Federation: A Song of Anglo-Saxon Union,' included the refrain, 'The Stars and Stripes, and Southern Cross/Together proud

²⁹⁸ Ibid.; Marshall Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship: The Prime Facet of the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute: a Study of the Inter-reaction of Diplomacy and Public Opinion*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, c1992), 116.

²⁹⁹ Smith, 'British Imperial Federation,' 285.

³⁰⁰ Schreuder, 'Australia and "Greater Britain,"' 520.

³⁰¹ 'What Mr Chamberlain Said,' *Wagga Wagga Express*, 17/05/1898; 'An Anglo-Saxon Union,' *Maitland Weekly Mercury*, 03/09/1898; 'Anglo-Saxon Union,' *Evening News* (Sydney), 1/12/1898.

³⁰² 'The ANA and Federation,' *Hamilton Spectator*, 04/03/1897; 'Vote for Union,' *Launceston Examiner*, 03/06/1898.

unfurled,/United with old England's Flag/Shall dominate the world'.³⁰³ This speaks both to the sentiment of Anglo-Saxon superiority that underpinned this idea, but also to the idea that was expressed that, given the population and might of the British empire and the United States combined, an Anglo-Saxon union would make any future war impossible, as it would be able to 'command the peace'.³⁰⁴

Articulation of this idea of expanding imperial federation to form an Anglo-Saxon union was more common from 1898 onwards. One reason for this was because the great rapprochement between Britain and the United States had made ideas such as this a greater possibility. Another reason was that, following the Spanish-American War and increased control of the Pacific, the United States would now have a greater role in world affairs, and such a union would aid in this.³⁰⁵

SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR

The Spanish-American War is conventionally viewed as the key event that enabled United States expansion into the Pacific and the development of an American empire, although it had begun earlier with the expansion across the continent, including the 1848 invasion of Northwest Mexico. As will be seen here, this war also received a strong response in the Australian colonies, with the Australians enthusiastic supporters of the United States and keen for information regarding the war. The Spanish-American War is an important demonstration of the interest the Australian people had in the United States, although one that has thus far received little historical attention.

The American people had long been interested in the conflict and ultimate Civil War in Cuba, as the Cuban people rebelled against the Spanish colonial power. This interest was fuelled by American identification with the Cuban people, with parallels being drawn between them and the Americans' own colonial revolt; by the ideals of the Monroe Doctrine and arguments that it should extend to intervention in Cuba and by American

³⁰³ 'Federation: A Song of Anglo-Saxon Union,' *Maitland Weekly Mercury*, 21/05/1898.

³⁰⁴ 'The basis of Anglo-Saxon Union,' *National Advocate* (Bathurst), 12/08/1898.

³⁰⁵ 'An Anglo-Saxon Union,' *Maitland Weekly Mercury*, 03/09/1898.

interest in the island of Cuba itself - ninety miles from Florida and a protective barrier for the Gulf of Mexico, Cuba was strategically important to the United States in this time of naval power, and there were even strong arguments within the United States that the idea of Manifest Destiny should extend to Cuba and its eventual incorporation into the United States.

The trigger that enabled the United State to enter into the conflict was the explosion and sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana Harbour, in February 1898. The *Maine* was there to ensure the safety of Americans in Cuba, after Cuban revolutionaries had taken control and some small rioting, believed to be led by the Spanish, had occurred. The reason for the explosion of the *Maine* was unclear, but the theory that it had been caused by a Spanish mine was popularised in the yellow press. With the deaths of 266 sailors, newspapers such as the *New York Journal* and the *New York World* (having already profited from sensationalist stories about Spanish atrocities in Cuba), were able to whip up popular opinion into a frenzy over the sinking of the American ship.³⁰⁶

On 11 April, President McKinley asked Congress for permission to use, if necessary, military and naval forces to end the hostilities between the Spanish Government and the Cubans and establish a Cuban government. When debating a joint resolution on the support of Cuban independence, Senator Teller of Colorado proposed an amendment to the resolution declaring that the United States would not take permanent control of Cuba. The amendment was successfully attached to the resolution and the resolution was signed by McKinley on 20 April, 1898, and an ultimatum was sent to Spain demanding Spanish withdrawal from Cuba and recognition of its independence, or the United States would intervene militarily. Spain ceased diplomatic relations with the United States on 21 April, and the United States navy began a blockade of Cuba. Spain declared war on 23 April, 1898, and two days later Congress declared that a state of war had existed since 21 April.³⁰⁷ Given the small size of the United States military at that time, their numbers were radically increased through the use of state National Guards and volunteers.

Fighting took place predominantly in Cuba and the Philippines. After rounding defeats

³⁰⁶ LaFeber, *The American Search for Opportunity*, 140; Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 32.

³⁰⁷ Blake and Barck, *The United States In Its World Relations*, 392-94.

in both locations, Spain sued for peace, with a fighting ending in August, and the formal peace treaty, the Treaty of Paris, was signed on 10 December 1898. The Americans insisted that it was they, and not the Cubans, who took the Spanish surrender. The United States also imposed restrictions on the new Cuban government that was established in 1902, including the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, and a perpetual lease of Guantanamo Bay. The United States also gained the Spanish colonies of Guam and Puerto Rico and purchased the Philippines from Spain for \$20 million. As the Filipinos had been fighting for independence, not a change in colonial rulers, this led to a bloody guerrilla war between the United States and the Filipino revolutionaries, which officially ended on 4 July, 1902, though revolutionary action continued after this time.³⁰⁸

BRITISH RESPONSE

Both Queen Victoria and British Prime Minister Salisbury were sympathetic to the Spanish (Spanish Queen Regent Christina was Queen Victoria's niece) and Salisbury, based on the experience with Venezuela, expected the Americans to shy away from actual war. At the request of the Queen Regent, the British headed peace missions to both Washington and Madrid. However, while well received in Spain, they were ignored by the United States, and the British made it clear they were unwilling to do anything to alienate the Americans.

When the war began, Britain was the only European power to support the United States.³⁰⁹ This support was predicated on ideas of Anglo-Saxon unity, the idea supported by Anglo-Saxonism that the Spanish were unfit for imperial rule, and British popular support for the United States.³¹⁰ While officially neutral in the conflict, the British forces assisted the United States in several ways they did not offer to the Spanish, including access to ports, passing on intelligence about Spanish movements, use of Britain's transpacific cable base in Hong Kong, and refusing to overrule pro-American policies in

³⁰⁸ Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 12.

³⁰⁹ Charles Morris, *The War With Spain: A Complete History of the War of 1898 Between the United States and Spain* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1899), 149; Vucetic, *The Anglosphere*, 35.

³¹⁰ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 33, 52, 313.

British colonies.³¹¹ The British populace actively and vocally supported the United States in the war, including celebrations at American victories, with bunting in the street and, incredibly, celebrating July 4th following the American victory over Spain, the first time this had occurred.³¹²

AUSTRALIAN RESPONSE

In considering the Australian response, and particularly those Australians who volunteered to serve in the American forces, I am building on the work of Raymond Wellington, and of Marilyn Lake and Vanessa Pratt, the only historians to write about the Australian response to the Spanish-American War at length.³¹³ Both Wellington and Lake and Pratt discuss the strong positive response to the war in the Australian colonies, and the role of Anglo-Saxonism in this Australian response. I am approaching the same themes, but taking a different focus, specifically the volunteers. In contrast, Wellington considered the response generally, and Lake and Pratt focused on the importance of Anglo-Saxonism in relation to ideas of self-government. I am not disputing the arguments of these historians; rather, I hope that by adding a new perspective I can continue to highlight the importance of this relatively forgotten topic.

In the period leading up to, and during the war, there was much public support of the United States by the people of the Australian colonies. Indeed, in his article 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War', Raymond Wellington notes that 'Australian opinion seems to have been more vociferously pro-American and pro-war than any other English-speaking nation (including the United States herself)!'³¹⁴ Crowds of people waited outside newspaper offices for word on the impending war, and when they heard that war had been declared, there was cheering in the streets. In theatres there was applause and cheers, American flags were flown, and songs such as the Star Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle Dandy were played.³¹⁵ As the war proceeded, newspapers included daily

³¹¹ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 46; Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship*, 134.

³¹² Harris, *God's Arbiters*, 132-34; Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 101; Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship*, 122.

³¹³ Wellington, 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War'; Lake and Pratt, 'Blood Brothers'.

³¹⁴ Wellington, 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War,' 118-19.

³¹⁵ Wellington. 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War,' 112; Harper, *A Great and Powerful*

cable reports on the fighting.³¹⁶ There was even a sentiment expressed that it was “our war”.³¹⁷ The Australian support for the Americans in this war is also apparent through the reports by the United States Consuls of hundreds of Australians who volunteered to serve in the United States military.³¹⁸ All of these offers were declined, with reference made to the neutrality of Britain. While sympathetic to the United States in the war (unlike the other European powers, who sided with Spain), Britain was officially neutral, and consequently so were the Australian colonies.³¹⁹

In an interview with the *Melbourne Herald* on 23 April, 1898, the United States Consul General in Melbourne, John P. Bray, stated that he had received over two hundred offers of volunteers from Australians.³²⁰ This interview was reprinted in newspapers across the colonies, and at least one newspaper in the United States. Likewise, in the days leading up to the declaration of war, the United States Consul in Sydney, George W. Bell, was reported as stating that he had been inundated with offers to volunteer. A report on the 20th April – before the war was declared – noted that he had received over a hundred offers. By 22 April, this had increased to over three hundred offers.³²¹ By 28 April, Bell was asking newspapers to publish his request that people cease offering their services, as 'almost the whole of his time is taken up by would-be volunteers, and that each post brings him numbers of letters containing offers of service'.³²² Bell reported the same numbers in a report to the State Department, stating 'within the last two weeks several hundreds of persons, including army and naval officers, trained gunners, ship builders and seamen, also some fifty trained nurses for field or hospital work have tendered their services to our country. Many of them offered to pay their own expenses to the United States. I have also received many tenders of such service by letter from different sections

Friend, 4.

³¹⁶ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 35; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 97.

³¹⁷ Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 4.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 109.

³²⁰ 'The War: Spain And America' *Brisbane Courier*, 25/04/1898.

³²¹ 'Volunteers For America From New South Wales,' *Launceston Examiner*, 20/04/1898; 'The United States Military Forces. Statements By The Sydney Consul,' *South Australian Register*, 22/04/1898.

³²² 'The American Consul Thanks Australia. But Cannot Accept Assistance,' *Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, 28/04/1898; 'Current Notes,' *North Queensland Register*, 27/04/1898.

of this and the other colonies'.³²³

While this indicates that hundreds of Australians offered their services to the United States, my collection of letters form only a very small sample size - five actual letters (three of which have replies from the consul's office) a further twelve responses to letters, and two newspaper articles with volunteers named. As such, I make no claim to be able to draw broad conclusions from the letters alone. However, considered together with other information available regarding the Australian volunteers (and the colonial interest in the Spanish-American War), these letters do shed a little light on the question and provide useful examples.

A range of Australians volunteered to serve with the Americans. Men with experience in the colonial defence forces and British Royal Navy, both at the beginning of their careers and as they are coming to an end, at least one doctor and several nurses, including members of the Civil Ambulance and Transport Brigade, and a world champion boxer.³²⁴

³²³ George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney, to William R. Day, Assistant Secretary of State, United States, 05/05/1898, vol. 56Q, no.132, Letter Book, 1893-1908, United States National Archives.

³²⁴ R. Moss to US Consul, Melbourne, 22/04/1898, vol. 127, Melbourne Consulate, Unbound Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, 1898-1899, United States National Archives; W. Jenkins to John P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, 25/04/1898, vol. 127, Melbourne Consulate, Unbound Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, 1898-1899, United States National Archives; L. King, Nurses Wing, St Vincent's Hospital, Sydney to John P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, 26/04/1898, Melbourne Consulate, Unbound Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, 1898-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to J. Hudson Langley, Commission Agent, Morwell, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 456, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Miss L. King, St Vincent's Hospital, Darlinghurst, Sydney, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 456, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mr Francis O'Sullivan, Finlay, NSW, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 456, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mr R.A. Gordon, c/o Hon. W. Anderson, Southern Cross, Koroit, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 457, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mr Ivan A Rosenblum, "Fakitika", Upper Hawthorn, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 457, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mr Wm C. Jenkins, Vacuum Oil Company Melbourne, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 458, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mr P.W. McManns, Reedy Creek, via Broadford, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 460, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; W. Davies, Newport, to US Consul, Melbourne, 28/04/1898, vol. 127, Melbourne Consulate, Unbound Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, 1898 - 1899; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mrs R.V. Farrar, c/o Mrs H. Fisher, North Adelaide, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 461, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mrs M. Pengelly, Iron Bark, Bendigo, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 461, Melbourne Consulate,

Such offers to volunteer were in violation of British neutrality and the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870. This Act forbade enlistment in the military of a belligerent country from Britain or any British possessions in a time of war. Messages were sent to the Australian colonies reminding them of the obligations of British neutrality and the Foreign Enlistment Act, which was standard practice by the British government. However, in all colonies, special instructions were issued regarding the obligations of neutrality.³²⁵ While the Foreign Enlistment Act officially made any offers to volunteer in the United States military from Australian colonies illegal, the Act was notoriously difficult to enforce. In New South Wales, at least, United States service would prevent them from being able to serve again in colonial or British forces. Major General French, commandant of the New South Wales Military Forces, had called it ‘most improper for anybody amongst the Australians to take part in the war and if any officers of the New South Wales military forces did so, their commissions would at once be cancelled’.³²⁶ Those who were serving in the colonial defence forces risked fines, imprisonment or, most likely, the loss of their commission.

This enthusiasm, and in particular the volunteers, are perhaps surprising in an historical environment that generally perceives the Australian colonies only within a national or an imperial framework. Why, the pressing question would seem to be, did these men and women offer to serve in the armed forces of a nation to which they had no formal allegiance?

Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Dr A.H. Watson, Goongarrie Hospital, West Australia, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 465, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Mr William W. Davies, Newport, 27/04/1898, vol. 59, p. 465, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to Sergt. A Christie, Leongatha, Vic., 04/06/1898, vol. 59, p. 466, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; John Bruce, Zeehan, Tasmania to John P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, 22/06/1898, vol. 127, Melbourne Consulate, Unbound Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, 1898-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to G. Tretman, East St Kilda, 25/06/1898, vol. 59, p. 557, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney to Capt. R.H. Thompson, 16/07/1898, vol. 56F, p. 202, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; Secretary to the US Consul General to C. Camp, Toombon, Vic., 27/07/1898, vol. 59, no. 186, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; ‘Australian Volunteers’ *Evening News* (Sydney), 23/04/1898; ‘Volunteers For America: Pugilists To The Front,’ *Launceston Examiner*, 03/05/1898.

³²⁵ Wellington, ‘Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War,’ 112.

³²⁶ ‘The War,’ *The Northern Miner* (Charters Towers, Qld), 26/04/1898.

Certainly the desire for adventure was a motivating factor, illustrated most clearly by William Jenkins. When offering his service, Jenkins outlined his experience, and stated his willingness 'to serve you on board a torpedo boat as supergunnery, midshipman or sub lieutenant, or on any cruiser - no battleships please, I want some fun and not stuck in the same place nearly all the time'.³²⁷ There was also speculation by Consul Bell of Sydney that about ten percent of the volunteers were would-be Klondikers, looking for a free passage to the United States in order to continue to the Klondike goldfields near the Canada-Alaska border - although when this was put to Bray, he responded that he was 'convinced that they were really enthusiastic in the cause of America, and anxious to see service'.³²⁸ The degree to which he was genuine, or simply embracing an opportunity to contradict Bell (with whom I suspect there was a level of antagonism and competition) is difficult to determine. Regardless, for men such as Jenkins or the Klondikers Bell discussed, a chance at travel and adventure could be a motivating force.

Another way in which the Spanish-American War could be seen as an opportunity for Australians who volunteered was as a chance to develop their military careers. Bell and Bray both noted that a number of men with military experience were among the volunteers. This can be seen in the letters of John Bruce and William Watson Davies. In their letters to Bray, both listed their training and military experience in the colonial defence forces. Bruce was a Senior Lieutenant of the West Devon Rifle Regiment. He attended the School of instruction in Tasmanian Defence Forces and had three years experience in the Indian Volunteer Service, after ten years in the Tasmanian Defence Force.³²⁹ Davies, aged twenty-two, was a Sergeant in the Victorian Volunteers, where he had served since he was eighteen. He noted his familiarity with the drill of both the infantry and the navy, as well as his experience on a cattle station that would also serve him if he was selected for the cavalry (an area of service Bell had noted was popular amongst the Australian volunteers).³³⁰ It does appear from these letters that Bruce in

³²⁷ Wm C. Jenkins to John P. Bray, 25/04/1898.

³²⁸ 'The Feeling In Sydney: A Talk With Colonel Bell,' *Evening News* (Sydney), 21/04/1898; 'America's Melbourne Representative. Thanks Australians. For Kind Sympathy. Two Hundred Volunteers,' *Evening News* (Sydney), 25/04/1898.

³²⁹ John Bruce, to John P. Bray, 22/06/1898; W. Davies to US Consul, Melbourne, 28/04/1898.

³³⁰ W. Davies to US Consul, Melbourne, 28/04/1898.

particular, but also Davies, were interested in a military career, and as such I speculate that the Spanish-American War may have seemed like an opportunity to further develop this career.

Certainly a paid military career could be appealing for the men of the Australian colonies which were still recovering from the depression of 1893. This was something that is discussed by Bell in a despatch to the State Department in 1900, in relation to the military in Australia and the Boer War.³³¹ His assessment of the Australian colonies is also interesting in light of these Australian volunteers for the Spanish-American War. He stated that 'until the recent embroiling of the Empire, there was really little military spirit among the people', with a 'revival or awakening of the military spirit in this Colony when we became involved in war with Spain', and, with the Boer War, 'the patriotic spirit broke out true Anglo Saxon earnest'. He went on to argue that the Australians had benefited from the freedoms of the British Empire without having borne the burdens of it, either in money or in blood. 'As a fact', he stated, 'no civilized people on the Globe have been so entirely exempt from the experience or the burdens of war as the Australians. Under the circumstances it would not be strange when confronted by war and its consequences that these people should be moved by an impulse peculiar to so novel an experience'.³³² Bell, in a further report on the military in New South Wales noted the difference in pay between a British soldier in the defence force of New South Wales and the colonial forces in South Africa. He stated that, while the Australians were loyal and patriotic, he did not feel that there would be so many volunteers if the pay were not as good, 'nor am I sure that if there were no enforced idleness in the Colonies by hard times, if wages were good and "work plentiful" that soldiering would be so popular as at present'.³³³

And yet, developing a military career through American service does seem a risky proposition, as the colonies were neutral during the conflict. Similarly, while Bell held

³³¹ Report 'Military Affairs in Australia' from George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney, to Secretary of State, 31/01/1900, vol. 59, pp.314-320, United States, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ British soldier pay: 1s/2d or 28c per day; NSW defence force pay: 2s/3d or 54c per day; colonial forces in South Africa: 4s/6d or \$1.08 per day. George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney, to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, United States, 14/03/1900, vol. 56Q, no. 184, Letter Book, 1893-1908, United States National Archives.

the opinion that men were volunteering for lack of other work, or even his suggestion that volunteers were Klondikers, it does not account for those such as Davies, who noted in his letter that he was 'prepared to give up a good Government situation if called upon'.³³⁴ It also does not account for those who volunteered to pay their own passage to the United States in order to serve, as noted by Bell himself in a despatch to the State Department.³³⁵

The identification with the United States as a new world nation would have strengthened Australian support of the United States, as the Spanish-American War was framed as a conflict between the old world and the new. Such an affinity or connection thus explains why the Australians had such a strong positive reaction, to the extent that Bell could describe Australia as being like in the United States. He reported to the State Department that 'one can almost imagine himself to be in some of our own States, while watching the vast crowds that stand for hours in front of the bulletin boards at the Newspaper offices'.³³⁶ It also, I believe, indicates why, in conjunction with other factors, reportedly over five hundred Australians offered their services to the United States in the Spanish-American War.

Presented here are some reasons for Australians to volunteer their services to the United States in the Spanish-American war. They are not radically different to reasons given for volunteers for the Boer war, or World War One several years later. However, there is a stark difference, in that in those cases they were offering their services to the British Empire, of which Australia was a part and with the Spanish-American War, they were offering themselves to a foreign power, one that is not usually associated with the Australian colonies in this period. In these (admittedly limited) examples, and in the reports of the consular officials, there is an underlying sense of connection to the United States expressed by the Australians. This sense of affinity with the United States fits in with the ideas of Anglo-Saxon connection that were popular in this period. Looking back to William Jenkins, his desire for 'fun' and adventure do not necessarily discount such a feeling of affection or patriotism towards the United States. Writing on the stationery of

³³⁴ W. Davies to US Consul, Melbourne, 28/04/1898.

³³⁵ George W. Bell to William R. Day, 05/05/1898.

³³⁶ Lake and Pratt, 'Blood Brothers,' 19.

the American company that he works for, Jenkins declares himself 'American in sentiment' and being 'heart and soul in this fight for humanity's sake'.³³⁷ I speculate that this connection expressed an important motivation for these volunteers, being a sense of Anglo-Saxon unity. Implied but not explicit references to Anglo-Saxonism and the English-Speaking people can be found in some of the quotes already provided. He concludes the letter: 'We are on the right side and we are going to win'.³³⁸ At least part of Jenkins' affection and attachment to the United States comes from tangible connections to that nation. Born in Wales, he had served in the British Royal Navy before settling in the Australian colonies. However, he was working for the Australian office of an American company (Vacuum Oil), had travelled to the United States and had friends there. Similarly, another volunteer, Nurse Starkey, Matron of the Civil Ambulance and Transport Brigade in New South Wales, had trained in Boston.³³⁹ Jenkins and Starkey were not alone in having a direct connection to the United States. As discussed above, the consuls facilitated connections between the Australian colonies and the United States. Such correspondence relied on this sense of affinity between the people of the United States and those of the Australian colonies. However, while these ideas were predicated on their shared history and association with Britain, these interactions occurred directly between the Australians and the Americans, without the British as intermediaries.

This sense of connection is supported by the disparity between Australian volunteers for the United States and those for the Spanish. There were volunteers to the Spanish, which were also declined in accordance with the Neutrality Act. These appear to be fewer than those volunteering for the United States.³⁴⁰ This is unsurprising, as Australian popular sympathy was overwhelmingly with the United States. This is even remarked upon by F.B. Freehill, the Spanish Consul in Sydney, who stated that 'I see it stated that the sympathies of the English-speaking races are entirely with America. I am not quite clear how that sympathy can exist', he continued, arguing a double standard on behalf of the

³³⁷ Wm C. Jenkins to John P. Bray, 25/04/1898.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ 'Australian Volunteers' *Evening News* (Sydney), 23/04/1898.

³⁴⁰ 'Interview With the Spanish Consul,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22/04/1898; 'Australian Volunteers,' *Evening News* (Sydney), 23/04/1898; 'More Volunteers,' *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 23/04/1898.

British who had claimed German interference in the Transvaal as potentially a *casus belli*.³⁴¹

These letters are not enough to draw any substantial conclusions regarding the Australian volunteers for the Spanish-American War. What they can do is provide credence to the claims of the Consuls that such offers were received, and to provide a little insight into why some Australians volunteered to serve with the Americans. They are also a further and tangible example of the deep interest the Australian colonies had in the United States in this period. Ultimately, these volunteers serve as an important reminder of the extent of Australian interest in the United States in this period, and further evidence for my broader argument - that the Australian colonies should be considered outside of, as well as a part of, the British Empire; that there was a strong interest and connection between the people of the Australian colonies and the United States of America.

The United States also looked to the Australian colonies to support its troops on the ground in the Philippines - located much closer to Australia than the United States. Both the Sydney and Melbourne consuls were tasked with engaging an Australian company to provide supplies including frozen meat and vegetables to the American troops in the Philippines.³⁴² Supplies including coal were also sent to the Philippines and were provided directly to the United States, with some concern about the violation of neutrality.³⁴³

The Spanish-American War resulted in the United States becoming an active and imperial presence in the Pacific, and through this acquisition of empire brought the

³⁴¹ 'Interview With the Spanish Consul,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22/04/1898.

³⁴² George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney to J.P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, 13/08/1898, vol. 56F, pp. 231-32, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney to Commissary General c/o Department of State, 15/08/1898, vol. 56F, p. 233, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney to J.P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, 17/08/1898, vol. 56F, pp. 234, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; John P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to Major General Wesley Merritt, Commanding U.S. Army, Manila, Philippine Islands, 21/08/1898, vol. 59, no. 666, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1897-1899; George W. Bell, US Consul, Sydney to Major General Merritt, Military Governor of the Philippines, Manila, 23/08/1898, vol. 56F, pp. 241, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives.

³⁴³ Wellington, 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War,' 113.

United States geographically closer to Australia. However, unlike earlier fears of imperial expansion from European powers such as the French and Germans, the Australians welcomed this presence. In this instance it was a fellow Anglo-Saxon power that could provide a useful barrier to Japanese expansion in the Pacific.³⁴⁴ There was a recognition that the United States was leaving its isolationist stance and entering world politics - something that the Australian people welcomed.³⁴⁵

AUSTRALIA AND AMERICAN EXPANSION INTO THE PACIFIC

The Spanish-American War played a central role on the expansion of the United States into the Pacific. The idea of the westward frontier, the continued expansion of the United States across the North American continent, was an important symbol for much of American history. By 1893, however, the American frontier was considered closed, the continent conquered. At the same time that this frontier was closing, debate was emerging in the United States about possible expansion beyond the continent, with differing views particularly centred on the question of whether the United States was going to become an empire. With Canada to the north and Mexico to the south, the most obvious point of expansion was into the Pacific and the islands therein.

One of the first steps to this expansion was the move into and eventual annexation of Hawaii in the 1880s and 1890s. This began with increasing merchant trade and American missionary presence in the Hawaiian islands and a movement within the Americans there to push for annexation. There was ultimately a coup, and in 1897 the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown and Hawaii became an American protectorate and in 1959 an American state. Hawaii was located in a strategic position that provided access to the central and western Pacific, and as a stop to the whaling regions of the Arctic. Similarly, the Navy was interested in Samoa as a base in the Pacific, including as a coaling station on the way to Australia.³⁴⁶ There was already a strong German and British

³⁴⁴ Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally*, 8; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 97-98; Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 4; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 35-36.

³⁴⁵ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 35.

³⁴⁶ Bertram, *The Birth of the Anglo-American Friendship*, 1; Blake and Barck, *The United States in its World Relations*, 304; Grattan, *The United States and the Southwest Pacific*, 120-29.

presence in Samoa, leading to conflict over control of the islands, exacerbated by American agents acting without Senate approval. The United States eventually reached an agreement in 1889 with both Britain and Germany to leave Samoa neutral and share control of the municipal government.³⁴⁷

With the Spanish-American war the United States acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines (though this in turn led to the Filipino-American War of 1899 to 1902, as the Filipinos resisted the United States). The United States was thus brought closer to Australia, and into a region where the Australians had ambitions to be a significant player.

The response of the Australian colonies to the possibility of American expansion into the Pacific changed across the nineteenth century. Early signs of expansion were, as with other powers, greeted with fear and apprehension, and led to an increase in Australian defences.³⁴⁸ There was also some concern about the United States encroaching on the islands in which Australia had an interest. Ultimately, however, the colonial Australian governments largely supported the American annexation of Hawaii and presence in Samoa.³⁴⁹ This support of the United States in Hawaii was at odds with the position of Chamberlain, who saw it as a threat. In contrast, the Australians saw the presence of the United States as an important balance of power in the Pacific, and an Anglo-Saxon nation who could serve as protection against their fears of Japanese expansion, stemming from Japanese development as a military and naval power.³⁵⁰ For, while the United States expansion into the Pacific could be seen as an extension of the idea of manifest destiny and an Anglo-Saxon bulwark against Japanese expansion, the Australians felt they could not rely on the protection of the British against Japan, with whom the British had signed a commerce and navigation treaty in 1894.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ Blake and Barck, *The United States in its World Relations*, 304; Harper, *Australia and the United States*, 53.

³⁴⁸ Wellington, 'Australian Attitudes to the Spanish-American War,' 111; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 37, 96.

³⁴⁹ Neville Meaney, *The Search For Security in the Pacific, 1901-14* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976), 22.

³⁵⁰ Humphrey McQueen, *A New Britannia* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004), 54; Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 5; Waterhouse, 'The Beginning of Hegemony or a Confluence of Interests,' 15; Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 144.

³⁵¹ Vucetic, *The Anglosphere*, 31.

While the Australians seemed to welcome the United States presence in the Southwest Pacific, they viewed the colonial expansion of European powers such as France and Germany with far more apprehension. Their relative proximity to the islands also gave this concern a sharper focus for the Australians than it did for the British government. To some in the British government, the fears of the Australian colonies about control of islands thousands of miles away from them was seen as an overreaction, and they were willing to sacrifice Australian interests for concerns elsewhere, including in Egypt and China.³⁵² This was most aptly demonstrated in the 1870s and 1880s with the islands of New Guinea and the New Hebrides. The Australians were worried about German annexation of New Guinea, and so on the order of Queensland Premier Thomas McIlwraith, without British consultation, on 4 April 1883 a Queensland police magistrate took possession of New Guinea on behalf of the British Empire.³⁵³ British Prime Minister Gladstone was not convinced of the threat and refused the annexation. Britain came to an agreement with Germany allowing a German protectorate on the island, as negotiations with Germany regarding the occupation of Egypt took precedence over colonial Australian concerns.³⁵⁴ Alfred Deakin later stated that this was the 'ultimate trigger' for the 1883 Intercolonial Convention, at which the drafting of the bill to form the Federal Council of Australasia occurred, uniting the colonial premiers behind McIlwraith.³⁵⁵ Similarly, Australia was concerned about the French taking possession of the New Hebrides, particularly as it suspected they would establish a penal station there, and the Australians were worried about escaping convicts. The Australians, particularly the Victorian government, advocated for the British to take control of the New Hebrides. However, Britain felt the distance from Australia was far enough for it not to be a concern, and did not want to disturb negotiations with the French.³⁵⁶

Despite the general harmony and mutual benefits of the Anglo-Australian relationship,

³⁵² Meaney, *The Search For Security in the Pacific*, 14.

³⁵³ Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820-1920* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1980), 51.

³⁵⁴ Meaney, *The Search For Security in the Pacific*, 18.

³⁵⁵ Alfred Deakin, *The Federal Story: The Inner History of the Federal Cause, 1880-1900*, 2nd ed., ed. J. A. La Nauze (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1963), 11; Schreuder, 'Australia and "Greater Britain,"' 193; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 31.

³⁵⁶ Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific*, 20.

there were still political and social issues. There was an awareness that federation could help with these issues, and with Australian feelings of inferiority.³⁵⁷ John Hirst has noted that the political relationship between Australia and Britain had altered towards the end of the nineteenth century, with Australians such as Samuel Griffith trying to influence imperial policies. In doing so the Australians had to lobby the British government, and it was noted in arguments for federation that they would be more effective and have a greater chance of being listened to if they spoke with a strong and united voice, enabling greater weight to be given to their desires.³⁵⁸ The Australians wanted to be recognised for their worth within the empire and also within the wider world, and respected, which they did not feel was occurring. Concern about being overlooked also led to the Australians looking towards the United States.³⁵⁹

AUSTRALIAN DESTINY IN THE PACIFIC

The delegates at the Australian Federation Conventions described Australia as a young, modern country, with the possibility, if not the probability, of becoming a great nation taking its place on the world stage. They expected a population multiplied 'to a degree that can hardly be conceived', with Simon Fraser of Victoria placing the estimation at fifty million people (compared to the five million in Australia at the time).³⁶⁰ This increased population would be reliant on the adequate implementation of irrigation to support it.³⁶¹

During the federation conventions, the delegates alluded to or stated outright their expectation that Australia would become a great power. In 1890, Victorian Premier Duncan Gillies stated that they had 'a great future before them' but that it would need federation to be achieved.³⁶² New South Wales Premier Henry Parkes argued that by federating they would be able to create a powerful, influential and respected nation,

³⁵⁷ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 28-29

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

³⁵⁹ Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 4.

³⁶⁰ Fraser, 24/3/1897, Symon, 25/3/1897 *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 77, 126; John Molony, *The Penguin Bicentennial History of Australia: The Story of 200 Years* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1987), 184.

³⁶¹ Carruthers, 01/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 396.

³⁶² Gillies, 13/2/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 244.

getting the honour that Australia deserved.³⁶³ Similarly, Andrew Inglis Clark argued that federation would enable Australia to 'take its place among the nations of the world'. Deakin noted that granting Australia an independent federal legislature meant that Australia would have powers equal to any other state in the world.³⁶⁴ These are simply some of the many examples of delegates referring to Australia as a 'great nation' and 'a great nation to be respected, a power to be recognised, and a people to be beloved' and so forth.³⁶⁵

One element of this was the belief - most commonly voiced at the 1890 Conference - that Australia would become a regional power in the Pacific region. From the early history of colonisation in Australia, the importance of Australia's position in the Pacific Ocean and the usefulness of this location for opening Pacific trade was noted.³⁶⁶ There had initially been hope that New Zealand and Fiji would be included in the federation. Even by the 1897 Sydney Convention, Josiah Symon of South Australia was arguing for the name of the nation to be Australasia, for, as he said, 'I look upon it that the day is not far distant - when Australasia will include New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea'.³⁶⁷ The Pacific Islands, including but not limited to Fiji and New Guinea, were a topic of much interest in the Australian colonies in the 1880s and 1890s. Even by the Melbourne convention session in 1898, Edmund Barton noted that 'there are a very large number of people who look forward with interest to the Commonwealth undertaking, as far as it can as part of the British Empire, the regulation of the Pacific Islands'.³⁶⁸ This interest was fuelled, at least in part, by concerns regarding defence, specifically the fear of other European powers so close to Australia.³⁶⁹

But the aspirations for expansion of the Australian sphere of influence, if not control, were not limited to the nearby islands. Griffith of Queensland and William Russell of

³⁶³ Parkes, 10/2/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 48.

³⁶⁴ Clark, 12/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 114; Deakin, 10/2/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 91.

³⁶⁵ Symon, 25/03/1897, Fysh, 29/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 140-41, 245; Fraser, 21/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 1014-15; McMillan, 14/02/1898, Forrest 01/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1705.

³⁶⁶ Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific*, 512.

³⁶⁷ Symon, 14/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 618; Walker, 09/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 224.

³⁶⁸ Barton, 21/1/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 30.

³⁶⁹ Schreuder, 'Australia and "Greater Britain,"' 193; McQueen, *A New Britannia*, 50-55.

New Zealand saw Australia's role as being a great nation and a 'great power in the Southern Seas', or 'practically commanding them', while Sir Henry Parkes believed that they should and would become the centre and leader of the Southern Seas, especially regarding trade.³⁷⁰ After noting the failed attempt to gain control of New Guinea in 1883, arguing that they would have succeeded had they been federated, Parkes stated that:

Australia ought to be mistress of the Southern Seas. The trade, commerce, and the intercourse of those groups of rich islands ought to centre in our ports, and with these advantages we ought to hold the mastery of the hemisphere. That is our destiny, and will come.³⁷¹

This destiny was supported by the argument of William McMillan of New South Wales, that in Sydney they had the best harbour in the Pacific – indeed, that it was the key to the Pacific. Tasmanian delegate to the 1890 Conference, Bolton Stafford Bird went so far as to argue that the convention delegates would be able to create a federation great and wise, so that they would be known in future history as the founders of 'an Australasian Empire'. He also hoped that all nearby British possessions would become a part of the federation, and the French penal settlements as well.³⁷² It is clear from these examples that these federalists were not limiting their grand ideas to the role federated Australia would play within the empire.

The idea of Australian dominance in the region was not limited to the convention debates. Tasmanian delegate Henry Dobson noted in 1897 that the idea that Australia would become 'the queen of the southern world' had been declared in a song sung at a concert he had attended.³⁷³ Searching through *Trove*, it can be seen that this phrase was employed from 1825, and was incorporated into a poem published marking the commencement of the federation.³⁷⁴ However, during the federation period, the phrase was more frequently employed as 'queen city of the Southern world', in reference to Sydney.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁰ Russell, 12/02/1890, Griffith, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 123, 59.

³⁷¹ Parkes, 13/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 224.

³⁷² McMillan, 12/02/1890, Bird, 12/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 152-53, 174; O'Connor, 04/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1873.

³⁷³ Dobson, 09/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 244-45.

³⁷⁴ 'To Australia,' *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 01/01/1901.

³⁷⁵ 'Federal Facts For the Electors at the Referendum,' *Australian Star* (Sydney), 31/05/1899.

This expression or desire for increased power and dominance in the South Pacific is, I contend, connected to the ideas of Anglo-Saxonism. This was made explicit by Dobson, who stated that 'having welded the mother-country and her colonies into one mighty nation under the Union Jack of Old England, we shall make manifest to the other nations of the world the power and civilization of the Anglo-Saxon race'.³⁷⁶ It draws on the concept of Anglo-Saxons being the only race equipped with the ability to effectively self-govern, as discussed by Marilyn Lake and Vanessa Pratt in the article "Blood Brothers": Racial identification and the right to rule: The Australian response to the Spanish-American War'.³⁷⁷ Lake and Pratt argue that Australian interest in the Spanish-American War was at least in part fuelled by their desire to demonstrate that they fitted within the self-governing Anglo-Saxon framework, with the capacity for self-government. A desire to exert colonial power in the Pacific region would also fit within this concept, a demonstration of their ability and credibility as an Anglo-Saxon society and nation.

In addition to Anglo-Saxonism, it also aligns with another key factor for Australian federation, defence - particularly with regard to the Pacific. While there were calls for federation to protect themselves, there was also the idea of defence through racial unity.³⁷⁸ This was articulated by Joseph Carruthers during the 1897 Sydney Convention, specifically stating that 'to my mind, one matter which is most material in regard to the future of Federation is not merely to increase the powers of self-government of the people of Australasia, but also to extend and widen the influence of the people of Australasia', which would in turn help defend Australia; as its influence has decreased in Australasia, more foreign powers have increased their influence.³⁷⁹

This is not to say, however, that these federalists were advocating complete independence from the empire. Their discussion of this regional dominance is also important in demonstrating how framing their ideas for the Australian future in an international context did not preclude them from seeing Australia's future within the British Empire. Sir John Hall of New Zealand argued that federation would ensure that 'organisation of

³⁷⁶ Dobson, 26/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 202.

³⁷⁷ Lake and Pratt, 'Blood Brothers'.

³⁷⁸ Howe, 31/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 353; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 108.

³⁷⁹ Carruthers, 25/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 87.

the forces possessed by the British race in these seas' and would bring their 'great destiny', so that they would be able to repeat in the Southern Hemisphere what Britain had done in the Northern, and become 'a centre of liberty, civilization and light throughout the length and breadth of the Pacific'. In the same way that Australians were accepted to have had a dual nationality and loyalty – both local and British – I argue that the Australians were able to perceive the world and their place within it from an international perspective, as well as from imperial and local perspectives, balancing the three. This was made clear by Griffith in 1891, when he concluded that they could create a great nation that would dominate the Southern Seas and be 'a permanent glory to the British Empire'. In such a sentiment we can see the hopes for Australia's regional importance working with, not against, the idea of empire. Australian glory would add to that of the Empire as a whole, while increasing Australia's standing both imperially and internationally. Thus the different identities or perspectives were able to overlap and interact.

As well as the belief that Australia would be a regional power, there were also statements regarding the future importance of Australia as a player on the world stage. Indeed, expressed at the conventions was the idea that they would not simply stand as one of the great powers of the world, but that they would rise above the others. While they had drawn on examples from across the world, there was among some delegates the expectation that they would in turn 'shine as a beacon light to the whole world,' an Australian city on a hill.³⁸⁰

In articulating this desire for dominance in the Pacific, the delegates drew upon the example of the United States in envisioning Australia's global role.³⁸¹ For some, such as Bird, the United States was a point of reference to emulate. Thus when expressing his hope that Australia would come to represent all the people of the Southern Sea Islands, he pointed to the manner in which all the residents of the United States or Canada were American or Canadian, to exemplify his vision that everyone in these colonies would be

³⁸⁰ Brunker, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 337. See also Trenwith, 30/03/1897, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 337, 662; Trenwith, 21/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 948; Forrest: 11/02/1898, Trenwith, 09/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 850-51, 2151.

³⁸¹ Bell and Bell, 'Americanization,' 6-7.

known the world over as Australasian.³⁸² For others, the American example was more concrete. Victorian convention delegate Henry Bourne Higgins, arguing against equal representation of states in the Senate, argued that, as they could not expand further across the continent as the United States had, the creation of new states would come from subdivision on the existing states into smaller ones.³⁸³ When in 1890 Alfred Deakin compared Australian development to that of the United States, his conclusion was that they were on the same path, with Australia just a little further behind.³⁸⁴ His assessment of the wealth and prospects of the Australian colonies in 1891, however, led him to predict that a federated Australia would become powerful enough to rival European kingdoms and the United States. In such statements Deakin, known as a great admirer of the United States, was complimenting Australian development and promoting the honour of a potential federal government. However, his argument in 1890 that, in relation to the Pacific Islands, they 'should claim to be recognised as the United States is making itself recognised in dealing with the destinies of these groups', also suggests anticipating this rivalry, and asserting an early dominance.

Captain William Russell was more direct when anticipating a rivalry between the two nations. He was clear in perceiving the United States as a competitor to the Australian nation, noting cohesion was needed amongst the federated states to protect against a potentially dangerous neighbour who could beat them to trade and power. Representing New Zealand, which he earlier noted would be unlikely to join the federation, he warned the remaining colonies of the need to consider more generally that:

in the plenitude of your power, feeling yourselves now the masters of the whole Pacific, it should be your duty to attract, as it were, by centripetal force, the whole of Australasia to yourselves. The day is coming when the countless islands throughout the Pacific will be colonised, and though your power is great, and though you have an enormous start in colonisation, there will be an enormous power in those southern seas that must be either part of Australasia, or more or less inimical to our interests.³⁸⁵

Russell goes on to clarify that

³⁸² Bird, 12/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 159.

³⁸³ Higgins, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 647.

³⁸⁴ Deakin, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 83. See also Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 301; Deakin, 17/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 2509; McLachlan, 'Future America,' 361.

³⁸⁵ Russell, 05/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 66.

really not far away from parts of Australasia lies the great continent of America, and the question has yet to be solved whether America may not attract the majority of the trade, the majority of the power and influence of the southern seas to her coast, and divert them from Australia

something that was, he said, 'quite within the bounds of possibility'.³⁸⁶ Later at the convention the other New Zealand representative Sir George Grey, put forth the reminder when discussing the possibility of a federation of all English-speaking peoples, including the United States, 'that America must have a great deal to say in regard to the Pacific Ocean'.³⁸⁷

In 1891 John Cockburn commented on two occasions about Australia's potential to be a social laboratory for the world, replacing the United States (although this also supports his call for states' rights) and Grey argued that they would achieve a 'higher prosperity than any other people have yet attained' and stated that the United States was still not as perfect as Australia had the potential to be.³⁸⁸ From this, it can be seen that they envisioned for their youthful, progressive nation an international role beyond the British Empire, with the United States as a comparison point.

The concepts of Australia as young and modern were related to and drew upon the connections that were drawn with the United States. The United States was the epitome of a New World nation, young and modern in contrast to staid Old World nations, sometimes including Britain. This was made explicit in statements such as that of Ayde Douglas, in the debate to insert the words 'invoking Divine Providence' into the Preamble at the Sydney session of the Australasian Federal Convention in 1897. He was critical of the use of religion as a formality and noted that ceremonies that had been adopted in old countries due to custom had not been adopted in 'modern' countries like the United States and Canada and went on to call prayers in the House of Commons a 'farce'.³⁸⁹

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³⁸⁶ Ibid., 66-67.

³⁸⁷ Grey, 09/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 141.

³⁸⁸ Cockburn 10/03/1891, Grey, 09/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 201, 143.

³⁸⁹ Douglas, 22/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 1186; Douglas, 02/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1739-40.

The relations between Australia, Britain, and the United States was triangular in nature. The Australian colonies were undoubtedly and unsurprisingly closer to Britain than they were to any other nation, and were firmly entrenched within the British Empire. This did not preclude them from having a direct connection to the United States throughout the history of the colonies. Furthermore, the connection between the United States and Britain, between Britain and between the Australian colonies, and the Australian colonies and the United States, each had an influence on the other.

In exploring these points of connection, it is evident (particularly when looking at political ideas as well as conceptions of government and their place in the world) that the ideas that underpin the concept of American exceptionalism were present in the Australian colonies. The United States was held up, including at the federation conventions, as an example of a great power coming from a New World colonial society. They praised the United States for what had been achieved, and made both direct and implied statements that this was at least in part what they wanted to become. This was reinforced by the perception of a shared Anglo-Saxon identity.

As will be seen in subsequent chapters, ideas based on American exceptionalism were heard throughout the federation convention debates. The United States was seen as an example, different from Europe, from which the Australians could learn and which they could emulate. However, in contrast to the concept of American exceptionalism, in some regards they also saw the United States as an example of what they wished to avoid.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SEARCH FOR A FEDERAL MODEL

Contained within the questions of whether the Australian colonies were ready to federate, and whether the federalists needed to bring it about, were two separate but related areas about which they needed guidance – how to develop a new political system, and what it should look like. In creating an Australian federal government, the Australians wanted to follow the British model as far as they could. British law and government procedure was what they were familiar with. It was the basis for the local colonial constitutions, the system they as politicians were used to working within, and there were strong arguments made for the need to stay as much as possible with the familiar.³⁹⁰ In addition, they were proud to be British, and wanted to retain that identity. Yet it was generally acknowledged that there was a need to look beyond the British precedent, as there were aspects of federation, such as the relations between the levels of government and the role of the federal upper house, for which the British model provided no guidance.³⁹¹ In order to develop a federal form of government, the Australians felt they needed to create a bicameral parliament, with a second chamber representing the states.³⁹²

It is already widely acknowledged in works that look at federation that the political system of the United States was a significant constitutional model for the Australians when developing Australian federation. The models of Canada, Britain, the Australian colonies themselves, and (less frequently) European federations such as Switzerland and Germany are also acknowledged by historians, political scientists and other scholars, with the Australian constitution seen as a blend of any or all of these. This can be seen in works ranging from general histories of Australia, specialised works on federation or the constitution, and occasionally in works on Australian-United States relations. Despite this general acknowledgement of the obvious importance of the United States model, there is

³⁹⁰ Baker, 23/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 28.

³⁹¹ Barton, 23/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 21.

³⁹² La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 40; Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, 70; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 58-61.

much less discussion as to *why* the Australians used the United States model, and why they did not use these other constitutional models to a greater extent. This is generally left to the small pool of works specifically related to the construction of the constitution (rather than federation more broadly).³⁹³

This thesis is looking at Australian federation within the scope of Australian-United States relations, and the ways the Australians looked to and interacted with the United States and the United States constitution. To do this, it is important first to contextualize it, by considering why they utilised the United States federal model to the extent that they did. It was not a default, inevitable outcome, or the only option available. The Australian use of the United States model over the Canadian model was a choice, made by weighing up the options and deciding what would suit them best. It was also not a slavish copy of the United States constitution. The Australians took the parts of the United States model they felt would be appropriate for them and blended them with other constitutional examples and their own innovations and developments, frequently based on the experience of these other models, in order to create something new.

The federation conventions were to an extent a microcosm of the Australian federation generally – done following the example of the United States, and with reference to how they were constructed there, while adopting the British parliamentary systems with which they were familiar, modified to suit the different circumstances. The Australians were learning from the experience of both these processes, changing what they felt did not work for the Americans to develop a newer, better system, blending the British, the American, and other appropriate examples, to create something uniquely Australian.

This question of how to develop a federal constitution was primarily discussed at the 1890 Federation Conference. The purpose of the Conference was to discuss whether Australasia was ready for federation and how to proceed from there. As such, the discussion centred on general principles rather than precise details.³⁹⁴ A key question

³⁹³ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*; John Quick and Robert Garran, *The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth* (1901, reprint ed., (Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2016).

³⁹⁴ Dawson, 'The Founders' Vision,' 10; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 45.

raised was how to develop the federation. Should they be looking for a gradually developed Constitution, perhaps building on the existing but ineffective Federal Council? This would be slowly evolved and developed, unfixed, in the manner of the British Constitution. Or should they start afresh, with the creation of a new, written constitution, following the path of the Americans? The result, both at the 1891 and the 1897/98 conventions, was a manufactured, written constitution, and thus arguably a rejection of the British model of development.

In the process of debating how federation should come about, the Australian federalists demonstrated an understanding of both British and American constitutional development. They also demonstrated some of the conflicting attitudes held regarding the United States, as being both foreign, too different, and at the same time closely connected to the British Empire and therefore themselves, which could then in turn help to justify the use of the American precedent over the British for those who needed it.

At the time of Australian federation, there were seven major federations existing in the world, each with different systems that the Australians could choose to follow. The oldest and arguably the most famous was that of the United States. Also in North America were Canada and Mexico; in South America there was Argentina, Venezuela and the very recently federated Brazil; and in Europe, Switzerland and Germany.³⁹⁵ Ultimately the Australians chose to implement an amalgam of the United States and British constitutional models, while still incorporating aspects of the Canadian and European models. In this chapter, I will briefly outline the debate that took place between having a written constitution like the United States, compared to a gradually developed unwritten constitution like the United Kingdom. I will then outline the different model options that were available to the Australians, and what the perceived limitations of each were, along with their benefits, before describing the end result. In doing this, I am bringing together different secondary sources that observe the use of different models, together with the discussions in the debates, to consider the different models available, including the overlooked (even by the convention delegates) Latin American models. In doing so, I provide an overview of the reasoning behind rejection and approval of models, and the

³⁹⁵ Brazil Constitution from 1891 - Garraan, *The Coming Commonwealth*, 106.

ultimate decision to blend them.

A GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT

A notable aspect of the British Constitution is that it is not a written constitution. Instead, it is the sum of British law, practice, and convention, and evolves as these constituent parts do. There were delegates at the Federation Conventions arguing that this British model of an unwritten, gradually developed Constitution would be the best for Australia. There was distrust of the idea of a 'paper constitution'. Tasmanian Bolton Stafford Bird, expressed concern that a created constitution would be 'an exotic transplanted from Canadian or American soil, and which possibly might not flourish so well as would an indigenous product', and thus that they needed to put some consideration into if they wanted to do this.³⁹⁶ South Australian John Alexander Cockburn argued that gradual development was one of the things that had made the British constitution so strong; that its flexibility made it superior to any rigid, 'manufactured' constitution such as the United States constitution.³⁹⁷ As a young country, Australia needed as much flexibility as possible. This call for a gradual development was in line with his support for the Federal Council and willingness to let federation evolve from there.³⁹⁸

The response to this position was to argue that the United States Constitution, while written, had also been gradually developed. Proponents of this position, such as Barton, Deakin and Parkes, were highlighting the British heritage of the United States Constitution to support their case. They argued that, as the United States Constitution had been based on the British, it too was a gradual development and had the benefits of this.³⁹⁹ Doing this both rejected the criticisms of written constitutions, and highlighted the United States connection to Britain.

The result of the 1891 convention was the creation of a written constitution. A clear

³⁹⁶ Bird, 12/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 172; Parkes, 17/03/1891, Wrixton, 18/03/1891, Baker, 01/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 446-47, 468, 542.

³⁹⁷ Cockburn, 11/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 135.

³⁹⁸ Cockburn, 10/3/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 202-03.

³⁹⁹ Parkes, 11/02/1890, Deakin, 13/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 134, 250; Barton, 17/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 412.

benefit of this was having something to work with at the convention debates - a defined set of rules that they could then debate, modify, delete, and add to. They were creating a new form of government, building on unfamiliar ground, so it was important to have guidance.⁴⁰⁰ They were also trying to develop the form of government in a timely manner - they wanted to establish a form of federal government for Australia soon. Taking the approach of a gradual development would not achieve this quickly and had not achieved it in the decades previously that federation had been discussed. Beyond this, federation in the form that they had agreed was best, drawing from the American model, was not something that would naturally gradually evolve from the existing system. It needed to be established and defined.

As such, it is unsurprising that they followed the model of a written constitution. However, it is also a demonstration of the way that, while the Australians attempted to balance between the British and the American constitutions, there were times when they had to choose and they did not always choose the British example.

FEDERAL MODELS

BRITAIN

When developing a new government structure, the first place to look was at what was very familiar, the British model. It was the system of government with which the Australians had been operating, and the basis for the Australian colonial constitutions that were developed through the nineteenth century.

The Australians were proud of their British heritage, and emphasised their desire to remain British. Sir Henry Parkes famously declared at a banquet for the 1890 Convention that 'the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all', a sentiment echoed through the convention debates and through the literature on federation. This sentiment emphasised the racial ties between the white Australians and their British forebears.⁴⁰¹ Federation was not a move away from that heritage, it was simply going to be another

⁴⁰⁰ Warden, 'United States Constitution,' 431; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 74.

⁴⁰¹ Deakin, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 21; Darian-Smith, Grimshaw and Macintyre, *Britishness Abroad*, 10.

means of existence within the British empire.⁴⁰² Delegates such as Parkes and John Forrest clearly stated their desire to develop a Constitution that was as close as possible to the British constitution, as it was sufficient, familiar, and not an experiment.⁴⁰³ While there was an understanding that the creation of a federal government was going to be a significant change, there was a reluctance to change any more than was absolutely necessary. The delegates also expressed much admiration for the British constitution as a system of government and noted the admiration others had for it.⁴⁰⁴ As well as sentimental attachment to the British constitution, there were also practical considerations of compatibility. The Australian federal government would exist in a system that also included the colonial (soon to become state) constitutions and would also be working within the British empire. Thus there was concern that they would need to ensure compatibility with both of these systems.

The key aspect of the British Constitution that they wanted to keep was the principle of responsible government. This is a system of parliamentary government that, rather than ensuring that government would retain power for a fixed term, the party or coalition of parties who had formed a majority in the parliament and thus were able to form government, only retained the power to form government for as long as they had the confidence of the lower house. As such, the government was responsible to the House - if it lost the support of the majority of the House, it was required to offer to resign.

There was extensive discussion throughout the federation convention debates on the question of responsible government, why it was important to retain, if they would be able to federate while keeping the system (especially as they would likely have to follow a different federal model), and if so, would federation be worth losing responsible government.⁴⁰⁵ Sir Richard Chaffey Baker went so far as to declare that 'federation will

⁴⁰² Clark, *The People Make Laws* 32, 67.

⁴⁰³ Parkes, 17/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 446-448; Forrest, 29/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 247.

⁴⁰⁴ Deakin, 13/2/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 249.

⁴⁰⁵ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 101; Helen Irving, *Five Things to Know About the Australian Constitution* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 93; La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 40, 42; Michael Crommelin, 'The Federal Model,' in Craven, *Australian Federation*, 41-42; H.S. Nicholas, *The Australian Constitution Including Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 63 & 64 Vic. c.12, the Constitution, the Financial Agreement 1927-1944; The States Grants (Tax Reimbursement) Act, 1946-1947; The Statute of Westminster, 1931; The Report of the Imperial Relations Committee - The Balfour Report, 1926: An*

kill responsible government, or responsible government kill federation', with an ensuing debate through the conventions as to whether that was the case, and if so, what was the preferred option.⁴⁰⁶ However, while the retention of responsible government was the dominant view, there were certainly some delegates who were willing to cast it aside in the interest of achieving federation.⁴⁰⁷

Working within the familiar British model was important not just for the delegates at the conventions and their preferences, but also because, as pointed out by William Trenwith in 1897, the constitution needed to be passed by the general population. He noted that they would be largely unfamiliar with the intricacies of government and so it would be best to adopt a form that would be familiar.⁴⁰⁸ However, while it was a familiar and desirable constitutional model, the British Constitution was not a federation, and so the Australians needed to look elsewhere for guidance on how to create one. The most obvious choices of which model to follow were those of the United States and Canada.

UNITED STATES

The merits of the American constitutional model were that it was a federal system with defined, and therefore limited, central powers. It was also the system of a fellow Anglo-Saxon nation, with the United States also stemming from the British Empire and the American people therefore metaphorical cousins to the Australians. In addition it was a nation that was rising to prominence in global relations. While not as familiar as the British system that the Australians were used to working with, few would regard the American model as foreign in the same way they would the Swiss or the German model.

There was also considered merit in the United States being the oldest of the modern federations (established in 1789) and the base model for the others that followed. As the first example of a national federal government in the modern world, it was a frame of reference for all nations looking to establish a federal form of government. For the

Analysis (Sydney: Law Book Co. of Australasia, 1948), v, 16.

⁴⁰⁶ Baker, *Manual of Reference*, 3; Baker, 23/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 28.

⁴⁰⁷ Griffith, 18/3/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 467.

⁴⁰⁸ Trenwith, 30/3/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 334.

Australians, as well as being the 'classic' model of federation, the age of the United States system was used to argue that the system worked well enough to have lasted for a hundred years, that it had stood the test of time.⁴⁰⁹ This was particularly noted with regard to the construction and powers of the Senate.

There was much admiration for the United States federal model expressed throughout the convention debates, including specific admiration of the United States Senate.⁴¹⁰ The use by the Australians of the United States Senate as a model is one of the aspects of United States influence on Australian federation that is generally noted. This was particularly the case among those who felt the need to protect states' rights, particularly the smaller states against the overwhelming majority the larger states would have in the House of Representatives.⁴¹¹ These delegates highlighted the position and respect in which the United States Senate was held, both internationally and in American society, to support their calls to follow the American precedent over all, and specifically to grant the states equal representation in the Australian Senate and the Senate the power to amend or veto money bills.⁴¹² However, such admiration was also expressed by delegates who were opposed to this point of view, and when comparing the United States Senate to other upper houses, particularly the House of Lords.

Use of the United States federal model also related to the goals and ambitions that the delegates had for the government and nation that they hoped to create, as discussed in Chapter One. They wanted Australia to take its place among the nations of the world, and to be a regional leader. Following a constitutional model that was well regarded could help that to occur. As Dibbs argued, Australia was worthy of having an upper house like

⁴⁰⁹ Fysh, 29/3/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 244; Cuthbert, 12/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 293; Downer, 06/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 747. See also Warden, 'Federal Theory and the Formation of the Australian Constitution'.

⁴¹⁰ Leslie Zines, 'A Legal Perspective,' in *Australian Federalism*, ed. Brian Galligan (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1989), 17; Dawson, 'The Founders' Vision,' 12; La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 13, 17-18, 165, 184, 192.

⁴¹¹ Lee-Steere, Forrest, 10/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 194, 222; Harry Evans, 'Senate,' Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 422.

⁴¹² Macrossan, 14/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 194; Clark, 11/3/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 249; Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 291; Downer, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 700.

the American Senate.⁴¹³

The chief objection to the United States model was that it did not utilise the system of responsible government, and there was serious concern that it was antithetical to responsible government. In the United States, the executive, the president and cabinet, existed outside Congress. A series of checks and balances were instituted in Congress, the executive and the judiciary, to limit the power of each.

Another objection raised by some was that, while not as foreign as the Swiss or German models, the United States model was unfamiliar.⁴¹⁴ In response, others noted that the United States Constitution and political model were British in origin. The American people who created the Constitution had originally come from Britain, and the political system was replicating the British system as far as possible, just in republican form (although it was acknowledged that there was some influence from French thinkers as well).⁴¹⁵ Baker stated that,

we have in America a people practically of our own race, speaking our own language, brought up under the same circumstances as ourselves so far as political institutions are concerned, and we should be wanting in wisdom if we were to refrain from learning lessons from the experience which they have gained.⁴¹⁶

Together, Britain and the United States formed what Deakin referred to as 'the two great Anglo-Saxon organisations to which we must necessarily direct our attention', the United States and Canada, as well as the non-federal British model.⁴¹⁷ The only reason that the United States had not included responsible government, it was argued, was because it had not yet been fully developed in Britain. This British connection to the United States was also connected to the idea that the Australians and Americans had a shared heritage, with the Australians on the same path as the United States, just a little further back. While the sentiment of the 'crimson thread of kinship' is associated with Australia and Britain, it was also used to argue the connection between the Australian colonies and the United

⁴¹³ Dibbs, 06/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 752.

⁴¹⁴ Peter Self, 'An Economic Perspective,' in *Australian Federalism*, ed. Brian Galligan (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1989), 82; Forrest, 29/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 247.

⁴¹⁵ Parkes, 11/02/1890, Parkes, Deakin, 13/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 134, 218, 250; Barton, 17/03/1891, Parkes 18/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 412, 323.

⁴¹⁶ Baker, 01/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 543.

⁴¹⁷ Deakin, 10/2/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 75.

States.⁴¹⁸ This in turn linked with the idea that Australia could also become a great power, tying the two together within the Anglo-Saxon triangle and expressing their admiration for the United States.⁴¹⁹

This shared Anglo-Saxon heritage was also used when federalists were advocating an aspect of the American model over the British example. While the American model was largely used in areas where the British model could not help, there were also instances where the British model was available as a precedent, and the Australian federalists chose the American precedent instead. Combined with the rejection of the Canadian model (and what the Australians saw as a system of centralised powers) these arguments drawing upon the British-American heritage enabled the United States to become the dominant federal model at the Australian federation conventions.

By some reckoning, the most unfamiliar aspect of the United States model was that it was a republic. While the question of republicanism was touched on briefly at the conventions, and there were some members of the public (particularly on the radical left) who advocated an Australian republic at this time, it was a firm view of the majority that this federation would take place within the British Empire.⁴²⁰ Indeed, it was argued that it was a mark of their achievement that they were able to take these steps towards independence and national maturity while still retaining ties to the British Empire—having the best of both worlds.

A similar analysis of the United States as a federal model (as well as the Canadian and European models) is provided by Helen Irving in *To Constitute A Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*. She particularly notes that Tasmanian Andrew Inglis Clark was enamoured of the United States and that he was largely responsible for the similarity between the two federal Constitutions (though the Australian was not as American as Clark would have liked).⁴²¹ Although he only attended the 1890 Conference

⁴¹⁸ 'The Federal Convention, 1897: Mr J.H. Symon, Q.C., At the Town Hall, Adelaide, February 8, 1897,' MS 1736, Series 9, item 521, Papers of Sir Josiah Symon, National Library of Australia.

⁴¹⁹ Deakin, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 83.

⁴²⁰ Abbott, 12/03/1891, Parkes, 13/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 301, 323.

⁴²¹ Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, 71; Wise, *The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, 75; La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 13; Peter Heerey, 'Andrew Inglis Clark, Australian Federation and the

and the 1891 Melbourne Convention, Clark was a strong influence on the use of the United States model. He was a member of the Drafting Committee in 1891 (although unable to attend the key drafting session that took place aboard the *Lucinda*), and wrote a draft Constitution that was widely circulated in preparation for the 1891 Convention and, it is argued, was heavily drawn upon by Griffiths when drafting the Convention Bill.⁴²²

However, Irving concludes that they used the United States model as sparingly as possible, arguing that, in rejecting the Canadian model, 'the only other real federal alternative, in their eyes, was that symbol of modernity, wealth and the type of civilization about which they felt most ambivalent: America', but that they remained doubtful about American history and culture, and thus felt the need to distance themselves culturally, to avoid becoming like the United States.⁴²³ I disagree with this conclusion, and through this thesis demonstrate how, while they were as Irving notes learning from the negative experiences of the United States in order to avoid repeating them, there was a willingness to emulate the United States as well. There was disagreement about the use of the United States model and as David Mosler and Robert Catley framed it, the 'inordinate influence' it was having at the convention.⁴²⁴ Yet Clark was by no means alone in expressing admiration for and a desire to follow the United States model. Most leading members of the Convention, including Barton, Deakin, Griffith, Symon and Isaacs, expressed such sentiments across the debates.

CANADA

Another federal model considered by Australians was that of Canada. Federation took place in Canada on 1 July, 1867, in the wake of the American Civil War (as noted by the Australian convention delegates). It came about principally through the federal union of Canada (divided into Ontario and Quebec), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick provinces.

Tasmanian Club, 'The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History 3, (1999): 101.

⁴²² Frank Neasy, 'Andrew Inglis Clark and Australian Federation,' in *One People, One Destiny*, 6-7; La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 67.

⁴²³ Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, 70.

⁴²⁴ Mosler and Catley, *America and Americans in Australia*, 16; Parkes, 17/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 447.

One of the biggest advantages that the Canadian model had for the Australians was that it was an example of a federation within the British empire, and so could provide a guide as to how to federate while still retaining the aspects of the British constitution they wanted, including responsible government.⁴²⁵ This was likely one of the reasons that Parkes presumed that the Australian federation would be modelled on that of the Canadian federation, including this both in his letter to Victorian Premier Duncan Gillies when proposing the federation Conference, and in his first resolutions to that Conference.⁴²⁶ There was also British support for the Australians to follow the Canadian model, in order to achieve a degree of uniformity within the British Empire.⁴²⁷

The Canadian model would appear to meet the objections levelled at the United States model. It was familiar, existed within the British Empire and employed a system of responsible government. And yet it was quickly established in the 1890 Conference that, despite the expectation from Parkes that they would be proceeding with a federation based on the Canadian model, the delegates at the federation did not consider the Canadian model suitable for the Australians to follow.⁴²⁸ The 1891 Convention met with the Canadian federation discarded as a potential model, and it was only on specific issues that Canada was brought into the discussion.

The chief objection to the Canadian model was the perception that it was too centralised.⁴²⁹ This was, it was argued at the conventions, the result of the proximity of the creation of the Canadian federation and the American Civil War, with the Canadians taking a lesson against decentralized powers and strong states' rights.⁴³⁰ In the Canadian constitution the powers of the provinces were defined. The federal government was also prescribed a list of exclusive powers and the power to legislate 'in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the

⁴²⁵ Dawson, 'The Founders' Vision,' 11; Zines, 'A Legal Perspective,' 17.

⁴²⁶ Clark, *People Make Laws*, 25; Zines, 'A Legal Perspective,' 16. Parkes, *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History*, 341; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 47.

⁴²⁷ John Bannon, 'A War for a Constitution: The Australian Colonies and the South African War,' *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History* 5 (2000): 2-3.

⁴²⁸ Playford, 10/02/1890, Macrossan, 12/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 60-61, 191; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 63-64.

⁴²⁹ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, p.274; Zines, 'A Legal Perspective,' 16.

⁴³⁰ Heerey, 'Andrew Inglis Clark,' 101; Solomon, 29/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 255.

Legislatures of the Provinces'.⁴³¹ Given this, the central government was seen as overwhelmingly powerful, and the Australians preferred the United States model where all powers other than those exclusive to the federal government would rest with the states. Michael Crommelin argues that this was a misunderstanding of the Canadian constitution that overlooks the exclusive power allocated to the provinces to make laws regarding 'all Matters of a merely local or private Nature in the Province'.⁴³²

There was a fear that a strong central government would result in an amalgamation, with the smaller states being absorbed by the larger. Even after it was generally agreed that they would not be following the Canadian model, this fear of amalgamation was played out in debates over the senate, its powers and proportional representation. The individual colonies had separate and sometimes conflicting ways of working, aspirations and agendas, stemming from the different environmental and social situations, and so amalgamation or unification would not suit.

Indeed, there was debate and discussion at the conventions on the question of whether Canada was a federation, particularly from delegates opposed to utilising the Canadian model. They argued that it was, if anything, a confederation, and therefore a weaker union than was desired and there were delegates who refused to even concede that point.⁴³³ As noted, the delegates were clear that they wanted only a federation, not unification or a confederation, and so this line of argument was a serious condemnation of the Canadian federation as a model for the Australians.

EUROPEAN MODELS

There were federal constitutional models that the Australians could follow outside of the Anglo-Saxon sphere. The German confederation occurred in 1815 with the Congress of Vienna. The Swiss federation took place in 1847, following the model of the United

⁴³¹ 'Constitution Act, 1867,' *Justice Laws Website, Government of Canada*, accessed 23/02/2018, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/>. See also Just, *Leading Facts Connected With Federation*, 56.

⁴³² Michael Crommelin, 'The Federal Model,' 43.

⁴³³ Clark, Cockburn, 11/2/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 105-06, 139; Cockburn, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 342-43; Braddon, Barton, Braddon, 01/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1703, 1706, 1713.

States to a large degree, but also replacing a confederation that was centuries old. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, when discussing federation it is often noted in a general sense that the Australian constitution drew on the United States, British and Canadian examples. However, less attention is paid to the use of these existing European federations, and what the delegates felt they could learn from them.⁴³⁴

In the handbooks prepared for delegates (and others) to learn about the different federal models available, the Swiss and German federations were included. Both John Quick's *Digest of Federal Constitutions* (1896) and Robert Garran's *The Coming Commonwealth* (1897) included both, and Baker's *A Manual of Reference to Authorities for the Use of the Members of The National Australasian Convention* (1891) included the Swiss.⁴³⁵ However, neither of these models were seriously considered as the primary model that the Australian colonies could follow. While Garran assesses the Swiss in contrast to the United States constitution to highlight the areas in which they had improved on the United States model, Baker argues that:

It has been of such slow growth and development, so moulded by wars and events of long gone by history; the manners and customs of the people are so different from those of ourselves and our kinsfolk in America and Canada, and have so important a bearing on its working, that except perhaps as to the mode of the appointment of the executive and the peculiar institution of the "referendum," which will be dealt with hereafter, it is feared few useful conclusions can be obtained from either its history or its text.⁴³⁶

None of the European federations utilised the principle of responsible government that was seen as essential by most Australian federalists. In addition, as suggested by Baker's statement, these European models sat outside the Anglo-Saxon sphere, and thus were too foreign to be serious contenders. As Edmund Barton declared at the Adelaide Convention in 1897, talking of his preference for framing the bill as it was in 1891, 'I for one, as I do not wish my boots made in Germany, do not want my Constitution made in Switzerland. I think our British forms of government, those we have adopted and

⁴³⁴ Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 67; Irving, *Five Things to Know About the Australian Constitution*, 47; Aroney, *The Constitution of a Federal Commonwealth*, 48-52, 112-13, 220.

⁴³⁵ Quick, *Digest of Federal Constitutions*, 31-45, 60-77; Garran *The Coming Commonwealth*, 70-80, 93-103; Baker *Manual of Reference*, 27-29.

⁴³⁶ Garran, *The Coming Commonwealth* 70, 79; Baker, *Manuel of Reference*, 27.

adapted, are best fitted for ourselves'.⁴³⁷ This was not a universal feeling, and this boot analogy was refused in rejecting it, including by William Trenwith at the Adelaide 1897 Convention, where he stated that

While I would not go to Germany for my boots, I would go to the ends of the earth for a better system, and we are bound to ransack the earth to secure all advantages which experience can give us, because there is no light so useful for the guidance of our footsteps in the future as the light of past experience, and we must not reject any lessons taught by any part of the world, whether English or not, because how few institutions there would be in England if there were only those that were English.⁴³⁸

Ultimately, the delegates would follow Trenwith's frame of mind. While the Swiss and German constitutions were rejected as primary models for the federal system, they did, as Trenwith suggested, look for guidance from outside the Anglo-Saxon sphere. Examples from Switzerland, German, France, the Netherlands, even India were drawn upon as examples to support or reject clauses in the draft Commonwealth Bill.

Most likely the best-known aspect of the European models that were adopted was the referendum from Switzerland. This was the system by which an issue was put to a direct vote of the people. In Charles Kingston's Draft Constitution for the 1891 National Australasian Convention, the radical democrat had included the referendum as a means of vetoing bills before they received assent from the Governor General.⁴³⁹ Neither of these proposals made it through to Samuel Griffith's Draft Constitution Bill, although Andrew Thynne proposed that the referendum be used for resolving deadlocks between the Houses, to alter the Constitution and to endorse the constitution. While this proposal did not generate a great deal of debate, by the time of the 1897/98 Australasian Federal Convention, the idea of the referendum had gained in popularity. In the intervening time New South Wales, Tasmania, New Zealand and South Australia had all made enquiries into the referendum and its applicability, and South Australia had actually employed it. It was adopted as the means by which the constitution could be altered at the Adelaide session of the convention and it was debated at length throughout the convention

⁴³⁷ Barton, 23/3/97, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 24.

⁴³⁸ Trenwith, 30/3/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 333. See also Baker, Barton, 23/3/97, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 30.

⁴³⁹ 'Kingston's Draft of a Constitution Bill,' in *The Australian Constitution: A Documentary History*, ed. John M. Williams (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2005), 126.

whether it could be used as the means to resolve deadlocks between the Houses, although ultimately the convention chose instead the double dissolution election.⁴⁴⁰ Other aspects of federation that the European models where the European models were referenced were in relation to deadlocks, revenue and finance, proportional representation and the judiciary.⁴⁴¹

LATIN AMERICAN MODELS

The other federal models that the Australians could have considered were the federal republics that had developed in Latin America during nineteenth century. Like the Australian colonies, nations such as Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil were new world nations federating with the experience of the United States in mind.

And yet, none of these nations were discussed individually at the federation conventions as a federal model.⁴⁴² They are referenced on mass on as the 'South American Republics,' generally in condescending tones. Griffith noted that they all have elected governor-generals, to which Gillies insinuated that they are not well governed, a point Griffith agrees with but argues that correlation in this instance does not equate to causation.⁴⁴³ Deakin note that if the Australian were people of different races, like in the South American republics, then they would have a reason to feel the need for equal representation in the Senate, but as they are one people, one race, they do not need it, and Reid on two occasions responds to a financial proposal that 'that sort of finance may suit South American Republics, but we have not come to it in Australia'.⁴⁴⁴ In these examples it is only Griffith who contemplated applying the example of the Latin American models to themselves.

⁴⁴⁰ Helen Irving, 'Referendum,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 415.

⁴⁴¹ German - amalgamation, banks, deadlocks, equal representation, history, judiciary, money bills, pensions, proportional representation, railways, revenue, rivers, senate, state guarantees, territory, world standing, joint sitting; Swiss - amendment, equal representation, executive, franchise, history, house size, judiciary, railways, referendum, senate, territory, deadlocks.

⁴⁴² No references to Brazil or Venezuela at all; Mexico mentioned three times in relation to the United States and their border river, the Rio Grande; Argentina referenced twice in relation to their having no appeal to the Privy Council and the financial failure of the Argentine Republic.

⁴⁴³ Griffith, Gillies, Fitzgerald, 08/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 875; Barton, 23/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 24.

⁴⁴⁴ Deakin, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 337; Reid, 28/02/1898, 01/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1616, 1647.

Looking to the reference manuals available to the delegates, the only one that discusses the Latin American republics is Garran's *The Coming Commonwealth*.⁴⁴⁵ In doing so, he indicates the principal reason they were not discussed, this being that the non-Anglo-Saxon, Latin American people of these nations were not fit for self-government. Garran argues that 'the story of the many federal governments in Central and South America is simply a warning against the transplanting of foreign political ideas into soil wholly unprepared to receive them'. He recounts the oppression of Spanish colonialism and that it was natural for them to revolt against this. However, he continues, 'they had fought bravely for liberty, but they did not know how to use it. Intoxicated with the idea of self-government, they had no self-governing capacity'.⁴⁴⁶ He provides a brief overview of the five federations, accounting for the success of Mexico to the patronage of the United States, and notes that while the newly federated Brazil was doing well so far, 'it can hardly be hoped that the political capacity of the people is yet equal to the demands of federation'.⁴⁴⁷

Garran provides more information on the constitutional structure of the Leeward Islands, a federation he notes as being remarkable for its small size, but one that exists within the British Empire, than he does for any of these substantial federations.⁴⁴⁸ His assessment of the Latin American federations seems to be more in keeping with that of Liberia, of which he quotes a description that it is a 'black parody on white man's government'.⁴⁴⁹

A BLEND OF ALL

None of the models of government perfectly suited the needs and desires of the Australian federalists. While the United States was seen to be the model best suited to their circumstances and the type of federation that they wanted to have, they did not follow it exactly or without consideration. Rather, they did as Trenwith and others

⁴⁴⁵ Garran, *The Coming Commonwealth*, 104-07. See also Samuel Walker Griffith, *Notes on Australian Federation: Its Nature and Probable Effects* (Queensland: Government of Queensland, 1896), 3, which briefly mentions Brazil as not being an issue as 'the several states have never had an independent autonomous existence'.

⁴⁴⁶ Garran, *The Coming Commonwealth*, 103-04.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 106-07.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 107-08; Leeward Islands also discussed in Just, *Leading Facts Connected With Federation*, 94.

⁴⁴⁹ Garran, *The Coming Commonwealth*, 109.

advocated, and used the United States model in conjunction with the other options available to create something new. They drew on the constitutions and experiences of a range of countries, including the United States, Britain, Canada and Switzerland, as well as those of the Australian colonies.

This was not an inevitable outcome. Indeed, the idea of mixing models was perceived to be somewhat radical, and there were delegates who went so far as to argue that it would not be possible to mix constitutional models and get a working constitution for Australia.⁴⁵⁰ It was acknowledged, even by those who supported the idea of blending constitutional models in order to suit their needs, that it would be an experiment.⁴⁵¹ John Gordon argued that, while it would be an experiment, so were all the previous federations when they were being established.⁴⁵² Not all delegates were happy with the idea of trying to create a new hybrid governmental model. There were also those who believed they would have to follow one specific model and some were willing for that sole model to be the United States.⁴⁵³

And so, in developing the Australian Constitution, the delegates at the Australian federation conventions primarily turned to the United States.⁴⁵⁴ It was utilised in the construction of many aspects of the structure of government – most notably (and noted) with regard to the creation of the Senate, but also with regard to the House of Representatives and the Judiciary – specifically the creation of the High Court, and the powers of States.⁴⁵⁵

The use of the United States model was not undertaken without thought or debate, it was

⁴⁵⁰ Wrixton 10/03/1891, Deakin, 16/3/91, Baker 17/3/91, 18/3/91, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 214, 386, 439, 464-65.

⁴⁵¹ Griffith, 18/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 466; Baker, 23/03/1897, Barton 31/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 29, 381.

⁴⁵² Gordon, 30/3/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 317.

⁴⁵³ Holder, 26/03/1897, 148.

⁴⁵⁴ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 7, 434; Clive Moore, 'States of Mind: Federation and the Problematic Constitution,' in *The Great Mistakes of Australian History*, eds Martin Crotty and David Andrew Roberts, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006), 174; Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 101.

⁴⁵⁵ Sawyer, 'Judicial Power Under the Constitution,' 71; 1891; Matthews, *Federation*, 64; Ward, *A Nation for a Continent*, 10; D.I. Wright, 'Sir Josiah Symon, Federation and the High Court,' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 64, no. 2 (1978): 79.

also not adopted en masse. The Australians selected the elements that they wished to copy, and there was much disagreement among them as to which elements these were.⁴⁵⁶ The convention delegates argued the merits of nearly every aspect of the United States federal model to be followed, and those that were to be ignored. This included, but was not limited to, equal representation of states in the Senate, for which they directly followed the United States model; co-ordinate powers - giving both the House of Representatives and the Senate equal power to initiate and amend legislation - which they followed, but modified to limit Senate powers with regards to bills involving appropriation, to account for responsible government; and election of senators, where they departed from the then United States model of senators being selected by the state legislatures to institute direct election of senators.

The Australians also essentially updated aspects of the United States Constitution to modern circumstances and political practice (as well as to Australian circumstances). They looked to the working of the United States constitution in practice, to evaluate what had been successful, what they could improve upon, and what to avoid all together. The Australians were able to incorporate responsible government, and were able to build in ideas about democracy that had developed in the previous century (or, indeed, that had developed in the years between 1891 and 1897).⁴⁵⁷ They were even able to incorporate developments that had not yet occurred in the United States, but were being considered, such as the direct election of senators (which also looked to what was happening in Switzerland).⁴⁵⁸ Some of these changes, such as responsible government, were taken as a given; for others, they looked to the United States, how the constitution worked in practice, the culture that they worked in (and the culture that created them) in order to determine whether and how these updates should be made. Discussing the Senate (specifically its composition), Charles Kingston stated: 'I think in this respect also we are improving on the conditions which obtained in America, and we may be justified in

⁴⁵⁶ Dawson, 'The Founders' Vision,' 10; Harper, *Australia and the United States*, 6.

⁴⁵⁷ Evans, 'The Other Metropolis,' 33; James Crawford, 'Amendment of the Constitution,' in Craven, *Australian Federation*, 180.

⁴⁵⁸ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 160; Evans, 'Senate,' 422; Quick, *Digest of Federal Constitutions*, 32; Evans, 'Bryce's Bible,' 91.

expecting the happiest results'.⁴⁵⁹

They also considered the impact of taking elements of the United States Constitution in isolation. Such arguments could be used to object to certain aspects of the United States model while still supporting it overall, such as arguing that they did not need to provide the Senate equal power with the House of Representatives to amend money bills, because the circumstances of the Australian Senate would be different with responsible government, so the reason behind the United States Senate having this power no longer applied.⁴⁶⁰

The elements of the British Constitution that were incorporated by the Australians were, like the British Constitution, unwritten. There is no specific reference to responsible government in the text of the Australian Constitution (although the Constitution does specify that ministers of state must be either senators or members of the House of Representatives), nor to other practices that guide the behaviour of parliament.⁴⁶¹ Both Helen Irving and James Warden argue that substantial sections of the Australian Constitution are unwritten, and that this can largely be attributed to the delegates writing the Constitution being less familiar with federation than with responsible government and 'thus needed to explore and define it more precisely'.⁴⁶² The delegates were, without question, more familiar with the British Constitutional system than any other. However, I believe that such an argument overly simplifies the question.⁴⁶³ It does not account for arguments such as those of Griffith, the chief draftsman of the 1891 Constitution, that they should leave elements of parliamentary practice to the parliament to determine, rather than prescribing them in the Constitution. He argued that, while parliamentary traditions such as responsible government were currently viewed as best practice, this might change over time (as had happened in the United States) and they should allow the

⁴⁵⁹ Kingston, 10/9/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 288. See also Braddon and Forrest, 29/03/1897, Gordon, 30/3/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 249, 320-21; Higgins, 09/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 262-68; Glynn, 9/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 737.

⁴⁶⁰ Deakin, 13/04/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 511.

⁴⁶¹ Chapter II, Clause 64 'The Australian Constitution,' *Parliament of Australia*, accessed 16/03/2018, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/Constitution.aspx.

⁴⁶² Warden, 'United States Constitution,' 431. See also Irving, Five Things to Know About the Australian Constitution, 34; Evans, 'The Other Metropolis,' 30.

⁴⁶³ Barton, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1322.

parliament to be flexible in adapting to political theory.⁴⁶⁴

It is true that much of the debate on the American model was centred on issues for which the British model could not help. Yet I do not believe that this is an adequate conclusion. One reason for this is the extent to which they praised the United States, and the respect they held for the American constitution and the United States as a whole. While circumstances of federation may have prompted the delegates to look for alternate examples, once on that path it is clear that most delegates embraced the United States as a federal model. There were also instances in which the British model could have been used where they chose to follow the United States model instead. This was seen in their choice to have a written constitution, rather than to gradually develop the Federal Council in the manner of the British Constitution. In these instances it can be seen that the Australians were looking for the best model to suit their circumstances. The United States was not simply the option for the aspects of the British model that did not account for federation; the delegates at times actively chose to follow the United States model over the familiar British.

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The Canadian model had several advantages for the Australians as a federal model, however, they chose to follow the United States structure of government because it was generally felt that it was better suited to the kind of government they wanted to have—despite the concerns about blending it with the system of responsible government. The United States was a fellow Anglo-Saxon, New World nation to which they could relate. The Australians also considered the United States model in detail, took only the aspects that they wanted and considered how the experience of the century since the Constitution was created told them about the Constitution in practice and how they might improve upon it.

The use of the United States model in developing the Australian federation is widely acknowledged but infrequently considered in any depth. It is also predominantly restricted to the use as discussed in this chapter – namely, how the government would be

⁴⁶⁴ Griffith, 04/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 30, 36-37.

structured, and the relations between the Houses of Parliament and levels of government. Less attention is paid to the manner in which the Australians referenced and considered United States practices beyond the structure and operation of government. And yet, these also featured in the uses and discussions of the United States during the Australian federation conventions. This will be done in the next two chapters of this thesis, with Chapter Three taking just three examples – rivers, railways, and religion – to demonstrate the manner in which questions beyond that of how to construct a federal government drew on the experience of the United States. Chapter Four explores Australian uses of United States history, to demonstrate the broader manner in which the United States influenced the development of Australian federation.

CHAPTER THREE

USES OF THE UNITED STATES MODEL

As discussed in Chapter Two, it is clear that the United States was a key model in the discussion of the formation of the new Australian government and the formal structures that would entail, most notably the construction of the Senate and related questions of equal representation and states' rights, and the formation of the High Court.

However, in reading the federation convention debates, it is clear that the United States was used as a reference point not only for issues to do with the mechanics of a federal government, but also for other questions that arose during the convention debates. This could happen with regard to debates over which level of government (state, federal or both) would have power in relation to a specific issue, or it could be issues that arose in considering the future of Australia. Topics discussed included the management and powers regarding rivers - a hotly contested issue, particularly at the 1898 Melbourne convention that centred on the competing uses of the Murray river by New South Wales, Victoria (both of which wanted to utilise the river for irrigation as well as navigation) and South Australia (which wanted sufficient water remaining in the river by the time it got to South Australia to be navigable).⁴⁶⁵ Debate also covered the question of railways and railway rates, a source of fierce rivalry and antagonism between the federating colonies. In contrast to the overall conclusions of his book, with regard to railways, interstate commerce, river traffic, conservation and irrigation, Erling Hunt notes that 'American precedents—legislation and judicial decisions—were considered with great care, and clearly affected the decisions reached'.⁴⁶⁶ This chapter will also consider religion, both in terms of ensuring freedom for religious practice, and the question of an acknowledgement of God in the Australian Constitution. Rivers, railways, and religion are not the only areas where the United States precedent was used, however I believe they make effective case studies and demonstrate the repeated and consistent use of the United States.

The use of the United States is noted as part of discussions of each of these topics in

⁴⁶⁵ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 154.

⁴⁶⁶ Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 183.

other works, such as Richard Ely's *Unto God and Caesar* and Ian Tyrrell's *True Garden of the Gods*.⁴⁶⁷ However, in this chapter I will both be looking at each topic in depth and bringing them together, to demonstrate a pattern of interest in and use of the United States in areas beyond the structure of government.

What can be seen in these examples is a wider interest in and awareness of the United States and American society at this time, beyond simply the text of the United States Constitution. The delegates were able to draw comparisons between the circumstances of the United States and those of Australia, often seen as being more fitting than any comparisons with Britain due to things such as geographical circumstances, and learning from American experiences not just the United States constitution.

RIVERS

Control of rivers and the use of the water contained therein was one of the most prominent topics of debate referring to the United States in the 1897/98 Federation Convention. Discussion of the Murray River and the question of federal control was on a par with the topics of the Senate or the judiciary in terms of the sheer numbers of references. Yet while these topics are associated in scholarship with the Australian use of the United States when developing federation, rivers are not.

To some extent, this prominence of American references can be attributed to the extent of the discussion of rivers as a whole. After being discussed at length at the 1897 Adelaide convention, the delegates spent eight full days during the 1898 Melbourne convention (a fifth of the debate) debating rivers, and more specifically the Murray-Darling River system, and the question of whether the management of rivers that crossed more than one state would be put under federal control.⁴⁶⁸ Management of rivers could include any improvement works, such as locks and dams (or the authority to approve or hinder them) as well as the allocation of water resources such as for irrigation. Key questions in the

⁴⁶⁷ Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*; Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁴⁶⁸ Adam Webster, "The constitution" and the Murray-Darling Basin,' *Bulletin (Law Society of South Australia)* 36, No. 9(2014): 14.

convoluted debate included whether there would be federal control of rivers that would be used in interstate or international commerce (namely the Murray River); the extent of this control, namely if it would extend to control of Murray tributaries such as the Murrumbidgee; if there should be an explicit mention of the Murray River; if there should be an explicit reference in the constitution to federal control, or if the power of trade and commerce with other countries and among the states allocated in the constitution would be sufficient, and if there should be a definition of 'navigable' included in the constitution.

The debate was largely between the delegates of New South Wales and South Australia, with the former, and to a lesser extent the Victorian delegates, wanting to retain access to the water of the Murray River for the purposes of irrigation, and the South Australian delegates wanting to ensure that there was sufficient water in the Murray by the time that it reached South Australia to maintain navigation.⁴⁶⁹ This debate was further complicated by the unusual river border between New South Wales and Victoria, with the top of the southern bank forming the state border, instead of it being located in the mid-point or the deepest point of the river.⁴⁷⁰ The result of this is that the Murray and its tributaries are located within New South Wales, with the exception of where the Murray crosses over into South Australia. The New South Wales delegates were adamant that control of their rivers would not be handed over to the federal government.⁴⁷¹

When debating this question, delegates made comparisons with the physical landscape of the United States and discussed the extent of its compatibility with Australia. This then relates to the applicability of the American experience (particularly in the western half of the United States) to the Australians, and how they could follow and learn from it. They were also considering both the historical and contemporary experience of the United States with regard to the management of rivers and interstate commerce.

⁴⁶⁹ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 153-54, 164, 208-211.

⁴⁷⁰ Guidelines for the Determination of the State Border between New South Wales & Victoria along the Murray River, Surveyors General of NSW and Victoria, 2nd ed, 1993, accessed 16/03/2018, http://spatialservices.finance.nsw.gov.au/___data/assets/pdf_file/0006/25935/NSWVic_v3.pdf.

⁴⁷¹ Beverly Earnshaw, *One Flag, One Hope, One Destiny: Sir Joseph Carruthers and Australian Federation*, (Kogarah: Kogarah Historical Society, 2000), 69.

The discussion of rivers was also important as an instance in which the Australians were choosing the American processes over the British ones. It was generally agreed that the British precedent with regard to riparian rights was not applicable in Australian circumstances, and that they would instead need to turn to the American precedent and the American experience. The British precedent did not apply in two respects. The first related to circumstances specifically in England, where the rivers for which navigability was a question were ones in which the tide ebbed and flowed and that was used as the basis of defining navigability. This was not the case in Australia, the United States (or indeed most major rivers in the world).⁴⁷² The second circumstance related to conditions in the Australian colonies and those in the arid and semi-arid states west of the Mississippi. Delegates, including Alfred Deakin, Edmund Barton, and John Downer, argued that the principles of riparian law, that ensured access to water does not impinge on the access of those downstream, 'are no more applicable to this country than they are to the Western States of America', where there were rivers with 'exactly the same circumstances of dearth exist as in the Murray basin'.⁴⁷³

All of these factors make the discussion of rivers particularly interesting when considering how the Australians used and referred to the United States at the federation conventions. They highlight a number of the uses being discussed in this thesis. They are also interesting in that, with one brief exception in La Nauze's *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, these references to the United States are not mentioned in any of the major works on federation in their discussion of rivers.⁴⁷⁴ This could be in part because, while a great deal of time was spent debating rivers at the conventions, it was a tangled and circular discussion that did not result in a notable outcome. Thus it is not a substantial topic of discussion in cultural or constitutional histories of federation, meaning that

⁴⁷² E.H. Morreale, 'Federal Power in Western Waters: The Navigation Power and the Rule of No Compensation,' *Natural Resources Journal* 3, issue 1 (1963): 25.

⁴⁷³ Deakin, 17/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 806. See also Barton, 01/02/1898, Gordon, Deakin, 21/01/1898, Downer, 24/01/1898, Isaacs, 2/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 37, 39, 113, 416, 420-21.

⁴⁷⁴ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 51, 210. John Williams and Adam Webster note that La Nauze dismissed the question of rivers as a lot of time spent on an unimportant point, John M. Williams and Adam Webster, 'Section 100 and State Water Rights,' *Public Law Review* 21 (2010): 269.

when it is noted, there is not sufficient space to discuss these influences.⁴⁷⁵

UNITED STATES CONTROL OF RIVERS AND RIPARIAN RIGHTS

The United States constitution contains no specific reference to control of rivers. It was determined by the United States Supreme Court in the 1824 case *Gibbons v Ogden* that, through the power of the trade and commerce clause of the United States constitution, the federal government had the exclusive right to control interstate navigation. The case was brought by Aaron Ogden, objecting to the state of New York granting Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton exclusive right of steamboat navigation in state waters. Chief Justice John Marshall declared: 'All America understands, and has uniformly understood, the word "commerce" to comprehend navigation. It was so understood, and must have been so understood, when the Constitution was framed'. Ultimately, the court decided that 'the power of Congress, then, comprehends navigation, within the limits of every State in the Union, so far as that navigation may be in any manner connected with "commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States"' ⁴⁷⁶

Further clarification of this power was given in Supreme Court cases such as *Cooley v Board of Wardens* in 1852, which determined that this commerce clause did not remove the state power to regulate pilots within harbours, and *The Daniel Ball* case of 1870, which determined that even if a vessel did not leave the limits of a state, if the merchandise carried was to then be taken on to destinations outside of the state, the vessel was engaged in interstate commerce and the federal laws applied. In this instance, there had been federal legislation in 1838 and 1852, which determined that all vessels travelling on navigable waters of the United States were required to carry a licence and all vessels engaged in interstate commerce be properly inspected. The vessel *The Daniel Ball* was transporting goods along the Grand River in Michigan in violation of this law. The owners argued that it was not engaged in interstate commerce as they travelled within the

⁴⁷⁵ Helen Irving, 'Rivers,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 419.

⁴⁷⁶ *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 22 U.S. 9 Wheat. 1, Justia US Supreme Court (1824). See also Morreale, 'Federal Power in Western Waters,' 9, 19.

state of Michigan, but with merchandise intended to be then transported interstate.⁴⁷⁷

The other significant decision regarding this case was that the owners also declared that the Grand River was not navigable, applying the British test of ebb and flow. This case led to the United States definition of navigability, with the court stating that this test 'has no application in this country', there being rivers that are navigable well beyond the impact of tidal waters. Instead, Justice Stephen Field stated in the decision, a different test was required, this being that 'those rivers must be regarded as public navigable rivers in law which are navigable in fact'. He clarified that this meant that they were navigable 'when they are used or are susceptible of being used in their ordinary condition as highways for commerce over which trade and travel are or may be conducted in the customary modes of trade and travel on water'.⁴⁷⁸

While these cases settled the limits of the power of navigation on rivers and other waterways in the United States, there is also the separate question of removal of water from rivers, such as for irrigation. In the United States, there were two sets of rights, this being a system of riparian rights for eastern states, and a system of prior appropriation for the arid and semi-arid states west of the Mississippi River. Riparian water rights were similar in the United States to those in Britain; that is, they allow for reasonable use of the water by those whose property runs along the river, including removal of water and construction of docks and jetties. This right cannot be sold separate to the property, and cannot interfere with the public right of navigation along the river.

In the western states of the United States, the doctrine of prior appropriation began in the California goldfields, where water was needed from rivers for the operation and management of mines. It was determined in 1855 by the California Supreme Court that the person who first accessed the river had first right to use the water, and subsequent users could not infringe on that original user's right to the water. A system developed where water rights were allocated to users and could be bought and sold, with the oldest appropriation right having first access to the water, and subsequently through the list. Each holder of a water right had a set allocation of water, but older water rights were not

⁴⁷⁷ *The Daniel Ball*, 77 U.S. 10 Wall. 557, Justia US Supreme Court (1870).

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.* See also Morreale, 'Federal Power in Western Waters,' 3-4.

required to ensure that there was sufficient water to fill all allocations.

NAVIGATION VS. IRRIGATION

In Australia, the basic point of conflict relating to rivers was between navigation and irrigation and 'reflected the competing water management objectives of the time'.⁴⁷⁹ This was, to an extent, a zero-sum game, as irrigation had the potential to remove enough water from the river to hinder the ability of paddle steamers and other vessels to travel along the river. This was an even greater risk along smaller tributaries of the Murray river, where there was the potential for the river to run dry.

South Australia had developed the river trade along the Murray-Darling, shipping goods (largely wool clip) to the port at Goolwa for export. However, competition arose with the development of the railways in Victoria and New South Wales. A line to Echuca was established in 1864, and there were an increasing number of Victorian steamers competing with South Australian steamers that would bring the cargo to Echuca, where it would then be transported by rail to Melbourne for export (and so did not need to ensure navigability was maintained downstream). Development of railways in New South Wales in the 1880s and 1890s meant that they were no longer as reliant on South Australian steamers to transport their goods, as it could be exported from Sydney. Thus the bargaining power of South Australia when it came to accessing the water of the Murray was weakened, and New South Wales and Victorian Royal Commissions into water use of the Murray disregarded the need to maintain the flow of the river for navigation, advocating instead use for irrigation and water conservation.⁴⁸⁰

Large scale irrigation schemes were proposed from the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in Victoria and New South Wales, but also in South Australia, and were 'introduced as private enterprises or trusts by the 1870s and 1880s'.⁴⁸¹ This included the agreement between the Victorian Government and American brothers George and

⁴⁷⁹ Patrick Kildea and George Williams, 'The Constitution and the Management of Water in Australia's Rivers,' *Sydney Law Review* 32, Issue 4 (2010): 601.

⁴⁸⁰ Adam Webster, 'A Colonial History of the River Murray Dispute,' *Adelaide Law Review* 38 (2017): 15-20.

⁴⁸¹ Helen Doyle, 'Irrigation,' in Davison et al., *Oxford Companion to Australian History*, 352.

William Chaffey to establish an irrigation settlement in Mildura in 1887, allocating 250,000 acres to be improved through irrigation works and sold in smaller allotments.⁴⁸²

Irrigation was, Ian Tyrrell argues, a transnational issue. International irrigation conferences were held throughout the 1880s and 1890s, and Tyrrell notes the United States taking examples and learning lessons from Australia, particularly from Victoria where there were some similarities to conditions in California.⁴⁸³ Australia in turn participated in these international conferences and included a Royal Commission on irrigation, headed by Deakin, which included his undertaking a tour of the United States to view and learn about the irrigation works there.⁴⁸⁴ Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, there were exchanges of irrigation technology and personnel between the Australian colonies and the United States, and in Australia California served as a model both of the technical achievements of irrigation, and of the idea of irrigation enabling a garden in the desert.⁴⁸⁵

While delegates such as Edmund Barton, Isaac Isaacs and Patrick Glynn were dominant in the references to the United States, twenty-two delegates made some reference to the United States in connection with the question of rivers, this comprising most speakers on the topic - and thus a much broader array of delegates than Barton and Bernhard Wise, as John La Nauze had indicated.⁴⁸⁶

RIGHT TO MURRAY WATER

The debate over rivers at the federation conventions was simply a new stage in an ongoing dispute between South Australia, New South Wales, and Victoria as to who had a right to the water of the Murray River, and on what basis. There had been attempted negotiations in the 1880s to define this, and each colony had conducted a Royal

⁴⁸² Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 230; Webster, 'A Colonial History of the River Murray Dispute,' 29-31.

⁴⁸³ Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 120, 123.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 123; Helen Doyle, 'Irrigation,' 352.

⁴⁸⁵ Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 120.

⁴⁸⁶ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 210; Delegates who referenced the United States in relation to rivers included Isaacs, Glynn, Barton, Deakin, Downer, Wise, Gordon, Higgins, Symon, Reid, O'Connor, Cockburn, Dobson, Holder, Kingston, Solomon, Turner, Carruthers, Lyne, McMillan, Peacock, and Trenwith.

Commission to investigate the question. Many of the key participants in this dispute would go on to be delegates at the federation conventions, including Alfred Deakin, John Downer, Josiah Symon, Patrick Glynn and Henry Parkes.⁴⁸⁷

As the end users of the river system, South Australia unsurprisingly favoured the British principle of riparian rights, which allowed property owners to use and divert water from a river, but only so far as it did not impinge upon the access of those downstream. The South Australians then tried to extend this principle to argue that this riparian right applied to the colony as a whole, not just to the individuals whose property bordered the river.⁴⁸⁸

This was a new interpretation of riparian rights, with no legal precedent to support it. Unsurprisingly, the government of New South Wales rejected this interpretation, and rejected the application of riparian rights to the Murray River generally. A New South Wales Royal Commission into the Murray River, while also emphasising New South Wales ownership of the river, declared that the British principle of riparian rights could not apply, as it did not suit conditions in New South Wales, including that the river did not always flow. It was felt that this was a particular issue in New South Wales for, if they were required to reserve sufficient water to ensure a riparian right for South Australia (and, from this, ensure sufficient water was retained in the river for navigation), this positive action for South Australia would be harmful for New South Wales and the properties along the river that needed the water provided by irrigation to be sustainable. Furthermore, significant investment had already been made into developing both the means of irrigation and the properties that would benefit from it.⁴⁸⁹ A separate New South Royal Commission had acknowledged that there had been substantial investment in the development of navigation, both in terms of port structures and clearing the river. However, it was felt that river navigation was being superseded by railways, and so water allowances for irrigation need not factor navigation into the equation. In rejecting the

⁴⁸⁷ Webster, 'A Colonial History of the River Murray Dispute,' 18-35.

⁴⁸⁸ Don Wright, 'The River Murray: Microcosm of Australian Federal History,' *Federalism in Canada and Australia: The Early Years*, eds Bruce W. Hodgins, Don Wright, and W. H. Heck (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978), 279.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., Webster, 'A Colonial History of the River Murray Dispute,' 35-41.

British principle of riparian rights, the New South Wales Commission argued that access to water would need to be resolved as a matter of negotiation, despite the failure of the repeated attempts at such negotiation. In addition, both New South Wales and Victoria had sold water rights to property owners along the river, a system more akin to the western United States doctrine of prior appropriation.⁴⁹⁰

The issue was carried over into federal convention debates, where it was hoped that federation could resolve the issue. Legal scholars John M. Williams and Adam Webster provide a comprehensive overview of the manner in which this debate played out in their article 'Section 100 and State water rights', examining the proposed clauses, amendments, and outcomes, although they does not note the extent to which the United States was a point of reference in this debate.⁴⁹¹ There were two separate approaches to the issue at the convention, the first being the push from South Australia for the rights to access the waters of the Murray to be defined in the constitution; the second approaching the question of control of rivers through the trade and commerce clause. In both of these, the United States was drawn upon as an example to either follow or learn from.

DEFINING WATER RIGHTS IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION

In order to ensure that the Murray and its tributaries remained navigable, the South Australians supported following the model of federal control of rivers on which interstate commerce would take place, this being the Murray and, they argued, its tributaries, and wanted this control to be articulated in the constitution. South Australian delegates such as John Gordon also called for federal control of irrigation from such rivers, to ensure that sufficient water remained for South Australia, both for navigation and for irrigation. In addressing the issue at the 1898 Melbourne Convention, Gordon acknowledged they had provided for federal control over navigation, but requested this be extended to irrigation.⁴⁹² He quoted from Article II of the Irrigation law of Wyoming, to describe his position - that there was limited water, that could easily be diverted upstream from South Australia, depriving that state of the precious resource. He argued that they all had an

⁴⁹⁰ Tyrrell, *True Garden of the Gods*, 152.

⁴⁹¹ Williams and Webster, 'Section 100 and State Water Rights'.

⁴⁹² Gordon, 21/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 39.

interest in the water, and thus there needed to be joint control.⁴⁹³ To support this position, he quoted from a recent work on irrigation law, to argue that there was regret in the United States that the constitution did not explicitly include federal control of rivers, as that would now allow federal control of irrigation. He continued, 'if irrigation is a national necessity and a national problem - if it is now a matter of regret that the American government did not take over the control of the public streams of America - would not the same regret and the same conditions exist here?'⁴⁹⁴ particularly as irrigation would be even more important in Australia. Gordon and his allies were thus looking to learn from the American experience to improve upon the American constitutional example.

This statement did not go unquestioned, however, with New South Wales premier George Reid challenging him on the question of regret and arguing that that was not the case.⁴⁹⁵ Reid, unsurprisingly, also argued against federal control of irrigation, and like Gordon looked the United States as a model. In this instance, when opposing an amendment by Gordon that would give the Commonwealth the power of 'control and regulation of the navigation of the River Murray and its tributaries, and the use of the waters thereof', Reid noted his willingness for New South Wales to give up control of any water used for interstate commerce and navigation, in line with the United States precedent. But when Henry Higgins interjected that the American decisions went further than that, Reid acknowledged this, and stated that he was aware and that 'they go to an extent which alarms me, because they go to the extent of interfering with irrigation improvements of all kinds'.⁴⁹⁶

Reid and Higgins were not alone in referencing United States judicial decisions when discussing rivers; most delegates when looking to the United States did so, although some such as New South Wales delegate William McMillan, a businessman, Gordon, a lawyer, deferred to the knowledge of the more experienced lawyers in this regard.⁴⁹⁷ South

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 37.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Reid, 24/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 88.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁹⁷ McMillan, 24/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 120.

Australian Glynn looked to how United States decisions would apply in Australia, noting that they would not be sufficient to give federal control of the Darling as it was located within New South Wales, and New South Wales delegate Richard O'Connor pointed to the Ohio River when arguing that United States decisions gave a precedent for federal control of state rivers.⁴⁹⁸

However, it was Barton who provided the most detail with regards to the judicial decisions, in order to support his argument that they did not need to include a specific clause regarding control of the Murray. He argued that federal control of rivers should apply to all applicable rivers not just the Murray. To support this he drew on the case of *The United States v Coombs* from 1838, to argue that it demonstrated that powers to regulate could not be limited to one river or state, and must be equal across the Commonwealth.⁴⁹⁹ Barton also argued that the best course of action, rather than creating a definition of navigable in the constitution, was to use directly the phrasing of the United States constitution with regard to trade and commerce, as he felt that this would cover all of their needs and that 'where a phrase has been expounded and made clear by decisions upon principle, the best way to obtain the benefit of those decisions is to adopt that phrase'.⁵⁰⁰ To support this, he cited specific cases, including *Gibbins v. Ogden*, *Cooley v. Board of Wardens*, and *The Daniel Ball*. He quoted from American author Andrew Jackson Baker's *Annotated Constitution of the United States* to explain the cases and their applicability to the Australian circumstances.⁵⁰¹ Barton also cited *Pennsylvania v Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company*, a case that declared Congress had the power to determine what was an obstruction to navigation.⁵⁰²

The delegates then debated the meaning of these interpretations, and what they allowed in the United States, also citing analytical works about the Constitution, with O'Connor noting that he had 'made these statements after a very careful investigation of the whole question of law'.⁵⁰³ Notably, Glynn also argued that there was a need to have 'navigable'

⁴⁹⁸ Glynn, O'Connor, 21/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 32, 67.

⁴⁹⁹ Barton, 01/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 411.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 411-12.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 411.

⁵⁰³ O'Connor, 24/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 67.

defined in the constitution, because, if left to the Australian courts, there were two definitions for them to choose between, both the American and British, and he wanted to ensure that the American was followed.⁵⁰⁴

GEOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

The geographic similarities and differences between the United States and Australia were also noted. Deakin made comparisons between the rivers of Australia and the United States on a number of occasions. He was able to make a direct comparison between the rivers of Australia and those in the eastern United States, and the scale of works that would be required to ensure a regular flow in Australia, in comparison to the works undertaken in the United States, drawing on his experience studying American rivers and irrigation systems.⁵⁰⁵ Deakin likened the Australian rivers to those of the western United States. It was largely agreed that this was an instance where they would need to break with British precedent and British common law. Even those who argued against any similarity with American rivers agreed that there was no similarity with British rivers, and so the British definition of a navigable river was not workable for Australia. Barton noted ‘that criterion which limits the navigable water to the distance of the ebb and flow of the tide, has plainly no more applicability in this country than it has in America’.⁵⁰⁶ Earlier, in 1897, Deakin noted that while most of the United States had adopted the common law practices of England with regard to rivers, in the western states, such as Colorado, ‘where exactly the same circumstances of dearth exist as in the Murray basin’, they have set aside English common law to avoid the riparian rights, as it opposes all their public policy.⁵⁰⁷ Isaacs provided a detailed account of prior appropriation to the convention, including noting the state-based legal decisions that support it in California, when arguing against prioritising navigation over irrigation, which he stated may ‘be doing a great wrong against the future development of the continent’.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁴ Glynn, 04/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 563-64.

⁵⁰⁵ Deakin, 21/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 39; Tyrell, *True Garden of the Gods*, 123.

⁵⁰⁶ Barton, 01/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 409, 412.

⁵⁰⁷ Deakin, 17/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 806.

⁵⁰⁸ Isaacs, 02/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 422.

When comparing the physical conditions of the United States to those of Australia, a definite distinction is made between the conditions in the eastern United States and those in the west. Isaacs was particularly explicit when describing the different conditions, in support of his argument that they 'ought to pay the most careful attention to the experiences, more especially of late years, of that important region' with regards to riparian rights.⁵⁰⁹ He described how the United States was split by the 100th meridian of latitude, with the majority of the population living in the British civilisation of the eastern side, and a minority in the arid west. Reference was made by Deakin and Barton to the rivers of the eastern states being much larger, so the question of irrigation versus navigation was not an issue.⁵¹⁰ This was noted as a point of difference, to argue that Australian rivers, containing less water (including major rivers such as the Murrumbidgee that did not continually flow in summer) were different to all others, American or European, and therefore there was no precedent that they could follow, and that that the difference meant that they needed to be explicit about fair distribution of water in the Constitution.⁵¹¹

OUTCOME

What is demonstrated here with this discussion of rivers and the applicability of the United States models to Australian circumstances was a high level of knowledge among certain delegates about the legal circumstances of rivers in the United States and the case law surrounding this. Barton, Isaacs and Glynn all provided detailed legal explanations of the circumstances in the United States and their applicability to Australian circumstances. They demonstrated both a strong knowledge and strong understanding of the United States, able to not only quote from American sources to support their claims, but also to respond in a considered and explanatory manner to their fellow delegates.

Ultimately they were not able to reach a definition of navigability or agree to what extent the rivers of the Murray-Darling system would be included, despite their uses of the United States precedent. Both the New South Wales and South Australian delegates felt

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 420.

⁵¹⁰ Deakin and Barton, 21/1/1898 *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 39-40.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.; Carruthers, 21/1/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 53; Kingston, 24/01/1898, 92-93.

that there was too strong a risk that the people of their respective colonies would vote 'no' to the proposed federation if they conceded the issue. The debate had gone on for several weeks and the other delegates, particularly those from Western Australia and Tasmania, who had no connection to the Murray River, were anxious to move on. They were left in a similar position to that before the conventions, needing to negotiate among the states to determine the distribution of water. The only indication of this heated and protracted debate in the Australian constitution is Chapter IV, Clause 100, which limits the power of the commonwealth by stating that 'the Commonwealth shall not, by any law or regulation of trade or commerce, abridge the right of a State or of the residents therein to the reasonable use of the waters of rivers for conservation or irrigation'.⁵¹² Into the new century, the Commonwealth felt that it was a matter best negotiated between the states, although ultimately it was seen that there was a need for federal intervention. A formal agreement was reached in 1914 that allowed for both navigation and the diversion of water for irrigation, but there were ongoing complications to this work.⁵¹³ Webster and Williams note that to date there has only been one case before the High Court directly relating to Clause 100, and this did not involve the Murray River at all, but rather the Gordon River in the Tasmanian Dam Case in 1983.⁵¹⁴

However, in not defining Commonwealth powers regarding rivers, the Australians were doing as Barton had advocated - following the United States constitutional precedent of not including a definition, and trusting the future High Court to both determine that, as in the United States, the trade and commerce clause incorporated issues navigation with regards to interstate and international commerce, and that they would use the judicial decisions of the United States, as the delegates had done, as precedent to follow.

⁵¹² Chapter IV, Clause 100, 'The Australian Constitution'.

⁵¹³ Wright, 'The River Murray,' 282-83.

⁵¹⁴ Williams and Webster, 'Section 100 and State Water Rights,' 267.

RAILWAYS

There was a significant difference between the Australian, United States and British development of railways. The first railway in Australia began in 1848, operated by the privately-owned Sydney Rail Company, with the intention of connecting the port of Sydney with Bathurst and Goulburn. After seven years, the line had only made it as far as Parramatta and the New South Wales government (a key investor) took it over before it was opened. It also took over the Newcastle to Maitland link in 1857. Similarly in Victoria, the government took over lines built by private companies to the goldfields, Geelong and Hobson's Bay, when they were not financially viable but still private railways up until 1870s. Private lines had been successful in Tasmania and Western Australia, and there continued to be a small number of private lines in the other colonies.

Despite these different circumstances, the Australians drew on the American experience of railways when trying to determine whether they should be retained by the states or placed under federal control, and when addressing the question of differential rates – the practice of state-owned railways offering cheaper long distance rates in order to draw trade away from the 'natural' ports to more distant cities (especially an issue with Victoria and the Riverina area, to get trade to go through Melbourne rather than Sydney, and New South Wales doing the same to South Australian and Queensland areas). The benefits of this would be that the city that the trade came through would receive the customs duties on the goods being shipped. The solution that was offered was the inclusion of a clause in the constitution specifying the creation of an inter-State commission to oversee railway rates and prevent differential rates. This was drawn directly from the United States model, where an Interstate Commerce Commission had been created by Congress to address such issues.

Railways overlapped with rivers with regard to questions of trade and were also similar to rivers in that different states had vested interests. Like rivers, it was not a split along the traditional divide of large states versus small, because it was not about constitutional power. Instead, it was addressing a specific issue outside of government structure that was raised by the process of federation. In attempting to resolve this issue, the Australians looked to the solution offered in the United States, despite the clear and acknowledged

differences in the ways that railways were managed in the United States (private versus public), that they could copy and modify to fit the Australian circumstances. The United States had the experience of railways of a length and scale that the Australians had and would need, which the United Kingdom, because of its much smaller size, simply did not. Ultimately, as this thesis argues they so often did, in developing the Constitution, the Australians drew on both the experience of the United States and Britain, blending the models to create something new, that suited their circumstances but based on what had previously worked.

RAILWAYS AND THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT

Railways played a significant role in the development of federation in Australia. One key moment that provided a shot of momentum to the federation movement was the creation of a Sydney-Melbourne rail link, meeting at Albury in 1883.⁵¹⁵ Federation was a common theme at the banquets held to celebrate this connection, and again with the extension of the rail line to Adelaide and Brisbane in 1889.⁵¹⁶ Railways also played an important role in federal imagining, with the idea of a transcontinental railway connecting Perth to the east coast of Australia being something that it was hoped could come out of a federated Australia.⁵¹⁷ There were three different railway gauges in use across the colonies, and it was hoped that federation could help bring about a common rail gauge.⁵¹⁸ There were a number of different factors that had led to different rail gauges across the colonies, but ultimately it came down to the different networks being built as complete and separate systems, designed to service local needs, rather than to connect the people of the colonies together.⁵¹⁹

Railways were vital to the development of Australia throughout the nineteenth century.

⁵¹⁵ W. Harrison Moore, *The Constitution Of The Commonwealth Of Australia* (Melbourne: Maxwell, 1910), 29-30; Cowen 'Is It Not Time?' 7; Brian de Garis, 'Britain and the Australian Federation Movement,' *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History* 7 (2001): 10.

⁵¹⁶ Helen Irving, 'Railways,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 413.

⁵¹⁷ Lee, *Transport*, 158; Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 98, 201; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 235; J.H. Symon to Walter James, Perth, W.A., 27/06/1900, MS 1736, Series 9, items 437-440, in Papers of Sir Josiah Symon, National Library of Australia.

⁵¹⁸ Clive Moore, 'States of Mind,' 182; W. Harrison Moore, *The Constitution Of The Commonwealth Of Australia*, 40.

⁵¹⁹ Lee, *Transport*, 118-20; Butlin, *Investment In Australian Economic Development*, 326.

For most of the country, where there was not reliable river navigation available, the railways formed an important means of transporting goods, particularly the raw materials being developed inland that needed to be sent to the ports for export. In addition to the lines to Echuca to divert Murray River trade to Melbourne, a private line was built from Echuca to Deniliquin, connecting with the Victorian network in an attempt to lure New South Wales export goods south.⁵²⁰

Initially the Australian colonies looked to Britain when building their railways, preferring British locomotives and materials. However, there was an increasing preference for American materials and American principles of railway construction, which continued into the twentieth century.⁵²¹ For example, the Hawkesbury River Bridge in New South Wales, opened in 1889, introduced the American-style truss bridges, and was the longest bridge in Australia (and is currently only surpassed by the Sydney Harbour Bridge).⁵²² Australian engineers were sent to the United States in order to study their railways.⁵²³ The first locomotive to be designed in Australia was the 2-8-0 T class developed in New South Wales in 1896 that went on to be used for many years; its design combined the features of both British and American locomotives that had been imported into the Australian colonies.⁵²⁴

RAILWAYS AT THE CONVENTIONS

Given the importance of railways to the Australian colonies, the interstate nature of long distance railways, and the federal aspect of this, it is unsurprising that railways were a featured topic of discussion at the Australian federation conventions. There were two main points of contention. The first, which was addressed primarily at the 1897 Adelaide convention, was the question of whether there would be a federal takeover of the state railways. The second, which took over four days of the 1898 Melbourne convention, was

⁵²⁰ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History*, rev. ed. (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1982), 257; Butlin, *Investment In Australian Economic Development*, 304, 326.

⁵²¹ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 150; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 59, 73.

⁵²² Lee, *Transport*, 144.

⁵²³ Andrew Hassam, *Through Australian Eyes: Colonial Perceptions Of Imperial Britain* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 138.

⁵²⁴ Lee, *Transport*, 164.

the issue of preferential rates. The question of whether the Constitution would mandate a common gauge across the federation was also discussed during the 1891 Sydney Convention.

And yet, as with rivers, while a federal issue, it is not a topic that fits neatly into the established idea of how the Australian federalists would look to the United States. The issues regarding railways were domestic—a question of the financial arrangements between the Australian Commonwealth and the states, the transfer of debts and assets; and questions that arose purely out of long-standing intercolonial rivalries. The dispute over preferential rates was one raging between New South Wales and Victoria, and so was a dispute between large states, not large against small. In his discussion of the debate over preferential railway rates, J.A. La Nauze called it the ‘most openly provincial’ debate of the question, as well as ‘tangled’ and ‘tedious.’⁵²⁵ While La Nauze remarked on how ‘the legal ingenuity of Isaacs, Higgins and Barton and the obstinate political shrewdness of Turner and Reid has full scope in an atmosphere more appropriate to the negotiation of a trade treaty than to the framing of a Constitution for a new nation’, neither he nor any other historian writing on railways at the federation convention discusses the use of the United States precedent in this long and drawn out debate.⁵²⁶

The discussion of railways by the delegates at the federation conventions is a clear case of them looking beyond the text of the United States Constitution to how it had worked in practice, and their use of contemporary literature and judicial decisions. It had to be, because, as several delegates at the federation conventions pointed out, the United States Constitution predated the invention of railways as a large-scale means of transportation.⁵²⁷ Specifically, the Australians looked to the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the United States. Some saw this as a useful reference that the Australians could emulate. Others saw it as a warning of what not to do. Others still felt that they could learn from and improve on the American system when adapting it to the Australian circumstance. The delegates were also required to evaluate the extent to which the American precedent applied, given the difference in railway ownership.

⁵²⁵ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 216.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Unnamed interjection, Higgins, 07/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 120, 133.

THE UNITED STATES INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AND ENGLISH RAILWAY COMMISSION

There had been a movement towards developing an interstate commission in the United States from the late 1870s, in recognition that the twenty-five different state commissions that had developed in the 1870s to regulate rates did not have the ability to act on interstate matters. The complication was in developing a commission with the power to both investigate and enforce its findings. They wanted to appoint commissioners for fixed terms, which meant that it could not be a court as that would violate the constitution (which specified that judges 'shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour' - that is, receive a life-tenure appointment).⁵²⁸ Creating the commission as a federal court would also mean that it would not have the power to investigate issues relating to interstate commerce.⁵²⁹ The solution found was to not provide the commission with a direct power to enforce, but to set up a series of conditions that allowed the courts to enforce any issues found, with commission findings being *prima facie*, or evidence accepted as correct until proven otherwise.

Additional momentum for forming this commission was the United States Supreme Court decision in the case *Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway Company v. Illinois* (also simply referred to as the *Wabash* case), decided 25 October, 1886. In this instance, the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway Company had applied discriminatory rates for the transport of goods to New York, which the Illinois Supreme Court found to be in violation of an Illinois statute that said that a company would be liable to pay a penalty for such discrimination. The Supreme Court found that in this instance the transportation was commerce between states, despite the area where the discrimination occurred being located only within Illinois, and thus 'national in its character, and its regulation is confided to Congress exclusively'.⁵³⁰ The consequence of this was that the

⁵²⁸ Hiroshi Okayama, 'The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Genesis of America's Judicialized Administrative State,' *Journal of the Gilded Age & Progressive Era* 15, no.2 (2016): 136; Article III, Section 1, 'The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription,' *National Archives*, accessed 16/03/2018, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>.

⁵²⁹ Okayama, 'The Interstate Commerce Commission,' 136.

⁵³⁰ *Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway Company v. Illinois*, 118 U.S. 557 Justia US Supreme Court (1886).

state based railway commissions did not have the authority to regulate rates for interstate commerce, heightening the need for a national commission.⁵³¹

The Interstate Commerce Commission was formed through the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. It was developed based on the precedent of an English commission that had been appointed under the Regulation of Railways Act, 1873. However, under the English model the commission was a court, equivalent to an inferior court. It was then strengthened by the English Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, which enlarged the commission by two, and gave it a 'definite court organization', including making decisions of the commission final.⁵³² This later Act also served as a model for the Australians, though it was not referenced during the convention debates as frequently as the United States Interstate Commerce Commission was, with the Act only being referred to by name once.⁵³³

The Australian direction to create an inter-state commission for the regulation of railways (and particularly railway rates) based on this American model therefore fits well into the idea of the Anglo-Saxon triangle—the flow of ideas between the United States, Britain, and Australia. The Australians took the United States and British models and blended them, to create something similar but different that suited Australian circumstances.⁵³⁴

INTER STATE COMMISSION IN AUSTRALIA

The creation of an inter-state commission for the Australian federation was proposed by Richard O'Connor of New South Wales during the debate on Barton's Resolutions at the Adelaide Convention of 1897. His intention was to argue against proposals that the federal government should take control of the railways, while still insisting that it be clearly stated in the Constitution that the federal government would have the power to prevent preferential railway rates—the main point of contention between New South

⁵³¹ Okayama, 'The Interstate Commerce Commission,' 140.

⁵³² S.J. McLean, 'The English Railway and Canal Commission of 1888,' *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 20, issue 1 (1905):1-58. 58p. Quick and Garran, *Annotated Constitution*, 896.

⁵³³ O'Connor, 14/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 61.

⁵³⁴ Quick and Garran, *Annotated Constitution*, 895-901.

Wales and Victoria.⁵³⁵

O'Connor proposed that, rather than giving the federal government control of the railways, they follow the models of the United States and England, noting that the American Interstate Commission was enacted 'under the provisions of the United States Constitution' similar to the clauses in the 1891 Draft Bill relating to interstate commerce. He described the commission, including noting that it had the power of control of interstate communication by rail and the power to act as a tribunal, and argued that they were able to pass such an Act, despite it meaning the railway companies relinquishing power, because the American people were able to see that the benefits clearly outweighed any disadvantages.⁵³⁶ O'Connor also noted that a similar commission was created in England under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act in 1878, and stated his belief that, if they formed such a commission, they would also be able to address the issue of the break of gauge.⁵³⁷

The 1897 Committee on Finance, Taxation, Railways and Trade Regulation recommended that the federal government have the power to take over specific railways, with the consent of the State, but also that the Constitution direct the Federal Parliament to create an inter-state commission.⁵³⁸ From this point, the discussion centred around what powers the inter-state commission would have, and the extent to which they were prescribed in the Constitution (or, indeed, if there was any need to even mention the inter-state commission in the Constitution at all), although there were still arguments for a federal takeover of the railways as well.

New South Wales delegates (predominantly) wanted restrictions on preferential rates for interstate travel, to prevent Victoria 'stealing' Riverina trade, but not any restrictions on rates within a state, so that they could get the Riverina trade - Reid noted this was the situation in the United States. The Victorians (predominantly) felt that this was unfair; if

⁵³⁵ O'Connor, 24/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 59.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵³⁸ 'Report from the Committee appointed March 31st, 1897, for the consideration of Constitutional Machinery, and the Distribution of Functions and Powers, and to prepare and submit to this Convention a Bill for the Establishment of a Federal Constitution,' MS 1736, Series 9, item 524, Papers of Sir Josiah Symon, National Library of Australia.

there were to be restrictions on preferential rates, they should impact on New South Wales as well as Victoria.

In discussing the United States Interstate Commission, its powers, and how it should be formed, the delegates both noted the Act it was drawn from and discussed cases relevant to its creation and effect, with Wise noting that on this topic they should be 'guided by the decisions of America'.⁵³⁹ This included the *Wabash* case, with delegates such as Barton providing analysis of the case and what it would mean in Australia, and the *Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway Company v. Interstate Commerce Commission* of 1896, where the Interstate Commerce Commission had found the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway Company to be using preferential rates, and, when it did not cease as ordered, referred the case to the circuit court to enforce it.⁵⁴⁰ In the process of appeals, the Supreme Court determined that the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to assess whether a rate was reasonable did not infer the power to prescribe rates, and thus 'The Interstate Commerce Commission is not empowered either expressly or by implication to fix rates in advance'; it also determined that because the freight in question was travelling on a continuous line between states, it was subject to the federal regulation.⁵⁴¹ This case was cited by Isaacs, applying the decision to the Australian circumstances to argue against the proposal to allow unduly low rates for development within a state, for it would allow New South Wales to provide low rates to the Riverina as it was located within New South Wales, whereas Victorian rates would be subject to federal regulation.⁵⁴²

However, the debate on the Australian commission was not limited to judicial interpretation. Delegates also placed the commission into perspective by presenting arguments about the success (or lack thereof) and regard for the Interstate Commerce Commission in the United States, citing and quoting from various authorities to support

⁵³⁹ Wise, 21/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 1118. See also Gordon, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1325.

⁵⁴⁰ Barton, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1330-31. See also O'Connor, 07/09/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 119; O'Connor, Barton, Gordon, Glynn, Higgins, 22/02/1898, Isaacs 23/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1302-03, 1322, 1330-31, 1327-28, 1333-35; 1349, 1377-78.

⁵⁴¹ *Cincinnati, N.O. and Tex. Pac. Ry. Co. v. ICC*, 162 U.S. 184, Justia US Supreme Court (1896).

⁵⁴² Isaacs, 24/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1458-59.

their position. Patrick Glynn was the most forceful in his argument that the Commission had failed in its objectives and existed only to collect information.⁵⁴³ He was not alone, though, and in looking at how the Interstate Commission was discussed in relation to the United States, this was one of the most common methods. Higgins outlined for the convention what the Interstate Commerce Commission did and did not do; Lyne looked to the powers of the Commission, whereas Reid argued against the creation of a commission and called on them to use the federal courts instead.⁵⁴⁴ One of the sources used in the assessment of the Commission were its own reports which, Wise noted ‘most honourable members interested in the subject have already read’.⁵⁴⁵ In one instance, Isaacs quoted from an Interstate Commerce Commission report on rates to draw parallels between the Victorian and New South Wales rates dispute and the “Southern freight war”.⁵⁴⁶

Delegates such as Barton, who was among the many lawyers at the convention, and one of the strongest in knowledge of Constitutional judicial interpretation of the United States, objected to there being a specific reference to the creation of the inter-state commission in the constitution, and argued that the existing commerce clauses in the Draft Constitution were sufficient for the creation of an inter-state commission without there being a specific reference. These clauses, he argued, were similar to the trade and commerce clauses under which the Act was created in the United States; they would provide sufficient power in Australia as well.⁵⁴⁷ He also argued that they would be sufficient to restrict the implementation of preferential rates without a specific mention of them as some delegates were arguing for. Although other delegates disputed his claim that it was clear, he argued that American legal decisions prior to the introduction of the Interstate Commerce Act demonstrated this, and they would be what the Australians would be working under until such time as the inter-state commission was created. This position, it was also noted by Victorian delegates such as Higgins, was particularly

⁵⁴³ Glynn, 08/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 180; Glynn, 22/02/1898, 25/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1334-35, 1527.

⁵⁴⁴ Higgins, Grant, Wise, Reid, Lyne, 22/02/1898, Isaacs, 23/02/1898, Isaacs, 25/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1264, 1269, 1272-1275, 1281-82, 1290, 1379-80, 1516.

⁵⁴⁵ Wise, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1272-75.

⁵⁴⁶ Isaacs, 21/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1254-55.

⁵⁴⁷ Barton, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1321-22.

favourable to New South Wales, for they did not restrict differential rates on commerce within the state, enabling New South Wales to direct trade from the Riverina through Sydney. As Reid argued, under the United States Constitution and the Inter-State Commerce Act, state sovereignty was preserved for internal trade and, he claimed, 'I only ask for that which every state in the United States had'.⁵⁴⁸

Because of this, the Victorian delegates were primarily highlighting the differences between the Australian and United States railway system, both in terms of ownership and differences in geography, such as that all the Australian state capitals were port cities, whereas in the United States they were not.⁵⁴⁹ Such an argument was intended to undercut the position of the New South Wales delegates, but also to demonstrate a consideration and use of the United States more broadly than simply copying it. Carruthers went so far as to speculate that 'if there had been railways in existence, the wisdom of the framers of that Constitution would have provided that these great arteries of traffic should be made matters of federal concern'.⁵⁵⁰

In this debate, while highly local in nature, it was being argued that the contemporary governance of the United States was a clear precedent for them to follow; that unlike related finance questions, it was a situation where they did not need to speculate as to what the outcome would be, because the American outcomes would replicate themselves in Australia.⁵⁵¹ It was also a debate in which the delegates showed off their knowledge and reading on the United States precedent, arguing the relevance and outcomes of American judicial decisions, and citing and quoting from the reading they had done, both books and recent articles from American journals on the topic of railways and the Interstate Commission. While delegates such as Barton, Higgins and Isaacs appeared to have had the strongest depth of understanding on the question, a range of delegates looked to the United States in order to support their argument or discount the position of another.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁸ Reid, 23/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1390.

⁵⁴⁹ Higgins, 07/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 132.

⁵⁵⁰ Carruthers, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1278.

⁵⁵¹ Barton, 08/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 214.

⁵⁵² O'Connor, Glynn, McMillan, Symon, Deakin, Higgins, Wise, Grant, Reid, Lyne, Carruthers, Gordon, Isaacs, Downer, Holder all drew on the United States in reference to railways.

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The protracted and heated debate in the sweltering February in Melbourne resulted in four clauses in the Constitution being dedicated to the creation of an inter-state commission and a prohibition on preferential rates to lure trade from the port of another State.⁵⁵³ As with the constitution generally, the clauses relating to the inter-state commission ultimately blended the United States and the British models. In their *Annotated Constitution* in 1901, Quick and Garran noted that ‘the establishment of an Inter-State Commission for the Commonwealth was directly suggested by the Inter-State Commerce Commission’ in the United States, but that ‘in some respects it bears a closer resemblance to the Commission constituted by the English Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888’.⁵⁵⁴ One reason for this resemblance may be that the first clause relating to the inter-state commission is that it would have ‘such powers of adjudication and administration as the Parliament deems necessary’.⁵⁵⁵ This clause led to the ambiguity that had initially stalled the creation of the United States Interstate Commission, allocating a power of adjudication without defining its status as a court.

Parliament did create the Inter-State Commission as directed, but not until 1913. The Commission was successful in running enquiries, but was blocked by the High Court from doing more than this, when, after a legal challenge appealing a decision of the Commission, it determined that the Constitution did not give the Commission the status of a court or any judicial powers, and that it therefore had no Constitutional right to adjudicate on these issues. When writing about this decision, J.A. La Nauze argues that it did not follow the intention of the framers of the Australian Constitution.⁵⁵⁶ The Commissioners appointments were not renewed in 1920, and the Commission was left

⁵⁵³ Chapter IV, Clause 101: Inter-State Commission (That Parliament is to create an Inter-State Commission); Clause 102: Parliament may forbid preferences by State (forbidding any preferential or discriminatory rate that may injure another state, to be determined by the Inter-State Commission); Clause 103.: Commissioners' appointment, tenure, and remuneration (detailing how the Commissioners would be appointed for their seven year term); Clause 104: Saving of certain rates (explicitly allowing lower developmental rates), ‘The Australian Constitution’.

⁵⁵⁴ Quick and Garran, *Annotated Constitution*, 896.

⁵⁵⁵ Chapter IV, Clause 101, ‘The Australian Constitution’.

⁵⁵⁶ La Nauze, ‘The Inter-State Commission’, 54-55.

idle until 1950, when it was formally repealed.⁵⁵⁷ Prime Minister Gough Whitlam revived the commission, although it did not re-commence operation until 1984, with powers restricted to investigating and advising the federal government on matters relating to transport that had been referred to it by the Minister.⁵⁵⁸ The Commission was once again destined for a short life, with its powers folded into the newly-created Industry Commission in 1989.⁵⁵⁹

This American origin of the Inter-State Commission is something that has been largely forgotten in federation history. In his article on the origin of the Commission, La Nauze makes no mention of the United States. Hunt notes its creation, but does not mention the precedent being used.⁵⁶⁰ There is some reference to this origin in legal scholarship on the Inter-State Commission, but this is also brief.⁵⁶¹ The short life of the Inter-State Commission may have contributed to this neglect. However, I believe this can also be tied to the assessment of Harry Evans, discussed in the introduction to this thesis, that the American aspects of the Australian constitution have been minimised.⁵⁶²

When the Inter-State Commission was created, while being given the powers of enquiry, Section V of the Act provided the Commission with explicit judicial power, in line with the British Commission. In ruling such powers unconstitutional, the High Court left the Commission with only the power of investigation, making it the toothless body the American framers were initially concerned the Interstate Commerce Commission would become, before they included the direction that commission findings would be *prima facie* when referred to the circuit court for enforcement. If the Australians looked to the Inter-State Commission with only the English Railway Commission as a guide, without the judicial power allocated in Section V of the Act, there was little to recommend it, and it

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 51-52, 56-57; Stephen Gageler, 'Chapter IV: The Inter-State Commission and the Regulation of Trade and Commerce under the Australian Constitution,' *Public Law Review* 28 (2017): 216, <http://www.hcourt.gov.au/publications/speeches/current/speeches-by-justice-gageler>.

⁵⁵⁸ Gageler, 'The Inter-State Commission,' 217; Michael Coper, 'The Second Coming of the Fourth Arm: The Role and Functions of the Inter-State Commission,' *Australian Law Journal* 63 (1989): 736.

⁵⁵⁹ Gageler, 'The Inter-State Commission,' 217.

⁵⁶⁰ La Nauze, 'The Inter-State Commission'. See also La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 134, 155-56, 216; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 183-84.

⁵⁶¹ Andrew Ball, 'The Missing Constitutional Cog: The Omission of the Inter-State Commission,' *Bar News: The Journal of the NSW Bar Association* (2009-2010): 60; Gageler, 'The Inter-State Commission,' 208; Coper, 'The role and functions of the Inter-State Commission,' 732.

⁵⁶² Evans, 'The Other Metropolis,' 30.

failed to live up to the expectation that it might become a fourth arm of government.

RELIGION

The question of religion is not one that receives a lot of attention in writing on federation in Australia.⁵⁶³ Where it occurs, primary focus is on God in the preamble, and the question of if they wanted to include it, or if it was just politically expedient. The major exception to this is Richard Ely's book *Unto God and Caesar: Religious Issues in the Emerging Commonwealth 1891-1906*. He discusses the role of religion and religious organisations in the development of federation, noting that they wanted the Australian Constitution to include a recognition of God, for there to be prayers opening Parliament, and for the Governor-General to be able to institute a national day of thanksgiving and reflection.⁵⁶⁴ There were representatives of different religious organisations in attendance at the Bathurst People's Federation Convention in 1896, and Catholic Cardinal Moran was a candidate for the 1897/98 Federation Conventions, missing out on a place by four candidates.

Yet the two religious aspects of the Australian Constitution were tied together in the Conventions, and while the discussions of both were not extensive, the United States did feature. This was not limited simply to acknowledging the existence of clauses related to restrictions being implemented on Congress with regard to religion in the United States Constitution. The delegates drew on the historical background for these clauses, as well as the role of religion in American society at the time, and legal cases in the United States guiding and interpreting Congressional legislation with regard to religion.

Religion in the Australian colonies in the late 1890s was predominantly Christian, with acknowledged Christians making up ninety-five percent of the non-Aboriginal population in the 1891 census, and church attendance higher in Victoria and South Australia than it was in Britain, with forty-three percent of Victorians regularly attending.⁵⁶⁵ Despite this,

⁵⁶³ Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 167; Irving, *Five Things to Know About the Australian Constitution*, 86-88; Jeffrey Goldsworthy, 'The Constitutional Protection of Rights in Australia,' in Craven, *Australian Federation*, 154.

⁵⁶⁴ Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 21.

⁵⁶⁵ Roger C. Thompson, *Religion in Australia: A History*, 22-23.

by the 1890s there had been a movement towards official secularism in Australian society, which was particularly noticeable in the school system. While in New South Wales in 1836 the Bourke Church Act had provided for state funding across different church denominations, and in 1848 there had been a compromise reached with state funding to both denominational and non-denominational schools, the Education Act of 1872 in Victorian ended state aid to denominational schools, and in 1879 New South Wales Premier Henry Parkes abolished state aid to denominational schools, which matched earlier abolition of state aid to religious organisations in that state.⁵⁶⁶ In response, by the 1890s there was an increased involvement of religious organisations in Australian politics. This was particularly in relation to questions such as Pacific Islander labour and the Australian presence in the Pacific and issues such as control of alcohol and opiates. The Australian colonies were also connected to transnational religious movements such as the temperance movement and the Christian Women's movement, and the subsequent flow of ideas around this.⁵⁶⁷ Federation was another political movement religious bodies focused on.⁵⁶⁸

The movement for constitutional recognition of God was led by the major Protestant churches. The resistance to such recognition was primarily led by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, originally formed in the United States but with a small membership in the Australian colonies. Their primary concern was that recognition of God in the constitution would lead to the implementation of religious laws, particularly restrictions on working on Sundays. Because the Seventh Day Adventist church recognised Saturday as the Sabbath, it wanted to ensure members' ability to be able to continue to work on Sundays.⁵⁶⁹ This fear was at least in part based on the experiences of Seventh Day Adventists in the United States. It was also remarked upon by Henry Higgins, who noted both their concern that there would be an enforced Sabbath, as there had been attempts to do so in the United States. Higgins then went on to note his concern about a

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 20; Hilary M. Carey, 'Religion and society,' in *Australia's Empire*, The Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 8.

⁵⁶⁷ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 349-50; Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, 40-42; Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire*, 18, 49, 54, 62.

⁵⁶⁸ Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 6-7.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 21-23, 27; Anne Wrinkle, 'Almighty God in the Preamble,' *The New Federalist: Journal of Australian Federation History* 4 (1999): 82.

particular group being able to select a different day as the Sabbath, rather than having a uniform date.⁵⁷⁰

Convention delegates themselves represented a range of religious views, including Protestant, Catholic, Spiritualist and Jewish.⁵⁷¹ Even after the Convention debates began, religious organisations placed pressure on the convention to consider religion in the federation, particularly the recognition of God, chiefly through petitions.⁵⁷²

While they were not able to have the question of a national day of reflection or prayers in Parliament considered during the debates (although they were ultimately successful in achieving the latter), the question of whether there would be a constitutional recognition of God was a topic for consideration. This was agreed at the 1898 Melbourne Convention, with the inclusion in the preamble of the phrase, 'humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God'.

The second issue relating to religion discussed at the federation convention was what would ultimately become Chapter V, Clause 109, preventing states from making laws with regard to religion. A proposed amendment to extend this clause to the Commonwealth was rejected, and the clause itself was ultimately withdrawn, but replaced by what was to become Chapter V, Clause 116, that 'the Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth'.⁵⁷³ This clause is clearly drawn from the United States constitution, combining both the First Amendment, that 'Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof', and Article VI, Section 3, 'no religious test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United

⁵⁷⁰ Higgins, 07/02/1898, 08/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 656, 664.

⁵⁷¹ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 13, 100, 102.

⁵⁷² Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 32-33, 37-38; Wrinkle, 'Almighty God in the Preamble,' 81-82; *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 5, 203, 261, 349, 398, 404, 405, 408, 409, 428, 943, 1209; *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 3, 33, 539, 641; *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 123, 1000, 1144.

⁵⁷³ Chapter V, Clause 116, 'The Australian Constitution'.

States'.⁵⁷⁴

GOD IN THE PREAMBLE

While the movement to have a recognition of God in the constitution was led by Protestant church organisations, it was proposed at the convention by Patrick Glynn, one of the Catholic delegates. Glynn was invited by Simon Fraser of Victoria to propose the amendment, so that it would be seen as an issue that crossed the religious divide. Glynn did so ably, and argued the case for it.⁵⁷⁵ However, he noted that he was not a particularly religious man, stating that he was 'a bit of a reprobate in Religion,' and was not a strong believer in the clause.⁵⁷⁶ Objection to having the reference to God came not only from those who believed that the Constitution should be secular; there were also pious objections, such as that it was bringing God down to the level of politics, and the question of fallibility if the constitution were to fail. The initial movement to have a recognition of God in the constitution preamble failed. It was not until the second attempt at the 1898 Melbourne Convention that it succeeded, and there is an argument that this success was due to the belief that it would be required to get sufficient support for the constitution for it to be accepted during the referendum votes.⁵⁷⁷ With regard to this question, there was not as much use of the United States, beyond noting that it had not been done there. Ayde Douglas argued that it was improper to have God in the constitution, and that it was not done in the United States or in Canada.⁵⁷⁸ The key exception to this was Higgins. In the debate, he made it explicit that he was not arguing against including a reference to God in the preamble, simply that he wanted to ensure that adequate protections would be put in place to ensure that this could not be abused. Yet on at least two occasions, he took the time to highlight the political nature of this question and suggest that the debates outside of the convention were being influenced by the United States and the experiences there. He did this by stating that those who were

⁵⁷⁴ 'The Constitution of the United States'; Quick and Garrahan, *Annotated Constitution*, 951.

⁵⁷⁵ Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 33-34; Glynn, 22/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 1184-86; Glynn, 02/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1732-33.

⁵⁷⁶ Patrick Glynn to Abigail Dynon, 07/09/1897, in *Patrick McMahon Glynn, Letters to His Family (1874-1927)*, ed. Gerald Glynn O'Collins (Melbourne: Polding Press, 1974), 170.

⁵⁷⁷ Wrinkle, 'Almighty God in the Preamble,' 78.

⁵⁷⁸ Douglas, 22/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 1186.

generating the debate on the topic should be honest about their motives, suggesting a political and financial interest in having a constitutional recognition of God. Higgins argued that there was monetary interest in the United States being recognised as a Christian country and that while many Australians had signed petitions supporting the insertion of religious words into the preamble, these petitions were made by men who knew this history in the United States, but had not shared it ‘and what the motive for these words is’. Higgins argued that people should be told the history and the motive behind pushing for a constitutional recognition of God, and later he stated outright that the proposal to recognise God in the preamble ‘was not proposed merely out of reverence; it was proposed for distinct political purposes under the influence of debates which have taken place in the United States of America’, though he does not articulate what this purpose is.⁵⁷⁹ Despite the lack of clarity on what Higgins was specifically referring to, I find these statements intriguing, and for the purposes of this chapter an interesting conflation of United States and Australian political motivations, suggesting that the actions of political organisations (including religious organisations) were looking to debates and politics in the United States to guide their own actions. While no convention delegates expanded or responded to these statements, neither did any of them challenge them.

At the same time as Higgins was criticising the political use of inserting a reference to God in the preamble, he also argued that there was a political expediency to including such restrictions in the Constitution, to appease those who were wary of a reference to God in the preamble. In doing so, he claimed that there was popular support for following the American example.⁵⁸⁰

LAWS WITH RESPECT TO RELIGION

Until the 1898 Melbourne Convention, the question of the role of the government in relation to religion did not receive much attention during the debates. In the Unitarian Andrew Inglis Clark’s proposed draft constitution, restrictions were placed on both the

⁵⁷⁹ Higgins, 07/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 654.

⁵⁸⁰ Higgins, 08/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 663.

states and the federal government from passing laws that prohibited the free exercise of religion – presumably drawn from the United States Constitution.⁵⁸¹ In Samuel Griffith's Draft Constitution at the 1891 Convention, this restriction was retained with regard to the states, but omitted for the federal government, and the clause passed the Convention without debate.⁵⁸² Quick raised the question of a clause about religion at the 1897 Adelaide Constitution Committee meeting, but his proposed clause was negated, and did not make it to the debates in Adelaide or Sydney.⁵⁸³

The issue was raised in Melbourne, again by Higgins. Along with the inclusion of the conciliation and arbitration clause, John Rickard describes the insertion of Section 116, protecting the free exercise of religion and preventing both an established religion and religious tests as his 'major contribution' to the constitution.⁵⁸⁴ His first attempt to extend the restrictions against religious legislation to the Commonwealth as well as the states was not successful, and indeed the clause with regard to the states was removed. However, when reconsidering the Bill, he was able to raise the issue again, and by making it clear that he was not attempting to interfere with the powers of the states, along with the persuasiveness of the argument that he made, he was ultimately successful in getting the clause, as quoted earlier, inserted into the Constitution, albeit as a clause referring exclusively to the Commonwealth.

The concern expressed by Higgins and others was that, if there was a recognition of God in the constitution, even if it was simply in the preamble, that could be extrapolated to be seen as giving parliament the right to create legislation that discriminated on the basis of religion. He pointed out that there were two such clauses in the United States Constitution - Article VI, Clause 3, preventing religious tests from being used as a qualification for any office, and the First Amendment, which forbade laws with regard to the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise of religion.⁵⁸⁵ If, Higgins

⁵⁸¹ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 57

⁵⁸² La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 228.

⁵⁸³ Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 31.

⁵⁸⁴ John Rickard, 'Higgins, Henry Bournes (1851–1929),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/higgins-henry-bournes-6662/text11483>, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 10/03/2018.

⁵⁸⁵ 'The Constitution of the United States'.

argued, the Americans had found it necessary to include such preventative measures in their Constitution without a reference to God in it, surely it was even more necessary for the Australians to do so, given the plans to include such a reference? This argument was persuasive, and there was a clearly-held belief that the American experience was applicable to Australia. At no point was it stated that the American experience was too foreign or irrelevant for the Australians. The closest to this was simply that it was anachronistic, that the circumstances of religious division that compelled the Americans to include such a clause no longer existed.

The case in question was that of *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*. This case, decided on February 29, 1892, stemmed from the Church, in September 1887, paying the passage for Englishman E. Walpole Warren to emigrate to the United States in order to serve as its rector and pastor. The United States government declared that this breached the Act of February 26, 1880, 23 Stat. 332, c 164, titled 'An Act to prohibit the importation and migration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its Territories, and the District of Columbia', and applied penalties. In the opinion, delivered by Supreme Court Justice David Josiah Brewer, the Supreme Court acknowledged that the Church was in fact importing Reverend Warren to provide labour. However, it went on, specific occupations were listed in the Act as being excluded from penalties, and while clergymen were not listed, the Court believed that Congress had no intention of preventing churches (or synagogues) from importing ministers. It reached this conclusion based on a number of factors, including that the American people were a religious people (noting several legal precedents of religion being included in legislation), and, most famously, based on an assessment of American life, its laws, business, customs and society, that 'these, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation'.⁵⁸⁶

The case was not specifically named in the debates, but familiar enough that the description provided by Higgins allowed others to comment on it. Higgins wanted to prevent the establishment of a national religion and bar any possible restrictions on the

⁵⁸⁶ *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*, 143 U.S. 457, Justia US Supreme Court (1892).

free exercise of religion.⁵⁸⁷ He described the *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States* decision, and specifically that an outcome of this decision was the declaration that the United States was a Christian country. Based on that declaration, Higgins argued, Congress was then able to pass laws that prevented the Chicago Columbian Exhibition of 1893 (the Chicago World's Fair) from opening on a Sunday.⁵⁸⁸ Barton gave his own interpretations of it, and argued that the High Court would not interpret it to allow such actions as occurred in the United States, and that there was therefore no need to act on it. John Quick argued that if such decisions were able to be made even with the restrictions that the United States had in its Constitution, then what was the point of including such restrictions.⁵⁸⁹

The debate was begun by Higgins, but there were obviously also others contributing, and most made reference to the United States. The primary objection (with Barton leading this point of view) was that there was no need for such a clause, as Parliament would not have the power to make laws with regard to religion anyway because it was not an enumerated power in section 51. Higgins responded that they were able to do so in the United States. When Symon argued that the clause went too far, he suggested they simply prohibit religious tests for holding public office, as the clause originally stood in the United States Constitution. Cockburn argued against the clause as an anachronism, addressing specific issues that would not occur in the present.⁵⁹⁰

Downer argued that Higgins had 'reminded us of the decision in America that the Christian religion is a portion of the American Constitution, and of the enactments that were passed in consequence', noting that Christianity was also part of the British Constitution, which did not need any judicial rulings to declare this.⁵⁹¹ Given that the Australians brought British laws to Australia with them, they were beginning 'at the state in which the Americans were doubtful, without the insertion of the words at all'. However, he did not articulate, as the delegates would have all been aware, that one of

⁵⁸⁷ Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 60.

⁵⁸⁸ Higgins, 08/02/1898, 02/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 658, 663, 1734-35.

⁵⁸⁹ Barton, 08/02/1898, Quick, 02/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 661, 1736-37.

⁵⁹⁰ Cockburn, 08/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne* 1898, 660.

⁵⁹¹ Downer, 02/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1740-1741.

the means by which Christianity is part of the British Constitution is through an established state church, something they did not and would not have in Australia.

Fraser argued against the suggestion that it was needed because it was in the United States Constitution. He argued that 'I hope that we are not going to be driven to accept all sorts of extraordinary proposals simply because of something that has taken place in the United States. We are able to take care of ourselves and I think the clause would do more harm than good', with the harm he refers to being 'offend[ing] the susceptibilities of a homogenous people, and in that way cause trouble and difficulty'.

In these arguments, both for and against the clause, the delegates were expressing an understanding and specific knowledge of the United States, its history and culture. They were also demonstrating (for the most part) a willingness to be guided by that history and culture - in short, by the American experience. Those in favour of the amendment drew specific parallels between the Australian and the American experiences and expressed the belief that the American experience could be replicated here. Even those who argued against the amendment did not repudiate that suggestion - rather, they argued that the reasons for the American clauses no longer existed. Barton came closest to outright stating that just because it happened in the United States did not mean that it could happen in Australia.

What this demonstrates is a fluidity of American culture, a transmutability. The United States was not a foreign land with customs, culture and society that were radically different or foreign to the Australians. Instead, the circumstances of what happened with regard to something as deeply cultural as religion and society's treatment of and response to religion, was seen as transferrable to the Australian experience - if it happened there, it could happen here.

Throughout his work on religion and the federation debates, Ely notes instances when the delegates drew on the experience and the constitution of the United States, but he does so without comment on or question about this significance. The only time it is discussed at length is his critique of Quick and Garran and their discussion of this clause in the *Annotated Constitution*. There Ely argues that their most serious factual error

regarding Clause 116 arose in their treatment of the American background of the clause, which he attributes to the particular viewpoint both authors had regarding whether the clause should be included in the constitution.⁵⁹²

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The debate on religion was not an extensive one at the Federation conventions, and took place only in Melbourne (although there were petitions calling for the inclusion of a reference to God all the way through). It was, however, one that drew heavily on the lived experience in the United States. While the United States constitution was a reference point in this debate, it was the determination about American society and the use of that determination by Congress to enact laws that was the focal point of the discussion. And in this debate, the question was not whether the American experience was relevant to Australia generally, but rather whether the circumstances that led to the American experience were still in existence. The applicability of the American cultural experience to Australia was not questioned.

As can be seen in this chapter, the delegates at the Australian Constitutional Conventions had sufficient knowledge of both the United States Constitution and American society to be able to look beyond the structural model of the United States. By bringing together these case studies on their use of the United States in the discussion of rivers, railways, and religion, we can see the pattern of using the United States and its experience with these matters as something to learn from. In some instances they saw the experiences of the United States as a negative and so were taking the United States model and aiming to improve on its experience. In other instances, such as the allocation of powers in relation to rivers or the creation of an Inter-State Commission, the United States provided a practical model of how these issues could be managed.

The use of the United States has been mentioned by historians considering these topics at federation. However, they have not considered what this use might indicate and they have been considered in isolation from each other. By bringing these examples together,

⁵⁹² Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, 90.

we see the consistency of interest in and understanding of the United States. For the delegates at the federation conventions, the United States was more than simply a model of how to structure a federal government – it was a nation to which they were similar enough that they could learn from its experience and develop in the same way that it had.

Being similar in size, and with some other geographical similarities, meant that the Australians could draw on the United States experience to envision how issues such as water management and railways would be managed in the new Australian nation. Throughout the debates, they could draw on United States experience, both contemporary and historical, to learn from, and to use in support of their own arguments. The case studies used in this chapter are not the only examples of how the United States was used in this way, merely the most prominent. For the United States to be seen and used in such a myriad of ways, it is clear that there was both an interest in what was happening there, and that there was generally agreed understanding of the applicability of United States experience to Australian life.

This use and understanding of the United States will be explored further in Chapter Four, where I focus more specifically on the way the delegates used United States history when developing the Australian Constitution.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNITED STATES HISTORY AT THE FEDERATION CONVENTIONS

United States history served a number of purposes at the Australian federation conventions. The delegates looked to the United States for precedent on how to federate, specifically at the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention. They utilised United States history to demonstrate how particular clauses and decisions in the United States Constitution had played out since adoption, to support arguments about whether they should be followed or not. They also looked to developments and events in the American past to determine whether they could learn from the American experience, and if so, how they could shape the Australian constitution to avoid American mistakes.

The use of the history of the United States, while not largely commented on in discussions of federation, is a strong demonstration of how the delegates at the federation conventions looked to see how the United States Constitution had worked in actuality. They considered how it had played out and impacted on the lives of the American people, from the early days of the republic to events as recent as the 1896 presidential election campaign between William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley.

The use of American 'experience' has not gone unnoticed in works on Australian-United States relations, but this has not been elaborated on in great detail.⁵⁹³ As such, in this chapter, it is my intention to draw out the ways in which the convention delegates used American history. I will be exploring how they approached United States history, what the purpose of using it was and how it was received. This will be done by looking at two particular points of history: the creation of the Constitution at the Philadelphia Convention and the American Civil War.

These are not the full extent of Australian use of United States history during the

⁵⁹³ Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated*, 47; Churchward, *Australia and America*, 90; Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia, 1901-1923,' 434; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 118, 173; Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 3; Else-Mitchell, 'American Influences on Australian Nationhood,' 12.

development of federation, but rather particularly useful and illustrative examples. The Australians also looked at the history of relations between the House of Representatives and the Senate in the United States, including at deadlocks; at American presidential elections; the experience of party government in the United States; and the franchise, considering both what had and had not occurred in relation to these.

It is not surprising that the Australians looked to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. They drew on historical examples from that convention to guide them in their practice for their own convention, and also to consider the reasoning behind specific clauses in the United States Constitution, such as that of equal representation of states in the Senate, to put the United States Constitution in context. The Civil War was also used to place the constitution into context, as a terrible example of what could go wrong. This is area of United States history at the federation conventions that has received historical attention, with both Helen Irving and Marilyn Lake noting their interest in this topic and discussing how they considered what, if any, clauses led to it occurring, the impact of the war on United States politics and governing, and what the Australians could learn from it to prevent such a war happening in Australia.⁵⁹⁴ This chapter will build on the work done while demonstrating more broadly the extent to which the Civil War was a presence at the federation conventions.

As well as events in United States history, the Australians also looked to key figures in the United States – men such as President Abraham Lincoln, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, and Chief Justice John Marshall. The delegates expressed their admiration of these men, professed to have learned from them and considered them in the context of Australian federation. Finally, this chapter will consider a very specific subset of American history that was utilised throughout the conventions, that of judicial interpretations of the Constitution in the subsequent century that formed United States case law. This was predominantly a resource deployed by the many lawyers at the conventions, although laymen would also venture into the topic.

Some of this history they would have learnt from specialised reading in preparation for

⁵⁹⁴ Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 70; Lake, 'White Man's Countries,' 355-57.

the conventions, which the delegates reported that they undertaken. Josiah Symon said when discussing equal representation that he had 'devoted some research to it last night', after listening to the speech of Henry Higgins, and also noted the research Edmund Barton had undertaken about United States railways.⁵⁹⁵ But other aspects of United States history would have been at least passingly familiar to the delegates at the federation conventions and the wider Australian public. The American Civil War occurred during the lives of many of the delegates, and continued to be discussed in Australian newspapers in the 1890s.⁵⁹⁶ Events such as presidential election campaigns had coverage in the Australian press. The history of the United States was not something with which these men would have been unfamiliar. Examining of the use of history demonstrates the importance of the American example to the process of Australian federation, and the extent to which the Australians had a detailed understanding of the American model and experience. Showing this in turn highlights Australian interest in the United States during this period.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

When arguing that because they were forming the Australian model under the Crown, they did not need to follow the inherent caution built into the American system, William McMillan of New South Wales stated that to understand the American system, you needed to understand the circumstances in which it had been created.⁵⁹⁷ Australian delegates looked to the creation of the United States Constitution at the 1787 Philadelphia Convention and the circumstances that led to that convention and the Constitution that it created being ratified by the states. They did this to frame ideas on how to structure their own convention, to compare their circumstances to those of the United States, and to consider specific topics such as responsible government and equal representation.

WHY THE CONFEDERATION FAILED

American federation history was considered when debating the type of federation they

⁵⁹⁵ Symon, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 297; Symon, 22/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 1135-36.

⁵⁹⁶ Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, 70.

⁵⁹⁷ McMillan, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 12/03/1891, 272.

wished to develop in Australia. While there was a general agreement that the earlier confederation of the United States had failed, leading to the development of the 1789 American constitution and current federation, there were still conflicting interpretations of why it had failed – whether it had been a result of the system itself, or of the circumstances the confederation found itself in.⁵⁹⁸ This was relevant to the early Australian conventions, when debating what kind of federation they wanted and how it would be achieved. It demonstrated the reason they needed a clear federation with a sufficiently strong central government. Henry Parkes and John Cockburn both argued that United States history, particularly the American attempt at a confederation before complete federation, was a warning to the Australians not to try anything short of complete federation, although they differed in the methods they were advocating as to how to achieve this.⁵⁹⁹

The clear and evident failure of the confederation meant that delegates could use it to reject proposals they did not favour, by likening them to the United States confederation. The most direct example of this was in response to Fredrick Holder of South Australia, and his proposal that federal finance be made easier by the states collecting the (federally set) excise and customs duties, that they manage the funds themselves for internal matters, paying a levy to the federal government based on population size.⁶⁰⁰ Edmund Barton objected: ‘How is that kind of union to be stronger than the articles of the Confederate States in America?’ Matthew Clarke of Tasmania called it ‘a scheme of confederation which resembled in its utter inefficiency the system which was originally in vogue in America, and which it was found so necessary to alter’. James Howe of South Australia noted that there were historical examples of confederation and that in the United States they had found the Confederation to be insufficient and liable to ‘fall to pieces’, adding that ‘we do not want anything of that sort to happen in Australasia’.⁶⁰¹ Holder’s response to the immediate objections was that conditions in the United States

⁵⁹⁸ Deakin, 17/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 2499; Isaacs, 26/03/1897, Fysh, 29/03/1897, Barton, 31/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 171-72, 235, 378.

⁵⁹⁹ *Proceedings, People's Federal Convention*, 97, 98; Cockburn, 10/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 202; Parkes, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 44.

⁶⁰⁰ Holder, 26/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 155.

⁶⁰¹ Barton, 26/03/1897, Clarke, 30/03/1897, Howe, 31/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 155, 308, 352. See also Deakin, 26/03/1897, Isaacs, 26/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 155, 170.

were different from those in Australia, although the continued objection to his plan suggests that this was not found to be convincing. While the confederation was roundly rejected in this way, the creation of the system that replaced it earned much more discussion.

STRUCTURAL MODEL

For the delegates at the federation conventions, the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention of 1787 was a clear and obvious parallel. The process of holding a convention in order to first decide whether federation was desired, and then to develop a draft Constitution, was itself based on the American experience. The earliest references to the United States at the 1890 Australasian Federation Conference were on the first day, with a consideration of the process at the Philadelphia Convention. The delegates were debating whether the Australian Conference would be an open or closed session—in this instance, diverging from the United States precedent to have an open session for the conference and subsequent conventions.⁶⁰²

While in this instance they departed from the United States precedent, there were other areas, particularly at the 1890 Conference, where the American experience of holding a convention was a guide for the Australians. At the 1897 Adelaide Convention, comparisons were made to the timeframe of federation in the United States, to set up expectations for their own timeframe.⁶⁰³ Even on the final day of the 1898 Melbourne Convention, Baker was looking to the United States process, encouraging delegates to issue manifestos to the voters to endorse the Constitution in the vein of Washington's address (and in addition noting that such manifestos were also given in Switzerland).⁶⁰⁴ The United States offered not simply a guide to what a federation should look like, it was also a guide to how a Constitution could be created.

⁶⁰² Playford, Bird, 06/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 13-14.

⁶⁰³ Cockburn 30/03/1897, Deakin, 20/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 349, 1008.

⁶⁰⁴ Baker, 17/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 2986.

COMPARISONS

The United States was a good point of comparison when it came to the process and circumstances of federation. This frequently centred around the question of whether federation would be harder or easier to achieve in Australia than it had been in the United States, and the different circumstances the two sets of potential federations faced. Comparing themselves to the United States was a useful means of strengthening an argument about why an aspect of the United States model that delegates agreed with would apply; conversely, highlighting the differences in circumstances was a useful means of discounting an aspect of the United States model delegates disagreed with.

During the 1890 Melbourne Conference, this was done in relation to the overarching question of that conference—should the Australian colonies federate? And if so, were they ready to do it now? Direct comparisons were made between the Australian colonies and the United States, with arguments presented that the Australians were in a similar position to the American states when they federated. They were a similar age (both about a hundred years into their history), with similar populations and levels of development. When noting these points, Alfred Deakin concluded that ‘all these circumstances seem to point to the fact that if we are to follow on the same lines we should be to-day close to the same point at which they found it to their interest to merge their separate selves into a common nationality’.⁶⁰⁵

Similar points were made in the later conventions, although for those attending the conventions, the question of whether they should be federating had by then been answered.⁶⁰⁶ In the later conventions, comparisons between the Australian and American federations were more frequently centred on the circumstances of the colonies at the time of federation, and whether federation was therefore likely to be easier or more difficult to achieve in Australia than it had been in the United States.

Delegates repeatedly commented on the difficult circumstances in which federation was achieved in the United States. In the 1897 Adelaide Convention, both the South Australian Patrick Glynn and Victorian Isaac Isaacs quoted John Quincy Adams

⁶⁰⁵ Deakin, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 83-84.

⁶⁰⁶ Lyne, 26/03/1897, Howe, 31/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 162, 353.

remembering that union 'was extorted from the grinding necessities of a reluctant people' - Glynn to argue that the constitution had been unpopular in the immediate aftermath of the Philadelphia Convention, but that equal representation in the Senate had proven to be 'indispensable'; Isaacs, while praising Adams, arguing that equal representation in the Senate was a result of the founding fathers' fear of democracy.⁶⁰⁷ Delegates from states both large and small noted the hostile circumstances in which federation was achieved in the United States. This was an argument that could be used to support opposing sides of a debate. Delegates including Isaacs, Solomon, Glynn and Symon argued (both at the conventions and out of them) that, because of the circumstances, the Americans were forced into compromises that they might not otherwise have made, and so the Australians did not need to follow those compromises (such as equal representation of states in the Senate); or that because the United States was so diverse, they needed to have a broad representation, something the more homogenous Australian colonies did not need.⁶⁰⁸

When debating the question of whether federation would be harder or easier to achieve in Australia, delegates such as John Macrossan of Queensland and Andrew Inglis Clark of Tasmania argued that there had been a number of issues in the path of federation in the United States, chief among them being slavery, but 'we shall be cursed with no such question in Australia,' and that the only real obstacle they faced was the fiscal question.⁶⁰⁹

However, while the more difficult circumstances surrounding the development of federation in the United States at the Philadelphia Convention could be used to argue that should be easier to achieve in Australia, it was also argued that it was more difficult to achieve federation in the Australian colonies, in part because they did *not* have the pressure from external threats that the United States had.⁶¹⁰ Deakin also noted that the Australians had the added burden of needing to create a Constitution that would be

⁶⁰⁷ Isaacs, 13/04/1897, Glynn, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 543, 664; Isaacs, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 309, 544-45.

⁶⁰⁸ Isaacs, 10/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 2181; Glynn, 08/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 183-4; Solomon, 29/03/1897, Glynn, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 255, 720-21; 'The Federal Convention, 1897: Mr J.H. Symon, Q.C., At the Town Hall, Adelaide, February 8, 1897,' MS 1736, Series 9, item 521, Papers of Sir Josiah Symon, National Library of Australia.

⁶⁰⁹ Clark, 11/02/1890, Macrossan, 14/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 33, 74.

⁶¹⁰ Reid, 30/03/1897, Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 268, 289.

going to the people for approval - that in the United States and Canada they did not have to do that, and if they had presented what they came up with, it would have been rejected - as a reminder to the small state advocates of a strong senate that it would be impossible to pass a constitution that did not have the support of the majority overall.⁶¹¹ Thus for the delegates at the Australian federation conventions, United States history was flexible and open for interpretation, which they did so in order to suit their needs.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

As discussed in Chapter Two, one of the hesitations about following the United States model was the question of responsible government, and whether it was incompatible with the United States system of government. In this discussion, the Australians looked to United States history to explain why the Americans had not included the principles of responsible government into their system—namely, as detailed by Philip Fysh of Tasmania, that it was not a known or popular practice in Britain or the American colonies at the time of the Revolution.⁶¹²

In fact, leading delegates at the Australian federation conventions, including Barton, Downer and Symon, went so far as to argue that, had responsible government been established in Britain in the late eighteenth century, the United States would have been operating under a system of responsible government. This argument was used to allay the fears of those who argued that responsible government was incompatible with federation, and that they would have to choose one or the other.⁶¹³ This also helped to emphasise that the United States Constitution sat within the Anglo-Saxon sphere. They drew on authorities such as Fiske and Bryce to give their argument that responsible government not only fitted with federation, but would have been used by the Americans if it had become the general practice earlier, or if they had federated later—as the Australians

⁶¹¹ Deakin, 30/03/1897, 288-289.

⁶¹² Fysh, 29/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 243-44. See also Reid, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 274.

⁶¹³ Symon, 25/03/1897, Downer, 29/03/1897, Barton 31/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 134-35, 207, 213, 380.

were.⁶¹⁴

EQUAL REPRESENTATION

The convention delegates particularly utilised the history of specific clauses and why the Philadelphia Convention included them when discussing the formation of the Senate.⁶¹⁵ Debates about the structure of the Senate were divisive, usually but not always split between the small and large states.⁶¹⁶ The largest concerns and conflicting principles were the questions of equal representation in the Senate—if each state would have the same number of representatives in the Senate, as was the case in the United States, or if the Senate would be constituted based on proportional representation, as in the House of Representatives—and the question of equality of power between the two houses, specifically in relation to Money Bills - those relating to taxation and appropriations.

The question of equal representation was predominantly confined to the makeup of the Senate. It was accepted that the House of Representatives would be formed based on proportional representation, in line both with the United States House of Representatives, and the existing formation of the colonial lower houses. Historical issues regarding this, notably the three-fifths clause of Article I, Section 2 of the United States Constitution which prior to the Fourteenth Amendment declared that the number of representatives (and taxation apportionment) would be determined by the whole number of free persons, and three-fifths of other persons - slaves - were not addressed.

The smaller states insisted upon equal representation in the Senate as a condition of their joining the federation, to the extent that other delegates at the conventions noted that it seemed to be a general assumption that it would be conceded. This insistence was based upon the idea that each of the states should have a voice and a fear that, even combined, the more numerous smaller states would be swamped by the numbers in the House of Representatives given to the larger states.⁶¹⁷ Those in favour of equal representation for

⁶¹⁴ Downer 29/03/1897, O'Connor, 17/4/1897, Reid 20/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 208, 806, 976; O'Connor, 07/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 119; Barton 02/03/1898, 04/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1770, 1884.

⁶¹⁵ Evans, 'The Other Metropolis,' 32.

⁶¹⁶ Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 99-100; Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 107.

⁶¹⁷ Evans, 'Senate,' 422.

states in the Australian Senate had a clear example in the text of the United States Constitution, as equal representation had been provided there, with the clause 'The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote'.⁶¹⁸ The advocates for equal representation were ultimately successful, with each original state in Australia being allocated six senators.⁶¹⁹ In debating whether this would be included, both supporters and opponents looked to the experience of the United States in order to strengthen their position.

Delegates who were opposed to equal representation looked to the Philadelphia Convention and the reason why equal representation was given at that time, as a means to reassure the smaller states and ensure that they joined the federation.⁶²⁰ Equal representation was, they argued, the result of a compromise, known as the Connecticut Compromise, and was not a fundamental theory of federalism. It was a compromise reached under duress, with external threats forcing the hand of the large state representatives. The tactic of comparing the circumstances of federation in the two nations noted above was also used, arguing that the circumstances in the United States were more dire, and the danger of living without federation was so high, that the large states were forced to concede when small states such as Delaware threatened to not join the union, or to go to the British, if they were not granted equal representation.⁶²¹ In contrast, they argued, the Australians did not face such dire circumstances and should not have their hands forced on the question of equal representation. Isaacs, while he acknowledged that equal representation was 'plainly inevitable', insisted that it was important to consider the historical circumstances it was based upon, to disturb the idea that it was simply inherent in federations.⁶²²

It was remarked that they were having the same argument in Australia, a century later,

⁶¹⁸ Article I, Section 3, clause 1, 'The Constitution of the United States'.

⁶¹⁹ Chapter I, Part II, Clause 7, paragraph 3, 'The Australian Constitution'.

⁶²⁰ Higgins, 25/3/97, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 100.

⁶²¹ Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 174; Isaacs, 26/03/1897, Higgins, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 172-3, 646, 666; Higgins, 09/09/97, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 264.

⁶²² Isaacs, 26/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 17. See also Isaacs, 13/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 544.

with the same points being made.⁶²³ Furthermore, it was argued that by looking to the United States experience beyond the Philadelphia Convention, it could be seen that there had never been an instance when there was a dispute between the large states and the small.⁶²⁴ Large state delegates such as Higgins argued that, when there were disputes in the United States Congress on questions of states' rights, the Senate did not stand as a body to protect those rights. Surely then, he and others argued, the Australians could be reassured by the experience of the United States and not demand equal representation in the Senate, as it clearly was not needed and, if granted, would not get the outcomes they desired. When noting that the Senate might not be a protector of states' rights, Deakin observed that 'as a matter of fact and history, if we trust to American experience, we can say that State rights will never be more dependent upon the State Council of Australia than they will be upon the House of Representatives'.⁶²⁵ Here Deakin was saying that it was the experience, rather than the text, of the American example that they should be following, and that he was able both to argue against the form (the powers of the American Senate to be replicated in the Australian federation) and protect his state's interests, basing his argument on the need to continue the longstanding, familiar and British practice of responsible government, while still using the experience of the United States Senate to argue that they did not need the powers of the United States Senate to be replicated in Australia, as American experience relating to the protection of states' rights was likely to be replicated in Australia.

Those in favour of equal representation were happy to trust to American experience—their interpretation demonstrated that equal representation was a positive thing. Indeed, they argued that there was no need to look at why equal representation had been granted; the fact was that it was granted and had become a principle of federation, and that it worked well. Instead, the Australians should look to the history of the United States after the Constitution was implemented, to see the benefit of equal representation in the

⁶²³ Wise, 25/03/1897, Isaacs, 13/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 105, 543-45; Dibbs, 10/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 175.

⁶²⁴ Isaacs, 26/03/1897, Higgins, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 173-74, 646.

⁶²⁵ Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 296-97. See also Higgins, Trenwith, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 646-8 661-62.

United States.⁶²⁶ ‘As far as my reading of American history goes,’ Macrossan stated, ‘the question has never arisen as to small states dominating large states in the Senate. They have always worked amicably together’. Macrossan went on to remind the delegates of the party system existing in the United States, to argue that would prevent the small states from ever joining up against the larger.⁶²⁷ Deakin reiterated this at both the 1897 Adelaide Convention and 1897 Sydney Convention, to argue that it was safe to grant equal representation to the Senate, for as soon as the federation was formed, party government would be established; furthermore, he argued, based on the experience in the United States, the parties would be compelled to ensure that the interests of the smaller states were addressed, so as to not lose their majority.⁶²⁸ John Downer of South Australia agreed with opponents of equal representation that it had come about as a result of a compromise, but argued that it was one that had worked well, so that the Senate was ‘admired and revered by the people of America’, in a way the House of Representatives was not. Further, he argued that ‘in the Australian situation the small states are asking less than was asked by their American compatriots’.⁶²⁹

Ultimately, the argument can be seen in the statement of John Gordon from South Australia, that the history of the development of the Senate at Philadelphia was interesting but irrelevant, for ‘the flowers of a hundred years have bloomed and perished on the graves of these gentlemen, and the political machine they constructed has acquired an importance which they may or may not have intended’.⁶³⁰ In this position, the history of the United States was a positive endorsement of the idea of equal representation, and the idea that it was safe—indeed, a good idea—to follow.

The question of equal representation was also debated in relation to the United States Civil War, and the extent to which it (along side of or instead of slavery) was a cause of the war. This is discussed further in this chapter when considering the use of the Civil

⁶²⁶ Clarke, 30/03/1897, James, 13/04/1897, Glynn, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 303, 547, 665; Glynn, 09/09/1897, Symon, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 280, 297.

⁶²⁷ Macrossan, 17/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 432-33, 436.

⁶²⁸ Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 288; Deakin 10/09/1897, 15/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 335, 584-84, 587-88.

⁶²⁹ Downer, 16/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 403.

⁶³⁰ Gordon, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 324.

War at the federation conventions.

MISUNDERSTANDING OF UNITED STATES HISTORY

As can be seen so far in this chapter, delegates were reaching out to United States history to support their position, and several delegates demonstrated a strong grasp of this history. This is not to suggest that every delegate was equally well informed. Some simply did not speak about United States history (particularly the delegates from Western Australia, who barely spoke at all). Others, such as William Lyne of New South Wales, took a dim view of United States history and tried to utilise it to support a position. As Hunt noted regarding equal representation, 'the controversy affords an excellent illustration of the way in which American precedents were sometimes used by both speakers who were well informed and by those who either were not or who spoke too hastily'.⁶³¹

The most egregious incident was when Lyne was arguing that the Senate model proposed in Barton's resolutions was not drawn from what the 1787 framers intended (opposing equal representation). He claimed that the Senate was not intended to be a second chamber, but was created to be a check to the power of the president, and an advisory body.⁶³² Isaacs corrected this point, noting that 'a moment's reflection upon our historical knowledge of how the United States Senate came into existence will show the fallacy of the contention', and argued that it was clear from the convention debates, and from Story, Kent and others, that the Senate was always intended to be a house of review.⁶³³ Nevertheless, Lyne repeated his claim the following month.⁶³⁴

Higgins argued that responsible government could not work with responsibility to two houses, and that one could only have responsible government to the House that controlled finance. He incorrectly stated that, while the Senate could amend taxation bills in the United States, 'the position there is this: Ministers are elected and chosen not by

⁶³¹ Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 101-11.

⁶³² Lyne, 26/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 157-8.

⁶³³ Isaacs, 26/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 170-171.

⁶³⁴ Lyne, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 653.

the Parliament, but by the people...that system of giving equal control over Money Bills could never have lasted except under a Constitution where Ministers are elected by the people'.⁶³⁵ It was, Hunt has stated, 'a mis-statement such as he usually avoided'.⁶³⁶ Other delegates challenged what he was stating, Cockburn of South Australia argued that, while the cabinet ministers in the United States were not chosen by the parliament, they were subject to approval by the Senate, which Higgins rejected. It is, as can be seen, both an example of delegates incorrectly using the American example, but also was intended to be a rejection of the American system of giving the Senate power of amendment over money bills by pointing to another aspect of the American Congress that was fundamentally different to what they were planning for themselves.

These examples demonstrate, as Hunt notes, that not all the delegates had a strong grasp of United States history, and also demonstrates that using history to support a range of viewpoints, frequently in opposition to each other, could lead to the misapplication and the misuse of the historical example and the historical precedent. It gives some support to the generally espoused view, discussed in my introduction, that the Australians had little understanding of the United States. However, it also illustrates that there were delegates, such as Higgins and Isaacs, who had gone to the records of the conventions, as well as secondary sources such as Storey and Fiske and Bryce, in developing their understanding of the development of the United States Constitution.⁶³⁷ Delegates were willing and able to correct the misapplication of United States history when it occurred during the debates.

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For the Australian delegates, the Philadelphia Convention was an interesting and useful contradiction. It was both the closest parallel to what they were endeavouring to do, while being distant in both time and in the circumstances in which it was happening. It was a model template not just for the Constitution that they were writing, but for the process they were following to write it. The Philadelphia Convention had been the ultimate result

⁶³⁵ Higgins, 13/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 492.

⁶³⁶ Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 147.

⁶³⁷ Higgins, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 645.

of a revolution: the American colonies splitting from Britain, followed by a failing system of government that had been instituted in wartime, meant that a convention was necessary in order for the nation to function effectively. In contrast, the Australian colonies were choosing this process of federation, driven to it for compelling reasons, but without the shadow of war and still within the safety net of the empire. If the Convention failed to draft a Constitution, the colonies could continue to exist as they had. This contradiction enabled the delegates to draw both positive examples and strong warnings from the Philadelphia Convention and the American society in which it took place, making it very useful indeed.

As important a reference point as the Philadelphia Convention was, it was not the only event in United States history that the delegates found useful. Isaacs stated, when warning that equal representation needed to be counterbalanced by other provisions, that in order to learn from the United States experience and escape the consequences of their inclusion of equal representation:

It is all very well for hon. gentlemen to go back to the views of the Philadelphia Convention, to bring forwards the letter of the American Constitution—the bare words of that constitution. We must go further than that. We must not be deaf to the voices of the orators, the statesmen, the judges who, from time to time, have gone on and interpreted that constitution, and have to a very great extent changed it from the mere form and letter in which it was first cast, and brought it into the condition in which it is today.⁶³⁸

The remainder of this chapter will explore some of the ways they did this, by looking to the other historical period that shaped the discussion (particularly relating to the question of equal representation)—the American Civil War.

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

As well as looking at the development of United States Constitution, the Australian federalists also discussed many of the wars in which the US had been involved—the revolutionary war was a key feature, often related to the question of the similarity of the circumstances in which Australians and Americans (and Canadians) federated, and even

⁶³⁸ Isaacs, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 308. See also Reid, 16/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 648.

the war of 1812 between the United States and Britain received at least one mention.⁶³⁹ The standout, however, was the war most closely tied to the issue of federation and states' rights, the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865.

The delegates read the Civil War as an extreme warning, and a chance to learn from the American experience, but not necessarily in order to distance themselves from the United States. At the 1891 Convention, Sir George Grey of New Zealand argued that they needed to learn from the American lesson when arguing for state and federal powers to be specified, thus enabling them to solve legally questions such as those that had led to civil war in the United States.⁶⁴⁰ Thus a range of lessons was given to the delegates, a chance to develop positively from the negative American experience of war.

INTEREST IN THE CIVIL WAR

'The American Civil War has been made to point many a moral in Australian politics and adorn many a piece of rhetorical fiction, it was used a good deal during the Federal campaign – misused a good deal, too'.⁶⁴¹ So stated the Broken Hill *Barrier Miner* in 1899, opening an article entitled 'A Scrap of History', on the relevance of the American Civil War to Australia. Yet, this is not a topic that has received a lot of historical attention. One historian who has considered it is Helen Irving, particularly in *To Constitute A Nation*. She argues that, while the Canadian model was generally rejected, there were still doubts about the use of the United States as a model, particularly with regard to the relevance of American history, culture and politics. In all of this, she states, 'the overriding negative example, one which the Canadians had also sought to avoid in their Constitution, was the threat of Civil War'.⁶⁴² She reminds her readers that the Civil War 'was a matter of living memory for even the youngest of the delegates in 1890' and outlines the debate that was still being carried on in Australia regarding the causes of the Civil War, and the connection to federation. Irving notes an exchange of letters to the editor in 1898, predominantly in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, prompted by an article by

⁶³⁹ Parkes, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 43.

⁶⁴⁰ Grey, 09/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 137-38.

⁶⁴¹ 'A Scrap of History,' *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 23/09/1899.

⁶⁴² Irving, *To Constitute A Nation*, 69.

A.B. Piddington, Member of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly and opponent of the Federation Bill on the grounds that it was not sufficiently democratic or nationalist.⁶⁴³ Irving noted that this exchange began when Piddington 'mounted an attack upon the Constitution Bill with an analysis of the American Civil War'.⁶⁴⁴ Irving's discussion notes many of the issues for which the Civil War was drawn on in the wider federation debates. She concludes that 'in this exchange what was being debated, more than any specific historical interpretation, was the manner and the degree to which Australia could follow the American political model and avoid being American at the same time'.⁶⁴⁵

I have arrived at a different conclusion. I agree that the Civil War was a fundamentally negative example of American history that was discussed by the Australian federalists, but I do not think that it became a test of the extent to which they could follow the American political model while avoiding becoming American. Rather, it is my contention that many federationists simply wanted to learn from American experience, in order to develop the best system for themselves, setting practical experience against political theory. As Alfred Deakin of Victoria stated when disputing the idea that the Senate existed to protect states' rights, pointing to the experience of the Civil War: 'this is another instance in which the wise and great founders of the American Constitution find the event falsifying their prediction'.⁶⁴⁶ Or, as stated by another Victorian delegate, the Tasmanian-born Labor representative William Trenwith, when arguing for the need to make the Constitution easier to amend than the American Constitution, whose inflexibility he said had led to Civil War:

we have in this connection examples by which we may be guided or warned, and I think we are justified in using the experience of the past as a guide wherever the machinery upon which we are gazing has shown itself to have worked smoothly, and well, and we ought in the interests of those who have sent us here to be warned by the experience of the past, wherever the machinery we are considering has worked with friction or disadvantage to the peoples associated with it.⁶⁴⁷

My intention then is to look at how the American Civil War was discussed in Australian

⁶⁴³ Michael Roe, 'Piddington, Albert Bathurst (1862–1945),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/piddington-albert-bathurst-8043>, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 20/03/2018.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid, 69-70.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid, 70.

⁶⁴⁶ Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 296.

⁶⁴⁷ Trenwith, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 335.

debates, and in relation to which issues, ranging from equal representation in the Senate, the possibility of amendment of the constitution and female suffrage.

Interest in the American Civil War was apparent at all the official federation conventions, as well as the Corowa and Bathurst Conventions. This federal interest was part of a wider regard for the war in Australian society.⁶⁴⁸ Across the 1890s, there were newspaper articles that simply told stories from the war, as well as reviews and announcements of plays, books and lectures based on the war, articles reporting the death of leading figures of the war, and obituaries for some of these men. The American Civil War was also referenced in Australian newspaper articles on a range of topics from technology, war in general, and the outbreak of the Spanish–American War in 1898 and Boer War in 1899.⁶⁴⁹ There were also a number of different references to the American Civil War in newspapers across the colonies in this decade, which demonstrate how it entered arguments in the debates on federation in the colonial parliaments, in public speeches and lectures, and in the opinions of editors and letter writers of the newspapers themselves. Early in the decade, when the question was still whether federation was even possible, and if so, what model should be followed and how it should be developed, there was some consideration of the influence the American Civil War had had on Canadian federation, and the differences between the Canadian and American models.⁶⁵⁰ The causes of the Civil War and the role of the Senate featured heavily in the mid and later years in the decade, as will be discussed below. The idea that the federal constitution should be ‘indissoluble’ came directly from the experience of the American Civil War and was also picked up by anti-federalists and anti-billites. Discussions about race and the possibility of multi-racial democracy also drew heavily on the example of the American Civil War and its

⁶⁴⁸ Searching on the National Library of Australia’s Trove database, the phrase ‘American Civil War’ has 2,459 responses across the 1890s.

⁶⁴⁹ ‘Current Topics,’ *Launceston Examiner*, 20/01/1890; ‘The Advertiser,’ *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 24/05/1892; ‘A Confederate Hero,’ *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 04/08/1892; ‘Death of General Butler,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13/01/1893; ‘The Coming War,’ *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 22/04/1898; ‘The Little Drummer’s Last Call,’ *Kilmore Free Press*, 22/09/1898; ‘Battles of the Century: Some Records of Past Campaigns,’ *Western Mail*, 27/01/1900; ‘The War,’ *Western Mail*, 16/06/1900.

⁶⁵⁰ ‘The Australian Federation Conference,’ *Brisbane Courier*, 1/1/1890; ‘The Advertiser,’ *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 23/1/1890; ‘The Argus,’ *Argus* (Melbourne), 3/5/1890; ‘Tuesday, March 10, 1891,’ *Argus* (Melbourne), 10/3/1891; ‘Federal Convention: Mr Clarke On Its Work,’ *Launceston Examiner*, 8/6/1897; ‘The US Senate And The Civil War: To The Editor of the Herald,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23/4/1898.

aftermath.⁶⁵¹

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE DEBATES

The American Civil War was invoked in the federation debates to support a number of positions. These included opposition to the clause preventing those who had been convicted of felonies or treason from being parliamentarians (with the argument that, had they been tried, this would have prevented secessionists from standing for Congress after the war); the need for a federal court of arbitration (to prevent civil war); provision for easier amendment of the constitution than there was in the United States (this being a cause for the Civil War); the number of high court justices (an issue that was not resolved in the United States because of the recent impact of the Civil War); establishing deadlock provisions (unnecessary, and could cause divisions like that occurring in the United States leading to the Civil War); federal old age pensions (Wise arguing that they would help develop unity, with a sarcastically opposing interjection by Reid that ‘then it might have averted the Civil War if they had had it in America’, Barton adding ‘if they had pensioned all the negroes’, Wise dismissing the interjections stating that the ‘interests which occasioned the civil war were not those which would be restrained by any consideration of pounds and pence’); and also one of the more ridiculous comments through the debate, that of Bernhard Wise of New South Wales, using the example of the American Civil War to argue against female suffrage.⁶⁵² Wise would go on to be a supporter of female suffrage and took a leading role in framing the Women’s Franchise Act of 1902, however, during the convention debates he took the position that it was inappropriate to force suffrage at the federal level, and that if it proved a success in South Australia and New Zealand, then it would be adopted by the other states in time.⁶⁵³ Wise argued that ‘the ultimate sanction of all law is physical force’, with women not being

⁶⁵¹ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 138–43.

⁶⁵² Cockburn, 02/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 658; Barton, 23/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 25; Holder, 17/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 763; Glynn, 09/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 737; Reid, Barton, and Wise, 21/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 11; Wise, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 718;

⁶⁵³ J.A. Ryan, ‘Wise, Bernhard Ringrose (1858–1916),’ *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wise-bernhard-ringrose-9161>, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 21/03/2018.

physically strong enough to enforce a law. He illustrated his point by arguing that in the decades prior to the Civil War there had been compromise on the issue of slavery 'because they knew that the time was not yet ripe for the immediate abolition of it'. He argued that by postponing the decision, abolition was successful (ignoring Kingston's interjection that the delay led to bloodshed), but if there had of been female suffrage when they voted to compromise regarding slavery, it would have brought the issue to a head, and caused 'an entrenchment of slavery in a position from which it could not have been overthrown'.⁶⁵⁴

While this clearly expresses a prejudice against female suffrage (albeit one he would overcome), it is still indicative, I believe, of the centrality of the Civil War as a reference point in discussions at the federal conventions. This in turn demonstrates how this area of United States history was being considered by the federalists.

AN INDISSOLUBLE CONSTITUTION?

The most direct influence that the Australians' understanding of the American Civil War had on federation was the inclusion of the word 'indissoluble' in the preamble to the Constitution.⁶⁵⁵ John Quick and Robert Garran's *Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*,⁶⁵⁶ included a section providing 'a more extended discussion and explanation of the principles of indissolubility'.⁶⁵⁷ This involved a detailed explanation of the question of secession in the United States, which began by noting that 'the omission from the Constitution of the United States of an express declaration of the permanence and indestructibility of the Union led to the promulgation of the disastrous doctrines of nullification and secession', which were not resolved until the Civil War. Quick and Garran provide detailed background on the development of the question of secession raised by South Carolina in 1832, and the court case following the war, *Texas v. White* of 1868, regarding the citizenship of the people of the seceding states. After a paragraph

⁶⁵⁴ Wise, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 718.

⁶⁵⁵ Irving, *Five Things To Know About the Australian Constitution*, 113-14; James Warden, 'American Civil War,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 329.

⁶⁵⁶ Helen Irving, 'Quick and Garran,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 413.

⁶⁵⁷ Quick and Garran, *Annotated Constitution*, 292.

explaining that there was no recognition of durability in the Canadian Constitution, and explaining that the Canadian Parliament had no general power of amendment of the Constitution, there was a brief discussion of why it was included only in the preamble of the Australian Constitution, speculating that this was because, while the Australian people had the power to amend the Constitution, the preamble was part of an Imperial Act, so it could not be amended, and so it remained a 'reminder, placed fore-front of the deed of political partnership between the federating colonies, that the union, sealed by Imperial Parliamentary sanction, was intended by the contracting parties to be a lasting one'.⁶⁵⁸ This is, I contend, is a significant and authoritative indication of the connection between the history of the Civil War and the text of the Australian Constitution. It indicates that the Australian federalists were aware of the issues surrounding the Civil War and their importance to drafting a federal constitution – but what did they actually say about it?

At the Bathurst Convention, Edmund Barton clearly stated his belief, in rejection of the argument put forward by the Southern states that a federal union was analogous to a treaty, able to be dissolved, that 'any well-constructed Federation will be one and indissoluble, the States having no right to secede'.⁶⁵⁹ He went on to argue that they needed to deal with and resolve contentious issues at the outset, arguing that had slavery been dealt with in this way, the Civil War might have been avoided. Barton was not alone in stating his belief that they needed to consider the permanence of any union and the ability of states to secede. In the debates in the South Australian House of Assembly in 1890, Thomas Playford also stated this, arguing that they could not follow the American federation with the question of secession undecided, as that had led to the Civil War.⁶⁶⁰ Opponents too discussed the idea of indissolubility. In a letter to the *West Australian* in June 1898, which was reprinted in the *Western Mail* several days later, Richard S. Haynes argued that the colony of Western Australia would have to give up too much and would not benefit enough from federation. In support of his view, he quoted Sir John Forrest, who he said had 'rightly told his audience that if we accept the Bill we are bound in an

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 294.

⁶⁵⁹ *Proceedings, People's Federal Convention*, 99.

⁶⁶⁰ 'House of Assembly,' *South Australian Register*, 26/6/1890.

indissoluble tie. There is no retracing the step, and a rupture could only be attempted at the appalling sacrifice of human lives such as was witnessed during the American Civil War'.⁶⁶¹

The horror of the American Civil War was invoked by the anti-federalists and the anti-billites (those who opposed the Constitution as it had been framed at the Convention advocating a no vote against the Constitution Bill in the referenda). As early as 1890, it was suggested that following the United States would be a bad decision as they had experienced a Civil War.⁶⁶² Former New South Wales Premier, George Dibbs, who opposed the federal model that had been decided on, provided the image of 'battles on the banks of the Murray, towns burnt, and hundreds of thousands of people cut down' in the civil war that was bound to occur, as 'the proposed constitution was nothing but a Chinese copy of the American Constitution'.⁶⁶³ For those opposed to the Bill, the Civil War provided a powerful scare tactic to sway the views of others. It also suggests that there was sufficient belief in the Australian colonies that their circumstances were similar enough to those of the United States to produce the same results.

These negative parallels were dismissed by others, who argued that the principal cause of the Civil War was slavery, and thus that Australians had nothing to fear. This was also the primary response to those who drew on the Civil War to argue against the idea of equal representation in the Senate.⁶⁶⁴ Another, that was also noted in the discussion of the Civil War in Quick and Garran, was that the Constitution formed by the Confederate States of America was very similar to that of the Union from which they had seceded. This was an argument raised during the Federal Conventions – first by Clark in 1891, who argued in favour of the Senate having the power to amend and veto financial bills. To his mind the best compliment to the United States Constitution was that the states that seceded because they could not get what they believed to be their rights under that

⁶⁶¹ 'Federation,' *West Australian*, 1/6/1898; 'Address By Mr. George Leake, Albany, May 29,' *Western Mail*, 3/6/1898.

⁶⁶² 'Parliament: Legislative Council,' *Argus* (Melbourne), 11/6/1890.

⁶⁶³ 'Federation,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24/5/1899.

⁶⁶⁴ 'The Advertiser,' *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 23/1/1890; 'The Parliament: Legislative Council,' *South Australian Register*, 22/7/1891; 'Federation,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21/4/1898; 'Federation,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24/5/1899; 'Federation,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10/6/1899.

Constitution, then replicated it almost identically in their new union, including giving the Senate the power of veto over money bills.⁶⁶⁵ Equal representation in the constitution of the Confederate States of America was also used by Barton at Bathurst and Josiah Symon in defence of the idea of equal representation of states in the Senate.⁶⁶⁶

SUMNER AFFAIR

The esteem held by the Australian federalists for the American model, and the arguments made in response, are important to consider when addressing how the Australian federalists used the American model, demonstrating the respect held for these institutions, as something to emulate, and also their belief that their circumstances were comparable enough to apply the American experience to Australia.

Praise for the United States Senate was not universal, although direct criticism was limited. It did come in one form however, through Sir Henry Parkes, who had an inconsistent approach to the American model across the conference and convention that he attended. While he had formally praised the American model, and noted its importance as a model for themselves, in 1891 Parkes was largely arguing against it. Thus he argued against the idea of the United States Senate as being a superior upper house, stating that the House of Lords was superior to all - no member of the House of Lords having ever been snuck up upon and physically attacked, while in the United States there was the Charles Sumner incident 'of which hon. members have talked so much'.⁶⁶⁷ Parkes presumed most delegates would be familiar with this example, and he does not provide any further detail on it. He was referring to what was known as the Sumner Affair, an incident when in 1856 Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, who was vocally anti-slavery, was physically attacked on the floor of the US Senate by South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks. The attack followed a particularly incendiary speech against the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which allowed for residents to vote to decide whether they wanted to allow slavery; a speech which also included personal attacks against the authors of the Act. The intent of this example was an argument in favour of the British

⁶⁶⁵ Clark, 11/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 250.

⁶⁶⁶ *Proceedings, People's Federal Convention*, 99; Symon, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 295.

⁶⁶⁷ Parkes, 17/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 447.

Constitution as a whole, under which matters of money are the exclusive right of the House of Commons. Parkes was arguing that the House of Lords was 'infinitely superior' to any other upper house, and that in the English system money bills were the exclusive prerogative of the lower house.⁶⁶⁸ Thus, like those using the positive American examples to argue for Senate powers over money bills, Parkes was using a negative example to argue against it.

In response, however, New Zealand delegate Sir George Grey responded to Parkes by expressing his disappointment that the British nation as a whole had been undervalued by him so that a few bodies could be glorified. Responding to Parkes' claim that there had been nothing in the British Parliament comparable to the Sumner affair, Grey continued that there had been worse examples of misconduct from the House of Lords, one of which he detailed. Grey's argument was that the British people had overcome much and deserved a better character.

RACE AND THE CIVIL WAR

The impact of the American Civil War on ideas about race and democracy in Australian debates on federation has been discussed by Marilyn Lake in her work on transnational ideas of race and the relations between key federalists and their American 'brothers'.⁶⁶⁹ As she has argued, the example of the Civil War went beyond the question of how the constitution would be written, to how the new nation they were building would be shaped. Together with Henry Reynolds, in their book *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, she argues that the Australians interpreted and understood the American Civil War in terms of the centrality of race. Through reading such writers as James Bryce and Charles Pearson, the Australian federalists considered that the main lesson of the American Civil War was 'the impossibility of multi-racial democracy'.⁶⁷⁰ This is evident in discussions about federation, including direct comparisons being made between the slave-holding South and the use of coloured labour on the plantations in Queensland, as well as

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Lake, 'White Man's Country'; Lake, 'Alfred Deakin's Identification With Republican Manhood' 32; Lake and Pratt, 'Blood brothers'; Lake, 'Looking to American Manhood'.

⁶⁷⁰ Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 74.

opposition to a proposed clause stating that a state could not abridge the rights of the citizens of another state. This clause was based on the fourteenth Amendment of the American Constitution and was seen as unnecessary, as it had related to the specific circumstances arising from the Civil War and Reconstruction. Lake has highlighted that Barton is quoted in the *Argus* arguing that coloured labour was a key point of the Civil War, and that they need to federate to avoid it; that if they were federated, they would have been able to prevent the level of coloured workers presently in Queensland.⁶⁷¹ Lake presents a strong argument regarding the transnational ideas of race between Australia and the United States, and the need to ensure Australian development as a 'white mans' country'.

COL BELL AND THE CIVIL WAR

The Bathurst Convention is particularly interesting to consider when looking at the discussion of the Civil War, principally because of the inclusion of a guest lecturer, whom the Convention specifically broke to listen to, the American Consul to Sydney, Colonel George William Bell. Robin McLachlan has written an informative account of Bell's inclusion at Bathurst, noting his fame as an orator, and providing biographical information on Bell and sketching his character as a consul.⁶⁷² While Bell did not speak on the Civil War at the Convention, choosing instead the topic of 'Progressive Liberty', he had initially been asked to, but declined, citing 'a specially sad experience in connection' with the war.⁶⁷³ McLachlan questions why he was initially invited to speak on this topic, speculating that 'the suggestion of this particular topic, so out of place for a convention on federal unity, may have been out of consideration for the little time available to Bell to prepare a talk'.⁶⁷⁴ I would suggest, however, that this does not seem likely, firstly because they would surely have asked him to speak on a topic that he was already known to talk on, and more importantly, because I do not believe that the topic of federal disunity was out of place at this convention. It was a topic that was referred to

⁶⁷¹ 'The New South Wales Parliament: The Federation Resolutions,' *Argus* (Melbourne), 24/11/92. See also 'Bystanders' Notebook,' *Worker* (Brisbane), 5/10/95.

⁶⁷² McLachlan, 'A Foreign Agent Unmasked'.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 122; 'The Federal Faith: People's Federal Convention,' *National Advocate* (Bathurst), 05/11/1896.

⁶⁷⁴ McLachlan, 'A Foreign Agent Unmasked,' 120.

on a number of occasions, with Australians trying to understand what caused such a tragic event and loss of life, in order to prevent it from occurring here. In support of this view, I would also note that, prior to announcing their intention to invite Bell to speak on the Civil War, the organising committee had announced that Father Dowling, a Bathurst Catholic priest, had been invited to speak on the Civil War.⁶⁷⁵ It was evidently a topic on which the organisers of the Bathurst convention wished the delegates to be well informed.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION

While the reason for equal representation of states in the Senate was argued in relation to the Philadelphia Convention, the Civil War was also used to debate its impact on United States history in the subsequent century. In these debates, however, Symon was the only delegate to point to the Civil War as an argument in favour of equal representation. As well as noting the continuation of equal representation in the Confederate Constitution, he argued in 1898 for the strength of the United States Constitution, enabling the United States to 'become one of the mightiest nations on the face of the earth', a nation whose strength was, 'sufficient to withstand the difficulties that arise in peace, and to resist the shock of the greatest civil war which the world has ever seen'.⁶⁷⁶ In contrast, Sir Graham Berry of Victoria argued against equal representation, stating that the American Constitution 'broke down in the immense civil war'.⁶⁷⁷ Symon discussed the fact that the triumphant North was able to push through an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, arguing that it could have done the same to abolish equal representation if it had been an issue, but it did not. This was refuted at length by Isaac Isaacs of Victoria, detailing how the Fourteenth Amendment was forced through, and why they could not do this for equal representation. He also stressed the need to consider analyses written after the Civil War, because, he argued, the practical experience of the Constitution changed after that point, with a greater level of centralisation.⁶⁷⁸ John Cockburn of South Australia also noted this in 1891, arguing that the 'war had a great

⁶⁷⁵ 'The Federal Faith,' *National Advocate* (Bathurst), 16/10/1896.

⁶⁷⁶ Symon, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 295.

⁶⁷⁷ Berry, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 341.

⁶⁷⁸ Isaacs, 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 306-09.

amalgamating influence in America'.⁶⁷⁹

In these discussions of whether equal representation caused the Civil War, the role of slavery was also noted – both being highlighted as a cause of the Civil War, and playing a role in the need for equal representation and the division this caused. The history of slavery in the United States was noted as a blemish on the history of the United States, and Carruthers, arguing against strong states rights, suggested that they do not follow too closely the example from a 'countries where even human slavery has been tolerated'.⁶⁸⁰ Beyond this, however, the history of slavery in the United States, and the extent to which this would impact on whether they should follow the model of the United States was not discussed in its own right.

Isaacs had stated in 1897 that equal representation had caused the Civil War. This argument was also made at length by Henry Higgins of Victoria. As the *Maitland Weekly Mercury* noted, Higgins 'went widely into history', discussing at length the circumstances of the American Civil War and the development of other federations.⁶⁸¹ He argued that it was only after the Southern states saw that with the creation of new non-slave states they would be outnumbered in the Senate, that they seceded. He also raised the point that it was not a question of large states against small states – one of the principal arguments for equal representation was the protection of the small states – but rather slave states against non-slave states.⁶⁸² Deakin made a similar argument when disputing the idea that the Senate would be a house to protect states' rights, and argued that they did not need to be given the powers to protect state rights and that the Senate was not such a house in the United States. He referred to the Civil War to state that it was caused by a range of issues relating to states rights – slavery, free trade versus protection, and ultimately the right to secede – but that these rights were 'never more claimed or protected in the Senate than in the House of Representatives'.⁶⁸³ Similarly, Joseph Carruthers of New South Wales argued in regard to the debate over money bills that they needed to be wary of focusing

⁶⁷⁹ Cockburn, 10/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 191.

⁶⁸⁰ Carruthers, 25/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 87.

⁶⁸¹ 'The Federation Convention,' *Maitland Weekly Mercury*, 18/09/1897.

⁶⁸² Higgins, 09/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 263–66

⁶⁸³ Deakin, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 296–97.

too much on these, and risk ignoring social issues, arguing that it was the fault of the Senate trying to impose slavery on new states that led to the Civil War.⁶⁸⁴ A different position was taken by Clark in 1891, who argued against the idea that the power of the states was responsible for the Civil War, laying the blame squarely on the issue of slavery.⁶⁸⁵ Here, then, it can be seen that the experience of the Civil War was widely invoked with regard to the issue of equal representation. Piddington, for example, responded to the rebuttal that the war had been caused by slavery by arguing that 'equal representation in the Senate of the United States of America was the cause of slavery becoming the burning question it did'.⁶⁸⁶ He cited several sources in support of his views, to reject the accusation that he was ignorant of history.

UNDERSTANDING

The Civil War can also be seen as an interesting case regarding the question of the federalists' knowledge and understanding of the United States. Because the experience of the United States was so central to the Australian debates on federation, knowledge of history was a key resource. Opponents regularly questioned each other's understanding. The *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted a supporter of the bill challenging 'those members who say that equal States representation caused the American civil war to favour the public with one quotation from history to prove their statement'. The newspaper referred approvingly to him as 'a gentleman who had evidently read the history of that terrible struggle,' in contrast to the 'prominent opponent of the bill making the claim'.⁶⁸⁷ Likewise, responding to Ebenezer Ward in the South Australian parliament, who made and stood by his claim that 'federation led to war', Baker stated that 'the hon. member could not have studied the question'.⁶⁸⁸ A letter to the editor of the *South Australian Register* noted that 'our correspondent ridicules all this, and cites historical evidence to show that the federation of the Americas had really nothing to do with the outbreak'.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁴ Carruthers, 13/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 541–42.

⁶⁸⁵ Clark, 11/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 252.

⁶⁸⁶ 'Address by Mr Piddington, MLA,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21/4/1898.

⁶⁸⁷ 'Federation,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21/04/1898.

⁶⁸⁸ 'The Parliament: Legislative Council,' *South Australian Register*, 22/7/1891.

⁶⁸⁹ 'Correspondance,' *South Australian Register*, 09/09/1891.

The same letter noted that Ward had attested that he had received his information ‘from conversations with the best men and women who had visited Australia from the Southern States’, which the editors noted as hearsay, challenging him to find more authoritative accounts.⁶⁹⁰

Others base their arguments about the Civil War on written works on the United States and American history. Some of these were explicitly referred to in arguments, including by Bryce. E.A. Freeman, described by Lake and Reynolds as ‘the pre-eminent English historian of race’, was also an authority on federations whose *History of Federal Government* was cited by Symon to respond to Higgins’ account of the causes of the Civil War, as well as by many others. Other writers referred to included Irish historian of classical Greece and Rome J.B. Bury, British historian, devotee of the United States and resident of Canada since 1871, Goldwin Smith, and American United States Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story, who wrote, before the Civil War, his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, which several delegates drew on to discuss the working of the American Congress. Australian convention delegates also cited American lawyer Roger Foster’s *Commentaries on the American Constitution*, John W. Burgess, the American founder of political science, and specifically his article ‘The Ideal of the American Commonwealth’ published in *Political Science Quarterly* in 1895, American Joseph Moore, specifically his history *The American Congress: A History of National Legislation and Political Events, 1774–1895*, Jefferson Davis’ *The Rise and Fall of Confederate Government*, which was written by the Civil War leader during the war, although not published until the 1880s; and the biography *Life of Lincoln*, written by his former private secretary and assistant secretary John G. Nicolay and John Hay.⁶⁹¹ What can be seen in this list of reading is a belief in the authority of history and academic expertise as a basis for discussion of the practical workings of the American federation. Their reading indicates that many of the federalists and anti-federalists sought to be informed about the United States and its history in order to better understand the extent to which they should follow the American model.

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⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁹¹ La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, 18–19; Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 51.

My aim here has been to demonstrate the presence of the American Civil War in Australian discussions about federation in the last decade of the nineteenth century. As can be seen, there was a keen awareness and deep interest in the American Civil War, its causes, outcomes and relevance to Australian circumstances. A detailed examination of the debates suggests the range of historical sources that the federalists (and anti-federalists) drew from, including many by American writers. The major British text quoted was Bryce's authoritative *American Commonwealth*. The delegates used the Civil War to strengthen and support their arguments on both sides of debates about issues such as the indissolubility of the union, the possibilities of constitutional amendment and equal representation of states in the Senate. The federalists looked to the example of the United States but were determined to learn lessons from the tragedy of the Civil War in order to avoid repeating their mistakes. As Deakin said:

We should be false to the lessons taught us in the great republic of the west; we should be false to the never-to-be-forgotten teachings from the experience of the United States, of difficulties only partially conquered by the blood of their best and bravest; we should be absolutely blind to and unpardonably neglectful of our obligations, if we fail to lay those lessons to heart'.⁶⁹²

The Australians determined to write a constitution that both heeded the great example of the great republic and the costs of its terrible war. They did so by debating what the causes of the war had been and ultimately by including the word 'indissoluble' in the preamble to the Australian Constitution, making clear that, unlike the United States, the Australian Federation would be a perpetual union.

GREAT MEN OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Australian federalists did not just look to events in United States history to guide them. They also turned to key people within that history whom they could emulate and learn from. The delegates at the federation conventions expressed their admiration of many of the great men of American history. This has also been noted by Irving in relation to the founding fathers, adding that 'although they were too diffident to apply the term to themselves, they sought to emulate them from time to time'.⁶⁹³ This admiration was not

⁶⁹² Quoted in Lake, 'On Being A White Man,' 99.

⁶⁹³ Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, 71-72.

new to this period - there are examples of admiration for George Washington in Australia from early in the nineteenth century - but questions of federation did shine attention on it.

In this section, I will look at three key historical figures whom the delegates discussed at the Australian Federation Conventions - Alexander Hamilton, Justice John Marshall, and President Abraham Lincoln.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

The United States founding fathers were much admired at the federation conventions. In the same way that the Australian federalists saw the potential for their new nation in the history of the United States, they could hope there would be a place for themselves in the popular Australian memory on a par with the founding fathers in the United States (despite demurring that they could not compare themselves to those great men).⁶⁹⁴ Prominent among the founding fathers that they admired was Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton was the first Secretary of the Treasury for the United States, and Glynn noted how in that role he was able to 'bribe' Virginia and Maryland into accepting his plan for the federal takeover of state debts with the offer of the national capital, to argue against the idea that state capitals should not be the federal capital.⁶⁹⁵ Beyond this example, though, it was Hamilton's role in the Philadelphia Convention, leadership of the centralists and authorship (along with James Madison and John Jay) of the *Federalist Papers* that drew attention during the Australian debates.⁶⁹⁶

Cockburn argued that the nationalist Hamilton had been forgotten in the United States in favour of states rights' leaders such as Thomas Jefferson, but Hamilton was a familiar figure to the delegates at the Australian federation conventions.⁶⁹⁷ Manning Clark described Hamilton, along with de Tocqueville and Mill, as the Australian federalists'

⁶⁹⁴ Deakin, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 93; Cockburn, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 349.

⁶⁹⁵ Glynn, 03/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1814.

⁶⁹⁶ Cockburn, 11/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne, 1890*, 131; Cockburn, 08/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 712; Isaacs, 20/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 171; Symon 10/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 296.

⁶⁹⁷ Cockburn, 21/9/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 951-52.

‘political teachers’.⁶⁹⁸ Delegates as diverse as Deakin, Cockburn, Rutledge, Isaacs, Higgins, Glynn, Symon and Downer cited Hamilton in support of their arguments. He was never introduced—indeed, he was only referred to by his full name twice—but the convention discussions implied a strong familiarity with the man and his work.⁶⁹⁹

Praise for Hamilton was effusive, including that he was ‘one of the greatest of the founders of the American Constitution’, a ‘genius’, and that his works on the independence of the judiciary were ‘even this day wonders of Constitutional learning and foresight upon this question’.⁷⁰⁰ His work on the *Federalist Papers* (along with Jay and Madison) were referred to, cited and quoted by the delegates throughout the conventions. This included Symon quoting Hamilton on the need for judicial independence, Higgins referencing him among the ‘strong men’ who were against the Connecticut compromise regarding equal representation in the Senate, and Glynn responding that Hamilton ‘justifies it as a compromise’ when arguing for equal representation.⁷⁰¹ Higgins also points to Hamilton along with Madison when arguing against enshrining irrigation and water conservation over navigation in the Constitution, noting that even men as wise as they could be wrong when predicting the future direction of national industry (having discussed in the *Federalist Papers* that agriculture would be the principal industry of the American people).⁷⁰²

Indeed, the respect that many held for Hamilton was even cited by John Gordon of South Australia when arguing against centralisation, in opposition to Hamilton. Gordon’s position was that the weakness of the United States confederation was not that it was too decentralised, and if the federal government had simply had the power to secure the promised men and money from the states, it would have functioned without leading to oppressive control by the federal government. In this scenario, Gordon argued,

⁶⁹⁸ Clark, *The People Make Laws*, 67.

⁶⁹⁹ In one of these instances, his name was incorrectly recorded as Alexander ‘Hammond,’ 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 645.

⁷⁰⁰ Deakin, 10/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 93; Isaacs, 26/03/1897, Symon, 20/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 171, 950.

⁷⁰¹ Higgins, Glynn, 15/04/1897, Symon, 20/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 646, 950, 664-5. See also Griffith, *Notes on Australia Federation*, 4; Baker, *Manual of Reference*, 17-19, Just, *Leading Facts Connected With Federation*, 33,37,50.

⁷⁰² Higgins, 04/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 573.

‘those members who have been so impressed by the essays of Hamilton will, I beg with much respect, reconsider the whole matter’.⁷⁰³

Hamilton’s fellow Federalist authors, while referred to with respect, were not given the same effusive treatment that he received, with just one direct mention of John Jay in reference to his work as a Justice, and references to Madison most commonly in conjunction with Hamilton, with only Higgins directly quoting from him.⁷⁰⁴

When writing on federalism theory and the Australian constitution, Brian Galligan and Cliff Walsh state that the Federalist Papers ‘was not well known to the Australian founders’.⁷⁰⁵ In contrast, Nicholas Aroney has stated that the *Federalist Papers* were ‘decisively influential in a number of respects’.⁷⁰⁶ As can be seen here, the Federalist Papers had a strong presence at the federation convention debates, and its authors, particularly Hamilton, mentioned at least seventeen times across the convention debates, received particular note.

JOHN MARSHALL

Another leading figure who was prominent at the federation conventions was John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835, and former member of the House of Representatives and Secretary of State under John Adams. La Nauze refers to him as ‘the greatest of the dead who might have looked down from his ghostly library when his name was quoted in awe by the learned lawyers of the antipodes’, when arguing that Marshall (along with Robert Garran) could be considered honorary fathers of the Australian Constitution, who influenced the ideas of the delegates.⁷⁰⁷ As noted in the Introduction discussion of the delegates’ knowledge and understanding of the United States, Marshall was among the writers whose works were

⁷⁰³ Gordon, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 321.

⁷⁰⁴ Parkes, 10/02/1890, Cockburn, 11/02/1890, Macrossan, 12/02/1890, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1890, 43, 131, 200; Higgins, Glynn, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 645, 664; Isaacs, 28/01/1898, Higgins, 04/02/1898, 283, 573.

⁷⁰⁵ Galligan and Walsh, ‘Australian Federalism,’ 196.

⁷⁰⁶ Nicholas Aroney, ‘“A Commonwealth of Commonwealths”: Late Nineteenth-Century Conceptions of Federalism and Their Impact on Australian Federation, 1890–1901,’ *The Journal of Legal History* 23, no. 3 (2002): 258.

⁷⁰⁷ La Nauze, ‘Who are the Fathers?,’ 103.

influential on the Australian delegates.⁷⁰⁸ Andrew Inglis Clark, known for his strong interest in and wide reading about the United States, is said to have ‘studied every decision and observation of Chief Justice John Marshall’.⁷⁰⁹

Praisers of Marshall included Symon, in a campaign speech to be elected to the convention, calling him ‘one of the greatest constitutional jurists who ever lived, perhaps the most famous among famous Chief Justices of the United States,’ and Higgins describing ‘the great Justice Marshall’ as ‘perhaps, the principal expander of the great Constitution of the United States’.⁷¹⁰ Marshall was primarily discussed in relation to the development and powers of the High Court judiciary, and the amendment of the Constitution, with delegates noting that it was well established that while the United States Constitution was difficult to amend, Supreme Court Justices, most notably Marshall, had been able to extend and expand the Constitution through judge-made law.⁷¹¹ As Isaacs stated, Marshall, along with subsequent justices ‘have had as much to do in shaping [the United States Constitution] as the men who sat in the original conventions’.⁷¹² While this was seen as a positive thing, a freedom that Deakin hoped the Australian courts would also have, others such as Downer saw it as a warning, a need to ensure they were precise in the limitations on the power of the Judiciary.⁷¹³

Most of the delegates who drew on or pointed to Marshall were lawyers, and so their awareness of the eminent Justice could be explained through that connection—although that in itself would suggest an awareness of United States judicial history in the Australian legal profession. But his fame was such that even William McMillan, a merchant not a lawyer, utilised him in arguing for more than three justices on the High Court bench. ‘If you get a Marshall as Chief Justice, and two other men of equal calibre,

⁷⁰⁸ Aroney, *The Constitution of a Federal Commonwealth*, 71, 120.

⁷⁰⁹ John Reynolds, ‘A.I. Clark’s American Sympathies and His Influence on Australian Federation,’ *The Australian Law Journal* 32, no. 3 (1958): 63.

⁷¹⁰ ‘The Federal Convention, 1897: Mr J.H. Symon, Q.C., At the Town Hall, Adelaide, February 8, 1897’; Higgins, 15/04/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 642; See also Clark, 11/3/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 249; Symon, 31/01/1898, Glynn, 09/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 344, 739.

⁷¹¹ Downer, 18/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 476; Glynn, 9/02/1898, Deakin, 17/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 739, 2503.

⁷¹² Isaacs, 28/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 283.

⁷¹³ Deakin, 17/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 2503; Downer, 18/03/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 476.

that might be sufficient', he argued, but that was he observed unlikely.⁷¹⁴ For these delegates, Marshall was stood as a symbol of the the power and esteem of the United States Supreme Court, and represented their ambitions for the High Court of Australia.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

President Lincoln stood out in particular among the great men discussed at the 1891 Convention because of the way he was discussed rather than because of the number of mentions of him. Grey provided an account of his life as an example for his argument that it was only through allowing for change such as opening up legal practice and government office that Lincoln and other great American men had reached the positions that they did. Deakin invoked Lincoln when Cockburn argued that states' rights parties were the most liberal and democratic, asking if he meant to suggest that Lincoln and the Northern states were the conservatives in the United States.⁷¹⁵ Lincoln's name was invoked to argue that it was his election, and the consequent knowledge in the Southern states that slavery was under threat, that led to them to take action thus precipitating the Civil War.⁷¹⁶

No member challenged the praise of Lincoln, and his reputation was such that representatives such as Grey could invoke his name, casually refer to his background without specifying what it was, or talk of 'the great and noble objects which he accomplished' without stating what they were, and not be challenged by other delegates on this.⁷¹⁷ As a consequence, they were not required to specify if their praise was for his role in preserving the union, abolishing slavery, both, or neither.

However, the most interesting use of Lincoln, in my view, relates to a debate in which the Australian federalists placed him in a hypothetical Australian circumstance, in order to develop their arguments. This debate was also provoked by Grey, when he suggested that the Governor-General be elected in a federal Australia. While represented at the 1890

⁷¹⁴ McMillan, 28/01/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 292.

⁷¹⁵ Grey, 18/03/1891, Deakin, 03/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 489, 709.

⁷¹⁶ 'Correspondence,' *South Australian Register*, 9/9/1891; 'The US Senate and the Civil War,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23/4/1898, 12; 'State Rights and the Civil War,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29/4/1898.

⁷¹⁷ Grey, 18/03/1891, 01/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney*, 1891, 489, 653.

and 1891 conventions, it was known that it was unlikely New Zealand would join the federation, however the New Zealand delegates, particularly Grey, who would stir the discussion with radically democratic ideas, still made some interesting contributions. Grey argued that if the American leader at the time of the Civil War had been a British appointment, a man such as Lincoln would not have been selected, and suggested that they were being told that there was no man in Australia who was good enough for the role.⁷¹⁸ This was contested as being a false claim, with James Munro of Victoria stating that, elected or not, the governor-general would not have the power of Lincoln, it would be the Prime Minister (to which Grey countered that Munro was suggesting Lincoln would not have been wanted in Australia). Captain William Russell Russell of New Zealand argued that they did have men of Lincoln's caliber. Deakin argued that the suggestion of a man such as Lincoln as a Governor-General was an insult, for the Governor-General would be a merely ceremonial position.⁷¹⁹ Within this exchange can be seen not only the high regard the Australian federalists held for Lincoln, but also the manner in which they were using him as a link to compare Australian and American circumstances, in order to critique an argument being made. This is significant, for they are in effect taking a leading American figure and placing him in a hypothetical Australian scenario, to both argue an issue, and, in response to this argument, illustrate the proposed Australian system and its difference from the United States. It also supports a level of respect that I contend contradicts the idea that they were distancing themselves from the United States.

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These are just three examples of how the delegates viewed some historical figures from the United States. There was much praise for the founding fathers in particular. There were also comparisons and parallels drawn between the Australian delegates and the founding fathers of the United States, with delegates modestly noting that while they would never reach the esteem of these great men of American history, they might one day

⁷¹⁸ Grey, 01/04/1891, *Debates: Sydney, 1891*, 563–64.

⁷¹⁹ Munro, Russell, Deakin, 01/04/1891, 564–565, 567–568, 570.

hoped to be remembered by future generations as the creators of the Australian nation.⁷²⁰

JUDICIAL DECISIONS

As can be seen in Chapter Three, particularly with regards to rivers and railways, United States case law and American judicial decisions were an important way in which the delegates at the federation conventions used the United States and drew in the existing American circumstances from an authoritative position. This section will look more specifically on this use of United States judicial decisions.

Delegates at the federal conventions turned to specific American judicial decisions in order to explain the reasoning for or against particular clauses, and the phrasing within them.⁷²¹ They were used to explain how clauses could and would be interpreted by explaining the way similar clauses had been interpreted in the United States. They were also used by the delegates to argue that some clauses with particular or specific restrictions were not needed, as the questions concerned (such as the prevention of preferential railway rates, or the ability to appoint an Inter-State Commission) were already covered by existing clauses.⁷²² This, it was argued, could be seen in the way similar clauses in the United States Constitution had been interpreted. American legal decisions could also be used to define what powers were or were not included in the United States Constitution.⁷²³

United States case law had an impact on the Australian Constitution as drafted and a significant role in interpreting and understanding the Constitution as written. In their detailed analysis of the Australian Constitution, over half of the cases cited by Quick and Garran were from the United States, with over 470 separate cases used.⁷²⁴ United States legal precedents had a presence during the convention debates, with at least thirty-six separate American cases referred to by their full title (and citations often provided as

⁷²⁰ Cockburn, 30/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 349.

⁷²¹ Isaacs, 07/02/1898, Wise, 03/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 643-44, 1793.

⁷²² O'Connor, 07/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 118-19; Gordon, 08/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 681.

⁷²³ Barton, 20/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 1003; Glynn, Isaacs, 04/03/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1879-80, 1883.

⁷²⁴ Quick and Garran, *Annotated Constitution*, xix-xxxvii.

well). Unsurprisingly, American case law was cited most frequently by some of the more prominent lawyers in the conventions, particularly Isaac Isaacs, Henry Higgins, Richard O'Connor, Edmund Barton and Patrick Glynn. Of these, all but Glynn would go on to serve as Justices on the High Court of Australia. Yet even among the other delegates who did not draw on specific cases, the phrase 'American decisions' was frequently heard in the 1897/1898 Conventions.⁷²⁵

In a mirror to the way in which discussions about destiny and the ambitions for Australia's future were more prominent at the early conventions, particularly the 1890 Conference, discussion of United States legal precedent and case law was more prominent in the later conventions, particularly the 1897/1898 convention where the delegates were getting into the very fine details of the Constitution, what would be included and precise wordings.

United States legal decisions were referred to in order to support arguments, and outlined in detail to explain the reasoning behind the inclusion of specific clauses in the Australian Constitution—a chance for the delegates who were more familiar with this legal precedent to teach their fellow delegates.⁷²⁶ Barton also used such cases to explain, when asked, why they should rely on the clauses taken from the United States, rather than inserting additional words to clarify specific restrictions that were wanted. In one instance, he stated that

By asserting that the trade and comer clause will be sufficient you have the benefits of decisions in courts which have been dealing with a very similar Constitution, and the reasoning with respect to those cases is so entirely consecutive that I do not believe there is a legal gentleman in this Convention who will throw the slightest doubt on that reasoning'.⁷²⁷

When Holder objected that 'we cannot put Baker's Annotated Constitution into our Constitution', Barton and McMillan explained the danger that repeating things risks saying more than you mean. Barton argued that if they added specific restrictions to the trade and commerce clause it would 'lead up to judicial constructions which will apply

⁷²⁵ At least fifty-five uses of the exact phrase across the 1897/98 conventions, with more references using terms such as 'the decisions in America.

⁷²⁶ Isaacs to Kingston, 28/1/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 260-61.

⁷²⁷ Barton, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1322.

limitations in a way we never intended, it is far better to stand in the paths we know, and take the meaning of decided cases as legal gentlemen here approve'.⁷²⁸

The use of American judicial decisions was not always to suggest following the American example - at times these decisions could be used as a warning. However, what was generally agreed was that United States legal precedents and constitutional interpretation were relevant to Australians. It was noted that interpretation of the Constitution had changed it, and, as with other aspects of United States history, they saw the opportunity to learn from the experience of the United States.⁷²⁹ In proposing a new clause (enabling the states or federal government to contest the validity of a law), Gordon argued that 'if any one looks through the list of American decisions under the head of "Legislature", he will see that no injustice would have been done, but that a great deal of justice would have been done, and a great deal of litigation saved, if this principle had been the law there'.⁷³⁰

There was also some push back against the use of American judicial decisions during the debates, notably from Henry Higgins, who declared that 'we have had enough of American decisions, and this is a most unfit place in which to discuss decisions', and that we must, as far as possible, keep our minds free from American decisions, and try to express our own meaning independently'.⁷³¹ Yet even when noting this, he acknowledged the importance of such decisions to the work that they were doing.⁷³²

There was an implicit understanding that the Australian and American culture and society were comparable enough to expect that similar decisions, interpretations and outcomes could and would be made in Australian courts. This was extended by delegates such as Barton to argue that United States legal precedents would be employed by the judiciary in a federated Australia when making decisions. This, he argued, would particularly be the case when the nation was still young and had not yet built up a strong

⁷²⁸ Barton, Holder and McMillan, 22/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1322.

⁷²⁹ Baker, 23/03/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 31; Barton, 15/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney*, 1897, 628.

⁷³⁰ O'Connor, 3/3/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1796.

⁷³¹ Higgins, 22/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 1349. See also Higgins 22/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide*, 1897, 1138.

⁷³² Sawyer, 'Judicial Power Under the Constitution,' 71.

body of legal decisions. While noting that they would also be turning to British precedents, the American precedents would be more relevant to the Australian judiciary, he argued, particularly in the High Court's interpretation of the Constitution.⁷³³ In this, Barton was ultimately proven correct. Ruth Megaw discusses how in the first decades of the High Court, particularly with regards to sections of the Australian Constitution that followed the United States model, judicial interpretation 'provided a strong current of reliance on United States precedent, especially in the decisions of the High Court of Australia'.⁷³⁴ She goes on to offer a close analysis of these decisions. This use of United States precedent has continued, with cases cited in the convention debates being used as precedent up until the present.⁷³⁵

Megaw also notes that the first three High Court Justices were convention delegates, largely conservative, these being Samuel Griffith, Barton and O'Connor. She argues that 'between 1904 and 1920 a line of judicial interpretation was followed, based closely on American precedents, which had the tendency to restrict Federal powers', which did not end until these three had died or retired.⁷³⁶ This supports the observation by Sir John Latham that 'in the early days of the Court all the judges agreed in applying the principles developed by Marshall C.J., the most eminent figure in American jurisprudence', but this also led to controversy regarding the application of such principles.⁷³⁷ After this early period, Harry Evans has observed, judicial interpretation focused overly on the British elements of the Australian constitution, favouring these over the clearly American

⁷³³ Barton, 01/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne*, 1898, 416.

⁷³⁴ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 439.

⁷³⁵ For example: *Gibbins v Ogden*, were cited, considered or applied in *Samson Maritime Pty Ltd v Aucote* (Federal Court of Australia) 22/12/2014; *Momcilovic v R* (High Court of Australia) 8/9/2011; *State of Victoria v Commonwealth of Australia* (High Court of Australia) 4/9/1996; *Betfair Pty Ltd v State of Western Australia* (High Court of Australia) 27/03/2008; *Conor Medsystems Inc v University of British Columbia (No 2)* (Federal Court of Australia) 3/2/2006; *Smith (obh National Parks and Wildlife Service) v Capewell* (High Court of Australia) 4/10/1979; *HC Sleigh Ltd v State of South Australia* (High Court of Australia) 1/2/1977; *Cooley v Board of Wardens of the Port of Philadelphia* considered in *Betfair Pty Ltd v State of Western Australia* (High Court of Australia) 27/03/2008; *State of Pennsylvania v Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Co* cited in *Australian Education Union v General Manager of Fair Work Australia* (High Court of Australia) 4/5/2012. Lexis Nexis notes these varied between positive, cautionary and negative treatment.

⁷³⁶ Megaw, 'Some Aspects of the United States' Impact on Australia,' 440.

⁷³⁷ Sir John Latham, 'Interpretation of the Constitution,' in ed. The Hon. Mr Justice Else-Mitchell, *Essays on the Australian Constitution*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Law Book Co. of Australasia, 1961), 22.

precedents.⁷³⁸

American legal decisions were used by delegates as a means of supporting arguments that they were making. American decisions lent arguments that used them a particular authority or weight. Delegates were able to demonstrate that these issues had arisen before (negating any complaint that they were talking in hypotheticals) and demonstrate the resolution that had been reached, with the implicit or explicit expectation that the same circumstances and outcomes would occur in Australia. The value of a real rather than a hypothetical example was immense.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS AND TRADE

The economic benefits of internal free trade was one of the key reasons listed for federation; indeed it is argued by some that it was the main reason for federation. A central factor in this was the idea of internal free trade, which ultimately came about in the Constitution that trade between the states would be ‘absolutely free’.⁷³⁹ There was general agreement that this would be the case, but, as seen in chapter three, disagreement as to how this would be defined and what, if any, restrictions would be placed on this.

In debating these questions, the Australians looked to United States judicial decisions as well as British legal decisions, in order to explore how these questions had played out there. They looked to the United States to get clarity on practical matters, such as whether states would still be able to enact wharfage charges.⁷⁴⁰

In the 1897 Adelaide Convention, Deakin raised that they needed to consider if the clause giving the federal government the power to regulate trade and commerce would unintentionally take away the power of states to regulate or prohibit the importing of alcohol or opium or any such substance. He pointed out that ‘there are a series of American decisions which decide that the power to regulate trade and commerce with other countries, having been given to the federal authority, is not in the power of any

⁷³⁸ Evans, ‘The Other Metropolis,’ 30.

⁷³⁹ La Nauze, ‘A Little Bit of Lawyers’ Language’.

⁷⁴⁰ Barton, 21/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 1114; Barton 07/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 651. See also Downer, 7/2/1898, 21/2/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 619, 1254.

state to do so, without an Act of federal authority, authorising them to prohibit'.⁷⁴¹ When the question was raised again two days later, he noted again these cases, along with the Wilson Act, an 1890 act of Congress that had to be specifically enacted to return to the states the power to restrict these items being imported, if the sale of such items were restricted within the State.⁷⁴²

Glynn proposed an amendment on the transport of liquor across state lines several days later. Deakin, Glynn, Isaacs and O'Connor all discussed whether these amendments were needed in reference to United States legal decisions. Glynn argued that 'the case of *Leisy* versus *Hardin*, decided in the United States, has shown the necessity of our dealing with this question' and Isaacs also argued that this case showed that without an amendment to the clause as it stood, states would not be able to restrict the importation of liquor.⁷⁴³ This case, decided in 1890, determined that a state statute prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor, when applied to goods imported from other states, was unconstitutional on the grounds of the congressional power to regulate trade and commerce.⁷⁴⁴ He also noted, and Deakin confirmed, that the proposed amendment from Victoria came from the Wilson Act, Deakin interjecting to add that they only changed three words.⁷⁴⁵ O'Connor presented a conflicting interpretation of the decisions, arguing that the United States and Australian constitutions were similar enough that they could rely on the decisions that occurred there, and that the judicial decisions prior to the Wilson Act allowed the regulation of liquor within a state.⁷⁴⁶

A similar debate occurred in the 1898 Melbourne convention on the question of whether states could restrict the movement of cattle or fruit from one state to another due to pests. As with alcohol and opium, it was pointed out by Barton that American cases had shown that any ability to prohibit the importing of goods into a state applied only to foreign, and not interstate, imports. He noted that they had carried the principle of this

⁷⁴¹ Deakin, 17/04/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 830.

⁷⁴² Deakin, 19/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 876-77.

⁷⁴³ Glynn, Isaacs, 22/09/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 1051, 1038/

⁷⁴⁴ *Leisy v. Hardin*, 135 U.S. 100, Justia US Supreme Court, (1890).

⁷⁴⁵ Deakin, 22/4/1897, *Debates: Adelaide, 1897*, 1140-41; Isaacs, Glynn, Isaacs, 22/9/1897, *Debates: Sydney, 1897*, 1038, 1050-51, 1055-56.

⁷⁴⁶ O'Connor, 22/09/1897, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 1039-40.

clause from the United States Constitution into the Australian, and stated that:

what I want to do is make it clear to the committee that, as the clause stands, if the American decisions were followed, it would not include the power to keep out, say, Victorian grapes from South Australia, on account of phylloxera; or, if Queensland is in the Federation, to keep out Queensland cattle...and it would not enable Western Australia to keep out Victorian apples or codlin moth.⁷⁴⁷

Barton argued that they could learn from the United States experience, and improve the clauses to allow such restrictions.⁷⁴⁸

In both of these examples can be seen references to interpretations of the United States Constitution which, it was argued, would also apply in a federated Australia. The Australian delegates sought to learn from the experience of these interpretations and improve upon the United States Constitution based on this American experience, either by amending the language of the clause to clarify it, or to incorporate an Act of Congress into the clause (eliminating the need for a separate Act).

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In considering the ways in which and the extent to which they were going to follow the United States model, as set out in the United States Constitution, when framing Australian federation, the Australian delegates used United States history to put the United States Constitution into context. They considered the circumstances in which it was created (particularly regarding the development of the Senate, one of the more contentious questions of Australian federation). They also considered the context within which it operated, and how it had evolved over the century between its creation and Australian federation. In doing so, they looked both to historical accounts of how it had evolved but also, importantly, to the judicial decisions that shaped and interpreted the Constitution over the years. This was useful as a guide so that they could improve upon the United States Constitution, clarifying points using the interpretations American judges had expressed in their decisions, and seeking to put into the Australian Constitution safeguards against issues that had developed in the United States.

⁷⁴⁷ Isaacs, 07/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 647-48.

⁷⁴⁸ Barton, 07/02/1898, *Debates: Melbourne, 1898*, 650.

United States history at the federation conventions could be used and reshaped to aid in a range of arguments being presented. At times, differing interpretations of the American experience were used to argue opposing viewpoints, each taking what they needed from the American example, developing the credibility of their argument by having the United States example to support it. In order to effectively utilise United States history, the delegates needed to have sufficient awareness and understanding of it to draw out the examples that they needed. This further supports the argument made in the Introduction, that the delegates had a greater level of knowledge of the United States than they are usually ascribed in historical accounts.

History was important to the Australian federation convention delegates. In building for a future that they hoped would be long lasting and full of greatness for the Australian nation they were developing, they wanted to learn from the past and the experience of those who had gone before. They looked to what had happened in Britain and the Empire, including Canada and their own history in the Australian colonies. They looked to Switzerland, Germany and elsewhere in Europe. They also expanded at length on the experiences in the United States with regard to federation.

It is more common to find acknowledgement and discussion of this use of history in works that approach federation and the development of the Australian constitution from a legal rather than an historical standpoint. Historians too need to acknowledge that this use of United States history was not limited to one or two delegates with a particular interest in the United States. Most of the leaders of the federation conventions drew from the United States experience in order to articulate their arguments - both in speeches and in rebuttals and interjections - and this evident familiarity is arguably emblematic of the connection between the colonies and the United States more generally.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁹ Mosler and Catley, *America and Americans in Australia*, 17; Hunt, *American Precedents in Australian Federation*, 167.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSIDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

POLITICAL CONNECTIONS

As noted in Chapter One, there was limited official interaction between the United States federal government and the governments of the Australian colonies, and the interactions that did occur were through consular officials based in the Australian colonies. One of the duties of consuls around the world was to provide reports on the local conditions. From 1856, consuls were required to provide commercial information that would be compiled into the annual *Commercial Relations*. However, as the role of the consuls became increasingly focused on trade, there was a desire from merchants and others in the United States for this report to be produced more frequently, in order for them to make use of the information provided while it was still current. In 1880, there was a request sent to all consuls for ‘reports on all subjects which may be calculated to advance the commercial and industrial interest of the United States’, with the State Department compiling a monthly report.⁷⁵⁰ This monthly report was distributed to merchants, manufacturers and other parties that might be interested in overseas opportunities, as well as to the State Department itself.⁷⁵¹ There was some overlap between the information contained in the monthly reports and the annual *Commercial Relations*, but the monthly reports could also provide more specialised information, as well as responses to State Department circulars requesting information on specific topics.⁷⁵² In 1890 responses to circulars were published in a separate volumes of Special Consular Reports, combining the responses from around the world on each topic. Along with other trade specific topics, both the Melbourne and Sydney consuls provided reports on the progress of federation, including the history and context of the movement in Australia.⁷⁵³ Several of these were published in the official monthly consular reports.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁰ Introduction to Volume 1, *Consular Reports*, as quoted in Jones, *The Consular Service of the United States*, 67-68.

⁷⁵¹ Jones, *The Consular Service of the United States*, 68.

⁷⁵² T.C. Smout, ‘U.S. Consular Reports: A Source for Scottish Economic Historians,’ *The Scottish Historical Review* 58 no.166 (1979):182.

⁷⁵³ ‘The Federal Movement in Australia,’ 09/02/1897, Consulate of the US, Sydney to Secretary of State,

The New South Wales consul based in Sydney was the most prolific in this regard. As noted in Chapter Four, George Bell had engaged with the federation movement, attending the 1896 Bathurst Convention as a guest speaker. Bell most clearly articulated the primary reason why the United States would have an interest in federation, discussing the impact it would have on United States trade with the Australian colonies.⁷⁵⁵ Bell was a Democrat, the free trade party who supported tariffs only as a means to generate revenue. In contrast, the Republican party supported tariff protection in order to foster industry, including instituting the near fifty percent tariff implemented in 1890 under Republican president Harrison, including a tariff on wool. Bell reported the likelihood that that federated Australia would institute a high protective tariff (expected to be thirty to forty percent), which he noted would have a material effect on their trade in Australia.⁷⁵⁶ The impact of an Australian tariff would be in the difficulty of establishing new markets for trade in Australia, as the consuls were tasked with doing, particularly as, if the protectionist tariff was to follow the Victorian tariff, protected industries would include goods that American manufactures might be interested in selling in Australia.

However, Bell expressed more alarm over the discovery that there would likely be a

vol. 59, pp. 108-23, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives; 'Launching A Nation,' 05/03/1897, Consulate of the US, Sydney to Secretary of State, vol. 59, pp. 127-32, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives; 'The Federal Achievement in Australia,' 10/05/1899, Consulate of the US, Sydney to Secretary of State, vol. 59, 268-73, Despatches, 1895-1901, United States National Archives; George W. Bell, United States Consul, Sydney, to William R. Day, Assistant Secretary of State, 14/03/1898, vol. 56Q, no. 130, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1893-1908, United States National Archives; George W. Bell, United States Consul, Sydney, to William R. Day, Assistant Secretary of State, 06/06/1898, vol. 56Q, no. 139, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1893-1908, United States National Archives. Note 'The Federal Achievement in Australia' also refers to two reports not found in the archives - a report on 16/04/1898 'on the history and progress of the "Federal movement in Australia"' and on 06/06/1898 a report advising that federation had been defeated, with a supplementary report giving the opinion that the federation movement 'is dead for many years to come'.

⁷⁵⁴ Daniel Maratta, 'Federation of the Australian Colonies,' in *Consular reports: Commerce, manufactures, etc.*, volume 48, no. 176 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 104-13, HathiTrust, accessed 17/03/2018, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.79063491;view=2up;seq=128>; George W. Bell, 'The Federal Movement in Australia,' in *Consular reports: Commerce, manufactures, etc.*, volume 54, no. 201 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 284-95, HathiTrust, accessed 17/03/2018, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101076524709;view=2up;seq=324>.

⁷⁵⁵ 'The Federal Movement in Australia,' 09/02/1897, 16. See also G.W. Griffin, United States Consul, Sydney, to William F. Wharton, Assistant Secretary of State, 27/12/1889, vol. 56P, no. 319, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1885-1893, United States National Archives; United States Consul, Sydney, to Walter G Beach, Stanford University, 04/02/1898, vol. 56F, pp.31-33, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives.

⁷⁵⁶ 'The Federal Achievement in Australia,' 10/05/1899.

preferential tariff with favourable rates for Britain, which he noted was unexpected, for while the Australians were he said loyal, 'they have been as broad in their trade relations with the world as to place the mother countries goods on the same footing as those from other lands'. Part of his concern was that this would mean that the other British settler colonies, such as Canada and South Africa, would do the same 'and thus will arise new and perplexing conditions of trade, which we must surely deplore, though for which we may have little reason to complain'.⁷⁵⁷ Bell provided more reports noting the likelihood of this preferential tariff, as did the Melbourne Consul-General, Republican John Bray.⁷⁵⁸

Along with this trade related information, Bell spoke effusively on the international importance of the creation of a new nation, the great destiny of the Australian people, and the Anglo-Saxon ties of race, language, and civilisation between the people of the Australian colonies and the United States, and the use of the United States model in developing the Constitution. In addition, the Melbourne Consul-General provided copies of the Official Proceedings and Debates of the 1891 Convention, and of the Federal Constitution adopted at the conclusion of the 1898 Melbourne Convention.⁷⁵⁹ In addition, the Melbourne Consul-General provided copies of the Official Proceedings and Debates of the 1891 Convention, and of the Federal Constitution adopted at the conclusion of the 1898 Melbourne Convention.⁷⁶⁰ With these, along with the reports

⁷⁵⁷ George W. Bell to William R. Day, 14/03/1898.

⁷⁵⁸ George W. Bell, United States Consul, Sydney, to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, 31/07/1899, vol. 56Q, no. 172, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1893-1908, United States National Archives; John P. Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, Melbourne, 28/07/1899, vol. 145, no. 38, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives; John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, Melbourne, 13/10/1900, vol. 145, no. 83, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives; US Consulate General, Melbourne, Letter, John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of States, Melbourne, 02/05/1901, vol. 145, p. 476, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives.

⁷⁵⁹ 'The Federal Movement in Australia,' 09/02/1897, 1, 4; 'Launching A Nation,' 05/03/1897, 1-2, 3-4, 6.

⁷⁶⁰ Alexander Cameron, United States Vice-Consul, Sydney, to William F. Wharton, Assistant Secretary of State, 15/05/1891, vol. 56P, no. 392, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 1885-1893, United States National Archives; John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, Melbourne, 28/07/1899, vol. 145, no. 38, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives. Note correspondence records indicate Bray requested six copies of the constitution, and upon receipt of these, requested copies of the constitution including the amendments agreed to at the Premier's conference. It is unclear which of these were forwarded to the State Department: John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to Robert S Brain, Government Printer Melbourne, Melbourne, 24/07/1899, vol. 14, no. 32, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1899 - 1899,

mentioned, the United States government was kept informed of the progress of federation.

When it came to the celebrations for the inauguration of federation on 1 January, 1901 in Sydney, the consulate was provided with a 'reasonable sum' of funds for decorations, although instructions were provided that they were to be no 'more than something in keeping with the other surroundings'.⁷⁶¹ An American arch was included in the inaugural procession, however this was provided by the local American community and, while it is likely the consulate was involved, there is no record to demonstrate that.⁷⁶²

Sydney US Consul Orlando H. Baker (who replaced Bell in 1900) was enthusiastic about the idea of an American battleship coming to attend the January celebrations, feeling that 'it is of the highest importance' that the United States government be represented at the celebration of federation. He pressed the State Department for it to occur - even after they informed him that, due to 'unsettled conditions in the East', they could not promise that a man-of-war could be spared.⁷⁶³ A congratulatory telegram from President McKinley was read at a banquet held by the Australian society in New York on 5 January, 1901 to celebrate the inauguration of the Commonwealth. The banquet was attended by 150

United States National Archives; John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to Robert S Brain, Government Printer Melbourne, Melbourne, 24/07/1899, vol. 60, no. 408, Melbourne Consulate, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1899 - 1899, United States National Archives.

⁷⁶¹ Thomas Cridler, 3rd Assistant Secretary of State to Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, Washington, 11/12/1900, vol. 56V, no. 6, Despatches 1900-1907, United States National Archives.

⁷⁶² Helen Irving, 'Americans and Federation,' in Irving, *The Centenary Companion*, 329-30; Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation*, 300.

⁷⁶³ Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, to John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, 30/10/1900, vol. 56I, p. 413. Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 6/1/1899-2/27/1901, United States National Archives; John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to Orlando H. Baker, Melbourne, 31/10/1900, vol. 62, p. 222, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives; Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, to 3rd Assistant Secretary, Department of State, Sydney, 12/11/1900, vol. 56U, Despatches and Acknowledgements 1899-1899, United States National Archives; Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, to John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, Sydney, 13/11/1900, vol. 56I, p. 420, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 6/1/1899-2/27/1901, United States National Archives; Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, to Thomas Cridler, 3rd Assistant Secretary of State, Sydney, 16/11/1900, vol. 56V, no. 6, Despatches 1900-1907, United States National Archives; John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne to Orlando H. Baker, Melbourne, 20/11/1900, vol. 145, p. 359, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives; Thomas Cridler, 3rd Assistant Secretary of State to Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, Washington, 11/12/1900, vol. 56V, no. 9, Despatches 1900-1907, United States National Archives. See also Orlando H. Baker, United States Consul, Sydney, to H.S. Shipmans of Sydney, 3/11/1900, vol. 56I, p. 415, Sydney Consulate Letter Book, 6/1/1899-2/27/1901, United States National Archives.

Australians and businessmen, and also heard telegrams from dignitaries such as Queen Victoria, Canadian Prime Minister Laurier, and Mark Twain.⁷⁶⁴

While unable to send a battleship to mark the January celebration, the United States government was able to send the armoured cruiser USS *Brooklyn*, the leading ship in the Battle of Santiago Bay, to mark the opening of the federal parliament in Melbourne in May, 1901.⁷⁶⁵ The *Brooklyn*'s officers (along with those of the German, Dutch and Russian ships who came) attended the celebrations, and the admiral and captain were formally welcomed by Prime Minister Barton and Governor-General Lord Hopetoun. Thus, politically, it can be said that there was a courteous but not pressing notice paid by the United States Government to federation in Australia. This is consistent with general relations as discussed in Chapter One. However, as noted in that chapter, the wider popular interest was more pronounced.

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION IN UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS

There is some indication of popular American interest in Australian federation in the consular reports, such as two letters from teachers requesting more information on the development of the new constitution and asking for more information or a copy of the constitution.⁷⁶⁶ However, this interest becomes more apparent when looking at the coverage of Australian federation in United States newspapers.

Alfred Deakin commented on this popular interest in an article he wrote for the American *Scribner's* magazine on Australian Federation⁷⁶⁷ The article, which provides

⁷⁶⁴ Irving, 'Americans and Federation,' 330.

⁷⁶⁵ John P Bray, US Consul General, Melbourne, to F.W. Goding, United States Consul, Newcastle NSW, 02/05/1901, vol. 145, p. 475, Melbourne Consulate, Official Correspondence, 1899-1901, United States National Archives. See also Harper, *A Great and Powerful Friend*, 3. Note Harper incorrectly states that the *Brooklyn* came to the Sydney celebrations in January. The armoured cruiser arrived in Melbourne in April, then went on to travel to Sydney and New Zealand - 'Pen-notes and Pencillings: To Honour Australia U.S.S. *Brooklyn* Now on Her Way to Help Celebrate the Opening of Australia's First Parliament,' *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 10/04/1901.

⁷⁶⁶ United States Consul, Sydney, to Walter G Beach, Stanford University, 4/02/1898, vol. 56F, pp. 31-33, Sydney Consulate Press Copies of Letters, 1897-1899, United States National Archives; George Gaston to John P Bray, 23/05/1898, vol. 127, Melbourne Consulate, Unbound Miscellaneous Correspondence Received, 1898-1899, United States National Archives.

⁷⁶⁷ Alfred Deakin, 'The Federation of Australia,' *Scribner's Magazine* 10, Issue 5, (1891): 549-562.

information both about the Australian colonies and the history of the federal movement, begins by noting: 'The interest taken in the proceedings of the National Australasian Convention, outside the colonies immediately interested, is not merely flattering but significant of the closeness of the bonds which now unite civilised peoples'. He goes on to state that 'in the United States of America the kindest and most sympathetic feeling has been manifested towards the young provinces which are following a path resembling in so many respects that which the founders of the great Republic trod a century ago'.⁷⁶⁸

Deakin's comments may themselves have been flattery towards the American audience reading the article. However, when reporting on the 1890 Australasian Federation Conference from Melbourne, American author Zadel Barnes Gustafson stated that she would be providing a descriptive account of the Conference, 'knowing that details of these deliberations will have reached the American public by cable and press exchanges'.⁷⁶⁹ The questions that develop from this assertion are both why she would be confident in stating that, and to what extent was it true? The former suggests that in New York at least, where the article was being published, there was an awareness of and interest in Australia and what was happening there. However, this is a large assumption to draw from one statement, and needs to be qualified by information regarding her position and time spent in New York, amongst others. This is particularly apt given a contradictory statement from the *New York Times*, stating of Australia that 'Americans, when they think of it at all, are apt to forget that the island, instead of being one governmental unit, is composed of five colonies'.⁷⁷⁰ It is the question of American knowledge and interest in Australian federation that I am exploring here, both for the period of the 1890 conference and the whole decade of federal development in Australia.

NEWSPAPERS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

RESEARCHING FEDERATION IN UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS

In the period being examined here, 1890 to 1901, there were over nine hundred articles

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 549.

⁷⁶⁹ Zadel Barnes Gustafson, 'A New Nation: A Sketch of the Australasian Federation Conference,' *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, 19/04/1890.

⁷⁷⁰ 'Topic of the Times,' *New York Times*, 23/04/1897.

published in the United States press that mentioned Australian federation development.

⁷⁷¹ The number of unique stories is smaller, as articles would be repeated in newspapers across the country (although even then there was often editorial input regarding what, if anything, would be cut from the articles, and the headlines used). These articles have been found using three databases of digitised newspapers: the subscription-only Gale 19th Century American Newspapers and Proquest Historical Newspapers collection, and the publicly funded and available Chronicling America site. The size and scope of these databases vary, most notably with 19th Century US Newspapers, which ends in December 1899, whereas the other two databases continue into the twentieth century. Access to newspapers on through the Proquest Historical Newspapers collection was also limited by the newspapers Melbourne University Library and the State Library of Victoria subscribed to. When narrowing down to the period 1890 to 1901, I had access to nine newspaper titles within the Proquest Historical Newspapers database (*American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger*, *American Israelite*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Jewish Exponent*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*) and 19th Century American Newspapers had fifty-eight, whereas Chronicling America had 819 newspapers in their records - including a number of smaller newspapers that were not in print for the entire period being considered.⁷⁷² The number of newspaper articles that are currently accessible is changing, as more newspapers are being digitised and added to collections.

In searching for these articles, I consistently used the search term 'Australia* federation', using the asterisk wildcard symbol to broaden the search (including Australian, Australians etc.) in databases with that functionality.⁷⁷³ I elected not to also include the search terms 'Australia* constitution', 'Australia* commonwealth', or to place the wildcard earlier at Austral*, to also catch references to Australasia. I had looked at results

⁷⁷¹ predominately searching 1890-1901, but older searches had included 1889.

⁷⁷² Some newspapers appear in the lists more than once as changes in newspaper names or frequency result in a new newspaper line being included. Where possible these have been consolidated down to one entry.

⁷⁷³ This functionality was available in 19th Century US Newspapers and Proquest Historical Newspapers. Modifying the search to also wildcard search federat* increased raw search results from 204 to 222 in 19th Century US Newspapers, and from 497 to 589 in Proquest Historical Newspapers (and reduced Chronicling America results to 2); searching without the wildcard reduced 19th Century US Newspapers results to 39, and Proquest Historical Newspapers to 359.

from these in my initial reading, as my assessment was that it would largely overlap with the 'Australia* federation' search results.⁷⁷⁴ I then manually searched through the results to remove articles that were false positives, such as referencing other federated organisations and Australia, or, particularly in 1901, referring to the Australian government as the 'Australian federation' in news reports on policy. There was a degree of subjectivity to this manual search - for example, I chose to remove articles from the list that mentioned Australia in the context of imperial federation but did not specifically cite Australian federation, but retained articles that mentioned the Australian delegates accompanying the Constitution Bill to London attending various banquets and speeches; I retained articles where Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain expressed hope that Australian federation would be an inspiration for South Africa, but removed articles about Canadian High Commissioner Lord Strathcona being installed as rector in Aberdeen and referring gratifyingly to federations in Canada, Australia and that coming in South Africa. Similarly I removed articles that referred to the plans of the established 'Australian federation' such as developing a naval defence force and tariff policy, but retained articles discussing expectations or plans for these prior to the federation being established. This filtered search produced 202 results from 19th Century US Newspapers, 280 from Proquest Historical Newspapers, and 444 from *Chronicling America*.⁷⁷⁵ A full list of the articles found is included as Appendix Two.

The figures produced here have also been corrected to account for newspapers that are available across multiple databases. In the period being examined there were only seven newspapers that were covered in two databases, and of these, only three had results for articles relating to federation. This crossover also highlights the manner in which different technology, be it software or hardware, can impact on search results. Looking at the *Hawaiian Gazette* just in the period covered by 19th Century US Newspapers (their

⁷⁷⁴ In raw number form, this search had 21 results in 19th Century US Newspapers; 115 in *Chronicling America* and 822 in Proquest Historical Newspapers. The disparity between the results also suggests that the Proquest results would largely not be relevant.

^{19th} Century US Newspapers also had an option to submit a fuzzy search - this was set to none. setting to low increased the search results by 5, medium increased search results by 20. I was not able to set to high. The Proquest Historical Newspapers seems to have a high setting for fuzzy search standard, which required more filtering.

⁷⁷⁵ 19th Century US Newspapers reduced by three to account for the three articles located in two databases.

coverage ends on 29 December, 1899), only one article was located in both databases. There were four articles found in *Chronicling America* that were not picked up by 19th Century US newspapers, and three articles picked up in 19th Century US Newspapers that were not found by *Chronicling America*.⁷⁷⁶

Articles on federation included reference to the development of federation in Australia as part of a larger article on a broader topic, one to two sentence articles as part of the news of the world with a quick update, and longer articles, both strictly factual and containing editorial opinion, specifically discussing the movement to federation. A small number of these were accompanied by images, notably drawings or photographs of federal leaders, or of a proposed Australian flag.⁷⁷⁷ Unsurprisingly, news reports were concentrated in the foreign news and foreign cablegrams sections of American papers. This section of the paper was itself a relatively new part of the ongoing development of American news.

In terms of the geographic spread of this coverage, the newspapers in the databases used cover forty-nine of the states and territories of the United States, including the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, with New Hampshire, New Jersey and Wyoming not yet represented (although the level of coverage varies, ranging from Alabama, Arkansas, Maine and Rhode Island each only having one newspaper in the databases, none of which cover the full period being examined, to Louisiana with forty newspapers included). Of these, all but Alaska, Georgia, Rhode Island and Puerto Rico had at least one newspaper included in the results showing coverage of Australian federation. While the coverage was more concentrated in some areas of the country than others, it was not limited only to certain areas.

UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1890s

The period being considered was also the tail end of a longer period of change in the way

⁷⁷⁶ Similarly there were three articles from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* that were listed in *Chronicling America* in the period covered by 19th Century US Newspapers, but were not found by that database.

⁷⁷⁷ 'Premiers of the Australian colonies discussing federation at Melbourne,' *Chicago Tribune*, 26/06/1899; 'Federated Australia: Edmund Barton, Famous New South Wales Statesman, to Be its First Premier,' *Columbian* (Bloombsbury, PA), 18/04/1901; 'Australia Federation,' *Hawaiian gazette*, 22/09/1898; 'States of Australia,' *North Platte Semi-Weekly Tribune*, (North Platte, NE), 22/02/01.

that newspapers were produced, which in turn impacted on the content that they included and the way that content was presented. This context in turn shapes how we should consider the extent of the coverage of Australian federation in United States newspapers. Earlier in the century newspapers were produced through a method known as personal journalism, with the newspapers being put together by a staff of one or two people and focused on editorial comment and copying news articles from other papers around the country. This enabled the creation of a largely partisan press, with newspapers openly supporting a particular political party, shaping the news to suit, and potentially receiving financial or in-kind support such as printing contracts from the political parties. Quite commonly, this led to papers that would not criticise the party or the government that supported them and highly critical of the opposition.⁷⁷⁸

The idea of an independent press developed through newspapers making the decision to move away from this party control. Reforms such as removing the requirement to publish legislative debates, the most lucrative of the government contracts, and so removing a potential method of threat from the government issuing them, also contributed to this shift. Actions by the parties hastened the newspapers' desire to disassociate themselves, so that by 1880 a quarter of newspapers were nominally independent or local papers, rising to a third in 1890, including most of the large circulation, profitable newspapers.⁷⁷⁹ Of the papers that remained aligned to a party, the extent to which they followed party guidelines had loosened. Personal journalism was superseded by the larger staff of reporters required to find and cover the different forms of news on a daily basis, leading to an increased emphasis on news itself.⁷⁸⁰ There also developed a distinct separation of news from comment with the creation of an editorial section of the newspaper.⁷⁸¹ There also developed a distinct separation of news from comment, with the creation of an editorial section of the newspaper. The shift away from formal political alliance meant an expanded target audience and hence the need to adapt to the tastes and interests of the new market, focusing on diverse reader interests over the political stance and connections

⁷⁷⁸ Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper*, 125; Smyth, *The Gilded Age Press*, 17-29.

⁷⁷⁹ Frank Luther Mott, *The News in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 71, Smyth, *The Gilded Age Press*, 49.

⁷⁸⁰ Mott, *The News in America*, 90-93.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 71-72.

of the editor. In looking to attract advertisers and subscribers, editors were less likely to cover foreign affairs. While they would still be included, it would not be at the expense of domestic issues that would be more likely to catch reader interest.⁷⁸²

In the 1890s, newspapers were thus in transition, which meant an increased focus on news over comment, but with newspapers still voicing their editorial opinions, either blended with news articles or in separate editorials. These are particularly useful as indications both of the level of interest a particular newspaper had, and why the newspaper felt that federation was important enough to write about. While it was not unusual to have an editorial focused on foreign news, the bulk and key focus of editorials at this time were on domestic news. Although it cannot be said that the process of Australian federation was highly editorialized about, it is fair to say that it was significant enough to draw conclusions about American interest.

Transmission of news reports about Australia that came via cable still needed to come through London, as there was no direct telegraph cable connection between Australia and the American continents for the period being examined here. The Pacific Cable, running from Australia to Canada, financed by the two governments as well as New Zealand and Britain, was not completed until 1902; a competing cable, going by way of Western Australia and the Cape of Good Hope, was not completed until 1901.⁷⁸³ News could also come directly but more slowly from Australia via the mail steamships to Hawaii and then on to California, or via Vancouver. These reports often appear to be the editors of the American papers dissecting and summarising from Australian newspaper reports, and these summaries were then distributed to other newspapers across the United States. With the exception of Gustafson, special correspondents reporting and commenting on events in Australia were based in London, writing with an American audience in mind, with American comment being provided. This is in keeping with the broader transmission of ideas throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, as discussed in Chapter One.

⁷⁸² Ibid., 122; George F. Pearce, 'Assessing Public Opinion: Editorial Comment and the Annexation of Hawaii: A Case Study,' *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 3 (1974): 329-30.

⁷⁸³ K.S. Inglis, 'The Imperial Connection: Telegraphic Communication Between England and Australia, 1872-1902,' in *Australia and Britain: Studies in a Changing Relationship*, eds A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980), 27.

Another influence on the development of an independent press was the role played by the Associated Press (AP) and other such news agencies. AP was initially created in New York in 1846 as a way for the newspapers to share the cost burden of gathering of foreign news with the Mexican-American War. The agency grew from this point to become a key source of domestic news, with each newspaper contributing local news for others, developing into an extensive network. While there were other press agencies developed in this period that sold stories to newspapers across the country rather than being co-operatively based, such as major competitor the United Press, the AP became the dominant press agency in the nation.⁷⁸⁴ As the AP provided news for a range of different papers, it had to ensure that its articles were neutral and thus publishable in all. One of the contributing factors for the success of the AP was the generally exclusive arrangement it had with Reuters, the British press agency, which in turn was a key player in the European news cartel that existed at this time.⁷⁸⁵ Through Reuters, the AP was able to provide all its subscribers with foreign news, in exchange for providing American domestic news to the cartel. The development of the telegraph, and the trans-Atlantic cables were invaluable to the press, but even by the turn of the century the cost of transmission was still high. Individual papers did have their own correspondents, with Bennett's New York *Herald* posting the first correspondent to Europe in 1838. Thus while some of the larger papers had their own foreign correspondents overseas, the cost of this was such that it was limited, and only provided a supplement to the AP's foreign news.

The AP built up its own foreign news correspondents towards the end of the century, so that in 1897 there were seven AP bureaus outside North America: in Berlin, Havana, Honolulu, London, Mexico City, Tokyo, and Apia, Samoa.⁷⁸⁶ With the exception of London and Berlin, the two major European centres, the nineteenth-century AP bureaus were located in regions of increasing American involvement, or even dominance. Hawaii and Mexico, states that were impacted directly by American expansion, together with Cuba, soon to be the focus of the Spanish-American War, fell under the scope of the

⁷⁸⁴ Ending in 1898, this agency is not linked to the United Press agency then developed in 1907

⁷⁸⁵ Reporters of the Associated Press, *Breaking News: How the Associated Press has Covered War, Peace and Everything Else* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 262.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

Monroe Doctrine. Japan was a state in which the Americans had a key economic interest, it having been thoroughly isolationist until American intervention in the 1850s to gain access to Japanese markets. Finally Samoa, closest of all to Australia, was another state of economic interest to the United States, leading to diplomatic and near military intervention between the United States and the other two nations with a shared interest in Samoa – Germany and Britain.⁷⁸⁷ The first AP report to come from Samoa was written by John P. Dunning, who had been sent in 1889 to cover the German and American warships facing off in Apia Harbour. However, his report, coming to San Francisco via an Australian steamer, was instead an account of the massive hurricane that had swept and ravaged the island, sinking all the warships. The dispute between the nations over control of Samoa was settled with the state being partitioned between Germany and the United States in 1899, and the United States took formal control of Western Samoa in 1900.⁷⁸⁸ Thus it would appear that American direct interest spread further than the American continents themselves, into the New World as a whole.

COVERAGE OVERVIEW

Articles specifically about Australian federation were largely prompted by the events occurring in the Australian colonies. Unsurprisingly, this included the federation conventions sitting in 1891, 1897 and 1898, the inauguration of the Commonwealth on 1 January 1901, and the opening of the first federal parliament on 9 May, 1901. However, they also reported on the steps along the way to these key events, such as the colonial governments agreeing to meet for the 1890 conference, the failure of these same governments both to agree to uniform action in considering the 1891 Draft Bill, and then the foundering and eventually failure of this Bill.⁷⁸⁹ Reports that the issue was dead in 1892 were followed by indications that it had been revived in 1893 and 1894.⁷⁹⁰ This

⁷⁸⁷ P.M. Kennedy, 'Bismarck's Imperialism: The Case of Samoa, 1889-1890,' *The Historical Journal* 15, no. 2, (1972): 266-67; Joseph Waldo Ellison, 'The Partition of Samoa: A Study in Imperialism and Diplomacy,' *The Pacific Historical Review* 8, no.3 (1939): 259.

⁷⁸⁸ Ellison, 'The Partition of Samoa,' 287.

⁷⁸⁹ 'Australian Federation: New South Wales Adopts the Scheme,' *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 12/09/1890; 'For Australian Federation,' *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), 12/09/1890; 'Affairs Abroad,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 12/09/1890.

⁷⁹⁰ 'Australian Federation,' *Galveston Daily News*, 28/03/1892; also 'Cry of the Jewish Pale,' *New York Times*

included New South Wales Premier George Dibbs' 1894 proposal to Victorian Premier James Patterson that the two colonies unify, but also included the lead up to and success of the January 1895 Hobart Premiers' Conference, where they agreed to introduce legislation for the election of delegates to a federation convention.⁷⁹¹ The progress of the constitution Bill in the Victorian parliament following the Adelaide 1897 Convention was noted, as was Queensland's rejection of an enabling bill so that it could join the convention.⁷⁹² Developments in New South Wales domestic politics were also noted, with reference to the impact they would have on federation, including votes of no confidence in the New South Wales Government and New South Wales electoral results.⁷⁹³

After the conclusion of the 1898 Melbourne Convention were reports of the referenda, with Victoria and South Australia voting yes, but New South Wales failing to meet the target.⁷⁹⁴ There were discussions on the blow that this was to the federation movement, why it failed, but also opinions expressed that it was not a fatal blow, and that the movement would eventually succeed. Accounts were provided of the proposal of New South Wales to suggest some amendments, with the *Boston Daily Advertiser* arguing that

27/03/1892; 'Australian Affairs,' *St Paul Daily News*, 17/08/1893; 'Australian Federation: Sir Henry Parkes' Lecture on the Issue,' *Hawaiian Gazette*, 14/11/1893; 'Victorian Parliament Opened,' *New York Times*, 31/05/1894.

⁷⁹¹ 'Dibbs on Australian Union,' *New York Times*, 01/07/1894; 'Australian Federation,' *Penny Press*, 15/06/1894; abbreviated in 'Notes of Foreign News,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 16/06/1894; 'An Australian Federation,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 16/06/1894; 'Falling Leaves in London...Hopes of Australian Federation Scheme,' *New York Times*, 26/08/1894; *Penny Press* (Minneapolis), 14/11/1894, also 'Condensed Cablegrams,' *New York Times*, 15/11/1894; 'Australian Premiers to Confer,' *New York Times*, 26/11/1894; 'Samoa: The Political Unrest Still Continues,' *Los Angeles Times*, 15/12/1894; 'Trade Depressed in New South Wales,' *Record Union*, 14/01/1895; 'Australian Federation Approved,' *New York Times*, 30/01/1895. See also guide SG Foster, Susan Marsden and Roslyn Russell, *Federation: The Guide to Records* (Canberra: Australian Archives, 1998), 308-09.

⁷⁹² 'Australian Federation: Important Anti-Federal Section Discovered During the Discussion,' *New York Tribune*, 06/08/1897; 'Australian Federation: Important Anti-Federal Section Discovered During the Discussion,' *New York Times*, 06/08/1897; 'Latest News,' *Fayetteville Observer* (North Carolina), 06/08/1897; 'Multiple News Items,' *Rocky Mountain News*, 06/08/1897; 'Australians Against Federation,' *North American* (Philadelphia), 30/11/1897.

⁷⁹³ 'Brief Cablegram,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 28/05/1891, 'Brief Cablegram,' 29/05/1891; 'Editorial Brevities,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco) 19/06/1891; 'Australian Cabinet to Resign: Sir Henry Parkes Scores a Decisive Victory Over the Government,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 17/10/1891.

⁷⁹⁴ 'Australian Sympathy: An American-Anglo Alliance is Strongly Favored,' *Anaconda Standard*, 21/05/1898; 'Australian Federation Bill,' *New York Times*, 04/06/1898; 'Australian Federation,' *New York Times*, 05/06/1897; 'Australian Federation Dead,' *Chicago Tribune*, 05/06/1898; 'Australian Federation,' *Sun* (New York), 14/06/1898; 'The United States of Australasia,' *Scranton Tribune*, 16/06/1898; *Iowa County Democrat* 16/06/1898; 'The Vote on Australian Federation,' *Denver Evening Post*, 07/07/1898; 'Australian Federation: Demagogues Have Retarded the Work of Far-Seeing Statesmen,' *Morning Oregonian*, 09/07/1898; also 'Australian Federation,' *Salt Lake Semi Weekly Tribune*, 12/07/1898.

these should be accepted, and reports provided of the Premier's Meeting in early 1899 at which these amendments were agreed to, with particular note paid to the agreement regarding the location of the capital.⁷⁹⁵ The passage of the amended Bill through the colonial parliaments was covered, as were the results of the second referendum as it was held - this included the *Topeka State Journal* in Kansas reporting on referendum results while counting was still in progress..⁷⁹⁶

United States newspapers then followed the progress of the Bill in London, including the deadlock between the colonies and the British over the question of Privy Council appeals, and the lobbying conducted by the Australians in London on this issue, and the passage of the Bill through the British parliament, with the Butte, Montana *Daily Inter Mountain* quoting in full the proclamation by the Queen that the Commonwealth of Australia would be formed on 1 January, 1901.⁷⁹⁷ The speculation as to who the Queen would appoint as Governor General was widely reported, as was the decision by William Lyne to reject the offer to form a ministry his advice to Governor General Hopetoun that Barton be asked instead - although this did not include that his decision was informed by the unwillingness of leading politicians to form a ministry with the anti-federalist Lyne.⁷⁹⁸

As can be seen from this summary, the particulars of the development of federation in Australia were being reported. The level of detail within these reports varied, ranging from a one sentence report that something had occurred, to multi-column headline assessments providing both facts and editorial opinion on the what each step meant. This can be seen for instance in the coverage of the success of the second referendum in New

⁷⁹⁵ 'Passing Events,' *Irish World and American Industrialist*, 02/07/1898; 'Australian Federation,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 15/09/1898; 'A Federation: Australian Premiers Reach an Agreement on the Project,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 03/02/1899; 'Colonies Will Unite,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 03/02/1899; 'Federation Project: Unanimous Agreement Reached by Australian Colonial Premiers,' *Los Angeles Times*, 03/02/1899.

⁷⁹⁶ 'Australia Voting on Federation,' *Topeka State Journal*, 20/06/1899.

⁷⁹⁷ 'Australian Federation Assured,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 28/06/1899; 'Federation of Australia,' *Los Angeles Times*, 28/06/1899; 'Fears Irish-Boer Alliance,' *Arkansas Democrat*, 30/06/1899; 'Other Lands Than Ours,' *Omaha Daily Bee*, 14/04/1900; 'Australia Federation: Colonials Object to England's Privy Council Being Court of Last Resort,' *Houston Daily Post*, 13/05/1900; 'England Makes Concession to Her Colonies,' *San Francisco Call*, 15/05/1900; 'May Endanger Federation: Amendment of the Imperial Government to the Bill,' *Daily Morning Journal and Courier*, 18/05/1900; 'For a New Nation: Bill to Constitute the Commonwealth of Australia,' *Evening Star*, 30/05/1900; 'Federation in Australia,' *Daily Inter Mountain*, 10/10/1900.

⁷⁹⁸ 'Declined the Job: Sir John Lyons Doesn't Want Australian Premiership,' *St Paul Globe*, 25/12/1900; 'Declined to Form a Cabinet,' *Wahpeton Times* (North Dakota), 27/12/1900; Matthews, *Federation*, 117-18.

South Wales, which ranged from noting it had succeeded, to provision of voting results, to the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, New York *Sun* and *Boston Daily Advertiser* providing commentary on the referendum, the significance of a positive vote in New South Wales (meaning that federation would be going ahead), and the *Daily Picayune* discussing what this means for the British Empire and imperial federation.⁷⁹⁹

COVERAGE OF THE CONVENTIONS

On the conventions themselves, there were articles noting that that they were sitting and summaries of key decisions so far, the structure of the proposed Australian constitution, both during its sitting and in summary after it had concluded. Understandably, these articles were shorter when the information came from telegraphs, usually via London, with some longer, more detailed assessments once reports of the conventions made it by steamer boat from Australia to Hawaii or California.⁸⁰⁰ Occasionally the report of a single decision would be carried in newspapers across the United States, such as the short report from the 1897 Adelaide Convention that ‘the federal convention, by a vote of 23 to 12, has rejected an amendment to allow women to vote for members of the house of representatives’.⁸⁰¹ None of these articles included editorial comment on the question, and so it is hard to determine if it was seen as a positive or negative development in the conventions, although some condescension towards the question can be read in headlines such as ‘Said “Nay, Pauline”’ and ‘Not Even in Australia’.

It is also interesting to observe the difference in the reporting of the 1891 Convention, compared to the 1897/98 Conventions. Across the period of the 22-day 1891 Convention, there were seventy-two articles reporting on it and opining on what it meant

⁷⁹⁹ ‘The Federation Movement in Australia,’ *Sun* (New York), 21/06/1899; ‘Australian Federation,’ *Daily Picayune*, 22/06/1899; ‘For Federation,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23/06/1899; ‘Federation of Australia,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 26/06/1899.

⁸⁰⁰ ‘The Federal Constitution of Australia,’ *Sun* (New York), 24/04/1891; ‘The Commonwealth of Australia,’ *Los Angeles Herald*, 28/05/1891.

⁸⁰¹ ‘Declined to Give Women the Vote,’ *Rock Island Argus*, 17/04/1897; ‘No Woman Suffrage,’ *Wichita Daily Eagle*, 17/04/1897; ‘No Woman Suffrage There,’ *Los Angeles Times* 17/04/1897; ‘Not Even in Australia,’ *Anaconda Standard*, 17/04/1897; ‘Not This Year,’ *Herald* (Los Angeles) 17/04/1897; ‘Said “Nay, Pauline,”’ *Salt Lake Herald*, 17/04/1897; ‘Defeat of Woman Suffrage,’ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 18/04/1897; *Scranton Tribune*, 20/04/1897; ‘No Australian Women Suffrage,’ *Globe Republican* (Dodge City, KS) 22/04/1897; ‘Women Can’t Vote,’ *Turner County Herald* (South Dakota), 22/04/1897.

for the future Australian nation, with an additional twenty-three articles in the subsequent fortnight doing the same. For the 1897 Adelaide Convention, which lasted twenty-five days, there were twenty-three articles during the convention and twelve in the weeks that followed; there was only one report on the seventeen-day 1897 Sydney Convention, with six appearing after the convention; and only eight articles reported on the debates at the thirty-nine day 1898 Melbourne Convention, with four discussing the debates afterwards. The style of coverage was also different, with fewer effusive declarations about the greatness of the Australian nation that was soon to form, and the likelihood of it soon becoming a republic.

Several factors could account for this difference between the conventions. One is who was reporting on Australian Federation. Some of the more strident comments regarding Australia's future in 1891 were made in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, however full text coverage of that newspaper in the 19th Century Newspapers database ends in October 1893 (though the newspaper continued under that name until 1895). Thus, in this research, that editor's voice is missing from the later coverage. The shape of world events also had an impact, with coverage of Australian federation having to compete with other events happening domestically in the United States, as well as in the British Empire and the world. Later in 1900, the *St Paul Globe* would note that the South African War meant that less attention was being paid to Australian federation; this may have also been the case in 1897 and 1898.

I believe a third factor was a reluctance on the part of the US press to repeat its earlier grand predictions, as the failure to achieve federation after the 1891 convention had demonstrated that holding a convention and creating a constitution did not mean federation would occur. As the *Daily Morning Astoria* noted in July 1899, 'Federation has been promised so many times and there have been so many disappointments that now that it is assured the rest of the world does not seem to attach the importance to the affair that it warrants'.⁸⁰²

In this coverage, when noting what the proposed structure of the federal government

⁸⁰² Untitled, *Daily Morning Astoria*, 12/07/1899.

would be, reference was usually made to the extent to which it was following the model of the United States. This was in part simply as a frame of reference for readers, comparing the proposal to what they are familiar with. Perhaps it was also a point of pride and a reason for the interest, that the United States model was being used. This was noted, in a jocular fashion, in the *Washington Post* and the *Morning Oregonian*, commenting on what the Australians owed to the United States given that their constitution was largely borrowed from the Americans, but that they would not be charging.⁸⁰³

OTHER REASONS FOR DISCUSSING FEDERATION

It was not just specific events in federation history that prompted notice of the developing Australian federation. The topic was raised by United States newspapers, suggesting an ongoing interest in the question. For example, direct interactions, both Australians visiting the United States, and Americans in Australia, that led to articles which included interviews. These included Australians visiting New York or Washington for business, or visiting regional areas to see family or friends. In these, interview subjects were asked about the progress of federation.⁸⁰⁴ Americans were also interviewed in similar articles upon their return from a visit to the Australian colonies.⁸⁰⁵ Another indication of general awareness of Australian federation was, the publication of graduates from Stanford University, which noted that Haven Wilson Edwards wrote his masters thesis in the history department on 'The movement for federation in Australia, to 1892'.⁸⁰⁶

The publication of longer articles in American magazines on the topic of federation in Australia would also prompt mentions of federation in newspapers. Some of these simply summarised the contents of the magazine articles, but others led to a short account of the movement for the newspaper readers. These articles include the aforementioned Deakin in *Scribner's* in November 1891, and John Quick in the *Review of Reviews* in August

⁸⁰³ 'Australian Federation,' *Washington Post*, 02/08/1896; 'The Federation of Australia,' *Morning Oregonian*, 05/08/1896.

⁸⁰⁴ *Washington Post* 7/11/1893; 'Australian Federation,' *New York Tribune*, 14/09/1896, 'Our Friends in Australia,' *New York Times*, 13/06/1898, 'Railways in Australia: Mr. Singleton's Description of Transportation in the Antipodes,' *Times*, (Washington), 17/01/1900.

⁸⁰⁵ 'An Antipodean Journey' *New York Times*, 12/7/1896.

⁸⁰⁶ 'Long List of Graduates,' *San Francisco Call*, 28/05/1901.

1896..⁸⁰⁷ Another article appearing in 1892 was by Douglas Sladen, an English poet, novelist and travel writer who had lived in Australia from 1880 to 1884, where he had served as the first lecturer in modern history at the University of Sydney, and taught constitutional history.⁸⁰⁸ Extracts from an article in the *Forum* magazine by Sir Charles Dilke, British imperialist and former radical politician whose popular work *Greater Britain* (1868) had established him as an authority on colonial matters, were published in a number of newspapers across the country, with headlines such as 'Socialistic Commonwealth' and 'The Race Problem in Australia'.⁸⁰⁹ These declared that federal control of the railways in Australia would be an example to the world of the benefits of state socialism, and that, prompted by Sir George Grey of New Zealand declaring that New Zealand would have difficulty joining the federation due to the 'colored labor question,' Dilke observed that 'the Australian people have made up their minds the continent is to be reserved for white men'.

Australian federation would also appear in United States newspapers when mentioned by Queen Victoria in her speeches opening parliament, which were covered extensively in the United States press. Indeed, while there were eighteen articles mentioning federation during the 1890 Conference, eleven of these were coverage of the Queen. Similar speeches were covered for the opening of parliament at the end of January, 1900. Similar speeches were covered for the opening of parliament at the end of January, 1900. Such mentions placed Australian federation into imperial context. However, it is also worth noting that in these instances, the reference to federation was included, in speeches that were not published in full.

Associated with federation was also the interest that there seemed to be in Henry Parkes as both New South Wales premier and federation leader. He was included in an 1893

⁸⁰⁷ Deakin, 'The Federation of Australia,' *The August Magazines*, Milwaukee Sentinel, 03/08/1896.

⁸⁰⁸ K.J. Cable, 'Sladen, Douglas Brooke (1856-1947),' Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sladden-douglas-brooke-4590>, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 06/03/2018

⁸⁰⁹ 'A Socialistic Commonwealth,' *Evening Capital Journal*, 16/06/1891; 'A Socialistic Commonwealth,' *News and Citizen*, 18/06/1891; 'A Socialistic Commonwealth,' *United Opinion*, 19/06/1891; 'The Race Problem Even in Australia,' *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 02/07/1891; 'The Race Problem Even in Australia,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 03/07/1891. See also 'Lippincott's Magazine for August 1896,' *Columbian* (Bloomsburg, PA), 23/07/1896.

Review of Reviews feature 'Three Empire Builders', along with Sir John MacDonald, 'the great federator of the Dominion of Canada,' and Cecil Rhodes.⁸¹⁰ A detailed summary of a lecture he gave on federation in 1893 was printed in the Hawaiian *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, taken from the *Sydney Star*, and a feature written on him in celebration of his eightieth birthday by the Sydney correspondent to the *Westminster Gazette* was included in the *New York Times*.⁸¹¹ Parkes' death on 27 April, 1896 was also noted, including obituaries for him, and critiques and sketches of him taken from the London papers.⁸¹² It is not clear why there was an interest in Parkes specifically, but his association with federation was one of the notable features included about him.

A final prompt for discussions of federation in United States newspapers were consular reports from the consuls in Sydney and Melbourne. The reports noted in the beginning of the chapter that were included in the published monthly consular reports then prompted journalists to report on the changing trade conditions, and the manner in which federation tied into this.⁸¹³

EDITORIAL TECHNIQUES TO CONSIDER

The repetition of articles in different newspapers across the United States on the same or similar days is explicable both because of the practice of replicating articles from other newspapers, and because news articles on Australian federation were distributed through news agencies such as AP or Scripps-McRae Press Association. While there is no central archive of AP reports in this period, it is possible to estimate articles that would have come from the AP by searching across newspapers for duplicate reports.⁸¹⁴ Some articles

⁸¹⁰ 'Review of Reviews for May,' *St Paul Daily News*, 04/04/1891.

⁸¹¹ 'Australian Federation: Sir Henry Parkes' Lecture on the Issue,' *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), 10/11/1893; see also 'Australian Affairs,' *St Paul Daily News*, 17/08/1893; 'Parkes As A Grand Old Man: His Eventful Career As An Australian Statesman,' *New York Times*, 08/08/1894.

⁸¹² 'Sir Henry Parkes Dead: Half A Century Of His Life Spent In Upbuilding Australia,' *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), 27/04/1896; 'Sir Henry Parkes Dead: He Was Formerly The Prime Minister Of New South Wales,' *New York Times*, 27/04/1896; Untitled, *Windham County Reformer* (Brattleboro, VT), 01/05/1896; 'Harsh Judgment On Sir Henry Parkes,' *New York Times*, 11/05/1896; 'Parkes As A Grand Old Man,' *New York Times*, 24/05/1896.

⁸¹³ 'Federation in Australia: Possible Adoption of a Tariff That Will Hurt Our Trade,' *Evening Star* (Washington), 12/07/1899.

⁸¹⁴ There are limitations to this search method – for example, if the papers changed the wording slightly on the searched sentence; also issues with the database, so that articles taken from the *New York Times* are not

found indicate the AP or other services as the source of their article, or note the specific newspaper it has come from.⁸¹⁵ Many who note the specific newspaper that the article came from are citing newspapers that are not in any of the databases used for this research, supporting the speculation that there are more articles to be found. There are also others, however, that simply note they are from cablegrams, or give no indication of the articles source, but are identical to those found in other newspapers.

While the news agencies would provide the articles that could be reprinted, the editors of each newspaper would still then determine the appropriateness of the material for their newspaper, including positioning and framing and indeed whether it would be included at all. This is effectively demonstrated by an article which appeared on 16 May 1891, providing detail on the provisions of the proposed Australian constitution, as arrived by steamer in San Francisco. The article appears in its longest form in the *Chicago Tribune*, with details throughout the article such as the form of the Senate, role of the Governor-General, courts, and other such items omitted in the *New York Times*. It is shorter still in the *Atchison Champion*, one of the newspapers in the Kansas, on the Kansas-Missouri border. There details on the role of the Governor-General were included, but the form of both the Senate and the House of Representatives were omitted.⁸¹⁶ This omission was interesting, as the use of the United States model in the structure of the Senate could be seen as a reason for their interest.

Headline selection could also highlight elements seen as important. In the *Chicago Tribune*, the headline for this article, 'Australia's Proposed Constitution: It's Provisions Closely Resemble That of the United States', clearly emphasised the likeness to the United States. The article itself noted that 'the powers of Parliament as to the making of laws...are in general the same as those delegated to the Congress by the Constitution of the United States'. This line is included in all three versions of the article. However, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Atchison Champion*, with 'The Federation: Provisions of the

showing up. However, it appears to be consistent enough to still draw reasonable conclusions.

⁸¹⁵ 'Rejoicing in Australia,' *Los Angeles Times*, 01/01/1901; 'Her Son in Law,' *Guthrie Daily Leader* (Oklahoma), 15/05/1900; 'Federation of Australia,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 26/06/1899.

⁸¹⁶ 'Australia's Proposed Constitution,' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16/05/1891; 'The Australian Constitution,' *New York Times*, 16/05/1891; 'The Federation,' *Atchison Champion*, 16/05/1891.

Condition of the Australian Commonwealth: The Powers Vested in Parliament Correspond to those of the United States Congress', being the only ones to highlight it in the headline, the *New York Times* headline stating only 'The Australian Constitution: Some of the Provisions Marking the New Nation'.⁸¹⁷ Thus it is not just that editors chose to use the AP articles that need to be considered, but also how they did.

A third way editors shaped articles, and through this gave a suggestion as to their interest, was the inclusion of editorial comment at the beginning, such as the article in the Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on the federation convention, and an account of the coverage (or lack thereof) in different London newspapers.⁸¹⁸ In all iterations of this article, it notes the observations in the *London Star* that Australia is 'ripe for independence' and in the *St James Gazette* that it is 'more a republic than a colony'. However, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* adds an editorial to the beginning commenting on the likelihood of republicanism within the next decade.

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States with the highest amount of coverage of Australian federation do coincide with places where it might reasonably be expected that there would be greater interest. New York City was a financial centre for the United States, and newspapers based there dominate. This confirms the observations in the previous section regarding the importance of trade as a factor for interest in Australian federation. Likewise, the states and territories closest to the Australian colonies, and connected to them via steamer - Hawaii and California - also have a higher level of coverage of events than other states. And yet, as noted above, coverage of Australian federation was much wider than that.

My intention is not to suggest that federation was a major news item throughout the United States. It was not. However, I do believe that these numbers can be argued to

⁸¹⁷ 'Australia's Proposed Constitution,' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16/05/1891; 'The Federation,' *Atchison Champion*, 16/05/1891; 'The Australian Constitution: Some of the Provisions Marking the New Nation,' *New York Times*, 16/05/1891.

⁸¹⁸ Untitled, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 17/04/1891; 'Our New Sister: The Commonwealth of Australia Conceded to Mean Another Republic,' *Telegram-Herald*, 04/04/1891; 'The New Republic: Australia Will Now Be Virtually Independent,' *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, 04/04/1891; 'A Democratic Federation,' *Phillipsburg Herald*, 09/04/1891; and 'The Australian Commonwealth,' *Western Kansas World*, 11/04/1891.

indicate a popular interest in the development of federation in the Australian colonies in the United States. Beyond this, however, the types of coverage and editorial comment can provide some indication as to what aspects of federation were engaging the newspaper editors, and by extension, the American people. There was no one over-riding aspect of federation that was being discussed, and naturally each of the papers approached the topic from their individual positions. The key topics that stand out are ideas regarding trade, Australian independence and republicanism, imperial federation, the similarities with the United States, and hopes for Australia's future. These will all be considered here.

TRADE

Questions of trade were of particular interest to the Californian newspapers. California was one of the states connected to Australia via mail steamer and was similar in terms of geography (and therefore potential crop production). The position of New Zealand was discussed by the *Daily Evening Bulletin* in San Francisco, as it was noted from the beginning that New Zealand was unlikely to join the federation. The paper noted that Australia, being closer to New Zealand than California, had a geographical advantage when it came to New Zealand mail services and related commercial intercourse. However, it believed that New Zealand was 'likely to become a better customer' for Californian produce than Australia, as there was a similarity in soil and climate in Australia that does not exist in New Zealand.⁸¹⁹ The similarity was also noted by the *Los Angeles Times*: 'many of the products of that country, such as fruits and wine, will come into competition with those of Southern California', but that Australia would be 'handicapped by its great distance from the markets of the world'.⁸²⁰ In the article mentioned above, the *Daily Evening Bulletin* speculated that 'perhaps with an independent New Zealand customs policy we might make better terms for ourselves'.⁸²¹

This idea of favourable trade policies is likely the reason that the disagreements over a tariff as hindrance to federation were mentioned a number of times, and why the New

⁸¹⁹ 'New Zealand and Australian Federation,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 25/11/1889.

⁸²⁰ 'Multiple News Items,' *Los Angeles Times*, 15/09/1890.

⁸²¹ 'New Zealand and Australian Federation,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 25/11/1889.

South Wales election results in 1891 were commented upon, given that the change of government indicated that the colony would be moving from protectionist to free trade.⁸²² Indeed, there was a sense of frustration expressed by the editor of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* in response to an assertion by Dilke that federation was unlikely as the colonies could not agree on a fiscal policy. The newspaper stated, 'the Dominion of Canada was obliged to resort to a system of protection, in which all the colonies thus confederated were required to acquiesce. Is it more difficult for the Australian Colonies to come to the same agreement?'⁸²³

The issue of tariffs was also noted by the *New York Times* and the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, however, it is clear that trade was predominantly a West Coast issue, despite the position of New York as the financial centre.⁸²⁴ This coverage continued into 1901, with reports on the development of a federal Australian protective tariff, and the negative impact that this would have on the United States.⁸²⁵

INDEPENDENCE AND REPUBLICANISM

It is clear that in the Australian colonies, with the exception of a small number of nationalists, there was not a strong sentiment to move to a republican form of government. Those advocating federation were clear in their intentions that this would occur within the British empire and with loyalty to the Queen. In contrast, running through the coverage of federation in the United States was a persistent suggestion that this was a step towards an Australian republic.

In some instances, it was simply noting that federation would be providing Australia with

⁸²² 'Editorial Brevities,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 26/11/1889; 'Confederation and Empire,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 26/12/1889; 'We and Our Neighbours,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 12/02/1890; 'Australian Federation,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 02/03/1891; 'Editorial Brevities,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 09/04/1891; 'Editorial Brevities,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 29/05/1891; 'Editorial Brevities,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 19/06/1891; 'The New South Wales Elections,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 01/07/1891.

⁸²³ 'An Authority on Australian Federation,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 15/04/1890.

⁸²⁴ 'Sir Henry Parkes pushing his plan for an Australian Federation,' *New York Times*, 11/11/1889; 'The Federation of the Australian Colonies,' *Daily Picayune*, 10/02/1899.

⁸²⁵ 'Australian Tariff Will Hurt America,' *New York Times*, 10/11/1901; 'Australian Tariff: Californians Interested,' *Los Angeles Times*, 15/11/1901. Note - these articles are not included in the tallies of articles on the development of federation in Australia.

a greater degree of independence. The *Anaconda Standard* from Anaconda, Montana, noted the areas in which they would have greater independence, with connection to Britain limited to imperial matters.⁸²⁶ Others, such as the *Chicago Tribune*, presented the idea of Australian independence more broadly. As early as 1889 it stated that ‘the time is right for such a scheme of federation, for Australia has grown to be as independent of the mother country as Canada’.⁸²⁷ By 1897, the *Tribune* was saying that ‘the time is ripe for union of interests and concentration of government, and when this is accomplished Australia will start on its new career towards independent greatness’.⁸²⁸ Stronger still was the sentiment from the *Daily Picayune* that Australia would be ‘a part of the British Empire only in name and practically independent and sovereign’.⁸²⁹

However, it was also suggested that this move could easily slip to complete independence, particularly if the British government did not support the move for federation or if there was disagreement between Australia and Britain after the federation was established. The *Omaha Daily Bee* noted that, while the Australians were loyal to Britain, they could easily leave.⁸³⁰ The *Daily Evening Bulletin* declared that ‘talk is cheap. Should the Imperial Government attempt to put much pressure on the federated Australians, they would be likely to follow our example in other respects than in the wording of their constitution’.⁸³¹ In a particularly popular article, reprinted in at least ten different papers, it was noted that this might even occur if the wrong person was chosen to be Governor General.⁸³²

⁸²⁶ Untitled, *Anaconda Standard*, 20/05/1899.

⁸²⁷ ‘Australian Federation,’ *Chicago Tribune*, 01/04/1889.

⁸²⁸ ‘Plans for Australian Federation,’ *Chicago Tribune*, 06/07/1897. See also ‘We and Our Neighbours,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 12/02/1890.

⁸²⁹ ‘An Australian Federation,’ *Daily Picayune*, 19/09/1890; ‘The Australian Federation,’ *Daily Picayune*, 07/04/1891.

⁸³⁰ ‘Union For Australia: Premier Parkes On The Future Of The Country,’ *New York Times*, 02/02/1890; Untitled, *Omaha Daily Bee*, 18/04/1891; *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 02/03/1891; ‘Australian Federation,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco).

⁸³¹ ‘Editorial Brevities,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 30/01/1891. See also ‘The Australian Constitution,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 15/05/1891.

⁸³² ‘Commonwealth of Australia: The Power of the British Crown is Now Merely Nominal,’ *New York Evening World*, 04/04/1891; ‘Our New Sister: The Commonwealth of Australia Conceded to Mean Another Republic,’ *Telegram-Herald*, 04/04/1891; ‘The New Republic: Australia Will Now Be Virtually Independent: The Significance of the Title, the Commonwealth of Australia, Adopted by the Federation Convention—What the London Press Says of the Action,’ *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, 04/04/1891; ‘Australian Federation,’ *Wichita Daily Eagle*, 04/04/1891; ‘Australian Independence: How the New Federation is Looked Upon by the London Press,’ *San Francisco Morning Call*, 04/04/1891; untitled, *San Francisco Morning Call*, 05/04/1891; ‘A Democratic Federation,’ *Phillipsburg Herald*, 09/04/1891; untitled, *Helena*

This article, noted above for the inclusion by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of additional editorial comment, was a response to the ongoing 1891 Sydney Convention. The article appears to have originated in the *New York Post* from its correspondent in London. It noted that the lack of attention being paid to the convention in London, and that while the *Chronicle* had stated that it would not lead to federation, the *London Star*, *St James Gazette*, and *Pall Mall Gazette* all – more accurately this correspondent felt – claimed that it was a step towards republicanism; indeed that federation would result in ‘practically a republic with a monarchical veneer’. This article was reprinted in at least ten different United States newspapers, in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Kansas, Montana, California, and Hawaii, taking eight different forms.

That the appeal of this article was its suggestion of imminent Australian republicanism is suggested in the inclusion of an editorial comment at the beginning of the article in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *Hawaiian Gazette* stating an expectation that Australia would soon be a republic. In other instances, this was highlighted in headlines such as ‘Our New Sister: The Commonwealth of Australia Conceded to Mean Another Republic’ and ‘The New Republic: Australia Will Now Be Virtually Independent’. This article was also not the only one arguing the likelihood of an Australian republic emerging in the twentieth century.⁸³³

Independent, 10/04/1891; ‘The Australian Commonwealth,’ *Western Kansas World*, 11/04/1891; untitled, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 17/04/1891; Untitled, *Hawaiian Gazette*, 21/04/1891. I believe it may also be in the Australian Federation,’ *Chicago Tribune*, 01/04/1889; ‘Plans for Australian Federation,’ *Chicago Tribune*, 06/07/1897.

⁸³³ ‘Australia's Independence: The Birth of a New Nation in the Southern Pacific is Very Probable,’ *Bottineau Courant* (North Dakota), 25/11/1899 ; ‘An Authority on Australian Federation,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 15/04/1890; ‘Editorial Brevities,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 13/02/1890; ‘Australian Federation,’ ‘If the Australian confederation is completed and works successfully, the time will probably come when it will desire to cut loose entirely from its British connection and become a sovereign power... and Australian federation with a population larger than that of the parent country, would hardly like to be held in leading strings,’ from *Daily Picayune*, 20/04/1897 ; ‘it is true that the Australian nation would still be nominally under British control; but its powers of self-government would be so great that in point of fact the nation would be self-governing in almost all essential things,’ ‘Australian Federation,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 15/09/1898; The colonies ‘are even discussing with faint disapproval the question of complete independence of the mother county’ ‘Imperial Federation,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 08/06/1892; Responding to a comment in a London journal regarding the importance of the Australians choosing an appointed governor-general, arguing that it was inherently important, as if they hadn’t, ‘it would have amounted practically to a declaration of independence’ Topics of the Times,’ *New York Times*, 23/04/1897; ‘Australian Federation,’ *Chicago Tribune*, 01/04/1889; ‘Plans for Australian Federation,’ *Chicago Tribune*, 06/07/1897.

The appeal of the idea of an Australian republic may have been due to a desire to see the United States constitutional model emulated even further, or because of the appeal of Britain being reduced with the loss of several wealthy and sizeable colonies. For some, however, it appears to have been connected to the idea of the natural inevitability of republicanism and independence. This was articulated in the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, which argued on a number of occasions that both Australia and Canada were likely to become republics.⁸³⁴ In an article on the question of imperial federation, it argued that:

The time will come when English-speaking colonies will strike out for independence and a clear-cut national existence, not because the relations to the mother country are intolerable, but because independence, or national existence, is in the line of progress ... it is national and not colonial existence that is the ultimate aim ... if federation in Australia is accomplished, that country will have taken the first step towards an independent existence. It will be a shorter step to Republicanism than to an Imperial form of government ... confederation and independence are now counted as the certain result of this later colonial development.⁸³⁵

Such a sentiment is in keeping with the idea of an Anglo-Saxon propensity for self-government, as discussed by Marilyn Lake and Vanessa Pratt - the idea that it was the Anglo-Saxon or the English-speaking peoples who had the power and the skills for self-government.⁸³⁶

AUSTRALIA AND UNITED STATES - SAME PATH

These suggestions of Australian independence were thus based on existing ideas about the nature of national advancement, of the size and development of the colonies and the existing relationship that the Australian colonies had with Britain. Clearly some, such as the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, were coming from a set political idea, arguing that Australia would definitely become a republic. They also expressed this idea in the context of the similarity between the Australian colonies and the United States, and the way in which the colonies had followed the Americans in the process of federation.

The extent to which the Australians were modelling their federation on that of the

⁸³⁴ 'We and Our Neighbours,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 12/2/1890; 'Australian Federation,' *Hawaiian Gazette*, 22/09/1898.

⁸³⁵ 'Confederation and Empire,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 26/12/1889.

⁸³⁶ Lake and Pratt, 'Blood Brothers'.

United States was noted, including editorial comments from the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, *Daily Picayune*, *New York Times*, and *Boston Daily Advertiser*.⁸³⁷ The Australian blending of the United States and British constitutions was highlighted by the *Progressive Farmer* of Winston, North Carolina. Reporting on the celebration of federation in January 1901, the paper described the flag ‘most likely to be adopted’ in a public competition for a national flag. On it, ‘the five stars of the Southern Cross appear in relief on a red background, and the design seems to combine the Union Jack and the stars and stripes in a way which appropriately symbolizes the blending of British and American ideas in the Constitution’.⁸³⁸ When this article was reprinted, a drawing of the proposed flag was included.⁸³⁹

In addition, reflecting the use of history by the Australians at the federation convention debates, there were a number of articles commenting on the similarity between the Australian federation development and that of the United States. This similarity was not limited to questions of process, but included similarity of origin, development, and even racial issues between the Australian colonies and the United States.⁸⁴⁰ This similarity is another reason I suggest for United States interest in Australian federation, this being the idea of a familial connection between the United States and Australia, most explicitly stated in the headline ‘Our New Sister’.⁸⁴¹

This suggestion of family was predicated on their shared history of British colonialism and Anglo-Saxonism. It was stated in newspapers such as the *Daily Picayune* and the *New York Times* that the British had learned from their experience dealing with colonial

⁸³⁷ ‘Editorial Brevities,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 03/04/1891; ‘The Australian Federation,’ quoting from a London journal, *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 07/04/1891; ‘The Australian Constitution,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 15/05/1891; Untitled, *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 20/04/1897; ‘Federation of Australia – From the Philadelphia Record,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23/06/1897; ‘To Govern Australia,’ *New York Times*, 03/02/1899; ‘For Federation,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23/06/1899.

⁸³⁸ ‘The Commonwealth of Australia,’ *Progressive Farmer* (Winston, NC), 29/01/1901.

⁸³⁹ ‘States of Australia,’ *Chickasha Daily Express* (Oklahoma), 23/02/1901; ‘States of Australia,’ *Blackfoot News* (Oklahoma), 16/03/1901

⁸⁴⁰ ‘An Authority on Australian Federation,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 15/04/1890; ‘Editorial Brevities,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 07/04/1891; ‘Confederation and Empire,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 26/12/1889; ‘Australian Federation,’ *Los Angeles Times*, 29/05/1898; ‘Federation of Australia,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23/06/1898; ‘Editorial Brevities’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 20/04/1891; ‘For Federation,’ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23/06/1899

⁸⁴¹ ‘Our New Sister: The Commonwealth of Australia Conceded to Mean Another Republic,’ *Telegram-Herald* (Grand Rapids, MI), 04/04/1891.

America and were applying these lessons to the Australian colonies.⁸⁴² The *New York Times* remarked that

meanwhile England keeps wisely in the background, attempting neither to hasten nor to retard the inevitable action, content, and probably more than a little relieved, to see that, though one of her big children could not be kept in order by the use of iron chains, silken leading strings cause no restiveness on the part of other members of the family.⁸⁴³

Suggestions of kinship such as this were also made by the *Chicago Tribune*, which stated of federation that 'a great Anglo-American nation of about four million is forming'.⁸⁴⁴ Certainly this would have also tied into the popular idea of Anglo-Saxonism, referencing the English-speaking people, and Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. This in turn was connected to United States imperialism, which was receiving popular support (as well as opposition) in the United States in this period. The Australian colonies were then a fellow English-speaking people located in a region of American interest and expansion, developing in the same manner as the United States had.

I contend that both the comparisons drawn between Australian and United States development, and the common idea of empire as based on a shared heritage and racial identity, provided at least part of the basis for the belief in Australia's potential development and position in the world. The American newspapers expressed a belief that Australia had the potential to become a great power, which would in turn have an impact on global power relationships and the American role within them. The *Daily Picayune* argued directly that Australia was potentially great, because it had the possibility to be an image of the United States. In one editorial it first stated that federation 'would be beneficial to the interests of all and result in the creation of a powerful empire in that portion of the world', then went on to say that it would create 'a powerful government ... which will in time be to that part of the world what the United States has been and is to the American continent'. The editorial concluded that 'the development of Australia of late years has been rapid, and as the area of that country is about as great as that of the

⁸⁴² Untitled, *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 26/12/1889; 'An Australian Federation,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 19/09/1890.

⁸⁴³ 'Topic of the Times,' *New York Times*, 23/04/1897.

⁸⁴⁴ 'Plans for an Australian Federation,' *Chicago Tribune*, 06/07/1897; 'Australian Federation,' *Los Angeles Times*, 29/05/1898.

United States, it can be readily imagined that the possibilities for the building up of a great nation in that distant clime are promising'.⁸⁴⁵

This sentiment was repeated by this paper on a number of occasions, arguing that an aim of federation was 'to enable the importance of Australia in its dealings with foreign countries', that while individually the colonies had little power, federated they would equal Canada within the British Empire and 'with a population of close on 5,000,000 souls, would be a political factor which the world at large would have to reckon with'. After discussing the likelihood of independence, the paper predicted that 'the new republic under the southern cross will be welcome to the family of nations', and finally that 'the political union of Australia is expected to greatly increase the importance, commercially and otherwise, of Australia'.⁸⁴⁶ While the *Boston Daily Advertiser* noted Australian aspirations, saying that they 'are beginning to feel their importance and to dream of a Southern Pacific United States', the *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Boston Daily Advertiser* all shared the view that 'this new nation will probably have an important influence upon the history of the next century'.⁸⁴⁷

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

Another reason for coverage of Australian federation to appear in United States newspapers was in the context of imperial federation. As noted in Chapter One, imperial federation was the name given to the idea of a federation between Britain and all her colonial possessions. The impact that such a proposal would have on world relations, and the United States relations with its neighbour Canada, meant that it was a point of interest in United States foreign affairs and consequently received both news and editorial coverage in United States newspapers.

⁸⁴⁵ 'An Australian Federation,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 19/09/1890.

⁸⁴⁶ 'The Australian Federation,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 07/04/1891; 'Australian Federation,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 20/09/1891; *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 20/04/1897; 'The Federation of the Australian Colonies,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 10/02/1899.

⁸⁴⁷ 'Editorial Brevities,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 13/02/1890; 'For Federation,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23/06/1899. See also 'Australian Federation,' *Chicago Tribune*, 01/11/1889; Untitled, *Los Angeles Times*, 05/01/1890; 'American Journalism in London,' *Los Angeles Times*, 15/09/1890; 'Australian Federation,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 15/09/1898; 'Australian Federation,' *Los Angeles Times*, 29/05/1898.

It is difficult to find academic sources discussing the United States response to imperial federation. But looking at these newspaper records, it is possible to discern how the idea was being framed in the United States. In reading these articles, it is clear that the sense of Anglo-Saxon unity was present in the United States, as it was in the Australian colonies.

Imperial federation intersected with Australian federation in that Australian federation could be seen as either a stepping stone or a hindrance to imperial federation. As such, news articles, particularly those including editorial opinion, would reference one in the discussion of the other. In articles that were discussing Australian federation, this would be a mention of the impact (positive or negative, depending on the author's point of view) would have on imperial federation. This intersection also accounts for some of the articles that were published in periods when the question of federation was fallow in the Australian colonies, notably 1892 to 1896.

In the *Morning Oregonian*, it was remarked that the topic of imperial federation was revived every few years - in this particular instance, it was noted, the success of the 1891 Convention in Australia prompted calls for the British Prime Minister Salisbury to hold a colonial conference to discuss the idea of imperial federation.⁸⁴⁸ Similarly, as the idea of imperial federation was supported by leading figures in Britain, most notably Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, speeches on the topic could also renew interest in the question and prompt discussion, as could action from the Imperial Federation League. This included Chamberlain speaking at a banquet given in 1895 for Colonel Gerald Smith, the Governor Designate of Western Australia, and the publication of the book *Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity* by Canadian George Robert Parkin in 1892.⁸⁴⁹ Imperial federation was also reported to have featured in an address given by United States Consul to Auckland, JD Connolly, prior to his return to the United States. The report noted that Connolly was 'a firm believer in the ultimate union of the Anglo-Saxon race. But the kernel of that union lay in Australasia,' with Australian federation

⁸⁴⁸ 'An Impractical Dream,' *Morning Oregonian*, 29/06/1891. See also 'Imperial Federation: Demand on Salisbury for a Definite Statement,' *Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven, CT), 19/06/1891.

⁸⁴⁹ 'For Federation in Australia,' *New York Times*, 12/11/1895; 'Federation for England,' *New York Times*, 28/08/1892.

leading to imperial federation, which would then enable 'the federation of the English-speaking race'.⁸⁵⁰ Discussion of this peaked during the Queen's Jubilee in 1897, with colonial leaders from across the empire meeting in London. However, at this time it was also reported that the Australian Premiers had revealed both that Chamberlain was aiming for imperial federation, and that they were not interested.⁸⁵¹

American coverage of imperial federation also included consideration of the Australian popular position on the topic. The above 1889 *Daily Evening Bulletin* editorial discussing the possibility of Canada joining an imperial federation began by discussing the movement towards confederation in Australia. It went on to note that large meetings were being held in England promoting imperial federation and argued that it 'is inevitable that the principles of an imperial federation are finding much favor both in Australia and in the mother country'. The editorial also noted plans for a meeting in Melbourne to discuss federation, arguing that Australian federation was the first step needed towards imperial federation.⁸⁵² The second editorial, discussing annexation of Canada into the United States, was written at the time of the Melbourne conference. It argued that, while Australia, New Zealand, India and the other colonies would oppose a partial imperial federation as proposed, as it would mean that Canada would have an unfairly close relationship with Britain, they opposed full imperial federation as well, working at the moment on a union 'but without any reference to imperial federation'.⁸⁵³ The difference in attitude regarding the Melbourne conference can be explained by the timing of the comments, the first occurring prior to the meeting, the second during it, and thus able to react to what happened there.

⁸⁵⁰ 'From the South: Items from Colonial Papers by the S.S. Mariposa,' *Daily Bulletin* (Honolulu), 07/04/1893.

⁸⁵¹ 'Chamberlain's Pet Scheme: For Colonial Representation Made Plain,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 11/07/1897; 'Chamberlain's Pet Scheme: Not So Attractive to the Colonial Premiers,' *Morning Oregonian*, 11/07/1897; 'Not for Federation: Colonial Plan of Chamberlain not in Favor,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 11/07/1897; 'Chamberlain's Failure.: Plain Facts Said to Show Why the Imperial Federation Scheme Did Not Succeed,' *New York Times*, 11/07/1897; 'Disclose the conference secrets: Australian Premiers talk of Chamberlain's plan for Colonial Representation at Westminster,' *Chicago Tribune*, 11/07/1897; 'Federation Not Near: Chamberlain's Pet Project for Colonies a Failure,' *Washington Post*, 11/07/1897; 'Releasing The Cat: Australian Premiers Giving Away Secrets,' *Los Angeles Times*, 11/07/1897; 'Imperial Federation,' *New York Times*, 12/07/1897; 'Imperial Federation: Conference With Mr. Chamberlain At Present a Failure,' *Hawaiian Gazette*, 23/07/1897.

⁸⁵² 'Confederation and Empire,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 26/12/1889.

⁸⁵³ 'We and Our Neighbors,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 12/2/1890.

Over two years later the *Boston Daily Advertiser* discussed an Australian push for Imperial Federation. The newspaper argued that the chief purpose of New South Wales' Premier Dibbs' visit to London was to promote the idea of imperial federation, suggesting closer commercial relations as a precursor to this, in the same way that Canada had suggested.⁸⁵⁴ Again, the change in the Australian position on federation, from not wanting it to seeking it out, tied into the timing of the editorial, as it occurred at a time when the Australian federation movement had been declared 'dead'.⁸⁵⁵

The same also applied when the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* argued the importance of the Australian federation to the imperial federation movement at the end of the decade, when the Australian federation movement was revived. Its observation was that Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897 had given the imperial federation movement a 'great impetus', and supporters in all British colonies were working to utilise this feeling of closeness. 'Of the greatest importance to this general movement is the agitation in favor of Australian federation'. After discussing Australian federation, the newspaper clarified that this importance was due to the belief that Australian federation would prompt union in South Africa, and from there the overall achievement of imperial federation would be easier.⁸⁵⁶ This idea was repeated in 1899 as being the basis of British support for federation, and again as the newspaper's own position later that year.⁸⁵⁷ Thus it can be seen that the position and attitudes of the Australian colonies and their progress as a federation were seen as a key indicators in the context of imperial federation.

Imperial federation was an instance where mentions of Australian federation would be part of a broader topic. However, there was also coverage of imperial federation that did not include reference to the Australian colonies. For example, there was speculation that imperial federation without Canada would mean Canada trying for closer relations with, if not inclusion within, the United States. This was the position of the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, arguing in 1889 that Canada was not happy with being a

⁸⁵⁴ 'Imperial Federation,' *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 8/6/1892.

⁸⁵⁵ 'Australian Federation Movement Dead,' Special Cable, *Chicago Tribune*, 27/3/1892.

⁸⁵⁶ 'Australian Federation,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 20/9/1897.

⁸⁵⁷ 'The Federation of the Australian Colonies,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 10/2/1899; 'Australian Federation,' *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 22/6/1899.

dependent colony, and was wanting 'to become an integral part of Great Britain, in the sense in which Scotland is a part of it, or an integral part of the United States'.⁸⁵⁸ The newspaper went on to editorialise two months later about the strength of the movement in Canada for annexation by the United States, and a proposal in opposition for Canadian representation in the imperial parliament, arguing against both ideas.⁸⁵⁹ This may have been an optimistic position on behalf of the editor, as there had been in the United States a long held goal to incorporate Canada into the United States. Given the scope of this topic, it is unsurprising that there were a number of articles on it that did not reference Australian federation, but also a number that did. Similarly, articles about Anglo-Saxon unity between Britain and the United States, while making mention of Australia, did not always include a reference to Australian federation.

JAPAN AS A COMPARISON POINT

It is important to try to place the coverage of Australian federation into context. To do this, there needs to be consideration of if this was an isolated case, or did the Americans show the same level of interest in constitutional reform elsewhere in the world? The best point of comparison that was occurring at the same time was the creation and establishment of the Japanese constitution, although this occurred very early in the development of the Australian, being enacted in 1889. A brief assessment of coverage of the Japanese developments in the same papers being examined here shows that, to a large degree, there was similar coverage between the two. Coverage of the Japanese constitution centred on news reports noting the content and form of the constitution, as well as longer articles on the political developments that led to this and brief accounts of the celebrations that were occurring – all of which is similar to the news coverage of the Australian constitutional development. A comparison of numbers is difficult to provide, given that it is only the end development that has overlapped with the time period under consideration, and also because the Japanese constitution, quite simply, did not take as long as the Australian to develop. However, I believe it is fair to say that there was less editorial coverage of the Japanese constitution than that of the Australian federation.

⁸⁵⁸ 'Confederation and Empire,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 26/12/1889.

⁸⁵⁹ 'We and Our Neighbors,' *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 12/2/1890.

Perhaps the American people simply had an interest in constitutional development, no matter where it is occurring? While this is possibly true, there are also other factors that need to be considered. It would potentially seem to detract from any attention being paid to Australian development when similar attention is being paid to another country. However, it is important to consider that while the Americans were developing a trading partnership with Australia that was strengthening in recent times, Japan was strategically and economically important to the United States, as they had an existing strong trading relationship with the Japanese, and indeed were key players in the opening of the Japanese market. Further, the development of this constitution in Japan would have an impact on this relationship, to the benefit of the Americans, as it developed the nation from a feudal society to a constitutional monarchy, and was a demonstration of the Japanese adopting western ideas. Japan was also a much larger market, having ten times the population of the Australian colonies at this time.

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I am not arguing that coverage of the federation of the Australia colonies was a major news item in the United States across the whole time period, or even during key points in the federal development. However, there was more coverage of Australian federation in United States newspapers than might be expected. Across the nation, the average American newspaper reader could have some awareness of Australia, distinct from the British Empire as a whole, and what was happening there, including with regard to federation. There is evidence that there was some popular interest in the United States in the Australian colonies and Australian federation. Aspects such as trade, the idea of imperial federation and the belief in the development of Australia as a regional or a global power, stand out as being of particular interest, all of which would potentially impact the political or commercial balance of power that the United States was a part of. Likewise, the idea of Australia as part of the Anglo-Saxon family would have spurred interest, particularly given that it was following the federal pattern of the United States. In many ways, the topics highlighted reflect the case studies and issues noted regarding the Australian use of the United States, seen in previous chapters.

With this chapter, I have been able to take advantage of previously inaccessible material, in order to look for evidence of interest in the United States about the Australian colonies, and specifically in the federation that was being developed. While the material itself has long been publicly available, it was inaccessible in terms of forming a single archive - both geographically and practically. Having the newspaper pages digitised and keyword searchable has meant that I was able to search hundreds of newspapers that were previously only available on microfilm in specific libraries spread across the United States. Manually searching microfilm is a time-consuming task; to search even one newspaper over an eleven-year period would previously have been a mammoth task, for which the results would not have justified the time spent, particularly for the smaller newspapers where there were only one or two results, or for the newspapers located in regions of the country that you would not have thought to look.

Yet combined and searchable, I have been able to demonstrate that news of the distant colonies did permeate the United States. For the most part, it was just one or two articles here and there. Nine hundred articles spreads thinly when taking in both the time and distance being covered. However, I argue that it is enough to challenge the idea that the people of the United States were uninterested in Australia in this period. The official government response may have been perfunctory, but there were many in the United States who knew what was happening with their fellow Anglo-Saxons, New World cousins who were following the American path, to take what was seen by some as an important place within the British Empire and within the world.

This is important not only because it highlights sources that would not previously been utilised when looking at Australian federation, but because it demonstrates the benefit of looking at Australian history in a global context. If the American interest was related to trade, and the implications that federation would have on that; if it was related to their interest in the British empire as a whole and the impact that the proposed idea of imperial federation would have, whether or not they were included, and so seeing the Australians in an imperial context; or if it was to do with an interest in the Australian colonies alone, and another developing federation that was at least in part being constructed in their image, these newspapers demonstrate an interest and awareness in

what was happening, and that the Americans were looking at Australia in its own right, rather than simply being a British outpost.

CONCLUSION

What I have demonstrated with this thesis is that during the 1890s there was a notable, if often overlooked connection between the Australian colonies and the United States. This connection existed in a triangular relationship with Britain, and for both of them the connection with Britain was larger and more overwhelming. However, this was an enclosed triangle, with a range of different threads tying the United States and the Australian colonies together, not least of which was the idea of the United States as a reference point for the Australian future. This sense of Anglo-Saxon connection underlined this interest and connection and was remarkably demonstrated in the response to the American involvement in the Spanish-American War.

This broader connection helps to frame the interest in the United States that was demonstrated at the Australian Constitutional conventions when developing a federal Australia. This is an interest that has not received sufficient attention, instead existing in both federation historiography and Australian-American studies literature as a side note observation, frequently just a passing reference that the United States served as the primary model for the Australian constitution, blended with the British. Yet in focusing on this use of the United States, it can be seen that ideas about that nation were a near constant presence during the federation convention debates. The delegates chose to follow the United States model, with other options available to them.

However, as demonstrated, they did not follow this model unthinkingly. The experience of the United States was weighed and considered, both the positives that they could emulate, and the negatives that they sought to avoid. The examples provided here are not all of the instances in which the Australians referenced the United States in the federation debates, but rather just some demonstrations of the colonial Australians looking beyond the American constitution itself, to their opinion on how the government had practically developed, and what they could learn from this, what they could gain from the American experience. Not all the delegates contributed to these examples – some were quiet on the matter, and others rejected the idea that the circumstances in Australia would be in any way analogous to those of the United States,

believing instead that they could only learn from the theory, if at all. Yet even these delegates were providing a reading of the United States, expressing their individual understanding of that nation, and how it fitted with the nation they were trying to develop.

It has been my intention to demonstrate the need, and hopefully the value, of looking beyond the nationalistic and imperialistic ideas regarding federation. In taking a transnational approach outside of empire, I have demonstrated that the Australian Federation convention delegates were using a range of American examples on a range of issues, and thus demonstrated the need to consider this further - that the colonial Australians were reading the United States, exploring the American model beyond the text of the Constitution, to the political structures and American history, in order to learn from the American experience. The delegates have each interpreted this American experience differently, depending on their own aims and viewpoints, leading to debate upon various aspects of this experience.

Looking at the manner in which the Australian convention delegates viewed themselves in relation to the empire, and to the wider world as indicated by the convention debates, it can be seen that they looked to Britain as the natural model. However, they also looked to the United States, and other nations aside from Britain, not simply using the constitutional text, but also the context in which it sat - American society, history and culture. This enabled them to assess the effectiveness and relevance of aspects of the constitution to the Australian environment. They also needed to balance the American model with the British model, using the American model to challenge aspects of the British model, including the fundamental principle of responsible government. Looking at these uses of the American constitution by the Australians, and their trans-national approach to constitution-making, challenges the standard image of the Australian as either an inward looking fierce nationalist, or a British loyalist who saw England as home and the sole source of guidance.

The delegates to the Australian federation conventions were presented with two great, esteemed models they could follow. I believe there being these two key models created a

tension between them, especially given that on some points favouring the American model could be, and was, interpreted as disloyalty to Britain. In each aspect of the proposed constitution where they came into conflict, the two models forced the delegates to consider to a greater extent, and to articulate why one was more appropriate to the Australian situation than the other. This then forced the delegates to more fully imagine what the Australian situation would be.

Taking a transnational approach when reading these convention debates, and when looking at federation generally, gives a wider perspective on these federalists, and gives a fresh perspective on the way that the colonial Australians viewed their position in the world. These federalists were proudly nationalistic, and proudly British, but rather than only seeing themselves as part of the empire, they saw themselves as part of the global community. They imagined a new nation where they could apply their British heritage to the region to become leaders, while also following the American path to achieve national greatness and international importance. Finally, this transnational approach demonstrates the manner in which the Australians were able to have multiple perspectives on the world and extends our understanding of this world view beyond the British Empire.

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APPENDIX ONE

CITATIONS OF AMERICAN WORKS

The following is a listing of the American works I have found mentioned in the debates at the 1890 Conference, 1891 Convention, and 1897/98 Conventions. In some instances, the name of the work is given by the speaker; in others the text has been found from the quote provided. The 'Bibliography of Citations' provided in Gregory Craven, ed., *The Convention Debates 1891-1898: Commentaries, Indices and Guide*, volume 6 of the *Official Record of the Debates of the Australasian Federal Convention* (Sydney: Legal Books, 1986) was used in identifying some of these works.

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~ Estimate that this is the work being referred to, not confirmed.

APPENDIX TWO

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS: SEARCH RESULTS

The following is a listing of newspaper articles found that mention Australian federation during the period 1890-1901. The results found have been filtered to remove irrelevant articles (e.g. that are referring to the 'Australian Federation' after it has been established, or that mention Australia in an article discussing workers federations).

Articles that were published during the Australasian Federation Conference, 1890, National Australasian Convention, 1891, and each of the three sessions of the Australasian Federation Convention in 1897 and 1898 have been highlighted purple.

Articles that were published while the Constitution Bill was being debated in the British parliament have been highlighted green.

Date	Headline	Newspaper Title	City	State/Territory	Database
1 Nov, 1889	Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
5 Nov, 1889	May Desert Great Britain	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
11 Nov, 1889	Sir Henry Parkes Pushing His Plan For An Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
25 Nov, 1889	New Zealand And Australian Federation	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
26 Nov, 1889	Untitled	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
26 Dec, 1889	Confederation And Empire	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
4 Jan, 1890	Multiple News Items.	Milwaukee Daily Journal	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
5 Jan, 1890	Condensed Dispatches.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
5 Jan, 1890	The Federation Conference	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
5 Jan, 1890	Untitled	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
5 Jan, 1890	Untitled	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
19 Jan, 1890	From Oceania: Federation Movement In Australia: The New Zealand Exhibit	Sacramento Daily Record-Union	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
2 Feb, 1890	Union for Australia: Premier Parkes On The Future Of The Country	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Feb, 1890	Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
7 Feb, 1890	Scores Of Victims:....Australians Enthusiastic For Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
11 Feb, 1890	Queen Victoria's Plans.	Milwaukee Daily Journal	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
11 Feb, 1890	Deaf to Ireland: Queen Victoria's Speech Does Not Indicate Any Concessions To Home Rule	Pittsburg Dispatch	Pittsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	Her Majesty's Speech: Queen Victoria Sketches The Tory Program Of Future Work	Evening World, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	Queen Victoria's Speech: Recommendations To Be Urged On Parliament At Its Opening Session	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	The Queen's Speech	Deseret Evening News	Great Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	The Queen's Speech	Morning Journal And Courier	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	The Queen's Speech: Promises That Something Will Be Done For Ireland	Wichita Eagle	Wichita	Kansas	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	The Queen's Speech: She Promises New Departures For Ireland	Sacramento Daily Record-Union	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.

11 Feb, 1890	The Queen's Speech: The Land Purchase Scheme For Ireland	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
11 Feb, 1890	Our Agricultural Shortcomings.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
11 Feb, 1890	The Queen's Message.: Victoria Discuss The State Of The Empire Under Her Dominion.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
11 Feb, 1890	The Speech Of The Queen: England At Peace With All The World	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Feb, 1890	We And Our Neighbors.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
12 Feb, 1890	Parliament Reopened: The Queen's Speech From The Throne	Los Angeles Daily Herald	Los Angeles	California	Chronicling A.
13 Feb, 1890	Editorial Brevities.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
14 Feb, 1890	Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
15 Feb, 1890	Full Of Promises: Queen Victoria's Speech To Parliament	Superior Times, The	Superior	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
16 Feb, 1890	Condensed Dispatches.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
17 Feb, 1890	Multiple News Items.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
19 Feb, 1890	Full Of Promises: Queen Victoria's Speech To Parliament	Watertown Republican	Watertown	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
9 Mar, 1890	Australian Federation.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
17 Mar, 1890	Australasian Items	Daily Bulletin, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
23 Mar, 1890	Australia May Revolt.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
9 Apr, 1890	Port Said.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
15 Apr, 1890	An Authority On Australian Federation.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
19 Apr, 1890	A New Nation.	Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper	New York	New York	19th Cent.
3 May, 1890	Ado Over Stanley...The Question Of Federation Booming In Australia	Fort Worth Daily Gazette	Fort Worth	Texas	Chronicling A.
23 May, 1890	Australian Coast Defenses.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
23 May, 1890	The Victoria Parliament.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Jun, 1890	In Hotel Lobbies.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
8 Jun, 1890	New South Wales.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
9 Jun, 1890	Oceanica.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
11 Jun, 1890	Caprivi Stands Firm.	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
11 Jun, 1890	Favors Australian Federation.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
11 Jun, 1890	An Australian Union: It Will Be Modeled After The American Republic	St Paul Daily Globe	Saint Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.

11 Jun, 1890	Australia Will Build War Ships	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
11 Jun, 1890	Colonial Affairs: Australia Provides For The Building Of Several War-Ships	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
11 Jun, 1890	Defense For The Australian Colonies	Evening Bulletin, The	Maysville	Kentucky	Chronicling A.
11 Jun, 1890	To Protect Australian Colonies	Fort Worth Daily Gazette	Fort Worth	Texas	Chronicling A.
11 Jun, 1890	Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
12 Jun, 1890	In Favor Of Federation	Helena Independent, The	Helena	Montana	Chronicling A.
12 Jun, 1890	To Protect Australian Colonies	Fort Worth Weekly Gazette	Fort Worth	Texas	Chronicling A.
12 Jun, 1890	Transatlantic: Australia	Daily Tobacco Leaf-Chronicle	Clarksville	Tennessee	Chronicling A.
13 Jun, 1890	A Navy Of Their Own	Sacramento Daily Record-Union	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
14 Aug, 1890	Foreign News And Gossip.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
8 Sep, 1890	Australian	Milwaukee Journal, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
10 Sep, 1890	Current Foreign Topics.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Sep, 1890	Affairs Abroad.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
12 Sep, 1890	Brief Cablegrams.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
12 Sep, 1890	By Telegraph.	Bangor Daily Whig & Courier	Bangor	Maine	19th Cent.
12 Sep, 1890	For Australian Federation.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
12 Sep, 1890	Multiple News Items.	North American, The	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	19th Cent.
12 Sep, 1890	News From Abroad.	Los Angeles Times, The	Los Angeles	California	19th Cent.
12 Sep, 1890	Australian Federation To Be Realized.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
12 Sept, 1890	For An Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
12 Sep, 1890	Other Foreign News.: A Revolution Breaks Out In A Swiss Canton.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
12 Sep, 1890	Untitled	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 Sep, 1890	Foreign Fields.	Los Angeles Times, The	Los Angeles	California	19th Cent.
13 Sep, 1890	Multiple News Items.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
13 Sep, 1890	Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest

15 Sep, 1890	Multiple News Items.	Los Angeles Times, The	Los Angeles	California	19th Cent.
15 Sep, 1890	American Journalism In London.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
19 Sep, 1890	An Australian Federation.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
24 Sep, 1890	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
27 Sep, 1890	Brief Cablegrams.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
7 Oct, 1890	Cablegrams	Daily Tobacco Leaf- Chronicle	Clarksville	Tennessee	Chronicling A.
10 Oct, 1890	Foreign	Mitchell Capital, The	Mitchell	South Dakota	Chronicling A.
11 Nov, 1890	Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
28 Nov, 1890	Untitled	Sullivan Republican	Laporte	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
3 Dec, 1890	Untitled	Forest Republican, The	Tionesta	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
23 Dec, 1890	Australia Needs Water: Irrigation Works Constructed And Talked Of	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
1 Mar, 1891	The Canadian Election.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
1 Mar, 1891	Talk And Alarm In Europe: The Kaiser's Vain Hopes As To The French	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
2 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
2 Mar, 1891	The Australian Conference: A Growing Feeling In Favor Of The Independence Of The Colonies	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
3 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
3 Mar, 1891	Brooding On Revenge.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
3 Mar, 1891	"Advance Australia!"	Critic, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
3 Mar, 1891	Tips From The Wire	St Paul Daily Globe	Saint Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
3 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation Convention.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
5 Mar, 1891	Federation On The American Plan.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
6 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
7 Mar, 1891	Australia And Protection.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
7 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
7 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
7 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation: Debate On The Tariff Question In The Convention At Sydney	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.

7 Mar, 1891	Untitled	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
7 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation: The Tariff An Important Factor In The Project.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
8 Mar, 1891	Springtime Talk Abroad: ... : Australian Trade Talk ~ Crop Prospects	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
9 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation: Debate On The Tariff Question In The Convention At Sydney	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
10 Mar, 1891	An Imp	Telegram-Herald	Grand Rapids	Michigan	Chronicling A.
11 Mar, 1891	Short Locals	Juniata Sentinel And Republican	Mifflintown, Juniata County	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
14 Mar, 1891	Australian Federal Convention.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
19 Mar, 1891	Oceanica.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
29 Mar, 1891	An Important Australian Conference	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
29 Mar, 1891	Devotees Of Chess.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
30 Mar, 1891	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
3 Apr, 1891	Brief Cablegrams.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
3 Apr, 1891	Multiple News Items.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
3 Apr, 1891	Australian Federation	Arizona Republican	Phoenix	Arizona	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Australian Federation	Record-Union, The	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Cable Notes	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Helena Independent, The	Helena	Montana	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Los Angeles Herald	Los Angeles	California	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Salt Lake Herald, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia: Proceedings Of The Federation Convention Now In Session In Sydney	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	Organizing A Nation: The Commonwealth Of Australia Will Be The Legal Title Hereafter	Pittsburg Dispatch	Pittsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	The "Commonwealth Of Australia"	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1891	The Commonwealth Of Australia	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.

3 Apr, 1891	Other Foreign News	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
3 Apr, 1891	The Australian Confederation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
4 Apr, 1891	"Commonwealth Of Australia": Title For The Federated Colonies As Approved By The Australian Federation Convention	Dalles Daily Chronicle, The	The Dalles	Oregon	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	Australian Federation	Wichita Daily Eagle, The	Wichita	Kansas	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	Australian Federation: All The English Papers Remakably Silent Upon The Subject	Arizona Republican	Phoenix	Arizona	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	Australian Independence: How The New Federation Is Looked Upon By The London Press	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	Our New Sister: The Commonwealth Of Australia Conceded To Mean Another Republic	Telegram-Herald	Grand Rapids	Michigan	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	Practically A Republic: Important Work Of The Australian Federation Convention	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	The Commonwealth Of Australia	Salt Lake Herald, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	The Commonwealth Of Australia	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	The Commonwealth Of Australia: Little Less Than An Independent Nation, They Think In London	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	The New Republic: Australia Will Now Be Virtually Independent	Pittsburg Dispatch	Pittsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
4 Apr, 1891	"The Commonwealth Of Australia."	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
4 Apr, 1891	Other Foreign News	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
5 Apr, 1891	A New Commonwealth: Australia A Democratic Federation: The Power Of The Crown A Figment	Richmond Dispatch	Richmond	Virginia	Chronicling A.
5 Apr, 1891	Copying Our Constitution: Australia Taking Measures To Become A Democratic Federation	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
5 Apr, 1891	Spring-Time Talk Abroad: Affairs In The East And Australia's Future	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 Apr, 1891	European Gossip.	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
6 Apr, 1891	London Letter.	Galveston Daily News, The	Houston	Texas	19th Cent.
6 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia: The Significant Creation Of The Federation Convention	Evening Bulletin, The	Maysville	Kentucky	Chronicling A.
6 Apr, 1891	Untitled	Asheville Daily Citizen	Asheville	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
6 Apr, 1891	The Australian Constitution.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

7 Apr, 1891	Editorial Brevities.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
7 Apr, 1891	The Australian Federation.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
7 Apr, 1891	Federation In Australia	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
7 Apr, 1891	Copying The American Constitution	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
8 Apr, 1891	The Weekly Times.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
9 Apr, 1891	Editorial Brevities.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
9 Apr, 1891	A Democratic Federation	Phillipsburg Herald	Phillipsburg	Kansas	Chronicling A.
9 Apr, 1891	Australia's Reorganization: The Federal Parliament Will Fix And Control The Customs	Record-Union, The	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
9 Apr, 1891	General News	Western Sentinel, The	Winston-Salem	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
9 Apr, 1891	News Of The Week: Foreign	National Tribune, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
9 Apr, 1891	The Queen Controls: Australians Decide To Permit Her To Appoint Their Ruler	Wood County Reporter	Grand Rapids	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
9 Apr, 1891	Australian Federations	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
10 Apr, 1891	Multiple News Items.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
10 Apr, 1891	Australia's Federation Convention	Fort Worth Gazette	Fort Worth	Texas	Chronicling A.
10 Apr, 1891	Untitled	Iowa County Democrat	Mineral Point	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
10 Apr, 1891	Australian Federations	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
11 Apr, 1891	From Abroad.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
11 Apr, 1891	Important Surrender	Arizona Weekly Citizen	Tucson	Arizona	Chronicling A.
11 Apr, 1891	The Australian Commonwealth	Western Kansas World	Wamego	Kansas	Chronicling A.
11 Apr, 1891	Untitled	Irish Standard, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
11 Apr, 1891	Another Great Republic.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
11 Apr, 1891	Federation In Australia.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Apr, 1891	Foreign Affairs.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
12 Apr, 1891	Multiple News Items.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
12 Apr, 1891	Telegraphic Briefs.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
13 Apr, 1891	News Notes.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
13 Apr, 1891	The Australian Commonwealth.	Galveston Daily News, The	Houston	Texas	19th Cent.

17 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1891	Untitled	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
18 Apr, 1891	Untitled	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
19 Apr, 1891	Items Of Interest	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
21 Apr, 1891	Commonwealth Of Australia	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
21 Apr, 1891	Untitled	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
21 Apr, 1891	Untitled	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
24 Apr, 1891	The Federal Constitution Of Australia	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
29 Apr, 1891	Periodicals Of The Period	Wichita Daily Eagle, The	Wichita	Kansas	Chronicling A.
1 May, 1891	Untitled	Little Falls Transcript	Little Falls, Morrison County	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
2 May, 1891	Untitled	Superior Times, The	Superior	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
4 May, 1891	Review Of Reviews For May.	St. Paul Daily News	St. Paul	Minnesota	19th Cent.
6 May, 1891	Australian Federation: From An American Point Of View	Daily Bulletin, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
16 May, 1891	Colonies To Be United: Plan Of The Proposed Australian Federation	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
16 May, 1891	Multiple News Items.	St. Paul Daily News	St. Paul	Minnesota	19th Cent.
16 May, 1891	The Convention Concluded	Rocky Mountain News	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
16 May, 1891	The Federation: Provisions Of The Condition Of The Australian Commonwealth	Atchison Champion, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
16 May, 1891	Almost A Republic.: The Proposed Federation Of Australia. A Commonwealth To Be Formed Of Separate States~Some Features Of The United States Constitution.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
16 May, 1891	The Australian Constitution.: Some Of The Provisions Making The New Nation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
20 May, 1891	Multiple News Items.	Emporia Daily Gazette, The	Emporia	Kansas	19th Cent.
20 May, 1891	Notes Of The Day	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
21 May, 1891	Multiple News Items.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
21 May, 1891	Anglo-Saxon Union	Helena Independent, The	Helena	Montana	Chronicling A.

24 May, 1891	Australia's New States: How An Easy Way Was Found For Federation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
27 May, 1891	The Weekly Times	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
28 May, 1891	Brief Cablegrams.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
28 May, 1891	The Commonwealth Of Australia	Los Angeles Herald	Los Angeles	California	Chronicling A.
29 May, 1891	Brief Cablegrams.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
29 May, 1891	Editorial Brevities.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
29 May, 1891	Coaled And ...: Australian Federation Gets A Setback At Sydney;	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
29 May, 1891	Notes From Abroad: The Sydney Assembly A Tie On The Federation Question	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
7 Jun, 1891	Echoes Of The World.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
14 Jun, 1891	About Town	Arizona Republican	Phoenix	Arizona	Chronicling A.
16 Jun, 1891	A Socialistic Commonwealth	Evening Capital Journal	Salem	Oregon	Chronicling A.
18 Jun, 1891	A Socialistic Commonwealth	News And Citizen	Morrisville	Vermont;	Chronicling A.
19 Jun, 1891	Editorial Brevities.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
19 Jun, 1891	A Socialistic Commonwealth	United Opinion, The	Bradford	Vermont	Chronicling A.
19 Jun, 1891	Imperial Federation: Demand On Salisbury For A Definite Statement	Morning Journal And Courier	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
19 Jun, 1891	Untitled	Griggs Courier	Cooperstown, Griggs Co	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
19 Jun, 1891	British Imperial Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
26 Jun, 1891	A Socialistic Commonwealth	Londonderry Sifter, The	South Londonderry	Vermont	Chronicling A.
29 Jun, 1891	An Impracticable Dream.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
1 Jul, 1891	The New South Wales Election.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
2 Jul, 1891	The Race Problem Even In Australia.	Bangor Daily Whig & Courier	Bangor	Maine	19th Cent.
3 Jul, 1891	The Race Problem Even In Australia.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1891	The Future Of The Commonwealth Of Australia.	Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper	New York	New York	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1891	A Socialistic Commonwealth	Asheville Daily Citizen	Asheville	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
18 Jul, 1891	Australian Statesmen	Carbon Advocate, The	Lehighton	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.

24 Jul, 1891	Pope Bob On Slugging.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
4 Aug, 1891	The House Counted Out	Rocky Mountain News	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
4 Aug, 1891	Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
4 Aug, 1891	Brevities By Cable	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
7 Aug, 1891	Untitled	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
8 Aug, 1891	Topics Of The Week.	Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper	New York	New York	19th Cent.
24 Aug, 1891	He Thought Us Boors: But After Three Days' Experience He Finds Us Chesterfieldian.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
3 Sep, 1891	Late News In Brief	Pittsburg Dispatch	Pittsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
7 Sep, 1891	Multiple News Items.	Rocky Mountain News	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
8 Sep, 1891	Imperial Federation	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
17 Sep, 1891	Foreign News And Gossip.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
17 Sep, 1891	Since Our Last Issue.	Fayetteville Observer	Fayetteville	North Carolina	19th Cent.
17 Oct, 1891	A Ministerial Crisis: The New South Wales Premier, A Leader In The Colonial Federation, May Be Deposed	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
17 Oct, 1891	Australian Cabinet To Resign: Sir Henry Parkes Scores A Decisive Victory Over The Government	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
19 Oct, 1891	Literary Notes	St Paul Daily Globe	Saint Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
22 Oct, 1891	Australian Labor Legislation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
24 Oct, 1891	New Books.	Milwaukee Journal, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
24 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
24 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
24 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
26 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
26 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
26 Oct, 1891	In The Magazines	St Paul Daily Globe	Saint Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
27 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
27 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
27 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.

27 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
27 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
29 Oct, 1891	The Nov Scribner (Ad)	Congregationalist, The	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
29 Oct, 1891	Magazines And Notes	National Tribune, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
2 Nov, 1891	Recent Publications.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
2 Nov, 1891	Scribner's Magazine - November	Fort Worth Gazette	Fort Worth	Texas	Chronicling A.
18 Nov, 1891	Current Literature.	Vermont Watchman, The	Montpelier	Vermont	Chronicling A.
10 Dec, 1891	A Socialistic Commonwealth	Caucasian, The	Clinton	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
29 Dec, 1891	Australia.	Daily Evening Bulletin	San Francisco	California	19th Cent.
30 Dec, 1891	Late News In Brief	Pittsburg Dispatch	Pittsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
30 Dec, 1891	Australian Federation Is Only Delayed	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
1 Jan, 1892	The Year Is Dead, But Some Of Its Important Events Are Living Forces In The World's Work	Pittsburg Dispatch	Pittsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
6 Feb, 1892	Historical Events.	St. Paul Daily News	St. Paul	Minnesota	19th Cent.
6 Feb, 1892	This Date In History—Feb. 6.	Bismarck Daily Tribune	Bismarck	North Dakota	19th Cent.
24 Feb, 1892	Dibbs On Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
27 Mar, 1892	Australian Federation Movement Dead	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
27 Mar, 1892	Cry Of The Jewish Pale: ... :Collapse Of Australian Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
28 Mar, 1892	Australian Federation	Galveston Daily News, The	Houston	Texas	19th Cent.
7 Jun, 1892	British Elections.	North American, The	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	19th Cent.
12 Jun, 1892	British Elections.	Bismarck Daily Tribune	Bismarck	North Dakota	19th Cent.
13 Jun, 1892	British Elections.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
6 Feb, 1893	This Date In History—Feb. 6.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
7 Apr, 1893	From The South: Items From Colonial Papers By The S.S. Mariposa	Daily Bulletin, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
18 May, 1893	Contributions Of American To The World's Civilization: Results Of The American System Of Popular Government	American Israelite, The	Cincinnati	Ohio	Proquest
22 Jun, 1893	Death Of A Prominent Australian	American Israelite, The	Cincinnati	Ohio	Proquest
9 Jul, 1893	Australia's Financial Woes: Weighed Down By An Ever-Increasing Public Debt.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
17 Aug, 1893	Australian Affairs.	St. Paul Daily News	St. Paul	Minnesota	19th Cent.

1 Sep, 1893	Untitled	Morning Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
7 Nov, 1893	Hotel Gossip.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
10 Nov, 1893	Australian Federation: Sir Henry Parkes' Lecture On The Issue	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
14 Nov, 1893	Australian Federation: Sir Henry Parkes' Lecture On The Issue	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
7 Mar, 1894	British Politics: An Interview With Mr Morton Frewen	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
31 May, 1894	Victorian Parliament Opened: Governor Congratulates The Country Upon Return Of Prosperity	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 Jun, 1894	Australian Federation.	Penny Press, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	19th Cent.
16 Jun, 1894	An Australian Federation	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
16 Jun, 1894	Australian Federation.	Penny Press, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	19th Cent.
16 Jun, 1894	Notes Of Foreign News	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
1 Jul, 1894	Dibbs On Australian Union.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
8 Aug, 1894	Parkes As A Grand Old Man: His Eventful Career As An Australian Statesman	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
26 Aug, 1894	Falling Leaves In London: ...: Hopes Of Australian Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
14 Nov, 1894	Multiple News Items.	Penny Press, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	19th Cent.
15 Nov, 1894	Wish To Federate	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
15 Nov, 1894	Condensed Cablegrams.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
26 Nov, 1894	Australian Premiers To Confer	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
11 Dec, 1894	Australian British Fidelity	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 Dec, 1894	Samoa.: The Political Unrest Still Continues	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
14 Jan, 1895	From Trans-Pacific Shores	Herald, The	Los Angeles	California	Chronicling A.
14 Jan, 1895	Trade Depressed In New South Wales	Record-Union, The	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
14 Jan, 1895	A Spirit Of Unrest	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
26 Jan, 1895	Federation Urged: Australia Cannot Get Along With Her Ballot Alone	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
27 Jan, 1895	Australia: The Question Of A Federation Considered Among Enthusiasm	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
27 Jan, 1895	Australian Federation Favored	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest

27 Jan, 1895	Income Tax In Victoria.: Conference Of Australasian Premiers To Discuss Federation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
29 Jan, 1895	Other Foreign News: Proposed Australian Federation	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
30 Jan, 1895	Australian Federation Approved.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
1 Feb, 1895	Federation In Australia.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
3 Feb, 1895	North Sea's Sad Shores: Sentimental Grief At The Loss Of The Mail Ship Itself	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Feb, 1895	Approved In Conference.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
7 Feb, 1895	Australasian Federation Bill: Details Of The Project Approved At The Conference Of Premiers.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Feb, 1895	Reader's Index.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 Feb, 1895	Main Points Of Federation Approved	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
25 Mar, 1895	Will There Be A United Australia?	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
10 May, 1895	Australian Federation.	Bismarck Daily Tribune	Bismarck	North Dakota	19th Cent.
10 May, 1895	Federation In Australia.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
12 Nov, 1895	For Federation In Australia.: Chamberlain Says The British Are The Greatest Of Governors.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
8 Dec, 1895	Multiple News Items.	Daily Inter Ocean, The	Chicago	Illinois	19th Cent.
30 Dec, 1895	War With England.	Galveston Daily News, The	Houston	Texas	19th Cent.
2 Jan, 1896	Its Effect Upon Australia.: Anglo-American War Would Force The Nation Into Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
21 Feb, 1896	Personal Mention.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
6 Mar, 1896	Australian Federation.: The Conference Of Premiers Declares It Essential Defense.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
24 Mar, 1896	Visitor From Australia.: Mr. John Coates And His Impressions Of The House And Senate.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
27 Apr, 1896	Sir Henry Parkes Dead: Half A Century Of His Life Spent In Upbulidng Australia	Rocky Mountain News	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
27 Apr, 1896	Sir Henry Parkes Dead: He Was Formerly The Prime Minister Of New South Wales	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
1 May, 1896	Untitled	Windham County Reformer, The	Battleboro	Vermont	Chronicling A.

11 May, 1896	Harsh Judgment On Sir Henry Parkes	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
24 May, 1896	Parkes As A Grand Old Man: His Arrival In Australia And Things He Saw And Did There	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Jul, 1896	An Antipodean Journey: Miss Reynolds, First World's Secretary Of The Y.W.C.A. A Tour Of Remote Association Houses	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
23 Jul, 1896	Lippincott's Magazine For August 1896	Columbian, The	Bloomsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
31 Jul, 1896	New Publications	Record-Union, The	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
1 Aug, 1896	The Review Of Reviews (Ad)	Irish World And American Industrial Liberator	New York	New York	19th Cent.
2 Aug, 1896	Literary: Some August Magazines	Milwaukee Journal, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
2 Aug, 1896	Australian Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
3 Aug, 1896	The August Magazines.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
5 Aug, 1896	Federation Of Australia.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
16 Aug, 1896	Literary Magazines	Milwaukee Journal, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
10 Sep, 1896	Affairs In Australia	Marble Hill Press	Marbel Hill (Sic)	Missouri	Chronicling A.
14 Sep, 1896	Australia's Federation: It Is Designed To Secure Internal Free Trade	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
30 Oct, 1896	Current Topics: The News In Brief	Jasper Weekly Courier, The	Jasper	Indiana	Chronicling A.
12 Dec, 1896	Cardinal Moran On Australian Federation.	Irish World And American Industrial Liberator	New York	New York	19th Cent.
26 Dec, 1896	Federal Movement In Australia	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
17 Feb, 1897	Japan's Aggressive Policy	Hawaiian Star, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
28 Mar, 1897	Australian Colonies Are United	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
28 Mar, 1897	England And Europe: ...-Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
7 Apr, 1897	Australian Federation.	Fayetteville Observer	Fayetteville	North Carolina	19th Cent.
7 Apr, 1897	Editorial Article 3 ~ No Title	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
8 Apr, 1897	Australian Federation.	Fayetteville Observer	Fayetteville	North Carolina	19th Cent.
14 Apr, 1897	Australian Federation Is Making Rapid Progress.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
16 Apr, 1897	Australian Federation: The Proposed Union Of Colonies And What It Means	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
16 Apr, 1897	Australian Federation.	Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune	Salt Lake City	Utah	19th Cent.

17 Apr, 1897	Declined To Give Women The Vote	Rock Island Argus	Rock Island	Illinois	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1897	No Woman Suffrage	Wichita Daily Eagle, The	Wichita	Kansas	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1897	Not Even In Australia	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1897	Not This Year	Herald, The	Los Angeles	California	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1897	Said "Nay, Pauline"	Salt Lake Herald, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1897	A New Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
17 Apr, 1897	No Woman Suffrage There	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
18 Apr, 1897	Defeat Of Woman Suffrage	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
20 Apr, 1897	Untitled	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
20 Apr, 1897	Will Not Permit Women To Vote	Scranton Tribune, The	Scranton	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
22 Apr, 1897	No Australian Woman Suffrage	Globe-Republican, The	Dodge City	Kansas	Chronicling A.
22 Apr, 1897	No Australian Woman Suffrage	Hutchinson Gazette	Hutchinson	Kansas	Chronicling A.
22 Apr, 1897	Women Can't Vote	Courier Democrat	Langdon	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
22 Apr, 1897	Women Can't Vote	Turner County Herald	Hurley	South Dakota	Chronicling A.
23 Apr, 1897	No Australian Woman Suffrage	Chanute Times, The	Chanute	Kansas	Chronicling A.
29 Apr, 1897	NO REPUBLIC FOR AUSTRALIA.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
4 May, 1897	Australian Federation.	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	19th Cent.
9 May, 1897	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
25 May, 1897	Australian Federation: Some Features Of The Federal Constitution	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
25 May, 1897	Australian Federation: Some Features Of The Federal Constitution	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
27 May, 1897	A "Disintegrating Republic."	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
1 Jun, 1897	Australian Federation	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	19th Cent.
19 Jun, 1897	Notes And Comments.	Labor Advocate	Birmingham	Alabama	19th Cent.
21 Jun, 1897	The Federation Of Australia: The Recent Convention And What It Accomplished	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
25 Jun, 1897	American Trade With Australia.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
26 Jun, 1897	Australian Federation	Fayetteville Observer	Fayetteville	North Carolina	19th Cent.
1 Jul, 1897	Australian Federation.	Fayetteville Observer	Fayetteville	North Carolina	19th Cent.

6 Jul, 1897	Plans For Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
9 Jul, 1897	Federation Plan: Discussed By Chamberlain And The Colonials	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
9 Jul, 1897	The Premiers Banqueted: Chamberlain And Laurier Talk About Federation Of The Colonies	Galveston Daily News, The	Houston	Texas	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1897	Chamberlain's Pet Scheme: For Colonial Representation Made Plain	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1897	Chamberlain's Pet Scheme: Not So Attractive To The Colonial Premiers	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1897	Not For Federation: Colonial Plan Of Chamberlain Not In Favor	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1897	Chamberlain's Failure.: Plain Facts Said To Show Why The Imperial Federation Scheme Did Not Succeed.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
11 Jul, 1897	Disclose The Conference Secrets: Australian Premiers Talk Of Chamberlain's Plan For Colonial Representation At Westminster	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
11 Jul, 1897	Federation Not Near: Chamberlain's Pet Project For Colonies A Failure	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
11 Jul, 1897	Releasing The Cat.: Australian Premiers Giving Away Secrets	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
12 Jul, 1897	Imperial Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 Jul, 1897	A Question Of Time: English Colonies Must Have Representation In Parliament	Butte Weekly Miner, The	Butte	Montana	19th Cent.
23 Jul, 1897	Imperial Federation: Conference With Mr. Chamberlain At Present A Failure	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	19th Cent.
6 Aug, 1897	Latest News.	Fayetteville Observer	Fayetteville	North Carolina	19th Cent.
6 Aug, 1897	Multiple News Items.	Rocky Mountain News	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
6 Aug, 1897	The Australian Federation Bill	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
6 Aug, 1897	Australian Federation Bill	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
6 Aug, 1897	Australian Federation: Important Anti-Federal Section Discovered During The Discussion.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
8 Aug, 1897	The British Pacific Cable: Canada's Slowness May Defeat The Enterprise	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
10 Aug, 1897	Australia's Constitution	Scranton Tribune, The	Scranton	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
12 Aug, 1897	Untitled	Evening Herald, The	Shenandoah	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
26 Aug, 1897	The Colonial View	Hawaiian Star, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
3 Sep, 1897	Arrested Development	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.

20 Sep, 1897	Australian Federation	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
30 Sep, 1897	Australian Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
11 Oct, 1897	Federation In Australia.: Convention In Sydney Engaged In Defining Its Conditions.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 Oct, 1897	Limit To Senate Powers	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
14 Oct, 1897	Multiple News Items.	North American, The	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	19th Cent.
14 Oct, 1897	Federation Drawing Nigh: Good Hopes For Scheme To Mature At Melbourne In January	Evening Bulletin	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
17 Oct, 1897	Australian Federation: Two Chief Points Of Difference In The Constitutional Convention	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
30 Nov, 1897	Australians Against Federation	North American, The	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	19th Cent.
25 Dec, 1897	England Wants An Open Market	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
3 Jan, 1898	Advices From Australia: Federation Bill Passes The New South Wales Legislature- Rain Badly Needed	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.
3 Jan, 1898	From The Antipodes: Rain Badly Needed In Australia: New Guinea Massacres	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
17 Jan, 1898	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
4 Mar, 1898	The First Step: Towards Federal Government Is Taken In Australia	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
7 Mar, 1898	Antipodean Affairs.: Australian Colonists Struggle With Federation Problems.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
7 Mar, 1898	Federation In Australia	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Mar, 1898	For Australian Federation: Progress Of The Convention Now In Session At Melbourne.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
17 Mar, 1898	Untitled	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
17 Mar, 1898	Australian Federation Bill.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
17 Mar, 1898	Federation Bill Adopted: Scheme Now Goes To The Legislatures	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
27 Mar, 1898	Untitled	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
2 Apr, 1898	England And Her Colonies	Houston Daily Post, The	Houston	Texas	Chronicling A.
21 May, 1898	Australian Sympathy: An American-Anglo Alliance Is Strongly Favored	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
29 May, 1898	Australian Federation	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest

4 Jun, 1898	Australian Federation Bill	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
5 Jun, 1898	Australian Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
5 Jun, 1898	Australian Federation Dead	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
13 Jun, 1898	Our Friends In Australia: At First Greatly Depressed By False Reports From Manila And Then Joyful Over The Truth.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
14 Jun, 1898	Australian Federation	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
16 Jun, 1898	Foreign Affairs	Iowa County Democrat	Mineral Point	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
16 Jun, 1898	The United States Of Australasia	Scranton Tribune, The	Scranton	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
2 Jul, 1898	Passing Events.	Irish World And American Industrial Liberator	New York	New York	19th Cent.
7 Jul, 1898	The Vote On Australian Federation.	Denver Evening Post, The	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
9 Jul, 1898	Australian Federation: Demagogues Have Retarded The Work Of Far-Seeing Statesmen	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
10 Jul, 1898	Australian Federation Not Dead.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
11 Jul, 1898	Literary Notes.	Milwaukee Journal, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
11 Jul, 1898	The July Magazines	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
12 Jul, 1898	Australian Federation	Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune	Salt Lake City	Utah	19th Cent.
18 Jul, 1898	Our Trade In Australia: A Federation Of British Colonies Would Injure American Interests	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
6 Aug, 1898	Australia.: How The Attempt At Federation Of The Colonies Failed.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
15 Sep, 1898	Australian Federation.	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
22 Sep, 1898	Australia Federation	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
23 Sep, 1898	Australian Federation	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
7 Jan, 1899	English Events	Yorkville Enquirer	Yorkville	South Carolina	Chronicling A.
3 Feb, 1899	A Federation: Australian Premiers Reach An Agreement On The Project	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
3 Feb, 1899	Colonies Will Unite: Federation In Australia Is Now Assured	Milwaukee Journal, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
3 Feb, 1899	Colonies Will Unite.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
3 Feb, 1899	Colonial Premiers Approve Federation: So Australia Will Be United	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.

	Under One Government, With A Capital On Federal Territory				
3 Feb, 1899	Agree To Federation: Premiers Of Australian Colonies In Conference	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
3 Feb, 1899	Colonies Unite In Australia	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
3 Feb, 1899	Federation Project: Unanimous Agreement Reached By Australian Colonial Premiers	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
3 Feb, 1899	Table Of Contents ~ No Title	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
3 Feb, 1899	Table Of Contents 1 ~ No Title	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
3 Feb, 1899	The News Condensed	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
3 Feb, 1899	To Govern Australia.: The Federation Bill Agreed To By The Colonial Premiers ~ Policy Of Control Outlined.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
4 Feb, 1899	Australian Federation Assured	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
9 Feb, 1899	Current Comment	Phillipsburg Herald	Phillipsburg	Kansas	Chronicling A.
10 Feb, 1899	The Federation Of The Australian Colonies.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
11 Feb, 1899	Current Comment	Baxter Springs News	Baxter Springs	Kansas	Chronicling A.
13 Feb, 1899	The Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
16 Feb, 1899	Current Comment	Beaver Herald, The	Beaver	Oklahoma	Chronicling A.
19 Mar, 1899	Rhodes In Germany	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
19 Mar, 1899	The Iron Dove Of Peace.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
19 Mar, 1899	Cecil Rhodes A Central Figure	Record-Union, The	Sacramento	California	Chronicling A.
19 Mar, 1899	Rhodes And His Talk	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
19 Mar, 1899	The Rhodes Interview	Houston Daily Post, The	Houston	Texas	Chronicling A.
19 Mar, 1899	Vast Task Of Conquest: Some English Views On American Expansion	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
19 Mar, 1899	Great Britain And Samoa.: Australian Federation Mentioned As A Factor In Solving Difficulties.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
19 Mar, 1899	Life In New Zealand: A Chicago Man Studying Labor Conditions In Australia.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
20 Mar, 1899	The Samoan Question	Barre Evening Telegram	Barre	Vermont	Chronicling A.
23 Mar, 1899	Germany And England.	Butte Weekly Miner	Butte	Montana	19th Cent.
26 Mar, 1899	News From Australia.: Storms And Floods In The South Pacific	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
21 Apr, 1899	Advices From Australia.: Federation Sentiment In The Colonies	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest

30 Apr, 1899	Salisbury On Anglo-Russian Treaty	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
30 Apr, 1899	Australian Tariffs Favor Great Britain	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
30 Apr, 1899	Government Of Australia.: The Commonwealth Bill Will Establish A New Federal System ~ Colonies More Closely United.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
1 May, 1899	Federation In Australia	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
14 May, 1899	The Australian Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
20 May, 1899	Questions Of Peace.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
20 May, 1899	From Australia: Happenings That Agitate The Public Mind There	Labor World, The	Duluth	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
20 May, 1899	Untitled	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
20 May, 1899	Untitled	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
23 May, 1899	Oppose Sunday Labor	Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune	Salt Lake City	Utah	19th Cent.
24 May, 1899	Untitled	Manchester Democrat	Manchester	Iowa	Chronicling A.
11 Jun, 1899	Australasia's Condition: Federation Of Colonies Assumed To Be Accomplished.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Jun, 1899	Among The Magazines	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
17 Jun, 1899	Other Lands Than Ours	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
18 Jun, 1899	News From Australia: Several Shipping Disasters Reported By The Warimoo	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
20 Jun, 1899	Australia Voting On Federation	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
21 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation: Election In New South Wales Results Favorably To The Project	Bismarck Daily Tribune	Bismarck	North Dakota	19th Cent.
21 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation: New South Wales Voted For It By A Large Majority	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
21 Jun, 1899	Federation Carries In Australia.	Rock Island Argus	Rock Island	Illinois	Chronicling A.
21 Jun, 1899	Federation In Australia: Voters Favor The Establishment Of The Proposed Scheme	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
21 Jun, 1899	The Federation Movement In Australia	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
21 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation Sure.: The New South Wales Referendum Favors It By A Large Majority.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
21 Jun, 1899	Votes For Federation: New South Wales Gives It A Large Majority	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest

22 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
22 Jun, 1899	News From Australia.	Butte Weekly Miner	Butte	Montana	19th Cent.
23 Jun, 1899	For Federation.	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
23 Jun, 1899	Federation Carries In Australia	Owosso Times, The	Owosso	Michigan	Chronicling A.
23 Jun, 1899	Federation Question In Australia	Semi-Weekly Messenger, The	Wilmington	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
24 Jun, 1899	The Significance Of Australian Federation	Austin's Hawaiian Weekly	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
26 Jun, 1899	Federation Of Australia.	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
26 Jun, 1899	Premiers Of The Australian Colonies Discussing Federation At Melbourne	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
28 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation Assured	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
28 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
28 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
28 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation.: The Victoria Bill ~ A Measure To Be Introduced In London.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
28 Jun, 1899	Australian Federation.(2)	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
28 Jun, 1899	Federation Of Australia	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
28 Jun, 1899	Points Of News In Today's Times (Index)	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
30 Jun, 1899	Fears Irish-Boer Alliance.	Arkansas Democrat	Little Rock	Arkansas	19th Cent.
30 Jun, 1899	The Australian Federation.	Denver Evening Post, The	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
1 Jul, 1899	Australian Federation: Sustained By The Voters Of New South Wales, Who Have Opposed It Heretofore	Irish World And American Industrial Liberator	New York	New York	19th Cent.
6 Jul, 1899	Untitled	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
8 Jul, 1899	Passed The Act	Bangor Daily Whig & Courier	Bangor	Maine	19th Cent.
8 Jul, 1899	Tasmania Ratifies	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
8 Jul, 1899	Untitled	St Johns Herald, The	St Johns, Apache County	Arizona Territory	Chronicling A.
8 Jul, 1899	Federal Enabling Act In Tasmania.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
11 Jul, 1899	A New Nation.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
12 Jul, 1899	Federation In Austalia: Possible Adoption Of A Tariff That Will Hurt	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.

	Our Trade				
12 Jul, 1899		Daily Morning Astorian,	Astoria	Oregon	Chronicling A.
13 Jul, 1899	Australian Federation: The Adoption Of A Protective Tariff Predicted	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
13 Jul, 1899	The Australian Federation	Waterbury Evening Democrat	Waterbury	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
13 Jul, 1899	Australia And A Protective Tariff.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 Jul, 1899	Protective Tariff Movement In Australia.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
14 Jul, 1899	Building A Nation: Federation Of Australian Colonies Is Now Assured	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
14 Jul, 1899	Untitled	Wichita Daily Eagle, The	Wichita	Kansas	Chronicling A.
15 Jul, 1899	Untitled	Las Vegas Daily Optic	Las Vegas	New Mexico	Chronicling A.
19 Jul, 1899	Untitled	Potosi Journal	Potosi	Missouri	Chronicling A.
20 Jul, 1899	Answers To Queries.	Weekly Rocky Mountain News	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
20 Jul, 1899	New Commercial Opening...Federation Of Colonies	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.
20 Jul, 1899	Untitled	Iron County Register	Iron County	Missouri	Chronicling A.
20 Jul, 1899	Untitled	Taney County Republican, The	Forsyth	Missouri	Chronicling A.
23 Jul, 1899	Sydney, In Australia: It Is Rapidly Developing As An Important City	Anaconda Standard, The	Anaconda	Montana	Chronicling A.
23 Jul, 1899	Affairs In New Zealand: Verdict Against Americans Who Started The "Hagey Cure."	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
23 Jul, 1899	Federation In Australia: Result Of The Referendum In New South Wales Makes It Certain	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
27 Jul, 1899	Favors Feeration	Denver Evening Post, The	Denver	Colorado	19th Cent.
28 Jul, 1899	Australian Federation: Incomplete Returns Point To An Overwhelming Majority	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
28 Jul, 1899	Federation Carries In Australia.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
29 Jul, 1899	Australian Progress: Steady Movement In Direction Of Federation	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
1 Aug, 1899	The Austrilian Senate.: Copies The Excellencies And Avoids Alleged	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest

	Defects Of Our Upper Chamber.				
2 Aug, 1899	Australian Federation.	Atchison Daily Globe, The	Atchison	Kansas	19th Cent.
3 Aug, 1899	Australian Federation.	Morning Oregonian	Portland	Oregon	19th Cent.
4 Aug, 1899	Australia Votes For Federation; Vote On Australian Federation	Marshall County Independent	Plymouth, Marshall County	Indiana	Chronicling A.
6 Aug, 1899	July 4 In Australasia: A Great Development Of Fraternal Feeling Manifested. Australian Union At Hand	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Aug, 1899	Australian Federation.	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
28 Aug, 1899	The New United States	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
1 Sep, 1899	Untitled	Bismarck Weekly Tribune	Bismarck	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
3 Sep, 1899	The News Of Australasia: Australasian Federation Certain	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
5 Sep, 1899	Australian Federation Vote.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
5 Sep, 1899	Foreign News Notes	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
13 Sep, 1899	The News Condensed.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
2 Oct, 1899	The Australian Federation Project.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
2 Oct, 1899	Vote For Federation: Majority In Queensland For A United Australia	Milwaukee Sentinel, The	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	19th Cent.
2 Oct, 1899	Majority For Australian Federation.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
2 Oct, 1899	Notes From Foreign Lands	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
6 Oct, 1899	The Premier Resigned: New Administration Formed In New South Wales	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
7 Oct, 1899	Personal And General Notes.	Daily Picayune, The	New Orleans	Louisiana	19th Cent.
8 Oct, 1899	The Cause Of Women: Women In Government Service And What They Have Done	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
13 Oct, 1899	Australian Union Is Sure.: Constitution Adopted Everywhere Except In Queensland, And A Vote For Federation Is Expected There.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 Oct, 1899	Premier Reid's Downfall.: Resignation Of The New South Wales Leader May Result In A Prohibitive Tariff In Australia.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
18 Oct, 1899	Australia: Its Resources Discussed By The Trade Congress	Boston Daily Advertiser	Boston	Massachusetts	19th Cent.
18 Oct, 1899	Many Delegates Are Disappointed.	North American, The	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	19th Cent.
28 Oct, 1899	The New Pacific: Russia, Japan, The United States And Great Britain	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.

29 Oct, 1899	Protective Tariff In Australia.: Federation Free Traders Are In A Hopeless Minority.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
29 Oct, 1899	Trade With Australasia: May Be Developed By An Improved Ocean Mail Service. Enlarged Subsidies Needed West Australia And New Zealand Remain Out Of The New Federation ~ Public Aid For Sectarian Schools.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
30 Oct, 1899	In Foreign Lands.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Nov, 1899	Australian Federation: First Sessions Of The Chambers To Be Held In Melbourne.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
14 Nov, 1899	Diredt Legislation	Progressive Farmer, The	Winston	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
25 Nov, 1899	Australia's Independence: The Birth Of A New Nation In The Southern Pacific Is Very Probable	Bottineau Courant, The	Bottineau	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
26 Nov, 1899	Jingoism In Australasia: A Wave Of Imperialism Sweeps The Colonies.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
27 Nov, 1899	In Foreign Lands.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
2 Dec, 1899	Foreign Summary	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
4 Dec, 1899	Australasian Advices: Unusuallly Cold Weather In New Zealand	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
10 Dec, 1899	Australian Federation Fails	Chicago Tribune	Chicago	Illinois	Proquest
10 Dec, 1899	Criticism Of The British Generals: ... Australian Federation May Not Come For Some Time.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
10 Dec, 1899	War Fever In Australia: Thousands Would Enlist, But Services Are Rejected.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
1 Jan, 1900	American Trade In Australasia.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Jan, 1900	Trade In Australasia: Dairy Farming Is One Of The Principal Industries.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
17 Jan, 1900	Railways In Australia: Mr. Singleton's Description Of Transportation In The Antipodes	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
18 Jan, 1900	Hotel Gossip	Salt Lake Herald, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
30 Jan, 1900	Parliament In Session: British Lawmakers Meet And Listen To The Queen's Speech	Deseret Evening News	Great Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
30 Jan, 1900	The Queen's Speech: On The Occasion Of The Assembling Of Parliament	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
30 Jan, 1900	Warlike In Spirit: Queen's Speech To Parliamenr Indicates Purpose To Crush Boers	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.

31 Jan, 1900	Australia Federation: Debate On The Tariff Question In The Convention At Sydney	Sun, The	Wilmington	Delaware	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	British United For War: Queen's Speech Loyal Received By Parliament	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Of Warlike Tone: Queen's Speech Suggests Fight Till Boers Are Crushed	Richmond Dispatch	Richmond	Virginia	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Opening Of Parliament: Opposition Leaders Severely Score The Government For Its Sins Of Omission	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Opening Of Parliament: The Queen's Speech On The Transvaal War Well Received	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Parliament Is Now In Session: Queen's Speech Asks For More War Funds	Salt Lake Herald, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Parliament Of Great Britain: ... Australian Federation	Virginian-Pilot	Norfolk	Virginia	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Parliament Opened: Attacks On Ministers Made And Answered	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Parliament Opened: Queen's Speech Read To The Lords And Commons	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	The Queen's Speech: Tribute To Soldiers	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1900	Queen's Speech Delivered To Parliament.: Reassembling Of Her Majesty's Lawmakers	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
1 Feb, 1900	Parliament In Session	Delaware Gazette And State Journal	Wilmington	Delaware	Chronicling A.
4 Feb, 1900	In Foreign Lands.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
8 Feb, 1900	The Queen's Speech	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
9 Feb, 1900	The Queen's Speech	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
19 Feb, 1900	In Foreign Lands	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
21 Feb, 1900	New South Wales: Annual Report Of Hawaiian Consul On Trade And Shipping	Independent, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
21 Feb, 1900	New South Wales: Annual Report Of Hawaiian Consul On Trade And Shipping	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
27 Feb, 1900	A Speech By Tennyson	Farmer And Mechanic, The	Raleigh	North Carolina	Chronicling A.

5 Mar, 1900	Robert Emmet's Memory: Eulogies By W. Bourke Cockran And Recorder John W. Goff	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
25 Mar, 1900	Imperial Federation.: The Movement For A Great Council Of The Empire Grows Daily In London.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
25 Mar, 1900	When Pretoria Falls: Then Will Salisbury Appeal To The English Voters.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
26 Mar, 1900	In Foreign Lands.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
27 Mar, 1900	Untitled	Albuquerque Daily Citizen	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Chronicling A.
28 Mar, 1900	Foreign Intellegence	Potosi Journal	Potosi	Missouri	Chronicling A.
28 Mar, 1900	The News In Brief	True Northerner, The	Paw Paw	Michigan	Chronicling A.
29 Mar, 1900	Foreign	Warren Sheaf	Warren, Marshall County	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
30 Mar, 1900	Foreign	Perrysburg Journal	Perrysburg, Wood Co	Ohio	Chronicling A.
30 Mar, 1900	Foreign Intellegence	Worthington Advance, The	Worthington	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
14 Apr, 1900	Other Lands Than Ours	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
15 Apr, 1900	Australian Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 Apr, 1900	In Foreign Lands	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
22 Apr, 1900	London Topics Of The Week: ...Australia Wants Appeals To Privy Council Abolished.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
23 Apr, 1900	Federation In Australia.: Mr. Chamberlain Interposes An Obstacle That May Prevent Its Accomplishment.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
23 Apr, 1900	In Foreign Lands.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
23 Apr, 1900	The New Republic Of The Pacific.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
26 Apr, 1900	Ambassadors At A Banquet.: Mr. Choate, In London, Speaks Of Goodwill Of Nations Toward Great Britain.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
1 May, 1900	Australian Federation	Evening Bulletin	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
1 May, 1900	Praise For The Colonies: Brilliant Gathering At British Empire League Banquet.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 May, 1900	In Foreign Lands.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 May, 1900	London Season Opens.: It Promises To Be A Brilliant One, Unless More War Reverses Occur.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

6 May, 1900	The Australasian Commonwealth.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 May, 1900	Australia Federation: Colonials Object Io England's Privy Council Being Ccirt Of Last Resort	Houston Daily Post, The	Houston	Texas	Chronicling A.
13 May, 1900	The Privy Council: England's Most Ancient Institution About To Be Shorn Of Its Judicial Attributes	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
13 May, 1900	Untitled	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
13 May, 1900	Affairs In Australasia: ... New Zealand And Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 May, 1900	London Topics Of The Week: All Eyes Upon Gen. Hunter's March To Relieve Mafeking.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 May, 1900	Royal Privy Council: Queen's Advisory Body To Lose Some Of Its Powers.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
15 May, 1900	Chamberlain Speaks: He Explains The Australian Commonwealth Measure	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	Condensed Dispatches	Waterbury Evening Democrat	Waterbury	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	England Makes Concession To Her Colonies: To Be Granted Representatives To Sit In The Privy Council	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	Federation Bill In House: Mr. Chamberlain's Proposed Change Relating To Courts	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	Gov. General Of Australia	Daily Ardmoreite, The	Ardmore	Oklahoma	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	Her Son-In-Law	Guthrie Daily Leader, The	Guthrie	Oklahoma	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	The Australian Bill: Secretary Chamberlain Introduces The Commonwealth Proposition	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1900	Australian Federation.: Bill Introduced By Mr. Chamberlain ~ Government Refuses To Abolish Appeals To Privy Council.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
15 May, 1900	Holds Fast To Veto: ... Australian Federation Scheme	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
15 May, 1900	The News Condensed.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
16 May, 1900	Duke Of Argyle: The Queen's Son-In-Law To Govern Australia	El Paso Daily Herald	El Paso	Texas	Chronicling A.
16 May, 1900	Mr. Chamberlain And Australia.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
17 May, 1900	Choate Tickles Fishmongers.: After Dinner References To Boer War And Anglo-American Friendship.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
17 May, 1900	Mr. Choate Makes A Speech.: Talks Of Peace At Ancient Company	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

	Of Fishmongers' Dinner.				
18 May, 1900	Imperial Federation: Union Of The Colonies Of Australia	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
18 May, 1900	May Endanger Federation: Amendment Of The Imperial Government To The Bill	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
18 May, 1900	Australians Are Angry.: Say Insistence On Federation Bill Amendments May Weaken Imperial Sentiment.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
18 May, 1900	The News Condensed.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
19 May, 1900	Federation Bill Dispute Settled.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
19 May, 1900	Untitled	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
20 May, 1900	Imperial Unity: British Conservatism And The Privy Council	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
20 May, 1900	London Topics Of The Week: Kitchener Probably The Hero Of The Relief Of Mafeking.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
22 May, 1900	Australian Federation Bill	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
22 May, 1900	Australian Federation Bill.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
22 May, 1900	Flashes From The Wires.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
24 May, 1900	Telegrams Condensed: News Of Coast Files Abbreviated To Quick Reading	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
24 May, 1900	Celebrate Queen's Birthday.: Americans Guests At Ministerial Banquets In London.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
24 May, 1900	Queen's Birthday Banquets.: Members Of The Ministry Entertain High Personages.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
25 May, 1900	England Wants A String: Australian Bill Before The House	Hawaiian Star, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
25 May, 1900	Telegrams Condensed: News Of Coast Files Abbreviated To Quick Reading	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
26 May, 1900	Honors List Too Short	Deseret Evening News	Great Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
26 May, 1900	Untitled	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
26 May, 1900		Waterbury Evening Democrat	Waterbury	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
27 May, 1900	No Naval Officers Honored	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
27 May, 1900	Timothy Healy's Question	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
28 May, 1900	The Imperial Federation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

30 May, 1900	For A New Nation: Bill To Constitute The Commonwealth Of Australia	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
30 May, 1900	The Talk Of London	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
31 May, 1900	Cable Letter From London	Delaware Gazette And State Journal	Wilmington	Delaware	Chronicling A.
2 Jun, 1900	Australian Federation	Greenville Times, The	Greenville	Mississippi	Chronicling A.
2 Jun, 1900	Display Ad 20 ~ No Title	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
3 Jun, 1900	May Federate The West Indies.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
4 Jun, 1900	After The War: Dutch South Africa Under The Crown	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
4 Jun, 1900	For Australian Federation	Evening Bulletin	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
4 Jun, 1900	Sequel Of War: Dutch Colonies Will Be Annexed To British Empire	Daily Inter Mountain	Butte	Montana	Chronicling A.
5 Jun, 1900	Future Of South Africa: Dutch Population Will Predominate And With British Rule Comes Will Control Government	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.
5 Jun, 1900	Telegrams Condensed: News Of Coast Files Abbreviated To Quick Reading	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
5 Jun, 1900	The Australian Experiment.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
10 Jun, 1900	The Privy Council.: An Obsolete English Institution;	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
11 Jun, 1900	June Magazines.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
14 Jun, 1900	Premiers Dissatisfied: They Call For The Restoration Of Clause 74 In Federation Bill	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
16 Jun, 1900	Australian Commonwealth	Intermountain Catholic, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
16 Jun, 1900	The Coming South Africa	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
16 Jun, 1900	Untitled	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
17 Jun, 1900	London Topics Of The Week: ... The Federation Bill Again.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
18 Jun, 1900	In Foreign Lands	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
23 Jun, 1900	A New Federation: To Bring About A Closer Union Of The Australian Colonies	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
24 Jun, 1900	A Political Departure: Federating Of Australia; Creating A New Commonwealth	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
24 Jun, 1900	Australia's Alleged Gain	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

29 Jun, 1900	The Talk Of The Day	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
30 Jun, 1900	In Hotel Lobbies.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
8 Jul, 1900	Affairs In Australasia: Bitter Feeling Over Federal Bill Amendments.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
10 Jul, 1900	Talks With Hotel Guests.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
13 Jul, 1900	Federating Australia: The Creation Of A Great Commonwealth	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
13 Jul, 1900	Federating Australia: The Creation Of A Great Commonwealth	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
17 Jul, 1900	A New Republic	Saint Paul Globe, The	St Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
21 Jul, 1900	W.C. Peacock Here: Returns For A Business Visit Of A Few Weeks	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
22 Jul, 1900	In Foreign Lands	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
22 Jul, 1900	In Hew South Wales: Australian Commonwealth Bill Meets General Approval Rush To South Africa Discovery Of Subterranean Lakes In South Australia Tyson Estate Claims~ Aguinaldo's Lieutenant Condemned	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
23 Jul, 1900	Untitled	Salt Lake Herald, The	Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
24 Jul, 1900	Untitled	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
31 Jul, 1900	A Dissolution Of Parliament	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
1 Aug, 1900	Federation Wins In Australia	Topeka State Journal, The	Topeka	Kansas	Chronicling A.
2 Aug, 1900	For Federation In West Australia	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
2 Aug, 1900	Federation Wins In West Australia.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
9 Aug, 1900	Condensed Dispatches: Notable Events Of The Week Briefly And Tersely Told: Thursday Aug. 2	Republican News Item	Laport	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
10 Aug, 1900	Queen Speaks To Parliament: She Says The Boer War Has Not Been Finished	Stark County Democrat, The	Canton	Ohio	Chronicling A.
15 Aug, 1900	Foreign	Abbeville Press And Banner, The	Abbeville	South Carolina	Chronicling A.
19 Aug, 1900	Australian Federation.: Jealousies Displayed By The Colonies	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
29 Aug, 1900	Australia's Navy	Columbus Journal, The	Columbus	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
2 Sep, 1900	Australian Federation: Colonies Preparing To Celebrate New Regime's Inauguration.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

16 Sep, 1900	Australian News Topics: Lord Hopetown To Proclaim Federal Commonwealth Jan. 1.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
26 Sep, 1900	Federal Issues In Australia	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
3 Oct, 1900	Melbourne To Be Capital: Central Government Of Confedated Australia Located	St Louis Republic, The	St Louis	Missouri	Chronicling A.
3 Oct, 1900	Melbourne Will Be The Capital	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
4 Oct, 1900	The United Australia: Kipling Toasts The New Federation In A Poetical Outburst	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
7 Oct, 1900	The Victory Of British "Imperialism."	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
10 Oct, 1900	Federation In Australia	Daily Inter Mountain	Butte	Montana	Chronicling A.
11 Oct, 1900	Foreign Notes	Bemidji Pioneer, The	Bemidji, Beltrami County	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
12 Oct, 1900	News Of World Condensed	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
19 Oct, 1900	Foreign Notes	Pioneer Express, The	Pembina	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
19 Oct, 1900	Reconstruction Of Cabinet.: British Rumor Mongers Busy Naming Probable Choices. Federation Talk.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
20 Oct, 1900	Telegraphic Items	Maui News, The	Wailuku, Maui	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
21 Oct, 1900	London News And Gossip: Secretary Chamberlain's Dream Of A Co-Operative Empire	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
25 Oct, 1900	Imperialism Of England: Joseph Chamberlain Says Union With Colonies Does Not Mean Hostility To Other Nations	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
25 Oct, 1900	British Imperialism: Joe Chamberlain Tells The Fishmongers All About It	Saint Paul Globe, The	St Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
25 Oct, 1900	Federated Australia	Sun, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
25 Oct, 1900	Chamberlain On Imperialism: Says That, Strengthened By Her Colonies, England's Isolation Would Be A Splendid Isolation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
25 Oct, 1900	Men Met In Hotel Lobbies.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
26 Oct, 1900	Australian News Briefly Told	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
26 Oct, 1900	Britian's Imperial Aspirations	Richmond Dispatch	Richmond	Virginia	Chronicling A.
3 Nov, 1900	A New Capital For The Antipodes	Daily Enterprise, The	Beaumont	Texas	Chronicling A.

3 Nov, 1900	Capital Of Australia	Daily Public Ledger	Maysville	Kentucky	Chronicling A.
3 Nov, 1900	Renews Mail Service With San Francisco	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
3 Nov, 1900	Albury May Be Selected: New South Wales Town To Be Capital Of Federated Australia	St Louis Republic, The	St Louis	Missouri	Chronicling A.
4 Nov, 1900	A New Capital	Daily Ardmoreite, The	Ardmore	Oklahoma	Chronicling A.
4 Nov, 1900	The New Australian Commonwealth.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 Nov, 1900	Albury Will Be The Capital	Little Falls Weekly Transcript	Little Falls, Morrison County	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
7 Nov, 1900	Foreign Intellegence	Potosi Journal	Potosi	Missouri	Chronicling A.
7 Nov, 1900	Later	Watertown Republican	Watertown	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
8 Nov, 1900	Capital Of Australia	Big Stone Gap Post, The	Big Stone Gap, Wise County	Virginia	Chronicling A.
8 Nov, 1900	Federated Australia	Iron County Register	Ironton, Iron County	Missouri	Chronicling A.
9 Nov, 1900	Foreign Intellegence	Worthington Advance, The	Worthington	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
10 Nov, 1900	Later	L'Anse Sentinel, The	L'Anse LS	Michigan	Chronicling A.
11 Nov, 1900	Renews Mail Service With San Francisco	Honolulu Republican, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
11 Nov, 1900	Australia Quarrels With New Zealand: Condemns Latter's Attempt To Form Separate Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 Nov, 1900	Renews Mail Service With San Francisco	Independent, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
13 Nov, 1900	Australia Seeking A Capital	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
14 Nov, 1900	Aubury May Be Australia's Capital	Barbour County Index	Medicine Lodge	Kansas	Chronicling A.
15 Nov, 1900	Origin Of The Hopes	Iowa County Democrat	Mineral Point	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
23 Nov, 1900	Australia's New National Song	Billings Gazette, The	Billings	Montana	Chronicling A.
1 Dec, 1900	Odds And Ends Of Interest	Deseret Evening News	Great Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
6 Dec, 1900	Bombala May Be Capital	Globe-Republican, The	Dodge City	Kansas	Chronicling A.
6 Dec, 1900	Bombala May Be Capital	Meade County News	Meade	Kansas	Chronicling A.
7 Dec, 1900	Our Foreign Letter: Dealing With Commercial And Industrial Conditions Abroad	Bourbon News, The	Paris	Kentucky	Chronicling A.
7 Dec, 1900	Bombala May Be Capital	Chanute Times, The	Chanute	Kansas	Chronicling A.

7 Dec, 1900	Our Foreign Letter: Dealing With Commercial And Industrial Conditions Abroad	Nebraska Advertiser, The	Nemaha City	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
8 Dec, 1900	Bombala May Be Capital	Chickasha Daily Express, The	Chickasha	Oklahoma Indian Territory	Chronicling A.
8 Dec, 1900	Bombala May Be Capital	Free Press	Hays	Kansas	Chronicling A.
9 Dec, 1900	One Hundred Events: Milestones In The Record Of The Closing Century.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
11 Dec, 1900	Australia's Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
13 Dec, 1900	The Wide World Over	Waterbury Democrat	Waterbury	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
17 Dec, 1900	Leading One Hundred Events Of The Closing Century.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
20 Dec, 1900	News By Miowera: Australia's New Year Outlook	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
23 Dec, 1900	London Topics Of The Week: ... The Australian Federation Muddle	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
25 Dec, 1900	Cable Notes	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
25 Dec, 1900	Australia's Federal Ministry	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
25 Dec, 1900	Declined The Job: Sir John Lyons Doesn't Want Australian Premiership	Saint Paul Globe, The	St Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
25 Dec, 1900	Declined To Form A Ministry	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
25 Dec, 1900	Condensed Dispatches	Seattle Post-Intelligencer, The	Seattle	Washington Territory	Chronicling A.
26 Dec, 1900	May Be Australian Premier.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
27 Dec, 1900	Declined To Form A Cabinet	Bottineau Courant, The	Bottineau	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
27 Dec, 1900	Declined To Form A Cabinet	Wahpeton Times, The	Wahpeton, Richland County	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
29 Dec, 1900	Foreing Affairs	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
31 Dec, 1900	Australian Election	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
1 Jan, 1901	Australia's Federation: New Century Ushered In With Every Sign Of Public Joy	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
1 Jan, 1901	New Federation Of Australia Is Born: Wildest Scenes Of Joy Ever Known In Sydney When Hopetoun Takes The Oath	Evening World, The	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
1 Jan, 1901	New Year's Honor List	Evening Times-Republican	Marshalltown	Iowa	Chronicling A.
1 Jan, 1901	Welcome Twentieth Century	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.

1 Jan, 1901	Rejoycing In Australia	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
2 Jan, 1901	Inducted To Office	Evening Bulletin, The	Maysville	Kentucky	Chronicling A.
2 Jan, 1901	Federation Of Australia: Earl Hoptoun Sworn In As Governor-General	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
2 Jan, 1901	Australia Federated.: Lord Hopetoun Inaugurated At Sydney As First Governor General Of The New Commonwealth	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
2 Jan, 1901	Born Again.: Earl Of Hopetoun Sworn In First Governor	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
2 Jan, 1901	French Snub British At Peking.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
2 Jan, 1901	Scare At Peking: Caused By Fire Of Guns.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
2 Jan, 1901	Suh-Hai Put To Death: Assassin Of Baron Von Ketteler Beheaded In Peking.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
3 Jan, 1901	A Prophecy Fulfilled: Things That John Wree Foresaw Fifty Years Ago	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
3 Jan, 1901	News Summary	Elmore Bulletin	Rocky Bar	Idaho	Chronicling A.
3 Jan, 1901	Untitled	Herald And News	West Randolph	Vermont	Chronicling A.
3 Jan, 1901	The Australian Federation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
4 Jan, 1901	News Summary	Lincoln County Record	Pioche	Nevada	Chronicling A.
5 Jan, 1901	Australian Federation	Albuquerque Daily Citizen	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Chronicling A.
5 Jan, 1901	Hirim Maxim Knighted	Kimball Graphic, The	Kimball Brule County	South Dakota	Chronicling A.
5 Jan, 1901	Otherwise Unnoticed	Grenada Sentinel, The	Grenada	Mississippi	Chronicling A.
5 Jan, 1901	Federated Australia.: The Grand Start-Off Of The New Twentieth Century Commonwealth.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
6 Jan, 1901	Message From The Queen: Received At A Dinner Of The Australian Society	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
6 Jan, 1901	The New Nation	St Louis Republic, The	St Louis	Missouri	Chronicling A.
6 Jan, 1901	Australian Society Gives Its First Dinner: Birth Of The New Commonwealth Is Celebrated	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 Jan, 1901	Birth Of The "United States" Of Australia: New Commonwealth Created On The Century's Threshold	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 Jan, 1901	London Topics Of The Week... Many Obstacles Confront The Australian Federation	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
7 Jan, 1901	Great Trade Expansion In Australasia.: Gold Exports To The United	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

	States Made Possible				
9 Jan, 1901	A Twentieth Century Colony	St Johnsbury Caledonian	Johnsbury	Vermont	Chronicling A.
9 Jan, 1901	Australasian Trade.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
12 Jan, 1901	Australian Federation	Albuquerque Weekly Citizen	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Chronicling A.
12 Jan, 1901	Untitled	Hawaiian Star, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
15 Jan, 1901	Australia On The American Plan	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
18 Jan, 1901	The Outlook	Newtown Bee, The	Newtown	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
19 Jan, 1901	Bombala May Be Capital	Western Kansas World	Wakeeney	Kansas	Chronicling A.
19 Jan, 1901	Federated Australia: Grand Start-Off Of New Twentieth Century Commonwealth	Deseret Evening News	Great Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
20 Jan, 1901	Melbourne The Gem Of The Southland: American Praise For The Queen City Of Australia	Honolulu Republican, The	Honolulu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
23 Jan, 1901	French View Of Australian Federation	Fort Mill Times	Fort Mill	South Carolina	Chronicling A.
24 Jan, 1901	The Australian Federation	Montour American	Danville	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
28 Jan, 1901	Federated Australia	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
29 Jan, 1901	Federated Australia	Hawaiian Gazette, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
29 Jan, 1901	The Commonwealth Of Australia	Progressive Farmer, The	Winston	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
30 Jan, 1901	New York Mail And Express	Deseret Evening News	Great Salt Lake City	Utah	Chronicling A.
31 Jan, 1901	The Australian Federation	Princeton Union, The	Princeton	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
1 Feb, 1901	News Summary	Philipsburg Mail, The	Philipsburg	Montana	Chronicling A.
2 Feb, 1901	State Of Florida: Small Newsy Items About Everything Imaginable	Gazette-News, The	Daytona	Florida	Chronicling A.
8 Feb, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
9 Feb, 1901	Marshall's Idea And History	Times, The	Richmond	Virginia	Chronicling A.
14 Feb, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Valentine Democrat	Valentine	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
15 Feb, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
15 Feb, 1901	Historical Event Described In Detail.: ... Australian Federation.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest

16 Feb, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Appeal, The	Saint Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
22 Feb, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
22 Feb, 1901	States Of Australia	North Platte Semi-Weekly Tribune, The	North Platte	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
23 Feb, 1901	States Of Australia	Chickasha Daily Express, The	Chickasha	Oklahoma Indian Territory	Chronicling A.
28 Feb, 1901	Australia	St Louis Republic, The	St Louis	Missouri	Chronicling A.
7 Mar, 1901	Untitled	Custer County Republican	Broken Bow	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
9 Mar, 1901	Opal For King Edward	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
13 Mar, 1901	Untitled	Pacific Commercial Advertiser, The	Honolulu	Hawaiian Islands	Chronicling A.
15 Mar, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
23 Mar, 1901	Australia Has Old Issue: First Federal Election In Commonwealth Will Hinge On Protection And Free Trade	Omaha Daily Bee	Omaha	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
23 Mar, 1901	Elections In Australia: Protection Versus Free Trade The Main Issue To Be Decided On The Thirtieth Of March	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
29 Mar, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
29 Mar, 1901	The Australian Parliament: The Duke Of Cornwall To Take Part In The Opening Ceremonies	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
31 Mar, 1901	Untitled	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
3 Apr, 1901	Federation In Australia	Wichita Daily Eagle, The	Wichita	Kansas	Chronicling A.
10 Apr, 1901	Remey Sails For Sydney	Evening Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
12 Apr, 1901	Australia Today: Two-Thirds Of The Continent Desert, Yet Its Productiveness Is Enormous	Virginia Enterprise, The	Virginia, St Louis County	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
12 Apr, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
17 Apr, 1901	New Zealand And Australia.: Report Of Commission Likely To Be Unfavorable To Federation.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
18 Apr, 1901	Federated Australia: Edmund Barton, Famous New South Wales	Columbian, The	Bloomsburg	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.

	Statesman, To Be Its First Premier				
19 Apr, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
21 Apr, 1901	A Trans-Australian Railway: Great Scheme Of The New Federal Government	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
21 Apr, 1901	Australia Today: Two-Thirds Of The Continent Desert, Yet Its Productiveness Is Enormous	Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
24 Apr, 1901	The Monument To Perry: Japan Determined That It Shall Be A Magnificent Testimonial	Evening Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
25 Apr, 1901	Australia Of To-Day: Only Four Million People Inhabit That Land	Belding Banner	Belding	Michigan	Chronicling A.
25 Apr, 1901	Australia Today: Two-Thirds Of The Continent Desert, Yet Its Productiveness Is Enormous	Scranton Tribune, The	Scranton	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
2 May, 1901	Admiral Remy Sails For Melbourne	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
2 May, 1901	Washington Notes	Saint Paul Globe, The	St Paul	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
3 May, 1901	Factor In Politics: New Federation Of Australia Must Hereafter Be Considered	Iowa State Bystander	Des Moines	Iowa	Chronicling A.
3 May, 1901	Remy Sails For Melbourne	Norfolk Weekly News-Journal, The	Norfolk	Nebraska	Chronicling A.
3 May, 1901	Tour Of The World By England's Heir Apparent	Waterbury Democrat	Waterbury	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
4 May, 1901	The Brooklyn At Melbourne	Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
6 May, 1901	From Washington	Alexandria Gazette	Alexandria	D.C.	Chronicling A.
6 May, 1901	Tour Of The World By England's Heir Apparent	Sun, The	Wilmington	Delaware	Chronicling A.
9 May, 1901	Domestic	Mineral Point Tribune	Mineral Point	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
9 May, 1901	Domestic	Wood County Reporter	Grand Rapids	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
9 May, 1901	Federated Parliament Opened In Australia	Daily Journal, The	Salem	Oregon	Chronicling A.
9 May, 1901	Opening: Of Parliament For The Australian Federation	Akron Daily Democrat	Akron	Ohio	Chronicling A.
10 May, 1901	Federated Australia	Minneapolis Journal, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
10 May, 1901	Parliament Opened: Beginning Of New Federation Of Australia-Ceremony Observed By Thousands.	Stark County Democrat, The	Canton	Ohio	Chronicling A.
10 May, 1901	The New Australia: First Federal Parliament Opened In Due Form	Richmond Dispatch	Richmond	Virginia	Chronicling A.
10 May, 1901	Australia's Parliament: Opening By The Duke Of Cornwall An Impressive Ceremony	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

11 May, 1901	Australian Triumph.: Assembling Of First Federal Parliament Is Discussed With Enthusiasm By London Papers.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
15 May, 1901	Foreign	Watertown Republican	Watertown	Wisconsin	Chronicling A.
15 May, 1901	Foreign Intelligence	Potosi Journal	Potosi	Missouri	Chronicling A.
16 May, 1901	An Impressive Ceremony: Opening Of The First Federal Parliament In Australia	Delaware Gazette And State Journal	Wilmington	Delaware	Chronicling A.
16 May, 1901	Federated Australia Starts Off	Herald And News	West Randolph	Vermont	Chronicling A.
16 May, 1901	Impressive Ceremonial: Opening Of The First Federal Parliament Of Australia At Melbourne	Taney County Republican, The	Forsyth	Missouri	Chronicling A.
17 May, 1901	Foreign	Perrysburg Journal	Perrysburg, Wood Co	Ohio	Chronicling A.
17 May, 1901	Australian Advices	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
18 May, 1901	Foreign	Fair Play	Ste Genevieve	Missouri	Chronicling A.
18 May, 1901	Foreign	L'Anse Sentinel, The	L'Anse LS	Michigan	Chronicling A.
18 May, 1901	The World For A Week	Minneapolis Journal, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
25 May, 1901	Australia Of To-Day: Only Four Million People Inhabit That Land	Cook County Herald, The	Grand Marais	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
25 May, 1901	Tour Of The World By England's Heir Apparent	Richmond Planet	Richmond	Virginia	Chronicling A.
26 May, 1901		Indianapolis Journal, The	Indianapolis	Indiana	Chronicling A.
28 May, 1901	Long List Of Graduates	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
30 May, 1901	Lord Salisbury On Ireland	Princeton Union, The	Princeton	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
8 Jun, 1901	Laborers' Paradise: The New Australia Is A Workingman's Continent	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
15 Jun, 1901	Pick Ups	Maui News, The	Wailuku, Maui	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
17 Jun, 1901	A Contrast	Hawaiian Star, The	Honolulu, Oahu	Hawaii	Chronicling A.
22 Jun, 1901	Australia's Capital	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
22 Jun, 1901	Australia And New Zealand.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
24 Jun, 1901	A Model Capital	Brownsville Daily Herald, The	Brownsville	Texas	Chronicling A.
6 Jul, 1901	Advance Australia!	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
6 Jul, 1901	Our Cable Letter.: Latest Items About The Doings Of Authors And Publishers.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest

11 Jul, 1901	Australia's Capital: Still A Matter Of Doubt As To Where It Will Be Located Permanently	Waterbury Democrat	Waterbury	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
13 Jul, 1901	Australia's Capital: Still A Matter Of Doubt As To Where It Will Be Located Permanently	Diamond Drill, The	Crystal Falls, Iron County	Michigan	Chronicling A.
22 Jul, 1901	In Foreign Lands: New Zealand And The Commonwealth	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
25 Jul, 1901	Railroad Affairs: Australian Railways.	Wall Street Journal	New York	New York	Proquest
27 Jul, 1901	Australia's Capital: Still A Matter Of Doubt As To Where It Will Be Located Permanently	Marietta Daily Leader	Marietta	Ohio	Chronicling A.
8 Aug, 1901	Cruiser Brooklyn Reaches Manila.	Washington Post, The	Washington	D.C.	Proquest
8 Aug, 1901	The Brooklyn Back At Manila.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
2 Sep, 1901	New Zealand's Aspirations.: Opposes Federation With Australia And Favors Empire.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
4 Sep, 1901	Affairs Of The District	Evening Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
4 Sep, 1901	Washington As Model: Federal City In Australia To Be Fashioned Like It	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
5 Sep, 1901	Affairs Of The District	Washington Times, The	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
5 Sep, 1901	Washington City As A Model: Great Britain's Federal City In Australia May Be Patterned After America's Capital	St Louis Republic, The	St Louis	Missouri	Chronicling A.
6 Sep, 1901	Good Roads	Prince George's Enquirer And Southern Maryland Advertiser, The	Upper Marlborough	Maryland	Chronicling A.
6 Sep, 1901	Untitled	New-York Tribune	New York	New York	Chronicling A.
6 Sep, 1901	Washington As A Model	Evening Star	Washington	D.C.	Chronicling A.
10 Sep, 1901	To Lecture On Britain's Colonial Government	San Francisco Call, The	San Francisco	California	Chronicling A.
17 Sep, 1901	Australia's Capital: Still A Matter Of Doubt As To Where It Will Be Located Permanently	Silver Messenger, The	Challis	Idaho	Chronicling A.
19 Sep, 1901	Washington As A Model	Jamestown Weekly Alert	Jamestown Stutsman County	North Dakota	Chronicling A.
19 Sep, 1901	Irritation In Australia: Complaints Against The Federal Ministry's Policy	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
25 Sep, 1901	Washington As A Model	Richmond Daily Palladium	Richmond	Indiana	Chronicling A.
28 Sep, 1901	Washington A Model	Barre Evening Telegram	Barre	Vermont	Chronicling A.

2 Oct, 1901	Australia Model A Capital	Abbeville Press And Banner, The	Abbeville	South Carolina	Chronicling A.
10 Oct, 1901	Washington A Model	Belding Banner	Belding	Michigan	Chronicling A.
14 Oct, 1901	Washington A Model	Freeland Tribune	Freeland	Pennsylvania	Chronicling A.
24 Oct, 1901	Washington A Model	Goldsboro Weekly Argus	Goldsboro	North Carolina	Chronicling A.
28 Oct, 1901	Topics Of The Times.	New York Times	New York	New York	Proquest
6 Nov, 1901	Australia's Federation: Second Of Lowes Dickinson's Interesting Lecture Yesterday	Daily Morning Journal And Courier, The	New Haven	Connecticut	Chronicling A.
6 Nov, 1901	Australia's Capital: Still A Matter Of Doubt As To Where It Will Be Located Permenantly	Western News, The	Stevensville	Montana	Chronicling A.
29 Nov, 1901	Federated Australia: The Accepted Design For The Commonwealth Flag	Minneapolis Journal, The	Minneapolis	Minnesota	Chronicling A.
30 Nov, 1901	Washington A Model	Free Lance, The	Fredericksburg	Virginia	Chronicling A.
3 Dec, 1901	New National Flag.	Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	California	Proquest
27 Dec, 1901	The Accepted Australian Flag	Kansas Agitatoregon	Garnett	Kansas	Chronicling A.