

# GETTING IT TOGETHER

From Colonies to Federation



## VICTORIA

Road to Federation



MUSEUM  
OF AUSTRALIAN  
DEMOCRACY

OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE

INVESTIGATIONS OF  
AUSTRALIA'S JOURNEY  
TO NATIONHOOD  
FOR THE MIDDLE  
YEARS CLASSROOM

**MOAD**  
**LEARNING**

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# Road to Federation

Although the people of Australia shared a common culture, language and political systems, they were also separate and independent of one another, with their own governments. They cooperated on matters such as defence and immigration, but each parliament jealously guarded the right to make laws for the people of its colony.

Those who proposed Federation were seeking to overcome the barriers between the colonies, and to have the people united as one nation under a common government. They believed a united Australia could improve the defence of the colonies. The fact that the railroad tracks differed from one colony to another made the movement of troops, as well as transportation in general, difficult and inefficient. There were also concerns about migrants. The gold rushes had attracted people from all over the world, and there was a lot of hostility to Chinese diggers. Australia's population was mostly of British descent and the vast majority of people wanted it to stay that way. A federal government would be able to control immigration through a 'White Australia' policy.

But, would the barriers prove too strong to tear down? The colonies disagreed on the subject of trade, as well as on sharing resources. Victoria had protectionist policies to safeguard its agriculture and manufacturing industries. It placed intercolonial tariffs (taxes) on goods purchased in other colonies and from overseas to encourage Victorians to buy locally. This tempted some people to smuggle goods across the border into Victoria to avoid paying the tariffs. It also imposed a 'stock tax' on livestock brought across the border to graze on Victoria's rich grasslands. Issues regarding navigation and access to water for irrigation also caused tensions between Victoria and the colonies of New South Wales and South Australia.

The colonies also disagreed on whether or not women should have the right to vote. Each colony had made its own laws about who could vote in elections. Women in South Australia and Western Australia had gained the right to vote in 1894 and 1899, respectively. Men in the Victorian Legislative Council, however, blocked every attempt to allow Victorian women the same right.

In the 1890s, the people of Victoria were regarded as being mostly in favour of Federation. However, organisations such as the Australian Natives Association and the Federal League still had the difficult task of countering the arguments of Federation's opponents. They encountered stiff opposition from the labour movement and others who thought the Australian Constitution being proposed for the new Commonwealth would not be democratic. The concern was that it would give too much power to States with smaller populations.

The people of New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia had their first opportunity to vote on Federation in a referendum on the Constitution Bill in 1898. The referendum was an important opportunity to find out the level of support for Federation. Despite its importance, voting was not compulsory and many people did not vote. The necessary quota of 'yes' votes was not reached in New South Wales, so the referendum failed.

A second referendum was held in 1899, and this time it passed. When a successful referendum was held in Western Australia in 1900, the six colonies were able to unite and form the Commonwealth of Australia.

## Investigations

-  **1.** What were the issues as Victorians considered whether or not to support Federation?
-  **2.** How would the system of Federal Parliament affect Victorians?
-  **3.** What arguments for and against Federation were presented to Victorian voters?
-  **4.** What were the results of the referendums in Victoria?
-  **5.** If you had been a Victorian voter, would you have been in favour of Federation?

## INVESTIGATION 1

# What were the issues as Victorians considered whether or not to support Federation?

For many Victorians, the decision to vote for or against Federation depended on how such an event would affect their colony, themselves and their families. They would also have been influenced by the idea and benefits of belonging to a new nation.

The main issues facing Victorians in the 1880s and 1890s included the ability to defend themselves against foreign powers, immigration, freedom of trade between the colonies, control of, and access to, the Murray River system and women's right to vote. There was a widespread belief that it was time to take action to bring about change and build a better future. Many people believed that Federation was important to achieving these objectives.

### YOU WILL NEED

#### Resource sheet 1

- extracts and cartoons: about immigration, trade, rivers, railways, defence and voting rights for women
- chart: choices and consequences

### Your task

**Explore the issues as Victorians considered the advantages and disadvantages of Federation.**

## Activities

**1.** Form six groups. Each group will study one of the issues: immigration, trade, river, railways, defence and voting rights for women, by examining the items. In your groups, discuss the following questions and record your answers.

- What do your primary sources say about the issue?
- Who might they have been created for?
- Could the issue have been used as a reason for Victorians to federate with the other colonies?
- Could the issue have been used as a reason not to federate?

**2.** Based on what you know and what you have read about your issue, use the 'choices and consequences chart' to record:

- the issue;
- the positive (pluses) and negative (minuses) consequences for taking action on the issue;
- the positive and negative consequences for taking no action on the issue; and
- your group's position on the issue if they had lived in Victoria at the time.

**3.** Share your group's chart with the class. As a class, discuss the following question.

- Based on what you have found out so far, do you believe the road to Federation would have been an easy one or a hard one?

## INVESTIGATION 2

# How would the system of Federal Parliament affect Victorians?

The draft Australian Constitution was written at the March–April 1897 Australasian Federation Convention held in Adelaide. It was debated and altered when the Convention met again in Sydney in September 1897, and then in Melbourne in January–March 1898.

The Federal Parliament proposed by the Constitution had two chambers: the House of Representatives and the Senate. To make laws for Australia, a majority of votes in both chambers would be needed.

In the House of Representatives, the number of representatives would be proportional to the number of people living in each colony. Larger colonies, such as Victoria, would have more representatives than smaller colonies.

In the Senate, each colony was to have an equal number of representatives. This meant that colonies with small populations would have the same number of votes as colonies with larger populations, such as Victoria. In the Senate, each colony would have the same power to influence the laws of Australia. This idea bothered a number of politicians in colonies with larger populations. As a compromise, if the Senate blocked measures from the House of Representatives, the people were to decide the matter at an election.

### YOU WILL NEED

#### Resource sheet 2

- extract: representation in a Federal Parliament
- diagrams: proposed representation in a new Federal Parliament
- data: population for each colony

### Your task

Examine whether or not the proposed representation for the new Federal Parliament was fair.

## Activities

1. As a class, read the comment by Bryan O’Loughlan on representation in a Federal Parliament.
2. In small groups, examine the proposed representation in the new Federal Parliament and consider the following questions.
  - Which States would benefit from a one-chamber parliament? Why?
  - Which States would benefit from a two-chamber parliament? Why?
  - Why might Bryan O’Loughlan have been concerned about the Constitution providing equal representation to all the States?
  - Why, in theory, would the two-chamber parliament provide a safeguard for colonies with smaller populations? In reality, would this always be the case? Why?
3. In small groups, look at the population numbers in 1899 and the number of representatives for the House of Representatives and the Senate. Use these figures to consider the following questions.
  - Would the proposed Federal Parliament be fair to the people of Victoria?
  - Why might colonies with small populations have been concerned about the number of representatives in the House of Representatives being proportional to the number of people living in each colony?
  - Could this issue have affected progress towards Federation?
4. Share your small group’s responses with the rest of the class. As a class, vote on whether you think the proposed representation for the new Federal Parliament would be fair.
5. Design a graphic to represent how the two parliamentary chambers create a fair system. Share your designs with your classmates.

## INVESTIGATION 3

# What arguments for and against Federation were presented to Victorian voters?

## YOU WILL NEED

### Resource sheet 3

- extracts: arguments for Federation
- extracts: arguments against Federation

The debates surrounding Federation were lively and passionate. Leading politicians, such as Alfred Deakin, George Turner and Isaac Isaacs, and organisations such as the Australian Natives Association and Australasian Federal League, actively campaigned for Federation. Although the editor of *The Age* newspaper, David Syme, had initial reservations about Federation, he also threw his full support behind the 'yes' campaign.

The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League was established by those who opposed Federation. They worked hard to warn of the disadvantages of Federation and had the support of Trades Hall, which represented the workers, and some politicians, such as Henry Bournes Higgins. After Federation, Higgins went on to become the Commonwealth Attorney-General (1904–1906), a justice of the High Court, and President of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration.

**Explore the arguments for and against Federation presented to the voters of Victoria.**

Your task

## Activities

1. As a class, read the arguments for and against Federation.
2. In small groups, make a list of the reasons for and against Federation outlined in the quotes and comments you have read. Add any other reasons you can think of to the list. Think back to the issues you examined in Investigations 1 and 2.
3. Share your lists with the class. Have a 'question and answer' session. Ask any questions you may have about the reasons for or against Federation, or anything else that may be unclear to you.
4. Based on what you know about Federation, if you had the right to vote at the time, would you have voted for or against Federation? Write the

reasons for your thinking. Find three or four classmates who share your views about Federation. Your small group will develop a political campaign to convince others to join you.

- Decide who the target audience for your campaign for or against Federation will be. Remember, different groups in the community had a range of concerns and/or priorities.
  - Record a short list of reasons why people should support your point of view. You might like to include catchy slogans with your reasons.
  - Design a series of campaign posters. Each poster could have a different reason represented by a graphic or cartoon and slogan.
5. Display the posters around the classroom.

## INVESTIGATION 4

# What were the results of the referendums in Victoria?

In 1898, the people of Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania voted on whether to accept the draft Constitution decided by the 1897–98 Convention. The colonies of Queensland and Western Australia did not go ahead with the vote. For Federation to proceed, all colonies had to achieve a majority 'yes' vote. This occurred in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia. In addition, New South Wales did not achieve a required quota of 80,000 'yes' votes, so the referendum failed in that colony, and Federation could not proceed.

The Premiers of the colonies met in Melbourne from 29 January to 3 February 1899 in an attempt to find common ground and agree to amendments to the draft Australian Constitution. The conference was called the Premiers' 'secret' conference because neither the media nor the public were allowed to attend. This conference finally did resolve the differences between the colonies so that plans for Federation could move forward. The New South Wales Parliament also removed the quota of 80,000 for the 1899 referendum in New South Wales.

Campaigning for Federation began again, and a second round of referendums was held in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania. Queensland also held its referendum in 1899. Western Australia held its referendum in 1900. The results of these referendums determined that the colonies would become States in the new Commonwealth of Australia.

### YOU WILL NEED

#### Resource sheet 4

- data: breakdown of the 1898 and 1899 referendum results for Victoria
- calculators

Investigate the 1898 and 1899 Federation referendums in Victoria.

Your task

## Activities

1. Divide the suburban electorates among your classmates. Each take responsibility for working out the percentage of 'yes' and 'no' votes in their electorate/s for each referendum. Which suburban electorate had the highest 'yes' vote in 1898, and which had this distinction in 1899?
2. In pairs, examine the total suburban vote for the 1898 and 1899 referendums, and calculate the percentage of 'yes' and 'no' votes for each referendum. Voting was not compulsory in the referendums. How many more people in the city voted in 1898 than 1899? Were the people in the city more or less in favour of Federation as time went by? Use the results in the table to justify your response.
3. Divide the country electorates among your classmates. Have each take responsibility for working out the percentage of 'yes' and 'no' votes in their electorate/s for each referendum. Which country electorate had the highest 'yes' vote in 1898, and which had this distinction in 1899?
4. In pairs, calculate the percentage of 'yes' and 'no' votes for each referendum. Voting was not compulsory in the referendums. How many people in the country voted in the 1898 referendum, and how many voted in 1899? Were the people in the country more or less in favour of Federation as time went by? Use the results in the table to justify your response.
5. Compare the results of the total suburban vote to the total country vote for both 1898 and 1899. Identify and list the most significant aspects of the results. How did the vote vary between the two referendums? Did support for Federation change in Victoria between the two referendums?
6. Create a class tally board and map of the results of each of the referendums. Shade the map to represent the different percentages of 'yes' votes for each locality. Treat the city as one locality on your map of Victoria. Describe any patterns in the 'yes' vote that emerge for each map using geographical language.

## INVESTIGATION 5

# If you had been a Victorian voter, would you have been in favour of Federation?

The road to Federation involved many issues that people had to consider. How could Federation serve the interests of Victoria and at the same time help to create the best possible future for the nation as a whole? Imagine that you lived in Victoria at the time of Federation. What issues would have been most important for you and your colony? And, after weighing up the issues, what would your opinion on Federation have been?

### YOU WILL NEED

Resource sheet 5

- chart: rank the issues
- voting slip

### Your task

**Decide the importance of the issues surrounding Federation, and how you would have voted.**

## Activities

**1.** You have considered a variety of issues surrounding Federation, including:

- immigration;
- defence;
- trade;
- rivers and railways;
- equal representation in the Senate; and
- voting rights for women.

Use the chart to rank the issues in order of importance from 1 to 6, with 1 being the issue that is the most important and in most urgent need of resolution. Provide a reason for each of your rankings.

**2.** Find four or five classmates that had the same issue ranked as number 1. Work as a team to develop an argument about why your issue was the most important.

- Provide an introduction to the issue stating its importance.
- Present your first reason for ranking your issue as number 1.

- State your second reason for your ranking.
- Outline your third reason for the ranking.
- Conclude your case with a summary of the arguments.

Present your case to the rest of the class.

**3.** Have the arguments presented by the other groups changed your mind about which issue was the most important? Cast your vote using the voting slip. Remember to number the squares from 1 to 6, and that every square must be numbered. (Information on the preferential voting system can be found at [www.aec.gov.au/Voting/counting/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Voting/counting/index.htm).)

Tally the votes. Which issue was voted the most important? Which one was the least important? Were any issues deemed to be of equal importance?



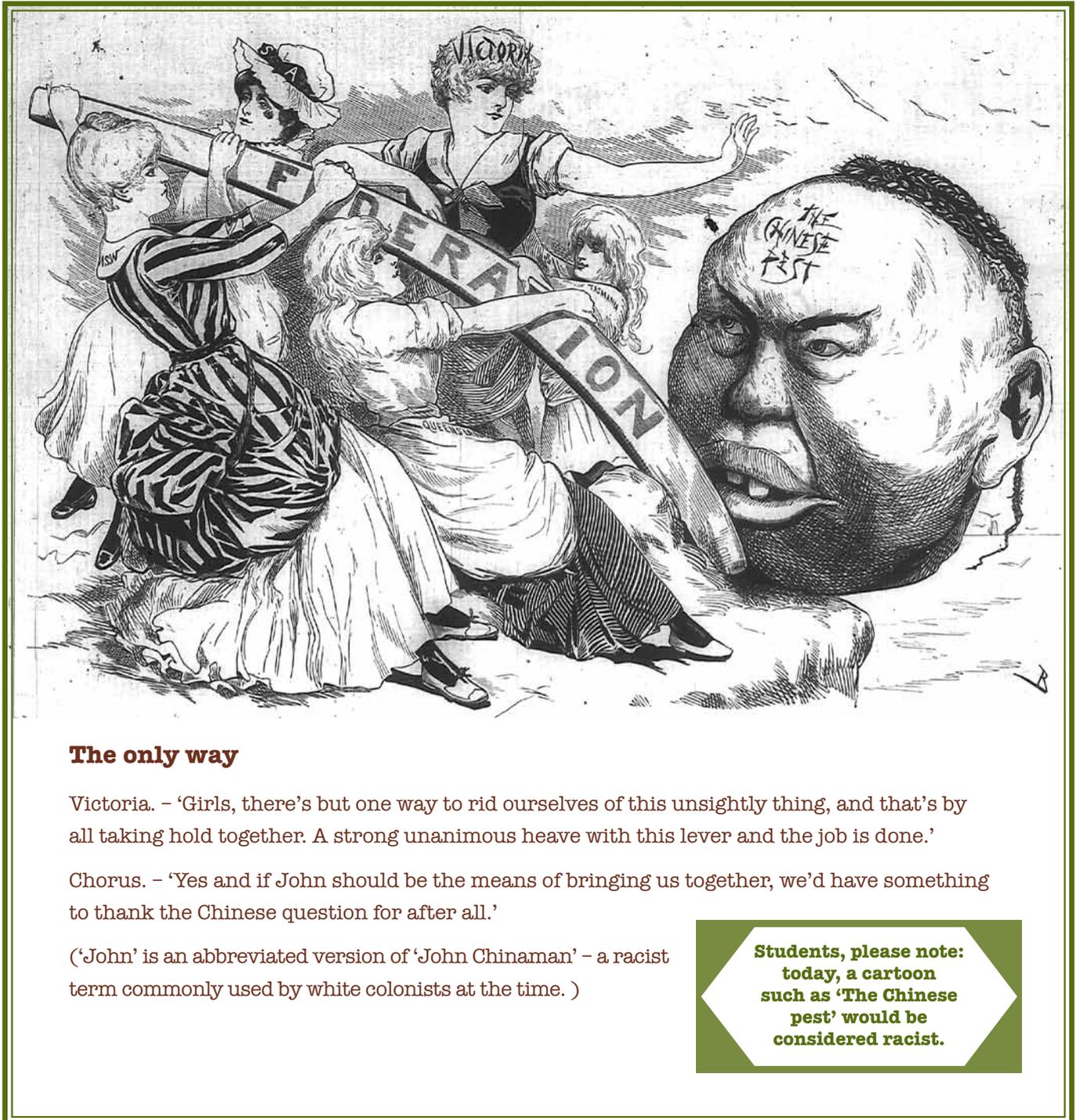
## What are you thinking now?

Now that you have completed the investigations in Road to Federation, use your knowledge to explore connections to your life today. Do one or more of the following activities.

- 1.** To build your understanding of how the two chambers of the Parliament of Australia work to turn a bill into a law, go to Kidsview – Parliament in Focus on the Parliamentary Education Office website [www.peo.gov.au/kidsview/menu.html](http://www.peo.gov.au/kidsview/menu.html). Click on ‘Law making’ to access ‘Pass the Bill’ then follow the instructions. Find out about a bill that is currently being debated in Parliament by looking in newspapers and the media or by visiting the Parliament website [www.aph.gov.au/bills/index.htm](http://www.aph.gov.au/bills/index.htm).
- 2.** The road to Federation involved petitions, letters to the editors of newspapers, public meetings and debates in order to resolve issues that faced the colony of Victoria. As a class, brainstorm a list of current local, State or national issues that affect you. Decide what changes are needed. How could the issue or issues be successfully resolved? What actions can you and your classmates take? How can you get people involved in the resolution process? Present your ideas for resolving the issue or issues in a letter or leaflet that you can send to a newspaper or to a member of Parliament.
- 3.** Design a coin or stamp to commemorate Victoria becoming part of Federation. Decide what images and graphics would best represent the significance of the colonies agreeing to join together.

# RESOURCE SHEET 1

## About immigration



### The only way

Victoria. – ‘Girls, there’s but one way to rid ourselves of this unsightly thing, and that’s by all taking hold together. A strong unanimous heave with this lever and the job is done.’

Chorus. – ‘Yes and if John should be the means of bringing us together, we’d have something to thank the Chinese question for after all.’

(‘John’ is an abbreviated version of ‘John Chinaman’ – a racist term commonly used by white colonists at the time.)

**Students, please note:  
today, a cartoon  
such as ‘The Chinese  
pest’ would be  
considered racist.**

Cartoon of Victoria urging the Federation to get rid of the ‘Chinese pest’, *Melbourne Punch*, 10 May 1888, National Library of Australia.

## **Comment on limiting immigration**

Our allegiance is to our own population first, and we cannot be bound by any consideration to abstain from legislation which the moral welfare of that population demands. We are not bound to receive criminals or to admit leprosy or small-pox, and by the same argument we may exclude any persons whose habits of life and social customs are not only alien to our own, but are incompatible with the public welfare.

*The Age*, 2 May 1888.

## **About trade**

### **Maintaining the stock tax**

The abolition of the Stock Tax—a necessary sequence of Federation—will destroy the only protection beneficial to farmers. The farmers of this district are absolutely dependent on stock-raising. It is their salvation. Destroy it, and their prosperity is blighted ... Blinded by the glamour of a federated Australia some may affirm that the removal of the Stock Tax won't affect the price of stock, and herein they tacitly admit that if it does, heaven help the farmers.

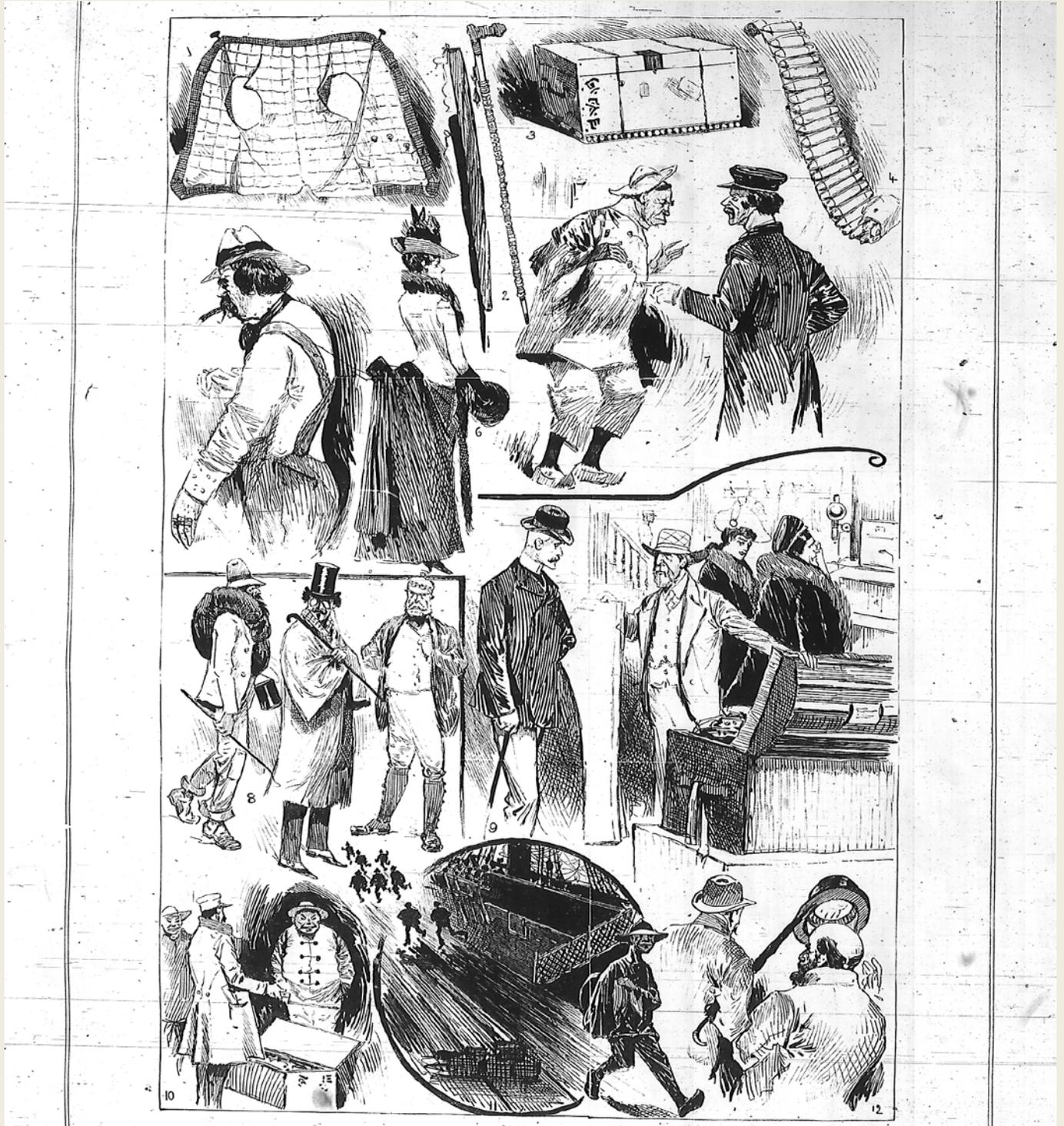
Daniel Toland, Letter to the editor, *Omeo Standard*, 20 May 1898.

### **Abolishing border duties**

The abolition of the border duties would be the releasing of the farmers from the fetters with which they had for so long been bound. The duties had done more harm than good in the past ... for in good seasons they had compelled them to take ruinous prices for their produce. What had the farmers of this colony to fear from the competition of the farmers in the neighbouring colonies? ... So long as the border duties remained these other markets were practically closed to them ... The people of Australia had a great chance to build up a mighty nation.

Councillor Noske, Letter to the editor, *The Argus*, 20 May 1898.

## Smugglers and their dodgers



*The Australasian*, 7 June 1890, National Library of Australia.

1. A waistcoat with up to 170 hidden inside pockets for smuggling watches.
2. A dummy umbrella used for sneaking jewellery, such as rings, across the border.
3. A false-bottomed box.
4. Cigars and drugs could be smuggled across the border in a belt worn around the chest.
5. Smuggled goods could be held in place with braces that were used to hold up men's pants.
6. When in fashion, women could use their fur muffs (hand warmers) to smuggle goods across the border.
12. Hats could be used for smuggling small items.

## About rivers and railways

### **Murray River as a river for trade**

The points of arrival and departure of the river traffic are very rarely in the same colony. The traffic of the Murray and its tributaries is therefore in its essence inter-colonial, and one would, therefore, suppose that it was properly open to, and required, federal control.

Alfred Deakin, Australasian Federal Convention, Melbourne, 21 January 1898.

### **Murray River as a source for irrigation**

This great river system has its rise in other colonies; but it flows through Victoria and South Australia, and Victoria and South Australia for that reason have a moral co-equal claim to the use of the water, and that use should be controlled in the interest of all the riparian co-proprietors.

John Gordon, Australasian Federal Convention, Melbourne, 21 January 1898.

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### **Railways as defence**

The break of gauge which exists between the colonies would be fatal to [speed] of movement; it would practically prevent Victoria and South Australia coming to the assistance of New South Wales or Queensland, nor for the same reason could the two latter colonies render assistance to Victoria or South Australia... a uniform gauge must be established...

British Major General's Report on the Military Forces of the Australian Colonies, 1889.

### **Railways as trade**

I consider that there should be an Inter-State Commission, which must have control of railways which go from state to state, and be able to interfere where railways are so managed as to influence the natural flow of trade between colonies.

William Arthur Trenwith, Australasian Federal Convention, Melbourne, 23 February 1898.

# RESOURCE SHEET 1 continued

## About defence

### A plain case

SERVICE (able seaman) – “Well mates, you wouldn’t federate when I wanted you to; but if yonder craft comes this way, Federation or no Federation, you’ll have to work together.” (‘SERVICE’ is a reference to Victorian Premier James Service [8 March 1883 - 18 February 1886])



*Australian Tit-Bits*, Vol 1, No 42, 26 March 1885, National Library of Australia.

## **Extract from speech by Henry Parkes at Tenterfield, 24 October 1889**

General Edwards had also advised that the forces of the various colonies should be federated for operation in unison in the event of war so as to act as one great federal army. If an attack were made upon any of the colonies, it might be necessary for us to bring all our power to bear on one spot of the coast.

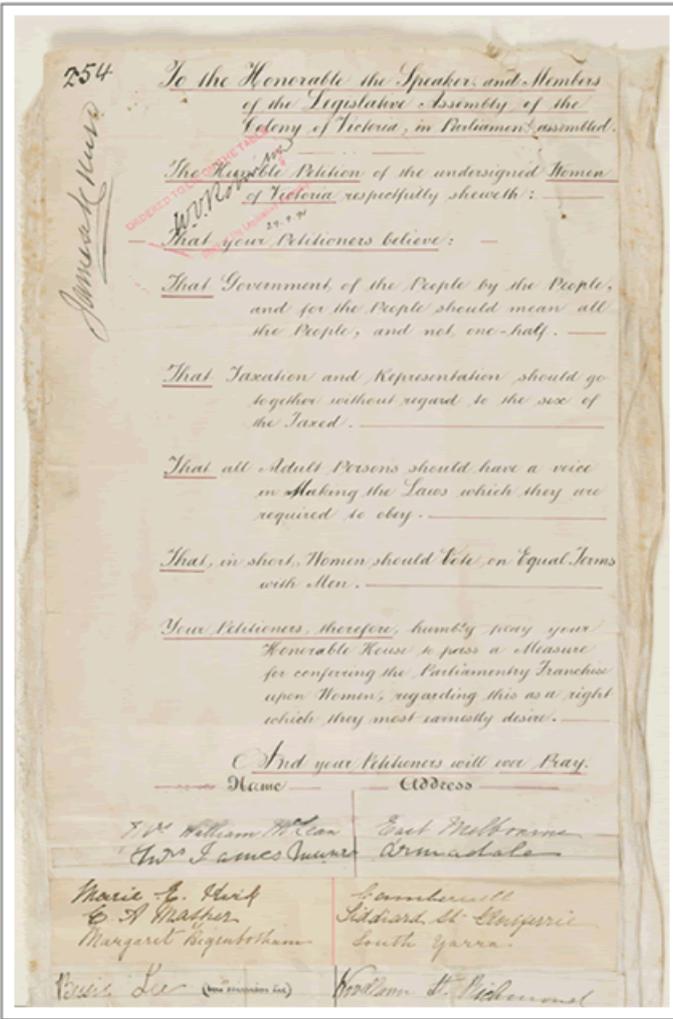
The great question which they had to consider was, whether the time had not now arisen for the creation on this Australian continent of an Australian Government ... to preserve the security and integrity of these colonies that the whole of their forces should be amalgamated into one great federal army ... They had now, from South Australia to Queensland, a stretch of about 2,000 miles of railway, and if the four colonies could only combine to adopt a uniform gauge, it would be an immense advantage to the movement of troops.

Surely, what the Americans have done by war, the Australians could bring about in peace. It is essential to preserve the security of these colonies that there should be one great federal army ... We must appoint a convention of leading men from all the colonies who would ... devise the constitution (for) a federal government with a federal parliament ...

*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 October 1889.

## About voting rights for women

The 'monster petition', signed by 30,000 Victorian women, was presented to the Parliament of Victoria by Jane Munro, wife of then Victorian Premier, James Munro



### 1891 Women's Suffrage Petition

*To the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Victoria, in Parliament assembled.*

*The Humble Petition of the undersigned Women of Victoria respectfully sheweth:*

*That your Petitioners believe:*

- That Government of the People by the People, and for the People should mean all the People, and not one-half.*
- That Taxation and Representation should go together without regard to the sex of the Taxed.*
- That all Adult Persons should have a voice in Making the Laws which they are required to obey.*
- That, in short, Women should Vote on Equal Terms with Men.*

*Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House to pass a Measure for conferring the Parliamentary Franchise upon Women, regarding this as a right which they most earnestly desire.*

*And your Petitioners will ever Pray,*

Name	Address
<i>Mr William McLean</i>	<i>East Melbourne</i>
<i>Mr James Munro</i>	<i>Armadale</i>
<i>Marie A. Clark</i>	<i>Doncaster</i>
<i>E. A. Madgen</i>	<i>St. Albans</i>
<i>Margaret Higginbotham</i>	<i>South Yarra</i>
<i>Miss Lee</i>	<i>William St. Richmond</i>

Women's Suffrage League petition, 1891, PROV, VPRS 3253/P0, Unit 851. Reproduced with permission of the Keeper of the Public Records, Public Record Office, Victoria, Australia, © State of Victoria.

### Anti-Suffrage Petition, 1900

The petition of the undersigned women, resident of Victoria, humbly sheweth: - That there is a bill before your honourable House to confer the parliamentary franchise on women. That your petitioners are convinced that this measure will not be for the good of the State for the following reasons: It will be the cause of dissension in families ... it will force women from the peacefulness and quiet of their homes into the arena of politics and impose a burden upon them ... The women of Victoria have never yet expressed their opinion upon the subject of women's suffrage ... and we believe if they had the opportunity of so doing they would be against its adoption.

Anti-Suffrage Petition, 1900, Public Records Office of Victoria, PROV, VPRS 02599/P0, Unit 193, cited from Office of Women's Policy, Victorian Government.

## Choices and consequences chart

Record the issue contained in your primary source. List the positive (pluses) and negative (minuses) consequences for **taking action** and for **taking no action** on the issue. What would your position on the issue have been if you had lived in Victoria at the time: to take action or take no action? Justify your answer.

<b>What is this issue?</b>	
<b>Choices</b>	
If the people of Victoria had chosen to <b>do something</b> about the issue, then ...	If the people of Victoria had chosen to <b>do nothing</b> about the issue, then ...
<b>Consequences</b>	
... what might the positive and negative consequences have been? Base your answers on what you know and the primary source material you have read.	... what might the positive and negative consequences have been? Base your answers on what you know and the primary source material you have read.
<b>Pluses (+)</b>	<b>Pluses (+)</b>
<b>Minuses (-)</b>	<b>Minuses (-)</b>

If I was living in Victoria at the time, my position on the issue would be ...

because ...

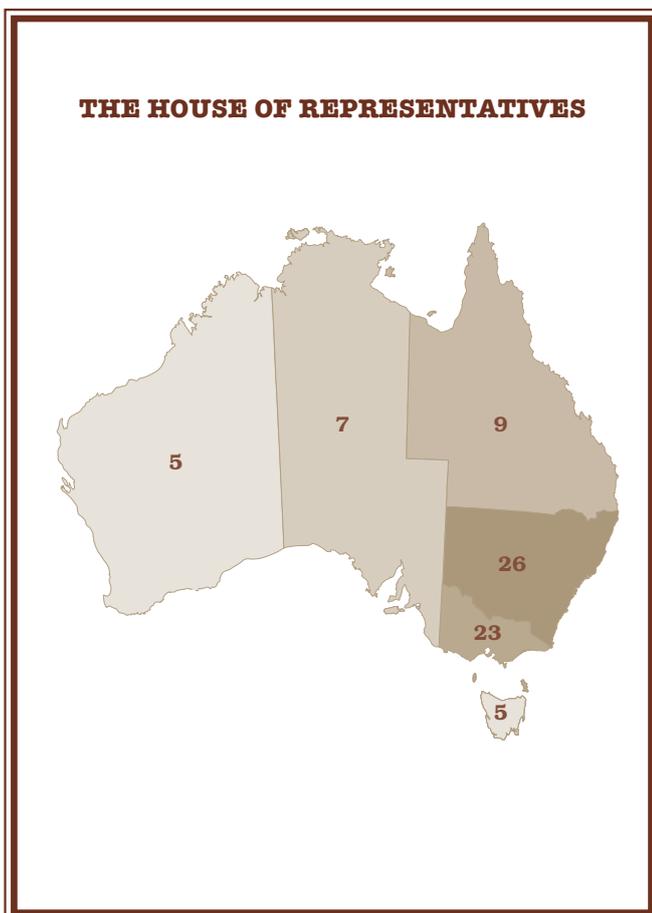
# RESOURCE SHEET 2

## Comment by Bryan O’Loghlan, 1898 Australasian Federation Conference, Melbourne

The draft bill was undemocratic. The test was this - Did it establish in the constitution the rule of a minority or of a majority? The answer was that it provided for a minority, because it gave equal representation to all the states. (Hear, hear.) ... They saw there 30 representatives of the smaller states outvoting the liberal proposals which came from the delegates for New South Wales and Victoria. In the Federal Senate, the 18 representatives of the smaller colonies, representing 600,000 people, would be able to outvote the representatives of 2,400,000 people ...

*The Argus*, 21 April 1898.

## Proposed representation in a new Federal Parliament



## Population data for each colony in 1899

Colony	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	Tas	WA
Population in 1899	1,348,400	1,162,900	482,400	370,700	182,300	171,030

Souvenir of the inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth, 1901, State Library of New South Wales.

# RESOURCE SHEET 3

## Arguments for Federation

### **Alfred Deakin**

... What we have to ask ourselves is whether we can afford indefinite delay. Do we lose nothing by a continuation of the separation between state and state? Do not every year and every month exact from us the toll of [being separate]? Do not we find ourselves hampered in commerce, restricted in influence, weakened in prestige ...

Cited in JA La Nauze (ed), *Alfred Deakin, The Federal Story: The Inner History of the Federal Cause 1880–1900*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1963.

... The Australian native knows that Federation under the 1898 Bill makes for the consolidation of Australia; that it takes away from him none of his present freedom, but, instead, grants the masses privileges unknown elsewhere. He knows the fundamental principle is right, that its franchise makes all men equal, and therefore that the last word lies with him.

*Advance Australia*, vol II, no 8, 7 September 1898.

### **George Turner, Premier of Victoria**

There may for a time have to be a little extra taxation imposed, but the benefits that would accrue to this his native land he was prepared to make that slight sacrifice.

*The Argus*, 14 April 1898.

### **Robert Coutts, speech at Pyramid Hill**

... I have heard a few farmers say they are opposed to The Commonwealth Bill, because they will lose the stock tax. Now, as a grazier of many years' experience, I am vitally interested in the matter, and I must say I do not feel at all troubled on this point ... Under free trade the grazier would also be able to buy a lot of sore wethers and fatten them off in the best half of the year.

*Geelong Advertiser*, 30 May 1898.

### **R.J. Alcock, President, Melbourne Chamber of Commerce**

... with the union of the colonies a new era would open up to the trade and commerce of Australia, which was only too sadly hampered by the barriers which ignorant jealousy had erected between the colonies ... [the] energy and ability of the merchants of Melbourne might then be relied upon to restore to the city the [dominance] in trade which its geographic position insures ... under conditions of intercolonial freedom ...

*The Age*, 29 April 1898.

### **R.F. Toutcher, President, Australian Natives Association**

... the constitution was like all federal constitutions—a compound of compromises, based on the principles of equality, justice and fraternity ... [The Constitution will] produce all the blessings and advantages that must necessarily flow from national life.

*The Age*, 16 March 1898.

## Arguments against Federation

### Outtrim News

... the fate of this promising industry under the Constitution may, as the novelists say, “be better imagined than described”. One of the miners in a touch of irony has said that they would require no Coal Mines Regulation Bill under this Federation, because there would be no coal mines; and no reasonable man can doubt the grim truth of the remark.

*Outtrim News*, 21 May 1898.

### Ben Tillett

Mr. Deakin and Dr. Quick were lawyers, and were prepared to sell their services to the “fat man.” (Laughter.) Lawyers were prepared to sell themselves to anybody who would bid high enough ... Let the people beware of the lawyers—the Bartons, the Wises, the Deakins, and the Quicks, and the rest of them ...

*The Argus*, 11 April 1898.

### G. Graham, speech at Maffra

... the great sugar beet industry would not be strangled, but if the Bill became law, it would surely be strangled ... make no mistake about it.

*Maffra Spectator*, 12 May 1898.

### Henry Bournes Higgins, speech at Geelong, 18 April 1898

... I want to impress this point upon you, because I find some unthinking people saying: “Oh, let us federate; and if the arrangements do not work, we can put them right.” That is a mistake. You can not rectify an error in the federal constitution as you can rectify an error in the Factories’ Act, or in any other Victorian Act. Let me start with this proposition, in order to clear our ideas:—

Not a section, not a phrase, not a word in this constitution can be changed by the Federal Parliament, no matter how urgently the change may be required, and even though every member in each House of Parliament may vote for the change ... To make a change in any single word of this constitution, there must not only be an absolute majority of both houses of the Federal Parliament; but the change has to be submitted to the electors in the several colonies; and unless there be a majority of the States in favour of the change, the change cannot be made ... But I have not yet told you the worst. There are some provisions of this bill which cannot be altered at all ... When you get a copy of the bill, look at the last clause of the last section, and weigh it well.

Henry Bournes Higgins, *Essays and Addresses on The Australian Commonwealth Bill*, Melbourne, 1900, pp 6–9.

### Allan McLean

New South Wales and Victoria, with a population of 2,500,000, and contributing £1,200,000 to the revenue of the Commonwealth, will have 12 representatives in the Senate, whilst the three small colonies, with a population of 660,000, and contributing £350,000 to the revenue will have 18.

*The Argus*, 7 May 1898.

# RESOURCE SHEET 4

## Breakdown of the 1898 and 1899 referendum results for Victoria

Suburban Electorates				
	Yes		No	
	1898	1899	1898	1899
Albert Park	1179	1686	234	96
Brighton	1468	1923	97	50
Carlton	1139	1879	555	168
Carlton South	694	1185	280	104
Collingwood	1331	2689	1088	375
East Bourke Bor.	2895	4755	1171	412
Eastern Suburbs	2155	2775	223	123
Emerald Hill	818	1401	435	156
Essendon and Flemington	2341	3593	530	212
Fitzroy	1927	3487	677	238
Footscray	1221	2018	591	231
Hawthorn	2047	2838	237	124
Jolimont and West Richmond	1034	1461	219	80
Melbourne	1432	2749	216	126
Melbourne East	1769	4156	281	176
Melbourne North	1052	1769	513	235
Melbourne South	823	1633	337	182
Melbourne West	864	1354	581	313
Port Melbourne	897	1540	460	166
Prahran	1459	2203	205	91
Richmond	1964	8373	769	316
South Yarra	1227	1783	239	106
St. Kilda	1820	2550	157	66
Toorak	1921	2721	184	86
Williamstown	1209	1739	507	254

'Suburban Electorates', *The Age*, 28 July 1899.

Totals Suburban		
	Yes	No
1898	36,686	10,786
1899	64,260	4,486

# RESOURCE SHEET 4 continued

Latest Country Returns (*denotes incomplete.)				
	Yes		No	
	1898	1899	1898	1899
Anglesey	1404	2164	348	116
Ararat	862	1394	180	86
Ballarat East	1767	1822	129	81
Ballarat West	3357	3621	116	84
Barwon	993	1252	92	30
Benalla and Yarrowonga	1150	1688	206	104
Benambra	849	1151	161	43
Bogong	951	1610	87	45
Borong	851	1303	196	135
Bourke East	882	1356	193	58
Bourke West	739	1128	201	85
Castlemaine	1554	2232	197	100
Clunes and Allandale	698	1070	77	50
Creswick	692	987	132	57
Dandenong and Berwick	1126	1775	295	118
Daylesford	663	1073	99	42
Delatite	821	1133	242	97
*Donald and Swan Hill	1593	2830	142	124
Dundas	1125	1542	79	47
Dunolly	798	1273	133	53
Eaglehawk	1078	1299	56	22
Evelyn	854	1463	192	53
Geelong	2280	3142	494	184
*Gippsland Central	1036	1487	397	228
*Gippsland East	906	1517	200	78
*Gippsland North	690	1206	310	139
*Gippsland South	841	1347	263	87
*Gippsland West	1142	2321	440	220
Grant	813	1170	146	51
Grenville	1828	2184	143	96

Latest Country Returns (*denotes incomplete.)				
	Yes		No	
	1898	1899	1898	1899
Gunbower	978	1384	285	113
Horsham	905	1266	62	58
Kara Kara	696	1166	217	70
Kilmore, Dalhousie, Lancefield	686	1014	230	98
Korong	919	1595	74	54
Kyneton	903	1296	218	103
Lowan	1291	1672	56	37
Maldon	851	1381	67	55
Mandurang	788	1217	201	71
Maryborough	877	1323	170	84
Mornington	1361	2387	303	189
Normanby	825	1237	70	38
*Numurkah and Nathalia	588	1177	476	188
Ovens	757	1238	188	66
Polwarth	1114	1475	431	228
Port Fairy	668	985	223	86
Portland	855	1330	68	40
Ripon and Hampden	1443	1896	120	68
Rodney	1744	2834	490	186
Sandhurst	2827	3477	190	68
Sandhurst South	933	1210	77	33
*Shepparton and Euroa	804	1289	263	114
Stawell	1055	1353	128	62
Talbot and Avoca	661	990	130	53
Villiers and Heytesbury	1088	1451	158	64
Wangaratta and Rutherglen	1265	2153	269	118
Warrenheip	627	670	44	46
Warrnambool	1059	1411	108	39
Windermere	1151	853	83	82

'Latest Country Returns', *The Age*, 31 July 1899.

Totals Country		
	Yes	No
1898	64,072	11,345
1899	92,170	5,224

# RESOURCE SHEET 5

## Rank the issues

Rank the issues in order of importance from 1 to 6; with 1 being the most important.  
Provide a reason for this ranking.

The issue	Your ranking	Reason for this ranking
Equal representation in the Senate		
Voting rights for women		
Defence		
Immigration		
Trade		
Rivers and railways		

## Voting slip



**Voting slip**  
Number the squares from 1 to 6. Number every square.

Equal representation in the Senate

Voting rights for women

Defence

Immigration

Trade

Rivers and railways