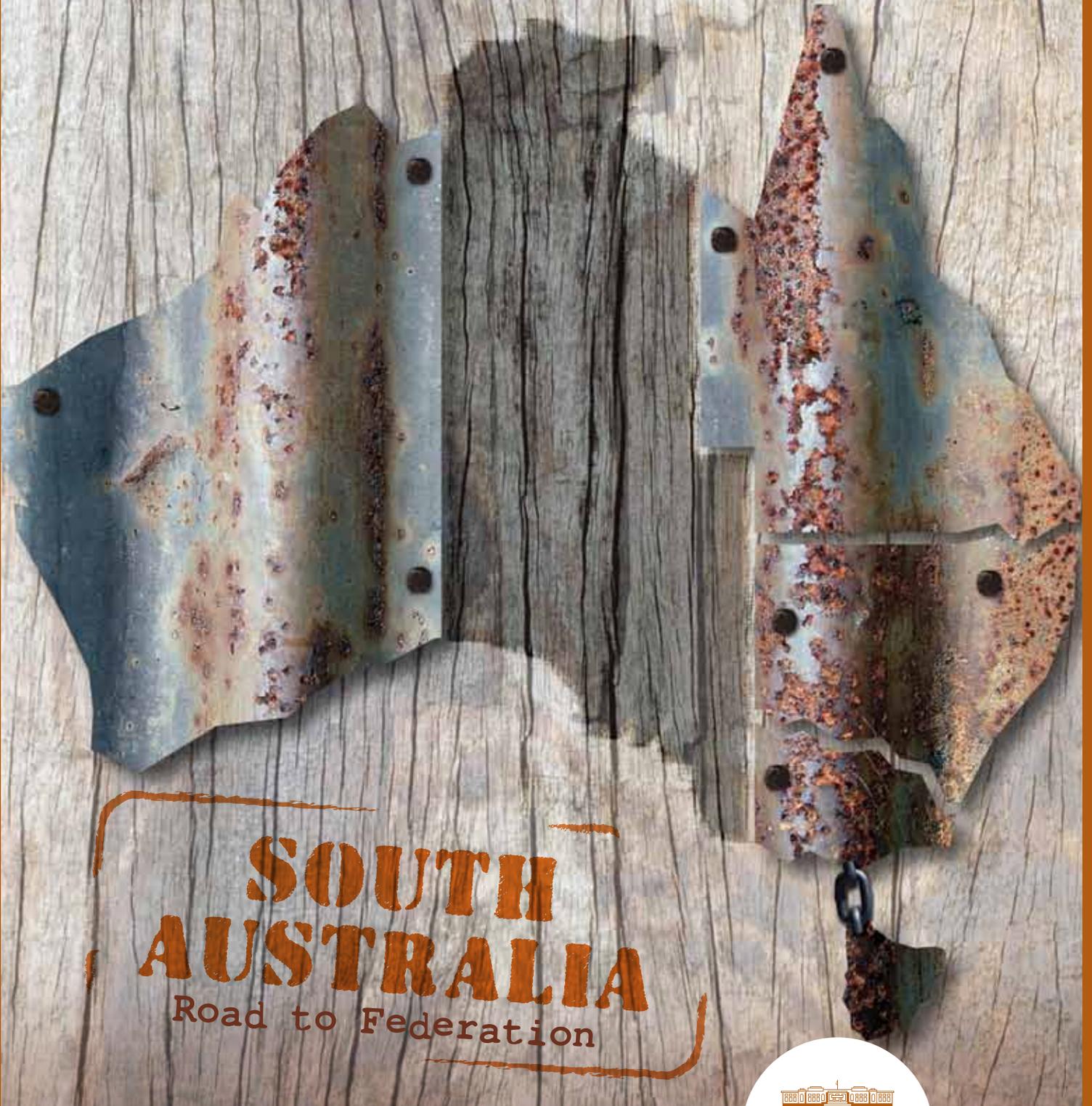


GETTING IT TOGETHER

From Colonies to Federation



**SOUTH
AUSTRALIA**
Road to Federation



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

MOAD
LEARNING

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Road to Federation



Between 1891 and 1894, there were 17 different governments in power across the six Australian colonies. From 1894 to 1899, there was relative stability with five out of six colonial governments maintaining power; all of which were in favour of Federation. South Australia had a succession of Premiers during that period, including Playford, Holder, Downer and Kingston. All were committed to having a united Australia.

In the years before Federation, many people felt that there were aspects of society that needed to be changed or strengthened. The ability of Australia to defend itself – and help defend Britain – was of particular concern. South Australia felt that it was especially vulnerable to threats due to the fractured nature of Australia's rail system. Then, in 1886, South Australia entered an economic recession, which meant many businesses and families struggled to make ends meet. The issue of trade came to a head as people wanted the freedom to trade between the colonies without paying intercolonial tariffs. Places such as Broken Hill in New South Wales, conducted nearly all of their trade with South Australia. The tariffs were often referred to as the 'lion' in the way of Federation. South Australia was also responsible for the administration of the Northern Territory, having taken over this task from New South Wales in 1863. This presented South Australia with a debt of £350,000 by 1895.

For their part, the people of the Northern Territory felt that their needs were being overlooked and they longed for a railway system to be built that would connect them to the rest of Australia.

South Australians had their first opportunity to decide whether their colony would federate in 1898. Voting was not compulsory and many people did not vote in the referendum. The majority of those who did vote, however, voted 'yes'. Referendums in Victoria and Tasmania were also successful, but the referendum failed to achieve the required number of votes in New South Wales. A second round of referendums were held in South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales and Queensland in 1899. A successful referendum in Western Australia followed in 1900.

In 1901, more than 10 years after Henry Parkes declared his vision of a 'great national government', which would deal with 'all great questions ... in a broad light and with a view to the interests of the whole country', all six colonies united to form the Commonwealth of Australia.

Investigations

1. What were the issues surrounding Federation for South Australians?
2. What resolutions passed at the first Australasian Federal Convention addressed the issues that concerned South Australians?
3. Would the proposed representation for the new Federal Parliament be fair for South Australia?
4. What were the arguments for and against Federation that were put to South Australians?
5. What were the results of the referendums on Federation?

INVESTIGATION 1

What were the issues surrounding Federation for South Australians?

For many South Australians, the decision to vote for or against Federation depended on how it 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 South Australia were the ability to defend itself against foreign powers, freedom of intercolonial trade, administration of its Northern Territory and the control of the river systems. Also, as Australia's central colony, geographically, many felt that South Australia was ideally located to become home to the new nation's capital.

YOU WILL NEED

Resource sheet 1

- extracts: newspaper
- extracts: speeches
- chart: rank the issues
- voting slip

These issues were widely discussed in South Australia in the 1890s. There was a widespread belief that it was time to take action and bring about change to build a better future. Many people believed that Federation was a key to achieving this.

Explore the issues as South Australians considered the pros and cons of Federation.

Your task

Activities

1. As a class, read the newspaper extracts on the different issues that affected the attitudes of South Australians towards Federation, including defence, trade, rivers, the Northern Territory and the nation's capital. Use a dictionary to find the meaning of any words you don't know.
2. Working individually, use the chart to rank the issues in order of importance from 1 to 5, with 1 being the issue that you believe is the most important. Provide a reason for each of your rankings.
3. Find classmates that have the same issue ranked as number 1. Using the newspaper extracts about your issue, work as a team to develop an argument about why your issue was the most important and urgently needed resolution. Do further research, if necessary.
 - Provide an introduction to the issue.
Why was it an issue?
 - Present three reasons for ranking your issue as number 1.

- Conclude your case with a summary of the arguments.

Present your case to the rest of the class.

4. Have the arguments presented by the other groups convinced you to change your mind about which issue was the most important? Cast your vote using the voting slip, numbering the squares from 1 to 5. 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? (Information on the preferential voting system can be found at www.aec.gov.au/Voting/counting/index.htm.)

Discuss the following questions as a class.

- Could the issues have been used as a reason for South Australians to federate with the other colonies?
- Could the issues have been used as a reason not to federate?
- 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

What resolutions passed at the first Australasian Federal Convention addressed the issues that concerned South Australians?

Adelaide hosted the first of three Australasian Federal Conventions, held between 1897 and 1898, to debate the issue of Federation and work on a draft Australian Constitution. The Constitution is an important document outlining the powers of a government. The fact that this Convention was held in Adelaide was considered a victory by the smaller colonies as earlier Federation conferences had been held in the larger cities of Melbourne (1890) and Sydney (1891).

South Australian Premier, Charles Cameron Kingston was an original member of a drafting committee for the Constitution at the 1891 conference. The draft was presented to delegates at the Convention in Adelaide, held from 22 March to 23 April 1897, and work continued to formulate a Constitution that all colonies could agree upon.

After the Convention, delegates adjourned to their home colonies to consider the draft. The delegates would later meet in Sydney from 2 to 24 September 1897, and again in Melbourne, from 22 January to 17 March 1898. They went through the Constitution clause by clause and made any necessary amendments to finalise it.

YOU WILL NEED

Resource sheet 2

- extract: resolutions passed at the first Australasian Federal Convention, 1897

Your task

Examine which of the resolutions passed at the first Australasian Federal Convention addressed issues that were of concern to South Australians.

Activities

1. As a class, read through the resolutions passed at the Convention. Use a dictionary to find the meaning of any words you do not know.
2. Consider the issues of concern to South Australians that you investigated previously, including defence, trade, rivers, the Northern Territory and the nation's capital. As a class, discuss the following questions.
 - Which issues were resolved in Adelaide?
 - In your opinion, were the resolutions fair?
 - Which issues were not resolved?
 - Why might those have been left unresolved?
3. Work in pairs to answer the following questions.
 - Which resolutions were introduced that related to a new issue?
 - Why might these resolutions have been introduced?
 - Do you foresee any problems for South Australians related to those resolutions?
4. Share your response with the rest of the class.

INVESTIGATION 3

Would the proposed representation for the new Federal Parliament be fair for South Australia?

The Federal Parliament proposed in the draft Australian Constitution had two chambers: the House of Representatives and the Senate. To make laws, 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. Colonies with larger populations, such as New South Wales, would have more representatives than colonies with smaller populations, such as South Australia.

In the Senate, each colony was to have an equal number of representatives. This meant that colonies with small populations, such as South Australia, would have the same number of votes as colonies with large populations, such as New South Wales. In the Senate, each colony would have the same power to influence the laws of the new nation. This idea bothered a number of politicians in larger colonies.

YOU WILL NEED

Resource sheet 3

- extracts: the issue of State rights
- data: population for each colony, 1899
- diagrams: proposed representation in a new Federal Parliament

Your task

Investigate whether or not the proposed representation for the new Federal Parliament was fair for South Australians.

Activities

1. As a class, read through the items on the issue of State rights.
2. In small groups, consider the following questions.
 - Which States would benefit from a one-chamber parliament? Why?
 - Which would benefit from a two-chamber parliament? Why?
 - What do you think was meant by the phrase, 'Democracy is partly a matter of longitude and latitude'?

Share your group's responses with the rest of the class.

3. In small groups, look at the population data 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 South Australia? Take a vote.
- Why might smaller colonies 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?
- Vote again on whether you think the proposed representation for the new Federal Parliament would be fair. Has the result changed?

Share your small group's responses with the rest of the class.

4. Design a graphic to represent how the two parliamentary chambers create a fair system. Share your designs with your classmates.

INVESTIGATION 4

What were the arguments for and against Federation that were put to South Australians?

Together with many leading politicians, the South Australian branches of the Australian Natives Association and Australasian Federal League actively campaigned for Federation by participating in the Commonwealth League. The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League was established relatively late by people who opposed Federation and the draft Australian Constitution. The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League had the support of some leading politicians, such as Tom Price, who would later become the first Labor Premier of South Australia.

Your task

Explore the arguments for and against Federation put to the voters of South Australia.

YOU WILL NEED

Resource sheets 1, 3 and 4

- poster: The Commonwealth League – benefits of Federation
- flyer and summary: The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League

Activities

1. As a class, read the promotional material from The Commonwealth League and The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League.
2. In small groups, complete the following tasks.
 - Make a list of the reasons for and against Federation outlined in the promotional material.
 - Add any other reasons you can think of to the list. You can refer to the primary sources in Resource sheets 1 and 3.
3. Share your responses with the class and 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 in South Australia at the time, would you have voted for or against Federation? Write the reasons for your thinking.
5. 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 number 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.
 - Display your posters around the classroom.

INVESTIGATION 5

What were the results of the referendums on Federation?

In 1898, the people of South Australia, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania voted in the first referendum on Federation. For Federation to proceed, the referendums had to achieve a majority of 'yes' votes. The New South Wales Parliament had increased the required level of 'yes' votes to 80,000, which was more than a majority. Due to this special quota, the first referendum failed in New South Wales.

The colonies' Premiers 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, as neither the media nor the public were allowed to attend. This conference finally did resolve differences so that plans for Federation could move forward. The New South Wales Parliament also removed the quota for the 1899 referendum.

Referendums were held in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and Queensland in 1899. Western Australia held its referendum in 1900. The results of these referendums determined which colonies would become States in a federal system.

Your task

Examine the results of the referendums in South Australia.

YOU WILL NEED

Resource sheet 5

- data: breakdown of the referendum results in South Australia

calculators

Activities

1. As a class, examine the referendum results in city and country South Australia for both referendums. Then, in pairs, complete the following tasks.

- Compare the number of people who voted in the first referendum with the number who voted in the second. Why do you think there was such an increase?
- Compare the results of city voters and country voters at the first referendum in South Australia. Make a list of the most significant differences in the results.
- Compare the results of city voters and country voters at the second referendum in South Australia. Make a list of the most significant differences in the results.

2. Write three questions about the results for other students in the class to answer. Your questions could, for example, focus on comparing the results for two referendums. A possible question could be: 'What percentage increase was achieved for 'yes' votes in South Australia at the 1898 and 1899 referendums?' Or, your questions could focus on comparing one part of South Australia to another. A possible question could be: 'What percentage difference was there between 'no' votes in East Adelaide and West Adelaide at the 1899 referendum?'

3. Swap your questions with another pair of students. Answer their questions. When you and the other pair of students have finished answering the questions, correct one another's responses.



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 law, go to 'Kidsview – Parliament in Focus' on the Parliamentary Education Office website www.peo.gov.au/kidsview/menu.html. Click on 'Law making' to access 'Pass the Bill', then follow the instructions for this online interactive.
- 2.** The road to Federation involved many meetings and debates in order to resolve issues that faced the colony of South Australia. As a class, brainstorm a list of current school, 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 the community involved in the process? Present your ideas for resolving the issue to your school council, local council or member of parliament.

RESOURCE SHEET 1

About trade

Complete freedom of trade

The consumer who lives a few miles from an imaginary boundary-line will not have a fine imposed upon him because he dares to spread with South Australian butter his bread made of South Australian flour, or because he puts his crop with a South Australian stump-jumping plough, and harvests it with a South Australian stripper ... What more could the business man—especially the business man in the central colony—desire than complete freedom of trade? ... Viewed from every trading point of view, a federation which would ensure freedom and equality of commerce would prove a great boon to the business classes of this province.

South Australian Register, 27 April 1898.

Federation will not help

It has already been admitted that Federation will crush a number of manufacturing industries, throw the men employed out of work, and generally reduce the standard of wages. I ask what advantages the producers are to gain. Our chief lines are wool, wheat and copper, the market for all of which is at the other end of the world. Federation will not help the farmer and the grazier. The dairyman may rely on suffering loss. ... Far more Victorian butter will be sold in South Australia than South Australian butter in Victoria.

The Advertiser, 4 May 1898.

About defence

A general feeling of insecurity

In the first half of the year 1882 Europe was in a most unquiet state ... and a general feeling of insecurity prevailed in those colonies where defences did not exist or were insufficient. This colony felt the infection, and Sir William Jerois, our then Governor ... suggested the acquisition of a warship ...

The Advertiser, 1 October 1884.

One great federal army

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.

Extract from speech by Henry Parkes at Tenterfield, 24 October 1889, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 October 1889.

About the rivers

Part of one great system

All these rivers are part of one great system. I am now attempting to combat the proposition laid down by [New South Wales Premier] Mr. Reid that there should be no joint control over any river unless that river ran beyond the borders of any one colony ... They are no more the rivers of New South Wales in that sense than the sun which warms them belongs to New South Wales, or the air which sweetens them is the air of New South Wales ...

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

No claim on the river question

New South Wales, so far as the Rivers Darling and Murray were concerned, could have been pumped every drop out of them, and in fact the waterworks officials of that colony had propounded schemes which would have done that. They had no remedy against that now. It was the legal right of New South Wales. Until they federated ... [South Australia] would have no claim on the river question.

JH Gordon, speech at Norwood, *South Australian Register*, 19 April 1898.

About the Northern Territory

Relief from the burden

South Australia at present submits to a loss of £70,000 per annum in relation to the Northern Territory ... We might avoid this by disposing of the Territory ... [South Australia] is content to abide the loss until a United Australia takes charge of the Territory and relieves us of the debt and responsibility in the interests of all. Mutually satisfactory terms would not be difficult to arrange, and when arranged South Australia may be fairly credited, as a result of Federation, with the relief from the burden which she now cheerfully undertakes in trust for Australia and in the interests of posterity ...

South Australian Register, 3 June 1898.

All to gain from Federation

It requires no elaborate article to discover to readers that we have all to gain from Federation and nothing to lose. Under a United Australia the Territory must obtain those many adjuncts to advancement which South Australia has denied her. There can be no two questions as to the effect of Australian unity upon the Territory, hence there should be no hesitation as to how Northerners should vote.

Northern Territory Times, 3 June 1898.

About the nation's capital

Why not Port Augusta?

... what of South Australia's geographical position ... why not Port Augusta?

CC Kingston, 28 February 1899, South Australian Parliamentary Debates, p 1222.

Reaches into the heart of Australia

Every development of the resources of Australia, every step that is taken towards the federation of the colonies only hastens the proud day when Port Augusta must become one of the queenliest cities of the south ... [a city] situated at the head of the waterway which reaches into the heart of Australia; the town which is the point at which the railways to and from WA, NT, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria must meet. Must become mighty, flourishing and important ... [it] is destined to become the emporium of the vast interior.

Mayor of Port Augusta, *Dispatch*, 16 October 1896.

RESOURCE SHEET 1 continued

Rank the issues

Rank the issues in order of importance from 1 to 5; with 1 being the most important.
Provide a reason for this ranking.

The issue	Your ranking	Reason for this ranking
Defence		
Trade		
The rivers		
Administration of the Northern Territory		
Location of the new nation's capital		

Voting slip



Voting slip
Number the squares from 1 to 5. Number every square.

<input type="checkbox"/>	Defence
<input type="checkbox"/>	Trade
<input type="checkbox"/>	The rivers
<input type="checkbox"/>	Administration of the Northern Territory
<input type="checkbox"/>	Location of the new nation's capital

RESOURCE SHEET 2

Extract from resolutions passed at the first Australasian Federal Convention, Adelaide, 1897

That in order to enlarge the powers of self government of the people of Australia, it is desirable to create a Federal Government which shall exercise authority throughout the Federated Colonies, subject to the following principal conditions:-

That the powers, privileges, and territories of the several existing colonies shall remain intact, except in respect of such surrenders as may be agreed upon to secure uniformity of law and administration in matters of common concern.

II. That, after the establishment of the Federal Government, there shall be no alteration of the territorial possessions or boundaries of any colony or colonies concerned ...

III. That the exclusive power to impose and collect duties of Customs and excise, and to give bounties, shall be vested in the Federal Parliament.

IV. That the exclusive control of the military and naval defences of the Federated Colonies shall be vested in the Federal Parliament.

V. That the trade and intercourse between the Federated Colonies, whether by land or sea, shall become and remain absolutely free.

Subject to the carrying out of these, and such other conditions as may be hereafter deemed necessary, this Convention approves of the framing of a federal Constitution, which shall establish-

(a) A Parliament, to consist of two Houses, namely a States Assembly or Senate, and a National Assembly or House of Representatives: the States Assembly to consist of representatives of each colony, to hold office for such periods and be chosen in such manner as will best secure to that Chamber a perpetual existence, combined with definite responsibility to the people of the State which shall have chosen them: the National Assembly to be elected by districts formed on a population basis, and to possess the sole power of originating all Bills appropriating revenue or imposing taxation.

(b) An Executive, consisting of a Governor-General, to be appointed by the Queen, and of such persons as from time to time may be appointed as his advisers.

(c) A Supreme federal Court, which shall also be the High Court of Appeal for each colony in the Federation.

Official report of the National Australasian Convention, Adelaide, 22 March to 5 May 1897.

RESOURCE SHEET 3

The issue of State rights

The subsequent utterances of speakers [at the Convention] confirm the view that State rights in their various ramifications will form the crux of the Convention's decisions. Representatives from of the numerically smaller colonies evidently intend to insist firmly on the practical co-equality of the Senate with the House of Representatives ... On the other hand the delegates from Victoria and New South Wales naturally wish to grant a preponderating influence to the House of Representatives as the Chamber in which those States will have practically supreme authority.

South Australian Register, 25 March 1897.

Democracy is partly a matter of longitude and latitude ... In the two larger colonies it demands a One-Chamber Federal Parliament, so that 2½ million people may enjoy a heavy balance of influence proportioned to their numerical advantage. In South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania it requires two co-ordinate Houses so that the interests of three quarters of a million people may be conserved.

South Australian Register, 30 March 1897.

Roughly speaking, and taking human nature as it is in relation to personal interests, the House of Representatives will be the larger colonies' Chamber and the Senate the safeguard of the smaller colonies; but none the less it is a mistake to suppose that the minor and major States would necessarily always work against each other. It is quite conceivable that in many matters Tasmania would join with Victoria and Queensland with New South Wales instead of co-operating with South Australia or Western Australia.

South Australian Register, 31 March 1897.

So far as I am individually concerned, I do not recognise that any concessions have been given, or that any sacrifices have been made by the larger states ... I say that, if it were not that we believed that the principle of equal state rights would be conceded, the smaller colonies would not have come into the Convention. For many years we were told that there was a lion in the path of federation; but, now that we have been enabled by our united action to remove that animal from our path, what do the larger states invite us to do? They ask us to take part in the creation of a monster more desperate than the lion apparently was—they ask us to destroy our state rights!

JH Howe, Australasian Federal Convention, South Australia, 1897.

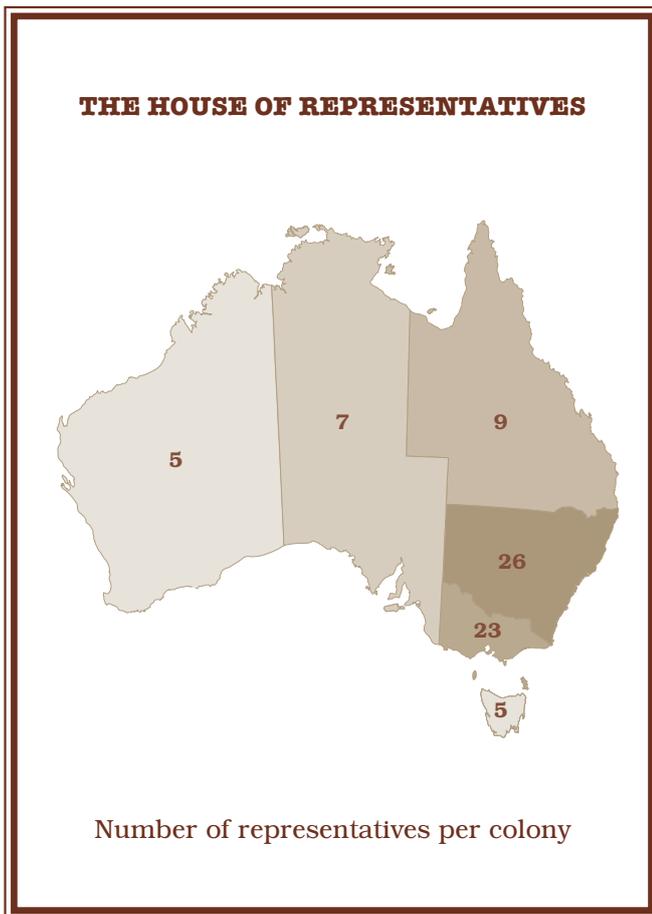
RESOURCE SHEET 3 continued

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.

Proposed representation in a new Federal Parliament



RESOURCE SHEET 4

The Commonwealth League - benefits of Federation

The Commonwealth League.

BENEFITS OF FEDERATION.

1. To promote the prosperity of Australia in general and South Australia in particular. Without Federation South Australia never can become great or populous. She is now stationary and depressed.
2. To secure more abundant and permanent Employment to the Workers.
3. To give better opportunities to our Children to make Homes for themselves without sending them out of South Australia.
4. To give Cheaper Food and Clothing.
5. To develop the Resources, Trade, and Manufactures of South Australia.
6. To encourage the expenditure of Capital to stock and develop our abandoned Pastoral Country.
7. To make yourself a Citizen of an Australian Nation—one flag and one people.
8. To create United Australia.
9. Our share of the expense of Federation cannot exceed £33,000; but against that we shall have extra Railway Revenue (£10,000 per annum). Savings—Agent General's Office, reduction of cost of Local Parliament, Ministers, Government House, and others. Besides, there will be a direct gain of at least £40,000 per annum by Federalising the South Australian Debt. Federation will, therefore, cost South Australia nothing.
10. The terms now offered are specially favorable to South Australia. If we reject them we shall never again get terms so favorable to the smaller Colonies.
11. If the larger Colonies Federate without us, we shall be powerless against such a combination which may ruin our trade and manufactures and diminish our revenue, and we shall ultimately be forced to join them on almost any terms they choose to dictate.

Vote "YES" for the Commonwealth Bill on June 4th,
AND
ADVANCE AUSTRALIA!

Adelaide, May 21st, 1898. JOHN MOULE, Secretary.

Advance Australia, May 1898, State Library of South Australia.

The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League flyer

THE ANTI-COMMONWEALTH BILL LEAGUE.

TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA—

On June 4th you will be called upon to say "Yes" or "No" to the question whether you approve of the *terras* upon which it is proposed that Australia should Federate.

The Constitution you are asked to adopt is so complicated and so incongruous that in many respects it is already diversely interpreted by its framers, most of whom appear more anxious to boom their pet scheme of Federation than to place the whole question fairly before the electors.

We are in favor of Federation on a fair and reasonable basis, but strongly opposed to the present Commonwealth Bill as being needlessly costly, cumbersome, and contradictory, and as likely to do much more harm than good to the people of South Australia.

The cast-iron rigidity of the proposed Constitution is shown by the fact that you cannot secure its amendment in a single line or letter—much less anything of importance—unless the amendment is carried by (1) an absolute majority of both the House of Representatives and the Senate; and (2) is ratified not only by a majority of the people, but also by a majority of electors in a majority of the States. In the American Constitution, on which this proposed Federation is based, and which is very little more rigid, only three important amendments have been made, and these were only rendered possible through the Civil War.

As regards the cost to South Australia, you have already had a variety of estimates before you, ranging from £30,000 (Mr. Holder's figures) up to £150,000, the estimated deficiency in the revenue of South Australia as stated by Mr. Coghlan, the Government Statist of New South Wales, who is generally regarded as the ablest statistician in Australia.

There is no doubt that South Australia's expenditure has been largely under-estimated by Mr. Holder and other Federal delegates, and its expenses under this system of Federation will be enormously increased.

If Federation is carried it will be necessary to raise a revenue of over £7,000,000 (Mr. Coghlan says £7,500,000) for the requirements of the Commonwealth, which, if levied through the Customs, will require a tariff greatly in excess of the present Customs taxation.

Mr. Johnston, the Government Statist of Tasmania, and Sir George Turner, Premier of Victoria, one of the delegates, confirm Mr. Coghlan's figures as to the Commonwealth requiring to raise about £7,500,000. This, in round figures, will mean that the federated colonies will have to raise about £1,500,000 more than is obtained under the present tariffs, and South Australia's proportion of this extra amount may be set down at one-ninth of the whole, or about £150,000 a year.

Three-fourths of the amount raised by Customs must be returned to the several Federated States; but the mere raising of this enormous sum of £7,000,000 or £7,500,000 by the Commonwealth—even supposing that no local taxation be necessary—will still further increase the burdens of the people of South Australia, and render the advantages of Federation under this Bill very dear indeed at the price.

The delegates generally are ominously silent about the cost of the proposed standing army, and the share which South Australia will have to bear of the immense sum, amounting to several million pounds sterling, already spent on the fortifications and armaments of the other colonies, which are said by the Government experts to be obsolete, and to require further heavy expenditure to make them effective.

The additional revenue required by South Australia, if the proposed federal scheme be carried, must be raised from some new source; and, bearing in mind that taxation and retrenchment have already been carried too far in the endeavor to balance the State ledger, we can only regret the flippant manner in which this serious aspect of the case has been treated by the advocates of Federation-at-any-price.

The electors should remember that, although the Commonwealth will take from South Australia its principal sources of revenue—Customs and Excise—it will not take over our public debt (at any rate not until such time as the Federal Parliament so determines). In the meantime South Australia will have to provide the interest on its debt, as well as the added cost of Federation, out of its very much diminished sources of revenue.

The important question of land taxation is left so vague in the Bill that lawyers already differ as to what is provided, and the point can only be settled by a costly appeal to the Federal Law Courts. But one thing is clear, namely, that if (as some of the delegates contend) the individual States and also the Commonwealth have the power to levy taxation on land values, it must be in addition to (and not in substitution of) Customs taxation, and therefore will prove an unjustifiable extra burden on the farmers and other country producers.

We agree with some of the Federal delegates that the colony will most probably lose a number of important industries, which will be shifted to the more populous centres in Victoria and New South Wales. We further agree with Mr. Solomon, one of the delegates, that Federation on the terms of the present Bill will tend to reduce wages in some industries in this colony.

The loss of these industries means the loss of employment to the workmen engaged therein, and consequently there will be an exodus of employers, workmen, and general laborers to the big centres of Australia.

This must tend to lower the value of all property, not only in Adelaide, but the colony generally; and the stoppage of circulation of the wages paid in these industries will seriously affect the position of our country producers and the trade of all our distributing agencies, without sufficient compensating advantages.

One of the gravest objections to the present Federation scheme is its Centralising policy. It will not only remove the Government much further away from the people than at present—as would be inevitable to some extent under any Federation—but, by handing over such services as Marine, Post Office, Telegraph and Telephones, it will seriously and constantly interfere with services that could be much more economically and satisfactorily conducted from the local centres than from one Federal Capital.

Clause 103 shows that, notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary, trade will not be allowed to follow its natural channels, at any rate until the railways are federated and differential rates abolished.

In conclusion, we would ask you to weigh well the issue before recording your vote. To vote "Yes" means to take a leap in the dark. If the proposed Bill is accepted the matter practically passes for ever beyond your control.

To vote "No" to the present Bill is not to leave things where they are, but to prepare the way for a Federation into which all may enter with gladness and confidence.

For the Anti-Commonwealth Bill League,
 E. L. BATCHELOR,
 A. GRUBER,
 HENRY ADAMS, } Secretaries.

HUGH R. DIXSON, President.
 LEWIS COHEN, Treasurer.

C. E. BRETHER, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, ADELAIDE.

Anti-Commonwealth Bill League, yellow flyer, State Library of South Australia, Advance Australia.

Summary of The Anti-Commonwealth Bill League flyer

- 1.** The Commonwealth will be expensive to run. Taxes will rise.
- 2.** South Australia will have to collect taxes for the Commonwealth. This will be costly for South Australia.
- 3.** A national defence force will be very expensive. South Australia will have to help pay for other colonies.
- 4.** The Commonwealth will take over South Australia's income but not its debts.
- 5.** Industries are expected to move to the larger colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. This will lead to a rise in unemployment in South Australia.
- 6.** Wages are likely to be reduced in South Australia.
- 7.** Things will become more centralised around New South Wales and Victoria.
- 8.** Post office telephone and telegraph services would be better and cheaper under local control.
- 9.** There could be state taxes on land, added on to Commonwealth taxes. This would harm farmers.

RESOURCE SHEET 5

Results of the 1898 referendum in South Australia

THE REFERENDUM.

The Returning Officer for the province, Mr. W. R. Boothby, returned to the Chief Secretary, Hon. J. V. O'Loghlin, on Saturday, June 18, the writ giving the official result of the polling in South Australia on the Commonwealth Bill, which took place on June 4. The only alteration of the table published in "The Register" of Saturday is the deduction of 3 votes from "Yes" in the Northern Territory, the correct number for that district being 159 "Yes" and 8 "No." The corrected grand totals are:—"Yes," 35,800; "No," 17,320; majority for the Bill, 18,480; informal, 716.

The record of informal votes was as follows:—Albert, 21; Barossa, 51; Burra, 23; East Adelaide, 31; East Torrens, 50; Encounter Bay, 9; Flinders, 22; Frome, 36; Gladstone, 39; Gumeracha, 16; Light 32; Mount Barker, 27; Newcastle, 20; Noarlunga, 10; North Adelaide, 35; Northern Territory, 4; Onkaparinga, 13; Port Adelaide, 49; Stanley, 26; Sturt, 38; Victoria, 41; Wallaroo, 27; West Adelaide, 17; West Torrens, 40; Wooroora, 29; Yatala, 10; Yorke's Peninsula, 0; total, 716.

THE VOTING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

CITY CONSTITUENCIES.

Electorate and Electors.	Yes.	No.
EAST ADELAIDE (6,480) ...	1,171	935
WEST ADELAIDE (5,013) ...	777	818
NORTH ADELAIDE (7,583) ...	2,117	1,024
PORT ADELAIDE (3,092) ...	1,679	1,409
WEST TORRENS (7,350) ...	1,016	1,931
STURT (3,936) ...	2,641	1,443
EAST TORRENS (12,328) ...	3,141	2,043
Totals ...	12,542	9,663

Majority for the Bill, 2,879.

COUNTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

Electorate and Electors.	Yes.	No.
ALBERT (3,663) ...	1,556	407
BAROSSA (4,765) ...	1,546	412
BURRA (4,469) ...	1,418	365
ENCOUNTER BAY (2,186) ...	749	286
FLINDERS (3,959) ...	699	331
FROME (6,300) ...	1,597	432
GLADSTONE (5,869) ...	1,461	636
GUMERACHA (4,044) ...	993	380
LIGHT (4,707) ...	1,633	337
MOUNT BARKER (3,519) ...	1,052	636
NEWCASTLE (4,997) ...	1,455	297
NOARLUNGA (3,668) ...	804	249
NORTHERN TERRITORY (774) ...	159	8
ONKAPARINGA (3,785) ...	917	593
STANLEY (3,416) ...	1,338	354
VICTORIA (5,149) ...	1,863	572
WALLAROO (5,503) ...	1,165	478
WOOROORA (3,236) ...	1,049	386
YATALA (3,060) ...	723	246
YORKE'S PENINSULA (3,021) ...	935	150
Totals ...	23,258	7,657
City ...	12,542	9,663
Grand Totals ...	35,800	17,320

Majority for the Bill, 18,480.

The Observer, 25 June 1898, State Library of South Australia, Advance Australia.

Results of the 1899 referendum in South Australia

THE REFERENDUM.

THE FINAL TOTALS.

The scrutiny in connection with the Federal Referendum has been completed, and the official totals are as follows:—

YES	65,990
NO	17,053
INFORMAL	10,909
Total voted	93,952

The following table gives the details of voting in all the districts:—

METROPOLITAN.

District.	On Roll.	Yes.	No.	Informal.	Voted.
East Adelaide	7959	2789	684	382	3855
West Adelaide	6367	2241	870	717	3828
North Adelaide	9119	3757	878	749	5384
Port Adelaide	10288	4448	1021	747	6216
East Torrens	15221	6213	1511	855	8579
West Torrens	8879	3581	1727	758	6066
Sturt	11792	5817	1240	799	7856
Totals	69,625	28846	7931	5007	41784

COUNTRY.

Albert	3793	1301	137	32	1470
Barossa	4932	2309	495	377	3181
Burra	4556	2185	428	297	2910
Encounter Bay	2310	1441	295	222	1958
Flinders	3912	1563	357	260	2180
Frome	6249	2754	575	306	3635
Gladstone	6404	2906	639	446	3991
Gumeracha	4075	1544	537	207	2288
Light	5026	2718	587	439	3744
Mount Barker	4081	1909	640	411	2960
Newcastle	4875	1628	320	140	2088
Noarlunga	2693	1100	302	160	1562
Onkaparinga	4123	1861	792	261	2914
Stanley	3837	2145	429	444	3018
Victoria	5652	2032	431	502	3865
Wallaroo	5843	2072	778	659	3509
Wooroora	3402	1469	517	243	2220
Yatala	3179	1351	504	243	2098
Yorke's Peninsula	3117	1563	343	230	2136
Northern Territory	870	393	16	23	432
Totals	82929	37144	9122	5902	52168
Grand Totals	152554	65,990	17053	10909	93952

The Observer, 27 May 1899, State Library of South Australia, Advance Australia.