Papers on Parliament No. 32

## **SPECIAL ISSUE**

December 1998

# The People's Conventions: Corowa (1893) and Bathurst (1896)

Editors of this issue: **David Headon** (Director, Centre for Australian Cultural Studies, Canberra) **Jeff Brownrigg** (National Film and Sound Archive)

> Published and Printed by the Department of the Senate Parliament House, Canberra ISSN 1031–976X

Published 1998

*Papers on Parliament* is edited and managed by the Research Section, Department of the Senate. Copy editor for this issue: Kay Walsh

All inquiries should be made to:

The Director of Research Procedure Office Department of the Senate Parliament House CANBERRA ACT 2600

Telephone: (02) 6277 3078 Email: research.sen@aph.gov.au

ISSN 1031-976X

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Centre for Australian Cultural Studies The Corowa and District Historical Society Charles Sturt University (Bathurst) The Bathurst District Historical Society

Cover design: Conroy + Donovan, Canberra

### Introduction

When Henry Parkes delivered his Tenterfield speech in October 1889, declaring federation's time had come, he provided the stimulus for an eighteen-month period of lively speculation. Nationhood, it seemed, was in the air. The 1890 Australian Federation Conference in Melbourne, followed by the 1891 National Australasian Convention in Sydney, appeared to confirm genuine interest in the national cause. Yet the Melbourne and Sydney meetings brought together only politicians and those who might be politicians. These were meetings, held in the Australian continent's two most influential cities, which only succeeded in registering the aims and ambitions of a very narrow section of the colonial population.

In the months following Sydney's Convention, the momentum of the official movement was dissipated as the big strikes and severe depression engulfed the colonies. The New South Wales government did not take the lead, as had been expected, after the completion and distribution of the 1891 draft constitution. By late 1892, the political support for federation had faltered as intercolonial relations deteriorated over a range of issues. Commercial and social barriers between the colonies created particular problems in the borderland of New South Wales and Victoria, and to a lesser extent between New South Wales and Queensland. The colonial governments were showing little interest in addressing the complex problems of constitution-making in a climate beset by economic and social upheaval. Sir John Robertson was wrong to say that federation was as dead as Julius Caesar, but it was certainly ailing. Far too many colonial Australians felt left out of the process. In the early 1890s, federation was perceived—quite accurately—as the politicians' plaything.

Yet in the period from the establishment of the Australasian Federation League, in July 1893, to the first session of the National Australasian Convention in Adelaide, in March/April 1897, federation's cause was steadily resuscitated. Indeed, by the time of the Adelaide session, as Helen Irving suggests in *To Constitute a Nation—A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution* (1997), the 'people had become the legitimating force behind Federation'. In this process, the Corowa Conference (1893) and the Bathurst People's Federal Convention (1896) had significant roles. Until recently, neither one had been accorded the attention it deserved in the federation story. However, on the centenary birthdays of both the Corowa and Bathurst federation gatherings, celebratory events were held in order to publicise the largely forgotten federation contributions of each town. The results are contained in this special issue of *Papers on Parliament*.

### Notes on contributors

**Stuart Macintyre** is the Ernest Scott Professor of History at the University of Melbourne.

**Helen Irving** is a Senior Lecturer in the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney.

**David Headon** is Director of the Centre for Australian Cultural Studies (Canberra) and teaches in the School of English, University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy.

**Jeff Brownrigg** has developed a national federation community history project, ALFRED. He is an historian in Academic Outreach and Research at Australia's National Film and Sound Archive.

**James Warden** currently works for the Aboriginal Medical Services Alliance, Darwin.

Paul Keating was Prime Minister of Australia from 1991 to 1996.

A former premier of South Australia, **John Bannon** is currently a post-graduate student at the Flinders University of South Australia. He is writing a biography of Charles Cameron Kingston.

John Hirst is Professor of History at La Trobe University.

**Anthony Cahill** is a senior lecturer in History at the University of Sydney. He is writing a biography of Cardinal Moran.

**Tessa Milne** is a member of the History Department, University of Sydney, and the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney.

**Mark McKenna** is a Research Fellow in the Political Science Program, Research School of Social Science, Australian National University.

**Robin McLachlan** is a senior lecturer in History and Cultural Heritage Studies at Charles Sturt University, Bathurst.

At the time of his death in September, **Kevin Livingston** was Head of the School of Behavioural and Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Ballarat. His book, *The Wired Nation Continent: the Communication Revolution and Federating Australia*, was published in 1996 by Oxford University Press.

# Contents

. . .

Corowa	
<b>1. Corowa and the Voice of the People</b> Stuart Macintyre	1
2. When Quick Met Garran: the Corowa Plan Helen Irving	13
<b>3. Loading the Gun: Corowa's Role in the Federation Debate</b> David Headon	20
<b>4. Melba's Puddin': Corowa, Mulwala and Our Cultural Past</b> Jeff Brownrigg	30
5. From Little Things Big Things Grow: Thresholds of Citizenship (1893–1993) James Warden	44
6. The Prime Minister's Centenary Dinner Speech, Corowa, 31 July 1993 Paul Keating	59
Bathurst	
7. Return Tickets at Single Fares: the Bathurst Convention as a Representative National Gathering John Bannon	67
8. The Idea of the People Stuart Macintyre	76
<b>9. Federation and the People: a Response to Stuart Macintyre</b> John Hirst	80
<b>10. Resurrecting the Federal Ideal: Mr Astley goes to Bathurst</b> David Headon	83
<b>11. Cardinal Moran, Bathurst and the Achievement of Federation</b> A.E. Cahill	94
<b>12. Barton at Bathurst: 'Front Stage/Backstage'</b> <i>Tessa Milne</i>	103
<b>13. John Napoleon Norton and the 1896 Bathurst Convention</b> Mark McKenna	108
<b>14. A Foreign Agent Unmasked: Colonel Bell at Bathurst</b> <i>Robin McLachlan</i>	113

<b>15. Joseph Cook's Contribution</b> Kevin Livingston	128
16. 'The Sentiment of Nationality': Bathurst and Popular Support for Federation Jeff Brownrigg	131
Sources of illustrations	144

### From the files of the Corowa Free Press, August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1893

#### HYMN OF THE FEDERATION

The Corowa Conference July 31st, 1893

Where the waters of the Murray and the border cities meet, I hear the sound of voices and the tramp of many feet And as one the sound of voices, and as one the pulses beat True to the Union! Our artificial borders they have caused us many hates That shall fade before the union which the world expected waits, Give way the barriers! Open all ye everlasting gates! Open to Union! Not for us the bloody banner of an old king crafted land Our foundation shall be justice-their's is but the futile sand. Our flag, the Christ blessed cross of stars from Gulf to Southern strand. One in our Union! Not ours to make a people slaves while we from bonds are free; Not ours to make our rivers run redbosomed to the sea; But ours to build the basement as the skymost tower shall be-Strength is the Union! Within our land no sword shall come to well the widow's tears; For our yeomen are our legions, and their spoils the golden ears-We know not aught of lust of blood, nor war that slays and sears. Peace is the Union! Where the steel-bound promontory bars the entrance to the South-Where the silver mirage trembles in the zenith of the drouth-Sounds the voice of all Australia, as the voice of but one mouth,

"Speed the Union!"

With the old world wrecks to guide us

which the sands of hist'ry strew Let us build a mighty nation that shall not be for the few. Let us build on till perfect—let us build and build anew. Perfect the Union! Throw down all our cruel barriers; for without them we're strong

To defend from our wrong others—to defend ourselves from wrong; And our nation, built on honor, sings a clarion rapturous song. "Honor the Union!"

Randolph Bedford. Melbourne, July 30, 1893.