

# SNAPSHOT 1750–1918

1800

1807 First bale of Australian merino wool arrives in London

1813 End of British East India Company's exclusive trade rights throughout British Empire

1821 End of Lachlan Macquarie's governorship of New South Wales

1825

1830 British government limits settlement in New South Wales to just 'nineteen counties'

1831 Land sales begin in New South Wales

1838 Creation of the 'People's Charter' for democratic rights in Britain

1842 Chartists in Britain organise general strike

1844 Governor Gipps places restrictions on land ownership in New South Wales

1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*

1850

1850 Australia becomes the largest wool exporter in the world

1854 Eureka rebellion on the Victorian goldfields leads to the introduction of democratic reforms in Australia

1856 Eight-hour working day introduced in Victoria

1859 Rules of a new game, Australian football, formulated

1875

1877 First Australian cricket team defeats England at the Melbourne Cricket Ground

1884 'Fabian Society' established in London

1889 Sir Henry Parkes delivers his famous 'Tenterfield speech'

1890 Beginning of economic depression throughout Australia. Series of 'Great Strikes' begins

1891 Establishment of the Australian Labor Party. Australasian Federal Convention drafts a federal constitution

1900

SOURCE 2.1.1 Timeline of progressive ideas and movements

## GREAT 'ISMS' OF THE MODERN AGE

Capitalism, socialism, trade unionism, racism, imperialism, sexism, nationalism, Chartism, Darwinism, social Darwinism, environmentalism ... What exactly is an 'ism'? A word ending in 'ism' usually denotes a set of ideas about 'big picture' issues such as the nation, the government, the economy, society, relations between nations, or the environment. Some 'isms' have been so widely accepted that, at times, people were not even aware that there were alternatives to these ways of thinking (for example racism or sexism). Most, however, are well-developed belief systems that make certain claims about the rights and responsibilities of individuals within a society.

Some of these ideas attracted widespread support in Australia and developed into significant movements for change. These particular 'isms' were capitalism, socialism, egalitarianism, trade unionism, Chartism and nationalism. These are considered to be progressive ideas and movements because of the improvements they brought to Australian society. This chapter will explore those 'isms' that made a significant contribution to the development of Australia in the period 1788–1918.

## CAPITALISM

Capitalism is an economic system based on competition between sellers, who all want to make a profit. Without capitalism, the Industrial Revolution would never have occurred. Capitalists are individuals who invest their money into new business ventures in order to make a profit. The Scientific Age gave rise to new inventions such as the steam engine, but it was the growing class of capitalists in Britain who used these tools to establish the factory system. This meant that goods could be manufactured in large quantities and in a relatively short time. During the Industrial Revolution capitalists grew wealthy by exporting manufactured goods throughout the British Empire. Over time, capitalists replaced the old nobility as the wealthiest group in British society.



SOURCE 2.1.2 Banner displayed in a protest against job losses in London, 2008

- Q 1 Why would unemployment be seen as a failure of capitalism?
- 2 How does the artwork in the banner attempt to show that capitalism isn't working?



SOURCE 2.1.3 Critics of US President Barack Obama have branded him a 'socialist', as he proposed legislation to make health care in the United States of America more affordable.

- Q 1 What does this poster reveal about the attitudes of some people in the United States towards socialism?
- 2 Referring to the definition in the text above, is it fair to call President Obama a socialist?

## SOCIALISM

At its most basic level, the aim of socialism is to redistribute wealth from the rich to the poor. During the Industrial Revolution, as capitalists grew extremely wealthy from the factory system, the growing urban working-class had barely enough to survive on. Factory conditions were often appalling and the working day was as long as fourteen hours. Socialists believed that the profits created by workers ought to be given back to the workers. By the middle of the nineteenth century, two strands of socialism had emerged—revolutionary socialism, or communism; and democratic socialism, otherwise known as Fabianism.

## EGALITARIANISM

Egalitarianism is both a social and a political philosophy. In an egalitarian society, all people have equal social, economic and political status. An egalitarian society is considered to be a 'classless' society; that is, there is no upper, middle or lower class—everyone is considered equal. In Australia, this ideal is often associated with the term 'a fair go for all' and in the United States it is associated with the phrase 'all men are created equal'.

## NATIONALISM

Nationalism is the belief that people of a similar race, culture or ideals ought to belong to the same nation state. Nationalism was one of the most influential ideas of the nineteenth century and resulted in the establishment of new nations, growing empires, national rivalries and movements of resistance against foreign rule.

As the population of people born in Australia grew, so did Australian nationalism. By 1890, most people in Australia were native born (had been born there). Although they remained fiercely loyal to the British Empire, many people began to realise that they were also somehow different. This growing sense of identity was one of the main reasons why people throughout the Australian colonies voted to unite under one federal government. On 1 January 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia was officially declared. Australia too had become a nation.

A negative consequence of nationalism was seen fourteen years later, when competition between powerful rival nations in Europe led to the outbreak of World War I.



**SOURCE 2.1.4** 'Australia's imperishable record'—a World War I recruitment poster. Held at the National Library of Australia

- Q** 1 How does this poster show the pride Australians felt at playing their part in World War I?  
 2 How do Sir Ian Hamilton's words reveal a belief about the superiority of the British race?

## IMPERIALISM

Imperialism can be thought of as 'empire building', whereby a more powerful nation or people extends its influence over a less powerful group. An example of this can be seen in Britain's rule over Australia and New Zealand from 1788. The British also believed that other peoples would benefit from being brought under British control.

Cultural imperialism is said to occur when one group of people is forced to give up its beliefs, ideas, values or practices for those of an outsider group. This usually occurs over time.

Although the Age of Empires is said to have begun with the expansion of European empires in the seventeenth century, empires existed in ancient times. Asian empires existed centuries before Europeans began to dominate the people of Asia. The Mongol Empire was one of the greatest empires in history. It began with the rise of Genghis Khan, who united the warring Mongol tribes in 1206 before going on to conquer most of the Asian continent. At its height, the Mongol Empire spanned roughly 16 per cent of the Earth's surface and controlled over 100 million people.

*When Britain first at Heav'n's command  
 Arose from out the azure main;  
 This was the charter of the land,  
 And guardian angels sang this strain;  
 Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves:  
 Britons never will be slaves*

**SOURCE 2.1.5** Chorus of 'Rule Britannia', written by James Thomson and put to music in c. 1740 by Thomas Augustine Arne

- Q** 1 What is the reference to Britain's superior navy?  
 2 How do these words imply that God is on Britain's side?

## DARWINISM

Darwinism is named after Charles Darwin, who developed the theory of evolution by natural selection. He proposed that different species in the animal and plant kingdoms came about due to competition between members of the species and that those with the traits or characteristics better suited to their environment would survive. This idea challenged the religious view of the day that God had created all animals and plants. The application of Darwin's theory of evolution to human affairs is known as social Darwinism. This theory views human beings as being in natural competition with each other, and accepts that the strongest and most intelligent race or group will naturally dominate the weaker.

## CHARTISM

The Chartist movement demanded reforms to the electoral process, as ordinary working people were unable to vote in Britain. Chartists organised mass protests rallies, petitions and even general strikes to make their demands heard. Ultimately, however, the British Chartist movement failed to achieve any of its aims. Several of its leaders were arrested and transported to Australia, where they continued to promote their ideas. Some of these men became the leaders of the Eureka rebellion in 1854. Within a year of the rebellion, colonial parliaments in Australia had enacted laws that met most of the demands of the 1838 People's Charter.

# THE EMERGENCE OF AND KEY IDEAS IN CAPITALISM



**Capitalism** is an economic system in which individuals establish businesses for the purpose of making a profit. In a capitalist system, businesses sell goods and services that customers want and need. Competition between businesses leads to the development of better and often cheaper products. Capitalism could not function without **entrepreneurs** to invest their money in new business ventures. Entrepreneurs take calculated risks in seeking new opportunities based on people's desire for new goods and services.

Capitalism has been identified as one of the main driving forces behind the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. The search for natural resources, foreign products, free of cheap labour and new markets led to the expansion of the British Empire right around the globe. Until 1813, the very powerful British East India Company controlled most of this business. Australia also played a key role in the expansion of British trade during this time by developing one of the largest wool industries in the world.

## CAPITALISM IN EARLY AUSTRALIA

By the end of Macquarie's governorship in 1821, the British government was keen for New South Wales to become much less reliant on money and supplies from the mother country. Many free settlers were willing to try their hands at farming and, in particular, the very profitable wool industry. Finding the necessary land to begin these ventures, however, was a major obstacle, as the Crown (or British government) owned all the land. Governors could hand out land as they saw fit, but under the first few governors, little more than 1000 square miles (2590 square kilometres) had been granted freely. Most was assigned to a select group of wealthier immigrants who had come from England. There were very few conditions attached to these handouts. All that the new landowner was required to do was to live on the property and make some attempt to improve it.

**SOURCE 2.2.1** Albion Mills in Darling Harbour, Sydney, before 1841, by Frederick Garling. Held at the State Library of New South Wales

- Q** List the evidence from the painting that this was an area where commerce took place.



## THE GROWTH OF COMMERCE

As the population of Sydney grew, food production increased, and the threats of starvation and abandonment of the colony receded. There was an increase in the colonists' desire for better food, clothing and household goods that the colony itself could not produce. In short, they wanted to import those things they missed, such as tea, sugar and tobacco. Even convicts brought goods out with them from England in the hope that they might sell these for profit before beginning their sentences in the colony.

## IMPORTERS

Adding to the urban activity was a growing number of shopkeepers setting up businesses in the large population centres of both Sydney and Hobart. These entrepreneurs imported everything the colony could not make for itself, and many of them became very rich. A few of these successful entrepreneurs were ex-convicts—but even when they were rich, they could not escape their tainted past, and polite society rarely interacted with them.

## PRODUCERS

As well as the importers, there were also the producers. Brewing was a very popular industry and women often ran breweries, bakeries and clothes-making businesses. Salt was produced in vast quantities for the preserving of meat. All of these products needed to be sold through shops.

The growing population also needed meat, and larger cattle runs were the only way to supply this growing demand. Cattle farming waned in the late 1820s, however, when a drought and an oversupply of meat made it less attractive and profitable. Wheat farms were cultivated everywhere along the Hawkesbury River flood plain. Even Van Diemen's Land was exporting wheat and fruit to Sydney six years after its settlement.

## A NATION 'BUILT ON THE SHEEP'S BACK'

By 1850, Australian wool exports had reached £41 million, making Australia one of the largest wool exporters in the world. Most of the wool was sold to Britain, where it was manufactured into garments in the textile factories. A common saying at the time was that Australia was 'built on the sheep's back'.

The demand for wool from Australian merino sheep, the first bale of which landed in London in 1807, led to a massive expansion of land use in the colonies. Wool growing was so profitable and so well suited to Australian conditions that it became the basis of the fledgling Australian economy.

## THE 'NINETEEN COUNTIES'

Many of the **emancipists** (convicts whose terms had expired) and the native-born took up wool growing and by 1830 the British government limited expansion to designated areas called the '**nineteen counties**'. No one was allowed to farm outside that limit because it was becoming too hard for the government to control settlement and impose law and order in the frontier regions. Most people simply ignored the restriction, since if they were going to raise sheep they needed vast fields of grass. As the explorers had discovered, good grazing land existed beyond the 'nineteen counties' limit. The further a settler moved into the country's interior, the less reliable the rainfall, which meant that larger properties were required to support the same number of sheep.

### IT TAKES A FEW TO MAKE A HERD.

Two bulls and four cows that had come with the First Fleet wandered into the bush in 1788. Within twenty-five years this had created a herd of some 5000 wild cattle. Unfortunately, they were nearly impossible to catch.

### DID YOU KNOW?



SOURCE 2.2.2

The 'nineteen counties' established in 1830



## KEY GROUP: SQUATTERS

Those who moved out beyond the 'nineteen counties' became known as **squatters**—people who had settled on land illegally. They occupied whatever land they liked and there was little the government could do to stop them. The land beyond the 'nineteen counties' was ideal for the expansion of pastoral industries such as sheep and cattle because the local Aboriginal People had cleared much of it with their traditional fire practices, creating a paradise for the pastoralists. The squatters claimed much of this unknown frontier territory by making marker boundaries with trees or stones and then building rough shacks, some fencing and perhaps a dam.

## GOVERNMENT CONTROL

By the 1830s, the government was exerting some measure of control over the land. The sale of leases by auction came in 1831, with prices starting at five shillings an acre (0.4 of a hectare). Squatting was later legalised, and grazing rights were set at £10 per annum. By the 1840s, squatters had become very wealthy, holding vast pastoral leases, some the size of small European countries. However, they still did not own the land they occupied, a matter that concerned them greatly. What incentive was there to improve their holdings, they argued, if they did not have secure ownership of it? Restrictions imposed by Governor Gipps on the ownership of land in 1844 provoked massive demonstrations by squatters, as well as some heavy lobbying by the squatters' friends in London.

SOURCE 2.2.3

*The Squatter's First Home*, by Alexander Denistoun Lang, c. 1847. Held at the State Library of Victoria

SOURCE 2.2.4

A squatter's residence, c. 1870, located about 25 kilometres north-east of Melbourne. Held at the State Library of Victoria

Q

- 1 Compare and contrast the squatters' homes depicted in Sources 2.2.3 and 2.2.4.
- 2 Account for the differences in size and grandeur of the two houses.



# THE EMERGENCE OF AND KEY IDEAS IN SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM



Most government officials were not sympathetic to the squatters, whom they saw as opportunistic land grabbers who had become rich at the expense of others. The squatters, however, saw themselves as the new nobility in a new land, and frequently referred to themselves as the ‘**squattocracy**’—a play on the word ‘aristocracy’—which did not make them popular with poorer settlers or emancipists.

**SOURCE 2.2.5** *The Squatter Taking His Ease*, by Charles Archer, c. 1845. Held at the John Oxley Library, Queensland

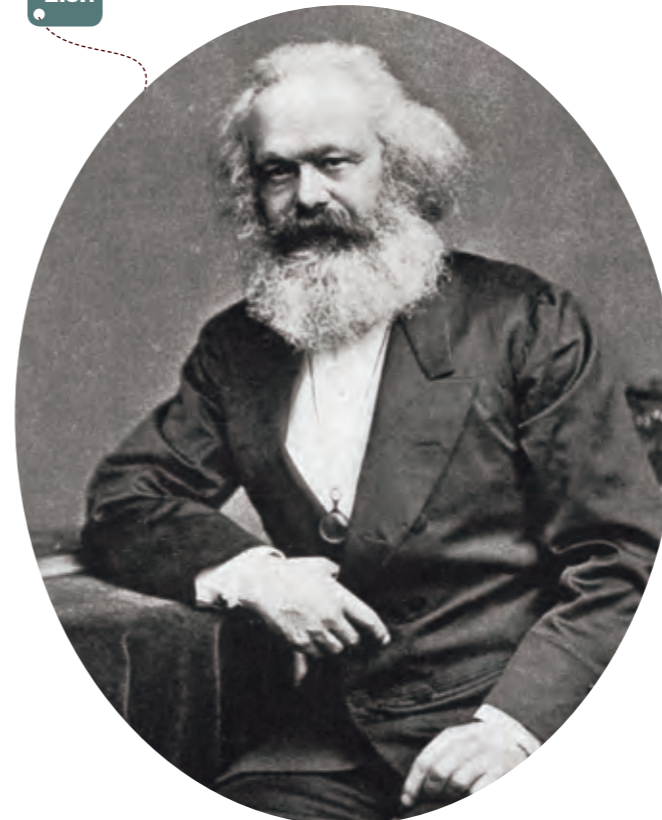
## THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN EUROPE

In nineteenth-century Europe, most politicians held a **laissez-faire** view of capitalism, believing that the government should interfere as little as possible with business activity. As a result, factory owners paid wages that were barely enough for workers to survive on. Workers were often required to work very long days, sometimes with as little as four hours sleep.

In response, a number of individuals such as Robert Owen, began to think about alternatives to capitalism. Owen established communities of workers that were self-supporting—they produced what they needed and distributed this among all members of the community, regardless of their ability as workers.

Men such as Owen and Henri Saint-Simon were socialists because they believed that workers should have collective ownership of the resources needed to produce profits. At its core, socialism is about the redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor.

**SOURCE 2.3.1** Karl Marx, the founder of the theory of communism



## KARL MARX

*“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.*

*Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.*

**SOURCE 2.3.2** From *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx, 1848

- Q**
- 1 What did Marx believe were the two outcomes of class struggle?
  - 2 In your own words, define the following terms:
    - a oppressor
    - b oppressed
    - c reconstitution of society
    - d contending classes.

The evils of industrialisation drew the attention of political philosopher Karl Marx, who in 1848 wrote *The Communist Manifesto* with his friend Friedrich Engels. In this book, Marx and Engels called upon the workers of the world to unite to overthrow their employers and end the unjust system of capitalism. Marx believed that the profits made by capitalists were nothing more than theft from workers.

Marx’s theory of revolutionary socialism was known as communism. This type of socialism was far more radical than that of Owen and Saint-Simon. Marx believed that a class struggle between employers and employees would eventually lead to revolution by the workers and the destruction of capitalism through a revolution. After the demise of capitalism, a classless society would emerge based on the principle of ‘from each according to his ability to each according to his need’. In other words, people would no longer work for wages but for the improvement of their communities.

Marxist ideas grew more popular as workers became more vocal about the evils of industrialisation. Those from the educated middle class who wanted to improve society also adopted many of Marx’s ideas. By the turn of the century, strong communist movements had developed in Germany, Russia, France and Italy.

## LEARNING ACTIVITIES

### Remembering and understanding

- 1 Define the terms below.
  - capitalism
  - entrepreneur
  - emancipists
  - ‘nineteen counties’
  - squatters
  - squattocracy

### Understanding and evaluating

- 2 Reread ‘Capitalism in early Australia’.
  - a Why were new settlers encouraged to come to Australia in the early 1800s?
  - b To whom were the first land grants given? What did these people have to do in return for receiving land?
  - c Identify the different types of businesses that sprang up in the early colonies of Australia.

- d Which was Australia’s most important export industry during the nineteenth century?
- e Why did this industry require a large amount of land?

### Evaluating

- 3 Reread ‘Key group: squatters’. After conducting your own research, script a conversation between a wealthy squatter and someone opposed to their ‘land grab’. The person could be:
  - a government official trying to explain why slow and orderly settlement is needed
  - a smaller farmer, known as a ‘selector’, who has been left with much inferior land
  - an Aboriginal elder whose people have lost their traditional hunting lands.



**SOURCE** 2.3.3 Trade union membership certificate. Held at the State Library of New South Wales

- Q** 1 What evidence is there in this image that the trade unionists believed their cause was right and just?
- 2 Why did trade unionists consider unity to be important? How is this demonstrated in the artwork of this certificate?

## SOCIALISM: THE FABIAN SOCIETY

The Fabian Society was founded in London in 1884 with the aim of promoting democratic socialism. It was named after the Ancient Roman consul Quintus Fabius Maximus, who adopted tactics that gradually wore his enemies down rather than attempting to defeat them in one decisive battle.

Members of the Fabian Society believed that socialism should not be achieved through violent revolution, as demanded by communism, but by the slow and gradual process of parliamentary reform. As more and more workers were given the right to vote, Fabians believed that they would elect representatives to parliament who would make improvements to wages and working conditions. The Fabians led the call for the introduction of a minimum wage and a system of universal health care.

The Fabian Society attracted the support of many leading figures in Britain at the time. Among these were playwright George Bernard Shaw, novelists Virginia Woolf and H. G. Wells, women's suffrage campaigner Emmeline Pankhurst, and Ramsay MacDonald, who would go on to become Britain's first Labour prime minister in 1924.

## GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM IN AUSTRALIA

A severe labour shortage throughout Australia during the **boom years** (1850–90) forced employers to offer high wages and good working conditions to attract skilled workers. These workers were essential for the creation of new public buildings, roads, railways, ports and housing. The growth of the wool, mining and manufacturing industries also required thousands of additional workers.

Although wages were good and work was plentiful, many workers feared the arrival of non-European immigrants who were willing to work for substantially less. It was thought that, by providing employers with a cheap source of labour, non-Europeans would drive down all wages. Many trade unions were formed at this time to protect wages and pressure employers into improving working conditions. Trade unions were associations of workers from within the same industry who could use their collective power to strike, or stop work, and thereby halt production. Strike action was used to force employers to give in to workers' demands, which included a minimum wage, fewer working hours, the introduction of workers' compensation, an end to individual contracts and the banning of non-union labour.

## IMPACTS OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

### THE 'EIGHT-HOUR' DAY

Before 1856, Australian workers worked ten to eighteen hours a day. The 'Eight Hour' movement called on colonial governments to introduce legislation limiting the working day to just eight hours. This was based on the view that a 24-hour day should be equally divided between sleep, recreation and work—so eight hours of sleep, eight hours of recreation and eight hours of work. To win support for their cause trade unions, charitable organisations and women's groups led strikes, public demonstrations and protest marches. Some church leaders also supported a reduction of working hours, as workers would then have more time to attend church on Sundays.

### VICTORIAN WORKERS WERE THE FIRST IN THE WORLD TO WIN AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

On 21 April 1856, the Victorian parliament passed legislation guaranteeing an eight-hour working day for all skilled workers in the building industry. This was a world first. By the end of the decade, most of Victoria's skilled workforce had been given the eight-hour day.

### DID YOU KNOW?

The trade union movement made the most of having more leisure hours by organising public celebrations and sporting events. With the working day over at 1 p.m. on Saturday, spectator sports such as football and cricket became even more popular. In 1879, Labour Day became an official public holiday in Victoria for the first time. Today, all states still remember the introduction of the eight-hour day on Labour Day, which in Tasmania is still called Eight-hour Day.

### THE GREAT STRIKES OF THE 1890s

The economic depression of the 1890s brought new pressures to trade unions. As unemployment increased, union membership declined. With a surplus of available workers, employers no longer had to offer higher rates of pay to attract workers. Wages and working conditions began to decline. In response, trade unionists staged a series of Great Strikes throughout the early 1890s. While these strikes did not last for long, they showed the potential of the unions to disrupt business activity.

The maritime strike of 1890 was the first strike in which several unions worked together to shut down a whole industry. Employers responded by hiring new workers from among the unemployed to break the strike. During the shearers' strike of 1891, trade unionists attacked non-union shearers who were hired. In response, the police were called in to break the picket line formed to prevent non-union shearers from working. The strike failed. In 1894, a second shearers' strike also failed to achieve its aims.

## THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY

By 1893, virtually all the improvements in pay and working conditions that had been won during the previous decades had disappeared. Individual contracts were re-introduced, meaning employers could again pay workers as they saw fit. The failure of the Great Strikes had shown that strike action alone could not prevent the loss of wages and working conditions. Unionists therefore began to focus their attention on 'ballot box' reform to gain political representation in the colonial parliaments. Labour Electoral Leagues were also established to encourage ordinary workers to exercise their newly won right to vote. Unionists believed that once in parliament, labour representatives would make laws favourable to working men.

In 1891, labour groups from the major colonies established Australia's first political party—the Australian Labor Party. Later that year, Labour won 35 of the 141 seats in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly. Throughout the 1890s, Labour representatives sought to introduce a basic 'living' wage and an extension of the eight-hour day to all workers.

In 1912, the party adopted the current spelling of its name, the Australian Labor Party, as it was strongly influenced by the United States labour movement and United States-born King O'Malley was a prominent figure in the early history of the party. This change also made it easier to distinguish between the party and the wider labour movement.

### Remembering and understanding

- Define the terms below.
  - boom years
  - laissez-faire
- Use each of the following pairs of terms together in an accurate and historically meaningful sentence:
  - laissez-faire and business
  - collective ownership and socialism
  - revolutionary socialism and classless society
  - democratic socialism and parliament
  - trade unions and picket line
  - Labour Electoral Leagues and ballot box

### Understanding and evaluating

- Reread 'The development of socialism in Europe' and 'Karl Marx'.
  - How did most governments see their role in relation to business?
  - What were the basic beliefs of all socialists?
  - What was Marx's attitude towards capitalism?
  - What distinguished communism from earlier forms of socialism?

### Remembering and understanding

- Describe the nature of the society that Marx thought would emerge after the demise of capitalism.
- Reread 'The "Eight-Hour" day'.
  - Why was eight hours seen as the limit to how long people should work in a day?
  - How did the first workers in Australia achieve the eight-hour day?
  - How long did it take before most Victorian workers achieved the same right?
  - How did people at the time use their extra leisure hours?

### Analysing and evaluating

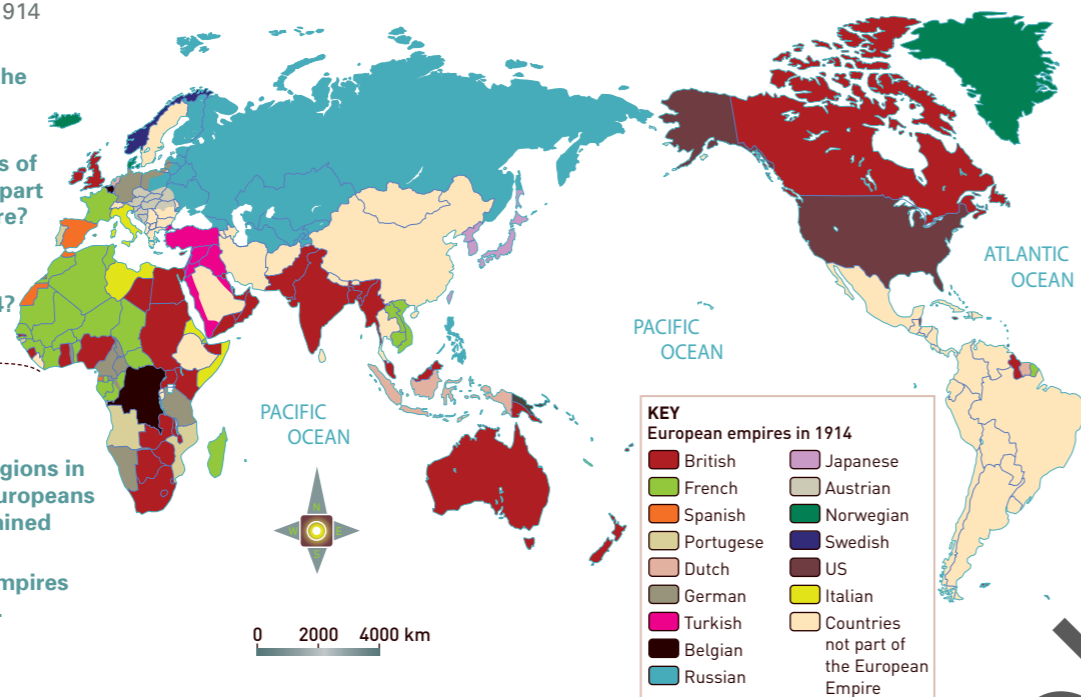
- Reread 'The Great Strikes of the 1890s' and 'The Australian Labor Party' carefully. Construct a PMI table titled 'How successful was the labour movement in Australia before 1900?'. Decide whether or not each of the points made in the text belongs in the 'Plus' column (for achievements of the labour movement), the 'Minus' column (for failures or setbacks to the labour movement) or the 'Interesting' column (for points that are neither achievements or setbacks).

### LEARNING ACTIVITIES

# THE EMERGENCE OF AND KEY IDEAS IN IMPERIALISM

SOURCE 2.4.1  
Extent of the major European empires by 1914

- 1 Which empire was the largest in the world by 1914?
- 2 By 1914, which parts of the world were not part of a European empire?
- 3 Which Asian nation had developed its own empire by 1914?



SOURCE 2.4.2  
European empires in Asia, 1914

- 1 Make a list of the regions in Asia colonised by Europeans and those that remained independent.
- 2 List the European empires within Asia by 1914.



## IMPERIALISM AND COLONISATION

The seventeenth century saw the beginning of the Age of Imperialism. **Imperialism** is the policy of expanding the influence of one country over others. This was often achieved through invasion and colonisation. **Colonisation** is a direct form of imperialism: ownership of an area is taken from its inhabitants and claimed by outsiders. Imperialism can also be found in the indirect influence on the culture and economy of another country. An example of **cultural imperialism** is the spread of Christianity in Japan by early European missionaries in the sixteenth century. Britain's economic control of China in the mid-nineteenth century is an example of **economic imperialism**, as it forced the Chinese to open their doors to European trade.



SOURCE 2.4.3  
East Indian divers gathering pearls, hand-coloured woodcut of a nineteenth-century illustration

## REASONS FOR IMPERIALISM

### ECONOMIC GROWTH

The search for new investment opportunities was a major reason for the development of the New World colonies by Europeans. By taking control of new territories with vast untapped resources, Europeans hoped to acquire raw materials such as silver and gold.

Colonies also provided new markets for manufactured goods produced during the Industrial Revolution. Items such as clothing were sold to the colonies, which in turn provided the raw materials needed for the factories. Imperial powers such as Britain and France grew wealthy from the establishment of triangular trades such as the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

By the nineteenth century, imperialism had become big business for European powers. India, known as the 'jewel in the crown' of the British Empire, was administered for a period of one hundred years from 1757 by a large business enterprise called the British East India Company. Its main items of trade were tea, cotton, silk, indigo, opium, porcelain and potassium nitrate (needed for gunpowder). The East India Company also exercised a monopoly over British trade in China for some time. The Portuguese, Dutch and French had similar business monopolies, which also bore the name 'East India Company'.

SOURCE 2.4.4  
Cover of a magazine advertising the new Gatling gun, *Scientific American*, 14 June 1879

- 1 Explain how the Gatling gun allowed a relatively small British colonial force to subdue a much larger native army.

## TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY

While the Industrial Revolution produced scientific and medical advancements that transformed European society, it also resulted in the development of deadlier weapons and naval technology. Prior to 1750, most European powers fought wars among themselves rather than against peoples outside of Europe. It wasn't until the development of superior weaponry and better naval technology in the eighteenth century that European powers began conquering other peoples. In 1861, the invention of the Gatling gun, an early version of the machine gun, meant that a small colonial force could easily defeat a much larger native army in battle. The Gatling gun could fire over 400 rounds of ammunition per minute and had a devastating effect when used against indigenous peoples who were armed with traditional weapons. This gave rise to a saying in Britain at the time that 'the spear is no match for the gun'.

By the mid-1800s, steam-powered and iron-clad battleships began providing faster transport, tighter manoeuvrability and more accurate fire at sea. These ships were often used to achieve imperial aims through a strategy known as **'gunboat diplomacy'**. State-of-the-art warships with modern cannons capable of hitting a target several kilometres away would arrive at a port and intimidate local rulers into submission. In many cases, this was achieved without even firing a shot. Steam-powered gunboats also enabled Europeans to travel further inland along rivers in Asia and Africa.

**DID YOU KNOW?**  
PRIOR TO THE 1830s, A SEA JOURNEY FROM BRITAIN TO INDIA COULD TAKE UP TO EIGHT MONTHS.

With the development of railways, travel and communication between empire and colony was made easier. By the 1850s, the same journey by rail and steamer took only thirty days.



## DIVIDE AND CONQUER

The growth of European empires could not have occurred without the crushing of local resistance. To avoid a united and therefore large-scale opposition to their rule, the British adopted a strategy known as 'divide and conquer'. This strategy relied on exploiting existing rivalries between different native groups and allowed the British to deal with each group separately. One group was often favoured above others and received privileges, money and weapons for their loyalty to the British Empire. This helps to explain why Britain was able to control large populations of native people in India with a relatively small colonial army. During the Indian Rebellion of 1857, many Indian soldiers remained loyal to the British and helped put down the mutiny. Such loyalty was rewarded by favouritism, which ultimately led to the emergence of an indigenous 'upper class' that spoke and behaved as though they were English.

*We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.*

**SOURCE 2.4.5** Thomas Macaulay, writing in 1835 about the need to create an English-speaking upper class in India

- Q** 1 **Why were Indian interpreters needed?**  
2 **Why do you think it was also necessary that they adopted English attitudes and values?**

## SPREADING THE GOSPEL

From its beginnings, Christianity was a mission-focused religion. The belief that God had a message of salvation for all people inspired countless missionaries to take the gospel (or 'good news') to the ends of the world. In the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries were among the first Europeans to travel to Asia, where they introduced Western ideas and Christianity. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Church supported the growth of European empires since it provided new opportunities to convert 'heathens' to the Christian faith. With the establishment of new colonies, Christian missionaries were never far behind the first European settlers.

The work of missionaries was controversial. While some indigenous people converted to Christianity, others resisted missionary attempts to make them give up their traditional customs and beliefs. In China, for example, resentment towards missionaries grew because of their efforts to stop ancestor worship. Christian missionaries, however, were among the first Europeans to call for an end to the slave trade.



**SOURCE 2.4.6** French and German officials marking the border between their colonies in the Congo. Illustration from *Le Petit Journal*, 2 November 1913

- Q** **What does this illustration suggest about the European colonisation of Africa?**

## A CIVILISING DUTY

Europeans felt that it was their duty as an advanced society to help civilise 'backward' parts of the world. A positive result of this was the establishment of schools and hospitals to improve the standard of living for colonised peoples. A more negative expression of this view, however, was referred to as 'the white man's burden'. This phrase was taken from a poem written by Rudyard Kipling in 1899 and reflected the **Eurocentric** way of thinking at the time. Since non-European cultures were considered barbaric and uncivilised, 'the white man's burden' was to rescue indigenous people from their backward state. This involved educating non-Europeans to reject traditional customs that did not fit the definition of moral behaviour according to the conservative values of the Victorian era. An example of this was the insistence that indigenous people wear European-style clothes to cover their bodies.

*Take up the White Man's burden—  
Send forth the best you breed  
Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait in heavy harness,  
On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half-devil and half-child.*

**SOURCE 2.4.7** From 'The White Man's Burden', by Rudyard Kipling, 1899

- Q** 1 **According to this verse, what was 'the White Man's burden'?**  
2 **What adjectives does the poet use to describe colonised peoples?**

## NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL RIVALRY

A large empire was a source of great national pride. Each European power was determined not to be left behind in the race to build an empire. In 1870 CE, imperial rivalry led to a 'scramble for Africa', during which the entire continent was carved up and divided among the European powers. Similar '**spheres of influence**' were also agreed upon in Asia. A nation's sphere of influence was a claim to a particular region, which was generally respected by other nations. In 1905, however, Germany and France did not respect each other's claim to Morocco.

### CRICKET WAS MORE THAN JUST A GAME.

The game of cricket was originally introduced as a way of teaching indigenous people the Victorian virtues of fair play and self-control. Playing cricket soon became a way for wealthier natives to show their loyalty to the British Empire, but later became a way of beating the English at their own game.

**DID YOU KNOW?**

## Remembering and understanding

- 1 Define the terms below.
- colonisation
  - cultural imperialism
  - economic imperialism
  - Eurocentric
  - gunboat diplomacy
  - imperialism
  - sphere of influence

## Understanding and applying

- 2 Reread 'Imperialism and colonisation' and then construct a Venn diagram to show the similarities and differences between the concepts of imperialism and colonisation. Define each term in the diagram and include examples such as cultural imperialism, economic imperialism, direct imperialism and indirect imperialism.
- 3 Reread 'Economic growth' and then create a mind map titled 'The economic advantages of colonies'. Decide on the number of branches in the mind map as well as the subtitle for each. Make sure that, as your mind map expands, you give more specific detail and examples.
- 4 Reread 'Technological superiority' and 'Divide and conquer'.
- What was meant by the saying 'the spear is no match for the gun'?
  - Explain how gunboat diplomacy was used to achieve imperial aims.
  - What does it mean to 'divide and conquer'?
  - How did the British apply the strategy of 'divide and conquer' to rule India?

## Evaluating and applying

- 5 Reread 'Spreading the gospel' and then conduct independent research into the mission work of the Society of Jesus (also known as the Jesuits). In your research, consider the origins of their missionary work, their methods of conversion and the impacts they had

on indigenous peoples and cultures. Present your findings in a two-page report with a report title, subheadings and conclusion.

## Evaluating

- 6 Reread 'A civilising duty'. The concept of 'the white man's burden' was based on the assumption that colonised people would benefit from adopting the ways of Europeans. Conduct research into the effects of colonisation on indigenous peoples. List your findings under two headings—'The benefits of colonisation' and 'The disadvantages of colonisation'. Think very carefully about what actually was a long-term benefit for indigenous peoples. Discuss your views with others in the class.

## Understanding and evaluating

- 7 Reread 'Nationalism and imperial rivalry' carefully. Working in teams of three to four, conduct research into the 'scramble for Africa'. Focus on *one* of the following topics:
- the colonisation of Africa before the 'scramble for Africa'
  - the reasons why the 'scramble for Africa' occurred
  - the European countries that took part in the 'scramble for Africa' and why
  - the consequences of the 'scramble for Africa' on Africans.

Present your findings to the class in a seminar format. This provides the audience with an opportunity to become more actively involved than they would in an oral presentation. Think of various ways you can involve the audience during your seminar presentation.

**LEARNING ACTIVITIES**

## THE EMERGENCE OF AND KEY IDEAS IN CHARTISM

### EMERGENCE OF CHARTISM

Chartism was a nineteenth-century movement that aimed to win democratic rights for all males over the age of 21. The Chartist movement derived its name from the **People's Charter** of 1838, which demanded full and fair democracy in Britain.

**Democracy** is a system of government in which a majority of voters elect representatives to exercise political authority. During the nineteenth century, democracy faced a number of challenges in both Europe and the New World. The wealthier classes believed that 'mob rule' would result if ordinary people were given the right to vote. Events such as the Reign of Terror in France (1793–94) had convinced political leaders that commoners could not be trusted with the vote. Consequently, most of the early modern democracies denied the **franchise** (or the right to vote) to ordinary people by making the ownership of property a requirement of voting.

- 1 Full male suffrage: every male aged 21 years and over should have the right to vote
- 2 Secret ballot: voters should be given privacy to cast their ballots
- 3 Removal of land ownership as a qualification for voting: property rules denied the majority of people the right to vote
- 4 Payment for parliamentarians: this would allow ordinary people to seek election without financial loss
- 5 Equal-sized electorates: this would guarantee that each vote was of the same value, regardless of where it was cast
- 6 Annual elections: parliamentarians should be accountable to the electorate every year

SOURCE 2.5.1 The six points of the People's Charter, 1838

- Q
- 1 Why is the secret ballot important for democracy?
  - 2 Why is it unfair to have electorates of vastly different population sizes?
  - 3 Which group did the People's Charter of 1838 ignore?

### CHARTISM: THE BRITISH CHARTISTS

During the nineteenth century, British parliament comprised representatives who had been elected by large property owners throughout the country. As a result, the interests of wealthier citizens were promoted above those of ordinary working people. Nothing was done to improve working conditions and ordinary people felt that unless they had a voice in parliament, their situation would never improve.

By the 1840s, the British Chartist movement began to demand an extension of voting rights to all males over 21. Chartists conducted mass demonstrations, which sometimes became violent. They demonstrated their widespread support by collecting 3.5 million signatures to a petition calling for the British parliament to pass electoral reform. This petition was rejected and, in 1842, Chartists organised a general strike that threatened to cripple the nation's economy. In response, British soldiers were used to break the strike, arrest Chartist leaders and crush further protest.

Eventually, during the 1850s, several leading Chartists were elected to the British parliament and played an important role in the passing of the 1867 Electoral Reform Act, which gave the franchise to a greater number of men. In 1872, the British parliament introduced voting by secret ballot, thus ensuring that the true will of each voter was represented at the ballot box. By the turn of the century, however, the majority of British working men still did not have the right to vote. This occurred much later, in 1918, immediately after World War I.

### CHARTIST INFLUENCE IN AUSTRALIA

Chartism was to prove far more successful in the Australian colonies than in Britain. Many of the leaders of the Eureka rebellion drew their inspiration from the British Chartists. Several had in fact been transported to Australia for involvement in Chartist strikes and demonstrations in Britain during the 1830s.



SOURCE 2.5.3 Eureka Stockade Riot, Ballarat 1854, by J. B. Henderson. Held at the State Library of New South Wales

### THE EUREKA REBELLION

We swear by the Southern Cross to stand truly by each other and fight to defend our rights and liberties.

SOURCE 2.5.2 An oath of allegiance sworn by the diggers at the Eureka Stockade

By 1854, many gold miners or **diggers** on the Victorian gold fields were openly refusing to pay their licence fees. Around Ballarat, a government hunt for miners without licences was conducted in a very sensitive part of the diggings. This was a predominantly Irish area where diggers had experienced difficulties in extracting gold from deep beneath the ground. What had begun as a protest against licence fees quickly turned into a revolt over the lack of democratic rights for ordinary people. This was led by the **Ballarat Reform League**, who claimed that it was unjust for diggers to be told what to do by a government in which they had absolutely no say.

The government clampdown on licence fees pushed many of the diggers into open rebellion. On 1 December 1854, about a thousand diggers, under the leadership

of Peter Lalor, vowed to defend their rights. They built a **stockade**, or defensive barrier, hoisted the flag of the Southern Cross and swore an **oath of allegiance** to each other.

In the early hours of Sunday 3 December, the authorities attacked the stockade. As it happened, there were fewer than 150 miners behind the stockade at the time of the attack, and the fighting was over in minutes. Most of the rebels were still asleep when the government soldiers stormed their positions, and the diggers were easily overpowered. Up to thirty diggers, as well as five or six soldiers on the government side, were killed during the battle.

Government forces may have overpowered the miners at the Eureka stockade but public sympathies were very much with the diggers. The goldfields administration offered rewards for the apprehension of miners believed to have been involved in the rebellion, and a number of diggers were arrested. None were ever convicted, however, and the Eureka rebellion came to symbolise the fight of the ordinary person for justice and basic democratic rights. It is also one of the very few examples in Australian history of an armed uprising by the common people.



# THE UNENFRANCHISED! RALLY AROUND YOUR FLAG.

“The **REPUBLIC** for France, and the  
**CHARTER** for England.”

# NOTICE.

# A PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE

## MARKET SQUARE,

MERTHYR TYDVIL,

On **MONDAY EVENING Next,**

March 20th, 1848,

To take into consideration the propriety  
of further adopting the **Petition for the  
immediate enactment of the “PEOPLE’S  
CHARTER.”** Likewise, to elect a **Dele-  
gate for the ensuing Convention.**

**Chair to be taken at 5 o’Clock.**

D. JONES, PRINTER, MERTHYR.

## EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES

One year after the Eureka rebellion, its leader Peter Lalor had been appointed to the Victorian Legislative Assembly. He played a crucial role in the Victorian parliament, ensuring the passage of important democratic reforms such as full male suffrage, introduction of the secret ballot, pay for parliamentarians and annual elections. Shortly after this, other colonial parliaments also granted similar reforms. For this reason, Eureka has been called ‘the birthplace of Australian democracy’.

**SOURCE 2.5.4** Poster advertising a Chartist protest rally, dated 20 March, 1848. Held at the National Archives of UK

- Q**
- 1 Which group does the poster call upon?
  - 2 What is the purpose of the meeting being advertised?

### Remembering and understanding

- 1 Define the terms below.
  - Ballarat Reform League
  - democracy
  - diggers
  - franchise
  - oath of allegiance
  - People’s Charter
  - stockade

### Understanding

- 2 Reread ‘Emergence of Chartism’ then decide whether the following statements are true or false. Rewrite false statements so that they are correct and historically meaningful, and copy the correct statements directly into your notebook.
  - a In a democracy, everyone has the right to vote.
  - b The first people to be given the franchise in Britain were large property owners.
- 3 Reread ‘Chartism: the British Chartists’ then decide whether the following statements are true or false. Rewrite false statements so that they are correct and historically meaningful, and copy the correct statements directly into your notebook.

- a The British Chartist movement demanded the vote for everyone.
- b Chartists’ protests were always peaceful and orderly.
- c By the turn of the century, the British Chartists had failed to achieve their basic aim.

### Understanding and evaluating

- 4 Reread ‘Chartist influence in Australia’, including ‘The Eureka rebellion’ and ‘Emergence of democracy in the Australian colonies’, and then answer the following questions.
  - a How had Chartist ideas spread to Australia?
  - b What was the major grievance of the diggers around Ballarat?
  - c What role did the Ballarat Reform League play in the events leading up to the Eureka rebellion?
  - d Explain the reasons why the Eureka rebellion was over in minutes.
  - e What were the short-term results of the Eureka rebellion?
  - f Why is it important for Australians today to remember the Eureka rebellion of 1854?

## LEARNING ACTIVITIES

# THE EMERGENCE OF AND KEY IDEAS IN NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL DARWINISM

**Nationalism** is the belief that people of similar ideals, race or culture ought to belong to the same nation state. Nationalism was one of the most influential ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and resulted in the establishment of new nations, growing empires, national rivalries and movements of resistance against foreign rule.

During the nineteenth century, nationalist ideas were based on beliefs about the superiority of one racial group over others. At the time, many people of British origin believed that the Anglo-Saxon race was the most civilised in the world. Most viewed the peoples they had colonised as primitive and in need of British rule. These views were based on a set of beliefs about racial differences known as social Darwinism.

## SOCIAL DARWINISM

Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution, published in 1859 in his *On the Origin of Species*, proposed that only the fittest members of a species survive and pass their characteristics onto the next generation. **Social Darwinism** is based on the theory that human races compete with one another for survival, just as species of plants and animals do.

*“I contend that we [the British] are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings what an alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence ...”*

**SOURCE 2.6.1** From Cecil Rhodes’s ‘Confession of Faith’, 2 June 1877. This essay was included in *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes*, edited by W. T. Stead, 1902.

- Q**
- 1 Identify where Cecil Rhodes shows his belief in social Darwinism.
  - 2 According to Rhodes, what advantages do Anglo-Saxons bring to other races?

Darwin, however, developed his theory from observations of the plant and animal kingdoms. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, others such as Francis Galton took Darwin’s ideas a step further and applied them to human races. Human races were ranked in terms of their

intelligence and innate ability to survive and prosper. Social Darwinists also believed that weaker races of people would eventually die out, since they did not have the capacity to compete with superior races.

Naturally, Europeans saw themselves as superior to Asians, Africans and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People. Some even applied social Darwinism to different economic classes within society, arguing that the working poor lacked the innate intelligence or moral capability to rise above their lot in life.

## AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM

### EMERGENCE OF AN AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY

During the early 1890s, the number of native-born Australians began to outnumber those born in Britain for the first time. Although some people today take great pride in having convict ancestors, at the end of the nineteenth century it was a cause for concern. Many people feared that criminal behaviour was passed down from one generation to the next. The sense of unease about Australia’s convict past has been referred to as our ‘**convict stain**’. As a result of this, people at the time began to search for a more positive identity of who they were as Australians.

### THE AUSTRALIAN LEGEND

Australia’s first pastoral workers were ex-convicts (**emancipists**) who had gained employment as drovers, stockmen, shepherds, bullock-drivers, boundary-riders and station hands. According to the historian Russel Ward, the tough and inhospitable outback environment in which they lived and worked meant that they developed a unique set of characteristics. These included:

- pragmatism: being focused on doing what works
- mateship: sticking by friends in times of trouble
- independence: having the resourcefulness to be able to survive alone
- anti-authoritarianism: distrusting authority and resenting rules
- egalitarianism: showing little respect for social class or status
- masculinity: proving one’s ‘manliness’ in a harsh environment.



**SOURCE 2.6.2** The cover of the music for 'March of the White Australia Policy', performed at the Australian Natives Association fete in 1910. Held at the National Library of Australia

- Q 1** Count how many times the word 'white' appears in this source.
- 2** What does this reveal about racial attitudes of the time?

Ward claimed that this set of characteristics eventually formed the basis of what it meant to be Australian. His famous book, *The Australian Legend* (1958), showed how character traits that had been typical of convicts were later displayed by the diggers on the goldfields, and the bushrangers. The poetry and prose of the times also reveals that the 'bush' was becoming an important part of Australia's self-identity.

## WHITE AUSTRALIA

*No nigger, no Chinaman, no lascar, no Kanaka, no purveyor of cheap coloured labour is an Australian.*

**SOURCE 2.6.3** This quote appeared in *The Bulletin*, 2 July 1887 to explain what the editors of *The Bulletin* meant by 'Australian'.

Fear of non-European foreigners was another notable feature of early Australian identity. This was often based on ethnic stereotypes and ignorance of other cultures but was typical of the racist attitudes of the time. As a small and isolated population, Anglo-Australians feared that racial intermixing would weaken their ability to compete with other races and would eventually threaten their

own survival. The widespread acceptance of these views was reflected in the popularity of *The Bulletin* magazine, which carried the slogan 'Australia for the white man'. The first law passed by the new Commonwealth Parliament in 1901 was the Immigration Restriction Act, designed to prevent any non-Europeans from entering the new nation.

## IMPACTS OF NATIONALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AUSTRALIA

### SPORT AND PATRIOTISM

Sport was an important aspect of popular culture in colonial Australia and played a major role in the development of patriotic feelings. **Patriotism** is defined simply as pride in one's country.

Skill on the sporting field was seen as proof that Australians were a fit race of people capable of beating anyone. Early Australian sporting achievements did much to foster a sense of national pride.

In 1877, the popularity of cricket in the Australian colonies led to the establishment of the first Australian team. In March that year, Australia defeated England at the Melbourne Cricket Ground in the first test match ever played. In 1882, the touring Australian side defeated England at the Oval in London.

Most English people could not believe that a team of 'colonials' was capable of defeating their side. The *Sporting Times* newspaper went as far as issuing a mock obituary, announcing the death of English cricket. To commemorate their famous victory, the touring Australians were given a small urn containing the burnt remains of the bails used in the test match. Australians had proven themselves by beating the British at their own game.

### POPULAR LITERATURE

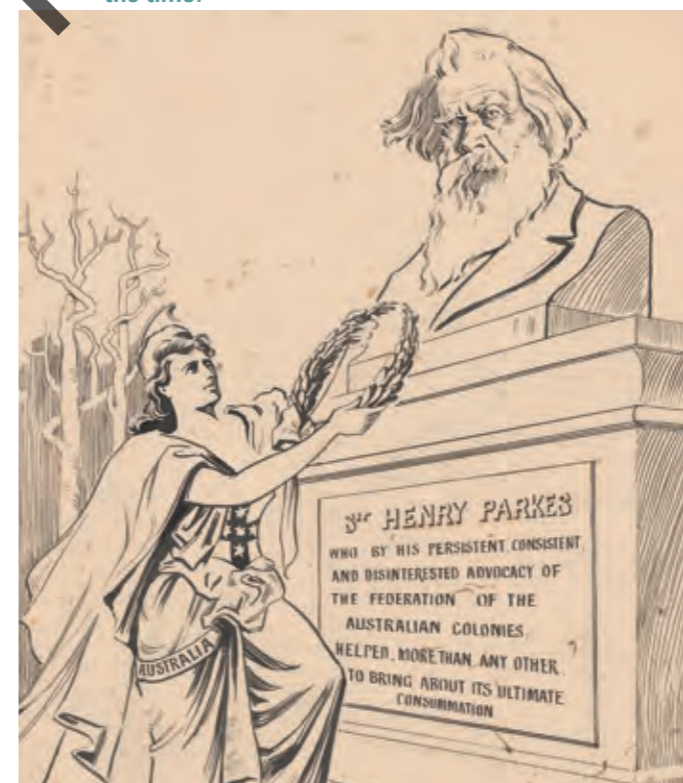
The popularity of the Australian legend owed a great deal to *The Bulletin*, a popular Sydney weekly that was distributed Australia-wide. Despite the fact that most people lived in urban areas, the 'bushman's bible' as *The Bulletin* called itself, placed a strong emphasis on Australian themes and tales from the bush. Its short stories, poems, editorials, news articles and cartoons were written to appeal to an audience of single males who were constantly on the move looking for work. *The Bulletin* glorified the bush at a time when Australian towns and cities were experiencing high unemployment, crippling strikes and clashes between workers and authorities. For many workers, the bush was seen as a place to retreat to from the troubles of the city.

Poets such as Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson were regular contributors to *The Bulletin*. Both men, icons of Australian literature, gave the bush a very special place in the emergence of Australian identity.



**SOURCE 2.6.4** From *The Sporting Times* (London) on 2 September 1882, referring to the 'death' of English cricket as a result of the match between England and Australia at the Oval on 29 August, 1882. This is the first reference to the Ashes.

**Q** What does this mock obituary reveal about English expectations of Australian sporting abilities at the time?

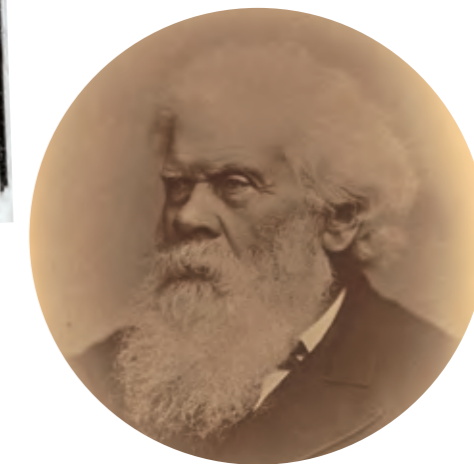


**SOURCE 2.6.5** This cartoon highlights the significance of Sir Henry Parkes in the movement for Australian federation, 1900, by Herbert Walter Colton. Held at the National Library of Australia

**Q** Explain the message of this cartoon in your own words.

## ARTWORK

At around the same time, the artists of the Heidelberg School were beginning to portray the Australian bush in its true light. By choosing to paint outdoors on location, artists such as Arthur Streeton and Tom Roberts were able to capture the natural colours and light of the Australian bush. Their artwork often included scenes of bush life, with ordinary people living and working in the bush. This marked a departure from previous paintings of the Australian bush, which tended to portray it like the English countryside and with an absence of people.



**SOURCE 2.6.6**

Sir Henry Parkes, the 'Father of Federation' c. 1880s. Held at the National Library of Australia

## NATIONALISM: SIR HENRY PARKES

In 1889, Sir Henry Parkes, then premier of New South Wales, announced to the Lord Carrington, the governor of the colony, 'I could federate these colonies in twelve months'. 'Then why don't you?' replied Carrington, adding, 'It would be a glorious finish to your life'. At age 74, Parkes was the longest serving premier of New South Wales and had decided that it was time for the six Australian colonies to unite under a single federal government. Although he did not live to see Federation on 1 January 1901, Parkes became known as the 'Father of Federation' for his role in beginning the push for Australian nationhood.

### THE TENTERFIELD SPEECH

Since most other premiers disagreed with the idea of federation, Parkes began focusing his efforts on winning the support of the people throughout the colonies. On 24 October 1889, after visiting Queensland premier Sir Samuel Griffith, Parkes stopped at the northern New South Wales town of Tenterfield, where he began his public campaign for federation. At a banquet held in his honour, Parkes delivered a speech in which he declared the time had come for the Australian colonies to federate. He also highlighted a recent report showing the inability of each colony to defend itself. His solution was an Australian federation with a single defence force. Parkes concluded his Tenterfield speech by calling on the colonial premiers to meet and discuss the possibilities of federation.

## THE PATH TO NATIONHOOD

Although support for federation had begun to gather pace, differences of opinion still existed over how best to achieve it and what role the states should have. It was therefore important for supporters of federation to reach agreement on the principles of a new federal constitution. This process began with the Australasian Federal Convention in Sydney on 2 March 1891, when delegates met to decide the principles of a new federal constitution. Parkes proposed that the new federation be called the 'Commonwealth of Australia' and with the framework for a new constitution agreed upon, he brought the convention to a close. His call for 'one nation, one destiny' would become the rallying cry of the federation movement for the next decade.



SOURCE 2.6.7 Swearing-in ceremony of the first governor-general, Lord Hopetoun, and the members of the first federal Cabinet

## LEARNING ACTIVITIES

### Remembering and understanding

- 1 Define the terms below.
  - convict stain
  - patriot
  - emancipists
  - social Darwinism
  - nationalism

### Understanding and evaluating

- 2 Reread the introduction and 'Social Darwinism'.
  - a Why is nationalism considered one of the most influential ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?
  - b How did attitudes about race influence people's nationalism in the nineteenth century?
  - c How was social Darwinism used to justify the colonisation of other peoples?
  - d How was social Darwinism applied to the lower classes?

### Evaluating

- 3 Reread 'Australian nationalism', then write a 300-word exposition in response to the following statement:  
*Today there is no longer one Australian identity, but many.*  
Begin your exposition with an introductory statement that presents your point of view and previews the main arguments to be used. Next, develop a paragraph for each of the main arguments. Make sure that your argument is introduced in the first sentence and supported by each sentence that follows. End with a concluding statement that reinforces your main argument.

- 4 Reread 'Nationalism: Sir Henry Parkes' and then answer the following questions.
  - a What prediction did Sir Henry Parkes make to Lord Carrington? Was it an accurate prediction?
  - b What reputation did Sir Henry Parkes earn after his death?
  - c Explain the significance of Parkes's Tenterfield speech in 1889.
  - d What was the purpose of the Australasian Federal Convention in 1891?

### Creating

- 5 Imagine that you are a sports journalist in colonial Australia. Produce a 500-word sports story that explains either:
  - a the origins, purpose and rules of Australian football in 1859
  - b the importance of the Australian cricket team's victory at the Oval in 1882Your news story should be set in the immediate past and include:
  - a catchy headline
  - a specific date (day, month and year)
  - quotes from at least one key participant
  - two relevant primary images.
- 6 Imagine that you are a magazine editor in colonial Australia. Produce a 500-word editorial that explains the importance of the Australian bush in emerging Australian art and literature. Illustrate your editorial with relevant works of art and excerpts from significant works of Australian literature from the time.

## THE EMERGENCE OF AND KEY IDEAS IN EGALITARIANISM

Egalitarianism comes from the word **equality**, meaning social and political equality. During the French Revolution, the slogan 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' became a popular catchphrase of those wanting a new social order in which everyone was treated equally before the law, regardless of their wealth or status in society. In England, people spoke of 'levelling'—that is, not favouring one group or class above another. **Egalitarianism** is the belief that advancement in society should be based on merit, or ability to perform, rather than family origins, wealth or inherited titles.

### ORIGINS OF AUSTRALIAN EGALITARIANISM

Egalitarianism is seen wherever lawmakers attempt to remove inequality in society. In nineteenth-century Australia, this occurred with the introduction of free and universal education throughout the colonies. Free and universal education provided everyone, regardless of wealth or family status, with the ability to read and write. As a result, the most intelligent, rather than the wealthiest, were able to enter the professions, such as teaching, medicine, law and government.

As a new society, Australia offered many opportunities for advancement and quickly became characterised by its **social mobility**. Social mobility is the extent to which people have the opportunity to rise above the status of the social group into which they were born. The growth and success of the **emancipist** class (convicts who had served their sentence) in early colonial Australia showed just how far people could rise above their station in life. Nevertheless, not everyone thought the emancipists deserved equal treatment. Many of the wealthier free-settlers to Australia looked down upon the emancipists as a convict class who were morally depraved. Wealthier free settlers even went as far as calling themselves **exclusivists**.

In 1958, the historian Russel Ward argued that Australia's convict origins had helped to create a society that generally scorned authority and distrusted those in authority. Today, we call this tendency to criticise people in high positions the 'tall-poppy syndrome'.

*You have no idea of the class of persons here who consider themselves gentlemen.*

SOURCE 2.7.1 From a letter by Governor William Bligh to Charles Grenville in London, 1808

### EGALITARIANISM HELPED NAPOLEON CREATE THE LARGEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE ARMY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Before the French Revolution, officers in the French army came from the wealthiest and most influential families. After the revolution, career advancement within the army was by merit rather than noble birth. This meant that Napoleon's Grand Armée was the only army in Europe led by the best and most capable officers. As a Corsican, even Napoleon himself was not a French nobleman.

*... the difficulties of outback life were abundant. They made the practice of a collectivist 'mateship' essential ... The hazards and hardships, but above all the loneliness of up-country life were such that, to make life tolerable, often merely to preserve it, every man had habitually to treat every other man as a brother.*

SOURCE 2.7.2 From *The Australian Legend*, by Russel Ward, 1958

### Remembering and understanding

- 1 Define the terms below.
  - egalitarianism
  - equality
  - emancipist
  - exclusivist
  - social mobility

### Understanding

- 2 Reread Sources 2.7.1 and 2.7.2.
  - a Which of the sources is a primary source and which a secondary source?
  - b How does each source help to illustrate the concept of Australia egalitarianism?
  - c Which source shows the Old World attitudes towards class differences?

# AUSTRALIAN EGALITARIANISM: MYTH OR REALITY?

## AUSTRALIAN EGALITARIANISM AS A MYTH

*An individual who is pining in Great Britain—struggling ... to be a 'somebody', upon a very limited income—may by changing his abode to the gentle climate of South Australia, live like a little prince, and become a 'somebody' with the same amount of income upon which he could barely exist in England.*

SOURCE 2.8.1 George French Angas, who arrived in Adelaide in 1844

Critics have pointed out that belief in Australian egalitarianism has always been based more on myth than reality. While there may have been an anti-authoritarian streak among the convicts and workers, the same people calling for a 'fair go' did not apply this principle to those they considered below them. Among these were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People, non-European immigrants to Australia and women.

Historian Humphrey McQueen pointed out in the 1970s that racism was one of the earliest and strongest Australian characteristics to emerge. According to McQueen, the destruction of traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander life and the treatment of Asian immigrants showed that exclusion, rather than egalitarianism, was the attitude of most people.

Since the 1970s, other historians such as Anne Summers and Marilyn Lake have rewritten women into Australian history, demonstrating that throughout much of Australia's history, the concept of a 'fair go' simply did not apply to women.

*Indeed, so widely accepted were these [racist] attitudes that it is highly likely that they were not even considered racist. They were just naturally Australian.*

SOURCE 2.8.2 From *A New Britannia*, by Humphrey McQueen, 1970

*Great Britain sends out two classes here: one of these being rich, originally obtained vast grants of land for nothing ... the other, as being poor, is not even allowed to buy, because the very condition of purchase is that the purchaser be rich.*

SOURCE 2.8.3 From *Settlers and Convicts*, by Alexander Harris, 1847

## IS AUSTRALIAN EGALITARIANISM ALIVE TODAY?

*My family are Welsh, both mum and dad were born in Wales. Dad's from a small coal-mining village. He comes from quite an impoverished background. He's one of seven children. His father was involved in coal mining. He was very good at school, passed very high in what was then the eleven plus exams, and actually got offered a scholarship. But because of the family's circumstances couldn't take that opportunity up. He had to go out to work and ultimately became a police officer ...*

SOURCE 2.8.4 From an interview with the Prime Minister Julia Gillard (at that time Shadow Minister for Health), on *Australian Story*, 6 March 2006

*Within the story of sport in Australia, the idea of egalitarianism is very powerful. In fact, in the Australian story of egalitarianism, sport features as the key place where equality is practised.*

SOURCE 2.8.5 From *Being Australian*, by Catriona Elder, 2007

*Central to the question of whether Oz is still the land of the fair go is what academics call 'social mobility'—whether people are locked in a class system, or whether bright or hard-working young working-class people can better themselves ... Looking at various studies suggests that, compared with other developed economies, Oz is somewhere in the middle—not as socially mobile as the Nordic countries [i.e. Norway, Denmark and Sweden] but a lot more mobile than Britain and, particularly, America.*

SOURCE 2.8.6 From 'Is Australia the land of a "fair go"?' ACTU Whitlam lecture, delivered by economist Ross Gittins, 30 November 2010



SOURCE 2.8.7 The Indigenous All-stars National Rugby League team celebrate scoring a try, February 2010

## SOURCE STUDY QUESTIONS

### UNDERSTANDING

- Reread Sources 2.8.2 and 2.8.3 as well as 'Australian egalitarianism as a myth'.
  - Explain the perspective of the author of each source.
  - What evidence can be drawn from both of these sources to show that Australian egalitarianism has never been applied to everyone living in Australia?

### UNDERSTANDING AND ANALYSING

- Study Sources 2.8.3 to 2.8.7.
  - Categorise each source as either supporting or contradicting the idea that Australia is an egalitarian society today.
  - Select two sources that support the idea that Australian is an egalitarian society today and two that contradict this. Identify the key pieces of evidence referred to in each source.

### EVALUATING

- Hold an open forum debate on the following topic:

*As a society, Australia can take pride in its history of egalitarianism.*

Prepare an argument with key points of evidence to be used during the debate. Use the sources in this unit to help construct your argument. To ensure the debate runs smoothly, only the person holding a pretend microphone should speak. A convener should moderate the debate to ensure that everyone gets a 'fair go' at saying what they think.

## PROTEST IN AN EVER-CHANGING WORLD

UNIT 9

### THE RADICAL SIXTIES

The demand for political, economic and social change was never louder in Western society than during the 1960s. This decade witnessed a major shift in the way people thought about issues such as race, gender, war and politics. Many of the great 'isms' of the nineteenth century, such as socialism and Chartism, found a new voice during the 1960s. By the end of the decade, the rise of feminism, environmentalism and the anti-nuclear movement marked this period as one of the most progressive eras in the history of Western society. A major feature of the 1960s was the development of a counter-culture, which openly questioned the decisions made by governments and objected to the injustices in society. The 1960s were also a turbulent time marked by political assassination, war, the threat of nuclear catastrophe and mass protest movements.

#### The civil rights movement

One such protest movement was the civil rights movement in the United States. After generations of legal discrimination, African-Americans demanded equal rights before the law. These included the right to enter the same schools as 'whites' and the right to be able to vote without being discriminated against. The largest

**SOURCE 2.9.1** An anti-war protester shows a new form of protest at the Pentagon, USA, 1967

**Q** How does this photograph reflect the changing attitudes of the 1960s?



**SOURCE 2.9.2** Activist Charles Perkins at the University of Sydney. Perkins completed an Arts degree, becoming the first Australian Aboriginal university graduate on 19 March 1963.

civil rights protest was the March on Washington in 1963 led by Martin Luther King Jr, at which an estimated 300 000 people gathered before the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC to hear Dr King deliver his famous 'I have a dream' speech. This event led to the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (USA), which outlawed racial segregation in all US states. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 ended the disenfranchisement of African-Americans.

For many Americans, this was the fulfilment of the opening lines of their Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal'.

#### Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People's rights

In Australia, Aboriginal activist Charles Perkins drew inspiration from the US civil rights movement to lead the Freedom Rides in 1965. Perkins and other members of the Student Action for Aborigines (SAFA) group from Sydney University organised a bus tour around rural New South Wales. This succeeded in highlighting the discrimination and daily injustices experienced by Aboriginal People in towns such as Moree, Walgett and Bowraville. A major outcome of the Freedom Rides was the success of the 1967 referendum, which finally recognised Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People as citizens of the Commonwealth.



**SOURCE 2.9.3** Germaine Greer (centre) at the Women's Liberation March in Hyde Park Sydney, 11 March 1972

#### Anti-war movement

Anti-war movements in both the United States and Australia reflected the unpopularity of the Vietnam War by the late 1960s. In Australia, the Vietnam moratorium movement called on the federal government to withdraw all Australian troops and to end the war. Protests focused on the cruel nature of the war itself as well as the draft system that forced young men born on a certain date to enlist. Protest groups such as Save Our Sons and Students for a Democratic Society actively campaigned for young men to 'dodge the draft'.

#### Women's liberation movement

The women's liberation movement also emerged as a significant force for change during the 1960s and 1970s. As conservative values were increasingly questioned, women began to react against the stereotypical view of themselves as wives, mothers and domestic servants. While 'first wave' feminism had succeeded with Australian women obtaining the right to vote in 1902, by the 1960s 'second wave' feminism focused on tackling the issue of equal opportunity. A key goal of the women's liberation movement was for women to receive the same rate of pay as men for equal work. At the time, women typically received only about 75 per cent of a man's pay for the same job.

**SOURCE 2.9.4** Globalisation—the new imperialism?

**Q** Brainstorm the ways in which globalisation can lead to loss of cultural identity in non-European cultures.

#### CHALLENGES IN THE GLOBAL AGE

The world today is a global village in which communication across entire continents is instantaneous. US culture dominates the world and global brands such as McDonald's and Coca-Cola are instantly recognisable by millions of people who cannot speak English. Today's nations are also interconnected through a complex network of trade agreements, military alliances and diplomatic ties. Many commentators, however, have been critical of globalisation as a new form of 'cultural imperialism' that destroys traditional cultures and replaces them with Western consumerism.





**SOURCE 2.9.5** Leaders at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Uganda, November 2007. Britain's Queen Elizabeth II is in the centre.

## THE PAST AND PRESENT

While the old European empires of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have long ceased to exist, traces of them may still be found in the world today. Britain, for example, still maintains ties with its former colonies through the Commonwealth of Nations. In 2007, leaders at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) agreed to a range of measures, including an agreement to eliminate landmines, a commitment to tackle human trafficking and an agreement to allow trade for aid between developed and developing member states.

Technological advancements have also gathered rapid pace in the last decade. Today's information and communications revolution is due in large part to the development of fibre optic cabling, which has allowed for faster internet speed and larger download capacity. News and information from around the world is accessible in an instant. University degrees can be undertaken online and anyone can voice their opinion in an open public forum. The individual is extremely powerful in today's world.

## TIME TO THINK...

Use these deep questions in small group or class discussions, as your teacher decides.

### 1 CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

- a What are the main challenges for Australian society today?
- b What role can individual Australians play today in changing their society?
- c Do you think people in the future will consider our era to be one of progress or conservatism? Explain your answer.

### 2 CAUSE AND EFFECT

- a Why are certain eras, such as the 1960s, characterised by change, while others are thought of as conservative eras?
- b Is change necessarily the same as progress? Explain your answer.

### 3 EVIDENCE

What evidence would you need when considering whether or not a new law or government policy represents genuine progress in society?

### 4 PERSPECTIVES AND CONTESTABILITY

What sorts of changes are people in our society calling for today? Why do some people oppose these changes?

## #1 Documentary producer

You are part of a production team developing a box set of four DVD documentaries on *one* of the 'isms' mentioned in this chapter (i.e. capitalism, socialism, trade unionism, imperialism, Chartism, nationalism or egalitarianism). Working with three other producers, develop the documentary series to the point of filming. This should be done in the following stages:

### Stage 1: Planning

As a team, decide on:

- an appropriate title for the documentary series
- titles for each of the four DVDs
- chapter titles for each DVD.

### Stage 2: Scripting

As a team, write a five-minute sample script that includes:

- a spoken narrative to be read by a series narrator
- a set of three interview questions to be asked of an academic expert
- qualified answers from the academic expert
- a historical re-enactment of a key event
- selected quotes from relevant historical people.

### Stage 3: Settings

As a team, select an important event and place in Australia related to the idea or movement and:

- locate relevant images of the place
- show its location on a map
- explain the historical significance of the event that took place there.

### Stage 4: Promoting

Work independently to produce a cover for *one* of the four DVDs. Your DVD front cover should include:

- the title of the series and individual DVD titles
- a log-line (a 5–6 word sentence that expands on the title)
- a striking and historically relevant image.

Your DVD back cover should include:

- a blurb (300 words that 'sell' the DVD)
- chapter titles and 'special features'
- smaller relevant images.

## #2 This is your life!

Select one of the influential people mentioned in this chapter, or choose someone else, with the help of your teacher. Compile a personalised memoir with information about:

- their family and early life
- their education
- people and ideas that influenced them
- their major works
- their basic ideas and beliefs
- the impact of their ideas on the world and/or Australia.

Illustrate your memoir with a variety of clear and relevant digital images, primary and secondary quotes, and a detailed timeline.