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When a word is printed in **bold**, click on it to find its meaning.

ON THE GRAPHIC PAGES, TEXT WITH THIS COLOURED BACKGROUND COMES FROM A HISTORICAL SOURCE.

# Stories from Australias history

The story of modern Australia starts on 26 January 1788. On that day, Captain Arthur Phillip arrived at Sydney Cove from England with the **convict** ships of the First Fleet. The new **settlement** brought disaster to Australia's **Indigenous peoples** because the newcomers took their land. This event marks the beginning of Australia as we know it today.

he new **colony** of New South Wales grew quickly. Soon European settlers spread out across Australia and took up land in Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Queensland. By 1860, all the settlements except Western Australia were separate colonies, each with its own government and laws. There was no such thing as the **nation** of Australia.

Having separate colonies meant that things like railways and rivers were governed by different rules in different parts of the country. This caused lots of problems. Then, a New South Wales **politician** named Henry Parkes had the idea of joining all the colonies together in a **federation** to form one nation. It took many years, but the struggle towards federation is one of the key stories in Australia's history.

Today, Australians proudly belong to one nation with its own flag and power shared between the states and the **Commonwealth** – an arrangement known as a federation.

#### What does it mean?

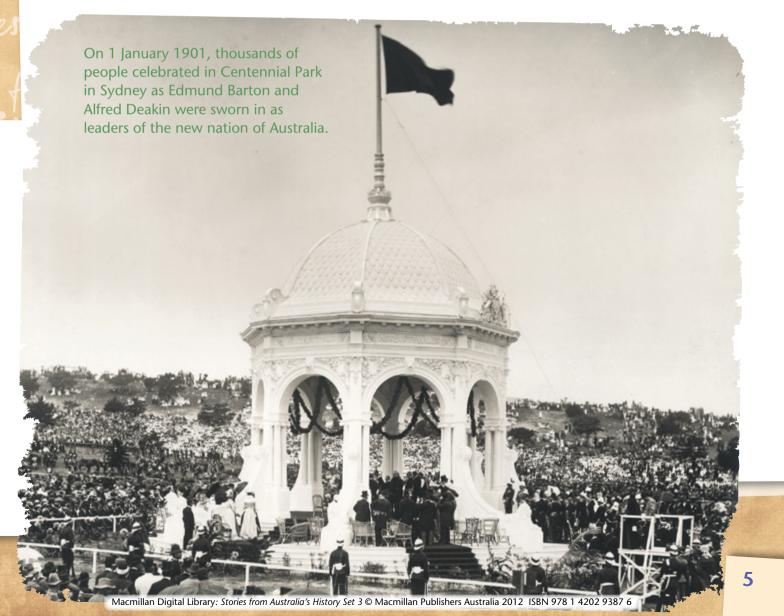
**federation:** joining together different states under a central government



# The story of Federation

On a warm, windy morning on New Year's Day 1901, a huge parade wound through the streets of Sydney to Centennial Park. Crowds cheered as the country's leaders climbed the steps of a white pavilion and signed the documents declaring Australia to be one nation. Edmund Barton, the new Prime Minister, and Alfred Deakin, his Attorney-General, were sworn in as the leaders of the new **federal** government. They had worked tirelessly and overcome many difficulties to make this happen.

owever, Henry Parkes, known as the 'Father of Federation', was not there. He did not live to see the Commonwealth of Australia that he had fought so hard for. This is the story of the people, the ideas and the events that led to Federation in 1901 and how it changed Australia forever.



## The big picture

In the 1800s, the **colonies** of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania were like separate countries. They each had their own governments, armies, railways, taxes and immigration laws. There was fierce jealousy between the colonies, especially between New South Wales, the oldest and largest 'mother colony', and gold-rich, proud Victoria.

#### The problem of separate colonies

There were many problems caused by the colonies not working together. Each colony charged tariffs, or taxes, on goods coming in, so trading goods within Australia was complicated and expensive. Trains from New South Wales could not run on Victorian or South Australian railway tracks. Armies run separately by each colony were not big enough to defend Australia against invaders. A major issue was that there were no common immigration laws and no agreement on who should come into Australia.



By 1880, Melbourne was a busy, thriving city, but its laws were completely different from the laws in the other colonies. Each colony thought its laws made the most sense and didn't want to change them.

#### White Australia

Racist attitudes were common in the 1800s. Thousands of Chinese people came to Victoria during the gold rushes in the 1850s. In Queensland, Pacific Islanders were brought in to work on sugar plantations. These people worked hard and competed with locals for jobs. Times were tough and jobs were scarce, and soon Australians began to resent the foreigners. Soon there were calls to 'keep Australia white' and ban all other races. That could only be done if the colonies joined together and passed one immigration law for the whole country.

#### The path to Federation

The path to Federation would be long and difficult. There was a lot of work to be done before the colonies could agree on how the new **nation** would be run.

First, the colonies had to agree that federation was a good idea.

A Constitution had to be written.

Every colony had to agree to the Constitution.

Each colony's **parliament** then had to vote on the Constitution.

Once the parliament had agreed to it, the Constitution had to be put to a people's vote. A majority in each state would have to vote 'yes' to it.

#### What does it mean?

**Constitution:** a document stating the guidelines and laws by which a nation is governed

#### Early moves towards Federation

Since the 1840s there had been calls for Federation, but the colonies could never agree on how it should work. In 1885, a **Federal** Council was set up, with representatives from each colony working together to make decisions. However, the Council had no power and New South Wales refused to join. The premier of that state, Henry Parkes, did not think the Federal Council was the right solution. He believed that the only way forward was to join all the colonies together into one federation. Fellow **politicians** Edmund Barton and Alfred Deakin agreed. Together, these three men took on the fight for federation.

## Eyewitness words

Sir John Forrest, Premier of Western Australia, felt that as all the settlers had come from Britain, there was no reason for them to live under separate laws.

We have the same people sprung from the same race ... There is nothing to keep us apart. We are all one people, and why should we be divided by ... lines drawn on a map ...?

## Kgy people

Three people played key roles in the story of Federation.

## Sir Henry Parkes

Born: 1815 in England

**Role:** Premier of New South Wales and first leader of the Federation movement

Age at Federation (1901): Parkes would have been 86 in 1901, but he died before Federation was achieved.

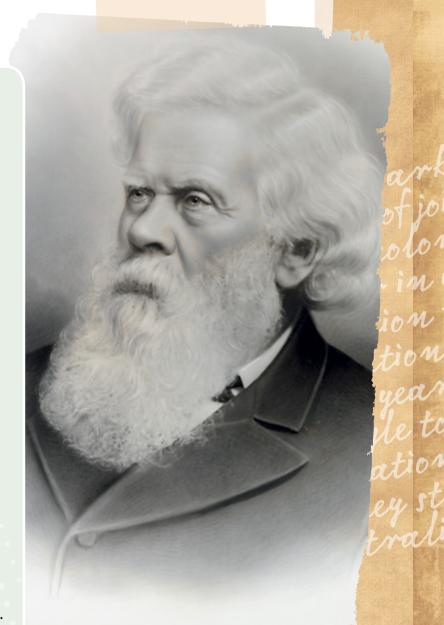
**Died:** 1896 in New South Wales

**Appearance:** A massive, tall, sturdy man, with long white hair and beard, a rugged, red face and piercing blue eyes

**Character:** Bold, impressive and impatient, Parkes was a strong man with a strong personality. Loud-voiced, with a cutting wit and dramatic manner, he was a brilliant speaker and **politician**. Parkes was vain and jealous of his enemies, but he was widely respected and a natural leader.

**Comments:** Uneducated and poor, Parkes became Australia's leading politician through sheer force of character. From the 1860s onwards, he fought for Federation by giving rousing speeches, organising federation conferences and persuading fellow politicians. His efforts earned him the title the 'Father of Federation'.

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## Alfred Deakin

**Born:** 1856 in Melbourne

**Role:** Victorian leader of the Federation movement and co-writer of the Australian Constitution

Age at Federation: 44

Died: 1919 in Melbourne

**Appearance:** Tall, slim, dark wavy hair, neat beard, dark eyes, well dressed

**Character:** Intelligent, well educated, charming, hardworking, a powerful speaker and clear thinker. Deakin was polite and friendly, but a very private man.

**Comments:** Deakin was a brilliant politician and journalist with strong democratic ideas whose talent and warm personality were vital in achieving Federation.



Born: 1849 in Sydney

**Role:** Leader of the Federation movement after Henry Parkes retired and co-writer of

the Constitution

**Age at Federation:** 51

**Died:** 1920 in New South Wales

**Appearance:** Tall, portly, grey wavy hair, clean-shaven, sparkling black eyes

**Character:** Friendly and easygoing, Barton enjoyed food and good company. He was intelligent, well read and a clear thinker.

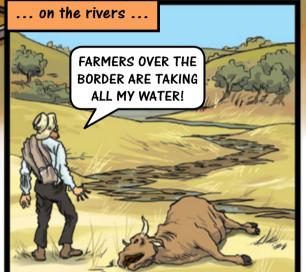
**Comments:** Barton was a people person who could persuade enemies to find common ground. His friendly personality and unwavering support helped bring about Federation.





By the 1880s, people in Australia had been talking for years about joining together into one nation. A Federal Council had been set up in 1886, but it had no power to make laws for the whole country. New South Wales Premier Henry Parkes strongly supported Federation, but the colonies could never agree on what kind of national government they should have.



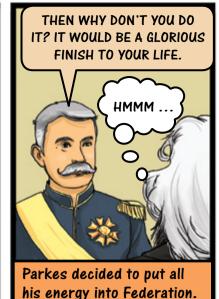


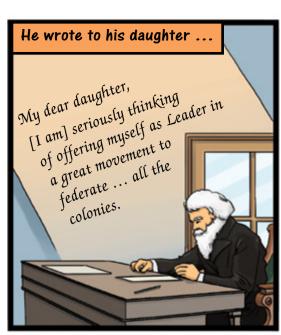


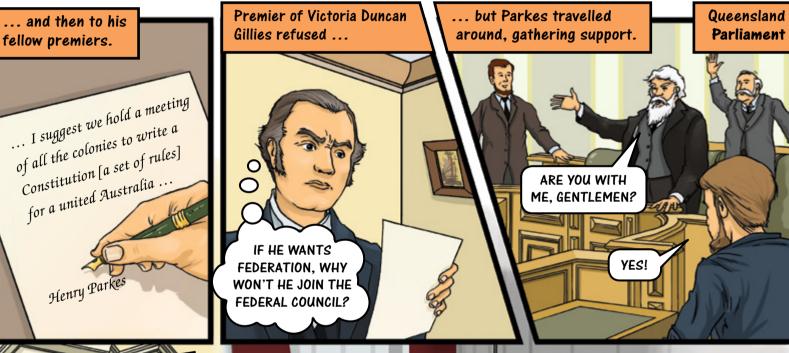




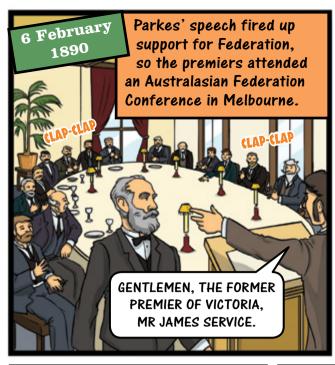


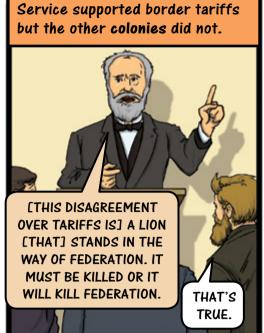




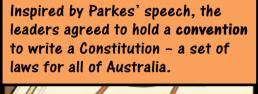












A National Australasian Convention will be held 'to consider and report upon a ... scheme for a Federal Constitution.



The National Australasian Convention

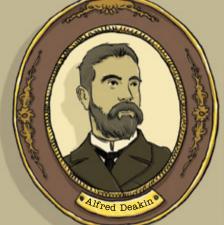


It would the most important meeting between the colonies ever held.

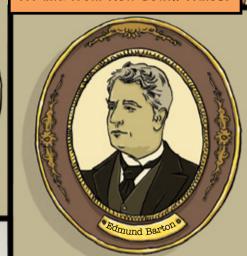
Delegates came from

2 March

Parliaments in each colony chose their delegates carefully. They included: from Victoria ... ... and from New South Wales.



12



1891 all over Australia. They had just five weeks to write a Constitution.

BARTON, LET'S **KEEP WORKING** OVER THE EASTER BREAK. GOOD - A WORKING HOLIDAY.

... but they still had

a long way to go.

Sydney Town Hall.

LET US JOIN

TOGETHER: ONE PEOPLE, ONE COUNTRY!

Next morning, the delegates

got to work on preparing the

Constitution ...

26 March

Parkes adddressed the delegates.

HOORAY!

.. discussing issues ...

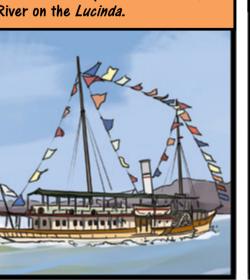
WHAT ABOUT

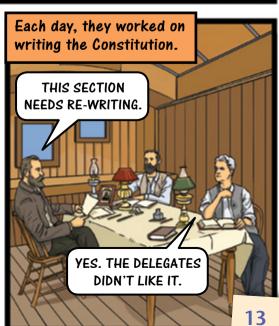


**VICTORIA NEEDS** 

TARIFFS TO PROTECT

Barton, Charles Kingston and Samuel Griffith sailed up the Hawkesbury River on the Lucinda.





There were many issues to discuss ...

... WOMEN SHOULD

**BE ALLOWED TO VOTE** 

IN OUR NEW NATION.

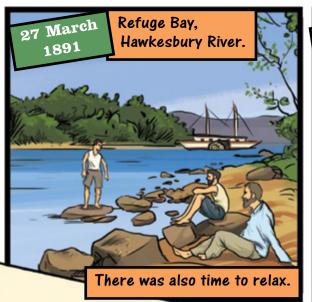
**NEVER!** 

INDEPENDENCE

FROM BRITAIN!

I HOPE SO.

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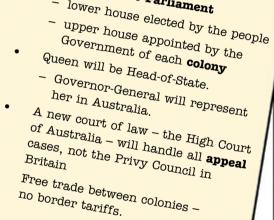
AGREED

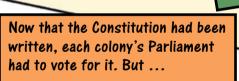






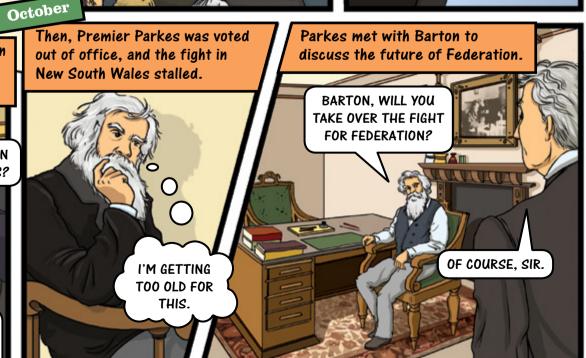








JOIN WITH THE OTHERS?







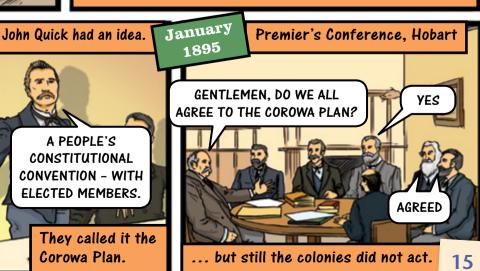
Federation Leagues were set up all over Australia.



'Natives' meant Australian-born







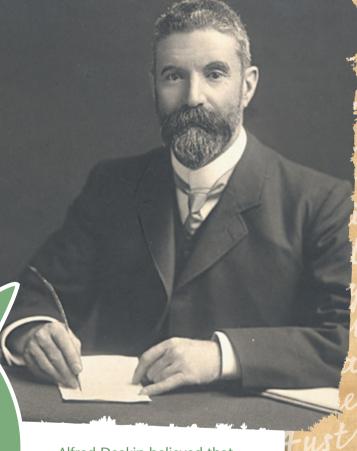
## Viewpoints

In the 1890s, fear of other races and cultures was widespread in Australia. Many people and **politicians** supported Federation because a united Australia could pass laws to stop non-British people coming into the country. Some people, however, spoke out against the idea of a 'white Australia'. These two points of view are shown in the following words spoken at the time.

### Alfred Deakin, politician

Alfred Deakin was in many ways a fair, democratic man, but he believed that workers from Asia and the Pacific Islands had to be kept out of Australia. He gave his reasons in a speech in the **Federal Parliament**:

66 It is not the bad qualities, but the good qualities of these alien (foreign) races that make them so dangerous to us. It is their inexhaustible (endless) energy, their power of applying themselves to new tasks, their endurance (toughness) and low standard of living that make them such competitors [for jobs].



Alfred Deakin believed that Australian jobs would be taken by hardworking immigrants.

### **Bruce Smith**, politician

Bruce Smith was a Federal politician who did not support the idea of a white Australia. He believed it was based on racism rather than the fear of losing jobs, as people claimed. He explained his views:

The foundation (basis) ... is racial prejudice. The whole thing is a bogy (something causing fear), a scarecrow. I ... say that a large part of the scare is founded upon a desire to make political capital (advantage) by appealing to some of the worst instincts of the ... people.

Bruce Smith, around 1901

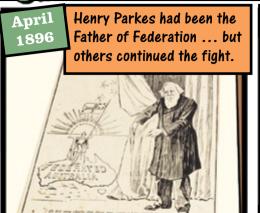
This cartoon, published in 1888, tried to appeal to Australians who felt that non-British people such as the Chinese were pests, and promised that Federation would stop them coming to Australia.



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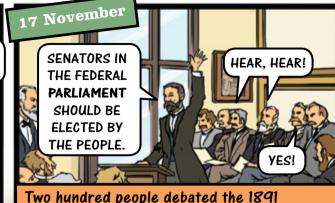
As problems of defence, immigration and cross-border trade increased, support for Federation grew among the people. In 1896, Henry Parkes died, but the fight went on. A new Australian national spirit sprang up, spurred on by *The Bulletin* newspaper, the Federation **Leagues** and the Australian Natives Association. They called for a strong, united Australia.





WE MUST PROD THEM INTO ACTION.

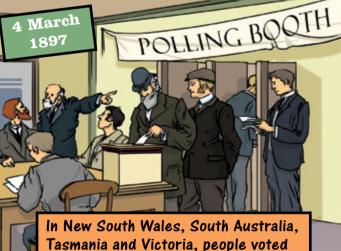
They arranged a People's **Federal Convention**.



Constitution and demanded a new Federation

Convention with elected delegates.



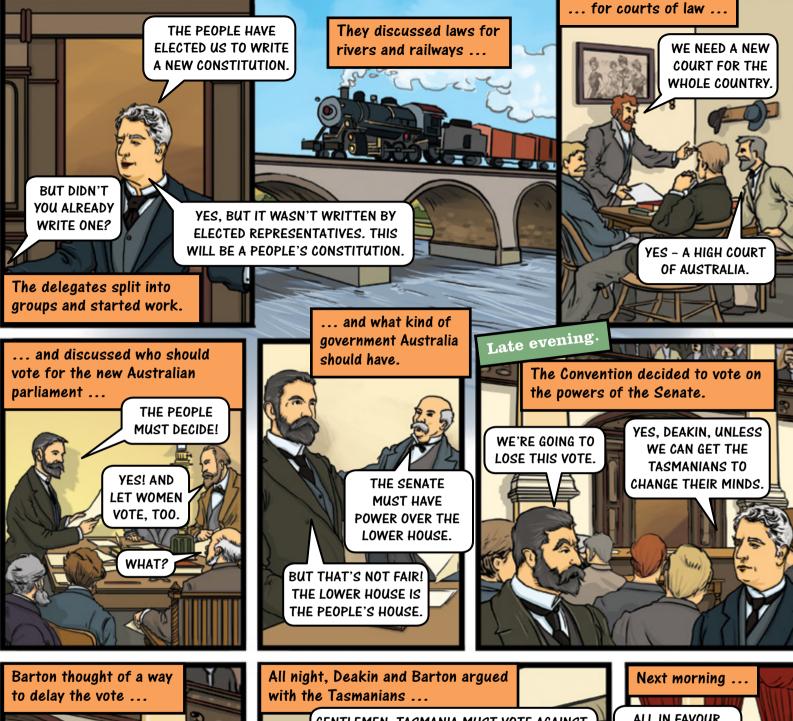


for 10 delegates from their colony.





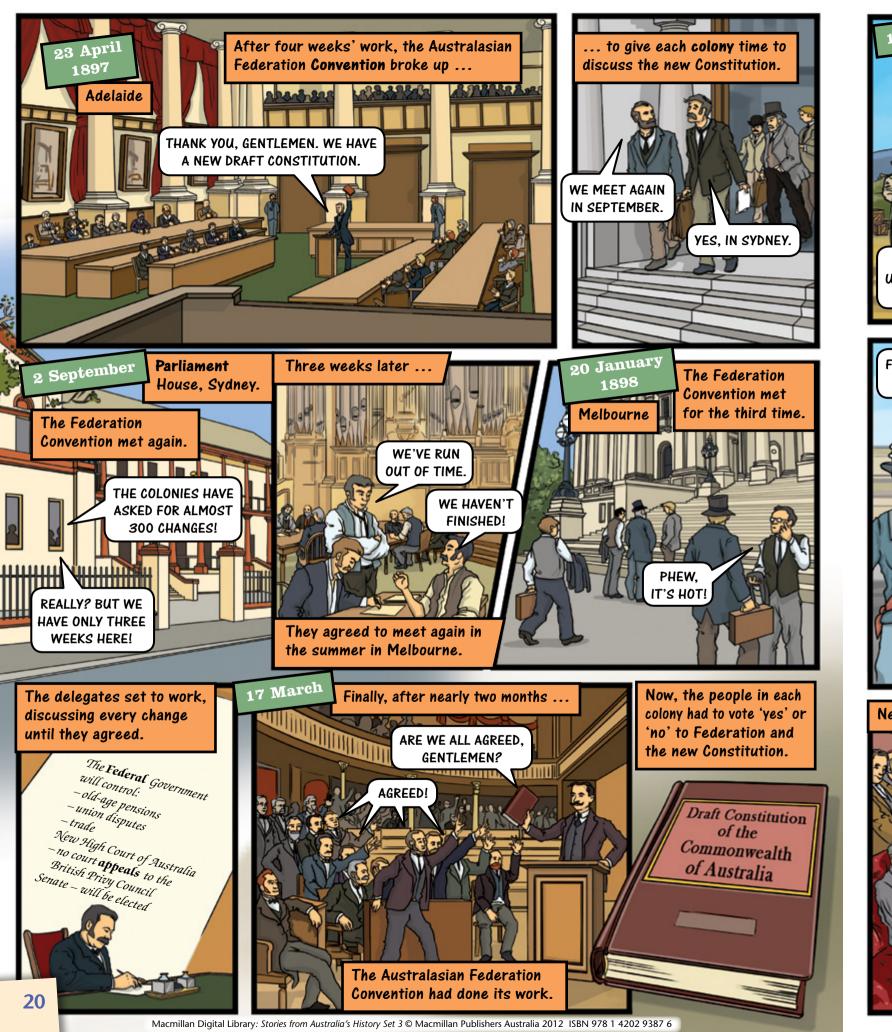














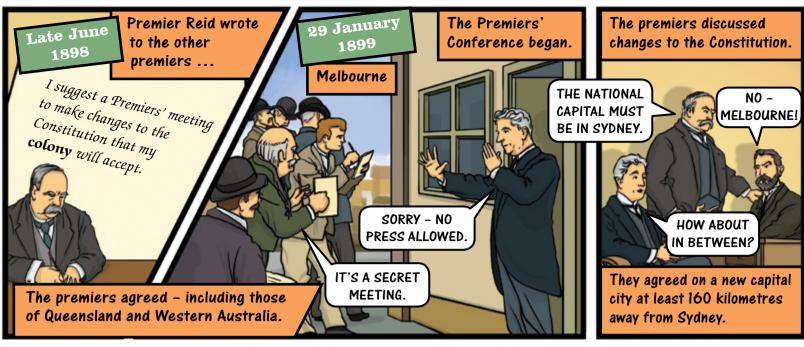
WELL ... YES ...

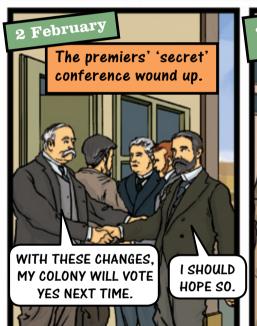
They called him 'Yes-No Reid'

Three colonies voted 'yes', but ...

Federation could not go ahead without the

largest colony.

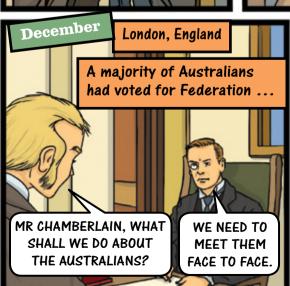






January 1900



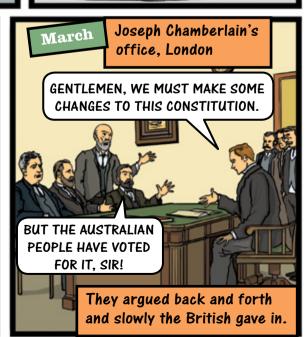


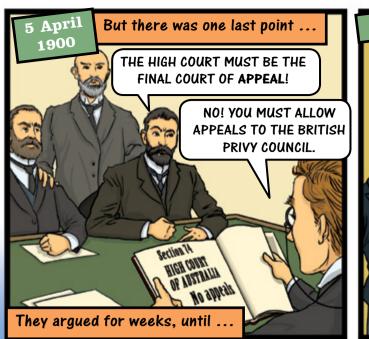
but the British Parliament still

had to approve the Constitution.



Barton, Deakin,

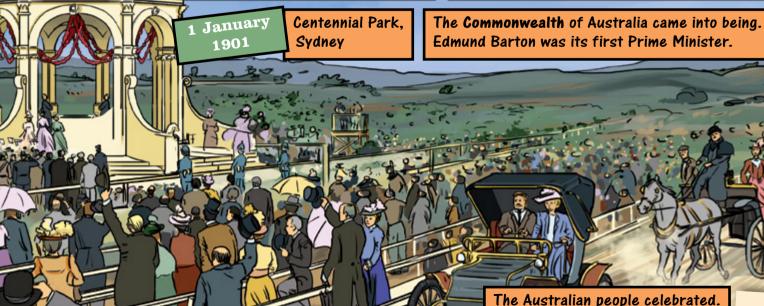












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# What happened next?

At Federation, Edmund Barton was appointed caretaker Prime Minister until Federal elections were held on 29 and 30 March 1901. Barton won his seat and became Australia's first elected Prime Minister. Alfred Deakin became the Attorney-General. Women in South Australia and Western Australia were allowed to vote in the Federal election of 1901. Women in other states had to wait until 1902 for the same right. **Indigenous** Australians were given the vote in 1962.

#### **Opening of Federal Parliament**

The opening of the first Federal **Parliament** was held in the Exhibition Buildings in Melbourne on 9 May 1901. The Duke and Duchess of York came from England to represent the Queen, and were greeted by 12000 invited guests. The Federal Parliament continued to meet in Melbourne until Parliament House in Canberra was built in 1927.

Artist Tom Roberts painted this picture, Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, in 1903. The massive painting includes 250 individual portraits.



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### The White Australia policy

The White Australia policy became official when the *Immigration Restriction* Act was passed in 1901. The law forced some immigrants to pass a dictation test before they were allowed to enter the country. The test could be in any language – this was up to the immigration officer – and English was rarely chosen. Naturally, few people passed. This test was used to keep non-British people out. The policy was eased after World War II when many European refugees and workers were accepted into Australia. It was finally ended in the 1970s and is widely thought to have been an unfair policy.

#### A new capital city

As agreed in the Australian Constitution, a new capital city was planned between Melbourne and Sydney. A site was found around 300 kilometres south-west of Sydney, and in 1910, the Australian Capital Territory was established. The city of Canberra was designed by American architect Walter Burley-Griffin. The first Parliament House was officially occupied by the Federal Parliament on 9 May 1927. 'Old Parliament House' was used until 1988, when the current Parliament House was built.

Today, Australia is a thriving, multicultural country, where people from many different backgrounds are Australian citizens.

### Eyewitness words

To say it (Federation) was fated to be (certain to happen) is to say nothing ... any one of a thousand minor incidents (events) might have deferred (delayed) it for years ... To those who watched its inner workings, followed its fortunes ... [the fact that Federation actually happened] must always appear to have been ... a series of miracles.

Alfred Deakin, 1900



25

# The effects of Federation

Federation was one of the most important events in Australia's history and had wide-ranging effects.

#### Within Australia

Federation provided a strong, central government which had the power and the money to do many things that separate **colonies** could not do on their own. Old age pensions were paid for the first time. Interstate roads, shipping and railways now worked under one set of **Federal** laws, and border taxes were banned. Postage and other communications were unified across Australia. Disagreements between workers and bosses were now dealt with in an Australian industrial court, and decisions made by the court applied throughout the country.

#### A new national spirit

After Federation, a national spirit grew strongly. People began to believe there were things that all Australians had in common, such as mateship, **equality** and a fair go for all. Australian Army soldiers showed that spirit when they fought at Gallipoli in 1915, and the Anzac legend was born. Non-European migrants were kept out of the country under the White Australia policy, but after it was abolished, Australia grew into a strong and **multicultural nation**.

#### What ever happened to ...

#### Alfred Deakin?

Alfred Deakin became a leading member of the Australian government and served three terms as Prime Minister, between 1903 and 1910. He remained a strong, wise leader until he retired from politics in 1913.

Deakin died after a long illness on 7 October 1919 and was given a state funeral.

Alfred Deakin was responsible for establishing the country's most important bodies, such as the High Court and the Australian Navy, and is remembered as a great prime minister.

### Timeline

This timeline shows the main events relating to the struggle for Federation.

**1881** Henry Parkes suggests a Federal Council made up of representatives from each **colony**.

#### 6 February 1890

The Australasian Federation Conference is held in Melbourne.

#### July 1893 Edmund

Barton forms a Federation League in Sydney. Across Australia, other Leagues follow.

## **27 April 1896**Henry Parkes dies.

#### 17–21 November 1896

The People's Federal Convention is held in Bathurst.

#### 4 March 1897

Elections are held for delegates to the Federation Convention.

#### 22 March-23 April 1897

The first session of the Federation Convention is held in Adelaide to write a new Australian Constitution.

#### June-September 1899

All the colonies but Western Australia vote 'yes' to the changed Constitution.

#### 29 January– 2 February 1899

A 'secret conference' is held in Melbourne. The premiers make changes to the Constitution to satisfy New South Wales.

#### 1 January 1901

The Commonwealth of Australia is officially inaugurated in Sydney.

#### **July 1900**

The British

Parliament passes
the Constitution
Bill.

1880

**1886** The Federal Council meets in Hobart.

# Oration, I proposes Federation Conferen

#### **24 October 1889**

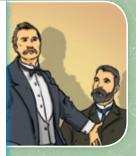
In the Tenterfield Oration, Parkes proposes a Federation Conference.

#### 2 March– 9 April 1891

The National Australasian Convention is held to write an Australian Constitution.

#### 31 July-1 August 1893

The Corowa
Conference is
held. The Corowa
Plan calls for a
new Federation
Convention with
elected members.



#### 20 January-17 March 1898

The third session of the Federation Convention is held in Melbourne.

#### 2-24 September 1897

The second session of the Federation Convention is held in Sydney.

#### March-June 1900

3-4 June 1898

Barton, Deakin and others debate the Constitution Bill with Joseph Chamberlain in London, England.

#### 31 July 1900

Western Australia votes for the Constitution and joins Federation.

#### 9 May 1901

The first Federal Parliament opens in Melbourne.

Only New South Wales votes 'no'.

Victoria. Tasmania and South Australia

vote for Federation and the Constitution.

# What do you think?

Many people were in favour of Federation in the 1890s because they wanted to keep Australia 'white'. Today, Australia is a successful **multicultural** country where people of all backgrounds live together. However, multiculturalism raises questions about what it means to be an Australian. Try the following activities to test your own ideas about this important subject.

#### Who is right?

Australians disagree about whether immigrants should keep their own traditions and customs, or adopt Australian ones. Read the following opinions and have a discussion about who you think is right.

## Multiculturalists

People from other countries and cultures have important customs and values. These things are part of who they are. Coming to Australia should not mean that they leave their culture behind. Welcoming different cultures, customs and traditions enriches all Australians.

## **Traditionalists**

Immigrants who choose to come to Australia should adopt the customs of their new home. Part of moving to a new country is accepting its traditions and values, rather than clinging to your own. Immigrants need to become like other Australians to fit in.



#### What would you do?

The following scenes actually occurred during the struggle for Federation. Read each scene, then choose what you would do.

## Scene 1

You are Edmund Barton. In 1891 you are invited to be a minister in the New South Wales government of Premier George Dibbs. However, Dibbs is opposed to Federation and the Constitution. Would you ...

- A refuse, saying you could not work with someone who is against Federation
- **B** accept, but only on the condition that Premier Dibbs promises to allow you to push for Federation in the New South Wales **Parliament**
- C accept without conditions?

## scene 1

You are Henry Parkes. The Corowa Plan of 1893 suggests asking the people to elect representatives to a **convention** where a new **Federal** Constitution will be written. Would you ...

- A speak out against the Corowa Plan
- B quietly support the Plan but do nothing to help it along
- © support the Corowa Plan as a path towards Federation and speak in its favour around the country?

### Scene 3

You are William Lyne, Premier of New South Wales in 1901. You have fought against Federation all the way, but the Governor-General nominates you to be the first Prime Minister of Australia. Would you ...

- A refuse on principle, because you have always opposed Federation
- B agree only if no one else will take the job
- C accept the nomination?

Once you have chosen what you would do in each scene, find out what actually happened on page 31.

## Find out more



http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/explore/federation/constitutionwebsite/stories/call-to-action/pods/national-identity/index.html

This website designed for students includes profiles and photographs of key people, audio recreations of famous speeches and images of original documents associated with Federation.

http://moadoph.gov.au/learning/resources/getting-it-together-fromcolonies-to-federation/

This extensive site from the Museum of Australian Democracy at Old **Parliament** House, Canberra, offers free downloads of educational packages on all aspects of Federation. *Getting it together: from colonies to Federation*, designed for Years 5–8 students, includes original documents, class activities and a teachers' quide.



#### Book

Alfred Deakin, The Federal Story: the inner history of the Federal cause 1880–1900, edited by J. A. La Nauze

This is Alfred Deakin's own account of the events leading up to Federation. It includes behind-the-scenes glimpses and personal portraits of the leaders.



#### Places to visit

#### Parliament House, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory

The School Visits Program offers tours of Parliament House. The Parliamentary Education Office runs many educational programs including face-to-face role plays for students and teachers to learn about the workings of **Federal** Parliament.

#### Royal Exhibition Building, Melbourne, Victoria

This is the site of the opening of Federal Parliament in 1901, and is now a World Heritage Site.

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Parliament House, Canberra, ACT



**appeal** a review of a case in a higher court **colony** an area of land that is controlled by a distant country **Commonwealth** a group of states with common interests **convention** a meeting to discuss important matters **convict** someone serving a sentence in jail for committing a crime **delegates** people chosen to do something on behalf of others **elections** selection of someone, by voting, to represent the people **equality** where everyone has the same rights **federal** to do with the nation as a whole **Indigenous peoples** the original peoples of Australia **league** a group of people with a common goal **multicultural** having many different cultures **nation** a country unified under one government **parliament** a group of people elected to make laws **politician** person who serves in parliament racial prejudice unreasonable negative attitudes to people of different races or cultures **racism** unfair treatment based on race **referendum** a poll of the whole voting population

## What actually happened in the 'What would you do?' scenes described on page 29:

**settlement** a place where people live

Scene 1: B. Edmund Barton accepted Dibbs' offer of a ministry in the New South Wales Government, but only if Dibbs would allow him to argue for Federation in parliament. Many Federation supporters were appalled that Barton agreed to work with Dibbs, a strongly anti-Federation man. Henry Parkes was furious with Barton and never forgave him.

Scene 2: A. Parkes spoke out against the Corowa Plan for a people's **convention**, saying that it was 'quite preposterous (absurd) to talk of a mob of people making a constitution ...'

Scene 3: C. Lyne happily accepted the nomination, but there was a public outcry. Edmund Barton and Alfred Deakin refused to work with him if he became Prime Minister. Lyne was persuaded to give up the nomination, and Barton was appointed Prime Minister at Federation in 1901.

## Index

#### A

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