**FOOTSTEPPING TO FEDERATION**

**An alternative approach to analysing Australian Society at the beginning of the Twentieth Century.**

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I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no material previously published or written by another person and no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any educational institution, except where acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by colleagues during my candidature is fully acknowledged.

I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design, style, presentation and expression is acknowledged.

Eric Carpenter

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ABSTRACT

On 1 January 1901, the first day of the twentieth century, the six colonies of Australia federated in Sydney to become a single united country.  On 9 May of the same year this symbolic inauguration became a practical reality when the first Federal Parliament was opened in the Melbourne Exhibition Building.  Both these significant events were accompanied by equally significant processions through the two respective colonial, then state capital cities.

Much has been written about the kind of country Australia was at the time of Federation and what manner of nation Australia consciously and subconsciously intended to become.  However, our appreciation and understanding of these issues today tends to be determined, as do most historical studies, by an analysis of the written documents of the day, and subsequent written academic commentary.  I would contend that such texts have, to some degree, always been restricted by the social and cultural limitations of the written documentary process, of those writing the work, and even the social and cultural limitations of those for whom such work is intended.

Is it possible therefore, to analyse historical events by utilising other methodologies; other research materials and other approaches in collating evidence?  And will such processes provide new insights, or simply re-iterate what has gone before?  To this end I have adapted the techniques of Richard Holmes' footstepping and Gilbert Ryle's and Clifford Geertz's thick description to undertake such an evaluation by retracing the routes of these two principal Federation parades and recording what additional evidence could be gained.

This methodology has comprised a visual description and interpretation of the routes of the two Federation processions through the cities by referencing back to both the written record of the day through the press, and general historical commentary on these cities' culture and society of the time.  The primarily visual aspect of my analysis has been supplemented by a visual photographic documentation that provides both an historical record of the sites and locations along the parade routes as well as an added source of interpretation of the Federation process.  Through this process, I have analysed the concept of national identity and the imagined Australian community as it was expressed at this specific period of Australia's history.

Finally, I have evaluated this methodology itself to determine the degree to which these techniques are a valid means of translating to the wider sphere of general historical research. Are footstepping and thick description effective processes for researching other previously inaccessible sources of historical evidence?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PREAMBLE

The genesis for this thesis can be dated to February 1959 when a young seven year old boy enrolled in 2nd class at Camdenville Public School in the inner Sydney suburb of Newtown. The boy's parents had come from a culturally aware background with a politically active inner-city industrial heritage, but had absorbed the post Second World War ideal of the outer urban idyll and the quarter acre block. They survived for a decade in the bliss of Menzian suburbia but eventually missed the social and political stimulation of the inner city. And so at the end of the 1950s they moved back.

However, the inner-west of Sydney to which they returned was evolving into an environment that was quite different from the one that had existed prior to the war. Newtown, Marrickville and their surrounds had always been multifaceted communities, with Irish, Chinese, Western European and North American minorities;[1] however, the post-war migration boom was now changing the district to a far greater degree, and in a far shorter period of time. Baltic and Dutch northern Europeans escaping the legacy of the Second World War, Greek and Yugoslavian southern Europeans fleeing the poverty and political upheaval in their own lands, and Maltese using assisted migration to escape unemployment through the British withdrawal from the large naval base on their island, were all making their homes in Sydney's inner west.

Both these newly arrived migrants and the original Anglo Celtic Australians were suddenly forced to come to terms with vast changes in culture, often without the advantages of a common language, common religious affiliation or common patterns of social and familial support.[2] They were also accommodating to these changes with a conspicuous lack of interest from those sections of society which would later become

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[1] Richard Cashman and Chrys Meader: *Marrickville: Rural Outpost to Inner City*, 1997, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, chapt. 3. Note the concept of the four main waves of migration into the district, beginning with the original English gentry (who supplied the suburb and road names), followed by Methodist and Non-conformist engineers and trades folk peppered with Chinese, German, Jewish and North American minorities up to the First World War. Between the wars, the third wave consisted largely of Irish railway and factory workers moving "out" from Surry Hills, the Haymarket and the old Wexford Street area. The fourth wave following the Second World War was part of the massive post-war migration boom that affected most working class districts in Australia, with Newtown and Marrickville becoming strongly Greek, Yugoslav, Maltese, and later Indo-Chinese, Middle Eastern and even Portuguese.

[2] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 22 March 1951, p. 2. The complexity of the situation for those living close to the issue. Note the letter to the editor of from the Rev S W McKibbin, from Newtown, criticising Italian migrants and supporting German settlers, who had restrictions placed upon them after the war.

the most vocal in their newly found patronage for the concept of multiculturalism.[3] Schools in the area, too, were thus becoming multicultural well before the term gained common currency.[4] As that young boy, I became aware through the broadsheet press and the broadcast media that my experiences and the experiences of those in my class were far removed from those being aired across the wider Australian community.[5]

Attitudes conveyed in the press toward Greek, Maltese and Yugoslavian migrants, and their Australian hosts, were rarely positive. Families that I saw struggling to eventually adapt successfully to a quite different way of life were pilloried as being less than civilised and intrinsically ignorant by those with a quite dissimilar societal heritage. In fact, both sides within the local district, the newly arrived non-English speaking Europeans and the original Anglo Celtic working class were too often presented as problematic; unsuccessfully adapting and being unwilling to accept the other. However, it struck me that those of British and Irish heritage who actually resided in the district tended to be far more tolerant in their day to day interactions with the newcomers than pundits who lived far away in both distance and culture.[6] The only times media and press reporters were seen in the area were during the relatively rare instances of strife.[7] And most of the tension that did occur had less to do with racial and cultural conflict than with the issues of poverty and lack of opportunity that were common to all.[8] For

[3] *The Canberra Times*: 10 April 1987, p. 10. Multiculturalism no 'fad'. "People should not be misled into perceiving multiculturalism as the latest sociological fad or as simply a 'warm inner glow; or middle class self-indulgence,' the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Young, said yesterday."

[4] Andrew Jakubowicz: *Racism, Multiculturalism and the Immigration Debate*, 1985, The Institute of Race Relations, London online. "By the early 1970s, 'multiculturalism' was entering common discourse within the fields of immigration and ethnic affairs." Quoting Al Grassby's 1973 paper *A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future*. Many inner-city working class people may well have argued that they had already been living in a multicultural society for a quarter of a century.

[5] *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin*: 12 August 1953, p. 1. Note the Minister for Migration, Mr Holt claiming in 1953 that "in the last five or six years, 3,000 migrant children of school age had settled in Australia, and he believed that these presented a real problem to the State educational authorities." 3,000 pupils would have been the sum complement of 10 Primary Schools, or 4 Secondary Schools, Australia wide. *The Argus*: 25 July 1956, p. 4. "Let's Stick to the Job. Today in Australia, we hold the key to the door of future expansion. That key is our immigration program." By 1957 both Harold Holt and *The Argus* recognised the significance and necessity of migration, although still no mention is made of the source of these migrants.

[6] Richard Cashman and Chrys Meader: *Marrickville: Rural Outpost to Inner City,* pp. 74-76. Note the later example where the local Marrickville RSL club sponsored the 1987 and 1988 Vietnamese Moon Festival Celebrations.

[7] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 12 November 1988, p. 76. "The latter paper [*The Glebe*] quoted a police source suggesting that some Cabramatta and Bankstown hoodlum gangs' activities are directed from Marrickville." Although two decades later, and this time relating to Vietnamese migrants, the issues, even in a minority, were always real enough.

[8] William Dick: *A Bunch of Ratbags*, 1965, Penguin Books, Melbourne, chapt. 10. Although a work of exaggerated fiction, William Dick's book, describing a Bodgie upbringing in the equivalent suburb of Footscray in Melbourne, presents an attitude to migrants quite at variance to the one I experienced in

those other times when life went on as normal and old and new Australians were slowly but inextricably becoming bound together in the creation of a fresh and unique society, commentators were most conspicuous by their absence.[9]

Since the early 1980s, partly as a result of world-wide trends, and partly as a result of conscious government policy, Australia has entered a post-industrial age where most of the occupations that provided newly arrived migrants with entry into the work-force, and therefore the wider society, have been exported overseas.[10] At the same time, migrant matters were becoming promoted more widely through the media.[11] Consequently, complex social issues often became politically polarised and degraded into excuses for superficial point scoring by people who, in the main, still had little contact with migrant communities.[12]

Part of my intention in this thesis was to discover whether social and cultural attitudes toward non-British migrants at the time of Federation were similar to those experienced through the rest of the twentieth century. These attitudes can perhaps be summed up by the observation that the discourse on migration principles and the development of governmental policy on immigration, assimilation and multiculturalism has generally taken place at one level of society. However, the implementation of these policies has habitually been left to members of a wider population who actually reside alongside and within migrant communities.

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Newtown and Marrickville. Perhaps I was insulated, but I saw very little of this anti-migrant violence described by Dick as common in the 1950s.

[9] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 7 November 1987. Journalist John Stapleton was one later exception, who found that in Marrickville "Greeks, Italians, Portuguese, Yugoslavs, Indonesians and Anglo-Celtic Australians live side by side and, from the evidence yesterday, very harmoniously."

[10] Mark Hearne and Greg Patmore: *Working the Nation*, 2001, Pluto Press, Sydney, p. 34. "The [Commonwealth Clothing] Factory has since gone, the work sent off-shore where cheaper labour produces lower quality garments for the modern military."

[11] To see how attitudes change over the course of two decades, note the article in the *Australian Women's Weekly* of 15 November 1978, p. 6, where considerable sympathy is afforded to migrant children attempting to cope in Australian Schools: "Blaming the migrant child rather than the system is seen to be unfair and unrealistic."

[12] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 19 February 2003 online. Muslims the new bogeymen of racist Australia. "Dr Dunn [Professor Kevin Dunn, Dean of the School of Social Science and Psychology at the University of Western Sydney] writes that Australia has a 'hard core of racists' and that some of the country's worst racism is found in working-class pockets of Sydney." Dr Dunn's findings: Fifty-four per cent of those surveyed would be concerned if their relative married a Muslim. About seven per cent are opposed to cultural diversity. However, eighty-three per cent said there was a problem with racism in Australia. (In other words, the problem is with other people, never the respondents.) Forty-five per cent said some cultural groups did not belong in Australia and about twelve per cent admitted to being prejudiced. In other words, eighty to ninety per cent of working class people support Multiculturalism and are against prejudice, although around half have serious issues with one particular cultural group.

Australian society at the beginning of the last century has often been portrayed as racist and xenophobic;[13] with the introduction of the White Australia Policy and Immigration Restriction Act[14] proof that our nation's founding fathers and mothers were bigoted individuals.[15] However, I will consider whether, while this may appear to be the case from the point of view of modern twenty first century cosmopolitan Australia, the citizens who supported these policies were reacting to a unique set of circumstances in the best way that they knew at the time. Modern multicultural Australia did not materialise in the decades following the Second World War without any connection to the past. I believe that there was a foundation of acceptance which was varying, inconsistent and constantly questioned.[16] Anti-Chinese[17] and anti-German riots had occurred and anti-Chinese and non-white legislation implemented; but they could only do so in a society that had allowed Chinese miners, German settlers and Greek and Maltese workers to be admitted in the first place.[18]

What were attitudes of ordinary Australians at the turn of the century? I know from my own memory and experience that distinctions existed during the 1950s and 1960s between what was covered in the media and what was occurring in everyday life. Is it possible to investigate and evaluate alternative attitudes toward membership of Australian society at the time of Federation through alternative sources of evidence?

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[13] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies*? 1978, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, p. 22. "Employers benefited directly from white worker antagonism to Chinese workers, as a cheap labour supply could only remain cheap if organisationally distinct from the rest of the labour force."
[14] Commonwealth of Australia: *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*. An Act to place certain restrictions on Immigration and to provide for the removal from the Commonwealth of prohibited immigrants.
[15] James Jupp: *Immigration*, 1991, Oxford University Press, Sydney, pp. 45-47.
[16] Mark Hearne and Greg Patmore: *Working the Nation*, 2001, Pluto Press, Sydney, p. 7. Writing on the Centenary of Federation, the editors note that Humphrey McQueen, as a representative of the New Left "could find little good to say about the Australian Settlement, the Old Left or the labour movement generally" at the time of Federation.
[17] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 4 May 1888, p. 8. The Chinese Difficulty, referring to the departure of the ship Afghan for Sydney carrying unwanted Chinese immigrants, arriving on this day. *South Australian Register*: 6 August 1888, p. 5, where this earlier event in Sydney was described as a riot. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 6 June 1888, p. 5. Letter to the editor indicating that support for the "inconsiderable number of inoffensive Chinamen" was also strong at the time.
[18] Gerhard Fischer: *Enemy Aliens*, 1989, University of Queensland Press, pp. 127-128 et passim. Note the understandable but still virulent degree to which Australian attitudes towards German migrants turned with the outbreak of the First World War, and notably after the 1916 carnage on the Western Front.

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I intend to gain insight into the kind of society that was being created in Australia at the start of the twentieth century; the beginning of modern Australia. By adopting an empirical approach,[1] I will be asking, what can we learn about the Australian society that existed a century ago? What was considered necessary for membership of the Australian community as it developed from isolated colonies into a modern nation state?

Attitudes of course change over time and are invariably fluid. It is often not possible to view these in the same graduated manner; rather, we usually take specific times and compare with earlier or later periods, recognising that changes that have taken place over the interim can either occur evenly throughout that time, or suddenly, as the result of particular all-encompassing experiences.[2] If one wished to determine such attitudes within the Australian context, and how they may have changed over time, the one significant point of reference would have to be the Federation of the nation in 1901. Not only was this virtually the half-way point between the beginning of European settlement on the continent, and our current era, but it was the formal and conscious creation of the nation in political terms. Consequently, the event would have provided strong motivation for conscious reflection in social terms of what ideals the new nation should embody.

The Federation of Australia was marked by a wide variety of formal and informal events throughout the first half of the year. On Tuesday 1 January 1901 a celebratory march passed through the streets of Sydney on its way out to Centennial Park, where the new nation was formally proclaimed. Other marches and parades occurred in the other capital cities of the colonies, now states; however this was not only the largest event, but also the one culminating with this most significant ceremony. Later in the same year, on Monday 6 May 1901, a week of celebrations for the establishment of the new Federal Parliament commenced with a similar parade through the streets of Melbourne.

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[1] Ted Honderich: *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, 1995, Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom, p. 229. "Also, one should distinguish between empiricism as a psychological doctrine of how the mind acquires the contents it has, and empiricism as a doctrine of justification, about how we can justify our various claims to knowledge." In many respects, my work will utilise both concepts.
[2] Raymond Aron: *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, 1961, George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, London, p. 21. Aron embodies the *Annales* view that while accidents and incidents can occur and result in effects, long term trends still prevail.

Again, this momentous event was commemorated throughout the nation; however only in Melbourne would the festivities include the formal opening of the new parliament as the political manifestation of Federation.

These were the two principal and largest parades that occurred at the time, and consequently would have embodied many of the conscious and unconscious ideals of the new society. One way of analysing these ideals would be to adopt the role of a geographical historian, examine the routes of these two principal Federation processions and extrapolate back in time to analyse attitudes towards perceived membership of this new Australian society.

It was at a meeting of the British Economic History Society in the 1930s, that the economic historian and Christian socialist Richard Henry Tawney rose and uttered the reverberating words: "What historians need is not more documents, but stronger boots".[3] Tawney was apparently not disparaging of the role of documents in themselves, but rather pointing out that social awareness of the material and physical world is "the door to historical understanding… [History] is the study not of a series of past events, but of the life of societies, and of the records of the past as means to that end".[4] Tawney's response to the physical world of experience could be best summed up by his expectation of the role of the geographical historian: "A student who is more interested in wild life than in museum specimens must be prepared to annoy gamekeepers by following it across country."[5]

While not expecting to annoy either gamekeepers or city policemen, I have adapted this role of the geographical historian through the biographer Richard Holmes' process of footstepping. By walking the routes of the two parades, as the roads, lanes and streets still exist today and utilising the literary resources of the time; in this case primarily the daily newspapers as records of the day, I intended to use these past events as a window into the society of the time.

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[3] Ross Terrill: *R H Tawney and His Times*, 1973, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, p. 7.
W Keith Hancock: *Country and Calling*, 1954, Faber and Faber, London, p. 95.
[4] Ross Terrill: *R H Tawney and His Times,* p. 7.
[5] J M Winter: *History and Society: Essays by R H Tawney*, 1978, Routledge & Keegan Paul, London, p. 48.

The source of this methodological framework developed from Holmes' 1985 book: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer*.[6] It is in this work that Holmes recounts the elaboration of his study of Literary Romanticism through his following the modern traces of the diaries of Robert Louis Stevenson through Central France and Mary Wollstonecraft in Revolutionary Paris, the travels of the Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and his entourage through Italy between 1818 and 1822, and the final days of the French poet Gerard de Nerval's tortured Parisian existence.

These studies were prompted partly by developments in Holmes' own professional life and partly though his interaction with momentous events in the wider world. His 1964 expedition through the high country of central France guided by Stevenson's 1878 journal *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes* was largely a quest for the conscious development of his own career as a writer and biographer.[7] Part two, dealing with Mary Wollstonecraft and the French Revolution on the other hand, was initiated as much by the external circumstances of the 1968 youth revolutions around the world, again particularly in Paris.[8] In each instance, Holmes' method involved adapting journals and diaries of personal events by following, or footstepping, the original routes taken by the writers in the hope of gleaning further insight into their source of inspiration. His intention was to experience the particular occasion in the original writers' own development through a clearer understanding of not only the singular works concerned, but the wider development of their careers through both his and their interactions with the physical environment.[9]

This process is nothing new in itself, even for studying the "wild life" of humanity. Visiting historical sites and following the paths taken by historical figures has a long and proud tradition, and has formed the basis of the travelogue down through the centuries; from William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of*

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[6] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer*, 2005, Harper Perennial, London.

[7] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 27. "It was important for me, because it was probably the first time that I caught an inkling of what a process (indeed an entire vocation) called 'biography' really means."

[8] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 73. "One sultry evening in the spring of 1968, standing at the window of a small upper room in Paddington, I first heard the sound of the new French Revolution." The impetus was a letter that Holmes received from a girl in Paris describing the revolutionary discord in the French capital, and its contrast with the more mundane dreariness of 1968 London.

[9] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 73. "I had not been to France for four years, and the idea of biography had lain dormant in my mind."

*South Wales*[10] to Jonathan Raban's *Arabia through the Looking Glass*.[11]  In recent times, historians and writers as wide ranging as Michael Wood[12] and Edmund White have embraced the technique of stepping through historical sites and locations, either to give a physical immediacy to their research or as a stimulus to their descriptions.[13]  Paul Pickering used this same process for the introduction to his study of Chartism in Manchester in the nineteenth century.  "Our Point of entry into the townscape is to join a group of Manchester Chartists as they marched the streets of their city in protest."  Pickering then lists sites that he passed retracing the 1839 march: "Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street, in Ancoats.  From this grand rendezvous they marched in procession down Swan Street and Shudehill…They had marched through what Robert Cooper called the old immoral world." [14]  Michael Wood's *In Search of the Trojan War* includes the added dimension of being not just the description of his own researching the site for the veracity of Homer's story, but also the history of the other earlier searches for the city.  In this case, footstepping was used to uncover the reality of an already well-known myth and then overlay the author's own more recent discoveries.

Where footstepping differs from mere travelogue is less in the process, and more in the intended purpose and outcome of this process.  There is more than entertainment and instruction involved.  As well as engaging and influencing the reader, the process of footstepping is intended to transform the writer's own work.  It is a means of self-discovery and development before then becoming one of enlightenment for others.  I therefore adopted the footstepping technique as a means of reworking this method of personal recording into a social analysis of a wider community, augmented by the press of the day and later historical commentary.  Also, by adapting these same approaches to historiography and the investigation of the modern myths of a modern community rather than the mythic past, I intend to not only uncover specific attitudes towards

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[10] William Gilpin: *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales 1770*.  Originally published in 1782, it is interesting that the journey down a river in the "wilds" of western Britain to uncover the untold and exotic occurred in the same year that James Cook uncovered the unexplored east coast of Australia.

[11] Jonathan Raban: *Arabia through the Looking Glass*, 1979, Fontana Books, Glasgow.

[12] Michael Wood: *In Search of the Trojan War*, 1985, BBC Books, London.  Michael Wood: *In Search of Shakespeare*, 2005, BBC Books, London.  The methodology is especially effective where the historical presentation is designed for the very visual modern medium of television.

[13] Edmund White: *The Flâneur*, 2001, Bloomsbury Publishing, London, p. 16.  "And no wonder Paris, land of novelty and distraction, is the great city of the *flâneur* – that aimless stroller who loses himself in the crowd, who has no destination and goes wherever caprice or curiosity directs his or her steps."

[14] Paul Pickering: *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford*, 1995, Macmillan Press, London, p 10.

Australian society at the time of Federation, but also evaluate the general footstepping process to determine whether it is feasible for other wider studies.

My purpose in analysing the both Federation marches is therefore twofold. Initially, I intended to determine how people at the time thought of the emerging Australian identity, and whether those without an Anglo Saxon or Anglo Celtic cultural and racial heritage could, or should, participate in the new nation that was being created. I would analyse the evidence and draw conclusions from what I uncover while physically retracing the routes of the marches. My second purpose was to evaluate the process itself, and determine whether it is viable to attempt to rely upon this non-document based technique of footstepping to uncover such attitudes, particularly for a community rather than for the individuals to which it has generally been applied in the past.

While I decided to analyse these two processions by pulling on Richard Tawney's thick pair of boots[15] and tramping the routes, I was also aware of the restrictions inherent within a process primarily reliant upon such footstepping. Richard Holmes himself acknowledged the limitations as he retraced the footsteps of Stevenson through the Cevennes: "Even in imagination, the gap was there. It had to be recognised; it was no good pretending. You could not play-act into the past; you could not turn it into a game of make-believe.....Somehow you had to produce the living effect, while remaining true to the dead fact."[16] However, on the same page, he also pointed out what could be construed as one great advantage of adopting such an approach: "You would never catch them [the biographer's subject]; no, you would never quite catch them. But maybe, if you were lucky, you might write about the pursuit of that fleeting figure in such a way as to bring it alive in the present."[17]

I did not expect to quite catch all the individual people who participated in these momentous events a century ago; each one would themselves be worthy of a full biography. However, by pursuing the fleeting figures as a group preparing for, and enacting, their parts through the streets of the two major cities of the nation, I intended to bring alive the society of the time, and the federated community's ideals and expectations. Unlike Holmes' subjects though, my citizens would not be revealed

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[15] Ross Terrill: *R H Tawney and His Times,* p. 7.
[16] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 27.
[17] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 27.

languidly over the space of days and weeks. Both marches took only an hour and a half to pass,[18] so I have had to approach these two Federation parades as most significant but also brief instances of the conscious and subconscious creation of a national identity. The marches were also obvious public spectacles reliant upon the conscious erection of arches and decorations, the conscious planning of the routes, and most significantly, the conscious and unconscious assembly and reactions of the participants.

Where the footstepping approach varies from other forms of historical research is in the immediacy and the acknowledged individual nature of the activity. Holmes did not just visit the districts that his subjects such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Mary Wollstonecraft journeyed through in France; rather he consciously and as accurately as possible, placed his feet in the same pathways as his subjects. While following a written diary or description, he was looking for something more that really could only be offered by the immediacy of the location itself.

The benefit of this approach bore fruit when Holmes attempted to retrace Mary Wollstonecraft's diary entry revealing her view of King Louis XVI *en route* to his execution at the Tuileries on 26 December 1793. "About 9:00 o'clock in the morning", she wrote, "the King passed by my window, moving silently along (except now and then a few strokes on the drum, which rendered the stillness more awful)."[19] The problem for Holmes was that Mary's residential address was given as No 22 rue Meslay, a street not on the route but one block behind the parade as it passed westward down the boulevard Saint-Martin.[20] The quandary was solved when Holmes actually visited the site and realised that Mary Wollstonecraft's room was at the back of the house, with "an unobstructed view clear across the rooftops to the north, commanding the whole panorama of the boulevard beyond them, from the now place de la République to what then, and still is, the archway of the port Saint-Martin".[21] Such an immediate and close view of the ultimate aftermath of the French Revolution would no doubt have contributed to a change of heart on the part of the previously enthusiastic supporter of radicalism. "Mary's apparent disillusion with the course of the Revolution was now taking, together with the increasing personal restrictions applied to 'aliens',

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[18] Although my actual retracing and analysis of their routes would take a little longer, and even then, this passage of time, including the waiting beforehand was no doubt onerous enough for the participants and the spectators of the day.

[19] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 100.

[20] GeoCentre: *Euro-Road Atlas of France*, R V Verlag, Germany, Paris map 222.

[21] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 99.

suggest that this was the sensible moment to go home." Even after this experience, though, the young militant was loath to leave. "But once again [having been offered a seat on a coach out of the city], she decided to stay."[22]

If history is the biography of a nation,[23] then my study will more accurately attempt to script the biography of a population: an account of the two cities as communities and the biography of representatives of these communities. Since such biography is also generally reliant upon the traditional sources of historical research, it will be important to see the degree to which my footstepping process can complement this. What geography and biography do provide is the drama of the concrete and the immediate. Holmes' historical account of the execution of Louis XVI is magnified though the biographical detail of Mary Wollstonecraft's own experience, and the geographical referencing of this experience. Even the Realist literature fashionable at the time of Federation provides a geographical link with this sense of place. Novels from the late nineteenth century to the post war twentieth century have often been consciously created through their geography.[24] So, my footstepping is not so much a new methodology, rather more a new way of utilising and thinking about a traditional historical and even literary technique.

The notion of uncovering a mythic landscape that exists beyond the formal written word has also been considered by the philosopher and German Romantic, Walter Benjamin. In his seminal 1927-1940 work *The Arcades Project*,[25] Benjamin mentioned writers who again placed their reliance upon the non-literary and the geographical. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, the Austrian literary giant of the late nineteenth century sought "to read what was never written," and further claimed that: "Historical method is philological method, a method that has as its foundation the book of life…the landscape built of sheer life."[26] Benjamin's most succinct quote, and one that I feel forms a subliminal

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[22] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps, Adventures of a Romantic Biographer,* p. 104.
[23] Alun Munslow: *The New History*, 2003, Pearson Education Limited, Harlow, p. 143.
[24] Ronald Hingley: *Dostoyevsky, his life and work*, 1978, Paul Elek Ltd, London, p. 166 et passim. Geir Kjetsaa: *Dostoyevsky*, 1987, Viking Penguin, London, p. 304. The inner city of St Petersburg in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, and the fictitious town of Skotoprigonyevsk (based on Staraya Russa, where the Dostoyevsky family holidayed) in *The Brothers Karamazov*, became as significant to the action of the novels as the human characters. Albert Camus: *The Fall*, 1957, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, p. 12. "Holland is a dream, Monsieur, a dream of gold and smoke – smokier by day, more gilded by night." Albert Camus' foggy and watery Amsterdam is not only the location, but virtually a principal character in *The Fall*.
[25] Walter Benjamin: *The Arcades Project*, 1999, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, chapt. M, The Flâneur.
[26] Walter Benjamin: *The Arcades Project,* p. 417.

guide to my own work declared: "And I travel in order to get to know my geography".[27] Benjamin continued his investigation of what we would call footstepping through the writer Marcel Proust's search for locations which, "appeared to be concealing, beneath what my eyes could see, something which they invited me to approach and take from them, but which, despite all my efforts, I never managed to discover."[28]

Although again taken from the literary world, Proust exemplified the footstepping ideal of drawing all that could be gleaned from the minutiae of physical experience.  As the author and critic C P Snow remarked: "he was the only great writer who could make the railway journey from Paris to Normandy sound as much of an adventure as the Charge of the Light Brigade."[29]  Richard Holmes himself gives further insight into an earlier, "surprisingly athletic Proust who used to 'refresh his hay fever' with little daily expeditions through the Monceau, complete with gold-topped cane and lemonade-coloured chamois leather gloves."[30]  Interestingly, la Moncea is the park off the boulevard de Courcelles, a kilometre or so from La Gare St Lazare, from where the infamous train trip north must have commenced, and at the other end of the (then yet to be opened up)  boulevard Haussmann from where Mary Wollstonecraft had viewed the passing king a century earlier.[31]


NATION AND MYTH

All nations and national identities are created through myths.  According to Roland Barthes, such myths can exist consciously or subconsciously in the minds of the citizens, within the imagination of one section of the community or within the collective psyche of the nation.[32]  Myths can be representative of national characteristics and traits that appear obvious to all, but they can also be myths in the negative sense of the term;

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[27] Walter Benjamin: *The Arcades Project*, p. 416. Schaub: *Philosophy today, essays on recent developments in the field of philosophy* 1968, p. 218. Quoted from Réja: *L'Art chez les fous* 1907, p. 131. This work apparently quotes the inmate of an insane asylum who obviously did very little travelling at all.
[28] Proust: *Du Côté de chez Swann (Swann's Way)*, 1939 Gallimard Press, Paris, vol. 1, p. 256.
[29] C P Snow: *The Realists – Portraits of Eight Novelists*, 1978, Macmillan Press, p. 227.
[30] Richard Holmes: *Sidetracks, Explorations of a Romantic Biographer,* 2005, Harper Perennial, London, pp. 340-341.
[31] GeoCentre: *Euro-Road Atlas of France*, R V Verlag, Germany, Paris maps 221, 222.
[32] Roland Barthes: *Vintage Barthes: Mythologies*, 2009, Vintage Books, London, p. 164. "A long-continued use of the term *nation* has failed to depoliticize it in depth; the political substratum is there very near the surface, and some circumstances make it suddenly manifest."

creations that bear little resemblance to reality.[33] Myths, as symbolic rather than strictly factual concepts, are often quite incongruous. Nations newly settled by Europeans seeking to escape the social and economic restrictions of the old world often embody contradictory ideals of personal freedom, and the conformity necessary to create a new unified society.[34]

Australia, as with other developed cultures, appears to embody myths that are genuinely reflective of the national experience, myths that are idealised notions which may bear little resemblance to reality, and myths that also appear intrinsically self-contradictory. On the one hand, our national mythology embodies the ideal of the bushman, the Man from Snowy River, the hard bitten self-reliant worker in the wilderness; yet from the time of the gold rushes, through the late nineteenth century to Federation, Australia has been one of the most urbanised nations on earth.[35] As Helen Irving asserts; "Statistically, the image of Australia as rural, and the typical Australian as the outback rider or bushman, was far from the truth. But Australians then (as now) were engaged in a romance with the bush."[36] However, "a romance is never truthful; the feelings it expresses are always out of proportion to the qualities of its object."[37]

Even C E W Bean, the man who did more than anyone to create the bushman digger myth out of the First World War Gallipoli campaign, had to acknowledge that fewer than one quarter of Australia's military forces in the war actually came from country

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[33] Roland Barthes: *Vintage Barthes: Mythologies,* p. 169. Allowing for Barthes dogmatism: "The function of myth is to empty reality." Perhaps myths *can* empty reality, just as they *can* embody reality.

[34] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities,* 2006, Verso Press, London, pp. 194-195. "Hence, for the members of what of what me might call 'second generation' nationalist movements, those which developed in Europe between about 1815 to 1850, and also for the generation that inherited the independent national states of the Americas, it was no longer possible to 'recapture the first careless rapture' of their revolutionary predecessors."

[35] Australian Bureau of Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907,* No.1, 1908, Commonwealth of Australia, McCarron, Bird & Co, Melbourne, p. 158. J A Lyne: *Greater Melbourne,* Cambridge University Press, 1967, London. Note the map on p. 18. showing that Melbourne's population as a percentage of that of Victoria had grown from 26% in 1861, to around 40% at Federation, to 60% at the time of the great post Second World War migration boom. James Hagan: *Europe and the World since 1815*, Longman Cheshire, 1967, Melbourne. Note p. 17, and the figures for European nations from 1800 to 1870. Britain was comparable, with urbanisation in all urban areas, not just the capital city, rising from 21% to 50%. Other European nations such as Prussia, France and Russia had only reached 20% or less.

[36] Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution,* 1997, University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge, p. 14. T A Coghlan: *The Seven Colonies of Australasia – a statistical account*, 1902, Commonwealth Statistician's Office, Sydney, p. 543. Again, Sydney's population as a percentage of that of NSW rose from 27.34% in 1871 to 35.90 in 1901, while that of Melbourne rose from 28.27% in 1871 to 41.13% in 1901.

[37] Kevin T Livingston, Richard Jordan, Gay Sweely: *Becoming Australians - The movement towards Federation in Ballarat and the Nation*, 2001, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, p. 12.

regions, and that in fact, almost as great a number had been born overseas in Britain prior to enlistment.[38] "But in Australia this condition [the superiority of men from country districts]", he continued, "had become much less marked in the last generation, and the percentage of Australian soldiers who had acquired their powers of determination, endurance and improvisation from country occupations was probably not much more than a quarter."[39]

To what degree did Australia's myths centring on migration and European settlement also reflect a sense of national reality, either at the time, or with the advantage of hindsight? Rather than being the myths of a quite different and unique people, did Australia's ideals reflect the aspirations of ordinary settlers from Britain (and other European and Asian countries), who found themselves dealing with circumstances that were indeed new and often unique? As a result, what attitudes developed and changed with these changing circumstances and to what the degree did national myths reflect this reality? According to James Jupp, Australians today tend to pride themselves on living in a tolerant society.[40] Did Australians always wish to think of themselves as being tolerant; and how would they have evaluated this tolerance?

Certainly, political leaders at Federation were at pains to emphasise the British heritage of Australia, and to this extent, tolerance was perceived to be a part of this legacy, along with the Westminster system of government, world naval and military authority and industrial and technical leadership.[41] Ironically, racism, or at least racial superiority,

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[38] C E W Bean: *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918,* vol. 1, *The Story of Anzac,* 1941, Angus & Robertson, p. 46. L L Robson: *The Origin and Character of the First AIF, 1914-1918,* 1973, Historical Studies, p. 745. Some Statistical Evidence. Note table 5 which also demonstrates that primary industry and mining occupations accounted for a little over one quarter of Australian recruits for the First World War, and that almost three quarters of recruits were industrial, commercial and labouring workers from cities and large country towns.

[39] C E W Bean: *Official History,* vol.V1, *The AIF in France during the Allied Offensive 1918*, 1941, Angus & Robertson, p. 1079. In reality I suspect that the figure would have been far less, depending upon one's definition of a country or agricultural worker. It could well be argued that country town blacksmiths, abattoir and railway workers, bank clerks and printers had far more in common with city industrial and office workers than with drovers and stockmen, although at the time, many men fulfilled more than one role to earn a living.

[40] James Jupp: *Immigration,* p. 120.

[41] *The Mercury*: 24 May 1927, p. 8. The British Heritage: Truth, Justice and Freedom. "Empire Day and its significance was the subject of a sermon preached at the Memorial Church on Sunday evening by the Rev. P. Binns. Having outlined 'the meaning and purpose of Empire Day, the preacher mentioned that it was owing to the persevering this efforts of Archdeacon Boyce, of Sydney, as a member of the British Empire League, that the movement was introduced in Australia."

was also an integral part of this heritage.[42] Henry Parkes' famous comment; "The crimson thread of kinship runs through us all" attempted (probably very successfully) to lift the discussion at the 1890 Federation Conference in Melbourne above the more mundane but more controversial issue of internal tariffs and taxation, to one linking the blood of a united Australia with that of the motherland and Empire.[43] South Australian Premier Thomas Playford, added, "Thus the crimson thread of kinship, as Sir Henry Parkes so aptly and poetically termed it, will prove not merely a thread, but will bind us closer than links of steel."[44] Were there thus contradictions in feelings towards the nation's British heritage? On the one hand, there was the proud expression of being a member of the most advanced culture in the world, but at the same time was there the fear of being an endangered outpost of this culture?[45]

Australian society since the time of first European settlement has been an immigrant culture reliant upon migration as much as natural increase in order to enlarge its population. Many periods in the history of the Australian nation have been marked by a questioning and a concern over the population and the people who were to comprise this increase.[46] As John Gascoigne has noted, "such an organised migration scheme [The Wakefield Scheme][47] could ensure that appropriate migrants were chosen and that immigration was not simply an exercise, as Wakefield put it in *A View of the Art of Colonisation* (1849), in 'shovelling out of paupers'."[48] The great post Second World War migration boom was also characterised as much by concerns over the kinds of people who were being invited into the country as to the actual numbers that were involved; and this concern has continued to the present day.[49]

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[42] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, 1988, Longman Group, London, p. 117. "In one sense racism itself was part of the British heritage, but there is no doubt that the advocacy of White Australia revealed a new and nasty stridency." Perhaps this was not so new, and not always so nasty.

[43] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation,* p. 364.

[44] *The Argus*: 11 February 1890, p. 4.

[45] Gavin Souter: *Lion and Kangaroo – the initiation of Australia 1901-1919*, 1976, William Collins, Sydney, Australia, p. 52. Such links of steel were more than metaphorical. "The death of the Mother Queen and the break in the shell-burred cable [that had cut communication to Britain on the 28 January 1901] were very symbolic reminders, if such were needed, of how quickly the world could change and how far the bereft daughter was from her ancestral home."

[46] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 16 September 1927, p. 10. "A statement by the Commonwealth Statistician shows that Australia's population from 1881 to 1921 increased by 141.87 per cent compared with an increase of 102.31 per cent in Canada during the same period." Even in 1927 there was evident the perennial desire of Australians to compare themselves with other similar countries.

[47] The Wakefield Scheme was a system of financing selected migrants through the sale of land.

[48] John Gascoigne: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, 2002, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p. 62.

[49] Australian National Development Index: *Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW) and Measures of Australia's Progress (MAP)* databse, listing Society, Economy, Environment. Whatever opinions or

Is it therefore possible to understand the social expectations and cultural pressures at the time of Federation, and also uncover the degree to which the newly created sense of nationhood was either a reflection of society in general or only of those groups accorded the responsibility of recording the event for posterity? One of the significant characteristics of national myths is their reliance upon the available methods of expression and perpetuation. To paraphrase Benedict Anderson's well known construction; communities are imagined through processes of identification and limited by the boundaries of communication.[50]

So, are the created myths perpetuated through the same communication pathways? To what degree are our views of a cultural event from a century ago determined as much by the limitations of the written record as by the actual views expressed within this record? To what degree is conscious testimony limited by being from a limited source and is it possible therefore to add to the analysis of historical events by utilising other sources of material, other research resources and other methods for collating evidence? And will this provide new insights, or simply re-iterate what has gone before? One could argue that how this communication is managed can greatly influence the creation of an identity and the mythologies that guide this creation.

I will be analysing the concept of national identity and the imagined Australian community as this was expressed at this specific period of Australia's history. This will imply both an imagined community and a real community that has not necessarily been represented through the traditional historical process. Since my work will be seeking to investigate alternative and evolving historical processes, this will also include an analysis of the degree to which the role of history has changed over the period of European settlement in Australia and the degree to which this settlement has in turn been reflected by this changing function of history. One could argue that the fluctuations between what might be termed a positivist and scientific methodology, and a more subjective social science approach to both accumulating evidence and writing results, have paralleled the political and social development of Australia itself. This has resulted in the evolution of a philosophy of experience created as a means of accessing a

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ideas are raised by such think tanks, the over-riding notion appears to be that such concepts of national identity cannot be left to chance.

[50] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities,* pp. 5-6.

wider social science attitude to analysing history, and in particular, the process of widening the sources and evidence upon which historical analysis is based.

If, as the historian E P Thompson states, "History is made up of episodes, and if we cannot get inside these, we cannot get inside history at all,"[51] then part of the role of the historian would be to uncover new processes for accessing the episodes that have previously been available from more limited perspectives. Thompson's own work embodies a history that has overlaid new attitudes onto traditional written records. His is reliant upon the written records and literature of the time, and his subsequent evaluation of working class culture is built around court and government reports and newspaper articles; in other words, what writers and recorders regarded as being significant.[52] Are there, however, new attitudes that can be gleaned from a new approach to what actually constitutes historical records?

In summary, I will be asking; whose social history is it, and how do we collect and collate the evidence that comprises this history? Helen Irving expresses this sentiment in her own evaluation of Australian Federation and the development of the Australian Constitution. "Although other external factors, particularly economic and technological ones, may in the last instance drive history forward; at each moment, nevertheless, the people who live through it are also trying to make history, if only in their imaginations. Australians cannot understand what they are trying to do now unless they understand what was imagined in the creation of the institutions they wish to reform."[53] The tenor of my overall aim can best be summed up by E P Thompson's own well-known justification for his work, recorded in his seminal book, *The Making of the English Working Class*. "I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger………from the enormous condescension of posterity…..But they lived through these times of acute social disturbance, and we did not. Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own

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[51] Edward Palmer Thompson: *The Poverty of Theory*, 1978, Merlin Press, London, p. 65.
[52] Edward Palmer Thompson: *The Making of the English Working Class,* 1968, Pelican Books, London preface to the 1980 edition, p. 8.
[53] Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation –a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution* p. (x). Irving then goes to make a personal rationale of her own: "This is one 'naïve' historian's attempt to contribute to that understanding." Of course, one could argue that there is also the risk of a teleological fallacy within this argument. The people who are living through an experience are probably not conscious of trying to make history, although in rare instances such the 9/11 attacks on the United States, they are aware of witnessing history as it is being made. However, this does not preclude the fact that people are actually making history all the time, both in reality, and in their imaginative interpretation of what is occurring before them and to them.

experience; and if they were casualties of history, they remain, condemned in their own lives, as casualties."[54]

## NATION AND IDENTITY

Benedict Anderson claims that the nation "is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign".[55] This community is imagined, at least to the degree that, while most members are not capable of meeting all other people who also regard themselves as integral members, they all still hold the image of this community within their minds.[56] If such societies are therefore a creation of the mind as much as of social and political forces, then what kind of society was being imagined at the time of Australian Federation? Certainly, it would appear that all the pre-requisites for a community claimed by Anderson[57] were present in Australia by 1901: a common language, recognised borders, and the technology and communication infrastructure to make these attributes effective.[58] From this point of view, colonial Australia would appear to have always been a community on the point of becoming a nation.[59]

The issue of both the theoretical and the practical creation of a nation was exemplified by the famous comment of Massimo D'Azeglio, then prime minister of Piedmont and one of the fathers of the Italian nation at the time of unification: "*L'Italia è fatta. Restano a fare gli Italiani*": paraphrased as, "Italy is made, but we still have to make

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[54] Edward Palmer Thompson: *The Making of the English Working Class,* p. 12.
[55] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities,* p. 5.
[56] Ed Peng Cheah and Jonathan Culler: *Grounds of Comparison – around the world of Benedict Anderson*, 2003, Routledge, New York p.21. "It is limited because it is not an infinite grouping embracing the totality of humanity – as was the case with the great monotheistic religions – but a definite group of people separated by clear-cut boundaries from other groups. It is sovereign because it has transferred to the State the notion of an illimited power that originally belonged only to God."
[57] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities,* p. 15.
[58] Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation,* p. 31.
[59] Shirley Fitzgerald: *Rising Damp*, 1987, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 43-45. Possible sources of friction, such as religious tension between Irish Catholics and the various Protestant denominations and racial tension between white Anglo Australians and non-Europeans were so much overlaid by geographical distinctions between the states as between regions and suburbs within the cities. Note in map1.12 that while large suburban variations existed between Catholics, Irish and Protestants in Sydney in 1891, the myth of all Catholics residing in the most poverty stricken sections of the city did not hold true even then.

the Italians."[60]  The Australian nation, however, had the advantage that, at the time of Federation, Australians already existed and now there only needed an Australia to be formally created.  As Irving also notes, "The new Australian nation was sovereign in all domestic matters and this, combined with the overwhelming sense at the time that Australians had a distinctive, specifically Australian identity, made Australia a nation."[61]

As one example, Australian time zones have always been taken as those applying to the relevant colonial capitals, due no doubt to both the pre-eminence of these capital cities, and their isolation from one another.[62]  Consequently, it was the inter-colonial postal and surveyors' conferences between 1892 and 1895 that helped pre-empt the political federation of the nation in establishing scientifically accurate time zones based on Greenwich Mean Time.[63]  P F Rowland in the *Macmillan's Magazine* of the time also opened his article on Australian Federation with a discussion on this notion of relative distance and cultural distance.

> No two colonies could well have been more dissimilar in origin than New South Wales and South Australia, for example, and it was inevitable that each should desire to mould its own destinies.  But if England was prone to underestimate the actual distance, Australia was inclined to ignore the relative nearness of her component colonies…So far as political, social and commercial life are concerned, South Australia, despite those five or six hundred miles is assuredly somewhere near New South Wales.[64]

Thus, while Anderson looks to the reduction in distance as a result of modern technology, it is worth noting that this distance can be social and psychological as much as physical and my wider analysis will also investigate this notion of cultural distance between places and people.

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[60] Massimo D'Azeglio: *I miei ricordi – Things I Remember*, 1966, Oxford University Press, London p. 311.
[61] Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation,* p. 26.
[62] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 December 1861, p. 8. Even in 1861, the accuracy existed for measuring variations in time between the Sydney Observatory and Williamtown in Melbourne, as mentioned in the Fourth Annual Report on the Sydney Observatory.
[63] However, even with the ability to determine this difference down to 25 minutes, 11.4 seconds between Sydney and Melbourne there appeared little impetus in 1861 to formalise the times. Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation*, 1997, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p. 31. "From 1895 they [the Australian Colonies] also shared, we may add, if not a single time zone, at least standardised clocks based on Greenwich Mean Time,"
[64] P F Rowland: *Macmillan's Magazine*, Issue 84, May/Oct, 1901, p. 151.

As with Australia's experience of multiculturalism over the last half century, the wider notion of modern nationalism did not materialise without any older foundation. John Breuilly traces the development of an English or British nationalism to the Stuarts and the Reformation, and the sense that it was again conflict with other European powers as much as an innate uniformity at home that contributed to people's sense of identity "that all this and more strengthened the diffused a sense of nationality: in other words, that national history is a history of becoming more national".[65] One could argue that where the concept of a unified culture has changed as a result of the industrial revolution has been to widen recognised borders and expand from the political to the social.[66] Therefore, it appeared to be language and language regionalism that provided much impetus to this discovery or rediscovery of the concept of nation and culture.

However, this culture and language could only find expression, and even consistency, through the practical development of printing. Anderson asserts that the sense of immortality largely ignored by Liberalism and Marxism, and once offered by religion and dynastic succession, is now imagined within the nation's creation, with print-capitalism as the primary catalyst for transforming religious language and dynastic organisation through time consciousness.[67] There is no doubt that literacy and communication through the availability of a widespread press has had a strong influence on the development of national consciousness.[68] Interestingly, Michelle Arrow has noted the degree to which radio and television, and now even the internet, have taken over this role through the twentieth century.[69] One of the themes running through my

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[65] Peter Burke: *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century*, 2002, Oxford University Press, Oxford, chapter 3 John Breuilly: *Historians and the Nation,* p. 56.

[66] Geoffrey Barraclough: *The Times Atlas of World History*, 1982, Times Books, London, pp. 115, 128, 129. Note the changes in national borders from the beginning of the nineteenth century and Napoleon, to the beginning of the twentieth century and the First World War. Most borders changed from principalities dependent upon the power and prestige of political leaders to new nations largely bounded by common nationalities and languages. Compare the boundaries of the newly unified Germany with those of an Austro-Hungarian empire that remained a mix of contrived political divisions and racial and linguistic confusion. The still artificial border of the Czech nation, with its large German speaking population surrounding a Czech speaking nucleus would cause problems right up to the Second World War.

[67] *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*: Volume 6 No 3, 2006, p. 74. Mark Hamilton: *New Imaginings: The Legacy of Benedict Anderson and Alternative Engagements of Nationalism.* Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory*, 2002, Routledge, London, p. 80.

[68] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation,* p. 410. "The colonial press played a crucial role the achievement of Federation…The verbatim recording by skilled shorthand reporter frequently included an indication of the audience response in parenthesis – (Cheers, Shouts etc) – which conveyed levels of enthusiasm to the readers, and also left an invaluable record for later historians."

[69] Michelle Arrow: *Australian Historical Studies*, 38:130, 2007, p. 244-260. "The most sickening piece of snobbery I have ever heard": Race, radio listening and the 'aboriginal question' in Blue Hills.

thesis is this relationship of the press with the community in assessing its support for a Federation and for the kind of federated society this community anticipated.

For a formal political outcome to arise, a formal political process needs to be undertaken. However, as in all such circumstances balance has to exist, particularly when attempting to found a new nation on democratic principles. This process can evolve slowly of its own accord or, once the parameters exist, be accelerated through conscious political action. Paul Ignotus,[70] in his description of the formation of the Hungarian nation in the 1770s, again remarked on the significance of language in the creation of a national community. Ironically, this was apparently not through the recognition of the newly emerging prestige of the native Magyar language, which was still viewed as an uneducated peasant tongue. The first political expression of cultural nationalism by the Hungarian elite was initiated by the less than subtle Austrian Emperor Joseph II's threat to replace Latin with German in the very Catholic country.[71] Only then did the native Hungarian language find a voice.[72]

Where Ignotus touches upon my thesis is in his subsequent comment, quoted by Anderson, to the effect that; "A nation is born when a few people decide that it should be."[73] In terms of community development, I believe that this tells only half the story. While it is often the case that the impetus for independence and national sovereignty arises from small targeted groups of devotees, if the process remains only with these same few people, then the nation will remain still-born. There is a degree of interaction between the drive and expectations of an elite, and the slower, gradual but often more relentless progression of the general population. The decade leading up to the Federation of Australia was characterised by a plethora of committees, conferences and conventions, all attempting to turn the dreams and aspirations of small numbers of enthusiasts into that wide national support required for the successful foundation of a

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[70] Pál (Paul) Ignotus 1901-1978: Hungarian writer and journalist, and the son of Hugó Veigelsberg (who adopted the pen name Ignotus – the unknown), Hungarian nationalist through the first half of the twentieth century.
[71] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities,* p. 73.
[72] Peter Burke: *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century.* Breuilly: *Historians and Nationalism*, p. 61. John Breuilly indicates the complexity of nationalism and the error of necessarily supporting the process unreservedly. "The real problems became clear when those successor states were established by the Versailles peace settlement. The revelation that Romanians could be just as nasty towards Hungarians as Hungarians had been towards them;"
[73] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities,* p. 73.

new democratic nation.[74]  As T A Coghlan admitted; "The Bill of 1891 aroused no popular enthusiasm, and parliamentary sanction to its provisions was not sought in any of the colonies; thus Federation fell into the background of politics. At this juncture, a section of the public began to exhibit an active interest in the cause which seemed in danger of being temporarily lost through the neglect of politicians."[75]  The two major Federation parades could thus be viewed as not only an expression of federated nationalism, but also as a means of further strengthening community support for the on-going political process.


HISTORY AND THE COMMUNITY


How does this notion of historical myth relate to the evaluation of communities?  H P Rickman states that, "History is one of the forms of disciplined research by means of which the human mind satisfies its curiosity and orientates itself in the world.  Its subject matter is the human past and *the way the present has come about* (my emphasis)."[76]  History is thus concerned not only with the past, and with human beings in groups and societies, but also how they have been influenced by this past.


History is therefore more than a simple academic exercise and Rickman goes on to add; "but history is not a specialised subject of interest only to historians.  It concerns us all. We look to it for an understanding of the world we live in, for an illumination of human nature unfolding its potentialities in the course of time and even for some hints about the future which may guide our actions."[77]  As Mary Fulbrook adds, "many historians do not in any event share the view that history is, can, or even should be a morally neutral endeavour." [78]  Simple antiquarianism is acceptable in itself,[79] but in more

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[74] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation,* pp. 363-370. Irving lists just the principal and more formal events that took place over the course of a decade: Federation Conference 1890, Federation Convention 1891, Federation Convention 1897-98 and the Federation Leagues at Corowa, Bathurst, and even New Zealand and Fiji.
[75] T A Coughlan: *The Seven Colonies of Australasia – a statistical account*, 1902, Commonwealth Statistician's Office. Sydney, p. 258.
[76] H P Rickman: *Meaning in History: W Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society,* 1961, Allen & Unwin, London, p. 12.
[77] H P Rickman: *Meaning in History: W Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society,* p. 13.
[78] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory,* pp. 6, 75. "this claim is, rather, one from a particular situated, viewpoint in the present, and even the very attempt at 'neutrality' may be castigated from certain perspectives , as an essentially *conservative* (my emphasis) ploy." Fulbrook added earlier that "theory is

concrete terms, the study of the past is really justified by its effectiveness in casting a window onto the present. "Historical representations are themselves part of the present, and on this view are inevitably political."[80]

One of the recurring themes through historiography, and one that will form a foundation of this thesis, is the reason as to why historians evaluate the past.[81] If historians attempt to explain the present by analysing the past and analysing those general tendencies of human nature which do repeat, rather than the specific instances which do not, then again we need to ask not only how can we uncover the past but also how can such features of the past be reviewed and effectively utilised for a practical purpose. This will be particularly the case with my thesis, since I will be examining and evaluating two events from the past by going beyond the traditional written reports that, as I have already indicated, are useful in themselves but may be restrictive. Alternative ways of evaluating the past require alternative sources of material. Since this material must already exist in some form, it will need to be extracted from other fields, and integrated into the historical study. New sources may very well imply new techniques to access and utilise this material.

If we accept memory as a premise of knowledge, then we infer history from evidence that includes other people's memories. However, history is contingent on empirical sources which we consciously decide to accept or reject for other versions of the past. Since everything that happened in the past occurred in real time, a truly objective presentation of an event would take as long as the original event itself; assuming that there existed a way of collecting every single action and occurrence. This is obviously not feasible and therefore choice and discrimination enters into the process: what to

fundamental to historical investigation, and that even an avowedly non-theoretical approach is invariably a theoretical approach in itself."
[79] Peter Burke: *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 1991, Polity Press, Cambridge, p. 34. Quoting Jim Sharpe: "Even those with a more developed view of the people's past have not escaped from those charges of antiquarianism which academic historians are so often fond of throwing at their less conceptually or ideologically well-equipped brethren."
[80] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory*, 2002, Routledge, London, p. 75. Unfortunately this could be construed that history should not be morally neutral when this benefits one particular point of view, but should be when it risks benefitting the opposite viewpoint. One could argue that this is probably the quickest way to undermine any real value history may have in affecting the modern world.
[81] Alun Munslow: *The New History*, 2003, Pearson Education Limited, Harlow, p. 9. Views on just what we can learn from the past have varied over time. "Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has made this point [the role of Idealism in interpreting historical knowledge] in his book *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (1997) arguing that only if we cut ourselves off from 'old and worn out' ideas about 'learning from history' will we be required 'to think seriously about different ways of using our historical knowledge.'"

exclude, what to include and what to expand upon.[82]  This became referred to as Reconstructionist in that, as Gordon Leff claims, history "is not simply a representation of the world as it was, but a reconstruction of certain aspects of it."[83]  Since all the activities from a particular historical event cannot be reproduced or presented, there is this conscious or unconscious filtering process constantly being employed.[84] "Accordingly," Leff tells us, "much historical writing consists in analysis and explanation….and the recounting of events is increasingly subordinated to establishing and evaluating them."[85]

Rather than pretending that there is purely objective collation being undertaken, the Constructionist is admitting that this discrimination is ruled by a level of subjectivity, and that by acknowledging this, we are able to evaluate the information that we are assembling with at least some acceptance of the process in our minds. Historians, as Fulbrook notes, "do not start, as it were, with a blank sheet of paper, looking at a selection of historical 'debris' and wondering how to 'emplot' this into a coherent story."[86]  They are consciously constructing a story from the past using consciously chosen information.  John Hirst's *The Sentimental Nation – The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, produced for the Centenary of Federation, stands as an excellent example of using traditional historical sources such as newspapers and journals to tell much of the all-encompassing history of the political and social process that led up to the Federation of the nation.  Much historical writing on the Federation of Australia exists at this level.[87]

The Deconstructionist historian takes the final step by not only drawing generalisations from the past and asking why things were as they were,[88] but also by questioning the processes of historical analysis itself.  Are the ways that evidence is collected truly valid

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[82] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory,* pp. 66-67. "The ostensibly weaker claim is actually more subtle and the more interesting one: that there are a whole variety of possible 'real' connections, only some of which will interest us sufficiently for us to explore and *seek to reproduce them* in any detail." (my italics)

[83] Gordon Leff: *History and Social Theory*, 1969, University of Alabama Press, Alabama, p. 17.

[84] David Lowenthal: *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 1985, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 205.  "The concept of historical writing is not just filtering and deciding what to include as history, but the notion of memory as a form of forgetting. As with Tristram Shandy who took a year to recount just the first day of his life, it would take a life-time to record a life-time."

[85] Gordon Leff: *History and Social Theory*, 1969, University of Alabama Press, Alabama, p. 13.

[86] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory,* p. 67.

[87] John Hirst: *The Sentimental Nation – The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, 2000, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne.

[88] M C Lemon: *Philosophy of History,* 2003, Routledge, London, p. 296. This can be regarded as Analytic, rather than analytical history: terms that have become rather confusing.

and effective?  Can this evidence be relied upon to tell us what we want to know?  And are we truly certain that the questions we are asking remain valid?  Not only are historians analysing the subject matter, they are also evaluating their own attitudes towards this subject matter.[89]  History thus becomes not only a process for researching and understanding the past, but also the means by which this information is then passed on to either people in the present time, or society in the future.  Most importantly, as David Lowenthal states, "History differs from memory not only in how knowledge of the past is acquired and validated, but also in how it is transmitted, preserved and altered."[90]  Raymond Aron's notion of the "incoherence of lived experience"[91] in comparison with the coherence of recounted history contrasts with Michael Oakeshott's attempt to encompass all "in which nothing is excluded, nothing is regarded as non-contributing."[92]  We may attempt to encompass all, but really all that we can include is that which is useful to our specific intended outcome.  While I contend that the speculative aspect of the history of Federation has always been comprehensive,[93] the descriptive aspects of that history have been, from an analytic point of view, limited.

This leads to the inevitable discrepancy between current and later significance.  Events that, at the time, were regarded as important and worth recording, may not later be thought of as significant, while other events that were overlooked or disregarded at the time have come to be considered of paramount importance.  Hence, there is often a superfluous amount of material available to research relatively insignificant occurrences, and limited information on those later deemed critical.  One could argue that much historical study is, by its nature, deterministic and dependent upon this variation in significance.  More research is likely to be conducted where more material evidence is available and more surmising and imaginative interpretation undertaken where less material exists.  This implies that research often reflects the interests of the past rather than the re-evaluation in the present.  Parliamentary reports on Federation, for example, are readily available, and so the machinations of politicians and twists and turns of colonial governments in the lead up to 1901 are well recorded.[94]  The attitudes

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[89] M C Lemon: *Philosophy of History,* p. 282.
[90] David Lowenthal: *The Past is a Foreign Country,* pp, 212-213.
[91] Raymond Aron: *Opium of the Intellectuals*, 1962, Secker & Warburg, London, p. 136.
[92] Gordon Leff: *History and Social Theory,* p. 24.
[93] Helen Irving:  *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation,* pp. 1-15. "Imagine Australia in 2001 if Federation had never happened."
[94] NSW State Government: *Journal of the Legislative Council of NSW*, Session 1900, vol LXII Part 1, William Applegate Gullick Government Printer, Sydney, Australia, pp. 431, 479. Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, Federation of the Australian Colonies.

of the wider community to the notion of Federation itself, and to the kind of nation that they were expecting to be created out of the Federation process, have been more difficult to judge, and perhaps require a process augmenting the reliance upon written documentation.[95]

There is, for example, surprisingly little record of these two principal marches in subsequent descriptions of the Federation process in both Sydney and Melbourne. Tessa Milne[96] and Helen Irving[97] have collated information on the marches in their publications for the 2001 Centenary, but other works either describing the original events and celebrations or guides for the centenary barely mention them even in passing.[98]  As a typical example, the Graham Wilcox publication *The Struggle for Unity, A story of the Federation of Australia,* mentions the numbers estimated to have taken part in Sydney's celebrations: 250,000 out of a city population of 481,000; and mention of the evening illuminations.[99]  However, there is almost no information on the actual marches in either Sydney or Melbourne.  Brendan O'Keefe and Michael Pearson's *Federation, A National Survey of Heritage Places*, written for the Australian Heritage Commission, does list significant sites such as the Royal Exhibition Building in Melbourne, and other locations such as those in Corowa, and even Henry Parkes' Federation Oak,[100] but again, no location of significance relates directly to the two parades.  This issue of verification becomes critical when there is this discrepancy between the evidence available to the present and events the historian decides to investigate from the past.  Restricting deep analysis of the past to those fields retaining a

Victorian State Government: *Legislative Assembly of Victoria*, Session 1900, Vol III, Robert S Brain Government Printer, Melbourne, Australia, p. 645. Papers presented to Parliament for the Federation of the Australian Colonies.

[95] Michael Oakeshott: *On History – and other Essays*, 1983, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, p. 46.  Michael Oakeshott makes this point himself:  "An historical enquiry emerges in a concern with a present composed of objects (Oakeshott's term for the events, people and occurrences in an historical context) recognised, not merely to have survived, but as themselves survivals:  that is, recognised not as relics invoking veneration, as utterances of notable wisdom or foolishness, as currently useful artefacts or as objects of contemplative delight, but as things in respect of their being vestigial.  They are present objects which speak only of the past."

[96] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*.

[97] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*.
Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*.

[98] Commonwealth of Australia, Centenary of Federation Committee: *1901-2001 Centenary of Federation, Your guide to Australia's celebrations*, 2000, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, pp. 34,48. Even in this kit that was very much aimed at children (as were most other such information kits), there is no mention of the parades and little mention of the original celebrations.

[99] Graham John Rutledge Wilcox: *The Struggle for Unity, A story of the Federation of Australia*, 2014, Ligare Publishing, Sydney, pp. 139,140.

[100] Brendan O'Keefe and Michael Pearson: *Federation, A National Survey of Heritage Places*, 1998, Australian Heritage Commission and Heritage Victoria, Canberra, p. 24.

quantity of evidence is often the only way that particular history can be studied, but it should not be thus regarded as definitive.

Much of my rationale for an expanded methodology is influenced by the notion of a "History from Below"; itself deriving from the earlier "History from the bottom up" of Frederick Jackson Turner.[101] Although Turner's 1923 sentiment is a reflection of such widening of historical sources, one could argue that the terminology itself is somewhat limiting and the simple model of a "Social History"[102] would be more accurate.[103] Certainly the concept was used by Jim Sharpe in Peter Burke's *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, although the dangers stated by Tony Judt were also mentioned; "there is no place for political ideology in most modern social history, any more than there was in the sociology from which the latter derived…"[104] One would have thought that the concept of social history itself was political and followed more the earlier mentioned notion of Fulbrook as to whether any history should be a morally neutral endeavour. E P Thompson's own article in the *Times Literary Supplement* of April 1966 is titled *History from Below*, although since his work relates most to labour working history, in this context the term is more reflective of an economic and industrial position.[105]

One aspect of this social history development has been, not so much a unifying force for recognition on the part of those who were overlooked (or who believe that they have been overlooked) in past historical documentation, as the subsequent recognition of the complexity and interconnectedness of society. While history may have become more than the parliamentary debates of the elites, it was still these debates that affected the lives of those ordinary people who were the new subjects of historical investigation. If

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[101] Alun Munslow: *The New History,* p. 115.

[102] Dorothy Thompson: *The Essential E P Thompson*, 2001, The New Press, New York. Although the heading for section IV, is titled "History from Below", Thompson himself points out that he never used this term, and also preferred "Social History".

[103] Perhaps "History from Below" reflects the era in which it was initially promulgated, when the notion of social class was being established; remembering too that this was its initial development, without the subsequent century of ideological refinement. The implication that such social history is either below the traditional political history, or that the subjects themselves are below the higher echelons in society would probably still reflect one's immediate reaction, if not a studied and reflective opinion.
Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory,* p. 64. "I would certainly argue that this is more than "those 'underdog' histories which consciously, explicitly, with to 'give back a past', or give a voice to previously marginalised groups who had been more or less written out of mainstream ('hegemonic') histories." Rather, one could argue that this "new" emphasis is a return to the traditional mythic history of each cultural group from the unique and specific effect of the development of public education through the late 1800s, overlaid with the modern concepts of positivist accuracy and verification.

[104] Peter Burke: *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* p. 33.

[105] Dorothy Thompson: *The Essential E P Thompson*, 2001, p. 485.

the significance of the roles played by citizens and working people had been overlooked in political history, the social history ideal still needs to take into account the political and economic effects of governments and those in authority on the lives of these citizens.[106]  Attitudes of Australians to Federation were always pre-empted by the political formalities that occurred at the completion of the two relevant parades.  The role of the historian to uncover and interpret the history of society also therefore becomes more problematic, when there is a discrepancy in the material available from such differing sources.

These issues are raised by Martyn Lyons in his 2010 article on *A New History from Below*.  "The 'New History from Below' is distinctive because it is based on writings from the grassroots and because it focuses on individual experiences of historical change." [107] While the older traditional coterie was dominated by "the tradition of the French Annales School… and the British neo-Marxist School"[108] and writings *about* ordinary people, Lyons focused on writings *by* ordinary people; in this case Italian soldiers living through the First World War.  In his review of Lyons longer work, *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe C1860-1920,*[109]  Paul Pickering also points out the complexity of the issue, where the poor are still considered "lower-class, the poor, the peasant masses",[110] yet where the wide variations of education becoming available at the beginning of the twentieth century led to equally wide variations in Italian (and French) commoners' shared experiences and values.  Lyons' Italian soldier's letters would still need to have been placed within the context of Italy's role in the First World War to provide anything more than mere written experience.  If "the war was to be endured, not resisted and not understood" by the common soldiers in the

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[106] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory,* p. 38.  Quoting G M Trevelyan, "Social history might be defined negatively as the history of a people with the politics left out [or perhaps the traditional politics left out]…[But] without social history, economic history is barren and political history is unintelligible.
[107] Martyn Lyons: *A New History from Below*: *History Australia*, 2010 Monash University Press, vol.7 no. 3.  The localism and parochialism expressed by the multitude of letters Lyons accessed contrasted with the "Patriotic slogans [that] did not necessarily signify anything but a cursory acquaintance with national priorities or the *Risorgimento* myth."
[108] Martyn Lyons: *A New History from Below*: *History Australia*, vol. 7 no. 3  p. 59.1.
[109] Martyn Lyons: *The Writing culture of Ordinary People in Europe C1860-1920*, 2012, Cambridge University Press, London.  "Like the Annales, the British Marxists revolved around a journal – *Past and Present* – in whose pages the study of the subordinate classes and their political movements were promoted by Christopher Hill., Eric Hobsbawm, E P Thompson and George Rude among others…although they restored a sense of power and agency to the working classes, they were primarily interested in public action rather than private lives. As a result, the actual members of the lower classes in history remained largely an anonymous mass."
[110] Pickering, Paul. *History from below: An excellent study of scribal culture* [Book Review]. Australian Book Review, No. 357, Dec 2013 - Jan 2014, pp. 34-35.

field,[111] then the historian should comprehend more than this, otherwise they are no wiser than the *fanti-contadini* (peasant infantry) themselves. Again, the experience of the individual is of importance, but it is these shared experiences of the group that can extrapolate to the attitudes of the wider society. [112]


## A PHILOSOPHY OF EXPERIENCE


The last decades of the nineteenth century leading up to Federation became "a moment of intensity, creativity and nationalism which, by the later years, flowed only along the narrowest channels."[113] It is therefore no surprise that Sherlock Holmes was one of the great literary heroes at the time of Federation. As the quintessential cool calculating deductive (actually inductive) scientist using the latest techniques and technologies, Holmes embodied much of the mood of the era.[114] This application of science to all the field of the humanities created the philosophy of positivism, although this had some less than salubrious consequences.[115] Collingwood, for example, delves briefly into one aspect of my thesis study; the development of the racism that, through the nineteenth century, underpinned many of the attitudes of the newly emerging Australia.[116] As he points out, it was not so much the concept of scientific evolution that was so significant, as Darwin's imposition of natural selection as the controlling mechanism.[117] Evolution had been a long accepted scientific concept by the middle of the nineteenth century through the work of Jean Baptiste Lamarck and later Alfred Russel Wallace. However, it was the new 'amoral' process of natural selection which served to justify amoral attitudes towards non-British and non-European peoples that proved to be anything but equitable. If other races were seen to be subservient, it was now the

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[111] Martyn Lyons: *A New History from Below*: *History Australia,* vol.7 no. 3 p. 59.8.

[112] Martyn Lyons: *A New History from Below*: *History Australia,* vol.7 no. 3 p. 59.6. The *campanilismo* or parochial mindedness of a couple of soldiers would reflect their own narrow "visceral attachment, both emotional and physical, to the village." A similar attitude echoed widely across the whole Italian Army would have reflected a malaise that no doubt influenced the effectiveness of the nation to defend its borders. It would appear that even by the First World War, Massimo D'Azeglio's "made Italians" were still rarities.

[113] Vance Palmer: *The Legend of the Nineties*. Quoted in Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution,* p. 33.

[114] As an aside, it was also notable that the creator of the private detective, Arthur Conan Doyle, followed that other great advocate of scientific modernism, Federationist and future Australian Prime Minister Alfred Deakin, "a man of deep and eclectic cultural learning" into the contradictory and very non-scientific world of spiritualism.

[115] Alun Munslow: *The New History,* pp. 42, 43.

[116] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, 1993, Oxford University Press, p. 91.

[117] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History,* p. 129.

natural order of things, since the process of natural selection had naturally designated those in power and those in servitude to be in their allotted positions.[118]  The British were no longer ordained by God to rule others; their own elevated position now demonstrated that they were naturally more highly evolved and thus better suited to this role.

Such changes in the view of the physical world that evolved through the nineteenth century did not necessarily mean that the human beings who experienced these changes were going to be radically altered.  As with most ideologies, positivism contained within itself its own antithesis.  Philosophers and writers as wide ranging as Friedrich Nietzsche, Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Wilhelm Dilthey recognised that human beings did not always act according to the expectations of logic, or even their own perceived self-interest.[119]  Wilhelm Dilthey differentiated between the natural sciences that relied upon measureable causes and explanations, and the social sciences such as history that relied upon understanding through interpretation.  In a way, Dilthey reversed the philosophy of positivism.  Rather than scientific ideals and scientific theories determining the interpretation that one puts on the physical world, it is the interpretation of the physical world that then creates explanations and ideals.  Dilthey believed through observation and interpretation that each instance exists as an entity in itself, not necessarily as part of an overarching philosophical construct.  Every event in the empirical world must be brought about by factors that explain it independently, whether we do or do not actually discover them.[120]

Significantly, Dilthey also differentiated between the lived experience of the individual and the concept of shared experienced and shared values if the experience is to be of any wider benefit.[121]  Individual opinions may exist, but they are valid only if expressed

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[118] Charles Darwin: *The Descent of Man*, 1871 D Appleton and Co, New York,  p. 521.

[119] Ted Honderich: *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy,* p. 257. C P Snow: *The Realists – Portraits of Eight Novelists*, 1978, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, chapt. 4. Although there is not space within this thesis to conduct an involved analysis of Realism, Naturalism and Existentialism, the developments of these philosophies and similar ideas that were in the ether at the time had a powerful influence on many within Australian society at the time of Federation.

[120] Wilhelm Dilthey: *The Critique of Historical Reason*, 1978, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 225.  The technical terms that Dilthey used to express these various forms of experience were *Erlebnis*: for lived experience and specific personal experience that is regarded as unscientific in that it cannot be verified, and *Erfahrang*: ordinarily but scientifically verifiable experience.

[121] Wilhelm Dilthey: *The Critique of Historical Reason*, p. 226.

by many in the group.[122]  So should the interpretation of episodes such as Australia's Federation marches only be viewed as communal?

> By experience of life I mean these propositions which constitute themselves in a collective circle of persons.  They are statements about the nature and course of life, judgements about what has proved to be of value, rules of living, and determination of goals and goods.  *Their hallmark is that they are creations of a community* (my emphasis).  And they apply just as much to the life of the individual person as to the life of the community.[123]

Dilthey was also asking: how is historical knowledge possible?  What are the common features of human life which we can use for the understanding of historical processes and how then do we discover the meaning that situations have, or have had for others?[124]  In his notes on hermeneutics, Dilthey begins the evaluation of actual interpretation. "Interpretation would be impossible if expressions of life were completely strange.  It would be unnecessary if nothing strange were in them.  It lies, therefore, between these two extremes.  It is always required where something strange is to be grasped through the art of understanding."[125]  Thus, using such interpretation as a way of getting inside E P Thompson's episodes implies finding a way to relate this expression and understanding to others.  Experience always needs to be mediated through some form of expression that can be interpreted by others; otherwise it remains locked within the mind and inaccessible.[126]  Hence, language is no longer simply another cultural construct amongst many, but the only means by which all other aspects of culture can be interpreted.

Munslow introduces Plato's concept of Mimesis; showing or acting as a means of reproducing the past, or one aspect of the past.  This is presented as a contrast to

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[122] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory*, p. 67.  "In short, historians work within collective traditions of inquiry which set certain parameters and puzzles for which they seek solutions …Historians frequently work, whether explicitly or implicitly, within the context of collective 'controversies'."
[123] Wilhelm Dilthey: *The Critique of Historical Reason*, p. 227. All is based upon turning the personal into the shared – only then can it be reflected upon by using terms, words and concepts that are common to all in society.
[124] Wilhelm Dilthey: *The Critique of Historical Reason*, p. 225.  H P Rickman: *Meaning in History – W Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society*, pp. 64-65.
[125] Wilhelm Dilthey: *The Critique of Historical Reason*, p. 225.  H P Rickman: *Meaning in History – W Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society*, p. 77.
[126] David Lowenthal: *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 213.  "To remember and communicate such a past requires complex and enduring institutions.  Hence history must be studied as a social activity…groups define themselves through history as an individual does through memory."

Diegesis, or the traditional narrative telling which has been the basis of both original mythology and the traditional historical presentation.[127] The issue is part of the philosophical consideration of the relationship between the present and the past.[128] If the past can only belong to its future, causes may appear to be related to their effects in ways that were never really the case at the time. So in order to study them from the distance of time, more than simple narrative telling may be necessary. Footstepping emerges as a means of linking these two concepts together by transferring aspects of history that were previously only available through mimesis into the realm of the written narrative through a form of re-enactment.

While there is the recognition of the previously mentioned legacy of the positivist approach in the value of collecting information,[129] Collingwood was disparaging of the basic "scissors and paste" approach to history where this is as far as the process goes. However, one could argue that this is a necessary introduction to the process, since it is from this assemblage of facts and reports that can then come the drawing of conclusions. Collingwood went on to develop the concept of historical evaluation as understanding and explaining through the process of re-enactment. He claimed that the simple acceptance of such reports from the past must be critiqued since they can often be unreliable.[130] Hence, he regarded the notion of re-enacting as a means in some way to garner additional source material.[131] Collingwood further claimed that,

> The historian argues from evidence as opposed to events accessible to our experience. He must therefore do more than present what he discovers; he must in some sense re-invent it with the meaning which it had for the period from which it survives…he has to re-create them inside his own mind, re-enacting for himself so much of the experience of the men who took part in them [experiences from the past] as he wishes to understand.[132]

This concept of re-enactment is open to interpretation on many levels. Can we really re-play the evidence in ways that imbue it with the meaning that it had for the period to

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[127] Alun Munslow: *The New History*, pp. 173-174. As indicated earlier with the Reconstructionist fallacy of being able to represent the entirety of and event, complete Mimesis has never been a practical possibility and perhaps the post-modernist approach is simply a reflection of this.
[128] Fulbrook: *Historical Theory*, p. 7.
[129] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, pp. 126-128.
[130] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, p. 282.
[131] Gordon Leff: *History and Social Theory*, p. 25.
[132] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, p. 282.

which it relates?  If so, how can we go about this, and will the results be useful for both the practicing historian and the readers from the present period?   What was Collingwood referring to when he spoke of the process of re-enactment in the mind?  Is this a physical re-living of an historical event, or purely a mental imagining of the past; a "going over in the mind" of the historian as he or she absorbs relevant information from the era?   Certainly it is a process for getting into the mind of individuals or the "collective mind" of communities to analyse their historical actions and beliefs within the context of the times, and it is in this sense that I will be applying the process in my thesis.  This will mean essentially applying ethnographic processes from the anthropological evaluation of different cultures in the present to the evaluation of the Australian culture in the past.  In other words, we are treating the past as a 'foreign country', and the cross-cultural interpretation of the past applies as much to our own culture through this prism of time.

This process differs from the current vogue for physical historical re-enactment critiqued by McCalman and Pickering.  Dressing up and replaying historical events in modern times in order to "understand" what people were going through in the past, often results in outcomes at variance to what would provide a deeper comprehension of this past.[133]  McCalman and Pickering also emphasise John Brewer's significant quandary; that students of re-enactment need to find a way of dealing with contingency and chance.  When re-playing events from the past, be they the Battles of Hastings and Waterloo, or Federation parades through capital cities,  the tendency is to teleologically assume that because these events proceeded in an historically recorded way, the outcomes were logically inevitable.  Arguments are then proffered claiming that one leader was better than another, or that progress was logically obvious, when weather, bad food or even a political leader's last minute decision to step from a train to deliver an almost off the cuff speech can have far reaching implications.[134]

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[133] Iain McCalman and Paul Pickering: *Historical Re-enactment – from Realism to the Affective Turn,* 2010, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, p. 9.  The staged re-enactment invariably imposes ideological parameters whereby it is the wishes and expectations of the modern re-enactors rather than the historical experiences of those from the past which can become paramount.  Striking miners who, themselves end up winning over Thatcher's Britain in such staged performances, and even cartoon Confederate re-enactors who end up winning the Civil War, demonstrate this in a poignant form.

[134] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 October 1889, p. 8. Sir Henry Parkes at Tenterfield. "Banquet to the Premier, A Brilliant Reception (by telegraph from our Special Correspondent)."  As Helen Irving states, the *Herald* was the only paper to run the full text of the speech, taking one quarter of the entire page. "Nevertheless, it was enthusiastically received at Tenterfield and almost immediately attracted acclaim among fellow New South Wales Federationists." Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, 1999, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p. 429.

Therefore, history differs from science in that it cannot be replicated: it relies upon unique facts and evidence for each instance,[135] even evidence that can be inferential.[136] Of course the conundrum arises, in the historical sense, of being able to justify to others that what may appear obvious but unverifiable. So, the process of interpretation flows from the determination of historical information for oneself, and the justification for others of views and opinions that are drawn from this information. Munslow takes a post-modernist stance, which accepts that historians do not come to their topics and their interpretations without a position influenced by previous ideas and life experiences. "Working from the belief that historians ascribe meanings to the past rather than discover its inherent or given meaning,"[137] does not mean that historians artificially create meanings. As mentioned, they still need to justify their interpretations to others.

Living through a period gives the researcher a certain level of insight into attitudes that are personal, social in one's immediate cultural group, and cultural within the wider community and nation. However, these recollections are, by their nature, restricted by both personal bias and the changes that occur in memory over time, and as the sociologist Wilhelm Dilthey would have stated, often invalid as historical interpretations precisely because they are only individual.[138] Without this personal experience though, the researcher is reliant upon the experience of others through writings and reports. And this is where limitations begin to influence interpretation. An individual's own bias and personal attitudes can be ameliorated by balancing with the opinions of others through written reports of the time, since the attitudes of the wider society and nation are often likely to be reflected in these written records.

Collingwood then introduces the concept of repetition of thoughts and ideas as the repetition of the one thought many times.[139] However, I would argue that this is, in the

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[135] Robin George Collingwood: *The Principles of History*, 1999, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 5-8.
[136] Robin George Collingwood: *The Principles of History*, p. 10. Collingwood offers the analogy of a parabola, where, while only a few points may not determine a parabola mathematically, an observer can often inductively infer a parabola before such a mathematical proof exists. Actually, in mathematics it is often the reverse that is the case. A parabola can be mathematically inferred by three points, and determined by four, whereas the human mind often requires more clues that this.
[137] Alun Munslow: *The New History*, p. 2.
[138] Wilhelm Dilthey: *The Critique of Historical Reason*, p. 228.
[139] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, pp. 289-290. "It has been shown that an act of thought can be not only performed at an instant but sustained over a lapse of time; not only sustained but

historical sense, rarely the case since with each repetition there is an automatic level of refinement that takes place. As Lowenthal has pointed out, memories can continue over time but they are constantly changed and enhanced each time they are repeated.[140] Not only are the implications of the memory often made more evident with each repetition, but the circumstances of the rememberer also change over time.

> To know someone else's activity of thinking is possible only on the assumption that this same activity can be re-enacted in one's own mind. In that sense, to know 'what someone is thinking' (or 'has thought') involves thinking for oneself. To reject this conclusion means denying that we have any right to speak of acts of thought at all, except such as take place in our own minds, and embracing the doctrine that my mind is the only thing that exists.[141]

Here Collingwood's explanations attempt to clarify the difference between someone else's thoughts, and the historians' understanding of what someone else's thoughts may be. In theory, I do not think that the concept is difficult for either historians or even lay readers to comprehend. What both groups often fail to do is implement the concept in everyday analysis. There is invariably the assumption that what someone a century ago thought about a situation or circumstance is what a modern interpreter believes that they thought, or should have thought. To use the example of my own re-enactment of the Federation marches; retracing these routes in the 1950s would have been a different experience to that in the 1990s, and different again a decade later. Historians would not just be viewing the route half a century and then a century later, but would be bringing to bear their own experience of post-war immigration and post-White Australia multiculturalism.

Memories can continue of course, but as Collingwood himself stated, when we understand another's thoughts from the past, we are really refining them and converting them into thoughts of our own.[142] Where Collingwood does take the next step is by looking for an effective method for analysing another's thoughts in ways that can be

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revived; not only revived in the experience of the same mind but (on pain of solipsism) re-enacted in another's."

[140] David Lowenthal: *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 206. "Memories are also altered by revision. Contrary to the stereotype of the remembered past as immutably fixed, recollections are malleable and flexible; what seems to have happened undergoes continual change."

[141] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, pp. 286-288.

[142] Robin George Collingwood: *The Idea of History*, pp. 289-290. "Since the thought as re-enacted is now our own, and our knowledge of it is limited to our own present awareness of it as an element in our own experience."

utilised through analysing their actions.  Again, the logic becomes obvious.  We cannot get inside the minds of other people today, let alone back in a distant historical period, so the only thing that we have to go on are their actions, and their expressions of action in writings and sayings.  And since these writings and sayings can be intentionally or unintentionally deceptive, and since history is, ultimately, the interpretation of actual events, we are forced back onto analysing actions.  It is here that Gilbert Ryle takes the concept even further.

Just historians are ultimately children of their time, so too are social scientists.  Gilbert Ryle was born in 1900 and followed R G Collingwood as Waynflete Professor of Metaphysical Philosophy and Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford in 1945.  He thus belonged to the first generation that, in the Western tradition, was able to consciously consider a physiology as well as a philosophy of the mind.  Until the beginning of the twentieth century, philosophy of the mind remained just that:  thinking, surmising and pondering the thought processes that were as physically unattainable as they had always been.  It was from the medical demands of survivors of the First World War, and the massive technical developments that arose from the Second World War that the first real physiology of the mind arose.

It was into this ferment that Gilbert Ryle published his seminal work *The Concept of Mind* (1949).  Ryle took the positivist scientific view to its logical extreme, and removed Descartes's duality of mind and body, replacing it with simply the physiological reality of the physical body.  Ryle rejected the notion of the mind as the "Ghost in the Machine", claiming that what we refer to as the mind is merely a particular category of expression.[143]  According to Ryle, the mind does not exist as an entity at all, but rather is merely the visible expression of thoughts and ideas.[144]  It is Ryle's subsequent notion that we can assess only by abilities that are demonstrated, and by actions that can be viewed before us that relates back to my thesis. [145]  The

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[143] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, 1949, Hutchinson & Co, London, p. 15.

[144] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, pp. 20-23. In many ways, this issue now appears to be one of semantics.  For Ryle, the mind does exist, but not as a unique entity with a life and expression of its own but as the expression of the individual.  Intelligently doing something does not consist of two operations: the mental and the physical components are the same operation.  We therefore judge the mental "mind" aspects of an operation by the physical expression, and the skill in interpretation is the skill in evaluating these expressions.

[145] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, p. 46. Ryle gives the example of the drunkard playing chess.  A drunk or incompetent chess player may inadvertently make a move that bewilders and defeats a grand master. Most people viewing the game would realise what was happening, but just how would the

implication is that when we describe someone's actions as, for example, intelligent or stupid, we are not portraying what is going on in their minds, but what can be observed in the physical world.[146]

As this affects historical interpretation, Ryle is partially right, in that with the example he offered, we can see what Napoleon did, and what Euclid wrote, but we have no way of directly observing what was really going on in their minds.[147] However, this does not mean that they did not really have minds with thoughts running through them; only that, through the lack of evidence passed down the centuries, we do not know what these thoughts really were. It is where he begins to investigate the actual process of observation that Ryle's ideas again become useful to the historian. Not only is the physical world the only world that can be observed by others, irrespective of role of the mind in creating action, but importantly, the way that we observe this physical world is dependent upon the cultural concepts that we have absorbed. Observation has two components: the visual looking and the intent to find out something. Observation is initially base upon sensations that automatically arise from the object itself: "sensations are neither observable nor unobservable".[148] However, their results definitely can be observed, and this intentive observation is very much dependent upon social norms and expectations.

Such observations and recordings thus need to be placed into some kind of formal context, again preferably within a community, and here Ryle introduces the concept of established codes. 'Looking at something' means using a cultural category that others can readily understand. The observer must have some knowledge and appreciation of what they are witnessing; in other words, they must be able to put this into context.[149] It is here that discrepancies can arise in analysing activities that have taken place over the distance of a century. In describing what we are seeing, we have to employ terms that

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spectators know what was really happening? According to Ryle, the mind does not exist as an entity at all, but rather is merely the visible expression of thoughts and ideas.

[146] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, p. 52. This appears to be valid at one level, in that we cannot get inside the mind of another individual, so have to rely upon the visible expression of these thoughts and ideas in order to evaluate them. However, as with many responses to ideas of the past, there appears to be an over-reaction; "throwing the baby out with the bathwater" in that, by assuming we cannot directly know thoughts except by their expression, the notion of a mindful thought itself does not exist.

[147] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, pp. 52, 58. "Overt intelligent performances are not clues to the workings of minds, they are the workings." Or perhaps they are all that we have to go on.

[148] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, p. 206.

[149] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, p. 54. Whether the observer needs to have a level of psychological training is mentioned, although apparently not essential.

we know and can relate to in our own past experience in an attempt to adequately describe our observations.[150]  After all, it is ultimately the effectiveness of the description that is going to convert the experience into history.

## OBSERVATION AND INTERPRETATION

Once an experience has been observed and analysed, either through direct experience or through the process of re-enactment, it then needs to be interpreted in order to be utilised and transmitted.[151]  Rather than these ideas and concepts remaining locked within the individual mind, and therefore of only theoretical interest, they need to be brought out into the world of practical experience where they can be of practical benefit. Wilhelm Dilthey is therefore asking, how is such historical knowledge possible?  What are the common features of human experience that we can use for the understanding of historical processes?  How then do we discover the meaning historical events have, or have had for others?[152]  Does this type of observation really convey the relevant information clearly to the spectator? [153]

It is in attempting to answer these questions that the practical applications of Clifford Geertz become relevant.[154]  Geertz adopted the techniques that Ryle advanced for evaluating actions in the psychological and philosophical spheres, and adapted them to the social sciences through the process of interpretive anthropology.[155]  Their value lays not so much in the actual methodology, which is still theoretical, as in the overall attitude and approach.  By asking new questions rather than giving definitive answers, Ryle and Geertz's concept of thick description provides a valid intellectual framework

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[150] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, p. 203.

[151] H P Rickman: *Meaning in History- W Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society*, p. 65.  As Rickman demonstrates with a concrete example; "a person mowing the lawn does not try to communicate anything, yet he clearly conveys to the spectator 'what is in his mind'."

[152] H P Rickman: *Meaning in History- W Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society*, pp. 64-65.

[153] M C Lemon: *Philosophy of History – a Guide for Students,* 2003, Routledge, London, p. 327. Lemon also presents the example of a woman gardening. While it is relatively easy to see what she is doing (although viewed from a distance or through the palings of a fence, even this may not be obvious), reasons and implications are not that straight forward.  Is the gardening being done primarily to create a garden, or for exercise, or as an excuse to get out of the house?  A bored but knowledgeable professional gardener may plant a garden as part of his job, but a garden that lasts and thrives, while an enthusiastic amateur may put much effort into planting a totally unsuitable garden that dies in a month.

[154] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1973, Harper Collins, London, p. 5. "If you want to understand what a science is, you should look at the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it: you should look at what the practitioners of it do."

[155] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, chapt. 1.

for such interpretation. This theory was itself part of the reaction against positivism and the scientific fallacy that the observer is objective and detached from both the immediate outcome of their research and from the wider sociological context in which the research is taking place.[156] Geertz significantly noted that "the realisation (or perhaps it was only an admission) that socio-political thought does not grow out of disembodied reflection, but 'is always bound up with the existing life situation of the thinker' seemed to taint such thought with the vulgar struggle for advantage it had professed to rise above."[157] Here Geertz's principal statement guiding his interpretation becomes significant.

> Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of a law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication that I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical.[158]

Thick description itself is concerned with attempting to unravel the thoughts and reasons behind activities, since this is the only way that analysis of activities can be used to extrapolate other activities in the future. An individual may commit an action for any number of reasons, and while that action can be most accurately described at the time, the various reasons behind a particular action will invariably affect any future reactions that result. For the social scientist, this is surely a significant reason to undertake the study in the first place. Thick description, as implemented by Clifford Geertz, sought explication and illumination rather than implication, by gleaning insights that actually went beyond those consciously available to the participants themselves. This is therefore taking E P Thompson's notion of getting into episodes one step further by attempting to not just describe the episode and explain what is happening, but now trying to understand the rationale behind the episode. In practical terms, Geertz's own ideal becomes a guiding principle. "Anthropologists [and Historians] don't study villages; they study *in* villages…"[159] Applying this to my thesis would imply that a

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[156] Ted Honderich: *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, pp. 519, 520. The instance of Karl Mannheim's concern over the influence, and often not recognised influence of the observer's or recorder's personal background and heritage on their interpretation. "Social thought expresses rather than explains human life…The task of theory is therefore to understand what people think about society rather than propose hypotheses about it."
[157] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 194.
[158] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 5.
[159] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 22.

footstepper does not study the Federation of the nation in cities; they study marches *through* cities.

For the historian, the application of Geertz's and Ryle's concept of thick description provides not so much a process for investigating culture itself, as the question of whether we can apply this process to a community or culture, not in the present, but from the distance of a century. The examples provided by Ryle and Geertz revolve around issues such as winking, and the questioning as to whether an observer can tell a wink from an inadvertent twitch.[160] These issues are of course significant for both a social science observer in the current world, but would be more difficult for an historian viewing events one step removed in the past.

Katherine Hoffmann[161] also reflects on Dilthey's earlier notion that such interpretation needs to be that of the community rather than the individual. While this was applicable to sociology in a place like Morocco, where most of the population were illiterate, and therefore were reliant upon anthropologists to have their culture interpreted for the outside world,[162] it would be more so in the case of history where there is the added discrepancy of time.[163] Geertz's process of thick description is applied in his own works, through sociology and anthropology, in the present;[164] however, when applied to the past, Ryle's concept of established codes becomes more relevant.[165] We cannot ask a community directly for verification of an inference that we have drawn, and even less so from the distance of a century, so can we indirectly utilise common expectations from today and overlay them onto the past? If culture is what we see and hear occurring within a community, then the effectiveness of our evaluation is dependent upon the

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[160] Gilbert Ryle: *The Thinking of Thoughts – What is 'Le Penseur' doing?* 1968, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, pp. 2-4. Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 6.

[161] Katherine E Hoffman: *Interpreting Geertz*, The Journal of North African Studies vol. 14 nos. 3, 4 September/December 2009 p. 418.

[162] Katherine E Hoffman: *Interpreting Geertz* The Journal of North African Studies vol. 14 nos. 3, 4 September/December 2009 p. 419. "As I want to argue here, however, the metaphor of culture as text is not only a literary metaphor, but also a literacy metaphor. It seems to presume that we, whoever we are, share an orientation toward the practice of writing and the nature of texts…Geertz's attendant claim was that culture is public and evident in human behaviour (influenced by Wittgenstein's belief of language as public): 'Culture is public because meaning is'. Even belief, then, should be understood through the practices that it shapes and thus there is no need to get inside the heads of the Other (as if that were possible)."

[163] Gilbert Ryle: *The Concept of Mind*, p. 21.

[164] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, chapt. 1.

[165] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 6. "The winker is communicating and indeed communicating in a quite precise and special way: deliberately to someone in particular, to impart a particular message, according to a socially established code, and without cognizance of the rest of the company." Taken from Gilbert Ryle: *What is 'Le Penseur' doing?* 1968, University Lecture 18, University of Saskatchewan.

effectiveness of both our collating and describing what is happening within a society and our analysis of what we believe are the reasons behind these activities. As Fulbrook says: "We may agree with those hermeneutic theorists, following the insights of anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz, who claim that at least one (though not necessarily the only) task of historians must be to seek to understand 'rule guided behaviour' and hence to redescribe the past 'in its own terms'."[166]

Such interpretation reflects the three levels of historical experience that the researcher brings to the investigation of past events. There is the immediate and personal recollection, where this exists; followed by that of the social and cultural group to which the researcher belongs; and finally, the often further removed level of the wider society and nation. Geertz's own organisation of analysis follows a similar pattern, with his first order interpretation relying upon the veracity of community members living within a particular society.[167] Second and third order interpretations are anthropological in nature, but still rely upon being in the present.[168] The classic example provided originally by Ryle, that of the sheep raid in central Morocco in 1912,[169] is presented as example of the complex and convoluted way that cultures can operate, and thus the obvious difficulties facing social scientists in trying to comprehend the thick description behind them. However, this complexity may only be apparent to an outsider precisely because they are an outsider. To a local, the whole lead up to the sheep raid and its aftermath may have been perfectly simple and logical. Consequently, a significant issue of intellectual conflict can arise. The notion implicit with many anthropologists such as Geertz is that only the locals truly appreciate their culture, and that it is up to the external observer to discover this knowledge.[170]

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[166] Mary Fulbrook: *Historical Theory*, p. 85.

[167] However, are they often too close for objective evaluation; so close that they often do not notice the established codes under which they operate?

[168] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 15. Geertz's own concept of the varying orders of interpretation can appear to be a little confusing, if only because the graduations from one to the other both overlap, and are dependent upon circumstances. According to Geertz, a first order interpretation is made by a local or native who has complete knowledge of his or her own culture; a second order interpretation is made by informants with local knowledge who relate this knowledge to a professional; while third order interpretations are made by anthropologists and professionals from their own observations. According to these definitions, my analysis of the Federation Parades will primarily be third order interpretations, with some second order information. I will be relying upon my own observations of an "exotic" culture, along with the written records of a perhaps restricted group of locals and inhabitants of the time.

[169] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 7-9.

[170] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 9-11. Again, the concept of established codes, and the notion that "Culture is located in the minds and hearts of men" does not necessarily imply that they are conscious of this in the way that an outside professional may be.

However, this can be at variance with reality; one can also be too close to a community and a culture to see it with objectivity. In many instances is it precisely the stranger who comes into a culture from the outside who is able to appreciate aspects that are missed or dismissed by the locals. It is often the fresh eyes of this outsider that can open up insights that are too close to home for the residents. Edmund White puts this most succinctly; "In fact, one can make a good case that only foreigners can properly judge a contemporary [scene or person] – distance gives the objectivity that time will eventually provide even to compatriots."[171] Further, White's quote from Pierre Bourdieu in many respects foretells the anticipated effectiveness of my research process: "Foreign judgements are a little like the judgements of posterity."[172] We are thus presented with a paradox. Those present at an event within their own culture often comprehend what is actually occurring more accurately because this is their own culture, but often do not recognise wider implications that are obvious to an outsider, again precisely because they are not outside observers.

My specific historical investigation of Australian society through the thick description of the two major Federation marches will also consciously contend with this dilemma. Comparison between the parade in Sydney and that in Melbourne will, by its nature centre on reconstructions of the events of the past, but from two different perspectives. With the former, I will be returning to a city that I remember and still comprehend to a fair degree. In the latter, I will be researching a new location where not only the geography is new, but also many of the social cues. The more informal physical and certainly cultural geography of Sydney will be contrasted to the relative formality of Melbourne. The degree to which the cultural aspects of the marches themselves reflected this physical topography and the degree to which my own experiences respond to these distinctions will thus also form an integral part of my methodology.

This all implies a filtering process over not only the information available, but in my case, also through the filter of time. My thesis will therefore be partially concerned with the process of deciding which aspects of the past to include. This process will, hopefully, be conscious, since I am not looking at Australia at the time of Federation in

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[171] Edmund White: *The Flâneur*, 2001, Bloomsbury Publishing, London, p. 28. This is precisely the paradox that I am exploring, and attempting to resolve, in my thesis.
[172] Richard Shustermann: *Pierre Bourdieu: A Critical Reader*, 1999, The Social Construction of the International Circulation of Ideas, Blackwell, Oxford, p. 221. Quoted in E V Ramakrishnan et al: *Interdisciplinary Alternatives in Comparative Literature*, P P Raveendran: *Literature as Supermarket: Mapping World Literature Today,* p. 59.

order to simply describe the events that took place at the time, or even to debate the notion of Federation itself, but rather to use the Federation of the nation to investigate the kind of nation that Australians at the time were intending to consciously and unconsciously create.  How to analyse this in practical terms will raise issues that have long been present in the philosophy of history through the concept of re-enacting the past in the mind of the historian. These have been extrapolated from the physical sciences to social science by philosophers such as Dilthey and Collingwood.  By utilising Clifford Geertz's adaptation of Gilbert Ryle's anthropological theory of thick description I will, again, journey not so much to a foreign culture in the present as to my own culture in the past.

## MARCHES AND ARCHES

Since I will be footstepping the routes of the two principal Federation parades through the street of Sydney and Melbourne and investigating and analysing non-literary sources, I will be attempting to put into words ideas and concepts that were, at the time, expressed in ways additional to conscious historical reportage.  I will therefore need to consider the significance of marches and commemorative arches themselves.

According to the *Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*, the *Pocket Oxford Dictionaries of Greek and Latin*, and the *Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language*,[173]  both the words March and Arch have ancient Indo-European roots that have generally retained their meanings to the present day.  The word March has an interesting derivation, although not through the obvious (if only in English) similarity to the word Arch.  The Indo-European root for this term is *merg*, meaning border or boundary. From this, we obtain words as wide ranging as margins, demarcation, merge and mark.  There is thus the twofold concept of the border, and the defining of the border by walking around it: *markon*; to mark with footprints.  In Britain, the Welsh Marches were the lands established and patrolled during the Middle Ages to mark out the border of the "civilised" world.  There is also the more ominous old French root of

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[173] Oxford University Press: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2001, Oxford University Press, Oxford. Oxford University Press: *Pocket Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary*, 2002, Oxford University Press, Oxford.  Oxford University Press: *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2001, Oxford University Press, Oxford.  William Morris: *The Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language*, 1975, McGraw-Hill International, New York, p. 1529.

*marcar*: to seize, with the possible additional notion of marking out for conquest. The notion of beating the bounds to demarcate an area; militarily, politically or culturally continues this concept.

Hence, a march is not simply a parade that is conducted to celebrate an event. There is a more substantial demonstration of political strength and power, and the formal marking out of a route or region over which one is making a political and military claim. The route itself becomes as significant as the composition, since possession is being formally taken of all places passed by, and all places contained within the established boundaries. As will be analysed later in my thesis, it was also the areas and districts that were left off the routes, and thus symbolically sidelined from inclusion in the new nation, that were often as significant as those areas integrated through the formal marching process.

Arch comes from the integration of three related roots. The source word *arkw* means bow and was contemporaneous with the complementary root *arw,* arrow.[174] This seems an obvious reflection of the shape and structure of both the original and current physical forms. Just as a bow bends without breaking in order to create the force to fire an arrow, so an arch bends as a means of transferring its massive force to the ground without collapsing. There is thus the sense of both stability and power, and it would appear to be no coincidence that the word is also closely aligned with the other root, *ark*: to begin and to rule. Words such as archon, archive, archbishop, and the older Indo-European *aryo*: lord, ruler, compound the physical description with a social and political purpose. There is thus the strong concept of power that is derived not just from brute force but from a sense of entitlement. It is obvious why Roman generals and even French emperors should wish to ennoble and legitimise their often blatant deeds of brute force with structures of such solid permanence.

It therefore does seem strange that all the arches constructed to commemorate as momentous an event as the Federation of Australia should have been so temporary and then so quickly dismantled (in the case of those that did not actually fall down of their own volition). Tessa Milne, in her *Centenary of Federation* booklet found it "difficult to comprehend that those formidable arches ….were not great architectural feats, but

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[174] William Morris: *The Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language*, p. 1506.

mere 'shams' of their ancient counterparts…."[175]   In truth, there was apparently a proposal to replace the temporary Commonwealth Arch in Park Street Sydney with a £12,000 permanent structure, including a museum, at the site, but this fell by the wayside.[176]   Instead of one arch to stand for all time to commemorate the creation of the Commonwealth, there were multiple temporary structures designed to include as many aspects of the cultural milieu as possible; yet all to come down once the celebrations were over.  Milne also makes the comment that, to many today, it seems just as strange that people at the time should have adopted what is a very old world classical form of "high Victoriana" to celebrate the then most modern newly established country in the world.[177]   Is it possible that Australians in 1901 were not thinking of themselves as a new creation in a country only one hundred and thirteen years old, but rather as part of a cultural continuum that stretched back millennia?

Arches were thus a very common means of celebrating and commemorating great civic events throughout the European world of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Again, their invariably temporary nature also masked often questionable and problematic themes.  Milne mentions the 1901 Royal Tour of Christchurch in New Zealand; part of the same tour that included the May Melbourne Federation celebrations in Australia.  The local civic fathers came up with the novel concept of promoting both the agricultural wealth of the south island and the newly developed techniques of refrigerated transportation by erecting an arch of ice and frozen sheep carcases.[178]   The local *New Zealand Herald* apparently thought the result gave "a disappointing appearance, looking bare and tawdry".[179]   At least the frozen sheep were beyond care in terms of comfort.  The suffering of other live animals such as "cows, horses, sheep and poultry housed in additional arched towers"[180] can only be imagined.

The cultural representation of arches used in so many of the commemorations at the time also lent itself to its own form of pointed social commentary.  Cartoonist Livingston Hopkins, or "Hop" from *The Bulletin*, drew an illustration titled "The Arch

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[175] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* p. 3.
[176] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, p. 333.
[177] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* p. 3.  Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, p. 9. "But they were assembled out of everyday materials, most were decorative and picturesque, rather than stern and classical, and none was permanent."
[178] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* p. 7.
[179] *The New Zealand Herald*: 24 June 1901, p. 6.
[180] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* p. 7.

of the Unemployed" at the time of the establishment of the Federal parliament in Melbourne.[181]  This imaginary structure comprised towers of the unemployed poor, with half a dozen working men on top holding a banner that read "Remember Lazarus the First Unemployed".[182]   As an aside, "Hop" was also one of that small but influential number of Americans of liberal persuasion who was to have a disproportionate influence on Federation era Australia.[183]

As stated, such public displays to commemorate special events have been used for millennia, although often adopting the most up to day technology available at the time. With the visual sense being so strong in human beings, the availability of artificial light during the nineteenth century changed forever the nature of public performance.  The use of candles and then gas lamps to portray images on screens dates from the mid Victorian era, with Anita Callaway quoting instances of light and illusion being employed in Collins Street Melbourne to commemorate the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863:  "Light was the key factor in creation this illusion…" using the newly developing technology of gas illumination behind material and paper transparencies.[184]

Callaway earlier alludes to the use of what was then the most up to date technology for earlier celebrations in the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and Van Diemen's Land.[185]  That night time events included the risky use of candles and thin paper transparencies would have added to the rarity of such occasions and hence the heightened sense of uniqueness and also other-worldliness.  Even today, while night events may attract more people and create more excitement; many sense a lack of legitimacy, as though people feel that they are being somehow manipulated and that the outcome lacks suitable formality. [186]  Night and artificial light remain the preserve of fantasy in both a negative and positive sense.[187]  While placing questions over the

[181] *The Bulletin*: 11 May 1901, p. 17.
[182] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* pp. 12, 13.
[183] B G Andrews: *Livingston York Yourtee Hopkins*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra.  It is a little ironic that Hop's biographer should then claim that "though his political satire was racy and irreverent, it lacked toughness;"
[184] Anita Callaway: *Visual Ephemera*, 2000, University of NSW Press, Sydney, p. 52.
[185] Anita Callaway: *Visual Ephemera*, 2000, University of NSW Press, Sydney, po.23-26.
[186] Chris Jenks: *Visual Culture*, 1993, Routledge, London, United Kingdom, p. 152.  As well as commenting on the English Victorian gentry's visitation to dark working class enclaves as a form of entertainment, Jenks also expands to reflect on the general parallel between darkness, degradation and "dangerous delights".
[187] Anita Callaway: *Visual Ephemera*, 2000, p. 52. Even today there is still this distinction between the emotional and slightly risqué night-time artificially lit activity and the formality of day time and the objective glare of the sun.  Night football and the night time racing of cars and horses are extremely

veracity of serious activities, night and dark also paper over many of the social distinctions that exist in the clear light of day. *The Argus*, for example, went out of its way to emphasise the egalitarian effect of the lighted celebrations for the Prince of Wales' wedding; "Not one class but all – artisan and merchant, labourer and civil servant."[188] Consequently, although many of the supplementary displays centred on lighted streets and displays, the two principal Federation marches themselves were still conducted in the clear light of day.

In an interesting period touch, the visiting English journalist Edward Frederick Knight later wrote about, "finding Melbourne's [Federation] lights so brilliant as to attract "the attention of the *Martians* (my emphasis) and startle them."[189] This one sentence perhaps as much as anything establishes Australia's Federation in the modern era. It was only two years earlier, in 1898, that author H G Wells had published the science fiction novel *The War of the Worlds*, describing an invasion of Earth by Martians. Science Fiction researcher Mike Ashley states that "It was left to H G Wells to develop the popularity of the invasion-threat novel by having the ultimate invader, the Martians, in *The War of the Worlds*."[190] With the outbreak of plague in Sydney only two years later Ashley's comment on the ending of Wells' imaginary invasion is rather pertinent. "Wells has an ace up his sleeve, though, when the Martians fall victim to disease, the smallest microbe achieving what humanity failed to do."[191] As with the earlier *The Time Machine* (1895), the science fiction clearly demonstrates how close the Federation period was to our own era, and our modern view of the world.

The concept of having marches to celebrate or commemorate momentous events has some history in Australia, although it must be said, less so than other cultures. One could argue that traditionally Australians are uncomfortable with such public performances. As the writer for *The Argus* quipped, "Young Australia was not stiff and military. It was informal, hatless and shoeless. Australian statesmen did not display

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attractive and thrilling spectacles, but the more 'serious' events of grand finals, grand prix and Melbourne Cups generally still revert to the daylight hours (although, for how long?).

[188] *The Argus*: 12 May 1863, p. 5.
[189] E F Knight: *With the Royal Tour*, 1902, Longmans Green, London, p. 111.
[190] Mike Ashley: *Discovering Literature – Romantics and Victorians*, British Library database.
[191] Mike Ashley: *Discovering Literature – Romantics and Victorians*, British Library database.

their Imperial honours. Those who became pompous and official or took themselves too seriously were laughed at."[192]

While there are isolated unique events welcoming home successful sporting stars and teams or military forces, Australia tends not to have many annual parades although, Anzac Day, St Patrick's Day and Moomba parades do come to mind.[193] Therefore, the significance of the two Federation parades was actually their uniqueness as events intending to commemorate the singular political union of the nation. By its very nature, this was only going to occur the once, so that any successes, or more importantly failings, could not be amended the next year. The processions may therefore have been compared with other similar events in other nations or the individual colonies, but not, as happens with Anzac Day marches, for example, with the previous year's parade.

Gavin Souter continued the analogies with other unique social conventions and rituals, likening the events on 1 January 1901 to both a marriage and an initiation:

> Like the real tribal initiation that took place during the weeks between the Inauguration and the opening of the first Federal Parliament 9 May 1901…The Aranda coming-of-age ceremony in Central Australia….a succession of shock-absorbing, status-confirming rites…associated with many totems. While the coming of age and social maturity of the nation grew slowly and relentlessly as the maturity of a person, marriage is a singular activity that can define the rest of one's life.[194]

Irving furthers the metaphorical allusion by even quoting the anti-Federation (or more accurately, questioning Federation[195]) former premier of NSW George Dibbs: "that this [the first referendum campaign] was not like an ordinary election, but more like a young man taking to himself a wife 'for better or for worse'". And that marriage, unlike Federation "…would allow a man to get rid of his wife if such a thing was expedient."[196] So there was certainly the recognition of both the significance and the

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[192] *The Argus*: 2 January 1901. Quoted in Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, p. 9.
[193] *The Age*: 4 November 2013 online. Thousands flock to city for Melbourne Cup parade. "The Australian belief in having a fair go and everyone having a fair chance. So whether it's a battler who's bought a horse on the cheap or the richest man in the world who's trying to win the Melbourne Cup in the handicap they all get a fair go."
[194] Gavin Souter: *Lion and Kangaroo – the initiation of Australia 1901-1919*, p. 31.
[195] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, p. 356.
[196] Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, p. 7.

permanence of the process on the part of those who both supported and opposed Federation.


MAPPING AND PHOTOGRAPHY


Since my footstepping process will be following the well planned and well-marked routes of the two marches, mapping both the original parades and my latter day research will form an integral part of my thesis. The Federation of Australia took place before the advent of the automobile as the ubiquitous form of private transport and consequently many street maps of the time were of a quality and an accuracy that would be quite unacceptable today. Although effective enough for reference (particularly the ones in the press marking out the routes of the parades) their production was poor and reproduction even worse. Anderson spends time discussing the development of mapping in Thailand through the nineteenth century, and the way that this later development would have paralleled its earlier evolution in Europe. "Only in the 1870s did Thai leaders begin thinking of boundaries as segments of continuous map line corresponding to nothing visible on the ground but demarcating an exclusive sovereignty wedged between other sovereignties."[197] This complements my earlier discussion on the notion of the march pacing out the political boundaries of a newly imagined nation in ways that predated the print technology of mapping.

The imagining of the mapped landscape is thus as reliant upon print technology as the written word in newspapers and journals. Just as the availability of printing techniques are required to imagine such new political orders and their boundaries, so the technological requirements of motorised transport have compelled the creation of road maps that actually do correspond to what is visible on the ground, and therefore leave far less to the imagination. While not overtly political, these maps do reflect strong cultural expectations in what their designers and publishers consider to be significant enough to include. The decision whether to include either named or unnamed churches, and named or unnamed private and state schools are certainly cultural decisions that could be regarded as political. While earlier road maps only found it necessary to include roads, railways and suburbs without even the scaling necessary to easily find

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[197] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*, p. 172.

locations,[198] later street directories now include both scales and keys on each page to accommodate the expectations of a totally mobile society.[199]

I have therefore relied upon later street directories that, although a mere one or two decades distant provide much clearer graphics, while still indicating the roads and streets as they existed in 1901.[200] My current day footstepping was also guided by current day street directories for Sydney and Melbourne,[201] since these reflect the reality of the city that I actually experienced as I walk the routes. Since this thesis is comparing process and methodologies between the two cities, with Sydney relying partly on my own memories of the city from the past, I referred to an earlier 1988 Sydney street directory. Due as much to graphic clarity as any other reason, I also decided to utilise the maps from this 1988 Sydney Street Directory and the 1993 Gregory's 2nd Edition Melbourne Compact Street Directory[202] as the general location guides in the photograph volumes of my thesis. While a couple of decades out of date in terms of some city buildings,[203] these maps give the clearest illustration of the routes taken by the two marches.

I have also relied upon the *Sands' Directories* for both Sydney and Melbourne: 1900 for Sydney and 1901 for Melbourne, to locate specific premises along the routes of the two marches.[204] Information for these directories were collected door to door by Sands' Agents, published between 1858 and 1932 and paid for by advertising in the directories.[205] Consequently, while open to error, they were all encompassing, giving entries for every number in each street and even the individual residences and businesses in multi storey and commercial premises. They therefore give the clearest

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[198] Gregory's: *Sydney Street Directory 1934*, 2006, The Australian Book Guide Company, Sydney.
Anderson Gowan: *Melbourne Street Directory 1921*, 1921, Anderson Gowan, Melbourne.
[199] UBD Australia: *UBD Sydney Street Directory 2000*, 2000, Universal Press, Sydney, Australia.
[200] Gregory's: *Sydney Street Directory 1934*.
Anderson Gowan: *Melbourne Street Directory 1921*.
[201] Gregory's: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, 2010, Universal Press, Sydney.
UBD: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, 2008, Universal Press, Melbourne.
[202] Gregory's: *Sydney Street Directory (Maxi) 1988*, 1988 Universal Press, Sydney.
Gregory's: *Melbourne Compact Street Directory 1993*, 1993, Universal Press, Melbourne.
[203] The most notable changes evident in the Sydney Directory over the intervening twenty four years are the blank spaces at Darling Harbour evident of the time taken to come to some arrangement over the fate of the Barangaroo site, and the marking of the original Moore Park location of Sydney's Showground. This site is of course now Fox Studios, with the Showground moved to Homebush Bay.
[204] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, 1900, John Sands, Sydney, Australia.
Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, 1901, Sands & McDougall, Melbourne, Australia.
[205] Paul Convey Randwick Historical Society: *Sands Sydney Directory – an Introduction to its use* database.

and most accurate listing of both residential and business addresses of the time. The role of these directories would eventually be taken over by the telephone white and yellow pages and by commercial street directories thirty years later in the era of the 1934 Gregory's.

A central aspect of my footstepping approach to this historical investigation was also the photographic record, since this provided the most effective method of recording the geographical and architectural aspects of my thesis. Whatever other non-literary sources of evidence I may be uncovering through my footstepping approach, I still needed to record the results of this research in a traditional form, through the written report and discourse of my thesis, and through a photographic record of the two Federation parades.

There were three interconnected forms of photograph used to accompany the text of my thesis: those taken during my footstepping the parade routes, the original 1901 images of the parades themselves and the arches along the routes, and also general images of the two cities taken around 1900 indicating not only specific sites either along the routes but also those close to the routes that covered specific issues raised within my thesis. The two volumes of the photographic booklet are intended to be read as historical documents in themselves as well as supplementary to my thesis. Therefore, I have cited the accompanying photograph book within my thesis by volume and page number, since the photographs themselves contain additional caption material and information. Historical photographs are referenced within the caption texts, while those taken during the footstepping process are numbered for reference according to my photographer's proof sheet listing.

I would claim that the inclusion of such photographic material has a chequered career in historical discourse, being both a valuable source of additional information but also mistrusted; reflected in the fact that few academic histories contain more than a smattering of photographs or drawings. While Peter Burke has stated that: "Photographs are never evidence of history: they are themselves the historical,"[206] there is some recognition that a level of blatant subjectivity can be present. For example, Burke goes on to include Sarah Graham-Brown's discussion on the significance of the variation between original sepia prints and later black and white and full colour photographs: "a

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[206] Peter Burke: *Eyewitnessing – the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, 2001, Reaktion Books, p. 23.

soft sepia print can produce a calm aura of 'things past', while a black-and-white image may convey a sense of a harsh reality."[207] However, for the press, the role of the photographic image can become inverted and actually lend a greater degree of authenticity to written articles. As Peter Burke states:

> Newspapers have long been using photographs as evidence of authenticity. Like television images, these photographs make a powerful contribution to what the critic Roland Barthes has called the 'reality effect'. In the case of old photographs of cities, for example, especially when they are enlarged to fill a wall, the viewer may well experience a vivid sensation that he or she could enter the photograph and walk down the street.[208]

In this, the footstepper and geographical historian is adopting more the role of the journalist when relying on either images themselves or image laden thick description. "For their part, urban historians not infrequently use paintings, prints and photographs as so as to imagine and to enable their readers to imagine the former appearance of cities,"[209]

In adopting the complementary inclusion of photographs I was assisted by my wife, photographer Patricia Casnave. It was, in fact, the knowledge that I would be able to call upon Patricia's expertise in architectural and historical photography that I chose to analyse the two Federation marches using methodological approach. Other photographic influences have been the Australian photographers Harold Cazneaux and Max Dupain. Harold Cazneaux, was very much a creative and artistic photographer, so while his work may not accord directly with the requirements of my thesis, his principle that the "photographer must be in accordance with all nature's moods, he must feel the very spirit of the scene if he is to be successful,"[210] provided a guide to approaching the geography of a scene with a feeling for landscape. Max Dupain took more of an objective scientific approach, and is perhaps closer to the ideal of the historian. There is both the desire to present an accurate record that can be entrusted with the role of a verifiable record, and the historical concept that there is a social purpose behind the

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[207] Peter Burke: *Eyewitnessing – the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, p. 22. However, this may well be a modern sensibility in an era when we have both formats, as well as colour prints, and are thus able to distinguish amongst the different options.
[208] Peter Burke: *Eyewitnessing – the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, pp. 21-22.
[209] Peter Burke: *Eyewitnessing – the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, p. 85.
[210] Helen Ennis: *Cazneaux, the Quiet Observer*, 1994, National Library of Australia, Canberra, p. 29.

photographic exercise. "Modern photography must do more than entertain; it must incite thought and, by its clean statements of actuality, cultivate a sympathetic understanding of men and women, and the life they create and live."[211]

My methodology to uncover and evaluate the kind of imagined Australian community that was represented through the two major Federation parades has therefore been able to combine the practical process of footstepping with the interpretive analysis of thick description through the additional recording of the sites and locations that I viewed and visited. I have also utilised the process of researching the written record for additional social and historical perspectives and for comparing with my own research and results. Just as individual diaries and personal records were employed by Richard Holmes as the practical initiators and motivation for the research into his individual biographical subjects , so I integrated the experiences of the cities of Sydney and Melbourne and their communities through the press and historical commentary to the analyse the biography of Australian society. The newspapers of the day essentially became the diaries of those communities that Wilhelm Dilthey considered to be the foundation of the historical process. Evidence was thus further collated through the photographic record of the era with geographical and architectural photography used as part of the recording process, resulting in both a written and visual evaluation of the two principle parades through the two largest Australia cities a century ago.

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[211] Jill White: *Dupain's Sydney*, 1999, Chapter & Verse, Sydney, end cover reference.

SYDNEY FEDERATION PARADE


1. ARRIVAL IN THE CITY


My footstepping in Sydney commenced with my arrival in the city, early in the afternoon of 16 November 2008, just as the new spring warmth was beginning to rise up through the city. The bus had left Canberra earlier that morning with the heat of an inland drought lying upon the countryside. Over the next three hours, as it journeyed north east and joined the Hume Highway, the dry grasslands became greener and the damp of early morning fog slapped against the windscreen. The land became more mountainous, with the cool rugged forests of the Southern Highlands dropping down steeply to the foggy rivers and creeks giving a hint of what the whole region must have been like a century ago.

We drifted down onto the coastal plain and soon arrived at Campbelltown; the industrial outskirts of Sydney. New tiled roofed houses crept over the hills, dusty corrugated iron factories and glaring reflections from the windscreens of Commodores and Falcons in the used car lots now filled the old paddocks that had once fed the colony of Sydney.[1] Grass that had originally spread across farms and wide fields now struggled to poke out from the gravel between cracked concrete footpaths and dusty gutters.

As the bus hummed eastward, it began retracing, in reverse, the development and expansion of the city that had taken place over the previous two centuries of European settlement. The twenty first century now blended back into the 1960s as the houses became older, and the storage yards smaller. Rows of cars and building timber were replaced by containers of imported cartons and rusty scaffolding. The proud industrialisation that had expanded from Federation to the 1970s was now in retreat, leaving behind empty sheds and piles of disused pallets. The Bankstown district east of the Georges River had been opened up after the Second World War; with the fibro and weatherboard cottages used to house both the returned servicemen, and the first influx of post-war migrants. These were also the first bands of suburbs that were defined by

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[1] Grace Karskens: *The Colony – a history of early Sydney*, 2009, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 286-287. Even from the era of the early escaped cattle at Cowpastures and the Macarthurs at Elizabeth Farm, the district had been a vital agricultural region.

the motor car rather than by public transport, and the first to be then demolished to make way for the expressways that have become the city's means of coping with the automobile.

The bus continued on, entering Canterbury, and what were the outskirts of the city a century ago. The aptly named Federation and late Victorian bungalows now struggle to retain a foothold among the new units and town houses as more and more people seek to take advantage of the closeness to the city centre and the original public transport networks. Commercial lots disappeared with wide roads replaced by bus lanes and railway stations, and the hot dusty haze became clearer as coastal breezes filtered in through the streets. Ironically, it is at this very point where the original pre-automotive city actually commences, that the new M5 South Western Distributor suddenly dives into the tunnel that now redirects traffic from Bexley Road to the airport and the inner metropolis.

After diverting through Mascot Airport, the bus now entered the closed cramped streets of the inner west. At the time of Federation, the central ring of suburbs from Waterloo and Redfern to Leichhardt was changing from the original comfortable suburban fringe into slums for the poor. Industrialisation was filling the streets with factories, brick pits and railway yards, and the grand multistorey villas and terraces were being divided up into lodging houses. The broad vistaed balconies were crudely boarded up as their original residents moved out to new commuter suburbs such as Strathfield and Hurstville.[2] Now it is the industrial workers who need to follow the factories as they move out to Campbelltown, while the great grandchildren of the original middle-class suburbanites are coming back. The terraces that I remembered being derelict were now shining with fresh paint, new iron roofs and recast lace, with the rusting old Holdens that had filled the narrow streets running back from the main roads now replaced by shiny new Audis and four wheel drives.[3]

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[2] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, 2000, University of NSW Press, Sydney, pp. 69-71. Note the 1935 *Labor Daily* report given by Labor Premier William McKell, titled *Evils of Slum Areas*. He singled out Redfern Paddington, Newtown, Glebe, Pyrmont, Balmain, Alexandria, Waterloo and Botany as "the State's most important problems". Some of these suburbs are still in transition and others now contain some of the most sought after and expensive real estate in the city. *The Sydney Moring Herald*: 4 November 1939, p. 18. McKell, now as leader of the opposition, again claimed that "the slum problem had been ignored too long."

[3] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 207. Access to the harbour is also one of the limitations placed upon many of the previous inhabitants of the newly gentrified suburbs.

The bus finally arrived at Central Railway Station and I began the short walk along Elizabeth Street and up Wentworth Avenue to my hotel on the southern edge of Hyde Park. This whole district around Brickfield Hill, south of the Central Business District, would also have looked remarkably different at the time of Federation. After fifty years of deliberation, the decision had finally been made in 1900 to construct a major rail terminus for the city.[4] The site chosen had unfortunately been used as the Devonshire Street Cemetery, and so, as the planning progressed for the Federation march to traverse College Street and Oxford Street on the ridge above, planning was also underway for steam trams below to remove the 1,145 bodies for reinterment in Botany Cemetery.[5]

Wentworth Avenue also did not exist at the time; but more of that later. I was more concerned with making it up the hill and settling into the Hyde Park Plaza. This residence was itself an interesting relic from my own past. The three towers that now occupy the College Street block from Oxford Street back to Sydney Grammar School were built in the late1960s, early 1970s; about the time that I was leaving school and leaving the city for teacher training in the country. Sydney then was in the throes of high modernism, both architecturally and socially. The pattern of uncontrolled change that had been evolving during the post Second World War era had come to fruition, with the destruction of more and more of the Victorian sandstone and brick buildings that had been crisp and new at Federation. The belief that the new is superior and the old is passé had extended to the social fabric and, along with most other young people at the time I absorbed this ideal, to the degree that I cannot now remember what actually occupied our hotel site prior to its construction. The much older inner city Victorian professional residences would have been long gone; but replaced by what?[6]

Once settled into my room, I decided to fill in the brief remainder of the afternoon by strolling around what had always been my favourite quarter of Sydney, the eastern edge of the city.[7] The city of Sydney has, from the beginning, been defined by hills and gullies, and the ten kilometre curved sandstone ridge running from Enmore and

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[4] *Sydney Evening News:* 6 January 1902, p. 6. The New Railway Station to cost £400,000. Although the usual blow-out had occurred between the April 1900 decision and estimate of £233,000 and the greater amount two years later, newspaper articles still concentrated on the "Stateliness and Beauty" of the design.

[5] David Burke: *Making the Railways*, 1995, State Library of NSW, Sydney, p. 140.

[6] This cultural amnesia must be rather general since, even with research, I have not found any mention, or complete images of the buildings that predated the current hotels. However, there is a glimpse of what existed at the time of Federation in the Photograph Booklet vol. 1, p. 91, with the three storey building on the left occupying the corner of what will become the Hyde Park Plaza.

[7] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 3.

Newtown to Surry Hills, and eventually through Bondi Junction and Charing Cross to the heights of Randwick, has long divided the city between the old industrial plain stretching to Botany Bay and the wealthier slopes to the harbour and coast. The Federation parade itself was defined by this landform as it followed the crest of the ridge along the major thoroughfare of Oxford Street.[8]

Over the intervening decades, this city end of Oxford Street has morphed from the quality clothing district between the wars to a cluster of 1960s Mod wine bars, then to the city's gay strip, to seedy abandonment, and finally back to a sort of inner urban normality. Massage and tattoo parlours were now replaced by hardware stores and home improvement shops, mirroring the hip young as they matured into family oriented mums and dads. Even some of those icons of modernism that had been so new and revolutionary in my youth, no longer held the same attraction. The moving footpath from the Domain car park to St James station, now half a century old, appeared as a rattling and jarring anachronism, continuing to lumber along with an arthritic stagger, perhaps because no-one can afford to dismantle it.[9] There is even talk of demolishing the epitome of 1950s modernist progress; the Cahill Expressway, although while this still squashes itself across the top of Circular Quay, the rusting crumbling concrete cancer eating into its supports may yet make such discussion superfluous.[10] The recently deceased Harry Seidler had constructed one last phallic flourish in Darlinghurst,[11] but few seemed to be following his lead, and his Blues Point Tower had again been voted the most unpopular building in the city.[12] The frenetic destructiveness from four decades earlier now seemed calmer in the architectural sense, although the hustle and bustle of the streets was as hectic as ever. The push toward the new and the modern still exists, of course, but has itself pushed westward, and is now filling colonial Parramatta with the same bland concrete and glass that had been the case earlier in the city centre.

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[8] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 3. The original map of the Federation Parade route follows the end of this sandstone ridge.

[9] Photograph booklet vol.1, p. 4. The route of this footpath is visible on the lower current map, in the Domain, just below the red title: Sydney.

[10] Parliament of NSW: *Legislative Assembly Hansard* 15 Sept 1994.

[11] Harry Seidler and Associates: *Horizon Apartments Forbes Street Darlinghurst* database.

[12] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 28 September 2002 online. Towering Ambition: Blues Point Tower. Kilsby Australia*: Urban Design* database, quoting amongst others, the poet Les Murray. "I hate that building, I really do. It's an ugly piece of rubbish."

The large and ornate Victorian era government offices in Macquarie and Bridge Streets meanwhile had been transformed from actual working institutions, to empty and discarded shells, now to restored hotels and convention centres.  But at least they and their streetscapes still survive.  The point where the original 1901 march, and my re-tracing of its route commenced; the eastern sandstone side of the city, remained almost identical to how I remembered it in the 1960s, and remarkably similar to how it would have appeared in 1901.  That the Federation parade should have taken this route a century ago was still as obvious today as it would have been then.  It was also obvious that the principal celebrations for the newly Federated nation should have been planned for the city of Sydney.  Although from 1861 to 1901 Sydney had been eclipsed by Melbourne in population and civic wealth,[13] this city was the site of the original European settlement in the nation, and the mother colony to most of the others that arose later.  At the time of Federation, the ending of convict transportation and the awarding of self-government itself was only half a century in the past.  Even today there is a strong link with this colonial past in the fact that the city itself was never formally christened.  Governor Phillip designated the location of the new settlement "Sydney Cove" after Lord Sydney, Secretary for the Home Department, which at the time administered colonial affairs.  The land around the harbour, known then as Port Jackson, was declared the County of Cumberland, with the intention of eventually naming the settlement "Albion".[14]  This never occurred.  Phillip continued to send his dispatches back to Britain headed "from Sydney Cove", and eventually just "from Sydney"; and the name stuck.

From the very beginning, the town, and then city, was haphazard and unplanned, with a disordered approach to survival that it retains to this day.  While staid, deliberate Melbourne may adopt the affectation of ideological anarchy in fashion, radical politics and theoretical sociology, Sydney lives it every day in chaotic roads, public transport that exists on the point of collapse and political shenanigans that would make a Byzantine emperor green with envy.

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[13] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne, a City of Stories,* 2008, Museum Victoria, Melbourne, p. 54.
[14] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 February 1933, p. 8.

## 2.  COMMENCEMENT OF THE MARCH

It should be remembered that the marches investigated and analysed in this thesis were only two major events from a full half a year of celebrations through 1901.  In Sydney there was the Federation march, or Inauguration Parade that led to the formal proclamation of the new nation on 1 January 1901.  This was followed by a smaller parade a week later and then another celebrating the Royal Visit later in May.  The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (later to become King George V and his consort Queen Mary) had again been welcomed by the city of Sydney *en route* back to Britain, via New Zealand, after opening the first Australian Parliament in Melbourne.[15] This Melbourne event was also accompanied by two major, and many minor, processions through the southern city.  There were also parades through the other major cities of the nation, and even various suburban locations in Sydney and country towns had their own celebrations to commemorate the momentous events.

My footstepping therefore followed a similar pattern.  Although primarily based on retracing the main Sydney and the Melbourne processions, their routes have been returned to at various times to both add to the specific interpretation, and to accommodate a retracing of the marches closer to their original time of the year.  While most of the Sydney analysis was done during the November 2008 visit, the process was repeated in early January 2011.  The later investigation was primarily to review the march at the same time of year as the original, and to time an uninterrupted walk along the entire route, including out to the location of the Federation pavilion in Centennial Park.  This compared well with the weather as it was experienced  in 1901, since the initial footstepping was undertaken during a drought, as was the original parade, while the later exercise occurred as the hot mid-summer city was daily threatened with showers and rain, again as was originally the case.[16]

My initial retracing of the march began the day after my arrival, as the new warm sun was again beginning to heat the city.  The mornings were still crisp and cool, but by mid-morning the dry glare was bouncing off the glass walls of the skyscrapers.  A long drought had shown no sign of abating, and for people living in the city, rain was no

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[15] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 6 June 1901, p. 6.  The Duke's Departure.
[16] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, 2000, The 1901 Centre University of Technology, Sydney, p. 22.

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longer an unfortunate incident to be tolerated, but a longing on the horizon that now rarely eventuated: and so it was in 1901. Then too the *fin de siecle* drought had gripped the land, although as if by divine intervention, Federation brought relief. The nation had, in most places, been under some level of drought since 1895.[17] In Victoria through the 1890s, that colony had to import wheat from California for its own bread consumption,[18] no doubt reinforcing the new state's preference for an economy based on protected manufacturing rather than an agricultural industry open to the vagaries of the weather. In fact, it was the burden of the then longest drought in the short history of European settlement on the continent that was one of the many pressures pushing the colonies to federate.[19]

However, in Sydney one can always rely upon a blustery summer storm to clear the dust from the city's throat. The Federation parade would take place a couple of weeks into what had become a steamy and humid summer, punctuated by thunderstorms and drenching rain.[20] Storms and rain had soaked the city on the evening of the procession, and authorities were concerned that their impact would be more severe than merely causing the paint and plaster on the arches to run. However, as if the gods were indeed smiling on the celebrations, the sky cleared at 9:00am, and held off until 3:00pm that afternoon, as the last of the formalities at Centennial Park concluded.[21] Although photographs and drawings of the protected crowd in the city show clear hatted heads, those of the ceremony at the Park indicate a sea of umbrellas.[22] No doubt these would have been protection against not only the mid-summer sun, but also the still anticipated possibility of rain.

Earlier that day the Federation march had assembled in the Domain, between the back of State Parliament House and the partially constructed Art Gallery of NSW, with of course, no Cahill Expressway blocking the geographical connection to the Conservatorium of Music, the Royal Botanic Gardens and Government House. The imposing NSW State Art Gallery that dominates this eastern end of the Domain was

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[17] Alessandro Antonello: *Learning and Settling – An Environmental History of the Federation Drought in New South Wales 1895-1903,* 2007, MA thesis, Australian National University.
[18] Geoffrey Blainey: *A Land Half Won*, 1995, Pan Macmillan, Sydney, p. 353.
[19] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 30 July 1884, p. 4. Federation. "A resident of Melbourne writes to the Pall Mall Gazette on May 2…Mr Service did not fail to bring the subject of Federation before the trades delegates." Even at this early stage, Federation was seen as a bulwark "against drought, hardship and debt:"
[20] *The Age*: 2 January 1901. Containing many weather references.
[21] ABC: *Australia's Centenary of Federation*, 2001, ABC. 100 Years' program notes, p. 2.
[22] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.

initially conceived back in 1871 when the NSW Academy of Art was formed under the chairmanship of Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, a gentleman who will feature more than once in this thesis.[23] Mort was an integral figure in the development of the colony of NSW through the mid-nineteenth century. The successful, Lancashire born businessman had made his fortune from 1843 as the first successful wool broker and auctioneer in the colony, and his list of industrial, social and cultural achievements would comprise a thesis in itself.[24] Industrialist, miner, broker and very busy developer, Mort saw earlier than most the potential for what had been a penal colony to become a great centre of British civilisation.[25]

At the time of his establishment of the NSW Art Academy, the mercurial Mort was also developing the problematical technology required for the refrigerated transport of meat to Britain. As a patron of the arts, he built his own public art gallery in his home, "Greenoaks", at Darling Point, but died in 1878, before the permanent colonial gallery could be constructed in the Domain, and also just before the first successful shipment of frozen meat arrived in Britain.[26] Walter Liberty Vernon's current gallery itself spanned the Federation era, being largely constructed in 1896, but still being completed in 1901.[27]

Although sensing a strong connection to the new nation, and caring enough to go through the protracted process of Federation,[28] Australians still appeared to feel the strong lure of British civilisation. The Art Gallery façade glories in its classical motifs intricately carved in the local honey coloured sandstone, with the more recent, and no doubt necessary, modernist extensions hidden embarrassingly down the slope to the rear. This connectedness to the culture of the 'old country' continued well after Federation,[29] as noted by the 1905 Frederick Pomeroy statue of the Scottish poet Robert

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[23] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 5.
[24] And has done so: note Alan Barnard's thesis and biography: *Visions and Profits – studies in the business career of Thomas Sutcliffe Mort*, 1961, Melbourne University Press and Oxford University Press.
[25] Alan Barnard: *Thomas Sutcliffe Mort (1816-1878)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University.
[26] Alan Barnard: *Thomas Sutcliffe Mort (1816-1878)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[27] John Haskell: *Haskell's Sydney*, 1983, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, p. 28.
[28] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, 1999, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, pp. 8-15.
[29] The heady mix of romantic independence and the strong sense of British cultural nationalism were well expressed by P R (Inky) Stephensen in his 1935 essay: *The Foundations of Culture in Australia - An Essay towards National Self-Respect*, 1986, Allen & Unwin, Sydney. "Culture in Australia, if it ever develops indigenously, begins not from the Aborigines, who have been suppressed and exterminated

Burns, still holding pride of place on the current Art Gallery Road.[30] The poet Henry Lawson himself would later footstep the same location the evening after the popular unveiling: [31]

> Grown tired of mourning for my sins-
> And brooding over merits-
> The other night with pucker brow
> I went amongst the spirits;
> And I met one that I knew well:
> "Oh Scotty's Ghost, is that you?
> And did you see the fearsome crowd
> At Robbie Burns's statue?

The Domain itself, or as it originally was gazetted, the Public Domain, remains as the great meeting place for the residents of Sydney, although the ease with which one side of it was resumed for the Cahill Expressway demonstrates the fragility of public ownership in Sydney's rather avaricious culture. Many of the large Moreton Bay figs around the Domain's borders were there already in 1901. In 1848 the newly arrived director of the Botanic Gardens, Charles Moore, travelled to northern NSW, where he was apparently so impressed by the local Moreton Bay fig as a branching shade tree, that he began the wide ranging planting of the species around Sydney.[32] Most of the trees in the Domain would have dated from this point, although trees were still being planted decades later.[33] The cumulative effect of so many trees having been planted at the one time has led to the dilemma where they are all now approaching the time when they will have to be replaced. The recent public concern over the need to cut down a

(sic), but from British culture, brought hither by Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotsmen throughout the nineteenth century………We inherit all that Britain has inherited, and from that point we go on – to what?"

[30] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 31 January 1905, p. 6. "An interesting event of the holiday [30 January 1905] was the unveiling of a statue of the Scottish Bard Robert Burns in the Domain…by State Governor Sir Harry Rawson. There was an attendance of several thousands of people, but owing to the inclemency of the weather [again], the proceedings were abbreviated…"

[31] Henry Lawson: *Poetical Works*, 1979, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, p. 189. Robbie's Statue 1905. Photograph Booklet vol. 1, p. 6.

[32] City of Sydney: *Significant Tree Listings* online database.

[33] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 8. In fact, Camdenville Public School retained a spreading shade tree until the 1980s that must have been planted a century before, when the school was established. There was even a large landmark fig tree standing outside the Department of Public Instruction in Bridge Street that was illuminated for the Federation celebrations with modern electric lights.

Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 7.

number of these trees behind State Parliament House would no doubt explode should most of the trees in the Domain suddenly need to be simultaneously removed.[34]

The 1901 Federation Parade commenced at 10:00am on Tuesday 1 January 1901. There were mentions of the parade not setting off until 10:30am,[35] although this may have been the experience of some of those close to the actual event, since the whole march actually took some seventy minutes to pass any one location and so many participants would not have left the Domain until more an hour later.

With the five miles, or just over eight kilometres, to Centennial Park taking a brisk ninety minutes for the initial contingent in the parade, the whole procession would have expanded to more than two hours, not even allowing for the formal ceremony at the end. It is no wonder that *The Daily Telegraph* mentioned the need for urine bottles.[36] In keeping with this requirement, apparently, "the Government had thoughtfully provided [at Centennial Park] some dozen or more standpipes with a full head of water laid on, and with large galvanised iron tubs to catch the waste water….[and] no fewer than seven hundred pannikins which were placed loose with the tubs." [37] This was to satisfy some forty thousand spectators at the park, not counting the participants who would have arrived hot and bothered from the march. By now most of the estimated five hundred thousand spectators would also have been assembled along the route within Sydney. Forty thousand of these were claimed to have been accommodated just in formal seating along the city section of the route.[38]

Planning for the events had been well underway for over a year, with Premier Sir William Lyne eventually appointing an organising committee originally of 50 members. "The Premier informed a 'Herald' reporter last night that he had not as yet appointed the members of the proposed Federal Ceremonial Committee…'The fact is,' remarked Sir William Lyne, 'that I am perfectly overwhelmed with applications for persons who desire to serve on the committee, and it is very difficult to make a selection'…"[39]

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[34] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 10-21 April 2004 online database. Botanic Gardens stymies council's attempt to save doomed fig trees.
[35] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1901, p. 15.
[36] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 11.
[37] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 11.
[38] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.
[39] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 11 October 1900, p. 7. Federation, The Ceremonial Committee.

For such an august event, it was rather worrying that the Citizens' General Committee, or Citizens' Commonwealth Committee as it was sometimes referred to, should have then been given essentially only two months to prepare for the parade. Even by October 1900 members of the committee had not been appointed, indicating that much of the preparation was intended to be left in the hands of individual community organisations. This committee was therefore intended to be quite representative, with the plan being for the city to be divided into blocks and that "the citizens on them should add their names to the committee and that the committee be asked to appoint sub-committees to arrange the blocks."[40] "The Premier informed a *Herald* reporter last night that he had not yet appointed the members of the proposed Federal Ceremonial Committee. 'The fact is,' remarked Sir William Lyne, 'that I am perfectly overwhelmed with applications from persons who desire to serve on the committee, and it is very difficult to make a selection.'" Fortunately, "the committee will probably be appointed in the course of a few days."[41]

It was clear from the beginning that the chief matters would be entirely controlled by the government, and that the functions of the Citizens' Committee would be in regard to the operations of private individuals…That the following gentlemen be added to the executive committee: The aldermen of the city… Samuel Hordern (scion of the department store family), T W Thrower (president of the Trades and Labour Council), W Vicars (president of the Chamber of Manufacturers) [and one of the major employers in Newtown and Marrickville at the time]…[42]

This committee was to be overseen by the Hon Edward William O'Sullivan, the NSW Minister for Public Works who was responsible for much of the march organisation, and a politician who will also find mention more than once in this thesis. From the outset, the route chosen by this committee was to traverse Bridge Street and then Pitt Street, without following through to George Street, even though other aspects of the route were changed dramatically. No mention appeared to have been made in any report as to why this was the case, so the avoidance of this area of the city is open to

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[40] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 November 1900, p. 7.
[41] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 11 October 1900, p. 7.
[42] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 November 1900, p. 8.

conjecture; however, the need to include Martin Place occurs in all mentions of this route. [43]

One notable feature of the celebrations in 1901 that will be alluded to often through this thesis was the genuine affection the whole community expressed for Queen Victoria and even for her now forty years deceased consort, Prince Albert. Traces of this adoration of Victoria were evident again and again as I walked the route of both marches so it seemed fitting that Sydney's parade should have commenced along Prince Albert Road, then the main thoroughfare into the Domain. But times change, and this path has become a bypassed offshoot now eclipsed by the Art Gallery Road to the east that takes current traffic all the way to the harbour at Mrs Macquarie's Chair. [44]

Prince Albert Road re-affirms its royal supremacy and takes over from Art Gallery Road at the Domain Gates, the location of the first of the specially constructed celebratory structures: the Coal Arch. [45] This edifice was also known as the Newcastle Arch, not only because the northern mining city supplied the construction and material for the arch, but the design itself mirrored a September 1897 structure erected in Hunter Street Civic to commemorate Newcastle's Centenary. [46] That earlier arch had been created from the same literal material and adorned by a Star of David, signifying the support lent by Newcastle's Jewish merchants. [47]

In keeping with so much of the funding of Federation celebrations, it was again local committees and organisations that planned and constructed the Coal Arch. [48] The mayor of Newcastle, Alderman David Miller and his elected fellow high office holders oversaw the erection of this monument to Newcastle's role in the developing

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[43] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 30 October 1900, p. 6. Citizens' Commonwealth Committee. A Series of Recommendations: "Recommendation 6: That the route of procession should be from Circular Quay, through Loftus Street to Macquarie Place, to Pitt Street, to Martin Place to George Street, past the Town Hall, To Bathurst Street, into Pitt Street, back to Park Street, to College Street, up Oxford Street to Ocean Street, into Centennial Park." This involved a doubling back that would appear to have been a finally rejected feature of many early route plans.

[44] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, Sydney map D. This end of Prince Albert Road is now used only by joggers and council vehicles, with little indication of its significant link to the past.
Photograph Booklet 1, p. 6.

[45] Photograph Booklet 1, p. 7.

[46] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* p. 26.

[47] John Turner: *A Pictorial History of Newcastle*, 1997, Kingsclear Books, Sydney, p. 64.

[48] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 4 December 1900, p.5. Citizens' Commonwealth Committee. "The Commonwealth Arch was reported to be in progress of erection at the junction of Park Street and Elizabeth Street. Suggestions in regard to the coal arch of the Newcastle district, and a proposed arch of produce, maize and sugar cane from Grafton were considered."

industrialisation of the nation. Alderman Gardiner from Hamilton was responsible for the design of the arch, and for its construction,[49] although in the case of this more substantial structure, the Star of David was not in evidence.[50] In the final event, it would have been preferable if he had obtained some professional structural guidance. As with the earlier version, the arch itself consisted of two supporting piers of heavy blocks of coal rising some six metres to the springing for the light timber framed arch. Above this arose smaller pieces of coal held in place by wire netting. Not only was the coal itself donated by local Newcastle mining and industrial companies, but forty miners volunteered themselves as marionettes, symbolically hewing at the coal from a four metre high edge around the two pillars as the march proceeded underneath.[51]

This Coal Arch illustrated tensions that would develop within the labour movement for the next century and beyond. The previous two decades had experienced the rise of radicalism within society at large, and the evolution of a Labour Party that had already seen representatives elected to colonial parliaments.[52] However, this arch construction and dutiful display also demonstrated a conservatism on the part of those working people who were obviously less interested in overthrowing the established order, than in gaining access to it.[53] Banners proclaiming "Welcome to the Governor General", as well as the motto "*Omina vincit labor*" (labour conquers all) indicated that, while many may have written of theoretical republicanism, the reality of many working people's view of the imperial presentation was of affection and loyalty.[54] Henry Lawson himself seemed to embody the dichotomy of the times. While often expressing a republican

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[49] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901,* p. 25.
[50] Newcastle Hebrew Congregation: *History of the Jewish congregation in Newcastle and the Hunter* online database. Although having existed in Newcastle from earliest days, the Jewish presence at the time of Federation was tenuous, and specific funding for the new arch was apparently not forthcoming.
[51] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 29 December 1900, p. 10. "A feature of the display on Tuesday next will be the appearance of forty special miners in pat attire with the tallow lamps attached to their caps. The will be accommodated on stands to the erected half way up the arch and during the passing of the procession will be engaged in hewing coal with the ordinary mining picks."
[52] Hearns and Patmore: *Working the Nation* 2001, p. 72. "And the future belonged to labour and radicalism." *The Worker*: 27 May 1899, p. 7. "The march of progress [is] from a tyrannous past, to a freer and more liberal present towards a future where the people would be in full control over their own lives."
[53] Hearns and Patmore: *Working the Nation* 2001, p. 72. "Democracy was the other great watchword of labour counter-discourse."
[54] Richard Gordon: *The Australian New Left*, 1970, William Heinemann, Melbourne, p. 5. Humphrey McQueen offers a more modern jaundiced view in his chapter: *Laborism and Socialism*. "Those who look at the Labor Party and the ACTU and despair of the working class are mistaken. What they see in those organisations is not a working class but a particularly Australian petit-bourgeoisie: they do not see workers who have lost the will to overthrow capitalism, but a petit-bourgeoisie who never had it."

radicalism in his literary work in poems such as *Freedom on the Wallaby*,[55] he was happy to accept assistance from the NSW Governor Earl Beauchamp in financing his trip to Britain in 1900.[56]

> So we must fly a rebel flag,
>
> As others did before us,
>
> And we must sing a rebel song
>
> And join in rebel chorus.
>
> We'll make the tyrants feel the sting
>
> O' those that they would throttle;
>
> They needn't say the fault is ours
>
> If blood should stain the wattle!

The irony of it all was that, for whatever reason, the Governor General did not actually drive under the Coal Arch, but came from Government House along the rear Hospital Road behind Parliament House and joined the procession at St Mary's Cathedral.[57] Whether this was a planned formality, a snub, or the result of Hopetoun being very sick at the time is not mentioned; however, it meant that he missed out on one of the most interesting and dramatic features of the parade.

It was also a remarkably honest gesture by the march organisers to include a Coal Arch in the first place. Along with horses and horsepower, European and Australian culture of the time was totally dependent upon coal and coal mining.[58] Coal was thus a valuable commodity, and the cost of constructing such a seemingly solid structure would have been considerable.[59] Unfortunately, the residents of nearby suburbs such as Woolloomooloo also recognised the value of the expensive but necessary material being left unattended and apparently readily available to all. By 5 January, enough of the

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[55] Henry Lawson: *A Campfire Yarn – The complete works 1885-1900*, 1984, Lansdowne Press, Sydney, p. 146. Freedom on the Wallaby, 1891.

[56] Wilde, Hooton, Andrews: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1994, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 454.

[57] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.

[58] George Orwell: *The Road to Wigan Pier*, originally published in 1937, 1989, Penguin Books, London, pp. 29-31. George Orwell made this very point most eloquently nearly forty years later. "In order that Hitler may march the goose-step, that the Pope may denounce Bolshevism, that the cricket crowd may assemble at Lord's, that the Nancy poets may scratch one another's backs, coal has got to be forthcoming…..all of us really owe the comparative decency of our lives to poor drudges underground, blackened to the eyes, with their throats full of coal dust, driving their shovels forward with arms and belly muscles of steel."

[59] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 7.

supporting structural coal had been removed for the arch to have become a public hazard: and so it proved to be. Around 9:00pm that evening, Phillip Maher from Camperdown and his daughter were supposedly passing by when part of the wooden framework collapsed, almost burying them.[60] The young girl suffered a fractured hand and several broken teeth; not inconsequential injuries in 1901.

Interestingly, no mention was made in press reports of the incident as to why someone from a suburb over five kilometres away would have been walking past the arch after sunset, and why the arch should have chosen that time to collapse. The possibility that Maher and his daughter were themselves in the process of removing coal for their own use was apparently not investigated, although Tessa Milne makes the ironic comment that the unplanned collapse was a fitting reminder of "the real dangers of the mining industry".[61]

That the first arch to have been passed under by the march should have been dedicated to mining and industry and presided over by the 'knights of labour' was reflected in the organisation of the march itself. Formal precedence dictated that the less significant marchers or those of lesser social and cultural standing would have come first in order, followed by those of an increasing standing, until finally culminating in the social leaders and Vice-Regal representatives. Consequently, after the preliminary force of mounted police and lancers, the march was launched by representatives of the working people of NSW: trade union officials and representatives of the trades and industries found in the colony.

It is unclear whether this significance would have been so obvious to the audience actually watching the parade. The vision of some two hundred and fifty resolute workers representing twenty five crafts and occupations, all in their working clothes and carrying the tools of their trades, would surely have been a most impressive vision coming down the streets of Sydney.[62] Attitudes towards the labouring classes were evident in the press, with *The Daily Telegraph* commenting that the trades union representatives' "sturdy limbs at once suggested that threadbare but nevertheless always veracious sentiment – 'the bone and sinew of the nation'."[63]

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[60] *The Daily Telegraph*: 7 January 1901, p. 7.
[61] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, 2000, p. 28.
[62] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 1. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1901.
[63] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.

This view contrasted with the dialogue between two observers recorded by *The Age* as the march commenced: "I thought the military were to precede the procession, remarked someone who had suddenly discovered that the programme which he has purchased for a penny is not being followed. So they were, replied his companion, but you see, they have made an improvement and sent the rag-tag and bobtail first."[64] No doubt there would have been a heady mixture of admiration and condescension reflected in such reportage, although it is more than likely that there was also the lingering recognition that the Federation process had been one of inclusion, necessary for the democratic process to provide a successful outcome across all sections of the community. The degree to which this inclusion was to include all had its practical, if not theoretical limits. As Neville Kirk claimed, working people saw themselves in the process of creating a "Workers' Paradise"[65] freed from the constraints and restraints of the mother country.[66] "Organised workers in Australia saw themselves as being 'more British than the British' in their racial 'purity and their whiteness'." However, part of this inheritance also included the tolerance of others, if only by degrees of this "whiteness".[67]


## 3. RACE AND RELIGION


The next significant location on the march route was St Mary's Cathedral; the site of one of the most momentous, and even amusing, cultural demonstrations in Australia's history. At the time of Federation, Australia was rife with religious sectarianism, ostensibly between Roman Catholics and Protestants.[68] The situation, however, was not this simple with conflict, competition and discord also between the various Protestant denominations, and even within denominations and Catholic orders. High and Low Church Anglicans, Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists, Irish born and Australian born

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[64] *The Age*: 2 January 1901, p7.

[65] Neville Kirk: *Labour and the politics of Empire, Britain and Australia 1900 to the present*, 2011, Manchester University Press, Manchester, p. 75. The newly formed Australian Labour Party actually used this terminology.

[66] Neville Kirk: *Labour and the politics of Empire, Britain and Australia 1900 to the present,* p. 11. "These aspects [class-based and national oppression and exploitation] constituted the antithesis of the attempt to construct a 'Workers' Paradise' in Australia rooted in democracy, social justice, openness and…egalitarianism…"

[67] Neville Kirk: *Labour and the politics of Empire, Britain and Australia 1900 to the present,* p. 11.

[68] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our enemies?* p.14. "The Irish who today form ethnic groups were treated as a race by the British in colonial Australia because of their *assumed physical appearance* (e.g. prominent upper lip)." Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, p. 116.

Catholics all found good reason to discriminate against one another.[69] Although Roman Catholics, and Irish Catholics in particular, had formed an integral part of Sydney's society from first settlement, their initial status as outsiders meant that government support for their religious requirements was limited.[70] Several priests had been transported as convicts after the 1798 Irish Rebellion in County Wexford,[71] and it was this county that would then give its name to one of the more disreputable districts of Sydney.[72]

The foundation stone for Sydney's first Catholic Church was laid by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1821, and as has ironically been the case ever since, construction was financed by donations not only from the Catholic community, but also other denominations and the government.[73] The site chosen, the eastern side of Hyde Park was one that, at the time, reflected the financial and political position of the Catholic Church in the colony.[74] This had been a rubbish dump that overlooked the gully of the, even then, seedy suburb of Darlinghurst.[75] The early Catholic chaplain, Father John Joseph Therry, had requested that the church be built at the Rocks, but Macquarie, as town planner amongst other things, remained adamant.[76]

On 29 June 1865 this original St Mary's burned to the ground, although one of the few standing wall sections on the site remains as a memorial. What had originally been a less than salubrious location had now, with the expansion of the city, become one of the great architectural sites of Sydney, so it was obvious that the construction of a new, grander structure would take place over the remains of the old. Designed by the Anglo-Catholic architect William Wardell, the new Cathedral was dedicated to Australia's patron saint, St Mary, Help of Christians, on 8 September 1882.[77] Although officially

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[69] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, pp. 196-201.
[70] G N Hawker: *The Parliament of New South Wales 1856-1965*, 1971, Victor Blight NSW Government Printer, Sydney, Australia. Note the table on p. 148. Although by the time of Federation, many Catholics were in positions of political power in NSW, the overall percentage within the state parliament was always lower than that in the general population: 9% of MsLC in 1890 and 10% in 1905. In the census of 1901, Catholics made up 25.6% of the population in NSW and 22.5% Australia wide.
[71] St Mary's Cathedral: *St Mary's – A Living Cathedral*, Sydney, 2004, p. 28.
[72] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 4 May 1900, p. 7. By the time of the Federation parade, Wexford Street would be in the process of demolition, with the avid support of the Catholic community.
[73] St Mary's Cathedral: *St Mary's – A Living Cathedral*, p. 29.
[74] Mark Nunn: *St Mary's Cathedral*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney online database.
[75] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 9.
[76] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 27 June 1935, p. 8. Mention is made of the level of conflict that arose three years earlier between "ardent town planner" Macquarie and his equally passionate architect Francis Greenway over what would be the future location of St Andrews Anglican Cathedral.
[77] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p.12.

opened by Sydney's Catholic leader, Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran, in September 1900,[78] only the northern nave and abbreviated transepts were actually finished at the time, with the main structure not completed until 1928. The two great southern spires were finally put in place in June 2000, a century after the official opening, and in time for Australia's Centenary of Federation.[79]

Nineteenth century tensions born of the Irish famine had been further reinforced on the 12 March 1868 when an apparently deranged Irish Nationalist, Henry James O'Farrell, attempted to assassinate the visiting Duke of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's second eldest son Prince Alfred, at a picnic at Clontarf.[80] Despite calls for clemency from the Duke himself, the otherwise quite liberal NSW Martin/Parkes Government hanged O'Farrell on 21 April.[81] One consequence of this assassination attempt, and the Duke's successful recovery, was the construction and dedication of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital in Sydney as a teaching hospital for the University of Sydney.[82]

Cardinal Moran seemed to become the focus of much of this controversy at the beginning of the twentieth century, as the Melbourne Archbishop Daniel Mannix would from the First World War onwards.[83] As a way of finding a place for themselves and their culture in newly developing Australian society to a degree that was not possible in Great Britain, Irish Catholics were also looking to the newly emerging labour

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[78] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 22 September 1882, p. 9. Opening of St Mary's Cathedral. "On Friday, September 8, the most important event in the history of Catholicism in this colony was celebrated in the solemn opening of St Mary's Cathedral." The official opening on September 9 1900 was not without sectarian controversy itself. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 September 1900, p. 3. St Mary's Cathedral Opening. Letter to the Editor of the Herald signed W M Dill Macky, B Price, F Colwell; Evangelical Council. "That this council notes that at the opening of St Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral on Sunday last, his Excellency the Governor attended in his official capacity as representative of her Majesty the Queen, and was accompanied by their Excellencies the Governors of Queensland and New Guinea, who also attended in official costume and style. The council also notes that his Worship the Mayor and other official personages are also reported to have been present in their official capacities…That on that occasion, and in presence of his Excellency, the appointed preacher (Dr Redwood) is reported to have said "The leaders and founders of Protestantism, Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius etc were notorious for their vices."
[79] St Mary's Cathedral: *St Mary's – A Living Cathedral*, p. 32.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 9.
[80] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 – 20 March 1868. Numerous articles on the assassination attempt.
[81] *Freeman's Journal*: 2 May 1896, p. 18. The poisonous environment that subsequently erupted was demonstrated by the myth of the "Kiama Ghost"; when state premier James Martin and colonial secretary Henry Parkes claimed that in a secret interview with O'Farrell, he had admitted to a Fenian conspiracy, which had included the murder of a co-conspirator. Parkes made his accusations at a meeting in the Illawarra town of Kiama, and since no murdered body could be found, the issue became known as the "Kiama Ghost".
[82] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 September 1932, p. 16. Fiftieth anniversary tomorrow of the opening of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital.
[83] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 12.

movement for both the protection of their livelihoods, and as an entry into the political establishment of the nation.[84] The appointment of Moran had itself reflected this departure with tradition and change in status. Previous Roman Catholic Archbishops of Sydney; John Bede Polding and Roger Bede Vaughan had been English Benedictines who themselves suffered conflicts with the primarily Irish composition of the Australian Catholic population.[85]

This politicking was indicative of the commanding position that the Christian Church in general held in the nation of the time. The degree to which Christianity still retained a genuinely spiritual influence within Australia has always been difficult to judge, but it was certainly a powerful political force; with most of the disputes seeming about political power as much as doctrinal ideology.[86] The primacy of the various Christian leaders at the Inauguration Ceremony at Centennial Park demonstrated that, even as the nation that was being established as a secular federation with the theoretical separation of church and state, Councils of Protestant Churches succeeded in having the words "….humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God," added to the preamble of the Constitution.[87]

The situation in Sydney was complicated by the degree of political power that the Irish Catholic community was attaining in the city. While some institutions would continue to refuse to employ Catholics,[88] many NSW social identities, and a good number of the state's senior politicians were part of an Irish Catholic power base that was rapidly gaining, and would continue to hold, political influence in the state.[89] The socialist platform that original Labour leaders; many from a Non-Conformist and Methodist trade union tradition, attempted to introduce was anathema to Moran, and it was not

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[84] Patrick Ford: *Cardinal Moran and the ALP*, 1966, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, chapt. 7.
[85] St Mary's Cathedral: *A Living Cathedral,* pp. 16-17.
[86] This would appear to contradict other views such as: John Gascoigne: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, 2002, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p34. "The largely private character of Australian religion meant, then a society where Enlightenment values could become established with much less of that overt conflict that was evident in many European countries."
[87] Commonwealth of Australia: *The Australian Constitution*, 1997, Constitutional Centenary Foundation, Melbourne, p. 18. Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, p. 344.
[88] The number of comments and letters to the editor in local newspapers such as the *Queensland Figaro and Punch* of 7 May 1887 and the *Cumberland Argus* of 15 January 1910 claiming that such a situation should not occur, clearly indicates this was an issue at the time.
[89] G N Hawker: *The Parliament of New South Wales 1856-1965*, 1971, Victor Blight NSW Government Printer, Sydney, pp. 148, 213. This did not necessarily equate with simple numbers of representatives. Even in 1905, Catholics accounted for 10% of members of the NSW Legislative Council, although over the whole period 1901-1960, accounted for 23.8% of all Members of the Legislative Assembly, and more closely matched the percentage in the general population.

long before Labour was able to attract the support of the Catholic hierarchy by essentially dropping the socialist plank, and adopting Protectionism while also supporting the Federation of Free-Trade Conservatives such as Reid.[90] The Roman Catholic Cardinal of Sydney thus held not just high spiritual power in the city, but also high temporal power, and when it was decreed by Lord Hopetoun, through the NSW State Premier Sir William Lyne, that the Anglican Archbishop William Saumarez Smith would take religious precedence in the proceedings, a furore erupted. Even some members of the Committee of Management that was responsible for the Federation Celebrations themselves ceded that Cardinal Moran should have pride of place in the event.[91] The influence of the Orange Lodges was strong in both the conservative NSW State Government of Lyne and on the committee, and the Catholic Press sensed a sectarian conspiracy.[92]

What Moran appeared to be attempting to do was to create a viable Irish Catholic culture within the wider Australian community; one that was distinct from the Anglican and Protestant majority, but which also would enjoy all the benefits and privileges that went with full membership of this community.[93] To do this, he had to tread carefully enough not to alienate both the wider Australian society and bring formal restrictive legislation down on top of the already prevalent informal sectarianism, but also members of his own community who could be as perplexed by his machinations as everyone else.[94] Much criticism was made of the support that Moran gave to Chinese migrants and workers, particularly in April 1888, with the public demonstrations that accompanied the arrival of the immigrant ship *Afghan*.[95] While Premier Parkes was driven by these demonstrations to introduce a bill restricting the entry of Chinese into the colony of New South Wales, Cardinal Moran continued to describe the Chinese as

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[90] Patrick Ford: *Cardinal Moran and the ALP*, 1966, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, chaps. 27, 34, p. 282.
[91] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 5 January 1901, p. 9.
[92] *Catholic Press*: 5 January 1901. Chris McConville: *Croppies, Celts & Catholics – The Irish in Australia*, 1987, Edward Arnold Australia, Melbourne, pp. 96-97. McConville centres on Melbourne in his subchapter *Orange Revival*. As Catholicism waxed and waned through the second half of the nineteenth century, so did the power and aggressiveness of the Orange Lodges. Marches up Sydney Road Brunswick apparently bordered on the kind of violence that has become synonymous with Northern Ireland. "Ugly battles along Sydney Road [in 1897] look very tame compared with the anti-Home Rule pogroms of Ulster Orangemen, yet they signified a rising sense of authority on the part of the Orange Lodge."
[93] Mark Hearn: *Mary Malone's lesson: a narrative of citizenship in Federation Australia,* November 2004 *Gender and History*, vol. 16, issue 2, University of Sydney, pp. 376-396.
[94] Mark Hearn: *Working lives – Mary Malone's lesson: a narrative of citizenship in Federation Australia,* University of Sydney Work and Organisational Studies online database, May 2002.
[95] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 30 April 1888, p7. "A deputation from the Trades Hall Council waited on the Premier on Saturday [28 April] to protest against the landing of Chinese."

"industrious", and that restriction on Chinese immigration was an "unchristian" response by "loafers" who proclaimed "trade union principles while rejecting work at a reasonable wage."[96]  Many lay Catholics would have been a little confused.  Although able to relate to the situation of the Chinese from their own position of previous outsiders denied the chance to make their honest way in the world, they would also have responded to the perceived threat to their standard of living by Chinese workers; particularly since many Irish Catholics themselves earned their living in the same labouring and manual trades occupations that competed directly with the Chinese.

Above all, Cardinal Moran was a fervent Federationist.  Having spent much of his early church career between 1853 and 1866 in Rome, Moran experienced the federation process at first hand through the unification of the new Italian nation.[97]  However, when it came to Sydney's celebration of Federation, Moran was not to have his way.  The very public boycott that would take place by the Catholic hierarchy actually overshadowed the equally strong sense of disgust at High Anglican primacy felt by the representatives of the other Protestant denominations.  A deputation to the Premier by representatives of the Presbyterian and Wesleyan Methodist churches requested that the order of precedence be altered for the sake of equality.[98]  This was not done, and as a result, they also boycotted the March, although their presence was only noted at the later formal ceremony at Centennial Park.[99]

In the event, Archbishop Moran was present, but as an *éminence gris* dominating the commencement of the march.  He took his very public stand by sitting with Archbishop Thomas Joseph Carr from Melbourne, enthroned on a platform at the recently constructed north-west corner of St Mary's Cathedral surrounded by two thousand Catholic school children.[100]  As the parade passed, the peeling bells of St Mary's paused out of respect, the children cheered, and many members of the parade themselves responded by cheering the Archbishop and the principled stand that he had taken.[101]

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[96] Mark Hearn: *Mary Malone's lesson: a narrative of citizenship in Federation Australia,* pp. 376-396. *The South Australian Advertiser*: 14 May 1888.
[97] Patrick Ford: *Cardinal Moran and the ALP*, p. 199.
[98] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 15.  Interestingly, the *Telegraph* passed the issue off as "The unfortunate hitch which at the last moment prevented the heads of the various denominational bodies from taking part in the procession, was however scarcely noticed by the crowd, few of whom were probably aware of what had occurred."
[99] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1901, p. 15.
[100] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 11.
[101] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.

This demonstration by Cardinal Moran was made possible by the fortunate location of St Mary's Cathedral on the north-eastern corner of Hyde Park and by the decision of the march organisers to send the parade along this chosen route.[102]  With the Domain being the most suitable assembly point, and the subsequent need to travel down Macquarie Street, it was then logical for the marchers to make the turn past St Mary's.  The only other possible point of assembly for such a large number of people, Hyde Park, would still have afforded the Roman Catholic Cathedral domination of the proceedings.  Even the alignment of the roadway eventually played into the hands of Moran.  As can be seen in the accompanying photographs, Prince Albert Road traverses a clockwise arc about the Lands Department with St Mary's Cathedral on the outside of the curve.  As the Cardinal sat in this most obvious location, the marchers would have looked him straight in the eye as they followed the route around to Queen's Square.[103]  Perhaps this whole incident, and the reaction of the participants, was symptomatic of the level of accommodation that was, in reality, being reached within the developing society of the day.  Had the disputes between the faiths been purely religious and doctrinaire, there would have been no room for compromise or good natured banter.  However, with the dispute being primarily political, a politically expedient stand was made possible by all sides, with no-one really losing face.

In the context of understanding the march, it is important to reflect upon the siting of the major religious institutions in both Sydney and Melbourne, and the way that the routes of the Federation parades echoed the position of Christianity within Australian Society at the time.  High Anglicanism was reflected through the ruling elite of both Sydney and Melbourne; with the major Anglican cathedrals in both cities located adjacent to both Town Halls: one block down the road in the case of St Paul's in Melbourne, and directly next door in the case of St Andrew's in Sydney.[104]  Locating the hub of temporal and spiritual power so close to one another in the physical and social hub of both cities would not have been inadvertent, although notably, the sites of later elected political power, the Colonial and then State Parliaments were well separated.  Both State Parliaments were placed on hills overlooking the bustle of the city below and thus were

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[102]  Note the location of the then recently completed corner of St Mary's cathedral relative to the route of the procession. Not only did the marchers have been looking directly at Moran and his entourage as they approached the Cathedral, but the Cardinal would then have been able to view the march as it passed and turned to proceed down Macquarie Street.

[103] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 10.

[104] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map C.
UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 1.

symbolically removed from the muddy corporate and civic world.  It was also along these same ridge lines that the two Catholic Cathedrals were later located.[105] However, as much through the dynamic of urban growth, as through the sheer imposing power of the new cathedrals themselves, the former rubbish dump overlooking Darlinghurst, and the isolated hill to the east of Melbourne city would become the religious and cultural centres for a large segment of the population.


## 4.  CITY DEVELOPMENT


The first notable government building to be passed as the Federation march left the Domain was the Land Titles Office on the right hand corner of Prince Albert Road, directly opposite St Mary's.[106]  Even today this building serves its original function, as well as being the repository of personal certificates such as births, deaths and marriages for the citizens of the state.  The bureaucratic efficiency reflected in the ornate classical facade harks back to one of the supposedly least popular of New South Wales' original colonial rulers, Governor Ralph Darling.[107]

Although remembered (and often reviled[108]) as the man who attempted to implement the Bigge Report and overturn many of the advances made by the much beloved Lachlan Macquarie,[109]  Darling also left a more positive legacy;  establishing the ordered bureaucracy necessary for the development of a viable colonial society.[110] Notwithstanding his being responsible for the acquisition of much Aboriginal land and the legal displacement of the original inhabitants of Australia, Darling placed much of the land ownership of the colony on a firm, orderly footing.[111]  His introduction of the

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[105] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map D.
UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 18.
[106] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 15.
[107] Alan Birch and David S Macmillan: *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*, 1962, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 60.  *The Australian*: 28 October 1831, p. 2.  The newspaper commemorated the removal of Darling with the headline: "Further Rejoicings for Governor Darling's departure."
[108] Geoffrey Blainey: *A Land Half Won*, p. 112.
[109] John Gascoigne: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 53.  Note the public meeting in Sydney prompted by "Governor Darling's draconian treatment of two soldiers, Sudds and Thompson," prompting calls for a free press and trial by jury.
[110] Bede Nairn: *Sir Ralph Darling (1772-1858)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. "Surely there is no colony under His Majesty's Government where attention to the selection of Individuals is so important … not only the character of the Government, but the moral improvement of the people mainly depends on it".
[111] Bede Nairn: *Sir Ralph Darling (1772-1858)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. "Before leaving London Darling and half the Earl of Liverpool's cabinet had been dined by the directors

furlong square for all new town planning, reacting to the ever more chaotic construction in the centre of Sydney itself, has left a bequest to this day of wide, car friendly roadways in most of the nation's cities and country towns. Ironically, the city of Sydney itself was less amenable to change, and continued to evolve in an ever more haphazard manner, and it would be Melbourne that was to benefit the most from Darling's forward looking plans.[112]

Although often overlooked today, the junction of Prince Albert Road and St Mary's Road also revolves around an ornate drinking fountain inscribed: "1884 John Hardie mayor[113] – to his fellow citizens, John Fraser MLC, L Beveridge – sculptor". This small, quaint structure complements the other remaining fountain supplied by the mayor and stone mason, located in the southern half of Hyde Park.[114] The second fountain is fortuitously sited on the main pathway between the exit from Museum railway station and both the Australian Museum and the Sydney Boys' Grammar School where its taps still serve an invaluable role as the focus for passing small boys . The St Mary's Road fountain, on the other hand, now sits forlornly in the middle of one of the busiest access roads into the city, although it is also still used as a source of refreshment by lunchtime joggers on their way to and from the Domain.

That these structures still exist as a combination of public benefaction and personal memorial to a past political leader, serve as a belated recognition of the importance of fresh water to the health of the city's inhabitants. These fountains were constructed at a time when Sydney was still receiving pumped water from the Lachlan Swamps at the northern end of Botany Bay.[115] This long string of lakes and swamps also still exist as the Centennial Park duck ponds, the low lands and multiple golf courses running from

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of the Australian Agricultural Co., but he had already been briefed at the Colonial Office on the undue alienation of land. Soon after his arrival in Sydney he established a Land Board to examine the claims of applicants. To stop fraud and absenteeism, land was to be granted only to bona fide settlers in proportion to their capital and alienation within seven years was forbidden."

[112] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne, a City of Stories*, p14. Note Robert Hoddle's implementation, and modification, of the furlong square.

[113] City of Sydney Local Government: *Sydney's Aldermen* online database. "John Hardie was born in Sydney on 2 July 1833, son of Scottish immigrants Robert and Jane Hardie. He married in 1855, although his wife and children have not been identified, and died in Sydney in 1904. The family were Presbyterian. By 1867, John Hardie and John Mitchell, millers and bakers, were established at 516–18 George Street. About 1869 Hardie took over George Wilkie's flour mills."

[114] Photograph Booklet 1, p. 14.

[115] Shirley Fitzgerald: *Rising Damp – Sydney 1870-90*, pp. 27-28. Note the map on page 28 of the Redfern district in 1879 clearly showing these water catchments of the inner south of the city.

the city to Botany, and even the cooling ponds for Mascot aerodrome.[116]  By 1888, the realisation that this was going to be insufficient for Sydney's requirements coincided with advances in the technologies of dam construction and pumping.  During the summer of 1884-1885 there was "a heavier than usual [sic] outbreak of typhoid fever…the hospitals could take no more cases,"[117]  and as a result, the Board of Water, Sewerage and Drainage was established to begin taking water from the massive upper Nepean River catchment in the Southern Highlands.[118]  At the time of Federation, the water component of the board's responsibility was well under control with the damming of the Nepean, the soon to be dammed Cataract River and the construction of Prospect Reservoir.  The sewerage and drainage aspects, however, were yet to be dealt with, and would continue to affect attitudes towards Sydney's land use, and eventually even the route of the Federation parade itself.[119]

Following Cardinal Moran's demonstration at St Mary's Cathedral, the march then proceeded clockwise to Queens Square at the top of Hyde Park and the beginning of Macquarie Street, including the foundation Anglican Church of St James. Although from 1887, the site was formally designated as Chancery Square,[120] the district has only ever been known as Queen's Square and St James,[121] with the St James underground railway station, St James Law Courts, and originally a St James Theatre on Elizabeth Street. The area also expands to the Hyde Park Barracks across Macquarie Street which, a century ago, was being used as the Metropolitan District Court.[122]  The quarter is, and was then, the legal centre of the city, with the Law Courts symbolically facing church and barracks, and the city's large legal firms around the corner in the narrow canyon of Phillip Street.  It is also still one of the more architecturally conservative districts in the city; retaining the heritage of the bricks and the sandstone cut from the clay and bedrock of the colonial city.[123]

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[116] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps 376, 406.
[117] Shirley Fitzgerald: *Rising Damp – Sydney 1870-90*, p. 86. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 9 February 1885.
[118] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 October 1880, p. 7. The Nepean Water Supply Works. "The interest which the public in general takes in the construction of the works in connection with the Upper Nepean water supply scheme must make any information about them acceptable, and so one of our reporters has visited several sections of the line, to ascertain the exact amount of work done, and the state of forwardness in which the different contracts are."
[119] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 15 May 1908, p8. Even seven years after Federation basic sewerage disposal for North Sydney was still only being planned by the city's Engineer-in-Chief.
[120] Historic Houses Trust of NSW: *Hyde Park Barracks* online database.
[121] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 16.
[122] Alan Birch and David S Macmillan: *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*, p. 18.
[123] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 17.

Throughout the eighteenth century, various forms of classical architectural style dominated public construction, and were a universal reflection of civic and political power. However, in the days before the advent of mass transportation, the materials that were employed to express this style varied according to the each building's location. In Sydney the two most suitable materials available were sandstone and bricks. The local sandstone that was literally under the mason's feet was easy to work and weathered to an attractive, relatively hard and long lasting surface.[124] Between the sandstone outcrops were gullies filled with shale clay that was perfect for the making of bricks. The ability to exploit these materials was further enhanced by the Aboriginal shell middens that dotted the Sydney basin, providing a ready source of lime, and by the fact that the local hard, twisted gum and acacia timber was more suited to burning for bricks and lime than actual construction.[125] Governor Macquarie's architect Francis Greenway used coarsely cut local sandstone and locally baked bricks to build St James church and the Hyde Park Barracks, and the route of the march would later pass across the very Brickfield Hill site that supplied the clay for these significant structures.[126]

With modern industrialisation, this localisation of material has largely been lost. The glass, concrete and steel reinforcing prevalent in modern buildings could come from Sydney, China or Korea. Ease of transportation now renders the source of industrially produced goods and even building materials largely irrelevant. Even by the time of the high Victorianism that reached its zenith at Federation, machine cut sandstone from around the city and as far north as the Hawkesbury river was being used for most of the great public buildings in Sydney. William Wardell used this same finely-cut local sandstone for St Mary's, after having relied upon the local basalt bluestone for most of the earlier Melbourne's St Patrick's Cathedral.[127] As a classic instance predating current modernism, Wardell intentionally imported the lighter, stronger and easier to work sandstone from the Hawkesbury for the spires and carvings of St Patrick's.[128]

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[124] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, 1989, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, chapts. 1, 2.

[125] Cox and Lucas: *Australian Colonial Architecture* 1978, pp. 36-38. Maplandia: *Geological Sites and Localities* online database. Note Lime Kiln Bay on the Georges River, the Shelly Beach on Sydney Harbour and the lime burning sites on the Cooks River.

[126] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 24.

[127] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, pp. 24, 28, 78, 80.

[128] Ursula M De Jong: *St Patrick's Cathedral – a guide*, 2005, Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, Melbourne, p. 2. Although the Anglican Cathedral in Melbourne, St Pauls, is constructed from local Victorian sandstone and limestone, it too utilised the stronger Hawkesbury sandstone for its spires.

It was thus at this point that the monarch who gave her name to the era spanning almost two thirds of the century would have become apparent to the marchers entering the main thoroughfare of the city. Just as they would have faced the unplanned visage of Cardinal Moran on the outside of the curve past St Mary's, so they would also have passed a very intentional eye upon the larger than life statue of Queen Victoria as they turned into the top of Macquarie Street. [129] At the time, the statue of Her Majesty was amusingly then aligned east to face back to St Mary's, also returning the gaze of Moran and his demonstration. [130] The decorations festooning and threatening to overpower the large effigy, no doubt spoke far louder than pious and formal incantations as to the feelings of the population toward their monarch. Perhaps Victoria really did embody the social and political sensibilities of the time, with this excessive adoration reflecting both pride and a fearful expectation on the part of Australians to be defended as an integral part of a far flung empire. Certainly, there was the sense of a past stability, with most of the population having known no other monarch during their lifetime. [131] This would probably have been mixed with trepidation, knowing as they must have, that their queen was unwell and that they could soon be without her physical presence and political eminence. [132] Her relationship with her colonial subjects certainly was complex. While generally viewed as a benevolent monarch and inspirational figurehead, Victoria's personal attitudes were often at variance to this perception. [133]

However, it would appear that for most people in the community, she was both a stabilising political figure, and more importantly, a tangible connection to a Britain upon which Australians were still very dependent, both economically and emotionally. The outpouring of grief at her death on the 22 January 1901 ranged from the formal work by Poet Laureate, Mr Alfred Austin reprinted in *The Sydney Morning Herald* to the unsigned poem published in the *Bairnsdale Advertiser and Tambo and Omeo Chronicle*:

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[129] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 15, 16.

[130] Queen Victoria's statue has subsequently been moved on more than one occasion as road alignments have changed to accommodate the need for traffic and the fashion for pedestrian malls. However, she continues to dominate her intersection and, thoughtfully, has now been rotated to look back to St James Church and down Macquarie Street.

[131] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 March 1887. Celebration of the Queen's golden jubilee. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 31 July 1897. An Ode for Queen Victoria – her diamond jubilee.

[132] *Bendigo Advertiser*: 20 April 1901, p. 2. Queen Victoria's death foretold.

[133] Keith Amos: *The Fenians in Australia (1865-1880)*, 1988, University of NSW Press, Sydney, pp. 201, 235. Victoria had supported the Duke of Cambridge's refusal to pardon the Fenians of 1866, although six were later "released from the clemency of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria" in Western Australia ten years later.

She came in Autumn radiance, summer gone,

Leaf still on branch, but fruit upon the bough.

Fruit of long years and ripe experience…

And now there falls

A sudden sadness in our lives, and we

Can only bow disconsolate heads and weep,[134]


Life is grown empty, for, but yesterday,

'Twas all-in-all to have the right to say

'there is a lady whom I live to serve,

For whose least pleasure it were good to die…

Sleep, Mother of the People sleep, thy sway

Endureth with the empire thou hast knit

They glory shall go with us on our way.

At all our councils shall thy spirit sit.[135]


Opinions vary as to whether such ebullient attitudes towards Queen Victoria were a positive or a negative indicator of Australia's nationalist spirit. Helen Irving's introduction to the collection: *Becoming Australians- The movement towards Federation in Ballarat and the Nation*, mentioned all the limitations that still remained to Australia's ultimate independence even after Federation, and that "despite the constant references to, and representation of, Queen Victoria…not a lot of detailed historical work has been focussed on the celebrations of 1901, but those who have written about the Commonwealth Inauguration have shared a tendency towards a negative conclusion on the question as to whether there was a specific Australian sentiment expressed at all."[136]

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[134] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 March 1901, p. 3.

[135] *Bairnsdale Advertiser and Tambo and Omeo Chronicle*: 27 April 1901, p. 1. Poems such as these appear to go well beyond a mechanical expression of respect that would have been the preserve of officialdom at the passing of any other monarch. There is not only a sense of loss of the head of the realm and the empire, but almost a feeling of abandonment by a mother, or at least mother figure. Perhaps it is my own poetic imagination, but there also appears considerable similarity between the tenor and rhythm of this poem and the later Lawson work describing Robbie Burns' statue.

[136] Livingston, Jordan, Sweely: *Becoming Australians – The movement towards Federation in Ballarat and the Nation*, 2001, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, p. 2. Helen Irving Introduction

This ongoing influence of Queen Victoria became evident in the establishment of Empire Day throughout the British Empire.[137]  Although the day was introduced throughout the various members of this Empire three or four years after the death of the Queen, the date chosen remained her birthday, the 24 May.[138]  While some at the time were concerned that the memory of the old queen would fade all too soon,[139] this would not occur for half a century, and only then be replaced with the more pragmatic current public holiday that celebrates the equally long reigned Queen Elizabeth II.[140]

With the large number of spectators and participants filling the city, the logistics of transportation and crowd control would have been formidable.  General instructions that were issued by the NSW authorities prior to the parade included the necessary control of horses, both during the march, and "after 7 o'clock on the nights of the general illuminations."[141]  Horses with carriages were to keep to the left, and proceed at a walking pace, and not to be brought to a standstill.  Even "persons on foot [were] to keep to the right-hand footpath or adjacent roadway, in the direction in which they are proceeding."[142]  Bicycles were banned outright; indicative of the level of danger such machines appeared to offer at the time.[143]  Sensibly, there was also a height limitation of 14 feet on all vehicular traffic allowed in the city, indicating the minimum transitory height of the various arches and decorations.  Public safety was therefore a concern, with a further long list of notices published in the press the day before the event.  These

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[137] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, 1988, Longman Group, London, p. 115.  "Empire Day was part of the marketing of the imperialism. Stemming from Canada in the late 1890s, the idea was taken up by the British Empire League, an Australian branch of which had been established in 1901 to promote the Boer War cause."

[138] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 21 February 1905, p. 6.  Empire Day.  "One of the results of the Premiers conference is, as our summary reported on Saturday, that May 24 is likely to be set apart as a holiday to be known as Empire day, and special lessons are to inserted in the State school books to imbue children with the Imperial sentiment."

[139] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 May 1906, p.13.   Empire Day.  "Tomorrow will be an interesting day. The 'Twenty-fourth of May' was for so many years a memorable holiday that it is surprising how soon the memory of the good queen in whose honour the day was celebrated could be forgotten."  Our *Herald* commentator need not have worried.

[140] eMelbourne: *Empire Day* online database.  "Empire Day was observed in state schools from 1905 with a program of addresses, pageants and patriotic songs, with children swearing allegiance to King and Empire with a loyal declaration. Also known as Flag Day, Empire Day saw the city decorated with flags on principal buildings and cable trams… Originally celebrated on 24 May (Queen Victoria's birthday), popular observance declined in the postwar period. Renamed (British) Commonwealth Day in the 1950s, and moved in 1966 to 11 June, (Queen Elizabeth II's birthday - sic)[or the second Monday in June, actually celebrating the birthday of King George V and Queen Elizabeth's coronation on 2 June 1953] , it was more commonly known as Cracker Night and celebrated by bonfires and the lighting of fireworks until stricter government regulation reduced their availability."

[141] *The Daily Telegraph*: 31 December 1900, p. 6.

[142] *The Daily Telegraph*: 31 December 1900, p. 6.

[143] Ironically, it is now bicycles that are regarded as vulnerable compared with the more threatening automobile.

included warnings not take infants our young children into crowded areas and care not to touch horses ridden by the military or the police.  Although of course wishing to preserve the safety of all concerned, one would have assumed that most people in 1901 were well enough acquainted with the temperament of horses in city streets to treat such animals with respect. [144]


## 5.  MACQUARIE STREET AND THE OLD CITY

The march then travelled north down Macquarie Street, along a route chosen for a political and social significance that remains obvious to the modern footstepper, with even Queen Victoria's gaze now turned to look north past St James' Church.  On the eastern side of the street remain many of the great heritage buildings of the city: the Royal Mint, Sydney Hospital and State Parliament House.[145]  These institutions were constructed over the course of the Victorian century, from the Rum Hospital cum Colonial Mint between 1811 and 1816, to the later State Government House and Thomas Rowe's Sydney Hospital, not completed until 1894.  Many of these buildings were under threat of demolition at some stage during the subsequent twentieth century and Hyde Park Barracks itself was only saved from the wrecker's hammer in 1937 due to the lack of money for the undertaking.[146]

The attitude of many in authority over the years could be summed up by John Boyd Steel, secretary of the Howard Prison Reform League between the wars.[147]  As well as drawing the long bow of claiming that crime in the Rocks had diminished as a direct result of the demolition of houses in 1930 for the construction of the Harbour Bridge,[148] Steel claimed that, "There are no old buildings in Sydney which could be preserved on account of their beauty or even for the supposed Macquarie design.  All these old barns are merely out of date and can never be antiquities.  Certain old buildings at Circular Quay are certainly reminiscent of olden days, but they are useless monstrosities, just the same."[149]

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[144] *The Daily Telegraph*: 31 December 1900, p. 6.
[145] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 19, 20.
[146] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 250.
[147] *Howard League for Penal Reform* online database. This charitable organisation is still in existence, and still fights for the welfare of prisoners and their families.
[148] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 17 October 1938, p. 9.
[149] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 250.

On the left hand side of the street in 1901 would have stood the impressive private residence of Burdekin House, home to one of the significant families of nineteenth century Sydney.[150] The eventual fate of this house would tie in with other sites related to the Federation parade through the city. The congregation of St Stephen's Presbyterian Church at nearby Darling Harbour appeared more than happy about the possible replacement of their 1826 York Street church when the district suffered an outbreak of Bubonic Plague in 1900 and much of this area was cleared. This church had been the site of conflict with the "fiery leadership of the Rev John Dunmore Lang",[151] and although the building would remain as the current Scots' church, religious discord would see the departure of many emotionally worn out Presbyterians to eventually found the Macquarie Street St Stephen's Church in 1933.[152] This church now occupies the site of the Burdekin House[153] and indeed even St Stephen's own current website notes that the demolition of Burdekin House, "described as one of the finest residences in Sydney"[154] would itself become the rallying point for the early conservation movement in Sydney.[155]

Following these original structures that marchers in the passing Federation Parade would also have noticed is the one building they would have just missed: the new annex for the NSW State Library and the grand extravagance of the Mitchell Library and Shakespeare Place.[156] Another notable instance of the degree to which private individuals provided the impetus for the social and economic development of the community was the example of David Scott Mitchell. The son of the supervisor of the Military Hospital who had become a wealthy industrialist, Mitchell was part of the first intake for the newly established University of Sydney in 1852. Although never really short of money, Mitchell was, by temperament or circumstances, "short of affection, and turned his passionate and sensitive nature to the collection of Australiana and books".[157]

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Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps A, B. The "old barns" now form part of The Rocks heritage precinct that attracts millions of local and overseas tourists every year.
[150] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 21.
[151] St Stephen's Church: *The Three Faces of St Stephens*, St Stephen's Uniting Church, pp.1-3.
[152] DWA Baxter: *John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[153] St Stephen's Church: *The Three Faces of St Stephens*, p 4.
[154] St Stephen's Presbyterian Church Macquarie Street: *Burdekin House* online database.
[155] Historic Houses Trust of NSW: *For the Public Good – Crimes, Follies and Misfortunes,* p. 67.
[156] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 25.
[157] *The Lone Hand*: 1907 vol. 1, Arthur William Jose David Scott Mitchell. Alan Birch and David S Macmillan: *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*, p. 227.

At the time of the parade, Mitchell's huge collection was still being stored at 161 Macquarie Street, on the opposite corner of Bent Street to the Australian Club.[158] The current large repository is another one of those notable sites so far passed on my footstepping expedition that again demonstrates the gulf in cultural sensibilities that has changed over the course of a century. Nowadays, in Sydney, and elsewhere throughout the nation, the ultimate prestige location is one that has a view overlooking a harbour, the sea or river. The view from a point on high over one of the most beautiful harbours in the world is enough to place a premium on a suburban residence or commercial building.

In 1901 this was apparently not the case. Harbour side suburbs such as Balmain, The Rocks and even Double Bay were places to be avoided. This had much to do with the almost non-existent state of public health facilities at the time. The improvements in sewerage disposal that had occurred from the 1850s to the 1900s consisted primarily of replacing cess pits with sewers that expelled human waste directly into the harbour.[159] Harbour locations were obviously less appreciated, except for the far eastern suburbs such as Vaucluse that were close enough to the heads to avoid the worst excesses of human and industrial waste.[160] Consequently, awareness evolved toward views of the natural world that reflected these circumstances. There are still many 1920s vintage bungalows in suburbs along the cliffs in Eastern Sydney where the lounge and living rooms face the road, while the views from the back of the houses that overlook beaches, headlands and parks are consigned to pokey little windows in bathrooms and toilets. These houses were constructed at the same time as the Blue Mountains were being established as a recreational destination precisely because of the dramatic scenery and spectacular views.[161]

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[158] Frank Clune: *Saga of Sydney*, 1962, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, p. 244. The current Mitchell Library was eventually constructed between 1906 and 1910. John Sands*: Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 94.

[159] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney, the anatomy of an epidemic*, 1989, University of Sydney Press, Sydney, chapt. 4.

[160] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney, the anatomy of an epidemic*, pp. 83-84.

[161] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 16 March 1909, p. 8. Mention of celebrations at the Medlow Bath Hydro Majestic. This retreat was created in 1891 and purchased by Mark Foy in 1902 as a health spa. Apparently Foy's retail prestige was enough for him to convince the NSW State Government to rename the original railway stop of Medlow to the current Medlow Bath. Blue Mountains Australia: *Medlow Bath* online database.

Both St Mary's Cathedral and the Mitchell Library today command vistas that are considered priceless. Even with the growth of tall buildings in the streets below and tall trees in the surrounding parklands, they still look out to the harbour and the heads; yet at the time, this was deemed of little significance. Just as the principal Roman Catholic place of worship had been sited on land that originally no-one else really wanted, it took a century before the site of the Mitchell Library was allocated to a significant civic structure. The library now faces Shakespeare Place, originally a point of entry for the Domain and the Botanical Gardens.[162] Its wide spacious grandeur was allowed repose for half a century until 1958 when the Cahill Expressway was extended to Woolloomooloo, taking much of this land for both the open cut dual carriageway, and that most vibrant expression of late 1950s modernity, a road tunnel.[163]

My footstepping now crossed over Macquarie Street to the corner of Bent Street and the site of the former Australia Club. This club was one of many institutions that served the practical purpose of linking the City and the Bush. Such organizations for the financially wealthy, and hotels such as the Great Southern, adjacent to Central Railway, for the less well off, provided valuable accommodation for country folk visiting the city. The western side of Macquarie Street's eclectic mix of fashionable town houses also included doctor's surgeries and up-market boarding houses, no doubt catering to people visiting the city specifically for medical treatment.[164] It was to the clubs, hotels and boarding houses that such visitors looked for sanctuary in the 'big smoke'. As Henry Lawson himself experienced: [165]

It was pleasant up the country, City Bushman, where you went,
For you sought the greener patches and you travelled like a gent;
And you curse the trams and buses and the turmoil and the push,
Though, you know, the squalid city needn't keep you from the bush.

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[162] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 25.
[163] Note the Jeffrey Smart painting expressing not only the alienation of the modern 1960s Brutalism design ideal, but is also a very accurate, if compressed, depiction of the northern exit of the then new tunnel.
[164] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 October 1899, p. 4. Fires in the City. Unfortunately, not even boarding house residents were safe from the ever present threat of fire. "About a quarter past 2 o'clock yesterday morning Constable Yates who was on duty near the Treasury buildings, noticed an outbreak of fire at 133 Macquarie Street north, a four storey house opposite the Gardens." Although no-one was injured, five residents an members of staff had to be evacuated and "the police investigating the circumstances in connection with the outbreak…arrested a man on suspicion, who was taken to No. 4 police station [located in Phillip Street] and charged with being concerned in the affair."
[165] Henry Lawson: *Poetical Works of Henry Lawson*, p. 226. The City Bushman.

The district still somewhat fills this role today; with legal and medical offices in the few grand old structures that remain.[166]  Suitably, the Australian Historical Society, at 133 Macquarie Street, now occupies one of the last of these sober and discrete boarding houses, in this case managed at the turn of the century by Mrs Jane Ware.[167]  The northern end of the street toward Circular Quay was more highly commercial, with agricultural merchants, and the great wool stores buildings harking back to when Circular Quay provided the main docks for overseas shipping.[168]  These would be eventually sacrificed in the late 1950s on the altar of Modernism; demolished to make way for the city's first skyscraper, the AMP building.  Most of the other classical commercial buildings from 1901 have also been replaced with modern glass towers.

As well as observation points in significant buildings such as the Australian Club,[169] Macquarie Street provided the first major viewing opportunity for most people watching the Federation Parade from the ground.  Crowds were accommodated on special constructed platforms on the flatter upper end of the street, while those taking their place in the throng on the slopes further down had to stand.  What is most evident now walking north is this change in the alignment of the road, with the Macquarie Street hill running down to the harbour becoming steeper prior to the turn into Bridge Street.  These changes in alignment would of course have been a major consideration for the parades in both Sydney and Melbourne, and are one of the notable features of my footstepping both processions.  The geography of Sydney in particular would also have been evident to the participants and observers of the time.  *The Age* from Melbourne reported concerns expressed by spectators viewing veterans from the 1885 Sudan contingent, and even older "veterans, white haired men who fought at Alma or Lucknow…They'll never walk the five miles, observes a bystander."[170]

The observers' concerns were no doubt warranted.  As well as the previously mentioned lack of toilet facilities, there was a limited supply of water in particular for the military

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[166] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 22, 25.
[167] John Sands*: Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 94. This Society was itself founded in 1901 as a voluntary organisation funded by members and benefactors to "encourage Australians to understand more about their history".  Royal Australian Historical Society: *Home Page* online database.
[168] Even in 1885, the military contingent to the Sudan had left from the eastern side of Circular Quay.
[169] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 26.
[170] *The Age*: 2 January 1901, p. 5.

participants,[171] even allowing for the fact that this was in the middle of a hot, muggy Sydney summer's day. "For some reason, and notwithstanding the fact that the weather was disagreeably close, the South Australian soldiers were not allowed to carry their water bottles, and had to find water as best they could before and after the procession."[172] While some admired the cut of the marching military personnel's uniforms "with their glittering helmets, their enormous busbies [weighing as much as 8lb or 9lb –approx. 4 kg] and their tartan plaids", others also recognised the limitations of these traditional heavy uniforms in the Australian climate. Again, *The Daily Telegraph* noted the relief that ensued when the "stand at ease order smote on the ears of the perspiring Britishers, with what wonderful unanimity came off all that heavy gear."[173]


6. THE MODERN CITY


My footstepping continued along the ridge of Macquarie Street past the site of the still to be constructed Mitchell Library to the entrance to the Botanic Gardens, guarded then, as now, by the Captain Phillip Memorial fountain.[174] This ornate structure had only been unveiled on 22 July 1897 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's ascent to the throne.[175] Eighteen years earlier, however, this same location was the site of one of the first and most extravagant expressions of the developing rivalry between the old established Sydney and the new upstart Melbourne. After the stunning success of the Great 1851 London Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, the Australian colonies were inspired to present their own public displays, both as a source of civic prestige and a means of increasing trade with the Empire and the world. With the realisation that Melbourne was not only planning an international exhibition for 1880, but actually constructing a massive Exhibition Building in Carlton Gardens, the Agricultural Society of NSW proposed a similar trade fair to be held in the confined arena of Prince Alfred Park, adjacent to the then Sydney Railway Station at Redfern.[176]

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[171] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14. "The Federal troops were all on the seat at the back of the Hospital long before 9 o'clock. From 9:15am until shortly before troops fell in the New South Wales Catering Corps were busy taking water carts and supplying the water bottles of the tents."
[172] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.
[173] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.
[174] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 28.
[175] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 June 1897, p. 3.
[176] Peter Bridges and Don McDonald: *James Barnet, Colonial Architect*, 1988, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, p. 74.

Although the actual time and date of opening had been planned (1 August 1879, at noon) very little else had been thought through. Initially the whole proposal appeared half hearted, until the organisers were suddenly taken aback by the enthusiastic interest shown by nations such as France and Austria, and the realised that a larger site would be required.[177] The run of events then began to read a little like a comedy script, with the scheme progressing in defiance of every tradition of government project development.[178] Authorities heard that Melbourne had allocated £70,000 for their structure, and consequently the initial Sydney allocation of £18,000 was considered paltry. The Agricultural Society requested £50,000, but this new amount was rejected on the 20 November 1878 by the outgoing NSW Government. On 22 January 1879, however, the new Parkes Government approved the finances required, but by then public enthusiasm caused the project to take on a life of its own. Foundations had already been laid out by 16 January, with Government Architect James Barnet's plans approved by the Society and footings being dug. It looked as though walls would begin to go up before details of the design and the supply and payment for materials had been finalised.[179]

In the event the whole exercise was just too rushed and ill-conceived and the exhibition in Melbourne was deemed by even the Sydney press to have been a much greater success.[180] The diplomatic comment by the French Commissary-General, Captain Mathieu, declining his invitation to the Sydney Garden Palace opening says it all. "In so far as concerns my personal presence at the closing ceremony, I am compelled to make some reservation, for I believe that an affair of greater importance will call me to Melbourne about that time."[181] The Agricultural Society was in disarray, with its secretary sacked "just in time for the opening of the Exhibition."[182]

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[177] Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in NSW*, 1989, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, p. 67.

[178] Peter Bridges and Don McDonald: *James Barnet, Colonial Architect*, p. 75.

[179] Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in NSW*, p. 69.

[180] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 March 1880, p. 5.

[181] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 March 1880, p. 5.

[182] Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in NSW*, p. 93. Geoffrey Blainey: *A Land Half Won*, chapt. 20. Added to this was the fact that both these grand trade fairs took place shortly before the nation entered what would be the greatest economic downturn then experienced, and which some commentators still consider to have been more socially destructive than that of the Depression of the 1930s.

Ultimately, the Exhibition Building was opened by Premier Henry Parkes on 17 September 1879, in a howling rain storm.[183] Visitors to the Garden Palace had to run the gauntlet of demonstrations by the unemployed, and the only real success turned out to be the public tram system from Redfern Railway Station which anticipated the similar route followed by the underground railway half a century later.[184] After all this, the exhibition did apparently become popular with the general citizenry, with over a million visitors during its seven month life, although financially and economically, it remained a drain on the colony.[185] It was probably considered to have been almost an anti-climax when the stylish but hastily built structure burned down on 22 September 1882. According to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, "The whole of the colony – indeed the whole of the Australasian colonies, and we might add, the whole of the civilised world (sic) – will hear [the news] with deep regret….."[186] The fountain and statuary that took its place has remained in place for over a century: a monument to dogged determination and vision rather than poorly planned and executed display.

Beyond the fountain, the Federation parade continued down the slope of Macquarie Street, to what was then, and has remained, one of the major intersections of the city: Conservatorium Road and Bridge Street. The thoroughfare going off to the right, then known as Government House Road, served its primary purpose as the formal entry to the large ornate Colonial Government House of NSW. The first edifice on the road at that time was the Government Stables, another building designed in 1821 by Francis Greenway. In 1901 this monumental structure was still being used for stabling the Vice-Regal horses, although its role would soon change dramatically.[187] In 1912 the McGowan State Labor Government decided to take advantage of the evolution of reliable automobile transport to transform the stables into a State Conservatorium of Music.[188] According to Grace Karskens, this was in response to a perceived need to

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[183] Peter Bridges and Don McDonald: *James Barnet, Colonial Architect*, p. 79.
[184] Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in NSW*, p. 93.
[185] Peter Bridges and Don McDonald: *James Barnet, Colonial Architect*, p. 80.
[186] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 September 1882, p. 7.
[187] Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in NSW*, chapt. 6.
[188] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 28 July 1913, p. 10. Conservatorium of Music, Conversion of the Stables full steam ahead. "As is well known, the suit is directed against the right of the State Government to interfere with the property in any way, the attempted conversion of the stables into a conservatorium of music being one of the things regarding which the relators asked for an injunction against the decision of the High Court, setting aside the injunction granted by the State Supreme Court, the realtors are now appealing to the Privy Council; but in the meantime the conversion of the stables into a head centre of music is, accordance to a statement made on Saturday by Mr. Carmichael, going 'full speed ahead.'"

foster "classical…serious…high class music… as morally and aesthetically superior, over the widespread and heavily patronised venues of popular music."[189]

Of all the sites and locations of the original march, Conservatorium Road is the one that has since been the most subsumed by the modern world.  The original entry was a broad thoroughfare to both Government House on the left and the Government Stables on the right.  In the late 1950s the construction of the Cahill Expressway across the top of Circular Quay meant that this entry intersection became the point of exit from the expressway before it entered the tunnel and gully that was now cutting the Domain off from the Botanical Gardens.[190]  Perhaps Jeffrey Smart's surreal painting of the exit to the Cahill Expressway below Shakespeare Place best evokes both the technological wonder and social alienation of the construction.[191]

By the time the Sydney Harbour Tunnel was completed in 1992, the 1950s desire to be fashionably modern had been superseded by the 1990s need to simply control the traffic flow throughout the city and supplement the capacity of the now over-crowded Sydney Harbour Bridge.  Adding in the access to the tunnel forced Conservatorium Road to become an even busier intersection, with the entry to Government House marginalised to an insignificant side road and the whole area becoming another dry concrete spaghetti junction.[192]  This final physical marginalisation of the Vice-Regal carriageway coincided with an equally abrupt political ostracism.  State Premier Bob Carr announced in 1996 that the NSW State Governor, at that time Gordon Samuels, would no longer reside in Government House, but in his own private residence in the coastal suburb of Bronte.[193]  Government House would become a social and cultural centre for the state,

[189] Grace Karskens: *The Colony – a history of early Sydney*.  Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in NSW*, p. 121. This social conflict between supposed high art, and popular culture has remained a characteristic of Sydney, with both its raffish and slightly disreputable history, and its equally robust desire to overcome this past.
[190] Alan Birch and David S Macmillan: *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*, pp. 376-377.  Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a history*, p. 153. If overseas countries had elevated expressways and road tunnels, a new expressway would show that this city was up there with the rest of the world.  Department of Main Roads Commissioner H M Sherrard saw the work as a "major contribution to town planning in Sydney."
[191] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 25.
[192] UBD: *Sydney Street Directory 2000,* maps C, D. These maps shows as well as any others the desperate need to link the two sides of the harbour, and the sacrifices that have been made over the decades to accomplish this.  Fort Street School, the heritage precinct of Circular Quay, the Botanic Gardens and Shakespeare Place have all suffered isolation and reduction for the cause.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 31.
[193] Kerry Jones: *The People's Protest*, 2000, ACM Publishing, Sydney, p. 67.

but no longer the residence of the monarch's representative in NSW.[194]  Ironically, the
building then adapted to house the NSW State Governor was, at the time of Federation,
known as the Colonial Secretary's Office, providing the most tangible administrative
link to the British Crown.[195]

Previously, Australia's first Governor General, Earl Hopetoun had stepped ashore at
Bennelong Point on the western side of Farm Cove at 10:00am on 15 December 1900,
with Chief Justice Sir Frederick Darley administering the oath of office.[196]  The Man
O'War steps marked not only this significant event but would also be the landing point
for the May arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York on their return from
the opening of Federal Parliament in Melbourne.  And the same location would again be
employed half a century later for the 1954 arrival of the newly crowned Queen
Elizabeth II.[197]

The Floral Pavilion on the harbour was mirrored by the second arch on the route of the
Federation parade, the Vice-Regal Welcome Arch that spanned the roadway leading to
State Government House.  After the landing at Farm Cove, Lord Hopetoun's carriage
progressed up the slope of Macquarie Street to this entry to Government House, to be
greeted not by a classical representation of Imperial grandeur, but by a structure
festooned with greenery, lace, flowers and a gilded welcome sign across its width.
Palm fronds and ivy would have given a joyous, perhaps almost biblical impression
during the day, while at night the "wonderfully softening effect of the modern electric
lights likened the scene to a well-manipulated transformation scene in a pantomime."[198]
This was not so much the imperious grandeur of British heritage and authority that was
being demonstrated to the new representative of the crown, but rather the joyous
possibility and freshness of a new nation.[199]  Was the greenery of hope and expectation
in a country that was fluctuating in and out of drought, within a monument that would

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[194] ABC Radio: *Virginia Trioli 702AM interview with P J Keating,* 24 May 2007. With the current
Governor, Maria Bashir, comfortably ensconced in the former Chief Secretary's Building in Macquarie
Street, the most lasting legacy of Carr's presumptive action was, according to former Prime Minister Paul
Keating, to alienate enough of the city's population to aid in the defeat of his government in the 1996
Federal election.
[195] John Sands*: Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, Sydney, p. 16.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 29.
[196] George Forbes: *History of Sydney*, 1926, William Brooks & Co, Sydney, pp. 27-48.
[197] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 24.
[198] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.
[199] Compare this floral extravaganza with the equally ebullient floral tributes laid on the earlier statue of
Queen Victoria at the top of Macquarie Street.

be mirrored by the Wool and Wheat Arches further down Bridge Street, both the embodiment of the Australian Bush, but also a reflection of the European vegetation of the city?[200]  Certainly *The Sydney Morning Herald* thought so, spending considerable time describing the arch, although also pointing out that the attempt to accommodate the structure within the original short narrow sandstone entrance meant that: "The designers were met with immovable obstacles in the shape of two heavy stone piers on which the main gates ordinarily swing … converting the two piers into stunted obelisks of greenery."[201]  The entry to Bridge Street from Macquarie Street is still guarded by these sandstone bastions of civic power, although their modern role has been much diminished.[202]

The Chief Secretary's Building on the upper western corner is still a government building, and as mentioned, the previous residence of the NSW State Governor.  In 1901, ironically next door at number 123 was a lowly boarding house belonging to a Miss M J Edwards.[203]  As with the Australia Club this house would have been well located to offer accommodation for out of city visitors to the medical establishments along Macquarie Street, albeit at a cheaper rate. The house is now the Astor Hotel, while the remainder of the block southwards back towards Bent Street and the old Mitchell Library comprised at the time medical offices, surgeries and private hotels.[204]  On the other northern corner of Bridge Street was the State Treasury Building, which now contains within it the tower of the Inter-Continental Hotel.[205]

It is again worth remembering that what we now think of as the heritage buildings in this precinct would have been newly constructed late Victorian edifices at the time the Federation parade passed by.  As Fitzgerald puts it; "Grand public buildings, which were conspicuous by their absence in the 1870s according to English and Melburnian observers, were very much in evidence by 1890."[206]  Such grand buildings were part of the growing realisation of the role government had to play in organising civic life, and, consequently, of the role of taxation in needing to pay for the new instrumentalities.  In this they reflected the significance of tariffs and taxes that were raised at the old

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[200] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 31.
[201] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 13.
[202] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 29-30.
[203] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 94.
[204] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map B.
[205] Intercontinental Hotels and Resorts: or "Intercontinental Ballistic Missile", as it is sometimes referred. *City of Sydney* online database.
[206] Shirley Fitzgerald: *Rising Damp – Sydney 1870-1890*, p. 69.

colonial borders, and the consequent significance of the convoluted discussions over taxation revenue in the lead up to the adoption of a Federal Constitution.[207]

If the footstepper takes a slight detour at this stage, and continues travelling north down Macquarie Street towards Circular Quay, they will reach the site of the original Government Analyst's Office. On the corner of yet another testament to the monarch's consort, Albert Street, was the Board of Health; now the Ritz Carlton Hotel. It was in this office that John Ashburton Thompson isolated the bubonic plague bacilli, and thus unravelled the life cycle of the disease that had caused so much fear and social dislocation a mere year prior to the Federation.[208] In view of the Prince Consort's concern with issues of health and public welfare it was thus fitting that for most of the intervening century this site, and the current adjacent Justice and Police Museum, was the location of the Blue Light Clinic for the control and treatment of venereal disease within the city.[209]

## 7. INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Returning to the intersection of Macquarie and Bridge Streets, the Federation parade now turned left and plunged down from the fashionable heights of Macquarie Street into Bridge Street, and the hustle and bustle of the working city.[210] Although not indicated in any of the photographs of the time, on the northern side at the top of Bridge Street, and one of the first locations now passed by the parade, was one of the city's main tramway termini and the office of the tramway manager, James Roberts.[211]

Sydney at the time was in the process of not only expanding the tramway network, but also converting from the older steam and cable trams to electric. Although most of the inner city's streets were paved with hardwood blocks, these were being lifted along the main thoroughfares running north to south for the new tram tracks to be laid. The

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[207] Kathleen Dermody: *A Nation at Last – the Story of Federation*, 1997, The Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, pp. 39-52 et passim. Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, p. 428.
[208] Patricia Morison: *John Ashburton Thompson* Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[209] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Revised Maxi Sydney Street Directory of Sydney 1988*, map AA.
[210] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 33.
[211] John Sands: *Sand's Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900,* p. 16.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 34.

process had begun in 1898, with most of the lines converted by 1910.[212] However, the woodblocks remained on many of the city streets until the 1930s, and the route of the Federation parade would have traversed the blocks under George, Pitt and Park Streets. As well as providing a rugged surface for horses and wheeled vehicles, the blocks were seen at the time as an efficient use for the same local hard wood that colonial architects and builders had considered unsuitable for building construction.[213] Heavier horse drawn transport and the later motor car were dealt with by stone blocks at busy intersections, the wooden blocks being hammered close together at regular intervals and covered by tar and sand.

Although one of the most extensive systems in the world, Sydney's tram network had to respond to the hilly terrain throughout the metropolis, with the result that it operated as virtually half a dozen separate systems joined tenuously at various terminus points within the city. The depot in Bridge Street served the expanding Eastern Suburbs, with other sites such as the soon to be constructed Central Railway serving the West, and Milson's Point, the isolated North Shore lines as yet unconnected by a bridge across the harbour.[214]

As with so many other aspects of the nation's development, efficient electrified transport was the result of the drive and initiative of one individual. John Job Crew Bradfield had joined the NSW Public Works Department in 1891 and set about introducing what would become a world class public transport system.[215] This would climax with the construction of the Sydney Underground Railway in 1926 and the Harbour Bridge in 1932.[216] Bradfield also developed a reputation for being "not unaware of his own brilliance and [one who] suffered fools none too gladly."[217]

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[212] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History,* p. 17. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 12 June 1901, p. 13. This could apparently not come soon enough. Tram Derailed, Traffic delayed in Broadway. "Before turning out of Broadway, a portion of the gear of the car fell, and caused the rear car to leave the rails. The tram continued for some distance after the mishap, and cut up the wooden blocks of the track, but luckily the derailed car remained upright."

[213] NSW State Government: *Sydney Streets* online database. "From today's perspective the use of so much hardwood for street making seems profligate, but in 1880 it seemed the Australian bush could yield up a cheap and durable source of urban improvement for the foreseeable future, and the roads, which were better than anything previously built, were enormously popular."

[214] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, pp. 17, 36.

[215] Peter Spearritt: *John Job Crew Bradfield (1867-1943)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, chapt 7, p. 17.

[216] David Burke: *Making the Railways*, pp. 203-211.

[217] David Burke: *Making the Railways*, p. 203.

"Bradfield does not question the 'divinity' of this instinct, so captivated was he by his vision of Sydney becoming a 'New York in miniature'."[218]

By the 1950s, the inner city was becoming choked by both public transport and motor vehicle traffic, while the large industrial estates and suburbs in the west were now populated by workers who were given no public transport alternative.[219]  So the tram lines were torn up within the course of four years, and replaced by buses.[220]  Most of the trams themselves were then taken to the Randwick depot and burned.[221]  This ideal of progress was not new of course.  It would be the soon to be mentioned demolitions along the western side of the city as a result of plague that would provide Bradfield with the impetus to continue the "cleansing" process by demolishing the central road through the Rocks, and the block behind Wynyard for the road, rail and tram approaches to the Sydney Harbour Bridge.  In fact, memory of the still existent tram station under Wynyard returned through my walk as I detoured down to Darling Harbour.

What was noticeable most about this section of the route is the steepness of the street.[222]  Marching soldiers would have coped quite easily going down the hill, but it would have been interesting to view the passing of horse drawn vehicles, particularly the heavy floats and cars.  Other equally steep city streets with rising grades were to provide more of an issue.  Bridge Street also contained the next two celebratory arches on the Federation parade route: the Wool Arch and the Wheat Arch.[223]  As representatives of commerce and agricultural industry, it was very apt that these two structures should have been erected in the business and corporate heart of the city.  More than any other

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[218] Lenore Coltheart: *Significant Sites – History and public works in New South Wales*, p. 151.  Coltheart herself is quoting Richard Raxworthy's 1989 work, perhaps aptly titled: *J J C Bradfield: the Unreasonable Man*.

[219] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 18 July 1933, p. 10.  This has been a perennial issue for Sydney. Western Suburbs, Future of Tramway Services.  "Mr. Humphrey M Earl, honorary secretary of the Haymarket-Central-square Association, yesterday expressed the fear that if the Commissioner for Transport (Mr. Maddocks) had his way, it was more than likely that the districts of Drummoyne, Ryde, and adjoining suburbs would be depleted of all tram services."

[220]  As the *Lost Tramways* online database notes:  "The last Pitt St and Castlereagh St trams ran in 1957 on a Saturday night at 1:00am (29 September 1957).  Within minutes of the trams' run the overhead wires were pulled down, and the next morning (a Sunday) the tracks were paved over, to ensure there would be no return of the trams even if the buses should prove inadequate.  This shows pretty clearly that there were forces at work other than just desire for efficiency here."

[221] Sydney Living Museums: *Shooting through like a Bondi Tram, Our Heritage* online database. "Divested of most salvageable items, trams were eventually taken to 'burning hill' at the Randwick tram workshops.  There, Oswald 'Mick' Price, an ageing Gallipoli veteran and Sydney's only professional tram burner, reduced Sydney's fleet of trams to a pile of ash."

[222] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 35, 36.

[223] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 36-38.

arches, these blended into their locations with a logic that no doubt would have been obvious at the time by providing a link between the bustle of the city and the agricultural districts in the country that provided so much of this wealth.[224] The large number of agents, brokers and merchants resident in the smaller buildings that ran down the northern side of the street was a testament to the commercial nature of the location.[225]

Along with a couple of architects: Thomas Tidwell and J H Buckridge, with their offices on Bridge Street,[226] the *Sands' Directory* for 1900 also lists: Mrs E MacLellan, artist in portraiture; Miss L Wright, teacher of dancing; and Mrs J G Barron, Christian healer. In view of the fact that this would have been a wealthy district, with substantial offices even in the minor buildings, it seems notable that at least three women were professionally successful enough to be listed in the area. Perhaps our current view on the limitations that the culture of the time placed upon women is over-simplified. The recent *Canberra Times* article "Women undervalued in the workplace" implies that women themselves contribute to their own undervaluing, in the modern era,[227] and that the issue has always been as much about personal initiative as gender. Certainly a year before Federation, women were also being appointed as sanitary inspectors in Sydney: "Women as Sanitary Inspectors. England already had female sanitary inspectors and Lady Darley, Miss Macdonald, Miss Rose Scott and a number of other women have written to Treasury urging their appointment in Sydney."[228]

As well as providing a route through this very affluent and potent part of the city, the street also offered a creative advantage. Unlike the wide vista of Macquarie Street, Bridge Street was narrow enough for arches to span the width of the roadway, and provide a physical concentration for the procession that would become even more pronounced as it progressed further into the city, and with most of the current buildings already in place in 1901, this sensation is still very evident today.

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[224] *The Daily Telegraph*: 15 December 1900, p9.
[225] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900,* p. 15. All manner of industries were represented: The Adelaide Steamship Company, Bulli Colliery, Namoi Meat-preserving and Boiling-down Company, and even sharing 6 Bridge Street was the Year Book of Australia and Publishing Company Limited.
[226] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900,* p. 16.
[227] *The Canberra Times*: 16 June 1993, p. 13.
[228] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 May 1900, p. 10.

Travelling down the southern side of Bridge Street, past the Chief Secretary's Building, the parade would have reached the Department of Works, now occupied by the Museum of Sydney.[229] Soon after Federation the old departmental building on the corner of Bridge and Phillip Streets was demolished and the vacant site used for vehicle parking. When the site was being planned for high rise development in 1983, colonial wall footings were uncovered, and it was realised that this was the site of Governor Phillip's original 1788 Government House.[230] The Wran State Government then proposed setting aside the site for a museum to commemorate the settlement of the city.[231]

What is clear is that the site is still very much a work in progress in that the current small size limits the scope and restricts the concept of a true City Museum to one that primarily locates this site of national significance. One of the most notable aspects of this museum's location is the effect that it has had on the immediate surrounds. The corner next to the Museum into Young Street still retains four original terrace houses, although even by the time of the Federation March in 1901 these houses were being occupied by offices.[232] At the time of the parade, Mrs C McGlade resided at number 41, the house on the corner of Young and Bridge Streets, while the other terraces, from number 36 to 42, contained the Registrar's Office for the Friendly Societies and Trades Union, the Board of Exports and the Public Service Tender Board.[233] The only other row of terraces now remains around the corner in Phillip Street, along from the other side of the Museum of Sydney.[234] How these residences managed to survive the wholesale demolitions of the past still seems quite remarkable: fortuitous may be the term; but at least with current attitudes towards heritage and preservation, their chance of survival is improved.

Between Young and Loftus Street was the Department of Public Instruction, and still remains as the NSW Department of Education.[235] Originally meant to house the

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[229] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900,* p. 16.
[230] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 20 November 1993, p. 15. History underfoot in new museum on significant site. Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Revised Maxi Street Directory of Sydney 1988*, map AA. Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map B.
[231] Photograph Booklet 1, p. 35. A cynic might have suggested that the premier was still smarting from the 1983 demolition of the Art Deco Rural Bank building in Martin Place, and such a new museum would help the pacify the growing conservation movement.
John Haskell: *Haskell's Sydney*, p. 72.
[232] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 34.
[233] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900,* pp. 94, 157.
[234] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map B.
[235] NSW Heritage Council: *The Department of Education Building* online database.

Department of Agriculture, the rapidly expanding state education system requisitioned these massive offices just as the first stage of the late Victorian Romanesque / Edwardian Baroque structure was coming to completion.[236]  One only has to link the 1887 construction date with the 1882 establishment of Camdenville Public School, and the formal resumption of the building by the Department in 1914 to demonstrate the rapid expansion of public education in the Federation years.  At the time of the Federation parade, this building was only partially complete, with the Bridge Street façade not yet constructed.  In its place was a large fig tree that had been "converted into a fairy tree, twinkling with hundreds of electric lights," for the Federation festivities.[237]

The next block was, and still is, the State Lands Department.  As with the other stately Victorian structures, this building would have been regarded at the time as almost brand new, having been completed a decade earlier in 1891.[238]  While the modern footstepper may regard the street as one of great heritage significance, at the time this would have been the most modern and up to date route to follow.  The Wool Arch was therefore suitably located on the corner of Loftus Street, with the Circular Quay end of both Loftus and Young Streets containing the major wool centres for the city.[239]

This arch itself was confronted with the same issue as many others at the time; the weather.  Constructed of wool, the structure suffered with the rain storm that preceded the event, and although dramatic at the time of its construction, was a little bedraggled by the time the parade actually passed underneath.[240]  The designer, Hugh Ross, engineer and also Legislative Representative for the state seat of Narrabri had envisaged classical columns not unlike the Coal Arch, but constructed of solid unpressed wool.  Had this design gone ahead, the sodden result would have been not only even less inspiring, but also quite dangerous.   The next idea offered by the Government Architect was to create a giant sheep standing astride the street, under which the parade would pass.[241]  As with the giant ram that has fulfilled a similar role at Goulburn for quite a few decades now, this form would have mirrored the symbol of the Golden Fleece that

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[236] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, pp. 116-119.
[237] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 8.
[238] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 57.
[239] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 36.
[240] *The Daily Telegraph*: 15 December 1900, p. 9.  Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – the story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, pp. 31-32.
[241] *The Sydney Mail*: 8 December 1900, p. 1357.

was becoming a pervasive icon in advertising.[242]  But again, cost common sense ruled, and a timber and wire frame was constructed supported by solid bales on the ground, upon which scoured wool was secured through the holes in the netting.[243]  The usual anticipated trophies and flags festooned the structure, although as well, ornamental shields on the piers listed the names of pioneer wool growers and merchants.[244]

Milne envisaged a similar mix of responses to this construction as with the earlier Coal Arch.  On the one hand, the probable sense of pride in industry on the part of country visitors who would have seen their own culture and social contribution recognised, and at the same time, the temptation presented to city folk to partake of the fruits of industry in a more ad hoc and literal fashion.  Locals again seemed to have flinched pieces of wool from the arch, although what they would do with the material if they did not have access to carding and spinning facilities, remains a mystery.  Unlike the coal arch, this wool would not seem to have been immediately useful in any quantity, and the smaller amounts taken were probably more likely mere souvenirs.[245]  It would also appear that inter-colonial (to become inter-state) sniping was already evident.  While the *West Australian* newspaper described the overall celebrations as "A Gorgeous Display", it was less impressed with the Wool Arch, noting that: "on one side stood a poorly designed model of a merino ewe, and on the other a ram…..both of which appeared……to have claims upon the giraffe as an ancestor."[246]

The next location on my walk down Bridge Street, and one that would have been viewed as most significant at the time was Macquarie Place, now Macquarie Place Park; originally the geographical centre of the city.  It was from the obelisk in this park that all distances in the city and the state of NSW were measured until the decade before Federation.[247]  Macquarie Place celebrated Australia's great pioneers: Governor Lachlan Macquarie himself and Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, through his 1883 statue.  According to *The Daily Telegraph*, this statue even played its part in the Federation parade. "Mort's Statue, situated at the apex of the triangle, accommodated a score of boys of all sorts

[242] Ken Arnold: *Australian Tins*, 2005, Crown Castleton Publishers, Bendigo, p. 14.
[243] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – the story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 32.
[244] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – the story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 32.
[245] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – the story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 33.
[246] *The West Australian*: 2 January 1901, p. 12. Alternatively the fact that the same phrase was used in the same issue of the *South Australian Register* and a later issue of the *Western Mail* would indicate a level of syndication on the part of "Our Special Reporter" as much as sniping.
[247] Grace Karskens:  The *Colony – a history of early Sydney*, p. 204.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 41.

and sizes."[248]  Between the time of the Federation Parade and my current retracing of the route, a century of re-development had already occurred, and this site reflects much of that later social and political history.  By 1934, the short street running from Macquarie Place to Circular Quay had been named Arbitration Place,[249]  and has since have been subsumed by corporate skyscrapers, while the remaining space renamed Jessie Street Gardens.

At the other apex of Macquarie Place, on the corner of Gresham Street stood the other homage to agricultural industry, the Wheat Arch; also known as the Agricultural Arch.[250]  This structure again reflected the reliance upon the bush for the wealth of the new nation, and was erected by representatives of the agriculturalists of the colony through Mr Winchcombe MLA and the NSW Minister for Agriculture, Mr Fegan. Since the government was paying for two thirds of the cost of the arch, the remainder being raised by subscription, control over the design remained with officials McMillan, Rickard and McQueen. [251]  Although it appeared to be another attempt to be modern in architectural design, being covered with sheaves of wheat, the structure was also classical in its overall arched design and included the words "Ceres Welcomes The Commonwealth".[252]  Milne mentions that images of the time supposedly did not do the arch justice.[253]  Perhaps after the earlier rain storm, the thing really did look as bedraggled as it appears in photographs.

At the bottom of Bridge Street stood the old Stock Exchange, with its accompanying hotel, now replaced by the Exchange Offices.  Photographs of the original Federation era building show a strong classical structure that would have been another institution that fell automatically into the route of the parade, and in fact provided the pivot for the march to turn left into Pitt Street.  The actual Stock Exchange itself was transplanted to the opposite corner in 1961 with the demolition by Lend Lease of the ornate building, despite another public outcry.[254]  The current modern working institution is quite an

[248] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.
[249] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Street Directory of Sydney & Suburbs, 1934*, map 3.
[250] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 38.
[251] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 19 December 1900, p. 7.
[252] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 34.
[253] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 33.
[254] State Library of NSW: *Don McPhedran images* online database, 11 September 1961.

attractive building, with façadism again placing an even more modern skyscraper behind and unobserved.[255]

## 8. JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR

At the bottom of Bridge Street the march took a sharp turn to the left to proceed up Pitt Street. Why the parade did not continue on to the main thoroughfare of George Street is interesting to contemplate. In none of the records or programmes of the time does there appear to be an actual explanation of this, although the Citizens' Commonwealth Committee states in Recommendation 6: "That the route of procession should be from Circular Quay, through Loftus Street to Macquarie Place, to Pitt Street, to Martin Place to George Street, past the Town Hall, To Bathurst Street, into Pitt Street, back to Park Street, to College Street, up Oxford Street to Ocean Street, into Centennial Park."[256] So we must surmise to a large degree.[257]

The next two arches, the French and American, would have represented sentiments of independence, modernism and the view to the future, and Pitt Street even at this time would have already seemed to exemplify this sense with towering buildings creating a canyon reminiscent of the skyscrapers of Chicago and New York.[258] The route along Pitt Street would also have afforded the opportunity for the marchers to then traverse the newly created hub of Martin Place.

However, there is another possible explanation. Almost exactly a year previously, plague had broken out on the western side of Sydney, and a large part of the city between George Street and Darling Harbour had been quarantined, cleared and even demolished as part of the control and eradication process.[259] The division of the city by the gully of the old Tank Stream has remained as a symbolic line of separation between the slope to the east from Pitt Street back to Macquarie Street, and the western slope to

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[255] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 40.
[256] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 30 October 1900, p. 6. Citizens' Commonwealth Committee. A Series of Recommendations.
[257] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 29 December 1900, p. 9. All such programmes do make a point of mentioning the parade route into Pitt Street.
[258] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 10 July 1912, p. 17. This development was not welcomed by all of course "The Skyscraper, should it be sanctioned?"
[259] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, chapts. 6, 7. Photograph Booklet 1, p. 43.

George Street and thence to Darling Harbour.[260]  If the influence of the plague had remained strong at the time of the Federation parade, then George Street at this point would have been a most notable adjacent reminder of the failings of the new society.

Plague of course has been a common occurrence in human experience for millennia, and greatly feared for most of this time due not only to its deadly consequences, but also its unknown cause.[261]  The outbreak in Sydney that began in January 1900 was, in many respects, a watershed representing the cultural bridge between ancient fears and attempts to deal with the eternal problem, and the eventual discovery of the cause of the disease and the ability of the modern science to render the pestilence relatively harmless.  Australia was not the only nation to have been affected at this time, and it certainly was not the worst.  At the beginning of the twentieth century, many countries around the Pacific Rim found themselves attacked by outbreaks of Bubonic Plague. The source is still open to dispute, although most commentators agree that it probably came, via shipping, from China.[262]  While Australia would lose 165 people prior to Federation, and upwards of 500 over the subsequent two decades, countries such as China itself and India suffered fatalities in the tens of thousands, with maritime centres as far removed as San Francisco and even Glasgow recording a significant number of deaths.[263]

This disease, virulent in both pneumonic and bubonic forms harked back in cultural memory to the pestilences of the Middle Ages in Europe, so a level of concern was to be expected.  At first however, the reaction was rather different.  While there was apprehension with the initial outbreak, the official response was muted to say the least. *The Daily Telegraph* could claim that:  "Some consternation was caused in the city yesterday [24 January 1900] by a rumour that a case of the plague from Dawes Point had been reported to the health authorities. Inquiries showed that there was some foundation for the report, though no great cause for alarm."[264]

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[260] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps A, B. For some reason, virtually all street directories also break the pages for the CBD of Sydney along the alignment of the old Tank Stream.
[261] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, chapt. 1.
[262] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, p. 29.
[263] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, pp. 36-37.
[264] *The Daily Telegraph*: 25 January 1900, p. 7.

Thus did Arthur Payne, ship's carter from Ferry Lane, Dawes Point, become the first recorded victim of plague in Australia. Even by 29 January, *The Sydney Morning Herald* could still state that: "A surprisingly small amount of interest has been manifested by the medical profession of this Colony in the outbreak of plague which according to the authorities was experienced by the man Payne."[265] The small amount of interest extended to the press not even being sure whether the poor man's name was spelled Payne or Paine.[266] Allowing for the then general ignorance of the specific agent, the mode of transmission, and the fact that there was no known cure at the time, the initial response of the press and the city fathers was remarkably low key.[267]

One can compare the experience of plague, as reported in Sydney through 1900, with that much earlier occurrence in London in 1665, as reported by Daniel Defoe. While Defoe was apparently only five years old when the pestilence actually struck, his famous journal published half a century later in 1722, must have been based upon a mixture of first and second hand resources. However, his record instils a real sense of panic from the very beginning, both from Defoe himself and from the other Londoners. "London might well be said to be all in Tears: the Mourners did not go about the Streets indeed, for no Body put on black, or made a formal Dress of Mourning for their nearest Friends; but the Voice of Mourning was truly heard in the Streets: the Shrieks of Women and Children at the Windows, and Doors of the Houses….."[268]

By the late 1800s, the germ theory had enabled people to see the theoretical link between dirt and filth and disease. Theoretical that is, since actually doing something about the living conditions of the times still unfortunately required the impetus of social tragedy. In Sydney, sewerage continued to be discharged directly into the harbour on either side of Circular Quay.[269] Even with the relatively small population of the city at

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[265] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 29 January 1900, p. 5.

[266] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, 1989, University of NSW Press, p. 116. Note the *Sydney Evening News*: 9 February 1900 where the spelling is Payne while country newspapers such as the *Clarence River Advocate*: 26 January 1900 spell Paine.

[267] Note the many issues of *The Bulletin*, such as March 3, 10, 17 1901, where the issue of plague, the connection with rats, and even the bounty of 2d per dozen captured rodents are suitable subjects for humour. The fact that a refreshing ale could theoretically be purchased with the presentation of half a dozen rats does strike one as amusing. When one compares the outbreak of plague in 1900 with the arrival of equally incurable agents such as AIDS and SARS eighty and ninety years later, the initial mildness of the response seems all the more remarkable.

[268] Daniel Defoe: *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 1969, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 16. This certain contrasted with the muted reaction in Sydney.

[269] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, p. 83.

the time, around 538,000 people,[270] the stench must have been overpowering.  It was a most notable event when the Bondi Sewer was expanded in 1888,[271] but this certainly did not cope with the whole population, and of course could only eliminate waste from those latrines that were actually connected in the first place.

John Ashburton Thompson was yet another one of those remarkable individuals who were to influence the city of Sydney.  A public health administrator from Britain who, ironically, had travelled to New Zealand and then Australia in 1878 for his own health, Thompson became, president of the New South Wales Board of Health.[272]  As early as 1878 French physician Paul-Louis Simond had delivered a paper indicating the connection whereby the plague bacillus was transferred from rat to rat, and also from rat to human, by the rat's fleas.  However these findings would not be totally accepted until 1907.[273]  Meanwhile Ashburton Thompson was able to convince local authorities that contagion was limited to this partially understood process.  "The popular notion regarding the bubonic plague is that it is dangerous to come within a stone's throw of a patient; but this is an absolute mistake."[274]

In the end, eradication consisted of direct elimination of the rats that were seen as the primary sources of infection and the elimination of the conditions that bred the rats. The block bounded by Margaret, Kent and Sussex Streets south to the Haymarket was quarantined through much of 1900,[275] with cleanliness considered an integral aspect of control.  According to Thompson, "The reason [why Japanese doctors contracted plague] was ascribed to their not always washing their hands after attending upon a patient….I think that plague is less dangerous, so far as contagion is concerned , than scarlet fever, and between plague and typhus fever there is absolutely no comparison."[276]

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[270] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics:  *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, p. 158. The various outfalls would each have been dealing with only a fraction of this number.

[271] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 April 1888, p. 5.

[272] Patricia Morison: *John Ashburton Thompson (1846-1915)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.

[273] Simond, Godley, Mouriquand; *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, volume 91, February 1998, Louis Simond and his discovery of plague transmission by rat fleas: a Centenary.

[274] *The Brisbane Courier*: 29 January 1900, p. 6.  Extended interview with Ashburton Thompson.

[275] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 10 April 1900, p. 3.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 44.

[276] *The Brisbane Courier*: 29 January 1900, p. 6.  Extended interview with Ashburton Thompson.

There may well have been a class based and racially based bias in the ease with which streets were closed and premises readily demolished, but according to the evidence, the local working class people and the Chinese really were living in filth and squalor.[277] The amount of garbage that was taken out from the Darling Harbour precinct beggars belief. According to Curson and McCracken, 28,455 tons of garbage were dumped at sea and a further 25,430 tons burnt.[278] Over twenty seven thousand rats were also destroyed, causing one to imagine how many of these difficult to find and catch little creatures actually inhabited the not overly expansive quarter.[279] The lack of sewerage and adequate garbage disposal was always the responsibly of civic authorities in Sydney, but the general squalor and filthy disease breeding environment was equally seen as the responsibility of the people living there themselves.[280] If the plague did originate in China, and if the Chinese living on the edge of Darling Harbour were existing in filth, then targeting this community was not totally illogical.[281]

Initially not enough was done, and in the end, probably too much was done. It should be remembered that this was the era before there were any antibiotics and effective chemical treatment for the disease; and of course only just when the cause of the plague was being widely acknowledged in the first place. Much of the district bounded by Margaret and Clarence Streets, Sussex and Erskine Streets was cleansed, fumigated and then demolished.[282] The deplorable state of affairs was there for all to see, and someone needed to be blamed.[283] Just as the Darling Harbour plague districts were readily demolished to safeguard the city's health, so the original Darling Harbour wharves were then demolished, eventually to be replaced with wide concrete arenas necessary for the later introduction of containerisation.[284]

The other principal plague outbreak in Sydney was at the southern end of Hyde Park; in the district known as Wexford Street. As with the Haymarket, this area had accommodated a changing population that depended upon employment in the docks and

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[277] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 45.
[278] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, p. 157.
[279] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 17 April 1900, p. 3. Rat Catching Operations.
[280] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 22 March 1901, p4. "They [the old quarters of cities] stagnate, or, worse, they degenerate; and become in time the resort of the wretchedness and alien squalor. It is not always practicable, but when practicable it is certainly desirable, to bring these places once more into the main stream of civic life."
[281] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, p.174.
[282] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 45, 46.
[283] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, chapt. 9.
[284] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 47, 48

cargo distribution warehouses for the city. Originally housing the Irish immigrants who gave the district its name, by the time of Federation, many of the inhabitants were also Chinese. As the NSW colonial government was already in the process of planning the massive reconstruction of what would become Central Railway, and since there had already been demolition of plague ridden houses along the dockland front of Darling Harbour, it was deemed acceptable to demolish substandard housing in this region as well. In fact, it was apparently the Irish themselves who petitioned that the newly cleared area be no longer referred to as Wexford Street, believing that it reflected poorly on the aspirations of Irish culture.[285]

The Chinese appeared to be viewed always as a special case due to their numbers, and also because so many were returning to China without presenting an obvious loyalty to the nation. The fact that so many of the British settlers were doing the same thing was rarely mentioned.[286] What we would consider to be blatant overt racism appeared endemic. There are ironic comments by author and literary personality Frank Clune, born in 1893 in Surry Hills. Clune describes taunting Chinese in the Haymarket and pulling their pigtails as a little boy (prior to the 1911 revolution, Chinese, even in Australia often wore the pigtail). "Many a time I was 'given a chase' along Campbell Street by an irate Chinese for pulling his pigtail or playing some other prank on him."[287] Either a casual racism or simply the exuberant youthfulness of even a relatively sensitive young Australian perhaps reflected the tenor of the times. What strikes the reader today are not so much the actions themselves, as the perceived acceptability of repeating the episode in a printed publication.

The complexity of this situation can be gauged by the means with which authorities attempted to control the Chinese population of the city, while at the same time recognising how much the city was dependent upon Chinese skills. The very day prior to Federation, the NSW Minister for Works stated that "in future, all furniture for Government departments shall be obtained only from firms who are supplied by European workmen".[288] The claimed concern was with the rates of pay and the hours of labour, where "the lot of the masses can be improved."[289] In other words, the pay and

[285] *The Daily Telegraph*: 13 April 1900, p. 6.
[286] Note the experience of members of the Australian artistic community: Melbourne parade chapter.
[287] Frank Clune: *Saga of Sydney,* 1962, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, p. 149.
[288] *The Daily Telegraph*: 31 December 1900, p. 4.
[289] *The Daily Telegraph*: 31 December 1900, p. 4.

conditions of Australian workmen were being undermined. Yet people were still dependent upon Chinese made furniture, and were apparently happy to buy pieces made by the non-British. The degree to which the city of Sydney was equally dependent upon food from the Chinese market gardens was significant. The alluvial flats from Kogarah, behind Botany Bay, north to the Gumbramorra Swamp and the Cooks River, supplied a large part of the daily requirements of the city until well after the Second World War:[290] and many of these market gardens were run by Chinese.[291] This hub of Chinese agricultural enterprise can still be tracked by following the road map from Scarborough Park Ramsgate north to Kyeemagh.[292] The low lying productive land then traces from Mackey Park in Marrickville South, north west to Sydenham and the aptly named Garden Street.[293]


9. PITT STREET REPUBLICANS


My footstepping now returned to the lower end of Bridge Street and, as did the march a century ago, followed the route into Pitt Street and the canyons of commerce.[294] Sydney was sited alongside the Tank Stream that provided the original source of fresh water for the colony, although it is now little more than an underground covered drain running below the gully between Pitt and George Streets.[295] The alignment of the stream is still evident in the low elevation of land from the GPO in Martin Place, through the myriad of small lanes past Australia Square to the western end of Circular

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[290] Richard Cashman and Chrys Meader: *Marrickville – rural outpost to inner city*, p. 165.
[291] Richard Cashman and Chrys Meader: *Marrickville – rural outpost to inner city*, p. 144.
[292] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 21 December 1886, p. 11. The large half page article Market Gardens describes the methods used and the locations based around the Cooks River and Shea's Creek. "Whilst there are many points in the Chinese mode of cultivating vegetables which are open to criticism [these points that were at once "disgusting and prejudicial to health" included using human excreta as fertiliser], there are also features which must call forth admiration in every unprejudiced mind. They are economical of everything but their labour; they live amongst us, but are not of us;"
[293] *Evening News*: 1 October 1884, p6. Garden Street Marrickville. Even in 1884 the perils of developing the flood prone agricultural area for residential accommodation had become evident. "Alderman Chisholm read a report of the works committee of the Marrickville council on Monday night as to Mr Chester's request to do something to remedy 'the beastly state of Garden Street'." In an amusing piece of buck passing, "the mayor said that he believed that all the waterways belonged to the owners of the land." But at least "the report was adopted and the proposed meeting will be held." Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, Universal Press, Sydney maps 373, 374, 403, 404 and 433. Since the Great Depression, the presence of a large storm water basin has controlled the perennial flooding, and the district is now designated non-residential light industrial.
[294] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 50.
[295] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 August 1934, p. 23 supplement. The Tank Stream. "I wonder if any of us, when going through the city, ever think of the Tank Stream, which perhaps is flowing under the street along which we are walking?"

Quay.[296]  As a belated commemoration, the northern end of old Hamilton Street that ran between Hunter and Bridge Street, virtually on top of the tank stream tunnel has, since the 1970s, been renamed Tank Stream Way.[297]  Even the Bridge Street that the Sydney Federation parade traversed was named for the bridge that crossed this vital stream at Macquarie Place in early colonial days.

Although the naming of Bridge Street reflected a prosaic indication of land use and location, most of the other streets through which the march proceeded in Sydney reflected the authority of the British rulers of the day, and the power of one man within the colony: Governor Lachlan Macquarie.[298]  When Lachlan Macquarie arrived in the colony in 1810 he gave early attention to town planning and the state of the roads, with few of the main thoroughfares retaining their original names.  George Street was created from, at least part of its length, the old High Street.[299]  "Central street names reflected Macquarie's loyalty to the Empire, with the ducal titles of the sons of George III – York, Cumberland, Sussex, Clarence, Cambridge and Kent – joining their father and his queen, Charlotte, on street signs. To these were added the names of various British officers such as Bathurst, Liverpool, Castlereagh, Pitt and NSW governors Phillip, King, Hunter, Macquarie and Bligh."[300] The governor then named the second most significant street in Sydney after his wife, Elizabeth.

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[296] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney and Suburbs 1934*, map 2. Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps A, B, C.

[297] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney and Suburbs 1934*, map 2. Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map B. That such a cultural memory still exists was also evident by the creation of the semi-artificial Tank Stream Arcade, linking King Street and Pitt Street over the original upper reaches of the watercourse.  Although this arcade has now been closed, the simulated, but effective little waterfall gave the visitor the impression that they really were stepping over the original stream as they came down the stairs to shop. *The Canberra Times*: 14 October 1972, p. 18. "Sydney's historic Tank Stream is to be diverted into a city building project and will be visible to city shoppers in the form of a fountain and pool." This in itself was no doubt a reflection of the developing sense of heritage of the 1970s.  Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map C. Note the corner of King St and Pitt St, location K4. Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 54.

[298] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 26 December 1908  p. 11.

[299] UBD Australia: *UBD Sydney Street Directory 2000*, Universal Press, Sydney, maps 1, 3, 12, 18. This interesting state of George Street has remained to this day, since this was always the original main road from the old docks on the western side of Circular Quay through the suburbs to the settlement of Parramatta.  So the same winding main road changes from Hickson Road (which loops around from Darling Harbour and is named after Robert Hickson (1842-1923) the first president of the Sydney Harbour Trust, itself established on the 1 November 1901 as part of the recognition that something needed to be done after the outbreak of plague). The road then changes to George Street, becomes Broadway at Railway Square and finally Parramatta Road at the University of Sydney.

[300] City of Sydney Council: *The streets of your town* online database. Pitt Street was more likely to have been named after the British Prime Minister, William Pitt. *The Sydney Mail*: 1 January 1901, p.28. Charlotte Place itself was to be later swallowed up, along with much of its partner, Grosvenor Street, by the Bradfield Highway and the Sydney Harbour Bridge.

The skyscraper as we know it today did not exist in Sydney in 1901, with a 150 foot limit being placed on building heights until 1957.[301]  However, there were still tall multi-storey buildings for both government authorities and wealthy private financial and insurance firms.[302]  Pitt Street, then as now, was a narrow bustling thoroughfare giving the pedestrian the sensation of entering into a gorge between the towering cliffs of what Peter Spearritt has called "monuments to renaissance revival architecture" on either side.[303]  This canyon effect was recognised at the time, with *The Daily Telegraph* noting that: "the Hunter Street to Martin Place portion of Pitt Street form (sic) the 'American Avenue'….the bunting introduced talks largely of the nationality of the firms by whom they have been carried out."[304]  As was the case with Bridge Street, the very narrowness of the thoroughfare would surely have added to the dramatic spectacle as the parade passed beneath.  Images from the time demonstrate the degree to which the marchers, horses and carriages filled the entire roadway,[305] leaving little depth for spectators who would have been able to reach out and touch the participants as they passed.[306]  It was here that the two arches from those cultures embodying the epitome of modernism and the modern world were located: France and the United States of America.[307]  Both these nations were in the interesting position of also being both republics themselves (and even cultural threats to the motherland, in one way or another), while being represented by rather small populations within Australia.[308]  The French Arch location at the entrance to Pitt Street is marked even today with a hotel and restaurant christened appropriately The Republican.[309]

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[301] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 235.
[302] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 53.
[303] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 209.
[304] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 16.
[305] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 51.
[306] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 16.  From these accompanying drawings from the time, and from my own later photographs, the narrowness of Pitt Street is obvious.  One does not need to have overly tall buildings on either side to feel the sense of being in a canyon.
[307] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 52-54.
[308] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, p. 166.  The Census of 1901 lists populations by place of birth with those from France numbering 2 618 and those from the United States of America 5 217.  By contrast those with place of birth listed as China, even by 1901 were 29 513 and those from Germany were 25 002.
[309] Gregory's: *Street Directory of Sydney 2011,* map B.  This bistro provides both a link to the Federation Parade and also a more poignant remainder from the 1999 Republican Referendum that had been focussed also in the Central Business District of the city.  In addition to the earlier removal of the State Governor from Government House by the Carr Government, the City of Sydney Council, headed by Lord Mayor Lucy Turnbull had festooned these same city streets with banners advocating a "Yes" vote and the arrival of an Australian Republic in the week leading up to the 6 November ballot.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 50.

Cardinal Moran had also apparently been quite happy to add a sectarian tinge to these political views. A year earlier, while raising funds for the construction of St Mary's Cathedral, he had taken the opportunity to attack the French Revolution, which was of course then only a hundred and ten years in the past. "In France, for instance, the enemies of religion at the close of last century left nothing undone to destroy the very name of Christian… But their efforts had been in vain. When the Revolution broke out in France the entire number of French missionaries spread throughout the world was 300. Now the number engaged in mission work was 50,000." The more recently unified Germany itself also came in for the Cardinal's rather scatter gun commentary. "Germany was another example. In the beginning of the century [the nineteenth century], all the smaller states were most hostile to the Church. Now they had been absorbed by Germany; the church enjoyed almost perfect freedom throughout that vast empire, and the present population of Germany was over 20,000,000."[310]

Although the French community in Australia has always been small their arch was funded by "the French Citizens living in Sydney, with the ultimate responsibility falling on the French Community Committee."[311] The French Arch was recorded as being some seven metres high and eight metres wide,[312] although as the images demonstrate, this width was only the opening; the classically styled supports on either side would have added another three metres each, and taken up most of the width of the road.[313] Erected in the "Gothic" style with imitation masonry blocks, and the motto "Pax et Labor", peace and effort,[314] the arch contained within it a mixture of representations linking French culture, exploration, agriculture and viniculture, and of course support for the new nation of Australia. One evocative touch was the matching supporters on the top of the two piers: an Australian styled flag borne by an Emu on one and the French Tricolour apparently supported by Chanticleer on the other.[315] *The Age* newspaper was not too sure about this, and also the included possible configuration of the yet to be formally designed Australian flag, although here apparently based upon a representation of the Southern Cross, similar to the current state flag of Victoria.[316]

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[310] *The Daily Telegraph*: 22 January 1900.

[311] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p.14.

[312] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 35.

[313] Photograph Booklet vol. 1, p. 51.

[314] Milne and other press reports incorrectly reported this as Fax et Labor, fire and work.

[315] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 35.

[316] *The Age*: 2 January 1901. According to Elizabeth Kwan: *Flag and Nation*, 2006, University of NSW Press, Sydney p. 15, this flag was white, with a blue cross containing the five stars of the Southern Cross stylised with the small star in the centre of the cross. The Union Flag still held pride of place in the first

There was also a financial and trade aspect to the arch, with the coats of arms of those French cities with which Australia had commercial connections: Paris, Lyon, Marseilles and Bordeaux.[317]  Ironically, the French Consul-General actually boycotted the parade over another protocol dispute and even missed the formal ceremony at Centennial Park after being held up in traffic.[318]

Unlike more numerous non British migrant groups such as the Chinese, Italians and Greeks, the French have never really established French Quarters in Australian cities.[319] However, since the Second World War, there has been what might be called a Latin Quarter in Sydney centred on Abbey's foreign language bookshop in York Street, the Alliance Française behind the Town Hall and the Spanish club further down in Liverpool Street.  With no defined central community district, there was no cultural logic behind the location of this arch.  However, as with the siting of the American Arch further along Pitt Street, the setting would have represented and reflected very much "the modern world".

It would have been interesting, though, to consider the degree to which ideals of French liberty, equality and fraternity would have been mitigated by the recent 1894 Dreyfus affair.  *The Argus* in Melbourne still recalled Dreyfus as a martyr, "Imprisoned on a lonely island. Surrounded by miasmatic vapours, and deprived of all but the necessaries of existence."[320]  Although Captain Alfred Dreyfus would have been back in France from his brutal exile by the time of Australian Federation, he was not fully exonerated until 1906.[321]  Anti-Semitism also appeared quite prevalent in Australia at the time, although suggestions in the press of the time indicate that it was of a mild stereotyping; poking fun at supposed Jewish interests in financial profit. [322]  "Antisemitism was never

quarter canton. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 13. The Herald appeared to be clear about the birds, but also mentioned the flying of the "Australian Commonwealth flag".

[317] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 36.

[318] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 3 January 1901, p. 8.

[319] Although, of course, there was the Paris end of Collins Street, designated more through wealth, fashion and style than language and culture.

[320] *The Argus*: 23 May 1899, p. 6.

[321] Colin Jones: *Cambridge Illustrated History of France*, 1994, University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge, p. 234.

[322] *The Bulletin*: 10 February 1900, p. 11.  Note where support for the Boer War amongst the Jewish Community was presented as primarily concern with supplying loans and tenders for the campaign. Perhaps Australia's much smaller Jewish community of around 15 000  was seen as an exotic minority, rather than a real cultural or economic threat; although in percentage terms, Australian Jewry, at 0.49% of the population was over twice that of France, at a mere 0.22%.
Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No 1 – 1908, p. 174.  Those listed as Hebrew, 15 239.  Again compare with 35 666 listed for

part of the Australian mainstream", observes historian Hilary Rubinstein, noting that no social or legislative impediment prevented Sir John Monash or Sir Isaac Isaacs from reaching the pinnacle of military and civic leadership in their time.[323]  However, Rubenstein then goes on to quote instances where writers and publications such as Marcus Clarke, Norman Lindsay, Henry Lawson and 'lesser' contributors to *Smith's Weekly, Melbourne Punch, The Bulletin*, or Labor newspapers such as *The Worker, Tocsin* or *Labor Call* engaged in stereotypical bigotry.  Perhaps this is an instance where the press of the day was expressing ideals at variance to the reality of everyday life.  No doubt Australians at the beginning of the twentieth century expressed some of the anti-Semitic sentiments represented in the press.  However, this did not seem to translate into violent action or the boycotting of businesses that would have been evident of stronger feelings.  In fact, Suzanne Rutland mentions that, due to the number of practising Jews in the NSW Legislative Assembly in 1917, the House did not sit on the day of Yom Kippur.[324]

Pitt Street has always been the business centre and busiest street in the city, and as I walked up towards the GPO, the constant vehicle and pedestrian traffic indicated that this was still very much the case.  The American Arch was placed at the intersection with Hunter Street where the nearby angled Spring and O'Connell Streets still give a very "New York" almost claustrophobic feel to the precinct.  This can certainly convey to the pedestrian a sensation of vibrancy if they are partial to the hustle and bustle of urban life.[325]  The original Sydney Morning Herald Building, angled like the American Flat Iron Building, also harks back to the days when all the major social and cultural activities took place right in the heart of the CBD.[326]  The American Arch apparently

Buddhist, Confucian and Pagan, in other words, Chinese.  Jewish Encyclopaedia: *Historical Jewish population comparisons* online database.
[323] National Archives of Australia: *Anti-Semitism in Australia Research Guide*, quoting L.M. Goldman, *The Jews in Victoria in the 19th Century*, Melbourne 1954, pp. 405-6.
[324] Sydney City Council: *Dictionary of Sydney* website.  Suzanne Rutland article titles: *Jews*.  In the 1930s Sir Daniel Levy was elected as Sydney's first Jewish Lord Mayor.
[325] Terry Irving and Rowan Cahill: *Radical Sydney*, 2010, University of NSW Press, Sydney, Introduction. Note in particular the map opposite p. 1, indicating the concentration of radical action in the CBD during the first half of the twentieth century. Interestingly, this location (along with the abandoned Eveleigh Railway Workshops) is also a favourite with marketing agencies producing automobile advertising: imposing a moody sense of the tough, hard bitten and gritty metropolis.
[326] Sydney Architecture: *Sydney Morning Herald Building (former)* website. The current structure was not completed until 1929, so the march would have passed the original 1856 building. The Sydney Morning Herald building as it now exists was sold to the Bank of NSW (now Westpac) in 1954-55 and new premises build on Broadway, between Central Railway and the University of Sydney.
Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, 2011, Universal Press, Sydney map 370. By the 1990s the Sydney Morning Herald had again moved; out to new premises in industrial Chullora.

required considerable effort to erect. When one reads of the complexity of the very Classical Jeffersonian edifice, it was no wonder that post holes five feet (one and a half metres) deep had to be dug in the road side to support the structure.[327] While the arch contained sympathetic sentiments stating that "The United States of America greet United Australia"[328] and "Hail to the New Born Commonwealth", it was noted that the entablature, pediments, scrolls and extensive plaster work made a brave show that was "purely American….with golden eagles perched on every flagpole, and the Stars and Stripes float on every halliard."[329] It was fitting therefore that the American Arch should have been located on this corner. As with the other national groups such as the Germans, the influence of the Americans on early late nineteenth century and early twentieth Australian society is hard to judge dispassionately after a century of European history and American cultural dominance. Although relatively small in numbers, visitors and migrants from the United States have had an impact on the way that Australian society evolved and departed from that of Britain. American culture had always provided a pressure on Australian society to move forwards, from the Cobb and Co transport system at the time of the gold rushes, to Harold Clapp's later massive influence on the development of Victorian and Australian Railways.[330] Interestingly, Trade Unionism had also become strongly inspired by Americans;[331] Henry George prior to Federation, and even Clinton Hartley Grattan later.[332]

While viewing the passing parade, spectators would also have noted the presence of another nation itself celebrating recent unification, that of Italy. Rather than erecting an arch, which would have been noticed by all the marchers at some time during the parade, the Italians, and Canadians also, took what one might consider to the more populist option of entering allegorical cars; in other words, horse drawn floats.[333] This would have meant that most participants, apart from those in the immediate vicinity

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Photograph Booklet vol,1, p. 52.

[327] Tessa Milne: Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901, p. 38.

[328] Interesting also that, less than forty years after the end of the Civil War, the term United States should be used in the plural rather singular form: the United States *greet*, rather than United States *greets*.

[329] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 13. The implication appears to have been that none of the actual decorations on the arch related back to Australia.

[330] Robert Lee: *The Railways of Victoria 1854-2004*, 2007, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 145-152 et passim.

[331] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, p. 147. This remained more theoretical than organisational. As Rickard states, "Although there was a significant American ideological influence on the Australian labour movement, from Bellamy to syndicalism, its cultural heritage remained firmly British."

[332] William H Wilde, Joy Hooton, Barry Andrews: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 326.

[333] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.

would have not have seen them during the parade, but that all members of the viewing public at all points along the route would have caught a glimpse as they rolled past. As with the many cartoons and drawn images of the time, where young women were used liberally to embody the youth and freshness of newly emerged countries,[334] the Canadian car also relied upon this time honoured attraction, presenting "beautiful girls in gala attire on whose charming faces the crowd fixed an admiring gaze."[335] The Italian car was also "beautiful and artistically –designed", although relying upon a brass band to enliven proceedings. It continued to demonstrate the disjuncture between a desire to restrict non-British immigration, and the apparent attraction of Italian culture and language at the time.

The block from the American Arch southward to Martin Place also reflected this incongruity in attitudes towards non-British migrants. The Union Chambers at 70 Pitt Street[336] contained the offices of one Thomas Henry Fiaschi, and his company, Tizzana Wines.[337] Thomas Fiaschi was yet another of those individuals of vision who added much to the development of the colony of NSW and the developing nation of Australia. Born in 1853 in Florence to an academic family, Fiaschi gained degrees in medicine and surgery at Florence and Pisa. Upon migration, first to Queensland, and thence Sydney, he developed into one of the leading surgeons in the city, becoming president of both the Sydney Hospital and NSW Branch of the British Medical Association.[338] Thomas Fiaschi was also active in the development of the Australian Wine Industry; no doubt understandable, coming originally from the family that had created the Chianti wines around Florence.[339] According to his winery's website, Fiaschi thus was instrumental in

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[334] Note the Kipling poem "The Young Queen" in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901.
[335] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 15.
[336] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 53. One block along from the Malaysian Airlines Office.
[337] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900,* p. 112.
[338] G P Walsh: *Thomas Henry Fiaschi (1853-1927) including Piero Francis Fiaschi*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Fiaschi remains commemorated today by the copy of the 17th century Florentine statue *Il Porcellino* outside the Sydney Hospital, donated by his daughter Clarissa, the Marchesa Torrigiani in 1967.
Photograph Booklet vol,1, p. 24.
[339] Hugh Johnson: *World Atlas of Wine*, 1989, Mitchell Beazley Hugh Johnson, London, p. 192. In 1882 Fiaschi founded Tizzana Wines at Sackville on the Hawkesbury River, as well as a winery at Mudgee. The Sackville Winery still exists on Tizzana Road, alongside a reach of the Hawkesbury River now better known as a water-ski venue. Between these interests, Fiaschi also found time to preside over the Dante Alighieri Society and the NSW Wine Association.
Gregory's Publishing Company*: Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011,* map 68.

introducing "Listerian Surgery" (i.e. sterilisation of instruments and the washing of hands) into Australia.[340]

Apart from his own exemplary medical service during the Boer War and the First World War, Thomas Fiaschi's son, Piero Francis Fiaschi also served, rising to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Field Ambulance.[341] Whatever opinions toward non-British migrants they may have held at the time, few Australians viewing the parade appeared to have had concerns with placing their lives in the hands of the Fiaschi family. The country benefited much from their contribution and no doubt some would have toasted the newly created nation with a glass of their wine.

Three doors to the south along Pitt Street, at number 76, was another notable address that the Federation march would have passed; the Vickery Building. The original edifice has long been replaced by the Pitt Street Telephone Exchange; however, in 1901 this site occupied one of the most advanced architectural structures in the nation. Ebenezer Vickery, a Cornish Methodist, had migrated to Australia at the age of six in 1833. Although expected to take over his father's boot factory in George Street, Vickery had grander plans.[342] Acquiring various country properties, he became a principle behind the Fitzroy Iron Foundry at Mittagong, and in 1864 constructed Vickery Chambers using iron girders from the Fitzroy works.[343] This was a decade before the development of the steel framed office building by William le Baron Jenney in Chicago.[344] However, the American move to steel construction (the direct result of the disastrous Chicago Fire of 1871) was rapid. In Australia, the amount and quality of the metal produce by our nascent industry was meagre, so the lead taken by Vickery was not followed, and it would be half a century before this construction technology was available back in Australia for the erection of such buildings as the current telephone exchange.[345]

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[340] Tizzana Winery: *Tizzana Winery – A Brief History* online database. It is worth noting that, according to their current releases, Tizzana Winery also now offers a Federation range of vintages.

[341] Chris Coulthard-Clark: *Where Australians Fought – The Encyclopaedia of Australia's Battles*, 1998, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 69.

[342] R Ian Jack and Aedeen Cremin: *Australia's Age of Iron*, 1994, Oxford University Press, Sydney, p. 19.

[343] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 112. In light of Vickery's entrepreneurial nature, it was fitting that his chambers should have contained accountants, solicitors and the local offices of the New York Life Insurance Company.

[344] Mike Darton: *The Illustrated Book of Architects and Architecture*, 1990, Tiger Books, London, pp. 90, 98.

[345] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, pp. 128,168. Note the development from the aptly named Federation Warehouse, which was still reliant upon structural

## 10.  THE COMMERCIAL CITY

After twenty minutes walking, the marchers would have finally reached Martin Place, the point where the parade turned right to enter George Street.  One hundred years ago this was already a busy thoroughfare, although the place did not then reach all the way up to Macquarie Street.[346]  Filling the block on the southern boundary was the recently constructed General Post Office,[347] with a row of new buildings and bank offices on the other northern side.  Once it was deemed necessary to construct a new Post Office for Sydney, the City Council realised that the James Barnet designed façade would be lost overlooking the narrow Moore Street that then existed at the location.[348]  Between 1870 and 1890 land was resumed, and Moore Street widened between George Street and Pitt Street to form the 1892 Martin Place.[349]  Moore Street was always intended to be extended one block further east, and this exercise was aided and abetted by a fortuitous fire on 1 October 1890 that destroyed the very block between Pitt and Castlereagh Street that was required for the extension.[350]

Martin Place itself had been named after the former NSW Premier and Chief Justice Sir James Martin.[351]  The career of this notable State father again epitomised the fluid cultural and sectarian relations that existed then (and now) in the city of Sydney.  Born in 1820 in County Cork, Ireland, to a staunchly Catholic family, Martin emigrated to NSW with his parents the following year.  He was baptised by Father Therry in the original St Mary's Cathedral and, supported by parents who were more than willing to make sacrifices on his behalf, commenced a meteoric rise in the colony.[352]  Junior contributor to newspapers, journalist, associate of Henry Parkes, acting editor of *The Australian* at nineteen years of age, James Martin then, at the age of twenty, decided to enter the Law, having taken a keen interest in constitutional and immigration issues.

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stone and brick, to the Inter-War Commercial Style of the 1920s, when Vickery's ideas finally gained acceptance.

[346] Note maps of the time. *The Daily Telegraph* 2 January 1901, p8, *Sydney Mail* 1 January 1901, p. 28.

[347] Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of the Sydney GPO*, 1988, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, p. 113.  Perhaps "recently completed" would be more apt, since the building was begun in 1871, but the tower not completed until 1891, and even then roof extensions and additional floors were being added between 1899 and 1902, both before and after the march passed underneath.

[348] Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of the Sydney GPO*, p. 62.

[349] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 56.

[350] Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of the Sydney GPO*, p. 63. Fortuitous fires have long been a hallmark of Sydney's development and re-development.  One can think of the Elizabethan Theatre on Newtown Bridge and the Ultimo Wool Stores in recent years.

[351] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 57.

[352] Bede Nairn: *Sir James Martin (1820-1886)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.

Combining a mix of "conservative native-born strand" with a social radicalism influenced by fellow Irishman Edmund Burke,[353] Martin's views were as varied as they were idiosyncratic,[354] and no doubt well known to most of the spectators watching the march. However, at no time does it appear that James Martin's Roman Catholic heritage affected his career. Perhaps this same plasticity that resulted in the acceptance of a knighthood in 1869, coalition governments with Parkes and Cowper and finally NSW Chief Justice in 1873 at fifty three years of age, demonstrated an accommodation that was not overly concerned with doctrinaire considerations. Bede Nairn aptly sums up the effective pragmatism embodied in Sir James Martin. "Martin's family was strongly Catholic but his own denominational faith weakened as he matured. Catholicism was the religion of the Irish and their offspring, a large proportion of the colonial lower orders, but it jarred with Martin's dream of personal advancement, though he retained warm family links."[355]

That the march should pass the Sydney GPO would have been no accident. This structure embodied not only all the technological innovations of the late Victorian era, but also the advancing role of government itself. The marvels of electric communication were rapidly changing society technically and the creation of a public service required to effectively utilise these technologies was also having a cultural effect on society. Photographs of the time demonstrate the adoption of the new developments: the telephone and telegraph. Hardwood telephone posts and the masses of wires that would mark city and suburban streets from the 1880s to the present time were by then an accepted feature of the landscape and certainly visible along the route of the march.[356] The degree to which the technology that had enabled Australia to be settled and federated in the first place had continued to develop, and then served to add to the sense of isolation and threat, was noted by Andrew Enstice and Janeen Webb.[357]

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[353] Bede Nairn: *Sir James Martin (1820-1886)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. "In a notable council speech in August 1853 he effectively defended the draft constitution and revealed that Edmund Burke remained his chief inspiration, but Disraeli rather than Wentworth was looming as his political exemplar."
[354] Opposed to the advancement of ex-convicts, but against the execution of bushrangers, anti-Jewish, yet also apparently religiously tolerant, Martin would have been as difficult to compartmentalise then as he would be now.
[355] Bede Nairn: *Sir James Martin (1820-1886)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[356] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 56, 63.
[357] Kevin T Livingston, Richard Jordan, Gay Sweely: *Becoming Australians - The movement towards Federation in Ballarat and the Nation*, 2001, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, pp. 104-105. Eustice and Webb go on to point out that "Xenophobia, which had begun with large-scale immigration during the early gold rush period, intensified into a nervous resentment of foreign powers that suddenly seemed disturbingly accessible."

Whatever the political complexion of the periodicals, there was a widespread expression of belief in the fact of a separate Australian nationhood…All of this changed when, in 1872, the connection of the submarine telegraph cable link to Britain made international news a matter of immediate concern.  Australians might not be any better placed to participate physically in European affairs, but the almost instantaneous exchange of ideas had become a reality…Where incoming ships once brought news of crises long past, the telegraph brought news within hours of the event and an inevitable desire to respond.  Anxiety levels soared.[358]

The anniversary publication *The City's Centrepiece* dedicates much of its history to not only architect James Barnet's material structure, but also the social significance of the wide ranging and secure employment that this new institution offered to aspirational working people, both Catholic and Protestant, within the inner city.[359]  The building itself embodied this developing national identity, being constructed within a very classical tradition but with modern egalitarian touches symbolic of Australian ideals. As well as the usual carvings of Queen Victoria and allegories of wealth and bounty,[360] architect James Barnet included whimsical representatives of local Sydney trades people and their occupations.  Between 1870 and 1890, it was the Italian craftsman Signor Tomaso Sani who carved the keystones above the classical arches with male and female busts representing both the nations of Europe and the Australian colonies.  There is even supposedly a carving of the hero of Italian independence and unification, Giuseppe Garibaldi; if true, an understandable source of contention at the time.[361]

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[358] Kevin T Livingston, Richard Jordan, Gay Sweely: *Becoming Australians - The movement towards Federation in Ballarat and the Nation*, 2001, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, pp. 104-105. Eustice and Webb go on to point out that "Xenophobia, which had begun with large-scale immigration during the early gold rush period, intensified into a nervous resentment of foreign powers that suddenly seemed disturbingly accessible."

[359] Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of the Sydney GPO*.  Note the specific chapter on Ancillary Staff from p. 80, and the many other images and paragraphs reflecting upon the significance of employment.  Chris McConville: *Croppies, Celts &Catholics – The Irish in Australia*, 1987, Edward Arnold Australia, pp. 75, 98.  Interestingly, McConville makes the point that, "by 1902, 23 per cent of public servants in New South Wales were Catholics." Since this would have been approximately the percentage in the general population, the public service seemed very even handed, rather than favouring any one group over another.  Quite telling also is the photograph showing a dozen working women, still in their rather restrictive 1895 clothing, staffing the new telephone switching board, under the managerial gaze of another woman who is obviously their supervisor. Even at this time, women were obviously holding managerial positions within the public service.

[360] Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of the Sydney GPO*, p. 51. Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 58.

[361] Sydney Vista: *Sydney General Post Office* database. "So was Garibaldi ever found? Rumours persisted and eventually a tiny image on the side of the "Italy" head was identified as an image of interest! Some believe it is in fact Garibaldi yet others believe it is an image of Barnet kneeling to write his name on the building. You be the judge!"  Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of*

The procession passed down Martin Place, where there would have been additional opportunity for the many spectators to view the Vice-Regal party at close proximity. Although there was no formal arch in place at this location, Martin Place was decorated with a colonnade and bunting that was obviously more apt for this recently constructed wide open space. Where this civic space came into its own would have been later at night when the electric lights that covered the colonnade glowed alight: As *The Daily Telegraph* noted, "The Martin Place façade last night was the cynosure of all eyes. Right across the front in huge 12ft letters of light composed of incandescent lights on a scintillating silver background stretched the words Welcome to our Governor General. Beneath also in 12ft letters, 'God Save the Queen'."[362]

From Martin Place, the Federation Parade turned into George Street, Sydney's principal vehicular route.[363] The marchers now traversed from the governmental and business heart of the city, to its commercial and consumer centre, symbolically covering the varying roles played by the city in citizens' lives. Then, as now, George Street represented the haunt of the shopper; jumbled small commercial enterprises interspersed with arcades and department stores running along the main north south thoroughfare. While the Strand Arcade remains to this day,[364] many of the other small arcades and laneways that formed, depending upon your point of view, rabbit warrens or refuges from the hectic traffic, have gone.[365]

Despite these changes, the block formed by Elizabeth, King, George and Liverpool Streets has always provided the central quality shopping area of Sydney; as much now as it would have been in 1901. In the days before widespread public transport and suburban shopping centres, businesses strove to fit as many stores and services into this main shopping precinct as possible. One only has to look through the *Sands Directory*

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*the Sydney GPO*, pp. 56-57. "A number of years ago there was a rumour that a carving of the Italian revolutionary hero, Giuseppe Garibaldi, appears on the General Post Office…one of the major sculptors, Signor Tomaso Sani was an Italian from Florence, and as Garibaldi was enjoying widespread popularity in Italy at the time…it would have been quite likely that such a carving existed." Although the image is reproduced on p. 56 of Bridges and Appleton, I did not notice this at the time of my footstepping, and have found no reference to the rumour.

[362] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 8.
[363] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 59-61.
[364] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 62.
[365] Gregory's Publishing Company*: Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney & Suburbs 1934*, map 2. Gregory's Publishing Company*: Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map C. Note the degree to which small lanes and arcades such as the Sydney, Royal and Imperial Arcades have been subsumed in to the large complexes of the Sydney Hilton and Westfield Centrepoint.

of the time to appreciate the huge variety of small enterprises that existed along George Street from Martin Place to Park Street. Tailors, booksellers, florists, photographic studios, jewellers; the list is endless, and reflected the multifarious needs of the city dweller.[366] Miss K O'Brien: dressmaker, Thomas Cooke: mercer, Madame Polley: corset maker and Joseph Pearson: men's mercer, all give some flavour as to the businesses in this precinct. The millinery of Mrs C and A Marsh must have been extensive: the Sydney Arcade at 406 Pitt Street (no longer in existence) contained not only their millinery shop at number 20, but work rooms at number 71. This arcade also included, at number 410, the nascent Mick Simmons sports store (est 1877), a later Sydney icon. Having moved to various locations within the city over the course of the last century, Mick Simmons has now returned to 478 George Street, a mere one block away.

Then as now, the exotic was always a source of attraction, and interest in 'the other' drove the commercial imperative. Just the one specific site such as The Strand Arcade's ground floor boasted: George Saleh's Oriental Store, Miss Van Brakkel's hairdressing salon, Axtens and Le Rossignol Glovers and Hatters, the "Tosca" Mercery Studio and the Shamrock Tea Rooms.[367] One of the continuing conjectures throughout my thesis is the degree to which formally presented ideals and even civil laws contrast with the everyday lived experience of ordinary people. The newspapers and magazines such as *The Bulletin* may have poked fun at the Irish, Jews,[368] 'Orientals', and Southern Europeans,[369] but when it came to the commercial sphere, patrons and customers seemed always to have voted with their feet and their purses.

However, at the time these small bustling enterprises were coming under pressure from a commercial rather than cultural or political threat; the rise of the department store. With the development and expansion of the train and tram networks, many of the new department stores that could take advantage of these large numbers of customers began to expand. Small enterprises such as Gowings Men's Tailoring established themselves

[366] John Sands*: Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 57.
[367] John Sands*: Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 57.
[368] *Jewish Herald*: 8 June 1900, p4. Quoting the *Argus* of last Saturday "Lord Roberts, it seems has found time amid the pre-occupations of a great campaign to write a letter to Lord Rothschild in warm 'praise of the fighting quality of his Jewish soldiers'…It is difficult, indeed for the human imagination to picture Tommy Atkins with a Semitic nose and well-oiled ringlets…"
[369] *The Bulletin*: 3 March 1901, Irish Blarney and anti-German sentiments of false patriotism. *The Bulletin*: 11 February 1901, Jews profiting from the Boer War. *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 9. The chief Rabbi, A B Davis pleads for sympathy for Jews.

in the centre of the city; originally opposite the Queen Victoria Markets, thence later to the corner of Market Street, where they remained until closing in the 1990s.[370] Others, such as Grace Brothers, Anthony Hordern's and Marcus Clarke's, moved closer to Broadway and Central Railway to capture the newly arriving suburbanites as they alighted from the trains and trams. Anthony Hordern's fate reflected the era more than most. On 10 July 1901, shortly after Federation, the Great Haymarket Fire burned the block bounded by George and Liverpool Streets to the ground, including the premises of Anthony Hordern, Family Draper.[371] His son, city alderman and Federation parade planning committee member, Samuel Hordern subsequently rebuilt the massive family store on the site, to become one of the city's icons for over seventy years. Mark Foy's extravagant faience covered façade was built later in 1909 at the southern end of Hyde Park, again linking in with the new Central Railway and the expanding tram lines.[372]

Over the intervening century this retail role of the city has changed. The development of suburban shopping malls meant that many of the big department stores were fated to become white elephants.[373] Marcus Clarke's and Grace Brothers found new leases of life as tertiary educational institutions: Sydney's Technical College and accommodation for Sydney University. Anthony Hordern's acquired no such saviour. Closed in the 1970s, the entire block was demolished and then left vacant for over a decade.[374] The site of generations of family purchases of clothes and furniture was finally replaced with the World Tower complex, completed between 1999 and 2004.[375] Mark Foy's, the queen of Hyde Park, has at least survived intact as Sydney's Downing Centre Court Complex, although long gone are the days when the widespread phrase used to comment on political or mercenary bravado; "having more front than Mark Foy's," paid homage to the gloriously embossed façade.[376] With the return to city life over the last few decades, quality shopping has again returned to the district that, in 1901, would have surely been regarded as the obvious route for the Federation parade. Perhaps this renewed district of quality consumption would have been more recognisable to a

[370] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 58.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 63.
[371] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1900*, p. 59.
[372] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 214. This location became even more lucrative with the 1920s construction of the underground railway and the opening of the adjacent Museum Station. In fact, the dominance of the large Mark Foy's advertising poster so overwhelmed the less significant Museum sign that for decades people automatically called the station itself Mark Foy's.
[373] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 215.
[374] George Forbes: *History of Sydney*, 1926, William Brooks & Co, Sydney, pp. 234-235.
[375] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map E.
[376] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 June 2009 online database.

Sydney resident viewing the parade in 1901 than through much of the subsequent century. It was also noteworthy that the relatively long expanse along George Street, from Martin Place to Market Street and then Park Street did not contain any arches since the wide vista of George Street itself, with its wealth and variety of shops and stores, would have been reason enough to celebrate the prosperity of the nation.

On the right approaching Park Street still rises the warm yet commanding sandstone veneer of the Queen Victoria Building, followed by the Sydney Town Hall and St Andrews Cathedral. In 1901, these were also new and imposing buildings, with the Queen Victoria Markets, as they then were known, having only been formally opened on 12 July 1898.[377] As well as providing a suitable backdrop to the event, the imposing aspect and height of the Queen Victoria Building combined with the other commercial edifices along George Street to provide excellent (if not particularly safe) platforms for viewing the march.[378] I experienced this myself when attempting to overlay some of the photographs of the time with current images taken from their original locations.[379]

Approaching the architectural restoration offices, an executive assistant from the QVB management group introduced my photographer and me to Pascal Antunes, the project manager for the current re-development of the Queen Victoria Building. With his guidance we were able to locate almost the exact spot far up on the roof documented by the intrepid recorder a century ago. Of course in 1901 there would not have been the same air-conditioning ducting that we had to traverse, and health and safety legislation was not quite so stringent. To capture the original march would have required the photographer to cart his heavy equipment out onto the overhanging sandstone parapet of the building, putting both his life, and the lives of the unknowing spectators below at considerable risk.[380] However, the temptation at the time must have been overwhelming. This would have been one of the highest vantage points from which to view the parade, symbolically embodying the pride of the city. We thus experienced a

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[377] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, 1998, IPOH Ltd, Sydney, p. 13.
[378] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 64, 65.
[379] My photographer took some images from inside the front of the building where the Hobbyco store is currently located, and then (she herself having more front than Mark Foy's) decided to find out whether it would be possible to photograph from the same position on the roof as the accompanying picture taken in 1901.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 65.
[380] The magnificent view today mirrors the same impressive view of the Federation Parade in 1901. The 1901 photograph may well have been regarded as being even more spectacular since at the time this would have been one of the highest points in the city.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 65.

level of trepidation that was apparently not shared by the original, un-named artist.[381] Perhaps his bravado was not well founded since a young man by the name of Richard Wiseman, engaged in decorating a portion of the Queen Victoria Building for the parade, had earlier fallen off the lower four metre awning, breaking his arm and injuring his legs.[382]

Although the Queen Victoria Building is now valued as a great heritage reminder of a bygone age, at the time of its design by architect George McRae, its opening on 21 July 1898, and the Federation march that passed by in 1901, it was viewed as the height of modern style and construction.[383]  Rather than utilising the more ornate Victorian Second Empire style that had been incorporated for the earlier and adjacent Sydney Town Hall,[384] an iron framed construction faced in blocked but light sandstone was employed to give the building not only the suitable level of grandeur, but also the open airy and light filled interior necessary for its purpose as the city's primary market.[385] Taking his cue from the world wide fashion for the Romanesque that had been adopted after the rebuilding of fire ravaged Chicago a decade earlier, McRae conceived of a building that would not only serve its practical function as a retail and market centre for the city, but also as a symbol of the reinvigoration of the city following the disastrous Australian depression of the early 1890s.[386]

Again, individuals would have been noted by the people viewing the parade at this point, with one of the most significant and influential residents of the Queen Victoria Building being the Chinese merchant Quong Tart.  Born Mei Quong Tart in the Canton district of China, the businessman and community leader was nine years of age when he migrated with his uncle to the New South Wales goldfields near Braidwood.  He joined the household of the Simpsons, a Scottish family who converted him to Christianity and taught him to read, write and speak English (albeit apparently with a Scottish accent). From an early age he used his language skills as an interpreter, becoming a government

[381] Helen Ennis: *Cazneaux, the Quiet Observer*, 1994, National Library of Australia, Canberra, p. 8. Whoever it was, it surely would not have been the twenty two year old nascent Sydney photographer Harold Cazneaux, who also felt our mutual apprehension at relying upon slippery sandstone. Cazneaux's letter to journalist Nancy Cato in 1952 admitted that: "The only subjects that I did not like were those in which I was to be hoisted to the top of a tall smoke stack or dangled over a wall by rope.  My dislike was natural to a high strung nervous person."
[382] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 17.
[383] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, p. 27.
[384] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 68.
[385] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 66.
[386] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 118.

official for the districts of Braidwood, Araluen and Majors Creek. In 1883 Quong Tart was appointed to a commission of inquiry into the disturbances in the Chinese camps in the Riverina and during the increased anti-Chinese activity in 1887 spent much of his time assisting his countrymen as an interpreter.[387]

Quong Tart had become a naturalised British subject in 1871, entitling him to buy land and to vote, and in 1886 he married Englishwoman Margaret Scarlett.[388] Quong Tart campaigned passionately against the opium trade and its effect on his fellow Chinese, was the first Chinese to be elected to an Oddfellows Lodge in New South Wales and became a Freemason in 1885. As a businessman, his crowning success was the Elite Hall Tea House, occupying two floors of the Queen Victoria Building; an exclusive five hundred seat function hall with a stage and dining saloon. Across town at 137 King Street (the location of the current Tea Centre in the Sydney Shopping Mall) was another of his businesses, the Loong Shan Tea House. Opened in 1889, it boasted marble fountains, golden carp and a reading room. Both institutions became the place to be seen by high society, including members of the 1891 Federation Convention, who dined at the Elite Hall.[389]

Quong Tart's social position was not determined solely by the opinions of the Anglo Saxon community. His biographer, Errol J. Lea-Scarlett claimed that; "Quong was the only Chinese who succeeded in being accepted fully by the New South Wales community, but the popular view of him as a Chinese leader was not that of the Chinese community which was split by factions and separated from him by a wide social and cultural gap."[390] The circumstances of Quong Tart's death also clouded the issue of race relations, since it appeared that his was killed as the result of a bungled robbery, rather than any racial motivation. On 19 August 1902, an engineer named Frederick Duggan had walked into Tart's office, hit him with an iron bar, and stole £20.[391] The Chinese merchant never recovered, and died a year later, much to the consternation of

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[387] National Museum of Australia: *Harvest of Endurance* online database. Mei Quong Tart.
[388] Apparently, in the spirit of ecumenism, Quong Tart and his wife baptised each of their six children in a different Christian denomination.
[389] E. J. Lea-Scarlett: *Mei Quong Tart (1850–1903)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[390] E. J. Lea-Scarlett: *Mei Quong Tart (1850–1903)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[391] Gavin Souter: *Lion and Kangaroo – the initiation of Australia 1901-1919*, 1976, William Collins, Sydney, p. 87. Apparently as many people were perturbed by the leniency of the twelve year prison sentence then as they would be today. "The published evidence at Duggan's trial did not reveal whether the attack was to any extent racially inspired. It is true, nonetheless, that for whatever reason, the most distinguished and best assimilated Chinese in Australia met the same fate as many lowlier members of his race."

the community of Sydney.[392]   News of his death reached even the south west slopes of NSW,[393] and today his ghostly presence apparently remains in the restored building.[394]

The Queen Victoria Building too was soon to become a victim of its own success, and the technological and social change that its design had heralded.  The site bounded by George, Druitt, York and the aptly named Market Streets had always been the site of a city market place, going back to the 1820 creation of colonial architect Francis Greenway.[395]  This, as with later structures, had been pulled down to accommodate the expanding use of the site.  By the time the city council decided upon the grand edifice to cap off decades of planning and financial uncertainty, the original role for the building was inextricably changing.  Public transport was expanding and the move to suburbia meant that the need for a central produce market became less important for the city.  Consumers would travel in greater numbers into the city to buy clothes, furniture and new electrical items for their homes: they would not do so to buy potatoes, cabbages and meat.  Locales that had been the residential areas for Sydney's working class Irish and English near the Darling Harbour docks, and the Haymarket and Goulburn Street districts, were now more significant as centres of the city's Chinese population, and these residents were served by their own supply stores.[396]  Bulk produce was catered for with the expansion of Paddy's markets down in the Haymarket, while family produce was being purchased direct from shopping strips in the inner suburbs such as Newtown's King Street.  This ambivalent attitude was reflected in the press reportage of the Federation parade.  Beyond providing an elevated vantage point, little mention was made of the Queen Victoria Building in the press, certainly compared with other sites such as Martin Place and the Sydney Town Hall.[397]

Within two decades, the grand vision faded as the financial viability of the building became less secure.  In 1917 and then 1934 "modernisation" took place to try to attract

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[392] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 27 July 1903, p. 6.  Death of Mr Quong Tart. "The news of the death of Mr Quong Tart, which took place as his residence, Ashfield, last night, will be received with general regret."

[393] *The Gundagai Times and Tumut, Adelong and Murrumbidgee District Advertiser*: 28 July 1903, p. 3. Death of Quong Tart.  "Mr Quong Tart, the well-known Chinese merchant and philanthropist, died at Ashfield last night."

[394] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, p. 36. "Although Quong Tart met with an untimely end and was mourned by many, he provided the QVB with its only ghost. After a brutal attack during a robbery and his subsequent death, Quong Tart's spectre was seen walking the QVMB's arcades at night…even today."

[395] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, p. 27.

[396] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 26 December 1908, p. 11. Sydney Streets.

[397] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 8.

any available rental clientele.[398]  The ornate tessellated floors and open gallery spaces were concreted over as the structure was divided into money making pigeon holes for low end clothing, wine cellar storage and even the city's council library.[399]  In the end, the building was saved from demolition by political pressure from the growing environmental and heritage lobby, and the growing realisation that modernism was not producing the kind of city that all people wanted to inhabit.  In 1983, the Malaysian Businessman Yap Lim Sen and his company Ipoh Garden Berhad, Sydney Lord Mayor Doug Sutherland and heritage architect Ross Gardner, combined to bring the building back to life[400].  The Second Opening of the Queen Victoria Building took place on 18 November 1986.  Pierre Cardin described the redeveloped centre as "the most beautiful shopping centre in the world",[401] but it would still take another two decades to return the structure back to its true Federation era design.

It also became fitting that the city that hosted the Federation of the nation should boast as its showcase a building named for the monarch who was the very epitome of Empire. The current Queen Victoria Building not only contains glass cased displays of imperial regalia but an imposing statue of Victoria, Queen of the British Empire and Empress of India, who dominates its forecourt.[402]  Originally unveiled in 1908, in the grounds of Leinster House, Ireland, home of the Royal Dublin society, the statue was placed into storage in 1948 at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham.  Eventually, Doug Sutherland arranged to have the bronze placed on permanent loan proudly in front of the newly restored building.

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[398] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, p. 41.
[399] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 July 1927, p. 11. "Dr Bradfield had pointed out that it might not be necessary to demolish the Queen Victoria Building until 1932." *Sydney Morning Herald*: 16 February 1954. Ironically, by 1954 Premier Cahill was happy to present the building as part of the city's celebration for the visit of the new monarch Queen Elizabeth II.
[400] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, pp. 57-59.
[401] Suzanne Stirling and Helen Ivory: *QVB – an improbable story*, p. 68.
[402] Inside History: *Story of the statue in front of Sydney's Queen Victoria Building* online database. "The statue in question is not regarded as a valuable or attractive work of art; nevertheless, it is not thought that its effect on popular taste is so debasing as to necessitate the expenditure of public funds on its removal." Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 67.

## 11.  CELEBRATION AND COMMONWEALTH

After the Federation parade passed the majesty of the Queen Victoria Building it then
veered left into Park Street.  The march organisers would have preferred the procession
to continue past Sydney Town Hall and St Andrew's Cathedral, although this would
have meant then turning up Bathurst Street, which halts at Hyde Park, thereby requiring
another tight right hand turn along Elizabeth Street.[403]  The other alternative would have
been to continue down to Liverpool Street, and then turn left for the straight march up to
Oxford Street and the route to Centennial Park.  However, the gradient down George
Street would have been rather prohibitive, and the short sharp climb back up Liverpool
Street at the corner now occupied by the Mark Foy's Building Law Courts is, even
today, much steeper.[404]  There was apparently an even more convoluted plan to turn up
Park Street, back down Pitt Street to King Street, up to Elizabeth Street and then along
the side of Hyde Park to Park Street.[405]  It would seem obvious today that this would
have been quite impractical for the marchers and horse drawn vehicles, as well as
adding considerable distance to the march.  Whatever the reason, the formalisation of
this section of the route was also left very much to the last minute.

It was thus notable that the Sydney Federation parade (and the later Melbourne march)
turned prior to passing the city's Town Hall.  While this symbol of civic pride was
festooned with decorations,[406] the marchers did not proceed past the forecourt and
allow the civic fathers the opportunity to preside over events from the steps.  St
Andrew's Cathedral, being located next to the Town Hall, suffered from the same
geographical fate.  In the intervening years since Federation, this major intersection and
civic space in front of Sydney's Town Hall has continued to fulfil its role as the focal
point of the city.  For example, during the Second World War troops returning from the
Middle East marched down George Street, past the Queen Victoria Building and into

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[403] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 69.
[404] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 70.
[405] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 November 1900, p. 9.  The Route To Be Reduced.  "It may be taken
as practically settled that the route of the procession formally agreed to at a conference between the
Premier and the Citizens' Committee, but since strongly objected to on account of the 'doubling
back'…will be modified.  Strong representations upon the danger to life of such a route being adopted
have been made to the Premier by the Mayor of Sydney and the Inspector General of Police… In addition
to this, the Citizens' Committee, being impressed with the consensus of public opinion against the longer
route, will, it is understood, approve of the shorter one being adopted."
[406] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 8. Even then, the *Telegraph* could note that "The open space
on which the noble pile stands is a relief to the eye after the incessant rows of business premises that shut
out the sky".

the Town Hall Square for their salute to be taken by the Governor General Lord Gowrie, prior to being sent up to New Guinea to stem the 1942 Japanese advance.[407]

Australia was similarly embroiled in foreign wars at the time of Federation. The Boxer Rebellion was a relatively minor operation militarily, but of political and cultural significance, while the Boer War was the major military campaign that had occupied the media for the previous year or more. Disillusion would eventually set in as soldiers discovered that fighting a guerrilla war entailed activities that were far from the soldierly ideal.[408] However, at the beginning of 1901 support was still high, indicated by the reception given Boer War veterans, where, "the enthusiasm of the spectators was most boisterously manifested when the returned soldiers from South Africa and a group of veterans displaying their well-earned medals get into line."[409] Interestingly, for a parade of military pageantry, the Boer War contingent did not shy away from the less glamorous aspects of military life; "whilst an ambulance wagon brought up the rear."[410] Of the ten thousand troops lining the route, many were Boer War veterans themselves, and *The Sydney Morning Herald* at least looked upon the Federation parade as also serving the purpose of honouring the returned soldiers.[411]

Thus did the procession skirt the edge of Town Hall square and turn left into Park Street, to be greeted by the Melbourne Arch.[412] This particular edifice was financed by the Corporation of Melbourne,[413] with particular instructions telegrammed to the march organisers that it be constructed at a prominent point along the route.[414] However, the actual planning and erection was left too late, and required the eventual assistance of the NSW Government Architect. Consequently, the arch ended up being cheaper and more

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[407] Australian War Memorial: *Photograph image 026512*. Lord Gowrie taking the salute of the 16th Brigade in September 1942.
[408] Craig Wilcox: *Australia's Boer War*, 2002, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, pp. 162, 311-320.
[409] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.
[410] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.
[411] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 20 November 1900, p. 5. The Imperial Guard of Honour Honouring Returned South African Soldiers. "A parade of 10,000 troops expected." Livingston, Jordan, Sweely: *Becoming Australians – The movement towards Federation in Ballarat and the Nation*, 2001, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, p. 2. Not all subsequent commentators have shared the original enthusiasm. While "others note the warmth of the reception given to the soldiers who had just come from the South African War", Steven Alomes described the Commonwealth Inauguration as a display of British power and of 'jingoism rather than antipodean democracy'." *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 20 of May 1987, p. 50.
[412] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 71.
[413] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 40.
[414] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 10.

austere than originally intended, with the £1,000 allocated for a more elaborate structure being underspent by some £600.[415]

Perhaps the photographic images of the time do not do the arch justice. Milne claims that the "beautiful structure" was well received and apparently popular, at least with *The Sydney Morning Herald*.[416] Amusingly, Milne also mentions the quote of Central Organising Committee chairman John Portus; to the effect that the erection of the Melbourne Arch would serve: "to show that they had forgiven us and that the long tradition of inter-state (inter-colonial) jealousy was about to be eclipsed."[417] One could argue that, in this at least, he would be proven gravely mistaken. The Corporation of Melbourne could certainly not have been more pleased with this location of their arch. Even in 1901, this intersection was one of the primary hubs of the city; on the main thoroughfare of George Street, presided over by the Town Hall and Queen Victoria Building, and on the significant crossing of Park Street before it becomes William Street, still the main route to the harbour side Eastern Suburbs.

Park Street remains one of the few locations along the route where whole rows of commercial buildings can still be viewed very much as they would have looked in 1901.[418] The block between Pitt Street and Castlereagh Street, on the northern side, retains many of the original business premises, with numbers 44 to 48 in 1900 having been the Kelly fruiterer, a tailor and Frederick Petley, tobacconist, with the then Barley Mow Hotel on the corner.[419] How long this small isolated precinct will remain is a moot point. The period from the 1930s to the 1970s had seen the construction of the T&G Building taking up the southern block bounded by Park, Elizabeth and Castlereagh Streets, only to then be demolished for the current Pacific Power tower complex. This is merely the latest phase of a long unfolding process. If you view the image of the Melbourne Arch, you will note that Park Street appears narrower than in current photographs.[420] As part of the widening process for both the main route to the Eastern Suburbs, and the creation of the precinct in front of the Town Hall, Park Street

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[415] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 12 December 1900, p. 8. "The Melbourne city surveyor arrived by the mail train yesterday, and interviewed the Citizens' Committee in regard to the erection of a Victorian arch at a cost of about £1,000." The arch ended up costing only £400.

[416] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 10.

[417] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 20 December 1900, p. 5. Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 41.

[418] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 72.

[419] John Sands: *Sands' Sydney and Suburban Directory 1900*, p. 108.

[420] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 71.

was broadened in the early 1930s.[421]  This was accomplished by merely demolishing the southern side of the street and moving the roadway back by some eight metres. Consequently, while the heritage northern side has remained, the entire southern side of the street was totally replaced with Art Deco era structures.[422]

The parade then made the short journey along the original Park Street to the Elizabeth Street corner of Hyde Park. This flat expanse which would have so benefited the marchers and the horse drawn carriages harked back to a strange geographical anomaly that had been already overlaid with a century of alteration by the time of Federation. The slight low gradient from this intersection back down Elizabeth Street, past the Great Synagogue to the new Sheraton on the Park hotel, was the site of the original source of the Tank Stream: in effect a hanging swamp.[423]  Although the wider landscape of central Sydney falls away sharply to Circular Quay in the north, to Woolloomooloo in the east, and to Darling Harbour in the south and west, there existed a strange little swampy lake sitting on the edge of Hyde Park.[424]  By 1901, this had been well filled in and drained, and as with the Tank Stream itself, lost from sight.  While the Tank Stream has remained in the city's historical memory, if physically in the subterranean, the stream's source has been all but forgotten.[425]

Hyde Park itself has been a reserve of green within the city of Sydney from the earliest settlement, initially as a parade ground, racecourse and playing field for the adjacent Hyde Park barracks in Macquarie Street.  To the footstepper, is now obvious that the original existence of this swamp dictated that the surrounding land be zoned for open space free from built structures.  The park had therefore been laid out with formal style in the 1870s and 1880s, always with the intention of it remaining the premier city's green belt.  The diagonal walkways are already evident in photographs from this period, as are the newly planted trees lining the paths.[426]

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[421] Sydney Streets: *Then and Now Gallery* online database.
[422] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, pp. 149-171.
[423] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p 73.
[424] Peter Bridges and Robin Appleton: *The City's Centrepiece – The History of the Sydney GPO*, p. 20. Photograph Booklet vol.1, p 74.
[425] While not claiming to be an expert on the history of Sydney, I grew up with a fairly sophisticated appreciation of the heritage of my own city, yet did not know of even the existence of this colonial site until researching my thesis.
[426] Alan Sharpe: *Pictorial History City of Sydney*, 2000, Kingsclear Books, Sydney, pp. 60-61. Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 75.

The Commonwealth, or Citizen's, Arch dominating this significant part of the city was both the largest and the most expensive for the Parade.[427] "Two or three of the eight [arches] have been put up by the government. The most noble and ornate of all of them – the Citizen's Arch – is being erected at the expense of the citizens of Sydney, by a committee of which the Mayor is the head, and to which subscriptions have been liberally sent."[428] The cost of the structure was significant at £1,000;[429] a sum, quipped *The Age* as being "by far the most pretentious",[430] and while the southern paper did mark that this amount had been raised by contributions from "a patriotic people", it strangely failed to point out that the original allocation for the Melbourne Arch had been an identical amount. The size certainly was needed to accommodate the span of Park Street, as well as provide a suitably imposing spectacle. As previously argued, it then does become an interesting question as to why such a monumental statement of civic moment was to be merely a temporary structure. Although giving the effective impression of solid masonry, the arch was constructed only of plaster and board;[431] however its construction was considered significant enough at the time to have had Varney Parkes, the son of Sir Henry as its supervisor.

Even today, the site appears to be perfect for a solid masonry structure permanently commemorating the Federation of the Australian nation. Many, including march organiser Edward William O'Sullivan and Varney Parkes themselves, also called for a permanent arch to be erected.[432] Total cost would have been some £17,000; within even the sometimes dubious organising capabilities of O'Sullivan. The size of even the temporary structure certainly would have been impressive, with a main arch being twenty six feet wide (eight metres), and the two side arches each twelve foot six inches wide (four metres), accommodating not only general traffic but also "sufficiently wide

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[427] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 76.
[428] *The Argus*: 1 January 1901, p.5.
[429] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, 2000, The 1901 Centre, University of Technology, Sydney pp. 41-42. Apparently there had been four such arches planned, possibly to cover all four corners of the Park Street bisection of Hyde Park, though eventually, only the one was constructed,
[430] *The Age*: 2 January 1901.
[431] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 43.
[432] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 15 January 1901, p. 5. Proposed Permanent Record. "In anticipation if the matter being considered by the [Citizens' Celebrations] Committee, Mr Varney Parkes, architect of the Commonwealth Arch, has furnished Mr Hennessey with a drawing of an entirely new structure, which would be a distinct architectural triumph and an object of beauty for all time, besides worthily recording the momentous event which occurred on the first day of the new century."

to accommodate two lines of tramways should it ever be necessary to lay them along Park Street."[433]

Obviously a considerable degree of thought and planning had actually gone into this proposal, with the still very classical form being based on a modern concrete shell which could later be veneered with marble, bronze or copper.[434]  As *The Sydney Morning Herald* claimed, "The concrete would be everlasting and if the veneering …ever became defaced it could be removed and new veneering put on."[435]  A large permanent classical reproduction of the original temporary structure would not be out of place within the formality of the Hyde Park precinct, and could even cope with the ever larger buildings constructed on the adjacent corners of Park Street. "Complaint has been made that nothing in this pageant will be a lasting memento of the great event.  It is therefore proposed to have marble models made of all this ephemeral magnificence and to store in the national museum.  The Citizen's Arch will stand for a few months – at least until the Duke of York arrives, and probably after."[436]  The grandiosity of such permanence would no doubt have been out of place with the sentiment of the times; the celebration of a dramatic event, but then the conscious return to the everyday; 'moving forward' to create a modern nation.  As *The Daily Telegraph* itself stated, "We are a practical people all the time, and when we have recited the titles of the Queen, or the Governor General, and read the engrossing formalities of a State document, we are satisfied that we have accomplished all that it is necessary to do."[437]

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[433] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 15 January 1901, p. 5.  *Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney & Suburbs 1934*, map 3.  Within the decade the major tramline to Kings Cross and the harbour side Eastern Suburbs was indeed constructed. The re-alignment of the corner from Elizabeth Street into Park Street still exists as a palimpsest to the city's tram network.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 76.
[434] *The Argus*: 1 January 1901, p.5.  The state premier Sir William Lyne was apparently against the "ornamental Corinthian style….. but the citizens through their committee took matters into their own hands and three months' work was compressed into a fortnight."
[435] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 15 January 1901, p. 5.
[436] *The Argus*: 1 January 1901, p.5.
[437] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.

## 12.  THE CLASSICAL EAST

The Federation parade, and my therefore footstepping, continued down between the two divisions of Hyde Park to where Park Street melds into William Street.  As mentioned, this road was the main thoroughfare to the harbour side Eastern Suburbs, although the traveller would first have to traverse the less than salubrious gully of Darlinghurst and Woolloomooloo.[438]  As the accompanying image indicates, it was this very view back from Kings Cross and Potts Point to the city across the poverty stricken wastes of the "Loo" and "Darlo" that inspired town planners to adopt the concept of the City Beautiful and the movement to suburbia.[439]  The *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* that supplied the original of this image of the city was edited by journalist and politician, Dr Andrew Garran.[440]  The pro-Federationist Garran would go on to edit *The Sydney Morning Herald* and, along with those such as Sir James Martin, follow the well trammelled path from young liberal to "a colonial conservative incongruously upholding laissez faire against a rising tone tide of state control."[441]  Andrew Garran's son, Sir Robert, would also go on to distinguish himself as lawyer and secretary to many of the Federation Conventions and Committees, secretary to the Attorney General's Department from 1901 to 1916, and be acclaimed as Australia's first public servant.[442]

It is now realised that it was not the physical environment and housing either here, or in Darling Harbour or the Haymarket that was the source of misery, but the poverty of a people in the throes of economic depression.[443]  The same inner suburbs spreading north and south from William Street now provide some of the most desirable and expensive housing in the city.  This gentrification was well underway by the early 1960s with Woolloomooloo resident Frank Clune noting in 1961 that, "The streets and alleys of the Loo have been replanted and rebuilt, sweeping way many old slum tenements."[444]  The process still had a way to go in 1910 when Henry Lawson penned his descriptive picture of William Street. [445]

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[438] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*,  maps D, 4.

[439] John Archer: *Building a Nation – a History of the Australian House*, 1987, William Collins, Sydney p. 117.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 78.

[440] Andrew Garran: *The Picturesque atlas of Australasia*, 1888, The Picturesque Atlas Publishing Company, Sydney.

[441] E K Bramsted: *Andrew Garran (1825-1901)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.

[442] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, pp. 375-376.

[443] Geoffrey Blainey: *A Land Half Won*, chapts. 20, 21.

[444] Frank Clune: *Saga of Sydney*, p. 39.

[445] Henry Lawson: *A Fantasy of Man – Complete Works 1901-1922*, p. 485.

Beginning where the shadow streets

Of vacant wealth begin,

Street William runs down sadly

Across the vale of sin….


'Tis William Street that rises

From stagnant dust and heat,

(Old trees by the Museum

Hold back with hands and feet) –


And where the blind are plying

Deft fingers, supple wrists –

'Tis William Street, exclusive,

Where pray the Methodists.


The blind courts see the clearer,

Side lanes grow trim and neat,

The wretched streets are cleaner

That run from William Street.


It was at this geographical point that the German Arch was located.[446]  This structure
was financed by the German residents of Sydney, although constructed by the same
contractors as the Commonwealth Arch; Hudson Brothers.[447]  It also embodied the
concept of unity: "United Germany Greets United Australia", which had originally been
intended as "United Germany greets the Commonwealth of Australia."[448]  The change
in text would have reflected the rather late confirmation of the use of the term
Commonwealth in the title of the newly unified nation.[449]  A confused mixture of
respect, mockery and fear of an expanding Germany was evident within the press not

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[446] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 79.

[447] *The Argus*: 28 February 1882, p. 7. By 1882 this company was already "well known timber merchants,
manufacturers of joinery work and of railway rolling stock."

[448] *The Daily Telegraph*: 15 December 1900, p. 1.

[449] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 5 April 1897, p. 6. The use of the term Commonwealth was not
universally popular, with at least one commentator mentioning the risk of a Cromwellian Commonwealth
being imposed, and the poet James Brunton Stephens also indicating a preference for "The Dominion of
Australia".  Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, pp. 46-
47. Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, pp. 348-349.

only during celebrations for Federation, but over other wider issues such as German influence in South East Asia. Such notions were not confined to Australia, although German civilisation was often considered preferable to others. "The decision must soon be made," says the Hon John R Proctor, president of the United States Civil Service Commission, "which will determine whether the principles of constitutional liberty and self-government represented by the civilisation of the Teutonic races or the repressive absolutism of the Slav [assuming to mean the Russian Tsar] shall dominate the world."[450]

Clearly, there was a mix of admiration for yet another nation that had united only thirty years earlier, as well as grudging respect for the technical strength that was then both threatening the British Empire, and acting as a spur to the previously mentioned expansion of education.[451] Cartoons in *The Bulletin*, as often the case, seemed to capture the mixture of mockery, fear and tension.[452]

> A Casus Belli: "What defence can you offer for knocking him [a man of German heritage] about like that?"
>
> [Anglo Australian defendant] "He walked past my house with a German sausage in his hand."
>
> [Anglo Australian judge] "Case dismissed"; [defendant] leaves court without a stain.

Sydney's *Daily Telegraph* dedicated a full paragraph to summarise the culminating fears that many Australians felt at the time. These issues further added to the impetus for Federation, again with Russia being viewed as great a threat as Germany. "The vested interest of Russia in the Chinese Empire [this was just prior to the Boxer Uprising] is now almost too great to relinquished without a struggle…..So the question…is whether Russian power in China shall be permitted to attain fuller development….Japan has taken the island of Formosa and want to add Fokien province on the mainland opposite to it; Italy more feebly demands part of Che-Kiang province….."[453]

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[450] *The Daily Telegraph*: 20 January 1900, p. 8. Originally written in a 1900 issue of *Harper's Weekly*.
[451] Neville Kingsley Meaney: *The West and the World 1789-1914,* 1972, Science Press, Sydney, vol.1, chapt. 12.
[452] *The Bulletin*: 3 March 1900, p. 18.
[453] *The Daily Telegraph*: 20 January 1900, p. 8.

At this geographical point the parade turned safely to the right into College Street where were (and still are) located two of the city's primary, and oldest, educational institutions: the Australian Museum and the Sydney Grammar School.[454]  The Australian Museum building dated from as early as 1849, with extensions being added as recently as the 1980s.[455]  Along with the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, located below Central Railway Station in Ultimo, this was one of the few substantial museums open to the general public for most of the last century and a half.[456]  Although Anderson discusses the role of museums in the relationship between western society and the exotic cultures being presented in their galleries,[457] it is also the relationship between the museum and other educational institutions, and the population they are meant to serve, which is significant.  It was such access to knowledge that had previously been the preserve of a limited few that served to widen the concept of community.  In contrast, next door stood the Sydney Grammar School opened in 1857, ostensibly to prepare students for the recently established University of Sydney.[458]  The journalist and poet Andrew Barton "Banjo" Paterson attended the school from 1874 before matriculating to study law at the university.[459]  This remains an institution for the limited few and has provided an exclusive education for those able to pay the fees,[460] or those granted scholarships.[461]  The Federation parade would thus have passed, within the course of one hundred metres, a symbol of the aspirational working class utilising state institutions to gain access to newly available scientific knowledge, and a most potent symbol of traditional education still restricted by cost to the wealthy elite.[462]

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[454] Photograph Booklet vol.1, pp. 80, 81.
[455] Frank Clune: *Saga of Sydney*, p. 258.
[456] Graeme Davison and Kimberley Webber: *Yesterday's Tomorrows – the Powerhouse Museum and its precursors*, 2005, Powerhouse Publishing, Sydney, p. 222.  Daniel Potts and Karin Sowada: *Treasures of the Nicholson Museum*, 2006, University of Sydney, Sydney, p. 9.  The Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences has subsequently expanded into the Powerhouse Museum, adding to the Nicholson Classics Museum and Macleay Museum of Natural History at the University of Sydney, the WEA institute in Bathurst Street and the previously mentioned new Sydney Museum in Bridge Street.
[457] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*, pp. 178-185.
[458] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 March 1859, p. 9.  Even a mere two years later, the perennial issue of state aid for non-government schools raised its head with the vote for £1,000 for Sydney Grammar from state coffers being postponed.
[459] Clement Semmler: *Andrew Barton (Banjo) Paterson (1864-1941)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.  And if the "Banjo's" middle name sounds familiar, he was distantly related through his mother's side to Australia's Prime Minister at Federation, Edmund Barton.
[460] Sydney Grammar School: *School Information* online database.  It is worth noting that Sydney Grammar School has a separate website dedicated purely to the fees charged by the school.
[461] Photograph Booklet 1, p. 81.
[462] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*, pp. 180-181. Although referring to the development of colonial education in Burma, Anderson's quote perhaps could also apply to post-colonial Australian culture. "Progressives – colonials as well as natives – were urging major investments in modern

The last formal structure to be passed as the Federation parade made its way out of the city was the Military Colonnade located at the intersection of College, Liverpool, Oxford Streets, and Wentworth Avenue.[463]  A colonnade was chosen by Government Architect Walter Liberty Vernon, rather than another heavy triumphal arch providing  a welcome break from the preponderance of more formal arches at all the earlier locations.  This may have been rather incongruous at the time, since would have been one structure along the route of the march intended to convey an overt sense of military pride.  Friezes on both sides carried lettering meant no doubt to demonstrate military solidarity with both Britain and the Empire, but also with New Zealand.  "To our Comrades from Over the Sea" was inscribed on the northern side, while "To our Comrades of the Southern Seas" was on the southern side and thus unfortunately probably unnoticed by the marchers.[464]

While this location has been designated as Whitlam Square since 1983,[465]  the name appears to be rarely used, and is certainly not a common geographical identifier in the manner of Martin Place or Queen's Square.[466]  Although one of the major traffic intersections in the city, filtering the vast majority of those in both cars and buses to the Eastern and South Eastern Suburbs, this square's modern claim to fame is as the beginning of Oxford Street, and the point of either commencement or termination for the annual Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras.  Participants and floats usually assemble further along at Taylor Square before conducting their own procession down Oxford Street to Hyde Park, thus reversing this brief section of the Federation parade from a century earlier.[467]

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schooling. Against them were arrayed conservatives who feared the long term consequences of such schooling, and preferred the natives to stay native."
[463] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 82.
[464] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 48.
[465] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Revised Maxi Street Directory 1988*, map BB.
[466] *The Australian*: 25 July 2013 online database. Councillors agree to put Gough on the map. "Although the intersection at the southeast corner of Hyde Park was named Whitlam Square in 1983, signage has since disappeared and the landmark is often not signposted on maps."
[467] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 30 July 2013 online database. Plan to rename Taylor Square to mark gay pride.

## 13. CITY REDEVELOPMENT

Once through the Military Colonnade, the parade turned into Oxford Street for the gentle incline up to Taylor Square, and then out of the city to the formal inauguration ceremony at Centennial Park. Oxford Street is another thoroughfare that would have looked quite different in 1901, primarily due to its width. At the time the street was a standard 60' (18.3m) wide, but was about to change dramatically. The later 1908 Royal Commission into the Improvement of City and Suburbs recommended the widening of William, Elizabeth and Oxford Streets. "Everyone admits that Sydney has outgrown her plan (if her casual growth can be called a plan), as a child outgrows its swaddling clothes."[468] In 1909 work began on demolishing the northern side of the street and widening the roadway to its present 100'or 30.5m.[469] One of the inevitable losses included the original Burdekin Hotel on the Liverpool Street corner, prophesying the later loss of the family home in Macquarie Street two decades later.[470]

It was again an outsider who pushed hardest for these city improvements. John Daniel (Jack) Fitzgerald was a compositor and union activist from Shellharbour in Wollongong who rose through the ranks of the developing labour movement to find an eventual home within the establishment of Sydney.[471] Perhaps it was the range of experiences from his youth that broadened his interests and attitudes. Although from a strong Irish Catholic family, Fitzgerald attended the local state school and Fort Street Selective School in Sydney, as well as St Mary's Cathedral School. An early member of the Socialist and Republican Leagues he had, through the party political shenanigans of 1893 "lost some of his trade union, Labour pragmatism and now sought social and political improvements by democratic, knowledgeable, alert and concerned professionals, operating at various levels of government."[472] What was significant to the footstepper in Fitzgerald's career was his trip to England in 1890 to publicise the

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[468] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 11 June 1908, p. 5. City Improvement, The Royal Commission. The importance of expanding the rail network was also recognised. "Mr T R Johnston, Chief Railway Commissioner said the great need of Sydney now was a system of suburban railways." Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 15.
[469] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 October 1906, p. 9.
[470] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 91.
[471] Bede Nairn: *John Daniel (Jack) Fitzgerald (1862-1922)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[472] Bede Nairn: *John Daniel (Jack) Fitzgerald (1862-1922)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.

great Australian Maritime Strike within the British union movement.[473]  While in Europe, he not only saw the grinding poverty among British workers and the squalor in which they lived, but more importantly, a possible solution in Baron Haussmann's radical modernisation of the centre of Paris.[474]  The plague outbreak in 1900 and the construction of the city's new railway terminus provided the ideal impetus to experiment upon a rather small confined festering eyesore.

For the first half a century of rail transport in NSW, the main terminus for the ever expanding country and suburban network remained at what was known as Redfern Station.  Both names and locations for stations through the late nineteenth century were remarkably flexible, with Sydney's Redfern Station originally sited in the gully between Chippendale and Surry Hills, adjacent to the current Cleveland Street overpass, while the current large Redfern Station was named Eveleigh.  All that remains of the original terminus is the Mortuary Station that used to load Sydney-siders for their last ride to Rookwood Cemetery.[475]

Plans had long been in train to create a major rail terminus actually within the city; at Hyde Park.  However, there were two issues that remained unresolved: the public outcry that would have occurred if Hyde Park had been resumed, and the existence of Brickfield Hill that would have forced trains to travel up the same steep slope that precluded the Federation parade from following this route.[476]  Finally, the same NSW Minister for Works Edward William O'Sullivan (apparently known as "Owe Sullivan" due to "the variety of his expensive projects"[477]) put forward his proposal to move Redfern a mere six hundred metres north, into land that was currently occupied by the city's heritage Devonshire Street Cemetery.  A bluff good natured man who also rose through the printing industry into the Labour establishment, O'Sullivan even submitted plans for the new station.  "O'Sullivan's sketch for it had all the salient features of the

[473] *The Sydney Morning Herald*:  26 November 1915, p. 4.  The Labour Party Jubilee, letter to the editor. " I [T J Houghton]would like to correct one of the statements made by Mr Black to the effect, as published by you, that Mr Fitzgerald was sent to Great Britain by the Labour Defence Committee (of the maritime strike in 1890) to raise funds for the support of the strikers.  At the time I was secretary of the Labour Defence Committee…so I should know something of the subject. The truth is, Mr Fitzgerald was going to England on his own account, and the Labour Defence Committee gave him credentials, through me, to place before the trade unionists of the old country the facts connected with the strike in Australia."
[474] Colin Jones: *Cambridge Illustrated History of France*, 1994, University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge p. 214.
[475] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney & Suburbs 1934*, 2006, The Australian Book Guide Company, Sydney, map 6.
[476] David Burke: *Making the Railways*, 1995, State Library of NSW, Sydney, pp. 139-140.
[477] David Burke: *Making the Railways*, 1995, State Library of NSW, Sydney, p. 140.

Colosseum [sic], St Paul's, the Kremlin and a Yankee skyscraper."[478] Fortunately for posterity, the government stuck with Walter Liberty Vernon, the Colonial Architect, to come up with the glorious Federation Free Classical styled structure that exists today.[479]

An additional four hundred metres would have brought the city's new rail hub under the lee of Brickfield Hill, at the point beneath Goulburn Street where the current City Circle line enters the underground. This is a mere two hundred metres down from Hyde Park and would have been easily accessible by foot from the Central Business District; but it wasn't to be. When the grand station was eventually finished the premier Sir John See, prior to blowing the golden whistle that would formally open the complex, could not resist making mention that Central had actually "been built in the wrong place".[480] But O'Sullivan's heritage has remained as a much loved part of Sydney's landscape.[481] "His reputation was based on his honesty, enthusiasm and humanity; his very blunders seemed to endear him to the hearts of the people."[482]

As mentioned earlier, the construction of the station entailed the removal of the 1,145 bodies from the old Devonshire Street Cemetery to Botany by steam tram. This was actually being planned while the Federation Parade was passing above along Oxford Street, and by 5 January 1901 the Minister for Works had published a letter, "to state that the utmost reverence and respect will be shown in regard to the human remains and tombstones in the Devonshire Street Cemetery. Before any workmen are allowed to disturb the ground for railway purposes, the remains will be removed to the cemetery indicated by the descendants or friends of the deceased."[483] It is interesting to note the comment of the old British and Manchester radical, Elijah Dixon in Paul Pickering's work *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford*. Apparently, in May 1839, local Mancunians had rallied to protest the expansion of the recently constructed Leeds-Manchester railway through their local cemetery, requiring the removal of graves in their thousands.[484] That the Devonshire Street site was no longer being used, and that Sydney residents were actually looking forward to the construction of a brand new

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[478] Bruce E Mansfield: *Edward William O'Sullivan (1846-1910)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[479] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 104. Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 84.
[480] Alan Sharpe: *Pictorial History of the City of Sydney*, p. 134.
[481] *The Adelaide Register*: 31 May 1910, p. 7. O'Sullivan's fame even spread interstate. "When Mr O'Sullivan designed (sic) the Central Railway Station, Sydney, he was laughed at…"
[482] *The Catholic Press*: 7 January 1909, p. 16.
[483] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 5 January 1901, p. 4.
[484] Paul Pickering: *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford*, pp. 11-12.

railway terminus, would have been reason enough for them, however, to acquiesce to the State Government's requirements.

With the "uncovering" of the abysmal conditions of the poor, notably the Chinese, in the plague struck district of Darling Harbour;[485] the civic authorities would also take up the mission of cleansing the whole adjoining Wexford Street district.[486]  This area was bounded by Liverpool and Oxford Streets to the north, Elizabeth Street to the west, the cemetery and future rail centre to the south, and the equally poor, but slightly less congested Surry Hills to the east.  As mentioned, the Irish, who had earlier inhabited the district, felt that the dilapidated state of the area cast aspersions on their culture.  "The new Irish League in this city has found a cause of complaint in the name of Wexford Street.  At its last meeting, one of the members said that until 1872 this place was known by quite another name, and he wanted to know why it had been changed. Wexford, he contended, was insulted by the present designation."[487]  The Irish League member was, of course, quite right.  An 1865 map of the city shows the area to have then been called Market Street, linking the area directly with the Haymarket to the west.[488]  Photographs did present the district in a very poor light, although as Peter Burke has commented regarding the general attitude of city photographers: "According to their political attitudes, the photographers chose to represent the most run-down houses, in order to support the argument for slum clearance, or the best looking ones, in order to oppose it."[489]

Wexford Street was subsequently razed and replaced by the wide expanse of Wentworth Avenue.[490]  The alignment of the maligned Wexford Street still remains as Foy Lane, now a small back delivery access lane that also references to the, then under construction, Mark Foy's department store one block away on Liverpool Street.[491]  The

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[485] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 12 September 1891, p. 8.
[486] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p 85.
[487]  *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miner's Advocate*: 4 May 1900, p. 3.  An alternative opinion on the issue was put forward by professor Anderson Stuart of the University of Sydney. "Wexford Street we have merely accepted as a name and we have never at any time connected it with the county to the latter's detriment.  It is generally accepted that street names have no outside application at all, and certainly none to their residents, and if the contrary opinion is to prevail as a result of the league's decision, what of the many other thoroughfares which are even more libellously named than Wexford Street."
[488] Suzanne Mourot: *This Was Sydney – a pictorial history from 1788 to the present time*, 1969, Ure Smith, North Sydney, p. 54.
[489] Peter Burke: *Eyewitnessing – the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, p. 86.
[490] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 88.
[491] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map F. Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 88.

whole district was converted to light industrial and commercial as both social change and government policy was encouraging this very development.  The new department stores needed storage warehouses for their goods that were close to the railway yards and close enough to the stores themselves that items could be transported by cart or lorry.  As the new Australian Government sought to expand the protection for Australian industry that had brought Victoria into the Federation,[492] businessmen looked for sites where clothing and footwear factories could utilise the nation's raw materials of wool, leather and cotton, while then being close to the same department stores for sale to the public.  The newly modernised Wentworth Avenue arrived just in time.[493]  Even after this massive redevelopment, the quarter continued to evolve into the district for car and then motorcycle sales.[494]  With the rise of the 1950s Bodgies and 1960s Mods, the prevalence of large British motor bikes and cool Italian motor scooters lent an air of disreputable thrill to the avenue.[495]  As happened with Oxford Street above, a period of abandonment has been followed by the current expansion of upmarket accommodation for those wishing, and able, to return to inner-city living.

## 14.  MARCH OUT TO CENTENNIAL PARK

From the urban confines of Darlinghurst, the Federation parade then marched out to Centennial Park for the formal Inauguration Ceremony.[496]  The route originally taken has remained almost identical, as it follows the eastern ridge along modern Oxford Street from the city to Centennial Square, Paddington.[497]  However, specific sites passed along the route to Centennial Park do demonstrate the great changes that can occur to both the built and social environment over the course of a century.

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[492] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 19 July 1916, p. 14. "The Minister for Customs, Mr Tudor, was waited on today by a deputation from the Federated Clothes Trades of Australia, which sought similar duties  for men's ready-made clothing as were already in operation under the present tariff for women's clothing."
[493] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 89.
[494] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 18 November 1999 supplement.
[495] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 13 December 1951, p. 2. "There are two kinds of bodgies and widgies, the old and the young. The young walk on their own feet, the old have fine motor cars. The young are fools; but the old are evil. However, there is no excuse for evil, young or old…. In the 1880s bodgies and widgies of the day were called 'pushes' – originating, I think, in Melbourne." Of course!
[496] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 91.
[497] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Revised Maxi Street Directory of Sydney 1988*, maps 11, 12.  Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps 4, 21.  The one immediate difference noticed is that the route is now punctuated by twelve sets of traffic lights, these having increased from about eight sets twenty five years ago.
Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 95.

As a newly established European nation being settled from virgin bushland, it is understandable that rapid changes in the physical surroundings would occur over the course of a century. Suburbs along the Oxford Street ridge such Darlinghurst and the inner east of suburban Sydney to Paddington were opened up through the long Victorian era, from the 1830s to the start of the twentieth century.[498] The spread east through the sand hills was slow, with the initial grand estates such as Elizabeth Bay House and Vaucluse House finding themselves gradually absorbed within the rows of terrace houses and bungalows. Maps from the 1860s show the city proper to have still halted at Darlinghurst, with Paddington just expanding as a suburb.[499] Waverley and Woollahra were isolated belts of sand hills, estates and hobby farms that would have taken almost an hour to reach from the city by horse and cart. As the parade progressed along this route the participants and spectators must have been aware of travelling from a city already a century old, into suburbs that were still under development. It is worth noting that, unlike today, public transport at this time often preceded settlement.[500] The image of electric trams in 1905 on Rose Bay Road (now South Head Road, the main thoroughfare north of Oxford Street), then running through virgin scrub to the isolated settlements further out gives a good indication that there will soon be houses along this route.[501]

Unlike the deteriorating Darlinghurst, by the time of the Federation march, Paddington was an established and fashionable shopping precinct for these newer, comfortable upper working class suburbs that could now readily be reached from the city by public transport.[502] As the march itself demonstrated, even walking to and from the city every day was always quite feasible, with Centennial Square at the corner of Centennial Park still only a distance of around four kilometres from the GPO. By the Second World War the district had also then declined to the point of being virtually a slum; "still seedy and unloved, but with a bohemian, cosmopolitan atmosphere."[503] However, with the

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[498] Brian Turner: *The Australian Terrace House*, 1995, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, pp. 60-61,81. Compare the compact early Victorian terraces in Surry Hills, the up market early Victorian terraces in Redfern with the mass of later terraces (now including adequate toilet facilities) spreading over the hills of Paddington.

[499] Suzanne Mourot: *This Was Sydney – a pictorial history from 1788 to the present time,* pp. 54-55.

[500] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 93.

[501] Alan Birch and David Macmillan: *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*, p. 204. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 29 March 1923, p. 10. Bondi Beach Land Sale. Even in 1923 Crown Land on the flat plain behind Bondi Beach was available for purchase for brand new homes

[502] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 26 July 1906, p. 9. Raine and Horne were also offering brand new terraces in Glenmore Road five years after the Federation Parade.

[503] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 8 April 1937, p. 15. Slum Clearance, Paddington Council. "The Paddington Council has agreed to meet the Housing Board to discuss plans for the abolition of slum areas

move back to the city from the 1960s, and recognition of the value of inner suburban living, Paddington in particular became extremely attractive, and a valuable conservation district now only available to the wealthy.[504]

After passing Darlinghurst Courthouse and Taylor Square on the way out from the city, the march would have reached the precinct formed by the meeting of Oxford Street with Darlinghurst Road, Barcom, Victoria and South Dowling Streets. Although the intersection has always been significant for traffic, linking Kings Cross and the Eastern Suburbs with the southern route out of the city, it is only now that residents have pressured both the City of Sydney Council and Woollahra Council to accord it recognition and a name: "Three Saints' Square".[505] This interesting example of the deliberate creation of heritage is centred on the Christian religious centres of St Vincent's Hospital, St Sophia's Greek Orthodox Church and the large Catholic Sacred Heart and Notre Dame Complex dominating the quarter.[506] In 1901, both the Sacred Heart and St Vincent's had already been in existence as notable institutions for decades. St Sophia's, Australia's first purpose built Greek Orthodox Church, was still twenty six years into the future, although indicating that there were many Greek settlers already in the city.[507] In a way, this site also reflects the interaction of geographical and cultural nuance.[508] The flat Square between the gradual rises to the east and west still marks a subtle border between the racy end of Oxford Street running back to Taylor Square and the city, and the more settled and suburban Paddington.

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in the Paddington zone." In view of the number of houses that remain, it would appear that the plans did not eventuate. Brian Turner: *The Australian Terrace House*, 1995, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, p. 84.

[504] *Sydney Morning Herald*: 26 June 1935, p. 10. "Restriction on Flat Building." Even in 1935, the threat to the Paddington streetscape by the developers' newfound love for blocks of flats is apparent. Interestingly, one of the perceived threats is the increased risk of disease. "It must be remembered, too, that an epidemic is a danger to which cities of Sydney's size are always susceptible." Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 207.

[505] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 92.

[506] *Sydney Morning Herald*: 21 September 2008 online database. Project convener Sue Ritchie has said: "It's an area which everyone knows but it's never had an identity. It is the only five-way intersection on Oxford Street which doesn't have a name…..The area is a real mess…..We decided the only way there can be any unity is to get the community together and do something ourselves."
Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map 4. It is worth noting that, even in this 2011 edition, Three Saints' Square has not yet been listed with the established Taylor Square, Whitlam Square etc. It will be interesting to see whether the location really does become accepted in the future.

[507] St Sophia Greek Orthodox Cathedral Group: *Statement of Significance* NSW Government Office of Heritage and the Environment online database.

[508] As mentioned earlier, the hilly nature of eastern Sydney has meant that cultural distinctions such as suburbs and cultural connections such as roads have always been defined by landforms: hills, gullies and ridges.

Footstepping along Oxford Street from the city, skirting the edge of Darlinghurst and then up through Paddington, thus reflects both social change and social class. From Hyde Park to Victoria Barracks, a distance of one kilometre there are, for example, now six hotels, while from the Barracks to Centennial Square at the edge of Paddington, covering the same distance, there are four hotels, with many more within close proximity to the main road (the road map lists a further six on the two relevant pages).[509] The borders between Darlinghurst and Paddington, and Paddington and Woollahra, still provide clear breaks in the congestion of these watering holes. While there remain hotels in the main shopping areas of Bondi Junction and Double Bay,[510] the prevalence is far less noticeable. And remembering too, that there are now quite a few inns such as the "Millers" at Taylor Square and the "Exchange" and "New Burdekin" on the slope back to Hyde Park that would have been sites of refreshment at the time of the parade, but no longer function as hotels.[511] It is obvious that hotel culture was a cornerstone of working class society.[512]

The consumption of alcohol was therefore also a social issue at the time.[513] Alcohol abuse was seen as a serious concern at the beginning of the twentieth century, invariably reflecting social pressures and individual reactions to economic pressures. Temperance societies were strong at the time of Federation, notably amongst the Evangelical and Methodist Christian Churches, and many of the associations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union were equally fervent in their role supporting the Federation movement.[514] On the other hand, Norman Lindsay's cartoons disparaging Christian teetotallers and snickering at the misdemeanours of drunks,[515] and Sydney cartoonist William Edwin Pidgeon's drunken tour of the hotels of the city even later in

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[509] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps 4, 21.

[510] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps 4, 21.

[511] City of Sydney County Council: *Oxford Street* online database.

[512] Alan Sharpe: *Pictorial History of Newtown*, 1999, Kingsclear Books, Sydney, p. 70. Even today, every second corner on the main roads of most inner city suburbs features the ubiquitous pub.

[513] Australian Bureau of Statistics: *Crime in Twentieth Century Australia* online. "While we can focus on significant differences, some similar threads run right through the century. Alcohol-related crime was a predominant cause of criminal justice involvement in 1900, while today it is substance abuse in general, but alcohol still remains a major component in criminal activity." Interestingly, the national figure for assault (offence against a person was 2.62 per 1000 of the population in 1901, while a century later in 1999, it was 7.04 per 1000. The ABS describes this as a decline!

[514] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 8 November 1900, p. 5. The Temperance Cause. "Great United Demonstration. A Temperance Political Party. Monster Meeting at the [Sydney] Town Hall." Although Temperance organisations did not march, their influence was strong during the Federation process. Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, p. 429.

[515] *The Bulletin*: 5 January 1901, p. 15. The effects of intoxication are presented by Norman Lindsay as amusing, if socially embarrassing. The wider implications of, for example, "manoeuvres with Jane" and the sexual assault of young domestics is glossed over.

1933, implies a more easy-going attitude. [516]  The issue, then and even now, was that pubs provided both a vital social hub for a less mobile society and a sink hole for the limited finances of the poor.[517]  Social reformers, such as Mona Ravenscroft from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Sydney, even in 1943 recognised this conundrum;[518] "far more money is spent [by the working class] on non-essentials, such as beer, cigarettes, cakes, tawdry articles (sic), than by middle class people… [Yet] there is a vast system of clanship ties operating in these localities, and this background, deeply rooted in tradition, is greatly valued by people in depressed areas."[519]

As Oxford Street gently climbs to the east the Federation parade would have passed the significant site of Victoria Barracks.[520]  Unlike most other public and private structures along the route, this would not have been a glistening new building even in 1901.  The barracks were the first construction in the area, built by convict labour between 1841 and 1848, to move the military out from the centre of the city to the then isolated Eastern Suburbs.[521]  The sand hills that backed onto the coast and formed the source of the lakes running down to Botany Bay were long considered good for little else other than sporting arenas, waste disposal and the city zoo.[522]  However, the supplementary water supply for Sydney between 1830 and the 1870s consisted of Busby's Bore, fed by a tunnel from the nearby Lachlan Swamps adjacent to the current Sydney Cricket Ground, to an outlet in Hyde Park, near the current entry to St James Underground

[516] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, p. 216.
[517] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 3 September 1907, p. 10. "The city of Sydney is notoriously over-licensed. The slums would scarcely remain but for the liquor bars. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 April 1909, p. 8.  Again, such continual complaints that there are too many hotels in Sydney would indicate that this really was a serious problem, at least as far as *Herald* readers were concerned.
[518] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, p. 183.  "The accommodation reached between the hedonism of the 'workingman's paradise' and the morality of Protestant wowserism was symptomatic of Australian social practice.  Thus most approved, or at least accepted strict laws relating to drinking and gambling, while at the same time sardonically acknowledging sly grog, off course SP betting and two-up as an authentically Australian sub-culture."
[519] Peter Spearritt: *Sydney's Century – a History*, 2000, p. 206. Quoted from *Social Horizons* No1 July 1943: Ravenscroft, The Housing Problem.  John Gascoigne: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 116.  "As Elizabeth Windschuttle points out, its base [female temperance] was a growing Australian middle class which sought to reshape the behaviour of the working classes in particular."
[520] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 93.
[521] Suzanne Mourot: *This Was Sydney – a pictorial history from 1788 to the present time*, p. 120.  Philip Cox and Clive Lucas: *Australian Colonial Architecture*, 1978, Lansdowne Publishing, Sydney, pp. 222-223.
[522] *Sydney Mail*: 1 January 1901, p. 28.  Even the map for the Federation Parade notes this aspect of land use.

Railway Station.[523]  The new barracks would thus also provide security for the water pipe that ran through the military site on its way under Oxford Street to the city.

At the top of what would have been quite a substantial climb for the marchers and for horses carrying riders or pulling cars, stands Paddington Town Hall, and the beginning of the fashionable Paddington shopping strip.[524]  Although quiet and sober in 1901, and certainly quiet and refined today, Paddington Town Hall has hosted significant episodes throughout Sydney's recent history.  Rock Concerts, Trades Union meetings and even Homosexual Conferences[525] have all used the facility strategically placed at the hub of eastern and south eastern Sydney.  From this locale it is a flat eight hundred metres, and a less than ten minute march, along the top of the ridge to Centennial Square and the entry point for Centennial Park.

It was more than apt that the Federation Parade organisers should have chosen Centennial Park for the location of the actual declaration of an Australian Federation. Established in 1888 to commemorate the centenary of first settlement, the vast space was then only twelve years old, and still close to its original sand and grass banked lake shore appearance.  Even *The Sydney Morning Herald* noted its level of isolation. "Until yesterday the Centennial Park was, even to Sydney residents, almost a *terra incognita*, heard of only dimly, through the occasional reports which have appeared in the press with regard to the progress of the [Centenary commemoration] work."[526]  Although the region may have been described as *terra incognita*, it certainly would not have been unknown to most local residents of East Sydney.  A few years earlier, the city was divided over a notorious rape incident that took place at nearby Mount Rennie.[527]  On 9 September 1886, sixteen year old Mary Jane Hicks was essentially kidnapped by a cab driver and taken to the spot that was then an isolated tip and waste area near the old Sydney Zoological Gardens.  Today Mount Rennie is located adjacent to the Moore

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[523] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 11 September 1852, p. 4. Mr Busby and the Sydney Water Works. "Amid all the discussions which have of late taken place respecting the Water Supply for our metropolitan city, one material fact has been lost sight of – that the venerable gentleman to whose forethought, perseverance, and scientific skill the citizens are indebted for their present Water Works has never been suitably rewarded for that great and most successful enterprise."
[524] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 94.
[525] Terry Irving and Rowan Cahill: *Radical Sydney*, p. 326.
[526] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 27 January 1888, p. 3.  "The Scene at the Park, the day after the dedication."  Alan Birch and David Macmillan: *The Sydney Scene 1788-1960*,  p. 203.
[527] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 September 1886, p3. The Moore Park Outrage. "Two more prisoners before the court." *Sydney Mail*: 1 January 1901.  Again, the Federation march map is the most accurate for locating this site with Anzac Parade, the golf course and Mount Steele (fundamentally the same hill).

Park Golf Course, and can be seen clearly from the Southern Distributor as the expressway crosses Cleveland Street. The Mount Rennie / Mount Steele complex is used now for primarily for grass skiing: it is still an isolated location at night.

Apparently the cab driver attempted to assault the girl, when she was 'rescued' by a group of larrikins, the Waterloo Push, and then raped by around a dozen of the youths. The case caused a storm of controversy: the obvious suffering of the young girl, authorities attempting to clamp down on the rise of 'Larrikinism',[528] who was actually guilty, and of course, why the gang just happened to be in the location at the time. The girl not only had the trauma of rape to contend with, she was then required to face her attackers (while still under sedation) and indicate by a nod or shake of her head who was responsible; knowing that she was then likely condemning the youths to death.[529] The authorities were adamant. "On the day before the Executive met to consider the matter a deputation waited upon his Excellency the Governor urging that the prerogative of mercy should be exercised." However, the Judge, Sir William Windeyer "characterised the crime that had been committed on the woman, Mary Jane Hicks, as so atrocious and horrible that every lover of his country must feel that it was a disgrace to our civilisation."[530]

By now the march would have reached Centennial Square and turned right to proceed down Lang Road rather than enter through the main Oxford Street gates. At the time, this side road was called Green Street, no doubt referring to the greenery that would have lined the road prior to the large 1920s and 1930s houses being built, but would later be changed to commemorate Presbyterian Minister John Dunmore Lang.[531] The steepness of the slope from the formal Parkes Drive to the short Hamilton Drive must

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[528] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 12 February 1892, p. 7. Verdict of Wilful Murder. "John Smith… having seen the deceased placed in a cab… He had seen three men near the fire station a few minutes previously, but had not recognised them. The coroner said…I am perfectly certain of that, and that the Government will take such steps, seeing the length to which larrikinism has gone, to protect you from coming to any harm…"

[529] Alan Sharpe: *Pictorial History of Newtown*, p. 104.

[530] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 December 1886, p. 3. 7 January 1887, p. 3. The Mount Rennie Outrage. Alan Sharpe: *Pictorial History of Newtown*, p. 105. In the event, four youths went to the gallows on 7 January 1887, five were sentenced to long prison terms, and the cab driver, Charles Sweetman, received fifty lashes and fourteen years gaol. As a postscript, one of the accused, Mick Donnellan, released after ten years behind bars still claiming his innocence, devoted the rest of his life to social work in the local district, and later became a city alderman.

[531] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 15 December 1926, p. 20. NSW State Government Office of Environment & Heritage: *Martin Road Heritage Conservation Area* online database.

have been an issue, so the parade entered the now named Jervois Avenue[532] gates and preceded around the Grand Drive to the Pavilion.[533]   Ironically, this would have meant by-passing the marble 1897 statue of Sir Henry Parkes, the Father of Federation[534] located at the intersection of Parkes Drive and Hamilton Drive[535]  This edifice would suffer a further indignity in 1970 when the marble itself was damaged by vandals,[536] and it was not until 1996 that State Premier Bob Carr unveiled the current Alan Somerville bronze statue in its place.  As can be seen in the photograph, this statue resides on the original plinth, still bearing the gold letters: Sir Henry Parkes GCMG.[537]

The Federation parade came to a close with the formal Inauguration Ceremony conducted in the temporary but inspiring amphitheatre.  The numbers that were accommodated at the ceremony were as enormous as those that viewed the march through the city and would also have required just as much logistical planning.[538]  These included seven thousand five hundred formally invited guests, ten thousand school children, one thousand four hundred members of choir and chorus, not to mention the one hundred and fifty thousand members of the general public in the surrounding natural amphitheatre.[539]  The majority of these spectators who had been awaiting the arrival of this parade would not have walked the distance from the city.  The newly expanded and upgraded tram network had been put to good use in transporting the thousands from as early as 7:00am, although even this system was overloaded by the crush.  *The Sydney Morning Herald* correspondent listed some of the tram routes that were covered trying to get people to and from the event:  "Park Street, Crown Street, Cleveland Street" trams all linked in to the original Redfern Railway Station.[540]

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532 Robin W Winks: *Sir William Francis Drummond Jervois*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Jervois Avenue was named after this former Governor of South Australia and New Zealand.
533 For those interested in the history, landforms and vegetation of Centennial Park, the NSW Government's *Centennial Parklands* online database is of interest.
534 Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 96.
535 Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map 21.
536 NSW Government Centennial Park and Moore Park Trust: *Centennial Parklands* online database. Sir Henry Parkes.  *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 9 April 2005 online database. Killed off by vandals, griffins come back from the shed. "Unfortunately, those [griffins] in Centennial Park could not put up such a good fight, unable to defend themselves against a more modern enemy; vandalism."
537 Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 96.
538 *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 10 December 1900, p. 6.  "Mr Vernon, the government Architect, has prepared the plan for the seating of the distinguished guests who have been invited to witness the swearing-in of the Governor-General at Centennial Park. Provision has been made for seating 7,000 guests."
539 Australian Broadcasting Commission: *Australia's Centenary of Federation*, 2000, ABC 100 years online database, Sydney, Inauguration notes, quoting unnamed newspaper cutting. Photograph Booklet vol.1 p. 98.
540 *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1901, p.16.  One is left wondering, however, why such important information was placed back on page 16.  Many newspapers mention the real danger of loss

The dispersal after the Inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia event was apparently as efficient, with public transport again providing an effective service. "Trams could also be lined up in Flinders Street. This would relieve the overcrowding in the street at once… And as the last cheer died away, drowned in the resonance of the National Anthem, the brilliant company which had graced the pavilion moved homewards, and the bright and brilliant inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia was a thing of the past."[541] This natural amphitheatre is still occasionally used for performance and entertainment today, judging by the signage,[542] although the area that saw the Inauguration of Federated Australia in 1901 now appears isolated, and only regularly visited by passing residents walking their dogs.[543]

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and injury to the large number of children whose schools and families would have been reliant upon the transport system.

[541] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901, p. 9.

[542] Photograph Booklet vol.1, p. 99.

[543] Gavin Souter: *Lion and Kangaroo – the initiation of Australia 1901-1919*, p. 324. Writing in 1976, Gavin Souter was able to reflect on the level of cultural memory of the event. "Although the 75th anniversary of Federation passed almost without notice, the jubilee in 1951 was celebrated with great assiduity throughout the Commonwealth. A commemorative plaque was erected on what remained of the pavilion in which the Commonwealth had been proclaimed in Centennial Park. This hexagon wooden structure, minus its original white exterior, was moved in 1901 to Cabarita Park, beside the Parramatta River, where it stands to this day as shabby and forgotten memento of proclamation day." Australian Government Department of the Environment: *Federation Pavilion (former), Cabarita Rd, Cabarita, NSW, Australia* website. "The former Federation Pavilion is located near the centre of Cabarita Park. The pavilion is much altered from its original 1901 appearance, with most of its ornate features gone."

## 1. POINT OF COMPARISON

After investigating and analysing the principal Federation parade in Sydney, I now prepared to follow a similar methodology in Melbourne.  Part of my evaluation process was to compare and contrast both the marches in the two capital cities with a view to making a contribution to the public record through the analysis of my footstepping methodology.  As well as undertaking an historical study of the actual marches themselves, I also intended to explore the more general interpretive process whereby similar studies could be replicated and analysed in a more general form.  To this end, the different experiences of the two cities that I brought to the interpretation of the two parades would not only provide a contrast, but also a valuable guide as to the true effectiveness of my theoretical approach.

Determining the degree to which a researcher could use the footstepping technique, interpreted through the process of thick description would be partially dependent upon the degree to which this process is independent of personal knowledge and previous experience.[1]   Consequently the parades in the two cities offered a unique opportunity to contrast levels of familiarity and background knowledge and their influence on the footstepping and thick description: the degree to which personal experience influences analysis of the historical process.

Having grown up in the inner suburbs of Sydney through the late 1950s and 1960s, I brought to my analysis of the first march both a strong familiarity with this urban environment and, even as it has changed over the last half a century, a feel for the city and a level of knowledge of its history and its culture.  My analysis of the Sydney Federation inauguration parade would therefore be both consciously and unconsciously supplemented by an appreciation that I was able to constantly draw upon to add to the

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[1] As I mentioned in the Introduction, my purpose in analysing the two Federation marches was twofold: Firstly, to actually determine how people at the time thought of the emerging Australian identity through the process of footstepping: investigating whether those without an Anglo Saxon or Anglo Celtic cultural and racial heritage could, or should, participate in the new nation that was being created,  Secondly, to evaluate the methodology itself, and determine whether it is even viable to attempt to rely upon this non-literate technique of footstepping to uncover these attitudes, particularly for a community rather than for individuals.

investigative process. Living in an environment not only enables one to absorb the culture first hand as it is directly experienced, but also through family recollections, remembered incidents and even articles in the daily newspapers coming into the household; and these can traverse generations. My own memory of trams in Sydney is fleeting, since they had all gone by the time I was nine years of age. However I was always aware, through family stories and through observation of the tracks still embedded in local concrete roads, the empty sheds and altered street alignments, that the city had once boasted one of the most extensive tramway networks in the world.[2]

In the case of Melbourne, I was totally reliant upon the information that could be gleaned from the experience of footstepping, and from what I could learn from the press and commentaries of the time, as well as written historical observations over the intervening years. The practical process that I undertook for this thesis corresponded with only the second time that I had visited Melbourne, and the first time that I had walked the streets of the southern city.[3] Consequently, I intended to discover whether there is indeed validity in evaluating experiences and attitudes from the past without either total reliance the written record or reliance upon personal memory. Is this a viable approach for the many instances when historians attempt to analyse past circumstances of which they have effectively no prior personal experience and only second and third order knowledge?

Many of the other writers inspiring the methodology behind my thesis were in a similar situation to that which I found myself in Melbourne: be it Clifford Geertz in Morocco, George Orwell in Wigan, Richard Holmes in France and Italy, Michael Wood at Troy, or Jonathan Raban in the Modern Middle East. In each case, they were approaching the physical reality of their studied cultures for the first time. The tenor of their travelogues through time and space is partly centred on the very novelty of their circumstances. While most rely upon written texts, and have often been inspired by these written texts, there is little personal referencing back to these locations either at the time they were describing, or through experience of the intervening years. Geertz's thick description and E P Thompson's attempting to enter into the very essence of the event and bringing

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[2] Note chapter 7 and footstepping the Sydney parade; the development and expansion of the Sydney tram network from Federation, to its height during the immediate post-Second Word War migration boom, and its virtual overnight destruction at the beginning of the 1960s.
[3] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 2, 3.

to life even the most apparently mundane aspects then becomes not only the most effective way, but really the only way of analysing these experiences.[4]

This approach has both the positive and negative aspects that were covered in the Introduction to this thesis, and ones that would quite likely have also affected my interpretation of the Melbourne march. On the one hand, coming with an essentially clean slate gives an immediacy unencumbered by expectations that may overlay immediate revelation with subconscious ideas and interpretation from the past. However, in viewing such foreign locations, there is the risk of simply missing out on much that is important, while compensating by reinforcing cultural ideals from one's own background. The interpreter may be coming to a situation with a blank canvas regarding the new experience; however, they cannot come devoid of memory with respect to their own past social or professional life. For example, what Ryle and Geertz claim to be mundane aspects of the cultures that they are analysing may not be mundane at all, and it could very well be their preconceived view of what constitutes lesser and greater significance that is colouring their interpretations.[5] "Culture, this acted document, thus is public, like a burlesqued wink or a mock sheep raid," Geertz notes. "Though ideational, it does not exist in someone's head; though unphysical, it is not an occult entity."[6] One could argue that although the physical expression of culture has to be physically visible, the interpretive and emotive aspects are precisely what do exist in people's minds.

There was also the other notable distinction between my approach to the footstepping process in Melbourne and that previously followed in Sydney. This centred on the analysis of one specific parade against a combination of events that took place over the course of a week. In Sydney, the inauguration of Federation was planned for the first day of the new century, and therefore all significance centred on that day; Tuesday 1 January 1901. There was the one primary celebratory march through the city on this day, and consequently I was able to accurately trace the route of this procession. The

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[4] As mentioned in the Introduction, this becomes the practical method for approaching the E P Thompson ideal of viewing past historical analysis through specific episodes.

[5] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 7, 8. As mentioned earlier, although Geertz is describing Ryle's famous sheep raid in central Morocco in 1912, he is still using the European third order description of the event to relate to the audience what happened. It would be interesting to have had as second order description from Cohen himself, or the local commandant, Col Dumari, or even one of the sheep raiders.

[6] Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 10. Thus, while some previous knowledge of the community may both colour and skew interpretation, it may also uncover valuable knowledge that would otherwise be ignored.

significant events in Melbourne centred on the opening of the Federal Parliament. This was, of course of equal importance, but more of an administrative occasion that was less focused on the one specific day. There was thus a series of parades, from the Monday 6 May 1901 arrival of the vice-regal party, to the Thursday 9 May formal opening of Parliament, and even further parades through to Saturday 11 May. Consequently, my methodology compressed the process into primarily an evaluation of the Monday parade through the city, but also included aspects of the other marches that also utilised the same established routes and arches.

The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York arrived at St Kilda Pier on 6 May 1901, and proceeded to the Princes Bridge for their formal welcoming by the Lord Mayor of Melbourne before progressing through the city along the route that I would follow over a century later.[7] Although the Governor General Lord Hopetoun returned to Government House and would not take part in any parade until the summoning of the new Federal Parliament, the other officials continued on for this very public march through the city.[8] The Royal Party would again parade through the city to the formal opening of Parliament three days later, on 9 May, following a similar route and passing under most of the same arches, although in a different sequence, since the primary purpose was now to arrive at the Royal Exhibition Building for the actual formal ceremony.[9] If this was not complicated enough, along with these previously mentioned events would be the other smaller parades and celebrations, including the Chinese Procession and Australian Stockmen Parade on the Tuesday.[10] Even Sydney's *Daily Telegraph* became confused, publishing the map of the initial Vice Regal and Citizen's Parade as that for procession to the Exhibition Building opening of Parliament.[11]

Whatever views may have been expressed at the time regarding Chinese immigration and those Chinese resident in Australia, it is worth noting that the formal program for the week long Melbourne celebrations included the Tuesday Chinese procession.[12]

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[7] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 6.
[8] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 14.
[9] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9. *The Age*: 9 May 1901, p. 7.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 5.
[10] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9.
[11] *The Daily Telegraph*: 7 May 1901, p. 8.
[12] *The Argus*: 8 May 1901, p. 8. The Chinese Procession "Novel and picturesque display. If there is any virtue that can be laid at the doors of the Chinese, it is that responsible for first-class processions." The Stockmen's Procession. "An interesting exhibition. A piece of back-blocks life was set down in the city

Their part in the celebrations was listed in print along with that of the most Australian of icons, the Stockman's parade. With such a plethora of activities, one could at least claim that the arches and other decorations produced for the Melbourne festivities were not wasted. For example, the Stockmen's march began at 2:00pm on the afternoon of 7 May, beginning at the William Street Law Courts, and proceeding in reverse of the other parades, to Collins, Spring Street and Parliament House, then Bourke and Swanston Street, ending at Government House.[13] That same evening there was also a march of Fire Brigades commencing at 8:30pm on the eastern Parliament Hill along Gisborne Street from the Fire Headquarters, heading down Bourke Street and Swanston Street to Government House.[14]

As was the case with Sydney, consideration was taken regarding the route of the primary parade, not only in the buildings passed but also time and distance to be traversed. These had to be long enough for the parade to pass through the main centre of the city and provide the opportunity for as many members of the public as possible to view the proceedings, but not too long for the marchers themselves. Early May is no longer the middle of summer, but daytime temperatures can still be quite high.[15] The Monday parade through Melbourne from and to Government House was timed to run from 11:00am to 2:00pm, with the Vice-Regal party previously taking a little over an hour to travel the five and a half kilometres from St Kilda to Government House. From there it was still one kilometre to Flinders Street Station, taking a further twelve minutes, and then five kilometres for the City march itself, returning to Princes Bridge after an estimated forty five minutes.

As was the case with the Sydney footstepping, my timings also varied, since Melbourne now possessed the same level of restrictions posed by traffic lights, unclosed roads and far denser traffic. A century after the event, the walk from Government House to Princes Bridge took at least fifteen minutes, while the route of the march within the city

yesterday. The Australian bushman was taken from his home amid the eucalypts and presented as faithfully and full as the exigencies of a procession would admit to the 'poor little street-bred people'."
[13] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.
[14] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 4.
[15] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5. Although both *The Age* and *The Argus* dedicated a large part of their newspaper columns to the organisation of the marches; routes, participants etc, there appeared to be very little coverage of the weather, once the events were underway. It was up to external press reports to confirm the positive hopes of the Victorian Government Astronomer. *Zeehan and Dundas Herald, The Charleville Times*: These were only some of the press outlets that described the weather on the day as magnificent, bright and fine. However, according to the *Bunbury Herald* of 25 April 1901, the weather a fortnight earlier had been bad with high rainfall and even "heavy floods are the consequence."

now extended out to fifty five minutes. In this respect, the processions in the two cities actually mirrored one another. Sydney's celebration began with a parade through the city's streets and was then followed by a long straight march to Centennial Park. Melbourne's celebration began with an equally long straight march from St Kilda, to be then followed by a similarly distanced parade through the streets of the city.

## 2. ARRIVAL IN MELBOURNE

The second half of my footstepping methodology analysing Australian attitudes to citizenship at the time of Federation therefore centred on retracing the Melbourne Federation parade held prior to the opening of Parliament. Although there had been celebrations in Melbourne on the first of January 1901, the day that Federation was proclaimed in Australia, it was the formal opening of Federal Parliament on 9 May later that year which gave the southern city the rationale for its own major celebrations. Sydney may have had the initial festivities with the march to Centennial Park and the declaration that united the separate colonies into the one new nation, but it would be Melbourne that would play host to the new Federal Government; at least until a suitable site for a permanent capital city could be decided upon, and then constructed.[16]

My initial footstepping was arranged for February 2009, so one important facet of the Melbourne parade was no longer going to correspond: the time of year and the season. However, in May 2011, I was again able to journey to Melbourne to retrace the route, this time at the corresponding time of year. As was the case with Sydney, this second evaluation would also include a further analysis of significant sites that were adjacent to the actual march route. This initial research thus took take place at a very sobering time in Melbourne's recent history. I set off for Melbourne on Monday 16 February 2009, merely one week after Black Saturday, when the region north of the Victorian capital had been devastated, and the whole state traumatised, by the worst bushfires in the nation's history.[17] Although now aware of what I would be travelling into, the journey

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[16] *The Argus*: 4 April 1908, p. 17. The Canberra Site. "In the Legislative Assembly, Colonel Ryrie asked the Premier (Mr Wade) whether, in the event of the Federal Government choosing Canberra as the capital site, he would be prepared to deal liberally in regard to the area of land required." *Sunday Times*: 28 November 1909, p. 12. Yass-Canberra Capital Site. "The Federal Capital Territory Acceptance Bill has passed through all stages without amendment in the House of Representatives."
[18]*Australian Geographic*: 9 August 2012 online database. Perfect storm led to Black Saturday bushfires "The Black Saturday bushfires, which swept across Victoria in February 2009, were the most devastating

had been planned prior to the outbreak of these fires. Unlike the inter-state and inter-colonial visitors a century earlier, I had the dubious benefit of being able to fly to the capital of the former colony of Victoria, and therefore had to book my expedition well in advance.

Air travel really has two compensating advantages; it is the quickest way to traverse the vast distances that, a century ago, would have taken days, or even weeks, and modern day air travel has the significant advantage of cost. While those of an earlier generation are able to look back nostalgically to the great post Second World War era of comfortable and efficient rail travel, the availability of even this mode of transport in 1901 would have been more financially restrictive than air travel is today. Geoffrey Blainey points out that in the late 1890s, for example, a train and coach trip from Adelaide to Birdsville on the Queensland, South Australia border would have cost the equivalent of one month's wages for a skilled tradesman.[18] An equivalent air trip today costs about two day's wages, and a bus trip of equal distance, half that. Henry Lawson's poetic recollection of travelling by train from the Central West of NSW to Sydney, even in 1922,[19] would have been a relatively rare and luxurious experience.[20]

> Have you seen the Bush by moonlight, from the train, go running by,
> Here a patch of glassy water, there a glimpse of mystic sky?
> Have you heard the still voice calling, yet so warm, and yet so cold:
> "I'm the Mother-Bush that bore you! Come to me when you are old."

However, the very fact that relatively fast reliable rail transport could now connect the very isolated colonial capital cities, and connect the political and cultural leaders of the colonies, meant that by 1901 political unity was also possible. Anderson mentions the significance of transport and communications in establishing the physical parameters for the mental concept of a community to be created.[21] In practical terms, one could argue that the Federation of Australia was only made possible through a modern rail network that would later be paralleled by the evolution of air travel. While rail

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in Australia's recorded history. They caused 173 fatalities, destroyed more than 2100 homes and decimated a number of townships, including Marysville and Kinglake
[18] Geoffrey Blainey: *A Land Half Won*, p. 186.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 7.
[19] Henry Lawson: A Fantasy of Man – Complete Works 1901-1922, Table of Contents, p. 6.
[20] Henry Lawson: *Poetical Works of Henry Lawson*, p. 37. On the Night Train.
[21] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*, pp. 22-25.

technology was available from early in the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1870s and 1880s that it would be utilised for mass transport.[22] Similarly, air transport had been pioneered during the 1920s and 1930s, but only became available as an affordable and integrated system during the 1960s.[23]

Since domestic air travel has ceased to be a financial luxury, the train traveller of the modern era is now left with only the luxury of time for reflection. The famous rail journey taking George Orwell into the North of England in 1936 to essentially commence his literary career through footstepping the Lancashire coal villages gave cause for reflecting on the social conditions that he was to be reporting. "The train bore me away through the monstrous scenery of slag-heaps, chimneys, piled scrap-iron, foul canals, paths of cindery mud criss-crossed by the prints of clogs."[24] It would thus be interesting to surmise the effect that the same isolated hours of refection and drafting during the rail journey back from Queensland, had on the effectiveness of Henry Parkes's Tenterfield Oration delivered on the 24 October 1889.[25]

The necessary ordering of the travelling public also tells something of changes in wider social expectations that have occurred since Federation. Rail passengers in 1901 were divided by travelling class: either first, second or in the case of Victoria, third; perfectly mirroring the classical social classes: upper, middle and lower.[26] The cost differential meant that travellers were accommodated in circumstances to which they would have been accustomed, with the added bonus that they would be travelling with folk of a similar background. This caused disquiet to the democratic Henry Lawson.[27]

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[22] Patsy Adam Smith: *Romance of Australian Railways*, 1973, Rigby Ltd, Adelaide, p. 127. The miners leaving for Temora in 1880 would have been one of the first groups to have been able to take advantage of the expanding country rail network.

[23] Jill White: *Dupain's Sydney*, 1999, Chapter & Verse, Sydney, pp. 71-73. Note the images of air travel in the 1950s when it was still culturally prestigious enough for women to dress up in hat and gloves for an airline journey.

[24] George Orwell: *The Road to Wigan Pier*, pp. 14, 15.

[25] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 October 1889, p. 8.

[26] Patsy Adam Smith*: Romance of Australian Railways*, p. 47. Or in the more egalitarian NSW system at least, first and second.

[27] Henry Lawson: *Poetical Works of Henry Lawson*, p. 126. Second Class Wait Here. This poem, written in 1899, not only describes the cultural norms of the time as they applied to the experience of rail travel, but also reveals a social radicalism that sought to practically expunge such class distinctions in a future Australia. "And the second class were waiting in the days of serf and prince, and the second class are waiting – they've been waiting ever since." One wonders how the poem would have scanned if Lawson had to contend with the Victorian third class!

At suburban railway stations – you may see them as you pass –

There are signboards on the platform saying "Wait here Second Class";

And to me the whirr and thunder and the cluck of running gear

Seem to be for ever saying "Second Class wait here –

Wait here Second Class,

Second Class wait here."

Seem to be forever saying, saying "Second Class wait here."

By the 1960s, the nation appeared more socially egalitarian, with only two classes available Australia wide to both rail and air travellers: first and second; but still with the implication that, through cost, it was material quality and social position that made the distinction.  Now however, the two classes generally offered by air travel are listed as: business and economy.[28]  The new elites are businessmen with (supposedly) important work to do, rather than those with purely social eminence.[29]

Rail transport was not only one of the determining factors driving Federation; it was also one resulting from national unity.  Western Australia was enticed into the Federation largely through the promise of a rail connection with the Eastern States, and eventually a direct line to Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane.[30]  After another half century of bickering, and the disruptive influence of depression and war, the final standard gauge link between Sydney and Melbourne was completed in 1962.[31]  The introduction of the modern overnight Southern Aurora train occurred just as affordable air travel was taking off, and this iconic train and her two sisters, the Victorian Spirit of Progress and the Inter-capital Daylight Express would enjoy a mere two decades of viable service.[32]

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[28] *The Argus*: 31 March 1954, p. 6. Even by 1954, British Commonwealth Pacific Airlines and Qantas Empire Airways were boasting of offering "Two Classes of Travel to America and England! Luxury 1st Class and Economy Tourist Class."

[29] Qantas: *Flying with Qantas* t*ravel home page* online database: The International Business Class link still spends as much space promoting the greater legroom and in-flight entertainment as it does laptop ports and work tables.

[30] Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, pp. 413-414.

[31] Geoffrey Harry Fearnside: *All Stations West*, 1970, Haldane Publishing, Sydney, p. 145.

[32] Rail Corporation of New South Wales Media Release: *Southern Aurora celebrates 50 years of rail travel* online database. In August 1983 the celebrity trains ceased, and were replaced by the more prosaic Countrylink XPT The eleven hour trip by rail could no longer compete with an hour and half by air, or with the far cheaper airfares.  *The Sydney Morning Herald* online database: 15 April 2012. "They built her [The Southern Aurora] for comfort, not speed, but she could still give the XPT a run for its money."

It therefore seemed ironic to commence a significant historical evaluation and foot-stepping expedition through old Melbourne town, by departing from the concrete, laminex and industrial carpeted Canberra Airport terminal. I was also commencing my investigation of an event that took place over a century ago from the Federal Capital city of Canberra; a place that in 1901 was still a series of isolated sheep runs. Planning for a national capital had involved buying NSW support for the notion of a Federation in the first place. Part of the incentive offered to NSW to lift the colony's support for union was the offer of locating the new National Capital somewhere in southern NSW. The site had to be more than 100 miles from Sydney, to prevent the nation's city of origin from surreptitiously absorbing the new capital through the expected expansion of transportation available at the time. [33]

The capital was also intended to be in the higher and cooler regions. Federation fathers John Forrest and King O'Malley adhered to the prevailing notion that European Civilisation flourished only in cold climates, although O'Malley was quite prepared to place sensible limitations upon the degree of chill that European Civilisation actually required. He recorded his preference for the Molonglo Valley over a southern Monaro that was "an Arctic zone where a man went to bed at night a flesh-and-blood human being and woke in the morning a glistening iceberg!"[34] The final siting of Canberra meant that a rail connection had to be driven through from the main southern line at Goulburn, eventually going as far south as Cooma and Dalgety, with a spur from Queanbeyan to the national capital at Kingston. Although Walter Burley Griffin's plan for Canberra included an integrated rail system throughout the city,[35] this never eventuated, and the rail connection to the outside world would always remain one track and fragile. [36]

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[33]Commonwealth of Australia, ed. Cheryl Saunders: *The Australian Constitution*. Section 125, p. 118. "The seat of Government of the Commonwealth shall be determined by the Parliament…and shall be in the State of New South Wales, and be distant not less than one hundred miles from Sydney."

[34] Dorothy Catts: *King O'Malley – man and statesman*, 1938, Publicity Press, Sydney, p. 180.

[35] *The Canberra Times*: 17 June 1947, p. 2. Griffin Plan of Canberra under review to meet modern conditions. "The keys to the future Canberra plan are the lakes scheme and the city railway, and until the levels and route of the railway can be determined and the plans for the ornamental lakes on the Molonglo River revised, many aspects of Canberra development will remain indefinite."

[36] *The Argus*: 5 February 1927, p. 14. Railway to Canberra, Route from Yass favoured. By the beginning of 1927, a definite decision had been made for "the provision of direct railway communication between Canberra and the south." It was not until rail connections with Sydney and Melbourne were established that the Federal Parliament was able to move from Melbourne to Canberra. As with the later direct standard gauge connection between Sydney and Melbourne, the indispensable railway was only used by politicians for few decades before bowing to the inevitability of air transport. Bede Nairn: *James Scullin*, Australian Dictionary of Biography, 1988, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne vol.11, p. 554. Initially, this link was vital, with parliamentarians utilising the line to Sydney and Melbourne; and the

No doubt the earlier spread of the suburban railways in both Melbourne and Sydney was greeted with the same mix of trepidation in the face of the new, and wonder at the possibilities now available to ordinary citizens. One only has to look at the road maps for the inner suburbs of the two cities to see the devastation that must have occurred in the late 1800s as new rail alignments were pushed through closely knit residential communities. Melbourne seems to have dealt with the problem with level crossings and boom gates,[37] while in Sydney, the authorities merely demolished houses, butted the remaining streets up to the rail easements and then renamed one side, as though nothing had happened.[38]

Once I had landed at Melbourne's Tullamarine Airport, I then made my way into the city by fast and efficient taxi. It is always amusing to reflect upon the rapidity with which attitudes to such developments in infrastructure adjust to the whims of personal interest. Normally the sprawl of modern expressways, concrete bridges and overpasses can appear offensive and degrading to the scale of the city: like giant tapeworms aggressively pushing their way through the neat streets and houses of established suburbs. However, when relying upon a quick, calm and inexpensive journey from the airport to the city centre, the ribbon of four lane roadway can suddenly seemed like a very progressive idea.

After twenty minutes I arrived at my hotel: Punt Road apartments in Flinders Lane. Not only would this location be close to the actual route of the Melbourne Federation parade, but is now one of the most atmospheric cosmopolitan locations in the whole CBD.[39] Melbourne has, of course, undergone a similar inner city resurrection to that of Sydney, although perhaps with a richer streetscape pallet to begin with. Up until the Federation era, both cities were centres of commerce and industry, but also the

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arrival of a newly elected Prime Minister, such as James Scullin on the 21 October 1929, was cause for the small station to be festooned with bunting.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 7.
[37] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 9. Note the seven rail crossings on this one map for the northern suburban line in a little over two kilometres; from Parkville to the station named for the famous Labor firebrand, anti-conscriptionist and supporter of White Australia, Frank Anstey.
[38] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps 373, 374. Many examples still exist on the Western, Illawarra and Bankstown Lines. Note Council Street St Peters and John Street Newtown, which were originally the one road, and Marrickville and Sydenham Roads which originally both went through to Unwin's Bridge Road.
[39] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 8.

residential and social hearts of their respective colonies.[40]  With the development of public transport, there followed three quarters of a century of movement away from the city centre to the newly evolved suburbs,[41] and now, again as with Sydney, the cultural flow is in reverse.

At the time of Federation this immediate district around Flinders Lane was a place of industry, business and work; certainly not a centre of relaxed indulgent food and fashion.  In 1901, the one short block contained various importing and manufacturing agents, including Cornelius Lister's wine, coffee and spirit store at number 281.[42]  My own accommodation at 267-269 had been the wool warehouse of Brooks, McGlashan and McHarg at the time of the Federation march, and would itself spend most of the twentieth century as an integral part of the 'Schmatte' (Jewish) rag trade.[43]

A little further along, at number 305, was the dealership for the Austral Cycle Company.[44]  With the development of the chain driven safety cycle in 1876, bicycling became the new high-tech mode of transport throughout the Western world, freeing working people from reliance upon limited public transport and the expensive to maintain horse.[45]  One could argue that much of modern society that developed at this time did so as a result of the freedom brought about by the bicycle; attending sporting events and even the development of trade unionism (particularly in country regions).[46] People were now able to find work further than one or two miles from home, leading to the evolution of industrial areas separated from residential districts.  Austral Cycles was also the promoter of the Austral Wheel Race; since 1887 one of Melbourne's most

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[40] *The Argus*: 26 January 1934. What the Census Showed, Outer Suburbs Grow, Fewer in Melbourne. "The census taken on June 30 1933 showed that there had been a great growth of population in some of the metropolitan municipalities since the census of 1921."  Note the table showing the reduction in the population of Melbourne City from 187 261 in 1878 to 42 180 in 1911 while most suburban areas showed an increase in population.

[41] John Archer: *Building a Nation – a History of the Australian House*, 1987, William Collins, Sydney, chapt. 'Modern as Tomorrow's Milk' 1940-1960.

[42] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory 1901*, p. 41. As was the case with Penfold's wine store in the Queen Victoria Building in Sydney, this facility puts paid to some of the notions a lack of sophistication in the pre-1970s Australian diet.

[43] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 37.  eMelbourne: *The City Past & Present* online database. Flinders Lane.

[44] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory 1901*, p. 41.

[45] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 9.

[46] Michael Cannon: *Australia – a History in Photographs*, 1983, Currey O'Neil Ross, Melbourne, p. 129. Gordon Cheers: *Australia Through Time*, 1993, Random House, Sydney, p. 80. "[The bicycle] seems destined to be a favourite vehicle not only for health…but as a safe and rapid means of locomotion." 1884 quote by D E McConnell, publisher of: *Australian Etiquette, Or, The Rules and Usages of the Best Society in the Australasian Colonies.*

notable sporting events and the oldest track cycle race in the world.[47]  By 1888 there were even races for women, with Miss Dot Morrell winning an inaugural event in Ashfield, Sydney.[48]

Cycling had thus become both a relatively cheap and very effective form of transportation and it therefore seems pointed to note the lack of bicycles in both the Sydney and the Melbourne parades.  The more antiquated and formal horse drawn carriages were evident for dignitaries, while the mounted military personnel were also on horses.  Perhaps the raffish new contraption was not considered stately enough for such an august occasion, although there were cycle races included in the Federation's accompanying sporting events.[49]  Authorities were, however, quick to warn those many bicycle riders amongst the spectators that they were under restrictions and not permitted in any street through which the parade was to pass. "Bicycle traffic became so troublesome both to the riders themselves and other in the streets that Chief Superintendent O'Callaghan issued a police order  directing sub-inspectors  to notify the men on duty today that bicycles come within the meaning  of the words "vehicles" used in the general instructions already made  known."[50]

What I also first noted about Melbourne was the width of the streets and the fact that so many people were taking advantage of the flat terrain to rediscover bicycles as an efficient means of travelling into the city.[51]  It was interesting to see the degree to which the new and exciting personal transport of a century ago was returning to the city, again providing quick and effective everyday commuting; granted that these cyclists would possibly come from the better off inner areas of Melbourne and had the advantage of public transport when the weather turned inclement.[52]  The wide streets that allowed for the retention of trams in the city has allowed for the establishment cycle ways between tram tracks and the footpath.  This strikes the newly arrived visitor as a potential source

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[47] *The Argus*: 20 December 1946, p. 12.  Austral Wheelrace: *The Austral Wheelrace* online database.
[48] *Australian Almanac*: November 8 1878-1892. "The Austral track race was started in Melbourne in 1886 as an amateur event with a grand piano as first prize, but four years later it became a cash race.  The world's first women's race, a two mile title event at Ashfield, Sydney, in 1888, was won by Miss Dot Morrell."
[49] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1901, p. 3. "Grand cycling and athletic carnival for next Friday."
[50] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.
[51] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 9.
[52] It also seemed that the fashion was now for single gear or even fixed gear track racing frames with road wheels and brakes, perhaps reflecting a minimalist reaction to the ever increasing complexity of modern road racing cycles.

of accidents, although both cyclists and tram drivers appear more than skilful in rendering this a non-issue.

One only has to read through a guide to the city of Melbourne published in 1956, half a century earlier, to discover quite a different Flinders Lane at its lowest ebb of cultural abandonment. At the time of the great post Second World War migrant boom and the move to suburbia, W H Newnham found "Flinders Lane at this point is like an old page of the city's history. On a cold wet morning it looks little different to the prints of the same place a hundred years ago, with grim-faced bluestone buildings huddling together on either side of the narrow thoroughfare."[53] With the demise of the clothing industry and its industrial warehousing, Flinders Lane has now joined many of Melbourne's other little streets and opened up with cafes, restaurants and clubs. Fortunately, the bluestone structures have proven sound enough to be adapted rather than demolished, and citizens now continue to demonstrate their architectural preferences by flocking to the district for food and socialising.[54]

## 3. FIRES IN VICTORIA

Despite my personal preference for dated rail transportation, in this particular instance there was an advantage of sorts in flying over country Victoria to Melbourne. Looking down from on high I was able to view the result of what had become the most destructive (certainly in human terms) natural disaster in Australia's history.[55] The February 2009 fires that ravaged the Victorian bush north east of Melbourne had resulted in the deaths of 173 people.[56]

A week earlier, the ongoing national drought that had been cutting into the nation for years, came to a head with Black Saturday, 7 February 2009 recording one the highest

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[53] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, 1956, F W Cheshire Angus & Robertson, Melbourne, p. 54.
[54] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, 2008, National Trust of Australia, Melbourne, p. 37.
[55] The number of civil disasters in Australia's period of white settlement has been relatively low, compared with shipwrecks during the days of sail and the wars that have affected other nations in the world. For this reason bushfires, floods and cyclones are more likely to stand out in the nation's history.
[56] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 11.

all-time temperatures in Melbourne's history: 46.4°C,[57] and the country to the north east of the city exploding into flames. From 7 to 14 February, more people would die than in Cyclone Tracy and the Gundagai flood combined,[58] and over four and a half thousand square kilometres would be lost to fires that were believed to have been caused by heat, arcing power lines and arson.[59]

By the time of my flight on Monday 16 February, the bushfires of a week earlier had died down. But the grey haze remained and plumes of smoke rising from the dark maroon burned bushland showed that the battle against the elements had not ended. What was bizarre looking down from the aircraft was the realisation of just how difficult it was to appreciate the level of devastation. The whole nation had been drought affected for so long that it was quite hard to distinguish areas that had been burned from those that were simply dry and dead from lack of water. The smouldering smoke and grey powdery patches where buildings had once stood marked the path of the fires but the destruction that had been shown on television every evening during the previous week appeared eerily muted from the air. I therefore arrived in a very sombre city. While Melbourne itself was not marked by fire, or even really threatened, the smoke still hanging over the airport reflected the sense of shock still hanging over the community. Even my taxi driver still seemed stunned by the event, and talked about the fires in the halting subdued manner of one still coming to terms with an event that had touched him directly.

By the time of Federation, Australians had become well used to the threat and reality of bushfires. From the Black Thursday conflagration of 6 February 1851 that surrounded Melbourne to the east and north,[60] there had been a steady list of 'black days' that marked the late summer fire season.[61] Artists had recognised the social and physical

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[57] Black Saturday Bushfires: *Australian Standards HB 330 Living in bushfire-prone areas* online database.
[58] *The Sydney morning Herald*: 27 June 1902, p. 5. Fiftieth anniversary of the flood, when "81 of the inhabitants were drowned." Figures for the Gundagai flood vary from 80 to over 100 due to the transient nature of the population resident in the town at the time. *The Canberra Times*: 11 January 1975, p. 7. Police deny death toll higher. The death toll of 49 for Cyclone Tracy was likewise disputed due again to the transient nature of the population.
[59] *The Age*: 4 March 2010, Royal Commission Report.
[60] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 12.
[61] *The Argus*: 28 August 1939, p. 4. Prevention of Bushfires. "New control plan by experts. Formation of a Ministry of Rural Fire Protection and Defence by bringing the Forests Commission of Victoria and bush fire brigades under one control was recommended by the conference of interstate forests authority chiefs in Melbourne on Saturday."

significance of these disasters, from William Strutt's depiction of this Black Thursday[62] to Charles Harpur's poem "The Bush Fire" from his 1851 collection the "Wild Bee of Australia".[63]

> When, with the dreams of Egremont, a strange
>
> And momently approaching roar began
>
> To mingle, and insinuate through them more
>
> And more of its own import – till a Fire
>
> Huge in imagination as the world….
>
> On it came!
>
> Devouring with a lapping hungriness
>
> Whatever shrivelled in its scorching breath-
>
> A dreadful Apparition! such as Fear
>
> Conceives when dreaming of the front of Hell.

Helen Irving mentions that even the delegates to the January 1898 Federation Convention were interrupted by the smoke from the bushfires that were surrounding Melbourne at the time.[64]  Through the subsequent century, there have been Black Friday in 1939, the Tasmanian Black Tuesday fires of 1967, the Ash Wednesday fires of 1983 that destroyed much of the farming land in South Eastern Australia and the 1994 Sydney fires that actually entered residential suburbs of the city, destroying houses and killing four people.  The 18 February 2003 Canberra bushfires brought the reality of the annual fire month home to even the residents of the national capital.[65]

The traditional approach to taming the Australian environment has always been to enter virgin bushland and clear it for agriculture.  Fires that erupted occurred either during this clearing process, where they really were bushfires that were unstoppable due to the limited technology of the time, or grass fires that were fast travelling but relatively less

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[62] James Gleeson: *Colonial Painters 1788-1800*, 1971, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, p. 120.

[63] Michael Ackland: *Charles Harpur – Selected Poetry and Prose*, 1986, Penguin Books, Melbourne, p. 142. The Bush Fire 1851.  The poem was originally published in both *The Age*: 31 March 1851 and *The Argus*: 31 March 1851, p. 4.

[64] Irving: The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation, 1999, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne  p. 368. "Melbourne's weather was inordinately hot for almost the entire session, and at one point they could smell the smoke from the bushfires surrounding Melbourne."
Photograph Booklet vol.2 p. 12.

[65] *The Canberra Times*: 19/20 January 2003, virtually the entire newspapers dedicated to the disaster.

damaging.[66]  Ironically, as I will mention later, one of the groups notably absent from most of the Federation celebrations were Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders.  The people who had inhabited the continent and managed the environment for millennia now had no place in the political and cultural future of the nation: those who perhaps had much to offer in teaching the later arrivals how to accommodate to the landscape and the environment were to be ignored.[67]  This may have been understandable (if still inexcusable) at the time of first settlement, but the process continued into the next century.  Geoffrey Blainey dedicated an entire chapter of his 1975 publication *Triumph of the Nomads* to firestick farming,[68] and Bill Gammage's recent publication *The Biggest Estate on Earth – How Aborigines made Australia* further explores how Aboriginal people consciously created an environment that white settlers incorrectly considered to have been natural.[69]  However, this Aboriginal familiarity with the landscape had rarely been acknowledged, although the survivors of the disastrous 1852 Gundagai flood were forced to concede that they had been warned of impending doom by local Aboriginals.[70]

White Australia's relationship with the environment has thus been expressed through various myths.  Initially this was the myth of the rugged bushman setting out into the wilderness to clear his land; to control and civilise the country.[71]  This was romanticism in both senses of the word: the Romanticism embodied in Richard Holmes *Footsteps*[72] as a reaction against the logical scientism of the Enlightenment, but also an impractical romanticism that refused to face up to the reality of every day existence.  Since the

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[66] *The Gundagai Independent/Advocate*: 19 December 1921. The Illabo Fire. "The fire at Illabo on Tuesday started in the middle of one of Mr Moroney's cultivation paddocks…Mr Moroney lost 90 bags of wheat, 90 acres of beautiful standing crop of wheat and 80 acres of a lighter crop.  None of it was insured."  But no lives were lost.

[67] Grace Karskens: *The Colony – a history of early Sydney*, p. 36. Geoffrey Blainey: *Triumph of the Nomads*, chapt. 5. The Burning Continent.

[68] Geoffrey Blainey: *Triumph of the Nomads*, chapt. 9.  Harvest of the Unploughed Plains.

[69] Bill Gammage: *The Biggest Estate on Earth – How Aborigines made Australia*, p. 8.  Thomas Walker thought the [Omeo] valley 'the prettiest piece of country I have seen since leaving the Murrimbidgee [sic], very thinly timbered, indeed in many parts clear, with here and there interspersed a few trees or a clump or a belt, the soil sound and good . . . the sward close . . . the whole being intersected by lagoons: it is quite like a gentleman's park in England'.

[70] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 5 July 1852, p. 2. *The Gundagai Times…Advertiser*: 30 June 1925, p. 2. A Memory of the Past, Floods at Gundagai. "Gundagai was originally built on the river flats, and was washed away in June 1852 when 72 people were drowned. Though warned in time few took advantage of it. Several lives were saved by an aboriginal named Yarrie in a small dark canoe." *Camperdown Chronicle*: 9 October 1930, p. 6. "Yarrie, the blackfellow, or one of the sable heroes who saved many a settler from death on the occasion of the disastrous flood at Gundagai in the long ago."  Cliff Butcher: *Gundagai – a track winding back*, 2002, A C Butcher, Canberra, p. 84.

[71] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, p. 65.  "From one perspective, the function of the [Australian] myth was to idealise the men and women who confronted the environment."

[72] Richard Holmes: *Footsteps – Adventures of a Romantic Biographer*, part 3, Exiles.

1970s there has been a sea change in attitudes towards the bush and the mass clearings of the past.[73] Along with an increase in the number of hobby farmers wishing to return to a way of life more in tune with the natural environment, but still of course close enough to take advantage of the cultural rewards of the cities, has come an increase in the risk of fire.[74] Perhaps one effect of disasters such as the Victorian bushfires is to return the community back to a realisation of a social inter-connectedness that was well recognised by people at the time of Federation. Recommendations from the inevitable inquests into these disasters have always included better warning, more support from government authorities and greater communal co-operation.[75]

Even during the lead up to the celebrations for the Federation of the nation, there were fires raging throughout the Riverina. The area from Gundagai and Wagga Wagga south to the Victorian border at Albury was ablaze, with crops also consumed by fires as far away as Parkes and Grenfell. Sydney recorded the extreme temperature of 104ºF (40ºC) on 17 December 1900;[76] fortunately to be punctuated by the same storms that then threatened the Federation celebrations. Men, women and children were lost to the flames, with the individual suffering brought home to local Gundagai residents through *The Daily Telegraph's* description of Mr Patrick James O'Donnell Jnr who was burned so badly as to require the local Dr Gabriel to "send to Sydney for a special nurse to watch his case, which is very serious".[77]

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[73] John Archer: *Building a Nation – a History of the Australian House*, p. 230.
[74] *The Canberra Times*: 12 November 1994 online database. First-time hobby farmers sought. "Nine hectare Wamboin property for auction through Realty World Rural has all of the features eagerly sought after by first-time hobby farmers without the hefty price tag."
[75] 2009 Victorian Bushfires Royal Commission: *Final Report July 2010* online database.
Note Recommendations 37, 38 and 39 centred on the management of undeveloped rural lots (in other words, hobby farms), and allowing State and Local Governments to limit the number and size of such lots, and Recommendation 63 centred around State and Local Government Organisational Structure and the ability of authorities to legislate the control of previously uncontrolled districts. Alessandro Antonello: *Learning and Settling – An Environmental History of the Federation Drought in New South Wales, 1895-1903*, pp. 109-124.
[76] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 18 December 1900, p. 6.
[77] *The Sydney Daily Telegraph*: 19 December 1900, p. 8.

## 4. ENTERING THE CITY

As was the case with Sydney's Federation parade, so too in Melbourne the climate played a significant role in the Federal Parliament celebrations of 1901. Inclement weather was forecast for both these major events, with the Victorian Government Astronomer Mr Baracchi stating that prospects for fine weather for the march on Monday 6 May were not very promising.[78] The final forecast on the day was for "light mist clearing during the day".[79]

Whatever views Australian governmental officials may have had towards Southern European immigrants at the time of Federation, this obviously did not affect their willingness to accept the opinions of the talented Pietro Baracchi. While Italians may have appeared to have been in a precarious numerical position within the new society,[80] with an Australia wide population in 1901 of only 5,678,[81] well-educated Northern Italians were still welcome enough to become respected members of the community. It is also worth noting that, according to *The Argus*, it was British-Italian journalist George Augustus Sala who had actually christened the city 'Marvellous Melbourne' during his 1885 visit.[82]

Pietro Baracchi, as with Thomas Fiaschi, had been born in Florence (in 1851) and trained as a civil engineer before emigrating, initially to New Zealand. Finding work unavailable, Baracchi moved to Melbourne in 1876, where he joined (and was permitted to join) the Victorian Public Service. By November 1877, Pietro was an assistant at the Melbourne observatory, and after moving back and forth between departments, gaining training and promotions along the way, was appointed acting government astronomer in 1895. Although not enamoured of his role as official weather forecaster, believing "popular meteorology to be of little practical value except as an amusement",[83] Pietro

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[78] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[79] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 6.
[80] *The Argus*: 4 May 1904, "A White Australia No Italians Wanted," notably Italian labourers into Western Australia.
[81] Australian Bureau of Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, p. 168.
[82] *The Argus*: 31 August 1885, p. 7. "So farewell Melbourne the Marvellous, city of towering warehouses, Parliament Houses…"
*The Age*: 10 January 2004 online. According to the British writer Matthew Arnold, "His style was overblown – and he pandered to the sensation-loving nature of the populace" - but Sala also seemed engagingly aware of his own pomposity. He tagged his articles with the initials, G.A.S."
[83] J L Perdrix: *Pietro Paolo Giovanni Ernesto Baracchi (1851-1929)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.

Baracchi continued to fulfil this role until after Federation. He was then instrumental in turning meteorological functions over to the Commonwealth,[84] and in fact inaugurated the Mount Stromlo observatory, just outside the recently established site for Canberra.[85] As with Thomas Fiaschi, Pietro Baracchi not only had a genius for science, but also for the organisational politics that enabled him to play a pivotal role in the professional associations of the time; becoming president of the Royal Society of Victoria in 1908.[86]

So too in Melbourne, the position of non-British peoples and cultures was complex. The Honorary Secretary of the Citizens' Committee actually organising the Melbourne Parade was one Douglas Buzolich,[87] an influential member of Australia's Croatian community[88] and one of Melbourne's principle dress hatters and business entrepreneurs.[89] Other members of the committee of course still represented the traditional British base of the society, as their March 1901 meeting testified: "The citizens' demonstration committee met yesterday at the Town-hall. The Mayor (Councillor Gillott) was in the chair, and there was a big attendance of committee men. The secretary (Mr D Buzolich JP) informing the committee that representatives of the Indian citizens of Melbourne had waited upon him with the request that they should be permitted to take part in the decorations of the city… Mr James McDougall and Mr Frank Stuart were proposed as vice-chairmen of the citizens' committee."[90]

One of the most significant events arranged for "guests of the Government" was also a "*Conversazione*" held at 8:00pm on Tuesday 7 May at the Exhibition Building.[91] This

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[84] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 17 December 1907, p. 4.

[85] *The Argus*: 18 April 1923, p. 22. Solar Observatory Established at Canberra. "Approval has been given by the Federal Ministry of the establishment of a solar observatory at Mount Stromlo in the Federal capital to link up with existing institutions in England, India, America and certain European countries. The site for the observatory at Mount Stromlo was originally selected by Mr P Baracchi, formerly Victorian Government astronomer."

[86] J L Perdrix: *Pietro Paolo Giovanni Ernesto Baracchi (1851-1929)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Ironically perhaps, although having married into one of the wealthiest families in Melbourne and leaving, on his death, an estate "valued for probate at £32,779, his only son Guido became a foundation member of the Communist Party of Australia." It was ever thus.

[87] *The Argus*: numerous references through March and April 1901 to Buzolich's organisation behind the Butter Arch, a proposed Swiss display and even the Chinese Arch and Parade.

[88] Ilija Sutalo: *Croatians in Australia*, 2004 Wakefield Press, Adelaide, p. 168. Buzolich's hats "Look well ahead." It is worth noting that the *Australian Year Book for 1901-1907*, based on the 1901 Census did not list Croatians in its population statistics, but places them under Other European Countries, with a total of 434 persons listed on p. 168.

[89] *The Argus*: 20 June 1896, p. 3. Advertisement for D Buzolich's Strand Hat Shop at 23 Swanston Street, next to the entry to Flinders Lane. Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 65.

[90] *The Argus*: 12 March 1901. Meeting of the Citizens' Committee.

[91] *The Age*: 4 May 1901, p. 11.

event was so popular that, "special provision has been made to prevent crushing at the *Conversazione* and Thursday's State concert, and it is said that no more will be admitted to the building than can be comfortably accommodated."[92]  It would appear that exotic Southern European sophistication, both politically and culturally, was as popular at the time as the customary French.[93]

Then, as now however, not even a sophisticated Italian was willing to forecast more than thirty-six hours in advance just what the weather would do.[94]  "But against this gloomy forecast Mr Baracchi budged a bit. 'At the present time,' he said, 'it is quite impossible for anyone to say exactly what the weather will be like next week'."[95]  In the event, conditions proved perfect, and as was the case with the earlier Federation march through the streets of Sydney, the new nation's government was inaugurated in fine balmy weather.

If there was any question as to the popularity of the proceedings, one only has to again look through the newspapers of the morning of the march.[96]  Earlier, the Prime Minister Edmund Barton had been forced to close invitations for the later formal Commonwealth functions, despite still receiving between 1,200 and 1,500 applications daily.[97]  *The Age* also published a full list of all those invited to take part in the various ceremonies throughout the whole week.  This list took up virtually all of page 10 of the 6 May 1901 issue, covering not only thousands of people from all six states, but representatives from Fiji, Canada, India and Ceylon, and Cape Colony.[98]

The morning after my arrival, most of the bushfire smoke had dissipated and the same crisp late summer air greeted my commencement of the parade route on the Princes

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[92] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.
[93] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 11.  "His Royal Highness will hold a *levee* at Government House, Melbourne today at 11am."  Brian M Fagan: *The Adventure of Archaeology*, 1985, The National Geographic Society, Washington, pp. 81, 173.  "The turning point came in 1860 when Ling Victor Emanuel II ascended the Italian throne.  Fired by the glorious Roman past, he encouraged excavations at Pompeii as a matter of national prestige." The unification of Italy gave added impetus to the excavation of not only Pompeii. In March 1900, Arthur Evans began his excavations of Knossos in Crete. Just as the Greek war of independence of 1821-1830 expanded classical studies and the concepts of democracy that had arisen in the American and French Revolutions, so the later unification of Italy gave inspiration to a later generation of Latin scholars.
[94] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9.
[95] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[96] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 7.  This page provides multiple, and rather confusing, guides for most of the various marches and supplementary events, including the viewing of the evening illuminations.  All these cover much the same city blocks but in a variety of orders.
[97] *The Age*: 1 May 1901, p. 8.
[98] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 10.

Bridge where St Kilda Road becomes Swanston Street.[99] This was the point where the march changed from a journey from the Vice-Regal landing at St Kilda to a celebratory parade through the city, so this was the point where the first of the city arches was located.[100] The length and timing of the march appeared planned to give maximum coverage for all the participants while remaining short enough for both the marchers' physical exertion and no doubt the viewers' patience. The Melbourne march travelled a total distance of a little under three miles or around five kilometres. At an average walking pace of six kilometres per hour, this would have given a marching time of under one hour. However, as with the parade in Sydney the actual time was a little longer than this, needing to accommodate the expected participant length of two thousand yards, a little less than two kilometres. The massive size of the parade can be imaged by the number of marchers taking up over one third of the march distance through the city at any one time.[101]

The first arch passed under as the Federation Parade entered the Melbourne was the Municipal Arch, a structure obviously meant to be an impressive introduction to the march and the city.[102] As was the case with the Commonwealth Arch in Sydney, the primary structure in Melbourne was very traditional, classical and sited in the most significant location in the city, in this case, the southern end of Princes Bridge. As also with the arch in Sydney, the intention was to replicate the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, and the similarity between the two arches was striking. Both were of impressive size of course, with the Municipal Arch's width of 27m slightly larger than the Commonwealth Arch's 21m, and with heights of 18m and 15m respectively.[103] Both also reflected an assumed classical ideal in eschewing colour and relying upon a stark whiteness and the complexity of the mouldings and the structure itself to provide a suitably ornate façade.[104] The symbolism of the included motifs, although described by *The Age* as

[99] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 14.
[100] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 6. The initial welcoming of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York by Governor General Lord Hopetoun and Lieutenant Governor Sir John Madden occurred at 1:50pm at St Kilda Pier with a twenty one gun salute, followed by a 2:00pm start to the parade. The vice-regal party formally arrival at Princes Bridge at 2:30pm and while the royal party then continued into the city for the principal public parade, the Governor General retired to Government House in preparation for the evening's events.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 16.
[101] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, pp. 8-10. Numbers can be gauged by the fact that the list of all participants took up a full page of small print in *The Age*. There were also seven hundred constables and twelve thousand soldiers on duty to control the crowds.
[102] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 15.
[103] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, pp. 42, 70.
[104] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 10.

"perfect in conception", and including "nothing superfluous, nothing without meaning",[105] appears to have been rather predictable, with the usual flags, crown and lion's head to represent empire, and ship's prow symbolising both the location over the Yarra River and the Duke of Cornwall's naval connections.  The designer, Harold Desbrowe-Annear, was well known in Melbourne as an architect in the Classical Beaux-Arts tradition, having been responsible for the well-known Springthorpe Memorial in Kew Cemetery a year earlier.[106]

As with most of the arches in both Sydney and Melbourne, the often ornate symbolism behind their decoration would have been of considerable importance during their planning and construction.  The degree to which this symbolism was then evident, either consciously or even subliminally, when viewed by the participants and spectators during the actual parades themselves, would have been a moot point.  In the case of this particular arch, the degree of planning did not extend to agreement on a formal nomenclature.  The entrance arch was referred to at various times as the Federation Arch, the Municipal Arch and Corporation Arch,[107] reflecting both civic and commercial obligations to the city.  If some of the obscure imagery was lost on the populace, the two tablets over the side arches made the sentiment clear; "The city hails her Monarch's Son" and "The Wattle Greets the Rose of York".[108]  Certainly the most notable feature was the motto emblazoned across the top of the arch:  Vires Acquirit Eundo (She gains strength as she goes).   This quotation from Virgil's Aeneid was taken from the coat of arms of Melbourne, although apparently the words would not be formally adopted by the city until 1940.[109]

This most classical arch also reflected the most up to date technology in construction, with a modern rubberoid solution covering, rather than relying on traditional plaster.[110]  This material was exploited by Desbrowe-Annear engineer Adrian Charles Mountain since, unlike the Sydney Arch commemorating the actual Federation of the nation, this structure was intended to survive for a year or more as a reminder of Melbourne's role

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[105] *The Age*: 7 May 1901, supplement.
[106] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture,* pp. 100, 101.
[107] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[108] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[109] *The Age*: 1 September 1936, p. 10. "The Melbourne City Council yesterday authorised an application to the College of Arms, London for the registration, at an estimated cost of £150, of the coat of arms of the city, in accordance with the following description, conforming with heraldic standards. The motto (Vires Acquirit, Eundo) on a scroll of three folds tinted crimson."
[110] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 71.

in the celebrations.[111]  Hence, the massive width was therefore intended to
accommodate the daily traffic requirements across Princes Bridge.  The drawing in *The
Argus* prior to the parade shows the crowd of everyday horse drawn traffic that could
easily pass under the structure.[112]  The drawing also includes the long colonnade; the
"Belvedere" of five pairs of temporary columns placed over the bridge and the two
Railway Towers[113] adjacent to Flinders Street.[114]  As with the arch, these columns were
meant to remain as a semi-permanent fixture for some time.  However, a strong wind
exactly one month after the celebrations knocked over some of the columns, requiring
the others to be removed for safety.[115]

In 2001, to commemorate this very temporary original arch, the Melbourne City
Council decided to erect another temporary monument on the same site for the
Centenary of Federation celebrations.  The two hundred thousand dollar Peter Sandow
designed edifice shown in the Photograph Booklet was quickly christened the "pick-up
sticks",[116]  perhaps indicative of the fact that the architect's proposal for "the structure
to symbolise Melbourne's chaotic intermingling of cultures",[117] failed to communicate
this ideal to the general population.  Upon eventual dismantling after the Centenary
celebrations, the coloured metal tubes were purchased by Hume Council, with local
councillor Jack Ogilvie's stated preference being, to have the sticks cut up and
distributed to school children as a souvenir.[118]

As with earlier discussions over the suitability of a permanent Federation Arch in
Sydney, the fate of both the original Commonwealth Arch and its 2001 centenary
replacement seems to embody a particularly Australian attitude to commemoration and
cultural memory.  The pile of coloured pipes consigned to a council yard in outer
Melbourne had been pre-empted a year earlier with the large welcoming rings for the

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[111] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 71.
[112] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 7.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 17.
[113] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 19.
[114] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 7
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 20.
[115] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 73.
[116] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 17.
[117] *Sunbury Leader News*: 19 February 2008 online database. An Arch Blunder, Sticky end for Federation
Arch of triumph.  I suspect that for most Melburnians who actually live within migrant communities, their
cultures may seem to be intermingling, but probably do not feel nearly as chaotic as they would appear to
a "creative" outsider.
[118] *Herald Sun*: 21 February 2008 online database. This certainly strikes one as a very tangible form of
commemoration for future generations, and a far better alternative than their current fate languishing and
fading away in the Council's Sunbury storage yard.

2000 Sydney Olympics.[119]  Although at least not broken apart, this culturally significant icon of "The Best Olympic Games Ever"[120] now adorns the entry to the St Peters Recycling Depot (adjacent to the former Tempe Tip) in the industrial heart of the harbour city.[121]

At least recognition of the significance of its architectural heritage has resulted in the Princes Bridge itself being recently restored,[122] although at the time of the Federation parade, this would have been quite a new structure, having only been completed in 1888.[123]  The well-known accompanying Flinders Street Railway station entrance was also about to be upgraded at the time of the march.  What has remained the primary transport junction of Melbourne, the intersection of Flinders and Swanston Streets, then as now, encapsulated much of Melbourne, and even Australian society.  On the south eastern corner stands the major entry to the expanding public transport hub of the city, with the lighter gauge trams terminating noisily out the front.[124]  On the adjacent corner stands Young and Jackson's, one of the best known hotels in the city, although now without the protective awning that would no doubt have caused physical damage to modern high delivery trucks and vans.  Opposite, on the north west corner, rests St Paul's cathedral, still the principal establishment church of the city, now facing Federation Square, a conscious, and one might say self-conscious, attempt to create an aura of the "modern" in the city.

Looking back from Federation Square across to the spires of St Paul's Cathedral, the pre-eminence of the Christian Church and its influence one hundred years ago is again apparent.[125]  As with the march in Sydney, there would not have been a conscious decision to pass as many churches and places of worship as possible.  It was just that churches held such a central position in the society that their location safeguarded so many of the significant sites in the cities.[126]  St Paul's was also indicative of the boom and bust nature of Melbourne's growth during the first half a century of its existence.[127]

[119] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 18.
[120] Australian Broadcasting Commission *Coverage of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games* online database.
[121] Marrickville Council: *St Peters – Tempe Local Area Traffic Management Scheme* online database.
[122] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 16.
[123] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 13.
[124] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 20.
[125] UBD Australia: *UBD Melbourne Street Map 2008*, map 2.  Even on a map, the mass of St Pauls, Flinders' Street Station and Federation Square are evident. Towers such as the ANZ and Sofitel on the top of Collins Street may dominate vertically, but the more public sites' footprints still control the ground.
[126] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 29, 31.
[127] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 21.

The site of the first official Anglican Church service in Melbourne in 1836, St Paul's was designed in 1878 by architect William Butterfield, in absentia, in England.[128] The impressive Gothic Revival exterior and luxurious tiled and stained glass interior by London's Clayton and Bell were all planned on the other side of the world and constructed during the height of the boom of the 1880s. However, by the time of its consecration in 1891 the good times were over, and it would take another forty years before the two front spires and the substantial main Moorhouse spire could afford to be erected.[129] As mentioned, these were then faced with the same Sydney Hawkesbury sandstone that would later be used to complete Sydney's St Mary's Cathedral spires in time for the Centenary of Federation.[130]

As previously mentioned, there seemed to have been many adapted overseas architectural designs at the time, no doubt intended to keep pace with the rapid rate of city expansion. The current Flinders Street Railway Station that has long been such a focal point for the city had been planned in 1899, but was not completed until 1910, well after the Federation celebrations. Although partially constructed by James W Fawcett, the designer of the two Railway Towers, one of Melbourne's urban myths is that the original design was actually intended for the Bombay Railway Station, but got mixed up in the post.[131] This is perhaps explained by, to borrow the words of Marc Fiddian, "the architectural features designed by Fawcett and Ashworth that had convinced the judges were the non-angular concept for the main corner entrance and the building's striking resemblance to the Taj Mahal."[132]

The fourth corner of the intersection provides the most interesting interpretation of the new Melbourne, as distinct from the old. At the time of Federation, this eastern side of Swanston Street between the River Yarra and Flinders Street was largely open to the sky. Photographs of the time show the suburban rail lines to the eastern suburbs passing

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[128] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 80. "The architect, William Butterfield, who was a gothic and Early English enthusiast and had built Keble College Oxford, never visited Australia." The adoption of his design was no doubt aided by the cathedral being built on the flat plain of central Melbourne, thus not requiring elevations to accommodate variations in slope.

[129] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 80.

[130] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 81.

[131] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 13.

[132] Marc Fiddian: *Flinders St Station – Melbourne's Taj Mahal*, 2003, Galaxy Print, Melbourne, Australia. W H Newnham: *Melbourne Sketchbook*, p. 36. "Plans were delayed with the bursting of the land boom, but by 1900 the 'respectable square building of yellow brick', a fruit market, was pulled down to make way for the station in French Renaissance style."

under the roadway and then out into the open shunting yards.[133] Alongside this was the riverbank of the Yarra with the lawns and pathways that still exist today, while behind the Yarra foreshores stood the old Princes Bridge Railway Station.[134]

Swanston Street, effectively the roadway overpass over the railway, did contain some structures on the eastern side in 1901. There were tea shops and a refreshment room to cater to the needs of the travelling public in an era less frenetic than today. These suburban railway refreshment rooms and bars still existed until the 1960s, particularly at large stations where travellers would need to wait for connecting trains and trams to complete their journeys.[135] In Melbourne, the open rail track and yards between the refreshment rooms and the river had been considered a visual blight from the beginning.[136] However, the fact that proposals dating back to the 1860s and 1920s had come to nothing would indicate that, at the time, people were happy to have such a wide expansive vision of their modern transport network. That the area had only been covered by two supposedly hideous Gas and Fuel Corporation Towers from the 1960s and the currently questionable Federation Square precinct indicates a city still not sure what to do with the site. [137] While a frenetic zone that no doubt appeals to the sensibilities of the modern young, the initial website entry for Federation Square centres on its "alleged ugliness", with a randomly selected 64% of Melburnians agreeing that, "yes, it is an eyesore".[138] This all seems to confirm that the city's ability to create civic spectacle has done anything but improve over the course of the last century. As the photographs show, there also appears to be little within the precinct that actually relates back to the Federation of the nation itself, in either intentional symbolism or graphic text.[139]

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[133] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 21.

[134] Robert Lee: *The Railways of Victoria 1854-2004*, pp. 20, 192. Although apparently long existing on the point of closure, this elegant but isolated anachronism was finally demolished in the 1980s for the new underground loop.

[135] Anne-Maree Whitaker: *Pictorial History of Marrickville*, 2006, Kingsclear Books, Sydney, p. 60. There were, for example, refreshment rooms above the very industrial Sydenham and Newtown Railway Stations in Sydney during the 1950s and 1960s, where a working class matron in her best hat and gloves could take a glass of wine or a cup of espresso coffee while waiting for a connecting train. This was the era when the inner suburbs of both cities were assimilating large numbers of Southern European migrants and such institutions often reflected this growing multiculturalism.

[136] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 15.

[137] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 15.

[138] Bates Smart Architects: *Federation Square, Melbourne* online database.

[139] As with the old coastal houses in Sydney, the result of allowing a four hundred metre by one hundred metre square of railway yards taking up such a prime and potentially attractive site alongside the Yarra River harks back to an era that appears to be at variance with the sensibilities of today. While there were valid reasons in the past as to why certain locations were not fashionable: sewerage outfalls, and the need for transport links close to the city centre; geographical sensibility still appears to remain questionable.

## 5. SETTLEMENT AND PLANNING

No doubt as a result of being a consciously formally planned environment, the central city of Melbourne, even today, is defined by abrupt and noticeable boundaries.[140]  The footstepper arriving from the south, north or east through parkland and open space, crosses over one road or one bridge and suddenly finds themselves in the middle of the bustling metropolis.  Looking back towards Melbourne city from St Kilda Road, it does seem easy to appreciate the degree to which there would have been a strong sensation of formal entry into the civilising city in 1901.[141]  Although the western side of the road is now filled with the Southbank redevelopments, the eastern grassy fields and the tree lined road still gives a very distinct sense of country parkland.  Even institutions that exist on the periphery: the Trades Hall to the north in Carlton and St Patrick's Cathedral on the eastern hill behind Parliament House, appear to be consciously sited on the edge of this very formalised space.  Public transport routes themselves emphasise these boundaries, with both the recently constructed underground rail loop and the free city tram service marking out the Flinders Street, Spring Street, La Trobe Street and Spencer Street margins.

The city of Sydney, by comparison, grew slowly over the course of a century, and as a result still dissipates gradually into the surrounding districts.  Walking into the older settlement from the inner suburbs along Parramatta Road, Elizabeth Street or Oxford Street, the footstepper notices businesses and shops slowly growing denser, but it is difficult to determine just where the city begins.[142]  Although partially surrounded by the harbour, there is a fluidity in the physical environment that could be said to reflect the political and cultural environment as well.  That the huge department stores such as Mark Foy's, Anthony Hordern's and Grace Brothers have gradually found themselves

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Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 22.

[140] *The Argus*: 10 August 1926, p. 16.  Town-planning, Melbourne's Urgent Needs. "City planning demands good citizenship from every point of view. We cannot say that the citizens of Melbourne possess sufficient civic pride…Melbourne, however, had outgrown its original plan."

[141] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 14.

[142] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Melbourne Compact Street Directory 1993*, maps 1, 2. Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 1988*, maps 169, 170.  The two directories that I have used for my location maps clearly indicate this contrast.  Melbourne's CBD is patently obvious, while one could ask where Sydney's actually does begin. Coming in from the west locations such as the University of Sydney, the City Road junction and Railway Square all indicate that one is entering the CBD of the city, but the process builds over a distance of more than a kilometre. Entering from the east, the walker also experiences a gradualness from Kings Cross and Taylor Square to Hyde Park.

isolated beyond the new fringes as the perceived boundaries of the city imperceptibly change over the course of decades clearly demonstrates this.

Also unlike Sydney with its rocky sandstone hills and valleys, the site of Melbourne was a floodplain, or series of floodplains on the side of the Yarra River, contained by milder rises. Apparently the aboriginal term "Yarra Yarra" meant "flowing flowing"; a nomenclature that many modern Melburnians would probably consider singularly inappropriate.[143] Eastwood's 1840 map and Whittock's 1854 sketch, both looking north across the city centre from the southern bank of the Yarra demonstrate the flatness and balance either side of Swanston Street that would determine the route of the Federation parade.[144] The shallow gully and watercourse of the Townend Stream from Lake Cashmore down the middle of Elizabeth and Queen Streets flowed into the Yarra just above the point where the flowing fresh water river became tidal. This feature would continue to affect the geography of the city through to modern times, with the construction of storm water drains unable to prevent flooding of the Central Business District in even 1891 prior to Federation,[145] and as recently as 1972.[146]

In 1837 Robert Hoddle began to lay out the town in preparation for the sale of land, significantly, by altering Governor Darling's original measurements for urban blocks that were being implemented throughout the towns and cities of the nation. Instead of 5 chains, or 330 feet (100.5m) for the grid, he adopted a 4¾ chains or 313 feet (95.5m) grid to allow for both wider 99 feet (30m) roads and 33 feet (10m) lanes.[147] Each block was thus divided by a central east west laneway system: the foundation of Melbourne's "little" streets.[148] It is remarkable the degree of forward planning shown at the time by

[143] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 114.
[144] Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne – The Growth of a Metropolis*, 1983, Thomas Nelson Australia, Melbourne pp. 15, 29.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 24.
[145] *The Argus*: 14 July 1891, pp. 5-6. The Flood in Melbourne, Further Loss of Life, Immense Destruction of Property, Thousands of Persons Homeless. *The Argus* of the day dedicated two whole pages to the disastrous flood that appeared in this case to have been caused by the rising of the Yarra River due to "phenomenal rainfall", rather than by flooding of the old Elizabeth Street water course.
[146] *The Age*: 2 September 2003 online database. Melbourne: city of woes. "Melbourne is not generally considered a city with a history of disasters, but James Norman found that *Fire and Flood in the Heart of Melbourne*, a photography exhibition opening on Friday, reveals the city has a formidable history of catastrophe. From the great floods of 1891 and flash flooding of the CBD as recently as 1972, to raging fires that reduced inner-city blocks to rubble, there are many stories of devastation." Michael Cannon: *Australia – a History in Photographs*, p. 99.
[147] Sheridan Morris: *Melbourne Past and Present*, 2008, Axiom Publishing, Adelaide, p. 13.
[148] *The Argus*: 22 April 1936, p. 9. Widening 'Little' Streets. "The Lord Mayor Councillor A G Wales has revived the suggestion that the City Council should try to institute means of enforcing the gradual widening of Melbourne's "little" streets." As with Melbourne's apparently enduring trams, the survival

administrators such as Governors Darling and Bourke and planners such as Robert Hoddle and his predecessor Robert Russell. Admittedly, they were starting with a clean slate, and with the lessons before them of both European cities and the half century of non-existent planning that had already resulted in the congestion of Sydney. While the choice of actual site would fate the city to the risk of future flood, in terms of planning, this gently undulating landform between rising hills meant that Darling's civic ideals could be implemented by Hoddle without the Sydney restrictions of either cliff or gully, or the embedded tradition of disorganised and uncontrolled expansion.[149]

While both Melbourne and Sydney now present themselves as the two principal and timeless elder cities of the nation, at the time of Federation this would not have been the case. Sydney was already well over a century old, with the gradualness of change that had seen original buildings demolished and replaced with newer modern late Victorian structures.[150] Melbourne, while then as large as Sydney in terms of population with 520,400 people resident in 1901,[151] was less than half as old, with the gold boom era offices and city residences having been erected directly onto virgin sites.[152] This open flat spaciousness therefore affected the arches that were constructed for the May 1901 parade. While size limitations would have been set by financial considerations, the physical construction techniques of the time, and the need to accommodate a certain width of carriage and parade column, I suspect that the feel and sensation provided by the spectacle of the passing parade would have been quite different to that experienced in Sydney. The Municipal Arch on the entrance to Princes Bridge was a case in point. The photographs at the time show a large and impressive structure that spans the entire

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of the Little Streets and Laneways has often been rather touch and go. *The Argus*: 27 April 1940, p. 1. Little Streets Stay. "In view of a report by Mr H S Wootton, the town clerk, on similar work in Sydney, the City Council is unlikely to widen "little" streets from 33 feet to 66 feet, as suggested by Councillor H E Morton." It would appear that the Little Streets are finally safe.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 25.

[149] Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne – The Growth of a Metropolis*, pp. 16-30.

[150] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*. Note the degree to which the first 50 pages are restricted to Sydney and Hobart structures, and then from the mid-Victorian era there is an explosion of new buildings in the newly established Melbourne.

[151] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907,* No.1, p. 158. Figures tend to vary, perhaps expressing the ideals and expectations of researchers; but the initial Commonwealth Census lists Sydney with 538,800 residents and Melbourne with 520,000. Whether one city or the other was fractionally larger seems rather irrelevant, compared with the far more significant distinction of age of the city. One city was already well over a century old, with its initial half century being of slow disorganised expansion, while the other was less than half that age, and more importantly had been formally planned from the beginning.

[152] Henry Gyles Turner: *A History of the Colony of Victoria*, 1904, Longmans, Green and Co, London chapt. 9. Note particularly, pp. 262, 263 where the disastrous results of land speculation in particular is mentioned.

roadway with the grandiose form of a Roman Triumphal Arch.[153]  The sensation is one of openness to the sky; quite different to that imposed by the more closed narrow confines of  Sydney's streets.

The principal north south street of the settlement of Melbourne, and the one first entered by the Federation parade, was Swanston Street, named after Captain Charles Swanston; East India Company man, banker and one of the founders of the original Port Phillip Association.  The economist S J Butlin described him as "one of the score or so of commercial adventurers who had at least the illusion of controlling and directing Australian economic expansion in the period during which the emergence of a capitalistic economy was completed."[154]   Through boom and bust banking, Charles Swanston accumulated and then lost a fortune.  He had gained a controlling interest in the Tasmanian Derwent Bank, and when in 1849 British investors withdrew their support, he was forced to "assign his personal estate for the benefit of his creditors."[155] Like a Chinese Emperor on the point of being dethroned, Swanston was advised to take a long voyage, and died the next year on his way back from that other mythical land of promise, California.[156]

The inevitable speculation that accompanied such rapid development had two detrimental effects: an overinflated financial boom in property construction, and this level of property construction running ahead of services.[157]  These were not merely ethereal issues, but ones that affected the immediate welfare of the citizens.  Graeme Davison dedicates an entire chapter to this boom and bust aspect of the decade leading up to Federation, comparing the150%-200% increase in the number of architects and builders with resulting rushed and shoddy construction.[158]  Poor sanitation was as serious an issue as it was in Sydney, without the 'advantage' of a large harbour in which to directly dump human waste.  Typhoid became a grim reality, although by 1910 it was reported in *The Argus* that "the number of cases in the metropolis at present is below the

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[153] Walking Melbourne: *Federation Arches* online database. Municipal Arch Princes Bridge 1901. Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 17.
[154] Bede Nairn: *Captain Charles Swanston*, Australian Dictionary of Biography vol.2, pp. 500-501.
[155] *The Argus*; 14 November 1849, p. 2. Van Diemen's Land. "John Walker Esq, late Chief City Commissioner of Hobart Town, has been elected Managing Director of the Derwent Bank in that city, in the room of (sic) Captain Swanston resigned."
[156] Bede Nairn: *Captain Charles Swanston*, Australian Dictionary of Biography vol.2, pp. 500-501.
[157] DeborahTout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, 2008, Museum Victoria, Melbourne, p. 43.
[158] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, pp. 72-78.  Note the cartoon commenting on the 'advantage' of developers not bothering with decent footings when construction investment housing.

average." [159] What this average actually was appeared not to be mentioned. [160] Interstaters in particular were only too happy assign to upstart Melbourne the nomenclature "Smelbourne"; as much a reflection of the general degradation of the Yarra River as poor sanitation itself. [161] The city continued to industrialise and tributaries such as the Maribyrnong River become even more polluted. As Davison declares; "by 1890 the stretch of river from Footscray with its ropewalk, sugar refinery, chemical and fertilizer works up stream to the abattoirs, tallow works and tanneries of Newmarket had become an open sewer." [162]

The risk of fire within the rapidly expanding city also proved to be a serious threat to urban citizens. In 1897 fire destroyed the city block between Flinders Street, Flinders Lane and Elizabeth and Swanston Streets, the very streetscape that would be passed by the parade less than three years later. The blaze in the early hours of Sunday 21 November began in Craig, Williamson & Thomas's warehouse on the corner of Elizabeth and Flinders Street, and quickly spread to destroy virtually the whole block. [163] Even Young and Jackson's Hotel was threatened, with the licensee having to roll his beer barrels across Swanston Street to find sanctuary in the porch of St Paul's Cathedral. [164] By 6:00 am that morning, after a four hour battle, the two hundred attending firemen had the conflagration under control.

It was noted that this was the first time that the early morning church trains had been packed; in this case with sightseers rather than the religious faithful. [165] The particular event was significant enough for it to be commented upon not only three years later in February 1900 when; "another serious fire occurred in Flinders Lane today, when [my]

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[159] *The Argus*: 8 March 1882, p. 9. Gordon Cheers: *Australia Through Time*, p. 98. Note the quote for 19 January 1889. "At least 400 people have died and hundreds more have fallen ill as Melbourne struggles to free itself from the grip of a devastating typhoid epidemic."
[160] *The Argus*: 16 April 1910, p. 16. *The Argus*: 6 May 1910, p. 7. One of the outbreaks of 1910, apparently through infected milk from a dairy, resulted in at least 11 deaths.
[161] *Perth Sunday Times*: 31 March 1907, p. 3.
[162] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 50.
[163] *The Argus*: 22 November 1897, p. 6. "The Fire yesterday was on our side of "The Lane" and our warehouse is not damaged in any way." The most notable mention of the fire in the press the day after was an advertisement by Lister Henry and Co, clothing and dry goods merchants, to the effect that they were still open for business. *The Argus*: 11 December 1897, p. 9. The eternally optimistic and advantageous nature of capitalism is seen with the purchase of salvage stock from a "great fire in the Cripplegate, London, on November 19. One of the purchasers is the firm of Messrs Brooks, McGlashan and McHarg, whose premises in Flinders Lane, Melbourne, were destroyed by the fire in that city on November 21." Gordon Cheers: *Australia Through Time*, p. 132.
[164] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 46.
[165] Gordon Cheers: *Australia Through Time*, p. 60. "[It is] wholly for the convenience of those who…come into Sydney to church and get back home again to dinner." Letter to *The Sydney Morning Herald* of all press outlets, commenting on, or gloating over the 1879 Sunday train timetable.

warehouse of Brooks, McGlashan and McHarg, at the west corner of Degraves Street, which was destroyed by fire in the great conflagration of November 1897, was again attacked";[166] but even forty years later. "What happened in Flinders Street just forty years ago tomorrow," with accompanying pictures of the inferno.[167] This would also have been one of the first instances of the newly constituted Metropolitan Fire Brigades Board dealing with such an emergency. Up until the 1887 and 1890 Brigade Amalgamation and Fire Brigade Acts, the fighting of fires was the responsibility of the various insurance companies that covered city buildings for such disasters.[168] There were apparently many instances of such private brigades arriving at a fire, only to discover that they did not have the insurance cover for the particular building in flames, and thus turning away and quietly going back home while the "foreign" structure burned to the ground.

The newly established transport systems were also instrumental in directly serving Melbourne's Federation celebrations. As was the case with the Federation parade in Sydney, the authorities had to accommodate a huge number of people intending to view a march of at least an hour's duration through a relatively confined space. With an estimated 150,000 spectators within the five kilometres of the Central Business District of Melbourne,[169] transport to and from the event would have been critical. Certainly, a letter to the editor of *The Argus* from "A Country Cousin" expressed this concern. "How can country people arriving in Melbourne, say, at 10 o'clock am, reach the positions which they have secured in Collins street east?...Will you kindly let us country people know by what route we may reach our destinations?"[170]

While people tend to arrive at such events in their own time and in a relatively ordered manner, clearing the city after the event would have been quite a different affair. This is even a major concern even today with similar events such as New Year's Eve bringing a relative equivalent percentage of the population to the cities' centres.[171] As is the case now, a century ago all available public transport facilities were brought to bear with

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[166] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 February 1900, p. 10.
[167] *The Argus*: 20 November 1937, p. 35.
[168] Victorian Royal Commission 2009 Victorian Bushfires: *Part 10 Introduction: Organisational Structure* online database. "The Fire Brigades Act 1890 established the organisational structure of brigades that is still in effect today." Power: *Fire & Flood in the Heart of Melbourne*, Victorian Government exhibition, September 2003.
[169] Australian Broadcasting Commission: *Australia's Centenary of Federation* website, 2000, ABC 100 years, Sydney.
[170] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 11.
[171] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 31 December 2011 online database.

varying degrees of success. Trains were timetabled to run through the night over the course of the week, including country trains from as a far afield as Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong. These included trains the next morning to return revellers back home.[172]

For those living in closer proximity, tram timetables were also adapted to take into account not only those wishing to exit the city after the day-time parade, but also those who wanted to come back to view the night-time illuminations.[173] There was even the "thoughtful proposal of the mayor of Richmond (Councillor J S Willis) to provide vehicles to take the aged poor to see the city illuminations." However, it appears that few of those targeted took advantage of the offer.[174] Perhaps older people would not have wanted to go to the trouble of coming into the city anyway, knowing they would still have to walk to the display once they had alighted from the tram. On the other hand, many elderly appeared happy to do their best to view the day time proceedings. "Several veterans were wheeled in bath chairs to take a look at the preparations, and others tugged their little ones behind them."[175] Whether the march participants themselves, not to mention the spectators had to pay full fare on the rail network is not mentioned. However, demonstrating a notable lack of inter-colonial largesse, the visiting City of Sydney aldermen were provided with a rail car for the trip to Albury. From there, however, they had to pay their own way to Melbourne, with the Mayor of Sydney, Dr Graham describing this treatment as "very shabby".[176]

Rather amusing for us today, although no doubt not at the time, was the religious objection to the Sunday trains necessary for the transport of citizens and participants into the city the day prior to the main Federation parade on Monday 6 May 1901. "The Reverend J Meiklejohn called attention to the announcement by the Government that cadets from the country would be brought to Melbourne for the Ducal celebrations by trains running on Sunday next. This, he said, would be a desecration of the Sabbath, which they [presbytery members] should protest about."[177] The Reverend John Meiklejohn MA was an influential minister from the Dorcas Street, South Melbourne Presbyterian Church who, as Moderator General, had been responsible for the re-uniting

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[172] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[173] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[174] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.
[175] *The Argus*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[176] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[177] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.

of the disparate and divided colonial Presbyterian denominations.[178]  While apparently
not a fundamentalist, the comment by a staunch member of the church establishment
indicates not only the influence that ministers of religion felt that they had in society,
but also the literal interpretation of the Sabbath that would hold sway in many parts of
Australian society until the 1970s.[179]  However, it was recognised that the much vaunted
separation of church and state in the new Australian Constitution,[180] would in practice
need to apply as just much to public transport.  While the notion of the boring
Melbourne Sunday has become entrenched in folklore, it is worth remembering that
such restrictions tend to be cyclical rather than a permanent fixture from the past.[181]  It
was only in July 1883 that Sunday trading was outlawed under pressure from
Sabbatarians.[182]  Through institutions such as *The Bulletin* in Sydney there remained
subtle insurrections against the dictates of the prelates.  *The Queenslander* of 1895
mentioned an amusing, if apocryphal incident where a country vicar's garden was being
ravaged by sparrows on the Sabbath.  When his wife ordered the gardener to discharge
his gun at them the annoyed vicar penned her a note stating. "Six days in seven, if you
please, shoot the birds that eat your peas; but on the seventh aim your arrows at sin and
Satan – not at sparrows."[183]

Once in Melbourne itself, the large number of participants needed to be accommodated.
Distinguished visitors were lodged at the Grand Hotel (now the Windsor on Spring
Street) while the military and country display contingents were camped at Royal Park
and Flemington.  "Well known military identities such as Colonel Tom Price, Major
General George French and Major General Gordon were placed in charge of
proceedings, and the men were kept occupied with parades and drills between periods of
leave."[184]

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[178] Prentis: *Fathers and Brethren, moderators of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of
Australia 1901-1977* online database.
[179] Ian Tyrrell:  *From the culture of wowserism to the culture of healthism,* University of NSW online
database.
[180] Constitutional Centenary Foundation: *The Australian Constitution*, p. 113. "The Commonwealth shall
not make any law for establishing any religion…"
[181] *The Argus*: 2 April 1951, p. 6. Boring. "The practice of sending young sailors, soldiers and airmen in
Melbourne for over the weekends when they can do nothing and go nowhere seems to be a deliberate plan
to make their leave as boring and fruitless as possible."
[182] *The Argus*: 28 April 1883, p. 8. "Sabbatarians win the day."
[183] *The Queenslander*: 21 September 1895, p. 5.
[184] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.

6.  MARVELLOUS MELBOURNE

Upon entering the city of Melbourne, the Federation parade would have passed St
Paul's Cathedral and the current location of City Square.  It is here that the modern
footstepper passes three significant works of art that appear to reflect the changing of
attitudes towards Australian's relationship with their land and community.  Alongside
St Paul's is the Flinders Memorial by the sculptor Web Gilbert.[185]  Although not
unveiled until 7 November 1925, this effigy is reflective of an era when the nation was
still being geographically, and certainly psychologically, opened up by Europeans.[186]
As Gascoigne mentions, the popularity of Matthew Flinders reflected his position as the
embodiment of those scientific advances that had led to both the settlement and
advancement of the Australian nation.[187]   Flinders is then followed by City Square and
the Burke and Wills Memorial by sculptor Charles Summers.[188]

> In Collins Street standeth a statue tall –
>
> A statue tall on a pillar of stone,
>
> Telling its story, to great and small,
>
> Of the dust reclaimed from the sand waste lone.
>
> Weary and wasted, and worn and wan,
>
> Feeble and faint, and languid and low,
>
> He lay on the desert a dying man,
>
> Who has gone, my friends, where we all must go.

As Adam Lindsay Gordon's poem indicates, this statue group was originally placed at
the top of Collins Street at the Russell Street intersection, then transplanted in 1886 to
what became Gordon Reserve adjacent to Parliament House to make way for the

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[185] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 27.
[186] *The Argus*: 25 September 1923. Site for Matthew Flinders' Statue.  Apparently there was some kind of
weird competition whereby the city that could erect the most pleasing monument to the explorer would
receive his papers from his grandson. Sydney won… Public Art Around the World: *Matthew Flinders*
online database.
[187] John Gascoigne: *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 98.  The work is not
only more formal than the statue of the navigator outside the Sydney Mitchell Library, but is also without
the most recent addition of Flinders' noble companion.  *Matthew Flinders* online database. Trim the Cat.
Melbourne's statue may feature Flinders in his boat, but Sydney's representation includes a separate
casting of Trim, Flinders' cat.
[188] Adam Lindsay Gordon: *Selected Poems of Adam Lindsay Gordon*, 1979, Angus & Robertson, Sydney,
p. 7. Gone!
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 27.

expansion of Melbourne's tramway; prior to its being moved yet again.[189]  At the time of the parade in 1901, this statue was still at Gordon Reserve although further moves to accommodate tramlines and even underground railway stations would imply a work of art not held in the highest esteem by the general population, or at least the local council authorities.[190]  To be fair, even Sydney's Queen Victoria has been moved, or at least rotated on more than one occasion, while her son's constant shifting around the entrance to Sydney's Government House to accommodate the Cahill Expressway and Harbour Tunnel has hardly raised an eyebrow in that city.[191]

Gordon, writing his poem in 1867, was invoking an heroic interpretation of the disastrous 1860-1861Burke and Wills expedition, even though at this early juncture, the Royal Commission had already placed a good part of the blame for the death of the explorers on the foolish 'death-or-glory' Robert O'Hara Burke.[192]  While there still appeared to be a sense that the tragedy was the result of bad luck,[193] by the time of Federation attitudes towards the previous forty years of colonial experience had begun to change.  There was already a divide between the city and the bush, with Australia now one of the most urbanised nations in the world.  However, writers such as Paterson and Lawson continued with their preoccupation with the bush although as the new century advanced, poets such as Kenneth Slessor, writers like C J Dennis and painters such as Sali Herman would discover and even glory in the reality of city life.[194]

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[189] *The Argus*: December 1928, p. 3.  W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 206. These later moves have taken place recently, since Newnham mentions the statue still being at the Spring Street intersection in 1956.

[190] *The Argus*: 30 January 1926, p. 7.  Burke and Wills Monument Removal to Original Site.  Certainly some people were concerned over the constant moving of the memorial. "Mr Tom Roberts suggestion that the Burke and Wills monument should be restored to its original position on the Collins Street must appeal to all who are familiar with the history of the ill-starred expedition, which was closely associated with early Melbourne."

[191] *The Argus*: 1 December 1938, p. 3.  As an aside, it is interesting to note that some people's opinions of the quality of Melbourne's work would have placed them under a similar constant threat to that suffered by the statue of Henry Parkes in Sydney's Centennial Park. "If a few of the people whom, within the last few days, I have seen embalmed in stone and bronze could visit corporeally these port-mortem tributes, I am afraid that there would be a sharp rise in the incidence of vandalism."  However, I doubt that the fate suffered by that of Parkes was a result of artistic criticism.

[192] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 26 February 1862, p. 2. Wilde et al: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* 1994, p. 133.

[193] *The Argus*:  2 August 1913, p. 21.

[194] *The Bulletin* poets such as Paterson and Lawson still tended to view the city and its inhabitants as either sad, disreputable and stunted by their life experience, or as figures of light hearted amusement. "Would you make it a tea-garden and on Sundays have a band, where the 'blokes' might take their 'donahs', with a 'public' close at hand." Andrew Barton Paterson: *The Collected Verse of A B Paterson*, p. 79. Even C J Dennis' "Bloke" only finds true peace and fulfilment once he moves into the rural idyll of outer suburbia. "Then, in a blessed 'eap, ole Forchin lands a missus an' a farm fair in me 'ands." Clarence James Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis*, 1975, Angus & Roberson, Sydney, p. 33.

Needless to say, the Victorian Government had voted £5,000 towards the cost of the memorial in 1864,[195] and sculptor Charles Summers completed the work not only "modelling the figures but built a furnace and himself cast them in bronze. The standing figure of Burke, 13 feet in height [4 metres], was cast in one operation."[196] Summers himself appeared to embody a rather transient attitude towards Australia. Born in Somerset in 1827 and trained at the Royal Academy, the young sculptor moved to Australia in 1852 as treatment for his poor health. After various jobs and commissions, he opened a studio in Collins Street, where he was able to produce the Burke and Wills Memorial. By 1867, he had left to return to England. After working in Rome, he returned to Victoria to complete a commission comprising statues of Queen Victoria, but died in 1878 in Paris on his way back to England.[197] While contributing to the culture of the colony, Charles Summers appeared to have considered himself primarily British, and in practice an international artist who went wherever the commissions and the money took him. [198]

Although hard to tell now, the next block along Swanston Street, City Square held Melbourne's own Queen Victoria Building,[199] an apparently attractive Victorian pile of shops and administration offices.[200] As one of the many 1960s attempts to open and beautify the city, this was demolished in 1968 and converted to an open space linked to shops and a graffiti wall.[201] Memory of the previous 1890s building seems to be well hidden. The failings of the new precinct brought about a further demolishing of half the space in 1981and its replacement with a non-descript modern structure. Notably, the National Trust guide *Walking Melbourne* does not include an image of either the original Queen Victoria Building, or the interim space that existed for twenty years, nor

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[195] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – The Biography of a City*, pp. 206, 207.
[196] *The Australian News for Home Readers*: 25 October 1864, p. 4. Casting of the bronze statue for the Burke and Wills monument. "…this being, we believe, the first attempt made to cast a massive bronze statue in Australia. At any rate nothing equal in weight or magnitude had hitherto been attempted in statuary by any practical artist in Victoria."
[197] Jill Eastwood: *Charles Summers (1825-1878)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[198] As mentioned, it is rather ironic that this same attitude of primary loyalty to another place was one of the many criticisms levelled at the Chinese at this time.
[199] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – The Biography of a City*, p. 172.
[200] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 63.
[201] Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne*, vol.2, 2004, The Vulgar Press, Melbourne, p. 124. Some attempts to conserve what remained in the block were led by the Victorian Branch of the Builders Labourers Federation. Although generally less successfully than their more radical NSW comrades, builder's labourer Dave Kerin summed up their attitude; "We were out there building these concrete boxes and you just felt like a dill. You looked across the road and saw a building with some character with design features that we didn't have the skills to make."
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 29.

even the current City Square space itself.[202]  This area that is, by its nomenclature and its location, no doubt intended to be the public centre of the city, appears to be generally passed over by local Melburnians.[203]

The next site passed, or more correctly, bypassed by the footstepper is the Melbourne Town Hall. While Melbourne's streets are far wider than Sydney's, her Town Hall is sited close to the edge of Swanston Street; seeming to almost bend over the street from the high side of the road.[204]  Although the parade turned into Collins Street, spectators on the balcony of the Town Hall would still have been afforded an intimate view of the procession as it passed under the King's Arch.[205]  Being so representative of the tenor of the new monarchy freed from the restrictive late Victorian era, this arch, like King Edward VII himself,[206] gloried in its excess; "ostentatiously colourful, covered in 'cardinal' and old gold velveteen, which was 'thickly broken into panels with gilt mouldings', with 'diagonal silk cord forming diaper work'."[207]  Although appearing in photographs, to be extremely attractive and intricate, with its main 18 metre arch and smaller side arches filling the width of Swanston Street, the cost was only £560.[208]  This was considerably less than many of the other more formal and perhaps less inspiring efforts and only a small part of the £100,000 that was allocated by a special committee of the Victorian State Government to "ensure festivities befitting this historic event."[209]  The arch was also theoretically in a similar position to that of the Melbourne Arch in Sydney, in that consciously or accidentally it guided the parade into by-passing the Town Hall by turning it away, this time up the slope of Collins Street.  However, I doubt there would have been the same sense of isolation caused by the larger space in front of Sydney's Town Hall.

While there was little discussion on the route of this presentation parade, the later route for the march to the opening of Parliament had been under intense scrutiny from the

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[202] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 31.
[203] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 30.
[204] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – The Biography of a City*, 1956, pp. 171, 172.  Certainly for someone from interstate, the immediate butting of such a significant building directly onto the footpath does seem incongruous.
[205] Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 29.
[206] Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 28.
[207] *The Age*: *7 May 1901* supplement.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 28.
[208] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 75.
[209] *Westralian Worker*: 15 June 1951, p. 6.  With Committee Chairman M'Culloch as Minister for Works and Mayor of Melbourne, were added Mt T G Watson, Clerk and Secretary and Mt T Wollard as assistant and Col Hoad in charge of military arrangements.

beginning of the year. As *The Argus* reported as early as February, "So far Mr M'Culloch, the chairman of the committee, has received no reply from the Governor-General in regard to the suggested alteration in the route to be taken by the procession on the day of the opening of Parliament." The issue appeared to have been conflict between the distance to be traversed by the official party and the number of significant arches that were going to be missed by following an abbreviated route. "Until the route has been finally determined, Mr M'Culloch states that it will be impossible to select the sites for the various arches to be erected by the Government."[210]

It was at this point that the parade would have seemed to face its greatest geographical obstacle. Although Melbourne is generally flatter than Sydney, the rise up Collins Street from the bedrock of the old Townend stream alignment would have been the most arduous part of the parade for both marchers and horses. However, as the principal business and "quality" street in Melbourne then, and now, it would have been obvious that the public parade would have followed this route. At the top of the climb at the Russell Street intersection, the march would have passed under the Queen's Arch, named for the recently deceased Queen Victoria.[211] Images of this arch demonstrated again the considerable affection the community had for the old queen.[212] No doubt planned by designer G B H Austin prior to Victoria's death, the location on the highest point of the route would have been regarded as significant, as would the immediate surrounds in the most traditional quarter of the city.[213] The arch itself embodied that very Victorian mix of the traditional and the modern scientific. The cupola on the top of the very non-classical curved arcs contained a statue of Her Majesty; while on the other hand, much was made of the fact that this structure was "highlighted by electric lights by night".[214] Although none of the arches in either parade were dedicated specifically to scientific advancement, they all embodied in their design and presentation the most up to date construction and lighting, providing a contrast to their eclectic mix of classical and even the, then modern, art nouveau style.

The march up Collins Street reflected the celebration of the moment, but the route taken also reflected very much the social structure of the times, and no doubt the aspirations

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[210] *The Argus*: 27 February 1901, p. 6.
[211] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 32.
[212] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 82.
[213] *The Argus*: 27 August 1934. How Collins Street guards its wealth. Ostensibly commenting on the new Bank of NSW premises.
[214] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 83.

of the organisers. The northern side of the street was then, as now, marked by a wide variety of Protestant Churches: Baptist, Presbyterian and the Independent, now Uniting Church.[215] As with Sydney, the march did not pick out religious centres with conscious intention, but rather, as the routes took the most significant pathways through the two cities, churches and cathedrals were automatically included. Their physical centrality no doubt mirrored an emotional and cultural significance in the lives of the communities. This streetscape had also begun to adapt to the Australian environment in ways that would be again lost half a century later. Photographs of Bourke Street and Collins Street at the time of Federation show awnings, recently planted trees and the heavy stone buildings with tall narrow windows that, even today, are the most effective for allowing in light while restricting heat absorption.[216] The adoption of Modernism during the 1950s and 1960s, notably at this eastern end of the city, has replaced much of this earlier acclimatisation with flat glass-plated sky-scrapers that offer limited protection to any non-air-conditioned occupants and no protection to pedestrians from either the hot sun or sudden rainstorms.[217]

My footstepping crested the rise travelling east along Collins Street and I reached what was then known, and is still called, Collins Street's Paris End. At this juncture, the intersection with Exhibition Street, was located the Chamber of Manufactures' Column, erected by the Victorian Chamber of Manufacturers from the design of Messrs Usher and Kemp, Architects.[218] Although not an arch, but an imposing structure some 70' tall, this was one of the few direct references to the business community in either of the two parades. With a high grouping of white plaster Corinthian columns on a pedestal of four lions, surmounted by an Atlas and globe, the accompanying drawing in *The Argus* presents the structure as physically imposing and quite attractive, with the newspaper claiming that, "though this trophy is not so pretentious as the great arches which have been erected, it is one of the most effective pieces of architecture commemorating the great event."[219] The allusion to Nelson's Column was mentioned earlier by *The Argus*, although the never to be denied capitalist imperative also showed through. "A jarring note was an advertisement of capital value of land and plant and other matter painted at

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[215] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, 1956, p. 183.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 30, 32.
[216] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 32, 33.
[217] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 43, 45 et passim.
[218] *The Argus*: 11 May 1901, p. 11.
[219] *The Argus*: 11 May 1901, pp. 10-11.

the foot of the base."[220] As with the Commonwealth Arch in Sydney and even the Corporation Arch on Swanston Street Bridge, it does seem a shame that this column was not produced in a permanent form for posterity. Certainly such a column could have been accommodated by road traffic, then and even now, easier than an expansive arch.

At the time of Federation, the Paris allusion would surely have been apt, judging by both the style of the original buildings and the wealth represented by the medical offices, surgeons and physicians in *Sands & McDougall's Directory*.[221] The northern side of the street was taken up with medical practitioners and the occasional club and private hotel, while the southern side had similarly serious professionals interspersed with artists, sculptors and masseuse.[222] The Melbourne Club, at number 36 had been founded in 1838 by a group of young blades: as W H Newham puts it, "harum-scarum members..., whose early escapades included removing signboards, closing stable doors after allowing the horses to bolt and occasionally breaking a window."[223] After the club's move to the current Collins Street premises in 1839, duels were still being arranged, even if they now consisted of blank cartridges and an unsuspecting challenger being hit with "jam on the forehead that slowly dribbled down his face".[224] ANU House next door at number 52 was, at the time, occupied by the dentists Merrill and Aitken, who no doubt had far more to put up with than the current quieter academic and university chancellor's offices.[225]

On a more sedate level, office 10 Latrobe Parade, now changed to George Parade, between numbers 111 and 115 Collins Street, was occupied in 1901 by the artist Charles Web Gilbert.[226] Born in 1867 in Cockatoo, north of Melbourne, into a relatively poor family, Charles March Webster Gilbert lost his father soon after his birth but was an early and successful product of the newly established state school system. He was forced to leave even this education at the age of ten to earn his living and moved to Melbourne to eventually find work as a chef. It has been claimed that it was his modelling of ornaments for cakes that hinted at his ability at sculpture, and in 1888 he

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[220] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10
[221] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 12.
[222] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, pp. 17, 18.
[223] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 183. In other words, being as childishly obnoxious as most other young males out for a good time on the town.
[224] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 184.
[225] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 12.
[226] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 31.

enrolled in the National Gallery drawing school.[227]  Gilbert would go on to become one of the nation's most famous war artists and sculptors of principal public figures, including Alfred Deakin, the writer Hugh McCrae and the well-known socialist Bernard O'Dowd.  Gilbert's work is still held at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra,[228] with his great work The Desert Mounted Corps taking pride of place on Anzac Parade.[229]

Another feature of the medical district to be noted could be found along from the Melbourne Club: the large number of female medical practitioners.  Miss Sarah McChesney and Mrs Florence Balderson were practising as dentists at number 28 Collins Street, and Miss E Bellotti was listed as a midwife at number 32.  Miss Ethel Godfrey and Miss Alys Berry were also registered as dentists, one building along at number 34.[230]  While there may well have been a natural inclination for women to prefer visiting a professional of the same gender, their advertised presence does, once again, contrast with the current view of Victorian and Edwardian society as overly restrictive towards women.

One significant location that is still recognisable today is Alfred Place, between 98 and 102 Collins Street; the site of Robert Berry's livery stables.[231]  Although abutted by the modern glass Gilbert Court, the laneway and vacant communal space remains testament to a largely unrecognised, but vital facet of the era; the role of horses.[232]  It is interesting how little literature of all eras has mentioned the role of horses in basic transportation.  Just as with the previously mentioned significance of coal, no part of society a century ago could have functioned without the horse, and the massive infrastructure of stables, fodder, carts and wagons, not to mention the need to collect the waste they produced.  Yet there is little indication of the degree to which people at the time of Federation were reliant upon the horse for transportation, food supply and the goods that needed to be taken from the trains and factories to the nearby shops for sale.  J A Lyne at least recognised this with an photographic image of Kirk's Horse Bazaar that existed at

[227] G Sturgeon: *Charles Marsh Web (Nash) Gilbert (1867-1925)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[228] Australian War Memorial: *Artist Profiles, Web Gilbert* online database.
[229] G Sturgeon: *Charles Marsh Web (Nash) Gilbert (1867-1925)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. It is a copy of this large bronze that can be seen on Canberra's Anzac Parade today.
[230] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 12.
[231] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 12.
[232] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 33.

number 412 Bourke Street, between Elizabeth and Queen Streets.[233] This, along with the Victoria Horse Bazaar at number 396 Bourke Street and Campbell and Sons horse and cattle agents at number 414,[234] signified that there was also a whole district around Hardware Lane dedicated to supplying the needs of horses and horse transport.[235] All that now remains of the saddlers, carriage builders, veterinarians and even racing clubs that dotted the city is the heritage named Kirk's Lane running through to Little Bourke Street.[236] Such cultural amnesia often goes back only half a century in those areas that supplied this essential transport need. Horse stalls, hay lofts and wagon storage sheds also still existed in inner Sydney suburban districts such as Camdenville into the 1960s, reflecting the physical organisation that had been in place to provide horse power for the city.[237]

## 7. SEATS OF POWER

Turning into Spring Street, the march then entered the governmental precinct of the city. The eastern side of the road was, and still is, taken up by the massive edifice of Parliament House and the supplementary office buildings reaching back to Lansdowne Street and Fitzroy Gardens in East Melbourne.[238] While these offices have, as with those in Macquarie Street Sydney, changed their roles and been supplemented by modern workplaces, their ornate presence remains.[239] The original State Office building on Spring Street, next to the aptly named Treasury Gardens, was originally the Old Treasury Building.[240] This is now the Museum of Melbourne, having presided over this significant intersection at the top of Collins Street since 1862.[241]

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[233] J A Lyne: *Greater Melbourne,* 1974, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p. 55.
[234] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 67.
[235] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 5.
[236] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 1.
[237] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 379. Note Woodworth Close in the, then, bush land setting of Endeavour Hills, named for the early settler family that bred horses for the commercial trade in Melbourne.
[238] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 18.
[239] National Trust of Australia: *Walking Melbourne*, p. 81.
[240] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 62.
[241] Museum Victoria: *Melbourne City Museum* online database. "Housed in the Old Treasury Building (Renaissance Revival style) and built between 1858 and 1862, the surrounding spaces were often used to celebrate events in the growing city. The classic design was proportioned 200 feet across and 70 feet in height. There are 3 main entrances and a portico in the centre… traces the history of Melbourne, from the early explorations of John Batman, through the Gold Rushes of Victoria and the city's growth into a major city in only 30 years, to today."
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 36.

The attractive heritage building complements the former Lands Building, now Department of Education in Treasury Place.[242] However, the intervening years, and growth in the size and requirements of the state government have resulted in additional buildings being constructed to the rear. The National Trust's *Walking Melbourne* booklet appears to be almost obliged to advocate for the two 'Lego-land' piles that squat behind the palms of Gordon Reserve, appearing to offer a glimpse of Dubai on Spring Street. "Built in stages between 1966 and 1969, the austere, crisply detailed elevation and simple massing are a landmark of Modernism in Australia." [243]

In 1901, the eastern side of the street continued with medical offices and other similar high class establishments spilling over from Collins Street, although within the matrix of dentists, chemists and luncheon rooms, at 203 Spring Street stood Cong Hi, laundry,[244] no doubt providing an essential service to the parliamentarians and hotel visitors.[245] The elegant townhouse still preserved on the corner of Spring and Collins Streets has a particularly relevant history.[246] Although listed in *Sands & McDougall's Directory* as number 16 Spring Street, this corner building forms part of a complex with number 9 Collins Street, and was constructed in 1877 for pastoralist and politician William Campbell.[247] At Federation, with the new Federal Government taking over the State Parliament House on a temporary basis, this building was purchased by the Commonwealth for Prime Ministerial offices, with Alfred Deakin a noteworthy resident during these years.

As I observed when first arriving in Melbourne, it was the presence of trams running down the centre of wide thoroughfares that indicated more than anything that one was in the southern capital.[248] While other cities up-rooted their transport networks in the name of 1950s modernism, Melbourne retained this important transport system and

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[242] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 62. National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 82.
[243] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture,* p. 264. Although this guide features the Denton Corkhill Marshall designed structure on the other side of the road, behind the corner of Spring Street and Collins Street, the style mirrors the Barry Patten Yunken Freeman block facing it across the top of the Old Treasury Building. At least there is no attempt to imply that the structures "blend sympathetically into the environment."
[244] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 62.
[245] Note again the lack of dry cleaning facilities even here, no doubt due to fire risk restrictions.
[246] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 37.
[247] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p19.
[248] Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 37.

cultural icon.[249]  The 1901 images of the commencement of Bourke and Collins Streets from the government offices in Spring Street show clearly the tramlines that still remain as the structure for this inner city transportation.  Not only have the wide streets and relatively flat terrain benefited the retention of Melbourne's tram network but also the enthusiastic support of the population and even hard-headed government authorities.  The map of the tramway system as it was in 1974 demonstrates the advantage of long straight roads laid out under the Darling and Hoddle plans;[250] a logical and practical consideration when catering to the expectations of the travelling public.[251]

Travelling north, the Federation parade would have passed Gordon Reserve, originally named Carpentaria Place.[252]  This little triangular park is essentially a continuation of the Treasury Gardens to the south, and further isolates the classical Parliament House building from the modern offices.  Planned as part of the Parliament House grounds, the reserve seems to have grown like topsy, gradually becoming bisected by roads and then tramlines.[253]  Carpentaria Place was originally the chosen site of the Stanford Fountain,[254] constructed in 1870 by William Stanford, a prisoner from nearby Pentridge Goal.[255]

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[249] *Queensland Times*: 6 April 1950, p. 1. Melbourne Trams May Be Replaced by Buses. Apparently it has been a close run thing at times, particularly in the early 1950s. Interestingly, there appears to be less press coverage of this issue in Melbourne papers, although *The Argus*: 28 April 1951, p. 7, makes much of the then Lord Mayor Sir James Disney wanting trams replaced by buses in Bourke Street, Swanston Street and "the costly Latrobe St line looks like being a failure too."  Mr L  C Freeman, Road Passenger Service Operators' Association secretary [in other words, a bus company organisation] yesterday defended buses in Smith and Nicholson Streets. "The Tramways Board has the best buses in Melbourne; its new ones are 'beauties'." *Trams in Melbourne,* online database. Former MMTB Chairman Sir Robert Risson argued that the cost of ripping up the concrete embedded tracks would have been prohibitive.
[250] J A Lyne: *Greater Melbourne*, p. 28.
[251] J A Lyne: *Greater Melbourne*, p. 29.  Apparently, "it is usually reckoned that people are prepared to walk a quarter of a mile (400 metres) to a tram."  The map on p. 28 shows that while many inner city districts adhere to this expectation, many more outer suburban lines are now up to a kilometre from most residences.
[252] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 48.  According to the Australian *Places with Dutch names* online database, this reserve, along with the Gulf of Carpentaria, was named after Pieter de Carpentier, the earlier Governor General of the East Indies, and references the intended aim of the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition, whose statue group still occupied the reserve.
*The Australian News for Home Readers*: 25 October 1864, p. 4.  One link to the temporary location of the Burke and Wills statue at this site was thus provided at the time.  "Wills is presented sitting with his note-paper on his knee, engaged taking down the observations of Burke, who is standing erect earnestly looking towards the horizon – as if discerning the ocean  beyond the coast line of the Gulf of Carpentaria – to the vicinity of which the two heroic comrades are supposed to have penetrated."
[253] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 18.
[254] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 38.
[255] Victorian State Government: *Gordon Reserve Statement of Significance*, Victorian Heritage online database.

Trained as a stone mason, Stanford emigrated to Australia at fifteen years of age, and for whatever reason, simply could not keep himself out of trouble. After multiple charges of horse stealing and highway robbery, he was sentenced to twenty two years in Pentridge.[256] It was while in prison, that the still very young man's artistic talent came to the notice of the prison governor. Stanford was trained under none other than Charles Summers, eventually submitting his own plans for a decorative fountain. The structure that now stands in Gordon Reserve was laboriously carved in bluestone from the prison's quarry and completed in 1870. After many subsequent appeals, Stanford was eventually released the same year, although according to *The Argus*, still had the occasional relapse.[257] William Stanford eventually married and settled down in Windsor south of the Yarra River. Unfortunately, the four years of hand carving the unforgiving bluestone resulted in his early death from silicosis, at just forty three years of age in 1880.

Viewed in 1889 as an addition to this beautification project, the statue of General Charles Gordon of Khartoum commemorates the life of the great Victorian hero who had been killed during the Siege of Khartoum in 1885.[258] At the time there was perhaps less uncertainty about the public adoration of a colonialist who sought to impose the will of the British Empire upon a nation that had been bankrupted through the stupidity of its own ruler and the connivance of the British and the French governments;[259] not to mention a single unmarried administrator and military officer whose primary recreational activity seems to have been rounding up and succouring young destitute boys.[260] What was apparently more a source of disquiet behind the imperial adoration of Gordon in places as far flung as Melbourne, Australia were concerns over the circumstances of Gordon's death. At the time there was considerable more anguish throughout the Empire on the perceived abandonment of Gordon by the Gladstone Liberal Government in Britain than by the actions of the Sudanese rebel, the Mahdi,

[256] Bede Nairn. Moore, Prout, Feely: *William Walter Tyrell Stanford (1839-1880)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol. 6.
[257] *The Argus*: 14 April 1871, p. 5. Geelong Circuit Court, mentioned to be tried before the same Mr Justice [later Sir Redmond] Barry who would later try Ned Kelly; William Stanford, horse-stealing.
[258] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 39.
[259] Sir Valentine Chirol: *The Egyptian Problem*, 1920, Macmillan and Co, London, p. 26. "Recourse had to be quickly made [by the Khedive] to another loan for a record amount of £32,000,000 nominal at 8 instead of 7 per cent, which after various deductions yielded a little more than £12,000,000 in cash. In 1874, a last and much smaller loan, for a trumpery £3,000,000 was placed with great difficulty abroad."
[260] Sir Valentine Chirol: *The Egyptian Problem*, p. 24. "…for Chinese Gordon, for whose curiously erratic and quixotic genius he [Sir Samuel Baker, Governor-General of the Sudan] had an almost superstitious admiration…He [Gordon] had a kindly as well as a cruel side to his nature." The Victorian Web: *Charles George Gordon* online database.

himself.[261]  Was the fledgling nation of Australia going to suffer a similar fate when political and financial interests back in Britain became of greater immediate concern than the welfare of loyal British subjects even further removed than the Sudan?  The commission for an original statue of Gordon in Trafalgar Square, London was awarded to sculptor Sir William "Hamo" Thornycroft, with a copy of this to be produced for Melbourne.  A public subscription was raised from one hundred thousand of Melbourne's citizens, and was so successful that a surplus of one thousand pounds was subsequently handed over to the Gordon Institute for Friendless Boys. [262]

The good citizens of Melbourne, or at least those represented through *The Age* newspaper, were respectful enough of Gordon to express their dismay when the public grandstands erected for the Federation parade inadvertently blocked his statue from the view of the march participants.  "It seems almost incomprehensible that while efforts are being made to beautify the city in anticipation of the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of York, the celebrations committee should allow a grandstand to be erected so as to obscure one of the most perfect pieces of statuary in the colonies."[263]  Since tickets for the stand had already been allocated to country visitors, little could be done at this late stage, although in an amusing instance of Federation era 'spin', Mr M'Culloch again, claimed that "the stand was originally intended for the cadets, who were to group themselves around the statue as a tribute to the memory of the great soldier."[264]

By the time of the Federation march, the bastion of imperialist sacrifice had been joined by the monument to the Eight Hour Day.  Actually, Gordon of Khartoum had been joined by only the plinth for the monument to the Eight Hour Day.  Due to a shortfall of £3,000, the monument itself was not completed until 1903.[265]  The important advancement of the Eight Hour Day for working people had originally been due to agitation from Melbourne stone masons and cutters who found themselves being forced to deal with the same extremely hard local basalt bluestone that eventually undermined William Stanford.  This material was so difficult to cut and shape prior to the

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[261] Peter James Marshall: *Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, 1996, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 76, 300.   George Smith, Oxford University Press*: Charles George Gordon*, The Dictionary of National Biography, part 1 to 1900, Oxford University Press, London. "…killed after having sustained a siege of 317 days, succour being sent from England too late."
[262] *The Argus*: 29 February 1928, p. 21. Note the entries in *The Argus* right through 1885, listing individual subscriptions offered by the citizens of Melbourne, including the considerable sum of £5.5.0 by a J F from Towong.
[263] *The Age*: 1 May 1901, p. 7.
[264] *The Age*: 1 May 1901, p. 7.
[265] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 211.

availability of machinery that men were being physically worn out.[266]  An Eight Hour League was finally formed and advantage was taken of a buoyant economy in 1856 for the ground-breaking condition to be won.[267]  The continued shortage of labour through the 1880s enabled other trades to also push for improved wages and conditions, with Davison again pointing out again the degree to which working people attempted to use, rather than rebel against, the social and economic system to better their lot.[268]

The workers at the time were themselves adopting the ideals of the new scientific society: both physical relief and cultural advancement.  While secretary of the Stonemason's Union, James Galloway, claimed that, "We have come 16,000 miles to better our condition, and not to act the mere part of machinery", an 1856 resolution from the Eight Hour League also stated that "the progress of the arts and sciences, and the demand for intellectual gratification and improvement, call for an abridgement of the hours of labour."[269]  The monument plinth would therefore have been a noteworthy part of the later Saturday morning Trades and Friendly Societies parade,[270] which had also been listed as a Trades and Friendly Societies: The Eight Hours Demonstration.[271] In 1932 the finished statue was moved to its current position outside Melbourne Trades Hall in Victoria Street Carlton, and its place taken by the present Paul Montford statue commemorating the centenary of the birth of the poet Adam Lindsay Gordon.[272]  Again, incongruity would seem to dictate the transfer of such a symbol of radical worker advancement from a position adjacent to the seat of Government during the depths of the Great Depression, and its replacement by the statue of a poet of varying stature and questionable stolidity with anything but a working class heritage.

Adam Lindsay Gordon was the scion of a wealthy plantation family, banished to the colonies for his rather dissolute lifestyle.[273]  Interests in poorly managed properties,

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[266] *The Argus*: 26 March 1956, p. 5.  The 8 Hours Day is 100.
[267]  Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne – the Growth of a Metropolis*, p. 43.
[268] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978. "In November 1888…the Amalgamated Society accordingly moderated its demand to 45 hours (from 44) and on Christmas Eve the carpenters agreed to stand firm."  However, within three years, "the building industry sensed the first tremors of recession."
[269] Quoted in Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne – the Growth of a Metropolis*, pp. 41-42.
[270] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 6.
[271] *The Age*: 13 May 1901, p. 8. Trades and Friendly Societies. "A Double Procession: The Eight Hours Demonstration.  A Great Spectacle."
[272] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 39.
[273] Leonie Kramer: *Adam Lindsay Gordon (1833-1870)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Reading between the lines of various biographical sources, it would appear that a rather unstable personality was adversely affected by the results of accidents and falls from horses.

horse racing, and business failures resulted in the dispersal of his considerable financial legacy, and his poetical output was brought to a premature end with his suicide on Brighton Beach, Melbourne on 24 June 1870.[274] Gordon's tragic death caused a flurry of interest in his poetry, and in 1934, Adam Lindsay Gordon became the only Australian poet to be honoured with a bust in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey. "His popularity sprang from the romantic aura of his life, his aristocratic background, his exile in the colony, his reckless riding exploits, and the pathos of his death."[275] That it should have been Adam Lindsay Gordon so commemorated and the poetry that honed in on the fatalistic and quixotic nature of the demise of Burke and Wills, rather than the over-extended and ill-thought out incompetence that resulted in both their deaths and the later slaughter of Gordon of Khartoum, is itself most telling.

The western side of the road has retained much of the original Federation feel, with the Windsor, later named Grand, Hotel filling the entire block from Little Collins Street to Bourke Street.[276] Although no doubt a place of welcome respite, at the time of the Federation parade, the institution had only been re-licensed for four years. Built in 1883 to the plans of Charles Webb, the architect also responsible for South Melbourne's impressive Town Hall,[277] the hotel was converted in 1886 to a Temperance Coffee House by Presbyterian temperance advocate and Victorian Premier James Munro.[278] Of course, Munro's puritan beliefs did not prevent him from accumulating considerable wealth during the banking boom of the 1880s, although when the inevitable crash occurred he found himself ruined, and retired from public life.[279] The hotel was subsequently sold, its licence returned in 1897, and in 1920 was renamed the Windsor, commemorating the British Royal Family's adoption of this very English sounding name toward the end of the First World War.[280]

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[274] Wilde, Hooton, Andrews: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, pp. 322-323.

[275] Wilde, Hooton, Andrews: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 322.

[276] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 62.
Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 40.

[277] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 54.

[278] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. 48.

[279] Ann M Mitchell: *James Munro (1832-1908)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
"Munro was described as a 'rough tyke' in his early years. He was quick tempered and authoritarian but always 'easy to get on with if you let him have his own way'."

[280] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 64. National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 79.

The primary focal point passed in Spring Street would of course have been the Victorian State Parliament House, addressed at 110-160 Spring Street.[281] While this appears to hold to the most logical position in the city, this was apparently originally not the case. When planned between 1853 and 1855, the architect Peter Kerr described the high grounds between Bourke Street and the old St Peter's School as, "Unformed, full of holes and dirt, stagnant waters, refuse etc, and it was in addition a harbour for undesirable characters."[282] Jeff and Jill Sparrow claim that the site was chosen by Surveyor General Robert Hoddle "for the purely sectarian purpose of obscuring St Patrick's Catholic Cathedral."[283] Actually, William Wardell was not engaged to develop plans for St Patrick's until 1858 and the cathedral had not risen to the point of being obscured by anything until 1871.[284]

The massive high Victorian edifice does present an imposing sense of grandeur and the wealth that the city and the colony had wrought from the gold rushes. This is even more obviously the case when compared with the more Georgian pre-industrial Parliament House in Sydney, although I suspect that pure affluence and exuberance, rather than a conscious need to compete with the older city, determined its design.[285] Certainly there would have been no packing cases used to line the walls in this building.[286] Interestingly, the building was planned to have been even more ornate, with further north and south wings and a massive dome similar to that on the State Library, part of the original design.[287] While structurally built from the same local bluestone that has formed the foundation of so many of Melbourne's other important buildings, this material appeared to have been deemed not elegant enough for the building's ultimate presentation. Bacchus Marsh and Stawell sandstone was therefore used as a veneer.[288] The easier to cut and shape stone was no doubt considered more suitable for the classical façade, with the ministry of public works commenting on the

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[281] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 40, 41.
[282] Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne,* vol.1, 2001, The Vulgar Press, Melbourne, p. 92. In this, at least, the attitude towards the site mirrors that towards the site of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney,
**[283]** Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne,* vol.1, p. 91.
[284] Ursula M De Jong: *St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne – a guide*, 2005, Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, Melbourne, pp. 32-33.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 42.
[285] Looking back on the NSW State Parliament House in the Sydney March section of this thesis, it is obvious that it would not have required much effort to have outdone the older building in scale or grandeur. To modern sensibilities, it is the subdued understated nature of the building that is its whole point.
[286] NSW Government: *Parliament of NSW* online database, 2011, chapt. 22, Physical Setting, p. 613.
[287] Heritage Council Victoria: *Parliament House* database.
[288] *The Argus*: 28 June 1883, p. 6. The Stawell Stone for the Parliament House.

attractiveness of the stone.[289]  Whether one gets the sense of (to borrow the Sparrows'
commentary) a "terrified ruling class [that] gave ground before a radicalised
citizenry",[290] perhaps depends upon the cultural viewpoint and wishful thinking that one
brings to the site. Certainly, the building dominates in a grand rather than overpowering
way, and would have been the logical location for the temporary, if eventually twenty
six year, residence of Australia's Federal Parliament.

If the principal Roman Catholic cathedral in Melbourne was not intended to be obscured
by the State Parliament House, the initial parade through the city of Melbourne did
bypass St Patrick's Cathedral in a way that contrasted with the Sydney march's
inclusion of St Mary's.  Whether this was a religious or cultural snub is interesting to
contemplate.  Certainly I have found no mention of St Patrick's being formally ignored
in any discussion of the route.   However, while the planning of the initial Monday
presentation parade was concerned with added distance and geometric balance, the
Thursday march from Government House to the Exhibition Building for the opening of
Federal Parliament followed a more convoluted path back and forth through the city,
and even went along Nicholson Street, past Evelyn Place before turning left into Carlton
Gardens.[291]   This meant that the parade passed only one street away from the Gisborne
and Albert Streets' site of the Cathedral, and certainly could have been included if it
was deemed to have been significant enough.

Turning up Macarthur street and then Gisborne Street would have by-passed State
Parliament House, although a detour along Albert Street and then back to Victoria
Parade would have added five hundred metres to the overall march distance.[292]
Again, this may have over complicated the route to the Carlton Gardens, although the
conscious or unconscious rebuff would no doubt have rankled with some members of
the Catholic Church in Melbourne.  Whether the Tuesday Fire Brigades' Procession
which did travel down Gisborne Street was meant to offer a level of compensation, I
doubt that it would have offset any dismay, and the later off and on again banning of St

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[289] *The Argus*: 28 June 1883, p. 6. "We have no hesitation in saying it [the Stawell sandstone] is one of the handsomest stones we have ever seen,"
[290] Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne,* vol.1, p. 91.
[291] *The Argus*: 8 May 1901, p. 8.
[292] UBD: *Melbourne and Suburbs Street Directory 2008,* map 18.

Patrick's Day parades through Melbourne would indicate a level of acceptance of Catholic culture amongst the city's hierarchy much lower than that of Sydney.[293]

Tradition has it that the Roman Catholic Church in Victoria failed to gain political influence to the same degree as in Sydney, and so retained more the position of the outsider.[294]   So with both cities' primary cathedrals occupying such notable sites, what can we learn from a thick description of the two structures?  Having visited both buildings during my footstepping, the most notable interior difference centres on the number of stained glass windows.  With virtually every major window in St Mary's filled by expensive donated lead light, there is considerable proof of the wealth that the Catholic parishioners in Sydney could bestow upon their place of worship.[295]  While the exterior structure of St Patrick's is every bit as imposing, the interior tells a different story.  Most windows are glazed in clear golden glass.[296]  This gives a wonderful aura to the building, but also indicates that less money was forthcoming for the stained glass that Wardell would no doubt have liked to see eventually filling the openings.

It was not surprising that the great Labor split of the 1950s should have commenced in Victoria.[297]  A long tradition of political power often results in a mellowing of idealistic but unrealistic expectations, and Labor in NSW embodied this from the social upheaval of the 1890s Depression onwards.[298]  Communist agitation and union power still existed in NSW, notably after the equally traumatic events of the 1930s Depression and Second

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[293] *The Argus*: 23 February 1922, p. 9. St Patrick's Procession, Catholic Federation's Protest.  "That this conference emphatically protests against the narrow-minded and unjust action of the Melbourne City Council in refusing permission to the St Patrick's Day celebration committee to march through the streets of Melbourne." *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 16 March 1901, p. 9.  For the first couple of years of the Federated nation; 1900 to 1902, St Patrick's Day was a public holiday in NSW.
[294] Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne,* vol.1*,* p. 11. "But Labor in this state [Victoria] has usually been an oppositional force. During the period covered here [1890s-1960s], there were Labor ministers in Treasury Place for less than five years – in every other Australian state, Labor held office for more than twice as long."
[295] St Mary's Cathedral: *St Mary's Cathedral Sydney - A Living Cathedral*, pp. 34, 35.
[296] Ursula M De Jong: *St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne – a guide*, 2005, p. 6.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 42.
[297] *The Argus*: 20 February 1939, p. 2.  Catholic Action. "The first national conference of Catholic Action will be held in Melbourne this week, and delegates from the various States will be present. A national secretariat has been established with a diocesan secretariat in each capital city."  Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne, volume 2,* chapt. 15. Christ's cadre, describing the influence of B A Santamaria and The Movement whose "cells met in tight secrecy. Windows were often blacked out."
[298] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, p. 143.  "In Victoria, the severity of the 1890s depression and the political emphasis on recovery had discouraged polarisation, and the Labor Party lacked organisation."

World War, but was invariably controlled by the more pragmatic Labor side itself.[299]  In Victoria, extremism and impotence resulted in greater Communist influence in union and Labor affairs and the inevitable reaction from the Catholic 'groupers'.[300]  This division then spilled over into the Federal sphere, causing the Labor party to split along both religious and ideological lines.[301]  While the party remained sidelined, both Federally and in Victoria through the 1950s and 1960s,[302] Labor administrations led by moderate conservatives such as McKell and moderately right Catholics such as McGirr and Cahill continued to control government in NSW.[303]


8.  BOURKE STREET AND CITY LIFE


My footstepping retracing the Melbourne Federation march now turned west and began back down the slope of Bourke Street, and at the junction of Bourke and Russell Streets reached the spot where the structure known as the Citizen's Arch had been erected.[304]  The actual location for this particular arch seemed most apt, being at the entrance to the heart of Melbourne's retail district; a place where those from all classes, religions and races would have come together for the communal activity of shopping.[305]  Whether the actual arch itself would have represented any aspect of this citizenship is another matter.  The description given by Milne indicates a classically designed pink and gold arch with messages of welcome to the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, including images

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[299] Robert Murray: *The Ironworkers – a history of the Federated Ironworkers Assn of Aust,* 1982, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.  The overly controlling pragmatism of the "NSW Right" of course can over-reach itself, resulting in the current state of political affairs in Macquarie Street.

[300] *The Argus*: 27 June 1949, p. 2. Catholic Action Fighting Reds. The spread of Communism needed to be checked…We could learn much from Communists, who gradually made contacts among workers and others, and their influence was spreading.  Their success was helped by the apathy of those who refused to recognise the danger."

[301] D.J. Murphy: *Labor in Politics, the state Labor parties in Australia 1880-1920*, 1975, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, chapt. 1.  "A 'Labor party' in Victoria contested its first general election in 1892. Sixty years were to elapse before any of its successors could claim an absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly…. By the time Victorian Labor won its first majority in 1952, Labor in the other states had already been in office for periods ranging from ten to thirty-four years."

[302] Tom Prior: *Bolte by Bolte*, 1990, Craftsman Publishing, Melbourne, p. 42. Note the chapter "Winning Tatts, and Government", where both Liberal State Premier Henry Bolte and Liberal Federal Prime Minister Robert Menzies "always said, 'Well, they lost again.'  We never claimed the win for ourselves, at least, in private we didn't."

[303] G N Hawker: *The Parliament of New South Wales 1856-1965*, 1971, Victor Blight NSW Government Printer, Sydney, pp. 206, 207.  "The Labor Party returned to office in 1941 and remained there until 1965, a record term, under W J McKell (1941-47), J McGirr (1947-52), J J Cahill (1952-59), R J Heffron (1959-64) and J B Renshaw (1964-65)."

[304] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 46.

[305] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 48.

of the royal visitors and a central portrait of the King.[306]  Did this actually reflect the hopes and aspirations of the citizens of the city, or for that matter, the nation?  Even allowing for the greater exuberance shown towards representations of royalty at the time, there appears to have been little more than was being asserted in most of the other arches.  It appears that this actual location was considered by *The Age* at least to be significant enough for the general populace.[307]

Even today there is an excitement and social hum to the precinct; the block bounded by Bourke and Collins Streets Street is crowded and the shops are obviously still doing a roaring trade.[308]  There is still the sense of the intermingling of services and institutions that go to make up the modern city.  The northern side of Bourke Street from Spring Street then contained a myriad of small businesses, including watchmakers, cycle works and even at number 42, an Oyster Saloon.[309]  On the southern side, the Salvation Army still remains between numbers 65 and 71 Bourke Street next to Westwood Place, as it was in 1901.[310]  This institution no doubt provided both a source of humour for writers such as Dennis, but also valuable social support to the working people in the district.

Crossing over Exhibition Street in 1901, the parade would then have passed the principal produce supply for Melbourne, the Great Eastern Markets.[311]  These took up the half block from numbers 95 to 115 Bourke Street, and would have been the main food store for the city.[312]  This site is now the Southern Cross Tower, the result of one of the massive clearances that has taken place to modernise this end of town.  The National Trust's *Walking Melbourne* booklet makes no mention of either the original markets or the tower that has replaced them, although there is an entry for the Eastern Arcade that stood next door, and still exists today.[313]  Within the markets, shopping must have been an event in itself.  Where else could one find a row of poultry and bird dealers next door to a group of phrenologists, followed by porcelain and china

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[306] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The Story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, pp. 84-85.
[307] *The Age*: 7 May 1901, p. 3.
[308] Clarence James Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis*, p. 13. The Songs of a Sentimental Bloke, Introduction. Even a century ago, this retail square was the logical place for Dennis' Sentimental Bloke to meet his beloved. "Twas on a Saturdee in Colluns Street, An' – quite be accident, o' course – we meet."
[309] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, 1901, p. 5.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 47.
[296] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, pp. 74-75.
[311] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 49.
[312] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 48. And consequently was the location where C J Dennis' larrikin Ginger Mick has his vegetable barrow.
[313] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 5.

merchants and a shaving strop manufacturer?[314]   Grocers, fruiters and the poulterers

such as Richard Harding at number 21 indicate that many people obviously bought live

birds and killed their own.

The lower level of the markets also contained half a dozen shooting galleries between

store numbers16 and 31.  This would perhaps imply a greater degree of social

responsibility at the time compared with today, even if the competitors were using air

rifles; and it would appear that the worldwide interest in air rifle shooting that was

evident in Britain at the time had spread to Australia.[315]  Again, reflecting the

cosmopolitan and jumbled nature of the markets, these galleries shared their level with

wine cellars and ice cream parlours, a photographic parlour and even W H Baker's

pigeon exchange.[316]  What is also noticeable in the directory of the time are not only the

presence of typical Anglo Saxon and Anglo Celtic names in both the Eastern Markets

and the Eastern Arcade, but further examples of the 'exotic' that, as also in Sydney, can

appear to the modern footstepper as almost caricatures.  Antonio Ghidossi the Italian

fruiterer was at number 45 in the market area while Mrs Charlotte Le Blanc's feather

shop resided at number 15 in the arcade.[317]  Further down Bourke Street, at number 24

Russell Place, stood Quong Hing's Chinese laundry,[318] sharing this building with H R

Harper's The New Australian Electric Co Ltd, surely the high tech store of the day.

This Bourke Street, Collins Street block was also the area for high-end quality clothing,

at a time when fashions within Australia were making a notable change.  As

photographs from even the 1880s show, most people at this time would have been

wearing the heavy woollen clothes, uniforms, long skirts and coats inherited from the

old country.[319]  The nation was still linked to Britain with social and cultural ties that

were strong and often impractical.  Even by 1901, the majority of the population were

either immigrants from the British Isles, or the children of immigrants, and the

continued wearing of clothing styles from the cold northern hemisphere still seemed

perfectly natural.  Hence the large number of not only laundries, but the significant

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[314] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 5.
[315] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 3 May 1898, p. 3.  *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 4 March 1901, p. 4.
Rifle shooting club results were published throughout the decade, indicating the obvious social
acceptability of shooting competitions. "A match took place at the Randwick Rifle Range between teams
from Liverpool Rifle Club and the Infantry Regiment Rifle Club…Sydney Civilian Rifle Club…was
engaged in a club shoot on Saturday."
[316] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, 1901, p. 6.
[317] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 6.
[318] Note comments on location of laundries and dry cleaners.
[319] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 48.

development of dry-cleaning for the preservation of these garments.[320]  The wealth of the new country enabled ordinary citizens who considered themselves to be now living in the working man's paradise to purchase and proudly wear the thick rich woollen and heavy cotton garb that would certainly have been beyond many of their expectations back in the British Isles.  The light cotton and lighter woollen clothes that have, over the last century, become the accepted dress code throughout the mild winters and hot steamy summers in Australia, may well have been looked upon as peasant garb symbolising the very poverty that immigrants had been escaping in coming to Australia. [321]  Davison mentions this eternal human characteristic, that "among the more common items of expenditure, dress was the acknowledged badge of status.  It signalled the occupation, standing and taste of the wearer and instantly cued the conduct of those she met."[322]  And of course, still does today.

Photographs of Melbourne, both during the march itself, and those of the city in general at the turn of the century neatly reflect the clothing of the time.  Both men's and women's clothing had changed during the 1890s, with the bustle going out amongst the well off, and the suits of the men becoming looser and either two piece, or three piece with a waistcoat,[323] however, the visible clothing still reflected standards from Britain.  Greater formality certainly ruled significant events such as the Federation parade.  *The Argus* of 4 May was quite specific as to the clothing women should wear for the march, the receptions and evening concerts.[324]  While a day or walking dress with hat or toque (a small brimmed or brimless walking hat) would suffice for most women for most purposes, others obviously would "delightedly seize the opportunity to wear during the festive six days not fewer than twelve different gowns, exclusive of those they may put on in the morning or wear to a fireworks' display, or such like."[325]

Any gradual generational change abruptly halted with the death of Queen Victoria. The entire empire went into mourning, both literally and culturally with mourning dress,

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[320] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1938, p. 19.  Mention of the serious risk of fire caused by the older petrol based dry cleaning solvents explains why there are no dry cleaners listed in the *Sands Directory* for the centre of Melbourne. Apparently they were isolated by legislation.
[321] *The Australasian*: 12 January 1918, p. 18.  Standardising Clothing. "This is a subject that every woman should take to heart and give much thought to.  Restrictions and regulations in the matter of costume run all through the social side of English history."
[322] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 201.
[323] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. 6.
[324] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p. 15.
[325] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p. 15.

particularly for men becoming virtually mandatory.[326]  This became a tradition and fashion that has continued ever since, with modern dark business suits being essentially Victorian mourning dress.  Official's wives were expected to conform to half-mourning gowns in black, white or grey, and while the general public "may please themselves, it was assumed that they too would conform to the same sombre and respectful" half-mourning colours.[327]

One aspect evident from footstepping the Sydney Federation parade, noted through the business directories of the time and which has now faded to a ghostly shadow, was the number of small and family businesses that provided services for the population.  In the days before the expansion of the big department stores, with their reliance upon mass transportation for the stocking of their shelves and mass transportation of customers, it was the small single shopfront business that made the city function.  This was the same situation in Melbourne, and was never more noticeable than in the number of firms servicing personal and home entertainment.  In the days before radio and the gramophone, it was the ability of people to make their own music at home that provided relaxation after a day's work.  Both musical instrument suppliers and the teachers of music were numerous throughout the city, and unlike other trades and callings, did not appear to be restricted to a specific district.  Number 201 Swanston Street between Bourke and Lonsdale Streets held Walter James Brown and Son, violin and bow makers, while next door at 203 Swanston Street was W Paxton & Co, music publishers.[328]  Walter Brown was an award winning violinmaker originally from London, who exhibited in the Melbourne Exhibition of 1888-1889.[329]  By the time of the Federation march, Brown the elder had died but the company continued trading until 1913.  On the other side of the city at 240-242 Collins Street was virtually a music emporium with Alfred Beckett's music warehouse, and four music teachers: Misses Edith Raynor, Bessie Delves, Miss Carabel and an H J King.[330]  And behind this site, one block away on Bourke Street, Sutton's Proprietary Ltd imported both musical

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[326] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 January 1901, p. 8. Mourning in Sydney.  *Singleton Argus*: 2 February 1901. "Very many of the local residents have donned mourning clothes out of respect to the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria."  *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 February 1901, p. 5.  "It is announced that the Queen's statue will today be redecorated with floral offerings…the railway mechanics of Eveleigh Workshops inscribed 'with deepest regret and sorrow'."
[327] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p15.
[328] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 65.
[329] Walter Brown: *Violin and Bow Makers of Australia* online database.
[330] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 13.

instruments and sheet music.[331]  This Eastern Arcade was also notable in the number of music teachers: F Leslie taught dancing at number 30 while an exotic flavour was added with Signor G Vadala's Italian School of Music at number 46.[332]

It was therefore natural that music should have been an important part of the Federation parades, with military and community bands taking part in all the celebratory proceedings.   As well as bands actually marching in the processions, there were bands sited at suitable locations along the routes to provide entertainment for the spectators as they waited for the parade to arrive and the participants as they marched past.  Much of the music used during the Federation celebrations in both Sydney and Melbourne has been collated by Therese Raic in her article *Federation: Music in Service to National Ambition*, published in *Australasian Music Research*.[333]  The article not only lists the bands and program for the Sydney Federation march, but also the musical accompaniment to the other events throughout the week.  These included Gourod's *Messe Solennelle* at St Patrick's Cathedral on the Sunday prior to the procession to, Wagner's *Overture to the Meistersingers* and Frederick Cowan's *Song of Thanksgiving*, both performed at the *Conversazione* on the evening of the 7 May by Melbourne's choir and orchestra conducted by August Siede.  Further works by Mendelssohn, Hamish McCunn and Handel were also included in this performance. [334]

*The Age* also noted the bands along the route along with the lists for military guards and formal Guards of Honour.[335]  As examples, the Band of the Royal Artillery greeted the Vice-Regal party as they arrived at St Kilda Pier while the Second Queensland band supported the guard of honour at the Princes Bridge entry into the city. Merely a short block to the intersection of Flinders and Swanston Streets stood the Tasmanian State Band, although according to Radic, "Only two of the items played found their way into the press reporting of the event: the march *With Sword and Lance*, and the music-hall tune (and seemingly very un-Regal) *There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight*".[336]

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[331] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 3.
[332] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 6.
[333] Therese Radic: *Federation: Music in service to National Ambition*. pp. 1-26.
[334] Therese Radic: *Federation: Music in service to National Ambition*. pp.19, 20.
[335] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9.
[336] Therese Radic: *Federation: Music in service to National Ambition*. pp.16, 18.

The Sydney Inauguration Ceremony at Centennial Park had been accompanied by over 10,000 voices singing: *O God our help in ages past', 'Te Deum* and both the National Anthem *God Save the King* and *Advance Australia Fair*.[337] These would have been the standard repertoire to accompany a Vice-Regal event of much solemnity. However, the opening of the First Commonwealth Parliament was complemented with an eclectic and one could say multicultural mix of: *Slavonic Dances* by Dvorak, *Windsor Klange* by Gungl and *Le Dernier Sommell de la Vierge* by Massenet, finishing with the *William Tell Overture* by Rossini.[338]

As with the earlier Sydney parade, one of the serious concerns of the organising authorities was crowd control and crowd safety. Newspapers published lists of "Hints for today: Be Seated by 1 o'clock, Keep to the right, Be patient at crossings, Help the police; they have difficult work, Avoid crushes as far as possible, If in a dense crowd keep your hands up, Beware of pickpockets; leave valuables at home. To guard against hunger, provide yourself with a few raisins or dried figs; they sustain one wonderfully."[339] Importantly, first aid provisions had also been well thought out, and still sound remarkably up to date today. "If anyone faints, raise him or her aloft in a prone position, and remove to nearest right-of-way for treatment. Ambulance men will be quickly found by the police in case of necessity."[340] "The arrangements which are being made by the City Council for the maintenance of a number of ambulance stations in various parts of the city are nearly completed."[341] These were thoughtfully placed at almost all the arches and the Town Hall, although notably not at the Chinese Arch. Whether it was due to this arch not being directly on the route, or a reflection of racial attitudes, *The Argus* did make the point. As well as the Ambulance Corps, "A number of ladies and gentlemen have volunteered their services for duty." As *The Age* reported, "Arrangements are being made for the whole of the stations to be connected by telephone as to secure prompt attention in case of accident. Any call will be sent to the five stations simultaneously, and the nearest squad will immediately attend. On the arrival of the ambulance, the public are requested to 'help' by making room for them to get to work and away again as quickly as possible". [342] Again, the perceived restrictions

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[337] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 2 January 1901.
[338] Therese Radic: *Federation: music in service to National Ambition*. p. 23.
[339] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 7. Healthy eating is apparently not just a modern concern.
[340] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 7.
[341] *The Age*: 2 May 1901, p. 6.
[342] *The Age*: 2 May 1901, p. 6. .

on the role of women in society a century ago do not always correspond to the realities reported in the press.

Our expectations in ensuring public safety during such mass gatherings would appear to have changed little over a century, with *The Age* advising, "Don't 'lose your head' in the event of an accident or panic. Help if able. If you can't help, don't interfere, but get out of the way, and so make room for those who can."[343] Lord Hopetoun himself appealed to the public to refrain from throwing items such as papers, flowers and fireworks into the streets and thus frighten the horses, although again one would have expected the general population of the time to have had an appreciation of the potential dangers of even normally well-trained horses. Overall, these planning arrangements utilising responsible members of the public and integrating their support with the latest technology would be mirrored a century later with similar provisions being adopted for the Sydney Olympics.[344]

## 9. LITTLE LON'

While most of my research time in Sydney and Melbourne was spent following the exact routes of the Federation Parades, I made some significant detours in the cities: investigating districts important in terms of the Australian culture of a century ago but also significant in that they were by-passed by the marches. In Melbourne, one was the quarter of Little Lonsdale Street, known as 'Little Lon'; the area to the far north east of the city centre bordering then, as now, on the former working class inner suburbs of Carlton and Fitzroy.

The block bounded by La Trobe and Spring Streets, Russell and Lonsdale Streets[345] appeared decrepit as early as 1870,[346] and was described by Bessie Harrison Lee, a stalwart of Women's Christian Temperance, as a district of "tiny cottages abutting brothels, hotels and opium dens".[347] However, along with Sydney's Rocks and Darlinghurst, seems to have existed as much in the imagination as geographical

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[343] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.
[344] NSW Health: *Services for the 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games,* December 2000 online database.
[345] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 52.
[346] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. (ix).
[347] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. 45.

reality.[348] While regarded as a hot bed of poverty, deprivation and crime, the location of Little Lonsdale Street, adjacent to what were then the main city markets and the industrial centres to the immediate north, would indicate that honest employment was probably the norm. However, dishonest employment was also a feature of the district, with it containing the city's brothel and gambling area.[349] Certainly Tout-Smith also points out that "by 1900 Little Lon was one of Australia's most multicultural neighbourhoods" with Germans, Jews, Chinese, Southern Europeans Syrians, Lebanese and Italians inhabiting the quarter, and contributing to the city.[350]

It was no doubt with this in mind that the Little Lonsdale Street area was chosen by C J Dennis a decade after Federation for the fictional Spadger's Lane setting of his verse novella beginning with *The Songs of a Sentimental Bloke*.[351] The district and its colourful collection of Larrikins, Coves, Donnas and Skirts[352] created such an appeal for Dennis that he ended up dedicating to 'Little Lon' a large part of his literary output: *The Moods of Ginger Mick*, *Doreen* and *Rose of Spadgers*.[353] Even the domesticated post First World War augmentations of *Digger Smith* and *Jim of the Hills* stand primarily as rural contrasts to the close and excitingly dangerous world of the inner city toughs.[354]

With so much of the district subsequently demolished and redeveloped, it is difficult to determine just which remaining indent would have been used by Dennis as the

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[348] Alan Mayne and Tim Murray: *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, 2001, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, chapt. 7. Imaginary landscapes; reading Melbourne's 'Little Lon'. As much as an imaginary landscape, surely Little Lon exemplified the concept of an imagined community. If such communities did not exist, perhaps they would have had to be imagined to act as a cultural response to the expectations and aspirations of the wider society.

[349] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 236. Davison quotes itinerant evangelist Henry Varley to the effect that "no other city the size of Melbourne that has so many prostitutes in it…no city the size of this on God's earth with five or six such debasing places of amusement in it as Melbourne has." It seems unlikely that there would have been no other city in the world of Melbourne's size with the same number of sex workers, and there is no mention of which parts of the city were so affected

[350] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. 45.

[351] Clarence James Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis*, pp. 9-37.

[352] *Melbourne Truth*: 25 September 1915, p. 2. "A neatly-dressed, pleasant faced girl named Alice Collins was charged in the City Court on Wednesday with having used indecent language in Little Lonsdale Street on the previous evening…It is disgraceful that such language should come out of any woman's mouth, and you stand there and smile…Alice ceased to smile as she departed for the cells."

[353] Clarence James Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis*, table of contents p. (xxi). Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 53.

[354] Alec A Chisholm: *The Making of a Sentimental Bloke*, 1946, Georgian House, Melbourne, p. 75. Note Melbourne man-of-letter Robert Henderson Croll's mention of the derivation of Bill "The Bloke". The character was apparently based on a real life plumber who "was frequently called in by Chinese when repairs were needed in the opium-dens or gambling-shops" and who then made the acquaintance of Dennis when he moved to the country outside Melbourne.

archetype for Spadger's.[355]  Most of the block is now taken up with bastions of the corporate world: the Telstra Centre, Commonwealth Offices and new blocks of apartments,[356] although the architectural history of the area and its subsequent "improvement" is covered by a page and a half in the National Trust's *Walking Melbourne* booklet.[357]  Most notable are the few workers' cottages that do remain, and the number of churches and chapels that would have served the ostensibly non-religious inhabitants.[358]  A singular enduring structure is the former Jewish Synagogue on the corner of Exhibition and Little Lonsdale Streets.  Although the Jewish congregation left in 1877 for larger premises, the building continued to be used as a mission to the poor and a kindergarten until 1989.[359]  Along with the prevalent attitudes towards the Chinese, the attitudes of the local residents towards the Jewish population appears not have been as negative as later commentators would imply.[360]

One of the heritage sites currently celebrated in the district is the well-known brothel known as Madam Brussels', then operating at 32-34 Lonsdale Street.  Madam Brussels' Lane is now an arcade that passes back to Casselden Place and the preserved cottages that sit rather self-consciously among the modern corporate offices and coffee shops.[361]  No doubt the notoriety and salaciousness of its reputation guaranteed that, if only in name, Madam Brussels' would remain.[362]  The most famous tale told of this august institution centres on the loss of the Victorian Legislative Assembly's gold plated mace on Friday 9 October 1891.[363]  According to *The Argus*:

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[355] History of Melbourne City, Victoria: *Local Hero* online database, p. 4.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 53. Judging by the Hal Gye drawing, there is the possibility that Cumberland Place served as the model for Spadger's Lane.
[356] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory*, map 2.  Alan Mayne and Tim Murray: *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, pp. 90-91. "In 1948 the Commonwealth Government compulsorily acquired the blocks on either side of Little Lonsdale Street…The rest of the block was cleared in the 1970s for a telephone exchange."
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 55.
[357] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, pp. 89-91.
[358] Note the Anglican Mission in Spring Street, Wesley Church in Lonsdale Street, not to mention the many other churches in the Little Bourke Street area; and of course St Patrick's Cathedral across on Nicholson Street.
[359] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 91.
[360] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies?* p. 29.
[361] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 54, 55.
[362] Alan Mayne and Tim Murray: *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, p. 90.
[363] *The Argus*: 10 October 1891, p. 9. Although a serious theft in itself, and a blot on the Office of the Parliament, the reaction of the august *Argus* was rather strange.  Mention of the event was hidden away on page 9, despite the over blown reaction to "the most extraordinary robbery ever heard of in the colonies, probably indeed without parallel in the conventional history of the world", and was compounded by confusion over whether the object was gold plated silver, or "made entirely of Victorian gold" and therefore impossibly valuable and heavy.

At the time, Sir Matthew Davies was Speaker. One night there was a late sitting. Parliament did not adjourn until 2 o'clock next morning and when the officers of the House resumed their duties seven hours later the mace could not be found. Among the rumours as to what had become of it was the story that a party of roystering (sic) legislators had removed the mace to a residence near Parliament house where it was used in a burlesque on the proceedings of Parliament, and was eventually taken away to destroy all evidence of this undignified proceeding.[364]

While suspicion also apparently fell on the Parliamentary electrician, Thomas Jeffrey, the fact that charges were never proven, and the mace never recovered would indicate more than mere larceny was involved.[365] The previous wooden mace was pressed back into temporary service, to be replaced with a new silver and gold plated item just after the Federation parade and opening of Federal Parliament, and in time for the following Monday's sitting of the State Legislative Assembly.[366]

Just how disreputable Little Lonsdale Street really was is, of course open to question. One of the issues raised by my thesis is the degree to which sources and evidence are dependent upon the limitations of those writing at the time. Whether it was the literary interloper Dennis, the religious evangelicals of the Wesley Mission and Salvation Army that are still present in the district,[367] or the toffs and shocked journalists of *The Argus* who came to gawk, and occasionally even partake of the sly pleasures, most of the opinions of the district offered to us are those of outsiders.[368] As Davison himself comments: "Everyone assumed that the slum dwellers inhabited a separate moral universe."[369] Historian Andrew La Nauze indicates that this has long been a common attitude.

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[364] *The Argus*: 19 April 1905, p. 7.
[365] *The Argus*: 13 October 1891, p. 5. The Stolen Mace, not yet recovered. "Whether the mace which adorned the table of the Legislative Assembly on last Thursday night and was soon afterwards stolen by an irreverent thief, has yet passed through the melting pot, and taken on the form of common bar silver, is not yet known."
[366] *The Argus*: 17 February 1893, p. 6. The Missing Mace, Meeting of the Board of Enquiry. Even this board of enquiry held more than a year later was unable to come up with an answer as to the fate of the mace, with some lingering suspicion left hanging over a local house of ill repute and Thomas Jeffrey. No doubt the opening of Federal Parliament in Melbourne six weeks earlier was incentive enough to have the mace finally replaced, although one would have thought that this would have been done prior to the national event, rather than after.
Also mentioned in the Parliament of Victoria: *On this Day* online database.
[367] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. 45.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 47.
[368] Chris Jenks: *Visual Culture*, p. 150. "Bourgeois men derived vicarious pleasure from visiting the 'bad' and 'ugly' parts of the town and rationalised their conduct by claiming to speak on behalf of the poor."
[369] Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 237.

Stanley Jevons spent a rather uneventful evening perambulating around the Rocks (Sydney's equivalent district) in search of vice in the 1850s, and noted instead people gossiping quietly on street corners or seated comfortably in their front rooms, reading, talking and sewing. Yet it did not occur to him that his portrayal of the area as a stinking sink of the purest evil, and the people as possessing 'dirty clothes, slovenly manner and repulsive countenance' might be just a little exaggerated.[370]

No doubt the quarter did represent a great communal need in the days before social security and welfare.[371] As Davison goes on to claim, "The evils of urban life – poverty was only one – no longer seemed isolated and remediable, but endemic and well-nigh insoluble." [372] However, as indicated by the popularity of Dennis' works, "the 'Little Lon' of the mind" was also a place of humour. This sense of humour was noticeably absent in the longer-running discourse of moral reformers. [373] "'Little Lon' was appropriated by them as a symbol of the urban wastelands that needed to be reclaimed for decency."[374] Even as late as the 1960s, the block bounded by Russell, Bourke, Spring and Latrobe Streets remained a rabbit warren of lanes and small cross streets retaining an air of excitement, mingled with social embarrassment, and a reality to avoid at times of national significance. [375]

What this location also represented at the time, certainly for someone with modern sensibilities, was the inter-connectedness between races and classes in the pre-automobile and pre-suburban era. With the removal of the so-called underclass living behind Bourke and Lonsdale Streets, and the re-development of the former club land and Paris end of Collins Street, social distinctions have become less compressed. A century ago, when the population of the inner city was largely residential, it would have

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[370] A J La Nauze: *William Stanley Jevons (1835-1882),* Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. "Known in Sydney as an able, if diffident, scientific observer and writer." Alan Mayne and Tim Murray: *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, p. 80.

[371] Mark Hearn and Greg Patmore: *Working the Nation – Working Life and Federation 1890-1914*, chapt. 8. Knitting the Social Safety Net: Reassessing the Role of Federation in shaping Social Protection, 1901-1914. Many people hoped one of the roles of the evolving Labor movement would be to bring support and a sense of hope to the folk who often found themselves in a downward spiral of hopelessness and social and financial failure.

[372] Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 251.

[373] Museum of Victoria: *Exploring a vanished community* online database. Note the recognition of "slumland sensationalism". John Archer: *Building a Nation – a History of the Australian House*, pp. 142-143. Even the Harold Cazneaux tableaux of "vermin-infested hovels" actually look quite clean and neat for working class districts that have just come out of a depression.

[374] Alan Mayne and Tim Murray: *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, p. 90.

[375] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 52.

been the closeness between social groups and classes that the footstepper surely would have noticed most clearly.[376]  It was less than a ten minute walk and less than a kilometre in distance between Melbourne's Little Lonsdale Street and Collins Street, as it was between Sydney's Darling Harbour and Wexford Street, and the comparable Macquarie Street's wealthy club society.[377]  This kilometre today would seem to have changed in perception from a similar distance a century ago.[378]  A walk or hansom cab journey from a gentleman's club or ladies coffee lounge to the brothel district of Little Lon' and the disreputable characters of Little Bourke Street in Melbourne, or Darlinghurst and Wexford Street in Sydney, must have seemed like travelling to another world.[379]  Culturally, it really would have been another world and no doubt writers such as Dennis and Lawson exaggerated the different social and cultural characteristics for effect.[380]

The question posed by Gould and White: "If you had a free choice, where would you live?"[381] is recognised as speculative, since not only does this question vary with different peoples from different eras, but with the ideals and cultural ideologies that people absorb from their own era.  We now realise that the never-ending suburbia that became fashionable after Federation was a false ideology based on false premises.  Poverty was endemic in the inner city in the lead up to Federation and beyond because

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[376] *The Argus*: 21 January 1905, p. 17.  Sydney and Melbourne Population Statistics. "In his recently published work 'A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand 1900-4', Mr T A Coghlan, Government statist (sic) of New South Wales, deals at length with a favourite topic of his, the centralisation of population in cities. "The progress of the chief cities of Australasia has been remarkable, and has no parallel among the cities of the old world."  Neville Hicks: *Sir Timothy Augustine Coghlan (1855-1926)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Sir Timothy Coghlan, the NSW statistician and public servant was yet another aspirational identity from a working class Irish background who used both the expanding public school system and his own family and personal ambition to rise through the public service.  "Coghlan contributed substantially to the public debate on the financial aspects of Federation. His insistence on safeguards for New South Wales influenced Reid and (Sir) William McMillan, and other members of the National Australasian Convention; but it alienated some 'ultra' Federationists—such as B. R. Wise—who favoured free trade, but were willing to 'sink the fiscal issue' if that would achieve Federation."
[377] Susie Steinbach: *Understanding the Victorians*, 2012, Routledge, Oxford, p. 20. "A key Victorian tension was between the city's centre and its slums…between whom there is no intercourse (sic)…as if they were dwellers in different zones."
[378] Peter Gould and Rodney White*: Mental Maps*, 1974, Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, chapt. 1. UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 2, main roads maps 002, 009, and 007.  Gregory's Publishing Company: *Sydney Street Directory 2011*, maps A, B regional road maps 3, 4, 6. Even when walking, it appears to have been the case that people's sense of distance was quite different; and coming from car-oriented Canberra to the centre of Melbourne, the disparity becomes even more noticeable.
[379] Susie Steinbach: *Understanding the Victorians*, p. 20. "They [Maps Descriptive of London Poverty] revealed not only widespread poverty, but worrying proximity between the classes."
[380] However, they also would not have been noted as such by their readers if they were not based upon a commonly experienced reality.
[381] Peter Gould and Rodney White*: Mental Maps*, 1974, Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, p. 69.

the nation was in the grip of a depression: one that hit Melbourne particularly hard.[382]
Working class districts were breeding grounds for disease because services such as
sewerage had not kept pace with population, and had not been widely developed as
public services in the first place.[383]  As mentioned in chapter 14 of the Sydney march
section of this thesis, the end result of suburbanisation is now manifest not only in
debates regarding the endless expansion of major cities, but also by the fact that these
very inner city suburbs that were the bane of government health inspectors and planners
a century ago are now some of the most expensive and desirable residential areas in
which to live.[384]


## 10.  RACE IS GOOD FOR BUSINESS


Continuing west down Little Lonsdale Street and past Exhibition Street the footstepper
now enters the Chinese quarter of the city.[385]  This district has expanded south through
Chinatown in Little Bourke Street, and certainly the whole area seems to have been a
Chinese enclave from early times.[386]  As with the Anglo Australians one block away in
Little Lon', it would surely have been the proximity to the markets that drew small
manufacturers, traders and labourers to the neighbourhood.[387]  The introductory chapter
of C J Dennis's *The Moods of Ginger Mick*; "Duck and Fowl", while ostensibly
depicting the brutal life of the larrikin, actually spends four and a half pages describing
the Chinese restaurants and the food that was served in the district at the time.[388]  The
attitudes of the locals (at least as expressed by Dennis) towards the Chinese appear to be
the off-handed dismissal of familiarity.   Ah Foo and the "Chows" are regarded as an

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[382] Geoffrey Blainey: *A Land Half Won*, chapt. 20.

[383] Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken: *Plague in Sydney – the anatomy of an epidemic*, pp. 83-84.

[384] Brian Turner: *The Australian Terrace House*, p. 85. Descriptions of the inner city of Sydney, notably
Paddington.  "As one suburb became fashionable enough to drive its house prices beyond the reach of
first-home buyers, the process was repeated in neighbouring areas with large stocks of unrestored
nineteenth century houses.  This pattern continues."  This closeness to the city now comes without the
previously attended health concerns.  The closely packed terraces houses continue to serve their original
function of enabling large populations to reside in small areas, with the always acknowledged advantages
in public transport, shopping, educational facilities and closeness to the city's cultural institutions.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 55.

[385] Photograph Booklet vol.2, pp. 56, 60.

[386] Sheridan Morris: *Melbourne Past and Present*, 2008, Axiom Publishing, Adelaide, p. 118.

[387] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, pp. 8-9.  Almost the whole of
Little Bourke Street, certainly east of Swanston Street consisted of Chinese businesses.

[388] Clarence James Dennis: *The Moods of Ginger Mick,* 1976, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, pp. 15-19.
Duck an' Fowl.

amorphous group that is certainly not equal to the Anglo and Celtic Australians, but nor are they vile creatures to be cruelly discriminated against. [389]

A level of tension toward Chinese immigrants certainly had existed since the time of the Gold Rushes,[390] and events overseas at the time of Federation sought to further muddy the waters. The same forces within China that had pushed Chinese peasant families to sponsor individuals to risk their lives and livelihoods in the goldfields of New South Wales and Victoria were creating similar social pressures back home. With the expansion of trade during the nineteenth century due to the same technical developments in shipping that led to the settlement of Australia in the first place,[391] luxury goods such as porcelain, silk, cotton and tea from China became all the rage in Europe. Racist attitudes expressed towards the Chinese throughout the century co-existed comfortably with the expanding vogue for *Chinoiserie*.[392]

It was then this very fashion that fed the trade imbalance between Britain and China and led to so much conflict.[393] Rather than deplete her own reserves in paying for these goods, Britain created a circulatory trade pattern whereby China was "encouraged" to import opium from Britain's other colonies on the sub-continent. What had been a trade imbalance in favour of China now became one detrimental to the Chinese, and as always, it was the peasants who paid the price.[394] This price was not just paid in China. Opium became a serious problem among both the Chinese and those who consorted with them in Australia. Opium dens flourished in the inner districts of both Sydney and Melbourne, and death from opium addiction became as common as the usual death from the results of alcohol.[395]

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[389] Clarence James Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis*, p. 83. The Crusaders.

[390] *Melbourne Argus*: 17 March 1858, p. 7. Even at this time, concern was being expressed over the huge and increasing population from the "Celestial Empire".

[391] Marshall: *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, p. 33.

[392] Peter Gay: *Age of Enlightenment*, 1966, Time-Life International, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, p. 60.

[393] Peter James Marshall: *Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, pp. 3, 103.

[394] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 17 January 1902, p. 6. China and the Boxers. "The Empress Dowager, who is represented as having fully recovered her influence over the Emperor, seems according to our cables this morning to be pursuing her old policy with necessary modifications. With one hand she repressed the Boxers and with the other she helps them. She has, like certain European monarchs who have been restored to the throne, learnt nothing and forgotten nothing." Bob Nicholls: *Bluejackets & Boxers*, 1986, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 1. Nicholls points out the degree to which Chinese society was undermined by the situation. This was reflected in the degree to which the Empress Dowager was caught in the middle: trying to keep the more powerful Europeans satisfied, preserve her own country, and preserve her own traditional political power.

[395] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 24 April 1888, p. 3. An even-handed *Herald* mentions the death of both vegetable hawker Ah Jack from opium and Luke Hay, farmer from Ryde, from the effects of alcohol.

Poverty and social discord in China increased, and newspapers of the day recorded the exasperation of the ordinary Chinese, as violence against those symbols of European incursion, the Christian missionaries, increased. *The Sydney Morning Herald* noted the degree to which Christian evangelical zeal and insensitivity entered deeper into China, acting as a provocation to violence.[396] The I-ho-ch'uan (the Righteous and Harmonious Fists), or Boxers, were one of many dissident organisations that arose using what we might think of as an aberration of Kung Fu and Shaolin teachings to both provide a sense of unity, and afford intended physical imperviousness to European weapons.[397] Their fanaticism knew no limits: "A Boxer's battle cry was a simple, uncomplicated, even catchy, 'Sha! Sha!' (Kill, Kill)."[398] The *North China Daily News*, which originally coined the term "Boxers" claimed that, "there is no doubt at all about its [the Boxer secret society] aim – to get rid of the foreigners in China by killing them all."[399] Accounts that began with the prosaic short *Argus* pieces in September 1900, mentioned both promises by "Li Hung Chang [the powerful pro-western Chinese administrator who aided the European nations to defeat the Boxers], who still remains at Shanghai…to take vigorous measures to restore order in China, to protect foreigners and to punish the Boxers", led to coverage of the subsequent slaughter of some two thousand Boxers near Beijing by local authorities.[400]

By May 1900, the foreign powers had had enough and some two thousand sailors and marines from eight European nations and the United States landed near Taku on the Chinese coast. Events escalated and by 21 June the Chinese Army came out in support of the Boxers and besieged the foreign legations in Beijing.[401] British Secretary for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain requested assistance and although Australia, like Britain herself, had her land forces fully engaged in South Africa, the colonies sought to almost

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[396] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 22 June 1900, p. 5. The Position in China. "Christianity is regarded as one of these foreign influences, which accounts for the recent murder of native Christians in the populous district mid-way between Peking and Pao-ting. These Chinese Christians, men women and children – were barbarously killed because, in the opinions of the Boxers, they had acted as traitors." Understandable sympathy on the part of Europeans for the fate of abandoned children was countered by the thoughtless erection of Christian steeples that upset the feng shui of local surroundings.
[397] Peter Fleming: *The Siege at Peking*, 1959, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, pp. 38, 49-51.
[398] Bob Nicholls: *Bluejackets & Boxers*, 1986, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 6.
[399] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 16 June 1900, p. 5. *SMH*: Boxers Preparing to Fight. *SMH*: 27 December 1900 p. 5. Boxers Attack a French Force. *SMH*: 17 January 1902. China and the Boxers. The issue remained in the press for the next year and a half at least.
[400] *The Argus*: 3 September 1900, p. 5.
[401] Nicholls: *Bluejackets & Boxers* 1986, pp. 8-9.

outdo each other in their willingness to offer support.[402]  Two hundred men from the Victorian Navy, two hundred and sixty from NSW and one hundred crew members from the South Australian ship *Protector* embarked for China in September 1900.[403] Arriving too late to give effective assistance for the relief of the legations, the Australians performed only routine guard duty and eventually left in March 1901 having suffered six fatalities, none as a result of enemy action.[404]  As was their experience with the Boer War, Australian military personnel would leave six independent colonies for China, and return to a newly federated nation.[405]

While the newspapers of the day were covering these events in China,[406] their reports on the uprising concentrated on the political, terrorist and military aspects rather than underling racial tensions.  There was little connection made between the Boxer uprising and the killing of Europeans in China, and the position of local Chinese in the Australian community.  Internally, the Chinese themselves made more of a connection, with bitter battles fought in Australia between the various reform movements.[407]  The Australian press itself seemed oblivious to the social tensions both within the Australian Chinese community, and within China itself, despite this initiating the nation's offer of military assistance.  *The Daily Telegraph*  almost amusingly reported that, "A riot, said to be the most exciting since the historic affair of the Eureka stockade, occurred at Ballarat this afternoon…Chairs and tables were seized, and a rack containing spears used on feast days, was quickly emptied."[408]  The social discord being replicated in

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[402] *Melbourne Argus*: 22 November 1900, p. 5.  With the Australians.  Bob Nicholls: *Bluejackets & Boxers*, 1986, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 24-25.

[403] Dennis et al: *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* 1995, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 117.

[404] Major E W M Norie: *Official Account of Military Operations in China 1900-1901*, 1995, The Battery Press, Nashville. The limited impact of Australia's role can best be judged by the four brief mentions in the index; comparable to that of Austria.

[405] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 22 May 1901, p. 7.  Bob Nicholls: *Bluejackets & Boxers*, 1986, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 51.  One of the overlooked but significant effects of the military mission to the Boxer Rebellion was the early (and primitive) use of inoculation against smallpox. Although this would prove to be as significant as Ashburton Thompson's implementation of procedures to counter plague the very same year, few of the press reports of the time appear to mention the fact that the troops were given "lymph from the Sydney Health Board collected prior to sailing".  The effectiveness of this early form of inoculation was undercut a little by the fact that one of the six who died was Private Charles Walter Smart, who actually succumbed to smallpox upon returning to Australia, and was buried at North Head Quarantine Station.

[406] *The Argus*: 13 August 1900, p. 5. One example of the numerous press reports from the major daily newspapers in all capital cities.  Help from Australia. "HMCS *Protector*, with the South Australian naval contingent, left Sydney for Thursday Island en route to China this morning."

[407] *The Queanbeyan Age*: 19 December 1900, p. 2.

[408] *The Daily Telegraph*: 18 December 1900.

Australia was viewed as just another internal clan and criminal faction turf war that was unfortunately also a common occurrence.[409]

It should have come as no surprise that the same quixotic multi-layered attitude should have applied to the representation of Chinese culture during the Federation celebrations in Melbourne.  As was the case with the Chinese quarters in both Sydney and Melbourne, so it was with the Chinese Arch in Swanston Street.  Although the Federation parades passed by, they did not actually enter into these districts or pass under the arch since it was located one laneway back up Swanston Street, adjacent to Little Bourke Street and the western end of Chinatown.[410]  However, *The Age* informed its readers of the planned proceedings for the Chinese procession on the same pages as the prelude to the Stockman's march; both taking place on 7 May, the day after the main Monday parade.  Assembling time in Little Bourke Street was to be 2.30pm; all vehicular traffic was halted in Bourke Street and Swanston Streets, and trams restricted for both these processions.  Although held the day after the main celebratory march, the Chinese procession was reported as a high point of the Federation celebrations in Melbourne.  According to *The Age*, "Probably 200,000 people witnessed and enjoyed the Chinese procession through the principal streets of Melbourne."[411]  Certainly photographs of the time show the large number of people who filled the Bourke Street precinct for the later Chinese Parade.[412]

There was a similar recognition and even admiration for the exotic attraction of Chinese culture as there was with Italian and French.  *The Argus* of the following day summed up the mixture of cultural attraction and social condescension that many Australians felt for the Chinese.  As *The Argus* commented:

> If there is any virtue that can be laid at the doors of the Chinese, it is that responsible for
> first-class processions.  The cold-blooded Westerner many be ignorant of Chinese lore,
> incapable of fathoming the deep symbolism of their pageants, and impressed by noting
> but amused contempt for Chinese militarism; but one thing is certain, when he sees the

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[409] *The Sydney Morning Herald*:  29 April 1880, p. 5.
[410] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 2.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 58.
[411] *The Age*: 8 May 1901, p. 8.
[412] *The Age*: 7, 8 May 1901.

commencement of a Chinese procession he will not turn away until the crowd sweeps over the opening to signify that no more is to be seen.[413]

Rather than a dismissed aversion to Chinese culture, the attitude expressed seemed remarkably similar to the mix of patronising and genuine interest that was shown towards Southern European culture during the 1950s and 1960s or towards Asian and Middle Eastern culture today. "There was not a jarring note in yesterday's procession," noted *The Bulletin*, "unless it was that of the Chinese bands…Its main features were placed in positions carefully selected , and were approached by contrasts enhancing their value."[414]   There was actually an assumed appreciation of Chinese religious knowledge when it came to describing the Chinese Dragon,[415] although significantly, *The Argus* gave a hint of underlying racism. "In all countries water is regarded as the special abomination of all properly constituted dragons…The battle was conducted most effectively and *forgetting for once* [my emphasis] White Australia, the people rose, and gave the clever Chinese the cheers they deserved."[416]

Even so, as Humphry McQueen admits, attitudes of concern toward the Chinese were not merely the result of Anglo imagination. "Racism in Australia was not a response to a tiny minority. Although the percentage of Chinese in the total population of Australia remained small, there were times and places when they were in the majority."[417]  This situation was to change, however. At their height in 1872, 14,148 Chinese miners were in the Victorian goldfields, and from this date there was a decrease to 5,193 by 1880. In the same year the Chinese population of Melbourne was listed as only 500, with 380 in the suburbs; a rather small number out of a population of 280,000 in Melbourne and 850,343 for the whole of Victoria. [418]  By 1901 this figure was down to 6,230 in Victoria, with even fewer in both New South Wales and Queensland.[419]

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[413] *The Argus*: 8 May 1901, p. 8.

[414] *The Bulletin*:  24 February 1900, p. 13.  As always, this irrepressible magazine managed in one cartoon to exemplify social condescension and underlying gross eroticism toward both the Chinese and lower class women. Two buxom ladies looking at a rather dopey [or doped out] Chinese man. "Liz (who is not unwilling): There ain't so much the matter with his face.  You've never seen it when it lights up."

[415] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 59.

[416] *The Argus*: 8 May 1901, p. 8.

[417] Humphrey McQueen: *A New Britannia*, 2004, p. 38. "This was the case in some of the southern New South Wales goldfields in the 1860s. At the Palmer river diggings near Cooktown in 1877, the Chinese outnumbered the Europeans by 17,000 to 14,000…Most important was the fact that in the mid 1850s one adult male in five in Victoria had been Chinese.

[418] *The Argus*: 9 June 1880, p. 10.

[419] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, p. 108.

The previously mentioned issue of Chinese-made furniture seems to have been primarily a fear of the loss of white Australian jobs. Whether this was due to cheaper labour, more industrious labour, or a preference for the Chinese furniture's level of quality and style, the *Sands & McDougall Directory* implies that by 1901 this was virtually a lost cause. Market Lane in the middle of Little Bourke Street's Chinatown almost totally comprised Chinese furniture and carpenter shops. [420] Notable among the number of Chinese manufacturers were San Lee & Co, Ah Hoy and Wing Loong, with Charles Ah Pon in the equally cramped Commercial Lane (now Croft Alley)[421] down the road. Ironically, in view of the reported attitudes towards the Chinese regarding health and cleanliness,[422] these many small enterprises shared the same laneway address as The Melbourne Sanitary Engineering Company.[423]

It would therefore appear that a large part of the furniture purchased by the good citizens of the city at the time must have been manufactured by Chinese, or Chinese Australians.[424] Even though there was a concerted campaign against this, the recent State Factories Act[425] precluded the stamping of furniture on the basis of its manufacture, so there arose the eternal quandary expressed by *The Argus* that; "The best furniture built by Chinese is rotten rubbish, and this Factory Act,[426] by tying the white man's hands and letting the Chinese free, compels the public to buy the produce of Chinese labour, for they have practically very little else to offer."[427] Yet people still

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[420] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 3.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 60.
[421] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 2.
[422] *The Argus*: 3 October 1874, p. 4. "…the Chinese do not appear to have the slightest notions of cleanliness and sanitation." *The Argus*: 27 May 1863, p. 4. This earlier edition gives an alternative opinion." Both the interior of the two [fishermen's] huts and the adjacent ground are remarkably clean, and quite contradict the ordinary impression of the Chinese being dirty in their homes." It would appear that, as in the case with the Darling Harbour district of Sydney, the Chinese were living in squalid conditions, but that individual circumstances and standards varied greatly.
[423] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901,* p. 3.
[424] Stuart Ward: *Australia and the British Embrace*, 2001, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 139. Note the disparaging attitude towards the Chinese furniture manufacturer, despite the obvious fact that many Australians were purchasing Chinese made goods.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 61.
[425] Australian Bureau of Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, p. 1046. This 1896 Act was one of many introduced to protect working conditions and working establishments. "The first Australian Factories Act was passed in 1873 in Victoria and became law on 1 January 1874."
[426] The 1896 Victorian Factories Act set minimum wages (of 50 shillings per week for a journeyman) and maximum hours of work, but did not discriminate between who was performing the work.
[427] *The Argus*: 14 November 1901, p. 8.

preferred to purchase Chinese goods,[428] and there arose the ongoing contradiction of people willing to separate a practical and artistic interest in antiquity and the purchase of necessities and luxuries from foreign cultures, while at the same time more than ready to theoretically discriminate against (or at least acquiesce to the discrimination of) the very people who produce these items.

*The Sydney Morning Herald* had earlier reported the same situation in NSW. "Mr Cutler, secretary of the United Furniture Trades Society, said that the servants' quarters in the Governor General's establishment were furnished with furniture made by Chinese. Some time ago one of the public institutions was furnished with Chinese made goods, and a promise was then given that such a thing should not happen again."[429] This was certainly not the first time that such a complaint had been made. Seven years earlier *The Herald* reported that that the same Mr Cutler and other Trade Society representatives introduced a deputation to NSW Premier Reid urging the introduction of a Factories and Workshops Bill to regulate the lodging houses of Europeans and Chinese. Noted *The Herald*; "In the suburbs Chinamen were in the habit of working at gardening all day and then putting in several hours of the night furniture making. In a number of instances in the city the Chinese were nominally paid the current rate of wages – say 30 shillings per week and their board and lodging but the board was of the most meagre character, and as for the lodging it frequently happened that some 30 or 40 of them would be accommodated with bunks in the workshop."[430] It would appear that concern here was not only for sustaining the wages and conditions of Australian furniture makers, but also for the conditions under which many of the Chinese themselves worked.[431]

This concern was, unfortunately, compromised by trades unions themselves equivocating over allowing Chinese workers to join and thereby being absorbed into the

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[428] *The Argus*: 5 December 1881, p. 9. "The making of chairs is entirely done by the Chinese…In the goldfields districts they are still regarded as a useful class of men, and many European farmers are glad to depend on them for vegetables, as by doing so time is economised."
[429] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 15 February 1901, p. 3.
[430] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 August 1894, p. 2.
[431] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, p. 108. And it was not just the Chinese who found themselves in this position. "Trade union and liberal opposition to the introduction of Asian or Melanesian labour drew on humanitarian concern about the connotation of slavery, particularly when recruitment was more akin to kidnapping. But more generally it reflected an increasingly strident obsession that the continent should be kept racially pure: beneath its banner, 'Australia for the white man', *The Bulletin* promoted a relentless and vicious brand of jocular racism."

protective social structures being established.[432]  "The furniture trade had been particularly hard-hit by the depression [of the early 1890s], and piece work was increasingly being introduced.  But when Melbourne Chinese struck against wage cuts in 1892, the union shunned them."[433]  This all seemed at one with the bewildering attitudes applied to non-British communities within Australia.[434]  Attitudes towards other races were various and varying even within the Federation celebrations , with *The Age* reporting both a familiarity towards royalty expressed by a Jewish observer and offhand attitudes towards Germans and Chinese in a piece that efficiently managed to mildly denigrate all three races in the one paragraph:

> The Queen's Arch has been rechristened by Jehu, who is stationed thereabouts, as the Cabman's Arch: an anaemic-faced German youth or two is to seen near the arch their countrymen have erected; and the bland faced Celestial forsakes his proverbial vacuity of expression, and condescends to look quizzically interested as a brother Mongolian deftly twines some costly silken fabric of heliotrope hue about his own curious, pagoda fashioned decoration.[435]

## 11.  VICE REGAL MELBOURNE

From the bustle of the eastern city, the Chinese, market and underclass district of Little Bourke and Little Lonsdale Streets, the parade now travelled west along Bourke Street through the commercial and shopping precinct between Swanston Street and Elizabeth Street, before preparing to rise up the hill to the west.  It was here that the Ducal Arch was situated.  As with most of the other arches along the Melbourne parade route, there does not appear to have been any particular logic or geographical rationale for placing this structure at this location, apart from the flatness of the roadway and the closeness to the city's retail hub, and the recently erected General Post Office.[436]  The Ducal Arch itself was given a naval flavour, bearing homage to the "Sailor Prince" George's

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[432] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies?* chapt. 7. Exclusivism and Unionism. Humphrey McQueen: *A New Britannia*, 2004, p. 38. "One of the consequences of this Act [the 1896 Victorian Factories and Shops Act] was the formation of a Chinese Workers' Union which immediately demanded higher wages. Although assisted by the Furniture Trades Union, the Chinese were refused affiliation with the Melbourne Trades Hall Council."
[433] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies?* p. 72.
[434] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 69.
[435] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.
[436] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 65.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 63.

connection with the Royal Navy.[437]  Designed by architect G H B Austin, the very non-classical, almost Art Nouveau curvaceous structure would have been a remarkable sight, covered in red and blue velveteen, and trimmed gold.[438]  The side supports contained images of the Duke and Duchess, the future King George V and Queen Mary.[439] Perhaps spectators would have almost subconsciously absorbed a connection with the elaborate richness of the structure and the luxurious material and clothing available in the shops on either side of the road.

Although the parades took place a decade or so before the construction of the major department stores such as Myers that now dominate the northern side of the street, this was still the heart of retail commerce and the centre of the clothing and footwear trade. No doubt the trade link with the workshops and clothing manufacturers one and a half blocks south towards the river in Flinders Lane would have had bearing on the siting of these stores.[440]  One interesting business that was operating in 1901 at this point, between 300-310 Bourke Street, was Buckley & Nunn Proprietary Ltd, importers and drapers.[441]  This was, however prior to the later 1934 construction of the present glorious Art Deco building that still bears their name.[442]  Much has been made over the years as to whether the name of this company is the source of the well-known Australian expression; "Buckley's and None", indicating that an event has essentially "little or no chance of occurring".[443]  Since "Buckley's chance" apparently referred to the slim chance of survival of escaped convict William Buckley who had lived with Aboriginal people between 1803 and 1835,[444] and thus predated the clothing firm by over half a century, it would appear to be quite probable that the addition of the "and None" was a rather typically Australian play on the well-recognised commercial name.[445]  What was also amusingly typical, although certainly not uniquely Australian was the name of the establishment next door at number 290 Bourke Street; the building

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[437] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[438] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – the story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, pp. 78-79.
[439] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 63.
[440] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 64.
[441] J Ann Hone: *Mars Buckley (1825-1905)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database. Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 64.
[442]  National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 67.  Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 3.
[443] Frederick Ludowyk: *Buckley's Chance*, Ozwords database, Australian National Dictionary Centre, Australian National University, Canberra.
[444] Marjorie J Tipping: *William Buckley (1780-1856)*, Australian Dictionary of Biography online database.
[445] *The Argus*: 7 March 1856, p. 7.  "A short notice appeared announcing the death of William Buckley, who for thirty-two years lived amongst the natives of this colony prior to its settlement."

that would be later demolished for the new Buckley & Nunn emporium.  We tend to think of artificially created heritage as a modern phenomenon, yet here was Mrs Minnie De Faro's "Ye Olde Albion Bar",[446] managing in four words to encapsulate a link to a rather out of place Olde Worlde charm, a direct connection to the Motherland and memories of "home", and the offer of a cold beer to the parade spectators on a hot antipodean day.

One other point of significance passed by the marchers at this end of Bourke Street, although now long gone, would have been the city's Jewish Synagogue.  This notable structure was located at number 472 Bourke Street, adjacent to Little Queen Street; formerly Synagogue Lane.[447]  The very traditional and classical building contrasted with the more ornate, almost oriental aspect of Sydney's Synagogue, although both structures emphasise the degree to which the local and substantial Jewish population wished to conform architecturally to the general fashion of time.  That this religious centre, including the Hebrew Congregational School should have sat next to the Hibernian Australian Catholic Benefit Society and the St Francis branch of the Catholic Young Men's Society would again point to a society where the level of intolerance was perhaps not all that pervasive in everyday life.[448]  The Synagogue was demolished in 1929 when the congregation moved out to St Kilda, still the hub of Melbourne's Jewish culture.  The subsequent Equity Trustees Building was erected on the site just in time for the Great Depression of the 1930s, and now contains the Monash University Law Chambers; itself symbolically named for the great Jewish Australian military leader and public engineer.

One concern that would have been brought to mind by the military nature of this particular arch, and one that was obviously on the minds of the event organisers, was the ever-present threat of assassination.  While the 1868 attempt on the life of Prince Albert in Sydney was viewed as an aberration,[449] concerns over Irish Nationalist threats would have no doubt been behind Melbourne Archbishop Thomas Joseph Carr's sermon at St Patrick's Cathedral on the Sunday prior to the march.  Likening Federation to the "political baptism of the Commonwealth of Australia", Carr went on to state;

[446] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 3.
[447] UBD Australia: *Melbourne Street Directory 2008*, map 1.  Only Melbourne: *Melbourne Lanes* online database.
[448] Sands & McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 4.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 65.
[449] Dictionary of Sydney: *Assassination attempt on Prince Alfred 1868* online database.

> And the minister of that baptism would be his Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall
> and York, who would dedicate the Commonwealth to the glory of God and the service
> of the people. [That] as members of the Catholic Church, they [the Catholic hierarchy]
> would do their part to assist at the celebrations and in future time to prove themselves
> amongst the most loyal adherents and most fervent supporters of all that would be
> needed to increase the strength and glory of United Australia.[450]

In the end, there appeared to have been little threat even from dedicated Fenians, although many Irish Australians retained a sentiment for a free and united Ireland. According to Keith Amos, "a crowd of 20 000 gathered at Sydney Showground in 1912 to celebrate St Patrick's Day, all joined in singing 'God Save Ireland', the Fenian hymn of 1867."[451] However, the sole former Fenian convict living in Melbourne after Federation, Hugh Brophy had already "established himself successfully as a building contractor, and in later years was also a clerk of works." Former Fenian John Flood also settled into a productive middle class life in Queensland after 1872 and became captain of Gympie's company of the Queensland Irish Volunteers. When challenged about adopting the Queen's uniform in view of his rebel past, he responded: "I was never a disloyalist [sic]. If we had had the government in Ireland that we have here, I should have been wearing the Queen's uniform all my life."[452]

By the end of the 1800s, it was not just Irish Nationalists who were perceived to be a potential threat to well-ordered society. The rise of the ordered Socialist movement through the nineteenth century, which sought to use the same political institutions as Capitalism but for different ends, inevitably contained within itself the polar opposite; Anarchism. Harking back to a more romantic ideal, Anarchism sought to replace ordered monarchies and ordered oligarchies not with equally ordered social elites who would act "in the best interests of working people",[453] but with formally unordered

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[450] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9.
[451] Keith Amos: *The Fenians in Australia (1865-1880)*, 1988, University of NSW Press, Sydney, p. 281. Which concluded with the refrain: "Never till the latest day, Shall the memory pass away, Of the gallant lives thus give for our land…"
[452] Keith Amos: *The Fenians in Australia (1865-1880)*, p. 282. Gerald Patrick Fitzgerald, son of a Limerick Fenian who had fled to America after the failed rising of 1867, spent his life as a career Commonwealth public servant before writing a history of Australian Fenian connections.
[453] Communist Party of Australia: *1948* online database. "Communism is in the best interests of the Australian People" by Edgar Argent Ross. Ross himself represented this culturally, if not politically, accommodating side of the Communist movement in Australia, often appearing on the very commercial radio station 2UE during the 1940s.

societies.  Along with Socialism itself, Anarchism encompassed a wide range of ideologies from theoretical idealism to a more fanatical form of direct action.

While deplored by theoreticians such as George Woodcock and political activists such as Emma Goldman, assassinations committed in the name of Anarchism fuelled a public fear of radical ideology.  As Woodcock noted in his classic study, highly publicised assassinations did "enormous harm" to the Anarchist cause by "implanting in the popular mind an identification which lingers long after its justification has vanished."[454] Such actions performed in the name of Anarchism did much to destroy public support,[455]  and as the press of the day stated: "The police are not unmindful of the possibility of an attempt being made on the life of the Duke of Cornwall and York during his visit to Australia" although "the risk is considered much less from the fact that Australia is far removed from the hotbeds of anarchy."[456]  Needless to say, the editor of *The Age* continued: "No effort will be spared to afford the Royal visitors every possible protection. While it is recognised that the Anarchist does not wear his heart on his sleeve, or carry his bombshell conspicuously, pains will be taken to detect any suspicious movements on the part of foreigner or others."[457]  Thus the large police and military presence at both the Sydney and Melbourne marches was obviously not there just for crowd control or ceremonial presentation, but reflected a genuine concern over the possibility of assassination of dignitaries and the attendant risk to the thousands of spectators.

The large number of troops present at both Federation parades would therefore have been designed to generate a general feeling of well-being.  Part of the justification for the Federation of Australia in the first place was that of the effective defence of the continent.  Defence matters had become of far greater import to the colonies with British withdraw of land military forces from Australia after August 1870;[458]  the colonies essentially being thrown back onto their own resources for all but blue water naval defence.[459]  The arrival of the overland telegraph in 1872 that now constantly reminded Australians of the outside world, and the recently amplified the German

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[454] George Woodcock: *Anarchism*, 1962, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, p. 14.
[455] Emma Goldman: *Anarchism and other essays*, 1969, Dover Publications, New York, chapt. 3 The psychology of political violence.
[456] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[457] *The Age*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.
[458] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, pp. 189-190.
[459] Dennis, Grey, Morris, Prior: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, pp. 121-124. The British Army in Australia.

nation's imperialist intentions in the Pacific all served to keep the issue of defence in the public's mind.[460] The communication and transport technologies that enabled imagined communities to become practical nations also placed additional practical threats on these same societies. The socially irresponsible and destructive were just as capable of imagining their own communities, and utilising these same modern developments to their own ends.

As with the Sydney parade, the numbers of military personnel were significant, with twelve thousand soldiers and cadets taking part. These not only made up a substantial part of the more than two thousand yards, or two kilometre, length of the cavalcade,[461] but also a significant part of the pre-march logistical organisation. Even before the event, the large number of military personnel had to be accommodated and kept occupied. As *The Age* noted:

> At Royal Park the whole vast infantry camp is now in apple pie order. All the tents are stretched and repatched, trenched and furnished, and as there are over 1,400 men in camp, the scene is beginning to wear a lively and warlike [sic] air…The men are very pleased to find that there are no field kitchens to dig, no wood or water to fetch, no extra work to do, and no trouble to take as to cooking and kindred jobs. The Contractors are doing all that, and doing it well, too.[462]

The scene presented was perhaps just a little too bucolic, knowing the predicaments that unoccupied soldiers and sailors can get themselves into.

> But what is more ridiculous than some of the pickles into which Jack Tar gets himself? He is a noteworthy convivial fellow ashore, and has managed to obtain leave somehow, and rolls along unsteadily, but manages to steer clear of collisions. Here is another of him bowling along wearing a busby that belongs to the Herculean highlander who follows and hides a meek capacious smile from beneath Jack's straw hat.[463]

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[460] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 29 June 1870, p. 5. The Overland Telegraph. "A Register publishes a telegram received from the Agent-General in England, and also a letter from Commander Osborn, on the subject of the overland telegraph to Port Darwin, to connect with the submarine cable." This was the beginning of the Australian enterprise to construct the telegraph line from Darwin to Adelaide and the southern capitals. The final connection was made in October 1872.
[461] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 9.
[462] *The Age*: 1 May 1901, p. 8.
[463] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 8.

The military presence was therefore regarded as most significant in both Federation Parades. *The Argus* published an article specifically listing the various uniforms of the major military contingents so that the parade spectators would know; "How to Distinguish the Uniforms."[464]  The notion that military authorities tend to lag behind the times appeared at variance with public expectations however, with both the soldiers themselves and *The Argus* appearing uncomfortable with the exigencies of war in the age of the machine gun.

> The West Australian mounted men are somewhat disappointed, because they have not had time to obtain brighter uniforms than their field service khaki.  They are all men who have lately returned from South Africa, and the garb they wear will be what they wore through the campaign.  They may rest assured that the people of Australia will think none the less of them, and cheer them none the less heartily for that.[465]

## 12.  WOOL AND HERITAGE

From the substantial climb up Bourke Street after the Ducal Arch, the Melbourne march now would have reached William Street and the north-eastern extremity of Batman Hill. Although the parade was over a kilometre in length along the two main thoroughfares of Bourke and Collins Streets, the location of most of the arches was restricted to a small four hundred metre square centred either side of Swanston Street.  No doubt this was partly to accommodate to the topography, where one would imagine that steep roadways would make arches more difficult to construct, or at least more unstable. Consequently, this half block from the top of Bourke Street, down William Street and into the top of Collins Street was devoid of arches and formal ceremonial sites, even though it would have surely been recognised at the time as the business district of the city.[466]  When finally arriving at William Street, it also becomes obvious to the footstepper why the parade was planned to turn left and follow this road back down to

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[464] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p. 15.

[465] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p.15. This of course contrasts with later military parades, notably through the streets of Sydney during the Second World War and the Vietnam War, where it was the drab olive woollen and cotton field service uniforms that gave such a sense of pride to both soldiers and spectators alike.

[466] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, pp. 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 22, 23, 66, 67.  This entire half block consists almost entirely of financial, business and trading houses, banks and insurance companies.  No doubt the proximity to the Law Courts and legal centre of the city one block north on Lonsdale Street was of significance, as well as the proximity to the old docks on the Yarra River.

Collins Street. As well as the natural symmetry of balancing the route with three city blocks on either side of Swanston Street, William Street forms a ridge running down towards the slopes of the Yarra River. Travelling any further west, the parade would have gone down another slope towards the Spencer Street Railway Station, a slope that the march would have had to return back up again to return to Swanston Street.[467]

On the inside of this William Street corner stood at the time one of the city's notable structures: the Menzies' Hotel.[468] Although now replaced by the modern BHP House,[469] this hotel would no doubt have served a similar purpose to the up-market boarding houses along Sydney's Macquarie Street; that of providing temporary city accommodation for country folk coming to the city by train, since it would have been only a short walk up from Spencer Street, now Southern Cross, Railway Station. The hotel thus had connections with the famous and the powerful throughout much of its existence. Early in the Pacific Theatre of the Second World War, the hotel hosted General Douglas MacArthur, prior to his permanent move closer to the action in Brisbane. One apocryphal tale also had the boilers in the hotel being stoked by Mark Twain while on his lecture tour of Australia prior to Federation in 1895.[470] Although forced to make a world-wide tour to recoup financial publishing losses, one would suspect that the sixty year old would not really have had to engage in such strenuous manual work to merely survive and that the episode, had it occurred, was one of affectation.[471]

If the hotel's name has a familiar ring to it, then of course it is also that of one of Melbourne's most famous and influential sons, former Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies. In reality, there was apparently no connection between the Archibald Menzies who established the hotel in 1867 and the western Victorian family from which the political leader hailed. This did not prevent Sir Robert's young daughter, Heather from reading out the hotel's name on one of their excursions into the city and asking, full of

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[467] UBD Australia: UBD Melbourne Street Directory 2008, map 1. Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 70.

[468] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 71.

[469] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, pp. 53-54. Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 8.

[470] Wilde, Hooton, Andrews: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 765. *The Argus*: 20 September 1895, p. 8. Mark Twain. "Bijou Theatre, Friday 27th September. First appearance in Melbourne of the author of 'Innocents Abroad'."

[471] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 61.

astonishment; "Daddy, is that yours already!"[472]  What is more telling is the entry on BHP House in the National Trust of Australia's booklet: *Walking Melbourne*.  Although keen to point out other heritage sites within the Bourke Street and William Street precinct, no mention is made of the original occupant of this corner, even though the Menzies Hotel was not demolished until the early 1970s.[473]

William Street in 1901 embodied the degree to which Australia rode on the sheep's back and the backs of those who had money to invest in agriculture.  The massive Goldsborough Mort grain and wool warehouse stood opposite the Menzies Hotel, while the Gray's Building running down the western side of William Street was filled with auctioneers, agents and pastoral companies such as Campbell and Felton.[474]  The Melbourne branch of the Australian Club was also found here, at 102 William Street;[475] and it remains to this day, a hub for the financial elite of society.[476]  Whatever one's views of rapacious capitalism may be, one surely has to admit that such buildings shown in the photograph booklet add to the elegance and splendour of the city, a theme that will be repeated further around the corner.  The club itself appears to have transformed from a residential abode for the wealthy and powerful to primarily an eating establishment, although even their website still discriminates between members and the public.[477]  Again, this instance reflects an evolution in the role of the city over the course of a century: from a place to live, work and shop every day in 1901, to somewhere only to work and shop in the 1950s, to now a place to visit on special occasions for celebratory meals.

As the marchers turned from William Street south and back into Collins Street they would have passed the Western Markets of the city.[478]  As with many of these more mundane but necessary structures of the day, few images remain, although this was one of the three major market sites within the city.  Unlike the 'Paddy's' Eastern Market; the Bourke Street haunt of Ginger Mick, the Western Market appeared to have been a

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[472] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 60.
[473] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, pp. 53-54.  Perhaps the evocative power and aversion to the Menzies name still holds sway in many circles today.  Still, it is rather apt that the parade should now have entered the commercial and capitalist heart of the city at this significant site.
[474] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 67.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 70.
[475] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 74.
[476] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 67.
[477] The Australian Club:  *Public Site* online database.
[478] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 75.

far more civilised affair.[479]  The Eastern Market had more in common with the current Victoria Markets on the north eastern corner of the city, while these Western Markets with their Victorian Romanesque formality may well have been an inspiration for the Queen Victoria Building in Sydney.  This distinction becomes even more apparent when we look at what had become of the original 1842 edifice.  While one boot maker, A J Carnaby, remained on site, by 1901 the rest of the building had been converted to offices for merchants, architects and trade and finance brokers.[480]  No doubt the same general movement out to the suburbs that was evident in Sydney at the time was also beginning in Melbourne, leaving those supplying the more mundane everyday services with fewer customers.  The old Western Market building was finally demolished in 1961, and the current AXA Centre erected on the site.[481]

Even these markets were not the first institution to occupy the 455 Collins Street site. Jeff and Jill Sparrow dedicate a chapter of their heritage publication to the original 1840s function of the block, that of housing Melbourne's first gaol.[482]  It was also at this location, opposite the now small Market Street intersection that the Butter Arch was located.[483]  As mentioned by Tessa Milne, this arch was the only one along the Melbourne route that represented an Australian industry.[484]  While Sydney's arches embodied an eclectic mix of three nationalities (French, American and German) and three industries (Coal, Wool and Wheat), the arches in Melbourne were primarily social and regal (Municipal, Citizens', King's, Queen's and Ducal).

I would argue that Sydney was celebrating the creation of a new nation and wanting to both represent this nation to itself, and to feel a new found sense of solidarity with those other centres of European culture that had recently become united modern states.[485] Hence the added links with France and America through their arches and with Canada and Italy through their cars indicated a sense of looking outward to the wider world, and

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[479] Walking Melbourne: *Melbourne's Lost Markets* online database.
[480] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 23.
[481] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 53.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 76.
[482] Jeff and Jill Sparrow: *Radical Melbourne*, vol.1, chapt. 8, p. 44.
[483] *The Argus*: 26 March 1901, p. 6. The Butter Arch. "Mr D Buzolich, chairman of the citizen's committee, yesterday received information from Mr Fitts, architect, that the design for the arch to represent the butter industry had been approved of.  The arch will be erected in Collins Street, between Market Street and William Street."
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 77.
[484] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 79.
[485] The incentive for these other nationalities' arches invariably came from the foreign nations themselves, or from their representatives and communities in Australia.

wishing to be accepted by other unified nations. Footstepping revealed a nation intent on becoming part of an international community that offered opportunities, but one that also represented a level of threat. Melbourne, on the other hand, sensed the more immediate practical responsibility of now forming a government that could bring these hopes to a practical reality with their reliance upon British institutions and British security. This would have needed to be convincingly expressed to the society in general, and to those members within the local community who were perceived to be either a political or economic threat.

That said; Melbourne's parade did include one expression of agricultural activity and wealth, the Butter Arch. Although sited logically adjacent to the markets, the structure itself does not appear to have been overly inspiring, if judged by the descriptions given at the time. Money had been difficult to raise, with the country's dairy producers showing "poor support …to subscriptions to pay for its construction [and] the cost had fallen on the shoulders of the Melbourne salesmen and export merchants."[486] While featuring the usual mix of shields and coats of arms, the coarse medieval appearance of the arch was intensified by the use of eight thousand unpainted butter boxes; the daily output of the dairy industry in Victoria.[487] Even *The Argus* could not explain away the less than impressive result. "The main cost of erection has been borne by the city agents, exporters and merchants who supplied the novel and interesting [sic] materials."[488]

## 13. FINANCIAL MELBOURNE

The lower end of Collins Street in 1901, as with the Collins Street of today, was the financial hub of Melbourne and what still strikes the footstepper is the interplay of institutions that held, and still hold sway over particularly, the western slope of the street. The Stock Exchange dominated the corner of Queens Street, [489] and remains today as an elegant and elaborate portion of the ANZ Banking Museum,[490] while other buildings between William and Elizabeth Street gloried under the names of Rothschild

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[486] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 80.
[487] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[488] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[489] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 79.
[490] Photograph Booklet vol.2 p. 80.

Chambers, Trustees Chambers and Temple Court.[491]  However, these same blocks also included the Australian Widow's Fund Building, Citizen's Life Assurance Buildings and the Mutual Provident Buildings.[492]  In the days before government assistance and unemployment relief, it was up to ordinary working people to put away insurance for a rainy day, and certainly the banking collapse a decade earlier,[493] would have further encouraged  citizens to place their financial future in their own mutual organisations.[494]

As was the case with the Coal Arch and the participation of trades unions in the Sydney Federation parade, one could argue that choosing to parade down this section of Collins Street unconsciously reflected the desire of the staunch respectable working class to refine and control capitalism, rather than do away with it through revolutionary activity.[495]  As Davison states; "Building society propagandists aimed to give…the suburban ideology…substance by demonstrating with mathematical precision, how an ordinary Melburnian might acquire a House of His Own."[496]  No doubt the modern footstepper would also appreciate the need to balance working people's budgets when they aspire to the security of home ownership.[497]

The Temperance and General Life Assurance Society was one working class financial institution that was not represented along this part of Collins Street.  Established in Swanston Street prior to Federation the initial headquarters of the T&G stood symmetrically between the Bourke Street and Collins Street route of the parade, and would have been glanced at as the marchers passed to and from Spring Street and Parliament House.[498]  Their massive 1929 art deco structure would later be placed in Collins Street, but on the other side of the hill, leading back up to Spring Street.[499]  Unlike the equally impressive social centre that existed on the corner of Park and Elizabeth Streets in Sydney, this structure still remains, if only as a façade.  The T&G

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[491] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, pp. 15-16.
[492] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, pp. 20-23. Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 81.
[493] W H Newnham: *Melbourne – the Biography of a City*, p. 30.
[494] Deborah Tout-Smith: *Melbourne – a City of Stories*, p. 45. "Beyond Little Lon', other Melbourne residents worked to create safer communities. In the absence of government support, benevolent Melburnians founded orphanages, aid societies, refuges, hospitals and other charitable institutions."
[495] Humphrey McQueen: *A New Britannia*, 2004, p. 211.  "Respectability was the keystone of union organisation, especially where union membership was just one more way by which the urban tradesman could ensure that improvement of social standing so dear to his heart."
[496] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 178.
[497] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 179.
[498] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 81.
[499] National Trust of Australia (Victoria): *Walking Melbourne*, p. 27.

was only one representation of this aspirational movement, having been founded as a Friendly and Temperance Society by the Independent Order of Rechabites. Allied to non-conformists, their forefathers recognised the previously mentioned dangers of basing social support institutions within the hotels that dotted the inner suburbs in both Sydney and Melbourne, and so created associations of their own, free from the reliance upon such sources of temptation.[500]

Mechanics Institutes had formed the United Benefit Society as early as February 1839, stating that: "We can perceive nothing to cheer us in the prospect of sickness and adversity, except from our united efforts to save from our weekly earnings, such an amount as may form a fund to relieve those who may be unable to provide for themselves and their families the common necessaries of life."[501] Eastwood notes that, "The ambitions of the people were overwhelmingly economic. Most free immigrants came to Australia to get on in the world, to do better in a financial sense than they could see themselves doing at home."[502] While the absence of large scale persecution behind most of the immigration to Australia could be seen as obviously positive, the financial imperative placed its own burden upon those coming out to the new nation. If the new settlers failed to become as materially and financially successful as they and their relatives were back in Britain, then the whole rationale for their uprooting and moving across to the other side of the world, evaporated. This was most noticeable in Victoria where the depression of the 1890s had hit hard and was actually responsible for a net decrease in the number of arrivals over departures of over one hundred thousand.[503] Many more potential settlers were leaving than arriving. Although these figures would also have included Chinese who were being repatriated back to China, many tens of thousands of immigrants from Britain would also have deemed it not financially worthwhile staying.

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[500] *The Argus*: 15 March 1916, p. 10. Soldiers and Drink. "A conference of the Independent Order of Rechabites was opened today. The Chief Ruler (Bro J Lydiate) said that there had never been a time in the history of Australia when alcohol had been used to worse effect than during the past 18 months since the troops had been in training for active service." The organisation was one of those advocating the introduction of 6 o'clock closing following the February 1916 Liverpool Riot. *Box Hill Reporter*: 22 February 1907, p. 4. However, they were not as fundamentalist as some. "The Rechabites were founded in England in 1835, only 72 years ago. They were in Melbourne 12 years later, starting with 39 members… They now have 26,000 in Victoria alone. It was not a total abstinence society, many of its members taking a little wine for dinner, but it was a step in the right direction."
[501] Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne –The Growth of a Metropolis*, p. 20. United Benefit Society pamphlet 1839.
[502] Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne – The Growth of a Metropolis*, p. 27.
[503] 503 Australian Bureau of Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, 1908, p. 154.

It was this drive for respectable material success that lay behind the rapid and effective rise of the labour movement amongst the working people of the new nation at Federation, and the rapidity with which radicalism disappeared once the representatives of the working class gained control of the political and financial levers of capitalism.[504] Labour organisations and their associated Friendly Societies were given pride of place during both cities' celebrations; directly in the Sydney march and through a separate parade in Melbourne on the following Saturday.[505] Apart from the Chamber of Manufacturers' column, capitalism itself tended to remain in the background, appearing to be satisfied in having its instruments take public spectacle in the parades. Working men, soldiers, and representatives of all levels of government comprised the proud performers[506] while the financial pillars of society stood aside and calmly provided the structural and material backdrop.[507] So the INF, GUOOF, Protestant Alliance, St Patrick, Free Gardeners, UAOD and many other such institutions were not only represented on the streets of Melbourne, they were also represented in the march by their respective bands.[508]

With Germans providing the largest non-British migrant group at the time of Federation,[509] it was understandable that both Sydney and Melbourne marches should have had substantial German Arches. It is interesting to appreciate the attitudes that Australians held towards the Germans in their midst prior to the memory of the intervening century marked by two world wars, where Germany came to be regarded as an efficient, if brutal enemy.[510] As opposed to most of the Irish, and certainly most of the Chinese migrants and migrant families at the time of Federation, the Germans

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[504] Humphrey McQueen: *A New Britannia,* 2004, chapt. 17, p. 229. "The idea of the Government getting into power, as is sometimes said, and then taking advantage of the fact that they are in power to do all sorts of revolutionary and impossible (sic) things never occurs to the Labour man in Australia." One could argue that mildly radical reforming governments such as that of Chifley and even that of the more conservative Menzies did far more good for working people than theoretical radicals.

[505] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 6. Trades and Friendly Societies March, starting at 10:00am.

[506] *The Argus*: 6 May 1901, p. 6. Trades and Friendly Societies March, starting at 10:00am.

[507] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 82.

[508] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p. 15.

[509] Australian Bureau of Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907* No.1, pp. 166-174. Again note not only the 38 352 persons born in Germany compared with the 29,907 born in China, but the far more even balance between the genders and population spread across Australia. Note also the 75 021 people of Lutheran faith listed on page 174, just below Baptist and Congregational. Allowing for the fact that not all Germans would have been Lutheran, this figure does indicate an even greater number of second generation Australians of German heritage.

[510] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 20 July 1918, p. 13. German Brutality. *The Argus*: 11 June 1940, p. 5. German Brutality. Compare this with the treatment of Germans in *The Bulletin* of 3 March 1901, p. 14, where a confused and obviously not overly intelligent German farmer is not only confounded by the English language and simple logic, but is I suspect, also being inadvertently compared with one of his own pigs.

represented the more traditionally cultural aspects of the community.  As one historian has put it, there were "prominent business establishments which carried German names; Australians of German descent were active in the medical and legal profession, in education, the arts as well as in commerce, science and politics."[511]  Although also a source of the mockery evident earlier in the Sydney press, Germans had a considerable effect upon Australian agriculture, not only by weight of the numbers of settlers, but also through the application of German efficiency in farming in districts such as the Darling Downs "where they played a significant role in the pioneering work of opening up the country for agriculture."[512]

Consequently there was also a German Citizen's Arch present, although as with most of the Melbourne arches, there appeared little geographical reasoning behind its actual location.[513]  The only obvious link tying the structure to the lower slope of Collins Street was its being adjacent to the Vienna Cafe at 268 Collins Street.[514]  This business of Edlinger and Goetz has long gone, having been subsumed by the Hotel Australia on Collins and the Magnificent Arcade.[515]  While the placement of this last arch seems to have been an afterthought, the lumping together of those nations with a "Germanic" heritage strikes one now as a little tactless.  At the Market Street corner of Collins Street, after the Butter Arch and just prior to the march passing under the German Arch, stretched a banner across the street proclaiming "Denmark's Greeting."[516]  This Royal Banner of Denmark was supplied by the Consul General Mr Peter Hansen.  Given that one of German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's first actions when seeking to create a united Germany thirty years earlier had been to "wrest" the German speaking provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark, it is unlikely that Mr Hansen would have chosen this location himself.[517]

The German Arch was unusual in that it consisted of two fluted columns connected by a horizontal bar carrying a painted banner portraying "The Genius of Australia" on one

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[511] *Gerhard Fischer*: Enemy Aliens, 1989, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, p. 19.  Franz Wallach, Charles Rasp and Edmund Resch were just some of those of German heritage who had helped develop Australian industry at the time.
[512] *Gerhard Fischer*: Enemy Aliens, p. 17.
[513] Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 83.
[514] *The Age*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[515] Sands and McDougall's: *Melbourne and Suburban Directory for 1901*, p. 13.  Australia on Collins: *Centre Information and History* online database.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 84.
[516] *The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.
[517] Neville Kingsley Meaney: *The West and the World 1789-1914*, 1972, Science Press, Sydney, p. 316.

side and the German Imperial Standard on the other. *The Age* claimed that this was a particularly popular arch: "an artistic success and a credit not only to the designer, but to the German citizens who have worked so enthusiastically to worthily welcome the descendent of a Queen whose death their own Emperor mourned with the loving affection of a son."[518]  Again, the all pervasive influence of the recently deceased Queen Victoria continued to hold a strong sway over both Australian, and even European society well into 1901.  The German arch was also deemed to be important and significant enough that a serious error in spelling in the motto across the top bar should have been pointed out, and then excused, since there was apparently too little time to alter the wording.  In the included quotation from Schiller's *William Tell*; "Wir woollen seine in, einig Volk von Brudern (One People we, United and Fraternal), the word 'einzig' (only or retraction) was given instead of 'einig' (to be in agreement), and the sense of the motto was altered from one of goodwill to doubtfulness." [519]

The German nation appeared as fervent and enthusiastic as German Australians themselves although with what would have been considered even at the time an ominous overtone.  One of the last visiting vessels to arrive in Melbourne in time for the opening of Federal Parliament [520] was the German cruiser *Cormoran*.[521]  Even the *Examiner* in Launceston noted the significance of the incident,[522] with many of the parade spectators aware that this particular vessel, known as *SMS Cormoran I*, was instrumental in expanding Germany's imperial empire in the Pacific and China, then and in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion.  Later, while laid up in the Chinese port of Tsingtau (Quingdao) her guns were removed and fitted to a captured Russian vessel at the outbreak of the First World War, which was then renamed *Cormoran II*.  This renamed ship would eventually be scuttled at Guam as one of the first actions between Germany and the United States in the war.[523]

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[518] *The Age*: 7 May 1901, p. 10.  Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 82.
[519] *The Age*: 6 May 1901, p. 10.
*The Argus*: 7 May 1901, p. 5. Melbourne *en Fete*. No matter that the 1804 play *William Tell* was based upon the famous Swiss nationalist who fought against the Germanic Austro Hungarian overlords.
[520] *The Argus*: 4 May 1901, p. 15.
[521] Chris Coulthard-Clark: *Where Australians Fought – The Encyclopaedia of Australia's Battles*, p. 194. It would later be the successively named auxiliary cruiser *SMS Kormoran* that would sink *HMAS Sydney II* off the Western Australian coast in 1941.
[522] *Launceston Examiner*: 9 April 1917, p. 5.
[523] *The Argus*: 17 December 1914, p. 7. Cruiser Cormoran interned at Guam.

One noticeable difference evident in photographs of the Central Business District of Melbourne at the time of Federation, and those of Melbourne City today, is in the number of trees lining the streets. Perhaps this could be regarded as an example of the gentrification of the city, as well a change in the public's relationship with the natural world made possible also by practical changes in the use of the streets. We do not even need to go back a century to see this quite remarkable transformation. The photographs of the central city, as well as individual streets in Morris' *Melbourne Past and Present*, show through the development of aerial photography that even later in 1935 the city's greenery remained sparse.[524] Tree filled parks and public spaces were of course as numerous then as today and recognised as an important requirement for both the physical and psychological health of the inhabitants. However, fully grown trees were restricted to these specific sites, and the business sections of the city remained largely vegetation free.

This greening of the inner city streetscape appears to have accelerated over the intervening decades within both Sydney and Melbourne, although the significance of verdant spaces was well established by 1900. Hyde Park, Centennial Park and the Botanical Gardens surrounding Melbourne's Government House all played their parts as significant locations for the Federation parades, since it was these very open areas that could accommodate the numbers of spectators and participants for the various ceremonies and parade formations. If this leafy infill represents a general trend towards a softer, more pleasing environment as well as compensation for the large number of awnings that have been removed (or modern buildings constructed without awnings at all), then this also presents problems of its own. The detrimental effects of tree roots on even more antiquated subterranean water, sewage and gas pipes have also been noted from the beginning.[525]

The imagery of the tree also as a symbol of growth was well recognised by the nineteenth century, and when Henry Parkes attended the Federation Conference in Melbourne during February 1890, he commemorated the event by planting a spreading

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[524] Sheridan Morris: *Melbourne Past and Present*, 2008, Axiom Publishing, Adelaide, pp. 96, 102-103. Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 85.
[525] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 23 May 1939, p. 10. "The Alderman McElhone's lament lists tree roots getting into water pipes, tree roots being cut to lay new water pipes, and even tree roots being adversely affected by leaking gas as issues needing to be addressed." Arthur McElhone was another scion of a powerful Irish Catholic family that had held civic positions in Sydney for generations. He had married into the Anthony Hordern family and became director of both corporate and civic icons in the city. G N Hawker: *The Parliament of New South Wales 1856-1965*, 1971, NSW Government Printer, Sydney.

oak tree near Parliament House.[526]  It was at this conference that Parkes made his famous "crimson thread of kinship" statement;[527] no doubt realising that despite the "lion in the path" of intrastate taxation, the progress towards the Federation of the nation was now as relentless as would be the growth of this tree.  A month later Parkes planted another tree in Berrima's central square having given yet another tree stump speech at Bowral School in support of Federation.[528]


14.  AFTER THE PARADES


As previously mentioned, the initial parade through the city of Melbourne on 6 May 1901 was only one of the many celebrations during that week.  This introductory parade was mirrored by the equally significant march on 9 May to the Exhibition Buildings[529] in Carlton Gardens for the formal establishment of the new Federal Government.[530] There were also the smaller Stockman's, Chinese, Fireman's and Trades' marches that utilised the arches and various parts of the main parade routes.


Once all these parades and accompanying celebrations were over, the arches and accompanying celebratory structures were dismantled, and in view of their underlying flimsiness, broken up and dumped as their public memory quietly faded away.  Despite all the arches in both parades originally intended to be of a temporary nature, very little mention was made of their removal, and what eventually happened to the remains. Slabs of plaster and fibre from the Sydney arches may well have ended up in the recently established Tempe Tip.  This former brick pit on the otherwise unused swampland near the Chinese market garden district around the Cooks River was already being used as a dumping ground.[531]  The *Bairnsdale and Tambo and Omeo Chronicle*,

[526] Australian Broadcasting Commission: *Gardening Australia, Melbourne's historically significant trees* online database.
Photograph Booklet vol.2, p. 85.
[527] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 25 April 1890, p. 4.  Helen Irving: *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, 1999, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p. 364.
[528] Parliament of NSW: *Private Member's Statement by Mr Seaton*, page 10608 Hansard online database.
[529] Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 87.
[530] Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 88.
[531] Richard Cashman and Chrys Meader: *Marrickville – Rural Outpost to Inner City*, p. 57.  "But in the twentieth century Tempe declined rapidly in social status and the popular phrase 'Tempe Tip' became a derogatory expression for a suburb which suffers from a considerable amount of air and noise pollution." Marrickville Council: *The 1950s* online database.  From the 1930s to the 1980s all the other brick pits surrounding Gumbramorra Swamp were converted to parkland and sporting ovals.  With gentrification of

of all press outlets, mentioned the calling of tenders in August 1901 for the removal of the Queen's Arch in Collins Street. "The structure is in a lamentable state of decay and has become an eyesore."[532] Overall the process of constructing and then dismantling the arches in both cities appeared to have involved a considerable squandering of both social effort and financial value, with Melbourne's arches listed by the *West Australian* newspaper as costing upwards of £20,000, out of the £100,000 allocated for all that city's celebrations.[533]

This is not to suggest that the concept of a permanent reminder of these significant events was immediately lost. There were, even at the time, many proposals in both these capital cities for some permanent memorial to mark the Federation of the nation.[534] However, interest waned and nothing substantial eventuated. As I intimated in the Sydney march chapter dealing with the Commonwealth Arch at Hyde Park, even in 1901 there seemed to be an unconscious evolution of a national characteristic that looked forward to the future and the modern[535] with less of a concern over the distant, or even very recent, past. The fate of the 2001 Centenary of Federation construction on Princes Bridge certainly strikes the modern footstepper as a sad confirmation of this national characteristic.

Less tangible remains from the era also appear to have faded without trace. The nomenclature of Federation Place at the present junction of Anzac Parade, Cleveland Street and Lang Road has never to my knowledge been commonly used.[536] While a pleasant open parkland in Sydney's east, the area's main claim to fame today is as parking for cricket and football spectators at the Sydney Cricket Ground and Football Stadium. There is certainly little record or use of this term today, apart from the small print in street directories,[537] and the only physical palimpsest that connects to the

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the district, even the remnant waste disposal area next door to the old tip holding the Olympic Rings is now referred to as a Recycling Depot.

[532] *Bairnsdale and Tambo and Omeo Chronicle*: 27 August 1901, p. 2.

[533] *The West Australian*: 23 April 1901, p. 5.

[534] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, 2000, pp. 60-64. Milne dedicates the final half a dozen pages of her Sydney parade study to a discussion on the possible proposals for a permanent memorial to Federation.

[535] *The Australian*: 24 March 2011, online database. "Australians buy 1 million mobiles monthly." Australians' love affair with mobile phones shows no sign of abating, with more than 1 million units purchased each month last year.

[536] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Sydney Street Directory 2011*, map 20. As with the hanging swamp at Elizabeth Street Sydney, until I began researching this thesis, I was not even aware that this named location ever existed.

[537] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney 2011,* map 20.

Federation era are the now difficult to recognise mounds alongside the bus roadway which are all that remains of the tram station that served sporting and showground patrons in the past.[538]

When the Centenary of Federation was planned, it was also as much a social as a political event.[539] On the 1 January 2001, an abbreviated celebratory march retraced part of the original Sydney parade route from the Domain directly up College Street and along Oxford Street before, ironically diverting down the old tramway along Anzac Parade, so as not to disrupt then more important everyday traffic.[540] By the time a century had passed, the quiet Oxford Street amble out to the relaxed Eastern Suburbs had be become a congested thoroughfare clogged with motor vehicles connecting some of the densest packed suburbs of Sydney with the city. Modern drivers would not have appreciated the necessary blockage of the street, even for the commemoration of the centenary of such a significant national event.

Ironically this meant that the smaller parade a century after Federation actually did turn left at Federation Place. The intersection and walkway were partially replanted at the time, no doubt with the intention of reinvigorating the area.[541] Again however, nothing further eventuated, and the city continues to rely for its tangible memory upon the Tzannes 1988 Federation Pavilion in Centennial Park.[542] Melbourne has also attempted to demonstrate respect to the city's and the nation's heritage through the permanent construction of Federation Square, offering a more long lasting tribute to the 1901 Federation of the Australian nation. Whether this, essentially entertainment area adjacent to the site of the principal Melbourne Arch causes citizens to reflect upon the significance of events that took place at this location a century ago, is difficult to judge.

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[538] Gregory's Publishing Company: *Gregory's Street Directory of Sydney & Suburbs 1934*, maps 8, 12. Note the prevalence of tram tracks along Anzac Parade at the height of the system's popularity and extent. *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 7 October 1887, p. 9. *SMH*: 8 November 1920, p. 9 "Night smash in Moore Park". *SMH*: 18 February1954, p. 8. Even as early as 1887, mention is made of another strange characteristic of the to-be-named Federation Place; its role as the Bermuda Triangle of Sydney tram crashes.

[539] Australian Broadcasting Corporation: *Australia's Centenary of Federation*., online program guide and events.

[540] Australian Broadcasting Corporation: *Federation Story 2001*, online internet map.

[541] Centennial Parklands: *Centenary of Federation Fact Sheet* online database.

[542] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 265. As mentioned, this pavilion had originally been constructed as part of Australia's Bi-centennial of First Settlement celebrations, not the Centenary of Federation

With the establishment of the National Museum of Australia, recognition was finally afforded to the effort that had been put into preparing for the Federation of the nation a century earlier. A half scale model of Melbourne's Citizen's Arch was constructed and placed on display in the year 2000.[543]  Significantly, this was not a model of one of the two principal political Federation Arches from 1901: the Sydney Commonwealth Arch from Park Street, or Melbourne's Municipal Arch from the Princes Bridge, but rather the structure commemorating the citizens and population of the city of Melbourne; the one that was originally located in the retail hub of Bourke Street.  While general interest in heritage has no doubt increased over the intervening century, such a choice of arch could be seen as not so much reflecting the vagaries of fashion as centring commemoration on the sense of the recognised local community, rather than a more abstract imagined national identity.

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[543] National Museum of Australia: *Citizens' Arch – Flash interactive* online database. Photograph Booklet vol. 2, p. 89.

CONCLUSION

What conclusions have I been able to draw from the application of the methodology of footstepping and thick description to the investigation of the two 1901 Federation parades in Sydney and Melbourne? What kind of society was being imagined at the time and who was to be considered part of this society?

Footstepping is first and foremost the retracing through the physical, and then the cultural environment as it currently exists, overlaying the experienced physical setting with the known or imagined environment of the past. The process of footstepping can therefore be considered a form of re-enactment based on the traditional process of visiting historical sites while researching and being guided by traditional literary sources to uncover instances and episodes relating to either individuals or whole societies. The thick description of Ryle and Geertz has previously been applied in sociological terms to the interpretation of exotic cultures in the present.

Just as individual diaries and personal records were employed by Richard Holmes as the practical initiators and motivation for the research into his individual biographical subjects , so I integrated the experiences of the cities of Sydney and Melbourne and their communities through the press and historical commentary to the analyse the biography of the Australian community. Evidence was then further collated through the photographic record of the era. Geographical and architectural photography was subsequently used as part of the recording process for my own methodology, resulting in both a written evaluation of the Australian nation a century ago, and the visual analysis of what still remains today.

As mentioned in the Introduction, I have not regarded footstepping as a new technique, but rather as a new frame of reference. Visiting historical sites has a long and proud tradition in both travelogues and historical studies. However, by inter-playing this traditional approach with literary records of the time and newspaper reports of the events, I sought to apply a process that has been more common in the field of literary biography and the biography of individuals, to gain insight into the attitudes of the wider community: in essence, the biography of a nation.

By combining these two processes to investigate my own Australian culture in the past, rather than analysing a current society from a cultural or physical distance, I was able to follow E P Thompson's ideal; getting inside the episodes of the principal Federation parades to apprise the Australian imagined community of a century ago. My thesis therefore intended to add to the historical record directly through the analysis of these two events, but also indirectly through advancing this methodological and research process. It was through the practice of footstepping the routes of the parades that I not only revealed a differing view of Australia's attitudes to the non-British members of the community to the one that has traditionally been presented but also advanced a theoretical approach to the practice of historical research itself.

FOOTSTEPPING ANALYSIS

One obvious feature of both cities that became evident from footstepping these two routes was the importance of the geography and landform. Following the routes of the two marches informed a wider appreciation of the two cities, and the degree to which geography can influence, or interact with culture: the degree to which shadows, shades and vestiges from the past still remain, even if dependent upon cultural and literary memory. As previously mentioned, even the nature of the routes themselves reflected the differing landscapes and political establishment of the two cities. Sydney grew in a haphazard manner over the course of its initial century, and the route of the Sydney Federation parade reflected this by almost zig zagging through the city before eventually breaking out into the long straight course to Centennial Park. Melbourne began as a rectilinear planed city, and again the Melbourne march mirrored this formality even to the extent of the four sided route being evenly spaced three blocks either side of the Swanston Street entry into the city.

Initially of course, the purpose behind both Federation parades was to showcase aspects of Australian society, and present the newly federated nation to both the world and to itself. Consequently, the routes chosen had social and political considerations. This does not mean that the parameters governing the routes were necessarily chosen intentionally, although certain points of significance and notable thoroughfares were considered essential. Certain buildings would have to have been included: Parliament Houses and governmental offices were consciously chosen, while centres of Christian

worship and culture were chosen unconsciously simply by their inadvertent location throughout the city. Particular roadways were decided upon both through simple mathematical logic as well as the conscious need to present the more attractive and culturally prestigious districts within the cities. Sites were naturally included as the marches were stepped out to a length that could accommodate both the size of the parades themselves, and the time and distance that the participants could be expected to walk; not much more than an hour, and subsequently around six kilometres or four miles.

The remnants of streets, lanes and buildings, along with government services such as trams and railways often still existed in some form, literally providing the pathway for the footstepper to follow. However, uncovering them was dependent upon the approach employed by Richard Holmes; through both a varying level of intimacy with the city and the society, and the written literary record. It is for this reason that I also followed Holmes' lead in taking side tracks to three other locations adjacent to the marches in the two cities to uncover districts that were not regarded as showcases of Australian culture. Although kept outside the boundaries of the parades, Darling Harbour, Wexford Street and Little Lonsdale Street did demonstrate the all-encompassing interconnected nature of society at the time through a physical familiarity that could be considered closer than the one experienced by suburban residents today. This was borne out of the need to be physically near to work and church, school and social services, as well a cultural closeness that may have been simply due to the freshness of so many of the cultural establishments that were evolving at the time. Not only the new Federal Government, but a newly developing labour movement and newly established public education systems were all becoming institutions that had not yet become institutionalised.

The result of the expansion of public transport also meant that most members of the Sydney and Melbourne communities were able to attend significant events such as these parades and associated celebrations. The society of the time was not just theoretically imagined, but the practical embodiment of every day experience, with citizens at the time getting inside the episodes themselves as both participants and immediate spectators. Divisions of class, race, gender and religion existed, but these did not preclude participation in the Federation celebrations. There may have been restrictions on Chinese and Mediterranean immigration, the purchase of Chinese made furniture,

women in the workforce and Catholics in aspects of politics and employment, but there were no restrictions on who could attend and view these marches.

The road surface encountered by participants and spectators arriving by public transport may have been rougher than that encountered today, although the wooden blocks and hard gravel were being replaced by more modern surfaces, partially to accommodate the newly laid tram tracks.  Photographic images of the time indicate that the experience of actually marching along the principal roads that formed the routes of the marches would probably not have been much different to that of walking the streets today.  Gradients were kept as low as possible within the other parameters since it was obvious that the Sydney march would need to go down the steep slope from State Parliament House to the Central Business District and the Melbourne march would need to travel up the equally steep slope from Swanston Street to Spring Street.  Tight bends were kept to a minimum, interestingly paralleling the soon to be adjusted turning radii of corners to accommodate the expanding tram networks in both cities.[1]

The routes taken by the two Federation parades are still logically obvious in terms of these gradients, the actual distance needed to be travelled and the number of sharp corners that needed to be traversed.  The width of roadways, however, provided an interesting point of comparison.  Melbourne began as a planned city, and the streets that were originally laid out were the ones followed by the 1901 march and the ones that I retraced through a century later.  Sydney began unplanned and rather cramped, so that some streets such as Martin Place were in the process of being widened at the time of Federation, while others such as Park Street and Oxford Street were widened over the subsequent decades.

The modern footstepper can thus still obtain a strong sense of the narrow canyon effect remaining in districts such as Pitt Street and the sensation that people of the time must have felt after the Sydney parade turned from the breadth of Macquarie Street and plunged down Bridge Street.   Moving from the equally narrow confines of old Park Street, through the Commonwealth Arch out into the expanse of Hyde Park would now have to be imagined although the taller buildings on the southern side of the street replicate much of the original sensation.  Such buildings themselves, including large

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[1] The one notable exception was the zig zag that the Sydney March made at Martin Place, moving from the economically influential Pitt Street onto the commercially influential George Street.

government offices and churches have remained in place over the course of a century or more, and even when they are altered, regulations usually mean that the actual sites retain their original purpose.[2] Smaller shops and offices often change, although, as I found, whole districts tend not to change their tone unless governmental instrumentalities consciously decide to re-zone or alter building codes. Thus, government, business and retail areas in both cities have remained stable over the century, even as individual buildings have been replaced or reassigned to new roles.[3]

Where change has often occurred is in residential districts. This has been due to a combination of government incentive and regulation and the changing aspirations and expectations of people themselves. The availability of public transport, along with a desire to escape the unhealthy inner city of a century ago led to the expansion of suburbia. The subsequent congestion of private transport and the elimination of most of the sources of ill-health have now led to a conscious (if still relatively small) move back to city living for those who can afford it. Consequently, the available inner urban districts themselves have changed. The Little Lonsdale precinct is now high rise modern, rather than medium density disreputable, Wentworth Avenue is becoming a mix of contemporary medium rise residential and early twentieth century warehouse restored, while Darling Harbour has lost virtually all low level residential status in favour of high rise city offices, and now high rise, high end casinos and apartments.

Assembling and dispersal points for the two Federation parades a century ago were a significant consideration, with both dependent upon large park land or open space. The footstepping experience demonstrated this clearly in the case of Sydney, where the closeness of the Domain to the centre of the city made this site logical. The long extended component of the march was then out to Centennial Park where again the large park land would have afforded room for the necessary dispersal of the marchers. In the case of Melbourne, the assembly point was St Kilda with the final dispersal at the Botanical Gardens and Government House. For most participants this again would have been within easy walking distance back to the city and the rail and tram network within central Melbourne. One characteristic that was not so obvious from walking the two

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[2] It is here that the redevelopment of the old government buildings in Macquarie Street, and of the Paris end of Collins Street can be thought of as the exceptions (or compromises) that prove the rule.
[3] This seems to be more the case in Melbourne, where the formal city grid pattern retains the Central Business District within strict confines. Sydney has been more fluid, with the previously mentioned fluctuations isolating department stores, for example.

routes, but which emerged from press reports of the day was the previously mentioned lack of sustenance and the poor public facilities available at the time. While much thought was put into transportation to and from the events, and even the possible need for first aid in the event of mishap, the lack of water and toilet facilities appears regretfully modern, and mirrors the current experience with even annual events such as Anzac Day parades and New Year's Eve concerts.

As mentioned, the two marches also differed in their expectations, and this was also reflected in the organisation at the time. Sydney's parade was a one off event celebrating the day when Australia became a united and federated nation, while Melbourne's march was one event among many that accompanied the establishment of a Federal Parliament. The number of events in Melbourne was enough for even newspapers to become confused over routes and dates, so that the initial public procession investigated in my thesis was the largest, but not the principal parade. This would have been the shorter march three days later to the Exhibition Building for the formal opening of Parliament. Therefore, we could construe that Sydney's Federation parade wished to present the new nation as a unique cultural entity both to the rest of the world and to itself, while Melbourne's event was more organisational and reflective of both governmental responsibility and the desire to retain links to a wider protective culture. Sydney was thus more inclusive, at least consciously inclusive of those groups who were to be consciously embraced in the new society, while Melbourne appeared more regal and vice-regal, reaffirming political and military connections to the British Empire.

One other interpretation of Australian society that emerged from both my footstepping methodology and my wider accompanying research; and one that exposed questions within my theoretical approach, was the obvious importance of individuals to Australia's development. At one level this went against the social philosophy of Wilhelm Dilthey who had argued for a community approach to determining wider social attitudes, and what actually constitutes history. I too began by looking to uncover the ideals of a community in general and continually found myself returning to examples of the individual enterprise that influenced this community; particularly in the case of Sydney. So the question arises; to what degree were my own investigations a party to these same historical evidential limitations? Were the imaginings of the whole population really being expressed? Was the culture I uncovered through my

experiences, the press and other written material just another historical representation of narrow personal experience, or was the society of the time really so influenced and determined by individuals such as Mort, Ashburton Thompson, Martin and Baracchi? I essentially was left with two possibilities: either the views of these social leaders really did largely embody the views of the community, which is why they became leaders in the first place, or conversely, the views of the community were naturally so wide and diverse that I would have had to contemplate dozens of varying opinions on each aspect of the national identity being created.  In this case, the social aspects of the footstepping methodology would have to be considered problematic.  If the new community really was being imagined, then this imagining was occurring in the minds of many people on an individual level, and while the overall outcome would have to reflect a community consensus for the process to come to practical fruition, analysing responses actually brings out an individualistic aspect.

Perhaps it was the very familiarity that I brought to my analysis of the Sydney parade that caused me to inevitably cast my view wider, and that the recognised contrast with footstepping the Melbourne march route; that of a lack of familiarity with the city and its history, thus really did become a methodological advantage.  I was forced back into an analysis of what was before me without prior knowledge of individual influence on the city.  The individuals who were considered part of Melbourne's history were those I found through, for example, the statuary and works of art along the route of the march, rather than through any sense of cultural memory.


PRESENT AND MISSING

If Australia was imagining itself to be both intrinsically and almost protectively British, and at the same time embodying a level of tolerance within this tradition, who actually were the non-British who were to be tolerated (or not, as the case may be)?  In 1901 the number of Australians of non-British birth was relatively small, although this also depended upon definition.[4]  With almost three million citizens born in Australia and a further quarter of a million born in England out of a total population in 1901 of

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[4] Wray Vamplew: *Australians, Historical Statistics*, 1987, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, p. 12.  Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, pp. 166-169.

3,773,801,[5] the 30,000 born in China, and 38,000 born in Germany, for example, would have been fairly significant in themselves.[6] However, if one takes into account the large numbers of second generation non-British people who would have been considered, and considered themselves, as Australians to quite varying degrees, these figures would have been much greater.

What is also noteworthy was the wide number of nationalities represented in the statistics. As well as Germans, Chinese and Italians, there were significant numbers of migrants from Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, Sweden), Japan, the United States of America and Canada, and even the Austro Hungarian Empire and Switzerland. With the White Australia policy coming into force, the numbers born in Africa and Asia in general were small, with numbers in the mere hundreds nationwide. Still, while many nationalities had mere token representation, the variety filled one complete page of the 1901 census.[7]

Of course, the interpretation of such figures can reflect the opinions of people today as much as the attitudes of Australians at the time. The events at the turn of the century can be pressed into service to underplay the racist attitudes that obviously have existed in the Australian community or to exaggerate the lack of tolerance, although the results of my footstepping suggest that a more accurate picture lies somewhere in between. While it may be current to believe that Australian society has attempted to cover up and hide the less admirable aspects of the past, there is also the tendency, noted by David Lowenthal, for current commentary to overstate the inverse. The past can be presented in an unnaturally positive light, although "the past is not always benignly exhibited; on occasion its infamies too are exaggerated."[8] While Lowenthal's example of "historical self-flagellation" is American, can the same be said of *fin de siècle* Australia?[9]

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[5] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907*, No.1, p. 168. Note also the discrepancy at the bottom of the page, where the correct figure of 3 773 801 is incorrectly listed as 37,37,801.
[6] If all numbers are multiplied by six to equate with Australia's current population, almost two hundred thousand Chinese and well over two hundred thousand Germans would not be inconsiderable.
[7] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1907,* No.1 p. 168.
[8] David Lowenthal: *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 345.
[9] David Lowenthal: *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 346. Quoting Kenneth Adelman: "US National Park Service battlefield interpretations today focus so much on the horrors of war that some suspect pacifist leanings."

At one level, these marches appeared to be representative of the community, and yet also unrepresentative of the wider society of the time. In terms of those people who were looked upon as the principal actors within society, the marches were quite inclusive. Australian tolerance and egalitarianism extended to the respectable and even organised working class as well as to those non-British migrants who were seen as contributing to the community. There seemed to have been what author and flâneur Edmund White would later describe as a particularly "French" attitude towards such minorities (or in the case of women, an actual majority, if also a cultural minority).[10] According to White, our current Australian preoccupation with identity politics and "hyphenated cultural membership"[11] is at a variance with the ideal of cultural inclusion. "The French themselves would argue that their rejection of all ghettoization, far from being a sign of closetedness or cynicism, is in fact consistence with their 'singularity' as a nation." "The French," he continues, "believe that a society is not a federation of special interest groups but rather an impartial state that treats each citizen – regardless of his or her gender, sexual orientation, religion or colour – as an abstract, universal individual."[12] This state of affairs is, of course, dependent upon a reality where all citizens actually are treated as equal individuals; and at the time of the Federation parades, this was not the case.[13]

German and Chinese migrants suffered abuse and racism at the time of the Federation parades, as did Greek and Italian migrants then and later. However, these non-British migrant groups had been allowed into the country for both their own political and economic benefit, and for the economic benefit of Australia as a nation. For some, the process was always too open and liberal, and for others it was always too restrictive. One of the weaknesses of relying solely on press reportage of historical events is that, as I mentioned at the beginning, the press and the media tend to be polarising institutions; by their nature open most to opinions that are often extreme, or at least the most confrontational and engaging.[14] I would argue that only through all-encompassing

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[10] Edmund White: *The Flâneur*, chapt. 5.

[11] Deakin University: *Hyphenated Australia* online database. "Putting intercultural identity on the conceptual map."

[12] Edmund White: *The Flâneur*, p. 166.

[13] Davison, McCarty, McLeary: *Australians 1888*, 1987, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, p. 421. "The Chinese Restriction Bill [introduced into the colonial NSW Parliament] that troubled Lord Carrington was rushed through parliament, limiting entry by a variety of shipping and residential qualifications."

[14] While I have revealed instances of negative racial attitudes expressed through cartoons and articles in publications such as *The Bulletin*, it is worth remembering that the gist of my thesis is such traditional

social experiences such as these major parades do calmer underlying and more pervasive attitudes become consciously visible.

The Australian community celebrated at Federation was to be white Anglo-Saxon and a proud member of the British Empire. However, the evidence demonstrates a more complex less differentiated society. The marches were organised by a Croatian in Melbourne and Irish Catholics in Sydney. Weather reports for the Melbourne parade and medical support for the citizens of Sydney were supplied by Italians, and the establishment of the Federal Parliament in Melbourne was celebrated through a formal Italian *Conversazione*, while there was an Italian float in Sydney. Groups such as the Chinese were either patronised as token members of the wider community or feared due to their numbers, while at the same time their contribution to the new society was recognised through the Chinese arch and Chinese parade in Melbourne. The Federation of the nation had been partially planned in Chinese tea rooms in Sydney while Chinese social influence was informally acknowledged through the reliance upon their furniture, food supplies and eating establishments.[15]

Men from all levels of the community who were to be the constituent members of the new democracy were actively involved as both the participants and the organisers of the marches. Political dignitaries, the vice-regal representatives of course, military and police forces and working men were all proudly represented within both parades.[16] However, it is those who were missing from the marches who tell us as much about the kind of society that Australia hoped to build from the Federation of the nation. These groups existed as outsiders to some degree at the time, and certainly existed as shadows behind my later footstepping experience. Women, for example, hardly appeared to be represented at all in the parades. Apart from the Duchess of Cornwall and York, whose own position was essentially dependent upon that of her husband, and the female manikins on the Italian and Canadian cars, no other women were present as participants. No doubt the restrictive nature of women's fashions of the time goes a long way to explaining why they did not walk the full distances of the parades, although by contrast,

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written outlets can be limited in their sources and consequently unrepresentative in the opinions they express.

[15] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 178. Davison states that "The Chinese in particular constituted a separate market from the rest of the [furniture] trade, marked off by their disregard for European standards of wages, hours, conditions and prices." However, as mentioned, European trades unions rarely supported the Chinese in attempting to improve their own conditions.

[16] *The Daily Telegraph*: 2 January 1901, p. 14.

women were conspicuously present in the throngs viewing the marches and in those assembled for the Centennial Park ceremony after the Sydney march.[17]

However, in the case of the Melbourne march at least, there was a serious proposal to include a Women's Arch.  "At the conclusion of the citizen's committee yesterday, Miss L White, who originated in a letter published in *The Age*, the idea of a women's arch, introduced a deputation of ladies to the Mayor."[18]  There was initially considerable confidence in the raising of the necessary £500 from the women of Victoria for such a structure.  However, by the next week, the project appeared to have been taken over by senior female civic leaders in Melbourne, and the less substantial £100 that had already been raised was transferred into financing a new ward for the Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital.[19]  While it may have been understandable that a women's leader such as Mary Elizabeth Chomley, a Red Cross Society worker who would later work in London supporting wounded soldiers during the First World War, should be behind the move, it seems strange that Ida Goldstein, feminist, mother of activist Vida Goldstein, and a staunch campaigner for women's suffrage would have agreed to forgo such an opportunity to promote the cause.[20]

Moreover, despite at least one fifth of the workforce by this time being female,[21] women workers were also not included in the trades sections of the parades.  At a certain level the fact that women were working, or having to work, was increasingly at odds with the middle-class ideal of gendered domesticity that had gathered momentum during the second half of Queen Victoria's reign.[22]  Notwithstanding the fact that both families and industries themselves were often dependent upon a female workforce, the aim of the labour movement was increasingly centred on the principle of giving all men the

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[17] This is clearly evident in the photographic evidence of the time.

[18] *The Age*: 12 March 1901, p. 5.

[19] *The Age*: 22 March 1901, p. 5.  " I [Lady Sargood] will have much pleasure in asking the ladies who have so generously promised and subscribed upwards of £100 towards the erection of a triumphal arch to her Royal Highness, if they are agreeable to hand over their subscriptions to your fund."

[20] Wilde, Hooton, Andrews: *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1985-1994, p. 320.

[21] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901-1908*, No.2, pp. 544-547.  Note that certainly from Federation well over one quarter of the workforce in manufacturing was female. In 1903, 149,246 males and 46,564 females were employed in manufacturing industries.

[22] *The Australian Women's Weekly*: 27 November 1968, p. 2.  Note Dr Jean Battersby's quote from the 1966 Commonwealth Census stating that 26.6% of married women worked.  Granted that there were far greater restrictions on married women in public service employment a century ago, it still seems ironic to boast that female employment in the 1960s was essentially the same as it had been at Federation.

opportunity to support their families.[23]  The Harvester Judgement of 1907 and the Fruit

Pickers' Case of 1912 would certainly later enshrine this ideal through the concept of

the basic wage.[24] While Davison quotes Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* to the

effect that "the consumption habits of the middle class were mainly directed towards the

maintenance of 'the lady of the house' in a state of conspicuous abstention", the reality

often appeared to apply more in theory than in practice.[25]  Working class families still

typically relied upon the wages of both parents.  There were occupations apart from

domestic service, such as nursing, teaching and clerical work, where women were

considered to be suited, although those in the public service were expected to resign

upon marriage.  On one level, their work was deemed to be socially significant, and

even essential, although it was also the lower wages paid to women, and their

supposedly more malleable temperaments that made them attractive to employers.  Even

then, as Melanie Raymond points out in her discussion of female industrial action at the

Guest Biscuit factory in the 1890s, in practice this was not always the case.[26]  However,

it was the hard physical labour undertaken by men in earning their living that was

lauded and represented in the marches and by the arches that the participants passed

underneath.[27]  In certain instances, the position of women actually retreated.  As

Raelene Francis and Bruce Scates have noted; "In 1901 women had won equal pay in

the new Federal public service.  [Consequently] women who held responsible positions

in the Victorian postal service were relegated to the lowest position and could no longer

sit the public service examination for 1902."[28]


Interestingly, factory inspection was apparently still deemed suitable for women.

Cuthbertson mentions the *Victorian Government Gazette* as early as 1894 advertising

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[23] *The Dawn*: 1 January 1903, p. 12.  "Numbers of young women having no male supporters went to work, earning as much as 9s and 10s per week.  With this they have to cover all their own expenses and help at home."  The issue raised by Tom Mann was part of the push to extend the franchise from Australia to Britain so that women were to vote to improve their economic standing.  *The Australian Women's Weekly*: 27 November 1968, p. 2. "And once again Dr Battersby touched on another source of tension, the Australian disapproval of working wives and their resultant sense of guilt."  Perhaps this attitude in the *Weekly* was more class based. I recall little sense of guilt over working wives in Newtown and Marrickville.

[24] Mark Hearn and Greg Patmore: *Working the Nation – Working Life and Federation 1890-1914*, p. 38. "The Harvester Judgment."

[25] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 201.

[26] Raelene Francis and Bruce Scates: *Women, Work and the Labor Movement in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand*, 2006, pp. 123-132.

[27] Helen Irving: *To Constitute a Nation – a Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, chapt. 10.

[28] Raelene Francis and Bruce Scates: *Women, Work and the Labor Movement in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand*, 2006, p. 113.

for "Female Inspectors of Factories."[29]  Although obviously intended to cover the inspection of "all factories, shops, work-rooms, dressmaking and millinery establishments, where females are employed; to report on the sanitary arrangements, hours of labour, remuneration etc," the advertisement inadvertently hints at the range of occupations utilising females, and the large numbers of women employed in the decade leading up to Federation.[30]  Perhaps the attitude to working women was analogous to that towards non-British migrants, in that on the one hand society feigned opposition and even attempted to enact legislation to prevent or preclude female employment,[31] while on the other hand accepting the reality of the practical need for many women to have financial income and many industries to be reliant upon either women's skills or simply their (cheaper) presence in understaffed employment.  This being the case, there was also no representation of the importance of domestic womanhood in the parade. The composition of the two marches in Sydney and Melbourne thus contrasted with the make-up of the spectators actually watching both the parades, and even in the preparations for the week's events.  *The Argus* itself commented on the presence of women and even their offspring in assisting with assembling the parade infrastructure. "Women seemed to predominate, and babies were everywhere.  Oh!  What a blessing the stands at the Town-hall in Swanston Street, proved to be."[32]  And, as previously mentioned, women took a significant role in volunteering as first aid officers during the march.[33]

One other group notable for their absence from these two principal Federation parades were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People.  They were both physically and legally missing in that they were not included in the Constitution; a provision that remained in force until the 1967 referendum.[34]  Initially, those Aboriginal people who

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[29] Mark Hearn and Greg Patmore: *Working the Nation – Working Life and Federation 1890-1914*, p. 251. *The Adelaide Advertiser*: 6 February 1894, p. 5. Female inspectors for Victoria.  "The Government have decided to follow the practice inaugurated by the London County Council of having female inspectors of factories."

[30] Notably, the first International Women's Day rally in Australia calling for equal pay for equal work, an 8 hour day and annual leave did not take place until 28 March 1928.

[31] Mark Hearn and Greg Patmore: *Working the Nation – Working Life and Federation 1890-1914*, p. 258. "The fear that women would be taking men's jobs was based on the anxiety that they would undercut the basic wage. The Harvester Judgement entrenched the notion of the family breadwinner being a male worker, and thus undermined feminist campaigns for equal pay."  *The Adelaide Advertiser*: 16 October 1907. The Harvester Excise.

[32] *The Argus*: 3 May 1901, p. 5.

[33] *The Age*: 2 May 1901, p. 6. The pattern no doubt reflected the number of female medical practitioners in Collins Street at the time.

[34] John Rickard: *Australia – a cultural history*, p. 189.  "Aborigines could hardly be treated as immigrants, but, more tellingly, they could be ignored, their very existence almost expunged from the

had voted in South Australia, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania as well as women in South Australia and Western Australia voted in the first Federal Elections.[35] However, the Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 formalised both the vote for all Australian women, and disenfranchised all Aboriginal people, and it would not be until the Commonwealth Electoral Act was amended in 1962 that this right would return.[36]

Aboriginals however were not totally ignored during Federation celebrations. There was a significant Aboriginal Arch in Brisbane that was later viewed by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York.[37] The first of the Brisbane arches was a standard Royal Arch or Grand Arch that was described in a laudably parochial fashion to be "the best arch that has ever yet been constructed in Australia".[38] More significantly, the second remaining structure was the Aboriginal Arch, seeming to stand as a reflection of "Aboriginal culture and native Australiana". Apparently, two solid piers carefully covered with tea-tree bark, grass trees, stag horns and bird's nest ferns were each topped by a "typical aboriginal gunyah."[39] The piers were connected by an arch meant to represent bush covered rock ledges. As with the Coal Arch in Sydney, people were actually integrated into the arch presentation, with sixty Aboriginal men on the stepped piers and arch. Aboriginal men and women were also placed around the arch by Mr A Meston, the Queensland State Protector of Aborigines, who went to the effort of securing a quantity of tea-tree bark from Pialba near Hervey Bay to cover the wooden frame. These people were obviously not local, since they were brought to Brisbane especially for the event, and were camped at the sensitively named Woolloongabba Sports Ground.[40] *The Brisbane Courier* described the arch as "one of the most original and tasteful [sic] conceptions of the whole display."[41]

national consciousness. So the Constitution laid down that they should not be counted at the census as members of the Australian population."
[35] NSW State Archives: *Federation 1901-1914* online database, p. 1.
[36] Australian Electoral Commission: *History if the Indigenous vote* online database. "In March 1962 the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* was amended to provide that Indigenous people could enrol to vote in federal elections if they wished. Unlike other Australians it was not compulsory for them to enrol. It was also an offence for anyone to use undue influence or pressure to induce them to enrol. Once they enrolled, however, voting was compulsory."
[37] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 9. The Royal party had departed Melbourne on 18 May 1901, after the formal opening of Federal Parliament, and took "a quiet train journey of thirteen hundred miles" to Brisbane. During the two day excursion, the Duke and Duchess presented themselves to the populations of the towns and cities along the route, and arrived in Brisbane on the morning of Monday 20 May. They were then taken on a ceremonial tour through the city, passing the two arches that remained from the earlier January celebrations.
[38] *The Brisbane Courier*: 11 May 1901, p. 5.
[39] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, pp. 95, 97.
[40] *The Queenslander*: 4 May 1901, p. 872.
[41] *The Brisbane Courier*: 21 May 1901, p. 5.

This would appear to eloquently combine that mix of patronising condescension, overt racism and even inverted racism that has characterised much public opinion toward Australian Aboriginals over the last century.[42]  As Markus states, at the time of Federation Australia's original inhabitants were considered doomed to extinction.[43]  Only by the 1930s were welfare policies being considered, and as Markus also notes, it was the conservative John McEwan who, as Federal Minister for the Interior in 1939, stated that "the objective of government policy in the Northern Territory was the raising of the status of Aboriginals to enable them by right and qualification to the ordinary rights of citizenship."[44]

A further notable omission from the two Federation parades was any considerable representation from the business community.  To what degree were the Vice Regal representatives themselves regarded as bastions of the corporate and political establishment; or were they viewed as actually separate from this commercial world?[45]  Certainly with the more restricted power of the British monarchy, Queen Victoria appeared throughout the celebrations as a cherished figure head with little connection to the political world that had brought the Federation into being in the first place.  Business and political leaders were not necessarily so regarded, with Alfred Deakin's quote in the *Morning Post* quite telling.

> As anticipated by those behind the scenes, what may be termed the aristocratic side of the display was as great a failure as the democratic aspect of it was a success.  There was, for instance, no proper provision for the reception and accommodation of many of our most distinguished guests.  Partly owing to the unsuitable quarters provided some of them changed their lodgings, and, no record being kept of their new addresses, they were altogether lost to view. There was, again, nowhere any proper discrimination.  The official table of precedence was so much departed from that certain dignitaries refused

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[42] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies?* p.147. Note the opinion of the Communist Party of Australia in 1922: "The blacks are by no means as bad as they are painted."  Painted by whom?  As with the working class, women and non-British migrants, there has always existed the strange inability of fashionable opinion to regard those within such groups with calm balance and objectivity.  They are considered either far worse than reality would imply, or far better than reality would imply; often at the same time.

[43] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies?* p.145.

[44] Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus: *Who are our Enemies?* p.145.

[45] Paul Pickering: *Hearts of Millions – Chartism and Popular Monarchism in the 1840s*, History, vol. 88 issue 290 pp. 227-248. "Of course anti-parliamentary sentiments, calls for strong leadership or veneration for some supposed golden age were not necessarily anti-monarchical: Chartists said much the same in relation to past monarchs such as Alfred the Great and 'Good Queen Bess', Elizabeth I."

to join the procession.  The distribution of seats at the state banquet also produced innumerable heart burnings.  The crowds outside were admirably provided for; but the more official side of the proceedings was not quite the success that it might easily have been.[46]

As well as the Chamber of Manufactures' Column that was present in Collins Street Melbourne, Milne mentions that there had also been a Sydney Arch of Commerce and Manufacture initially proposed for the entrance to Randwick Road and Moore Park.[47] This was part of a planning exercise that would have seen the original parade march down Randwick Road, now Anzac Parade, and turn left at Cleveland Street to enter Centennial Park from the west, at what is now Federation Place.  Measurements indicate that this route's distance would have been identical to the two and a half kilometres from Taylor Square along the eventual Oxford Street route, although the marchers would have been tramping through open parkland, adjacent to the city's tip and zoo, rather than through the fashionable Eastern Suburbs.[48]

One other absent group that strikes the modern footstepper is that of the sportsman. Perhaps the far greater significance placed upon sporting personalities today is one social difference to the Australia of a century ago.  Sportsmen were of significance at the time, although not of the social standing to have been regarded as representative of the wider society.  Professional sports had evolved at the time with social changes such as Saturday afternoon recreation and the availability of public transport to and from events.  Football, cycling and boxing were all popular, although prior to the influence of the amateur ideal of the Olympic Games were also regarded as having a disreputable air about them.[49]  The modern notion of sport as an integral part of the wider community was more limited, with not even cricketers included in any of the parades, even though

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[46] *Cairns Morning Post*: 8 January 1901, p. 3.
[47] Tessa Milne: *Archways to Federation – The story of the Celebratory Arches of 1901*, p. 18.  This would have been located at the, then, aptly named Federation Place, where Anzac Parade (then Randwick Road) junctions with Cleveland Street and the now Lang Road.  The nomenclature of Federation Place and Federation Way has never, to my knowledge, been used for this location apart from on the NSW Government's Centennial Parklands on line guide.  Interestingly, the greatest historical claim to fame for this intersection is its setting next to Mount Rennie, the site of the infamous 1886 rape.
[48] Gregory's: *Sydney Street Directory 1934,* maps 7, 8.
[49] Gordon Cheers: *Australia Through Time*, p. 145.

Federation sporting events were held in the evenings and on the weekends of the Federation celebrations.[50]


## THE IMAGINED AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY

What have we learned about this Australian community that was being imagined at the time? In particular, what have we learned by footstepping that may have been previously overlooked or even ignored? How have this methodology and the results of my investigation added to the historical record of the time?

There did appear to have been a dichotomy in feelings towards the nation's British heritage in terms of practical and cultural support which was evident through both the respect accorded to Queen Victoria and the notable presence of the military. As mentioned, on the one hand, there was the proud expression of being a member of the largest empire and most dominant culture in the world, but at the same time, a sense of being an endangered outpost of this culture. While this may appear to embody contradictions, at the time of Federation people did not consider this to be the case. Here Ernesto Laclau's evaluation of Benedict Anderson's sense of community is revealing.

> Let's put it bluntly; a national community is not one whose particularism excludes all
> kinds of universal reference, but one whose relation between universality and
> particularity is negotiated in a different way than the communities claiming to be
> strictly universal…in the case of the national community – and in other comparable
> cases – the limits of the community – i.e. its difference from other communities –
> determine what the community actually is.[51]

The community is limited in this degree, but not limited in the variety and inclusiveness that it can encompass. The concept of a newly Federated nation expressing a new level of independence thus did not exclude reverence for the British monarchy. If anything, it

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[50] *The Sydney Morning Herald*: 1 January 1901, p. 3. "Monster Swimming Carnival and Highland Gathering." *The Age*: 11 May 1901, p. 11. Note that there was even a Commonwealth Challenge Cup for Greyhounds.

[51] Peng Cheah and Jonathan Culler: *Grounds of Comparison – around the world of Benedict Anderson*, pp. 27-28. "Communities in a globalised world constantly oscillate within this set of contradictory possibilities, where ethnocentric universalism or particularisms are always possible, but where a universal assertion of national and cultural diversity is also a non-excluded alternative."

increased it as a form of sentimental unification, as well as a more pragmatic source of protection for the newly unified but still isolated country.  The newly created Australia thus appeared both united but also proudly imperial.  This was not just a reflection of the press but appeared genuine throughout most of the population.  The enthusiasm for all things British and the enthusiasm even for Britain's foreign wars (and later of course, the First World War) indicated an underlying need to be a part, and to be seen to be a part, of an empire that was still the strongest political force in the world.

What was therefore evident through footstepping the Federation parades was the greater fluidity over time in the political and cultural ideals expressed by the general population.  What is seen from the distance of a century as the confusion of continual changeability in attitudes and politicking in both the lead up to Federation and its expression through the parades, may well have been a population constantly reacting to circumstances at the time, without feeling that they need to justify themselves to a later sense of historical logic.  One could argue that the lack of constancy and consistency on the part of leaders such as Henry Parkes and George "yes/no" Reid was the very adaptable change and compromise that was eventually to result in wide enough community support for Federation for it to be democratically accepted.[52]

The same flexibility of opinion reflected the immediacy of contact with non-British members of the community, resulting in the conscious recognition of issues that migrant groups raised in the community as well as the recognition of the benefits and even the essentials that such migrants also supplied.   This meant that the wide-ranging dismissal or acceptance of views that characterises modern discourse appeared rare.  I would argue that modern attitudes tend to be borne of cultural distance and isolation from the actual positioning of cultural issues, and this was not the case a century ago.  If attitudes towards the creation of a newly Federated nation were limited in the degree to which they were reported at the time, and in how we therefore interpret them today, then it should be possible to widen an understanding of the opinions presented on national and cultural acceptance.  Will a student of history in a century's time be footstepping the streets of Auburn and Richmond to uncover attitudes and posit opinions that are not

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[52] That the Australian Republican Movement a century later adopted the narrower focus of only one restricted and restrictive convention, followed by only the one "take it or leave it" referendum perhaps indicates that we have not learned that much from history.

being presented in the media of today, and which are overlooked by current commentators?

Opinions on what constituted membership of even Anglo-Australian society varied then, as it does now. While the national tenor appeared strongly pro-Australian, there was a practical transience with many avowed nationalists and republicans still returning back to mother Britain. This tendency also reflects the importance of the financial imperative behind their original emigration to Australia. If emigration was the result of the threat of political or religious persecution in the old country, there would have been less of an interest in returning "home". Financial pressure, however, placed additional pressure onto the immigrants, and would no doubt have driven their desire to improve themselves within the developing democratic process, rather than undermining it. If the newly arrived did not better themselves socially and financially, then there would appear to have been little point emigrating in the first place.[53] Since this was reflected at all levels of society, Federation also symbolised a widening of the concept of radicalism amongst the nascent labour movement. Workers appeared more inclined to want power over the means of production and gain influence over the political system rather than overthrow it. While Australia was becoming regarded as a better Britain in everyday practical terms, what came across through both the press and my experience of footstepping the marches was that Australia was still not regarded as comparable to the real Britain, at least by those who viewed their position culturally. The nation was British, but perhaps less of England than of an "England of the imagination".[54]

Australia therefore quickly adopted the advanced technology of the time, with metal casting, iron building frames and large scale water supply systems. However, due to population size limitations, engineers were often unable to fully develop their ideas in economic terms. While defence and racial fears are often advanced as the reasons behind the desire to expand the population, the simple financial imperative to improve economies of scale would also have been equally important.[55] This interconnectedness with the rapid adoption of modern technology was also mirrored in the general Australian population then as it is today. As a nation populated primarily by free

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[53] As noted by the previously mentioned numbers of those returning to Britain as a result of the 1890s Depression.

[54] Hence the attraction of those who continued (and continue) to go "home".

[55] In a situation that exists to this day, industries that do not have a level of government support find it difficult to compete with mass production from overseas.

settlers, Australia naturally selected for those who looked to the future. Were Australians, by the nature of their settlement, primed to look to the potential with all its possibilities, and less inclined to dwell on a real or imagined past? Certainly the arches themselves would indicate so. Not only did they generally consist of the most modern construction techniques, even allowing for their classical and traditional style, but their very temporality hinted at a society anxious to look more to the future.

This subconscious sense of the temporary therefore reflected a wider national characteristic evident even today.[56] There are still few significant permanent markers indicating that Federation had taken place, while attempts at the time to engender a physical sense of permanence to the celebrations proved singularly ineffective. Although apparently planned to be permanent, the Commonwealth Arch in Park Street Sydney remained a most temporary structure, as was the Municipal Arch on Princes Bridge in Melbourne. The Centenary Arch erected in 2001 on Princes Bridge appeared to do little to inspire commemoration, and while the central location of Federation Square does give a sense of presence to the concept, I doubt whether those generally young folk attending events there ever stop to ponder the significance of the Federation that the square commemorates. Apart from some markers in the footpath and a couple of forlorn trees, there is little else to draw one's attention to the cultural intention behind the site. As previously mentioned, Sydney's own Federation Square, created at the intersection of Randwick Road, Cleveland Street and Lang Road has hardly ever been used and certainly was not listed as such even in the 1934 Sydney Road Directory. Plans for a permanent memorial, either at the time, or more recently for the centenary of Federation, have not been inspiring, with the most impressive commemoration, the pavilion in Centennial Park, notable for having been built at the wrong time.

What was, however, noticeable footstepping around both cities were the number of statues presented as examples of very permanent public art. This could be construed as both an expression of political power, based on their subject matter, but also, by their very existence and perceived significance, a reflection on the more communal nature of the society. The public art in both bronze and stone statuary was certainly of a

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[56] Apperly, Irving, Reynolds: *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, p. 260. Glenn Murcutt 1995, *Touch the Earth Lightly* online database. It is interesting that the Australian architect Glenn Murcutt has presented the ideal of "touching the earth lightly." Is this temporality and unwillingness to lay a solid foundation into the ground, either architecturally or structurally with a permanent arch, a reaction to this unresolved issue?

traditional classical form, with some of the bronze figures being copies of overseas originals and having to be cast with some difficulty in the less than mass industrial culture. Architectural styles have appeared to follow the international or empire fashion of the time, although up to Federation these reflected, and were more restricted by, the locally available materials. Davison describes the effect of the rapid growth of Melbourne, in particular, prior to Federation: "The buildings of Melbourne are perhaps a better guide to its citizens' aspirations than their cultural achievements."[57] He goes on to point out that, "Melbourne's architecture bespoke a preoccupation with metropolitan and even imperial aspirations, shamelessly aping the classical modes of Greece, Rome and Renaissance Italy."[58] However, the city, like others around the empire was really only aping the same style, if not the slower development, of other major cities in Europe and America.

Culturally, the nation also continued to uphold the long held mythology of the bush ideal, notably expressed in the Stockman's parade in Melbourne. However, the city reality of an urban based industrial working nation was demonstrated through the major parades themselves and even their organisation. While some arches noted the importance of agricultural enterprise, the two Federation marches actually presented themselves as a celebration of the city life that had evolved in Australia in a relatively short period of time. Although writers such as Paterson, Lawson and Dennis critiqued the experience of the industrial city, in the reality of their everyday existence, they themselves continued to live the urban life.[59]

Thus, although race was evident as a defining characteristic of the period, the issue of social class appeared equally significant. While the staunch upright and responsible working class was an integral a part of the marches and the celebrations, the underclass denizens of Little Lon' and Wexford Street were, in many respects, more isolated than the Chinese. They did not have an arch or a formal role in the parades. As with the plague areas above Darling Harbour in Sydney, they were by-passed both physically and culturally. The newly federated Australian society thus appeared to express varying degrees of racial and cultural tolerance and intolerance, with opinions toward its non-British members being determined as much by acceptability or unacceptability on the

[57] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 233.
[58] Graeme Davison: *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, 1978, p. 233.
[59] Even Henry Lawson, born as he was in rural poverty, constantly returned to Sydney and ended his days living in inner city urban poverty.

part of members of these groups as by any overt racism on the part of the host nation. Whether it was a political threat from another developing European nation such as Germany, a financial and quality of life threat from the Chinese, or a health and physical threat from a white underclass, there was little attempt to mask attitudes that were obviously felt to be understandable at the time.

Religious tolerance, to a degree, was also evident as part of this imagined community although generally within the confines of Christianity. The newly imagined Australia was to be secular but still nominally Christian, so that despite sectarianism, British and Christian also included Irish and Catholic to a greater degree than would have been the case in England;[60] with a practical accommodation that appeared more social and political than doctrinaire. The only other religious buildings that appeared close to the marches were Jewish Synagogues. The large Central Synagogue in Elizabeth Street Sydney and the smaller but impressive Synagogue in Bourke Street Melbourne were either passed, or would certainly have been noticed, by the marchers. There were no mosques in either city, while Chinese temples or "Joss Houses" in the internal Little Bourke Street would have been no doubt considered quaint attractions (or moral threats through the presence of opium) rather than religious institutions. The Chinese religion itself appeared to be accepted as part of their culture, partly because its insular and non-evangelical nature meant that it was not a threat to the outside community.[61] What was, however, noticeable in both Wexford Street in Sydney and the Chinese Quarter of Melbourne was the degree to which the Chinese adopted Western Christian institutions. Many of the Protestant denominations were present through specifically Chinese churches, although these were also in districts bypassed by the marches. Their smaller size would have put them outside both the conscious and subconscious consideration of the march organisers and participants.

This then linked in with the most significant aspect of racial and cultural acceptance. The parades presented an Australia that was financially and culturally aspirational,[62] and consequently any group that would threaten this aspiration had to be controlled or

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[60] Although still a figure of mockery and fun, the Irish Catholics (as most Catholics were) were finding a place in society that they would not have attained back in either England or Ireland. Although still under-represented per head of population, the situation was changing, and those in government appeared to suffer little discrimination on the basis of race or religion.

[61] That Christianity should be allowed to proselytise throughout China appeared not to be considered in conflict with this notion, although of course many Chinese expressed this conflict through the Boxer Rebellion.

[62] This, again, was one of the prime reasons why people came out to Australia in the first place.

expelled. Cultural and racial differences were tolerated while ever the numbers of outsiders did not present a threat. Hence, Italians, Germans and Jews were perceived as different and often sources of amusement, but were also accepted within the community, while the potential numbers of Chinese, rather than Chinese people themselves were the threat. I uncovered the roles that Italian, Croatian and Chinese people played, not only in the actual celebrations themselves but in the wider community of the time, to the degree that placing one's life in the hands of Italian doctors, Chinese cooks, Italian weather forecasters, and purchasing items from Chinese and Jewish retailers were treated as a normal part of everyday life. Even the employing of Italian masons such as Tomaso Sani to carve the façade on the new General Post Office, the most prestigious new building in the city, was seen as taking advantage of the traditional skill of a local resident who happened to be non-British.

What was evident from comparing the footstepping of the actual routes of the two parades with the legislation introduced by the governments of the day was this disparity between the formal attitudes expressed towards non-British members of the community and the way these people were actually regarded and treated by this community. Articles, media reports and the formal written word that the footstepper relied on to provide the skeleton of the investigation were all expressing one point of view, while the actual experience of footstepping through the thick description of the routes themselves was presenting a society with a far more relaxed attitude to everyday living with the same varying cultural groups.

REFLECTION

As well as adding to the historical record, I also considered how my thesis might add to historical practice and the research process. If the distinctive methodology of footstepping through the process of re-enacting and getting inside specific episodes does provide a valid analysis of the two major Federation parades, then to what degree can it be replicated for historical studies of other historical events? The test of its real effectiveness would be not only whether it was possible to evaluate these two particular events in two specific cities, and determine the attitudes of the nation to the non-British members of the community in its midst, but whether footstepping could be adapted to

analyse other overlooked aspects of one's own culture and aspects of other and even unknown cultures.

All history is subjective to the degree that it must choose specific instances and specific aspects of these instances in order to relate a coherent story. Every part of even a small event cannot be recorded, let alone retold; therefore there is always an element of choice and refinement in deciding what evidence to use. In the case of Sydney my discrimination was influenced by memory and cultural knowledge interacting with the formal methodology, while my analysis of Melbourne centred on a reliance on the written record that has always traditionally formed the foundation of, and has also limited, historical interpretation. While it became obvious the degree to which historians are still dependent upon written records, such records do not have to be the only source of historical evidence. They can serve to introduce aspects of social culture that can then be expanded through processes such as footstepping.

The written record of course is still the foundation upon which such history is conveyed once it has been researched. Even oral history and storytelling can only become historically useful when they are written down and transposed from their original source. Cultures that do not employ a written text themselves are able to relay information from one generation to the next by often intricate oral traditions. However, this information remains locked within their culture, and remains at the level of myth and legend until it can be transposed into a wider framework and justified by external verification. In reality, there is no other method for laying down this foundation of historical information apart from the written word, even while we recognise its limitations and cultural restrictions. However, I believe that utilising a thick description of events can enable the historian to enter into historical episodes by accessing additional geographical, cultural and social information to amend these limitations and restrictions. This was the process employed in sociological terms by Ryle to describe the events in Marmusha in 1912 Morocco, and then later used by Geertz to further develop the concept of thick description. Holmes' practical process of footstepping further expanded this with a methodology of linking written records with the observations obtained by traversing the locations of these events. While my methodology was limited in that it also confirmed that literary sources still need to form the backbone of the historical research process, the degree to which footstepping supplemented these records, did appear practical and successful.

One obvious example of this within my thesis was within the Little Lonsdale Street district of Melbourne. I was already familiar with the works of C J Dennis, with knowledge of the existence of the district and its relation to similar areas within the Sydney of 1901. However, when walking the site and noting what remained, and what was consciously and even unconsciously commemorated, this created a link with the Chinese Little Bourke Street area that was both closer to the route of the Federation parade but also less known to me at the time. The fact that the cultural isolation of the social class represented around Little Lon' contrasted with the acceptance (to some degree) of the Chinese community through their own arch and later parade, demonstrated that it was not race per se that was going to be the determining factor in the newly imagined nation created through Federation.

In practical terms, this footstepping methodology would appear to have two distinct applications. On the one hand, it would be and has always been, essential in those fields of historical study where there is no other option, where there are no written or other historical records in existence. Much anthropology, human evolution and pre-history studies consider human communities that have not handed down any written or even oral record. Consequently, all that is left are material remains in the locations where it is supposed that these communities lived. In many of these instances, the physical environment itself has changed over time to a far greater degree than central Sydney and Melbourne, so the imaginative aspects of re-enactment become an even more significant component of footstepping.

There are also areas of historical study which, by their nature, have not had a great number of written records assembled at the time. Industrial and migrant history and heritage can often only be approached through the footstepping process. Manufacturing industries usually retain formal written business records but these rarely include the physical environment experienced by the people who worked in these industries. Photographs of streetscapes in the inner west of Sydney, for example, show the large factories that once employed thousands of people during the nation's industrial boom. However, only by walking around the districts does it become obvious the degree to which geographical and cultural factors influenced the process. Flat land, for example that was prone to flooding and hence restricted for housing often became prime industrial real estate. This development was then made possible through an extended

public transport system, whereby the railways and tramways that enabled workers to travel to and from their place of employment, also facilitated the raw materials to be brought into the factories, and finished products removed for consumption. These are now often only visible through a physical investigation of their remnants within the district.[63]

However, limitations also became evident through the application of thick description to footstepping. The shortcomings of imaginative re-enactment are understandable, with the risk of relying totally upon imagination and therefore "over guessing" and creating totally false interpretations. Becoming reliant upon physical resources such as maps and photographs and even written records for interpretation can therefore ameliorate this, and was the foundation of Richard Holmes development of literary footstepping in the first place. Where the historian has previous knowledge of a site, personal recollections can assume a greater than expected influence on analysis, while the interpretation of sites where there is no previous personal experience can come to reflect the often limited written opinions that the footstepping process attempts to circumvent in the first place.

In summary, the Australian nation may have federated partly to protect itself from the Chinese hordes, but it also celebrated with a Chinese arch and parade. It may have restricted southern Europeans and looked askance at German immigrants but relied upon the food produced by Chinese, Greek, Italian and German farmers. The nation that, through the two parades, proclaimed itself as the workingman's paradise was reliant upon women as factory workers and even their social support for the parades; and the nation that lauded the staunch common man, owed much of its ever developing standard of living to the enterprise of individuals. A society that was consciously creating a modern, independent, secular community also appeared subconsciously spiritually and emotionally attached to its British heritage, British monarch and an all pervasive, almost inadvertent Christianity. And all this existed within an urban community that happily relished a bushman mythology that even then was really the experience of only a small section of the rural population. One could say that Australia saw itself as egalitarian, but within certain limitations. To paraphrase George Orwell; all Australians were equal, but some were more equal than others. Subconsciously, the

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[63] This is now often undertaken through either direct footstepping, or through the often invaluable indirect "footstepping" of aerial reconnaissance.

parades appeared to present an ethereal ideal in that federated Australia was to be modern and industrial, socially progressive, tolerant and religiously orthodox in theory; but primarily practical, aspirational and communal.

All this became evident through the practical application of footstepping and analysed through a thick description of the two Federation parades; a methodology that I believe could prove invaluable as an adjunct to traditional historical enquiry.  Perhaps the grounding of such research in the physical experience of society will enable future generations to create imagined communities that more accurately reflect the reality of the experience of all social members. Such footstepping is thus a valid exercise to undertake, but also as an adjunct to other primary and secondary sources of evidence, with written reports still being required to put this more practical process into context.

The methodology also lends itself to a further wider adaption, be it analysing other aspects of Australian history and society, or expanding into international fields of research beyond the literary form that Richard Holmes himself has already established. While this has already been done in a format for popular entertainment such current performances tend to relate less to a formal reference base, being under the limitation of a brief presentation window.   I believe that by following a more prescribed historical methodology, the technique of footstepping expanded through the interpretive analysis of thick description can provide valuable insights into cultures that may be previously known to the historian, exist as unknown aspects of their own society and nation, or even belong to totally foreign and international communities.   Such an academic approach would, in this case, be quite reliant upon the footstepping process and local records where they exist, with fewer preconceptions on the part of the historian.

While footstepping does not answer all historical questions and cover all historical issues, and often does not cope with the issues of the individual and biographical as opposed to the communal and historical, it is where practical, an essential component of the historical process.  I would go as far as to say that an academic investigation without both footstepping the location of the historical event, and without analysing this location through a process of thick description can therefore be considered to be somewhat lacking.

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# FOOTSTEPPING TO FEDERATION

An alternative approach to analysing Australian Society at the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

## SYDNEY FEDERATION PARADE
## PHOTOGRAPH BOOKLET VOLUME 1

Eric Carpenter

# SYDNEY MARCH
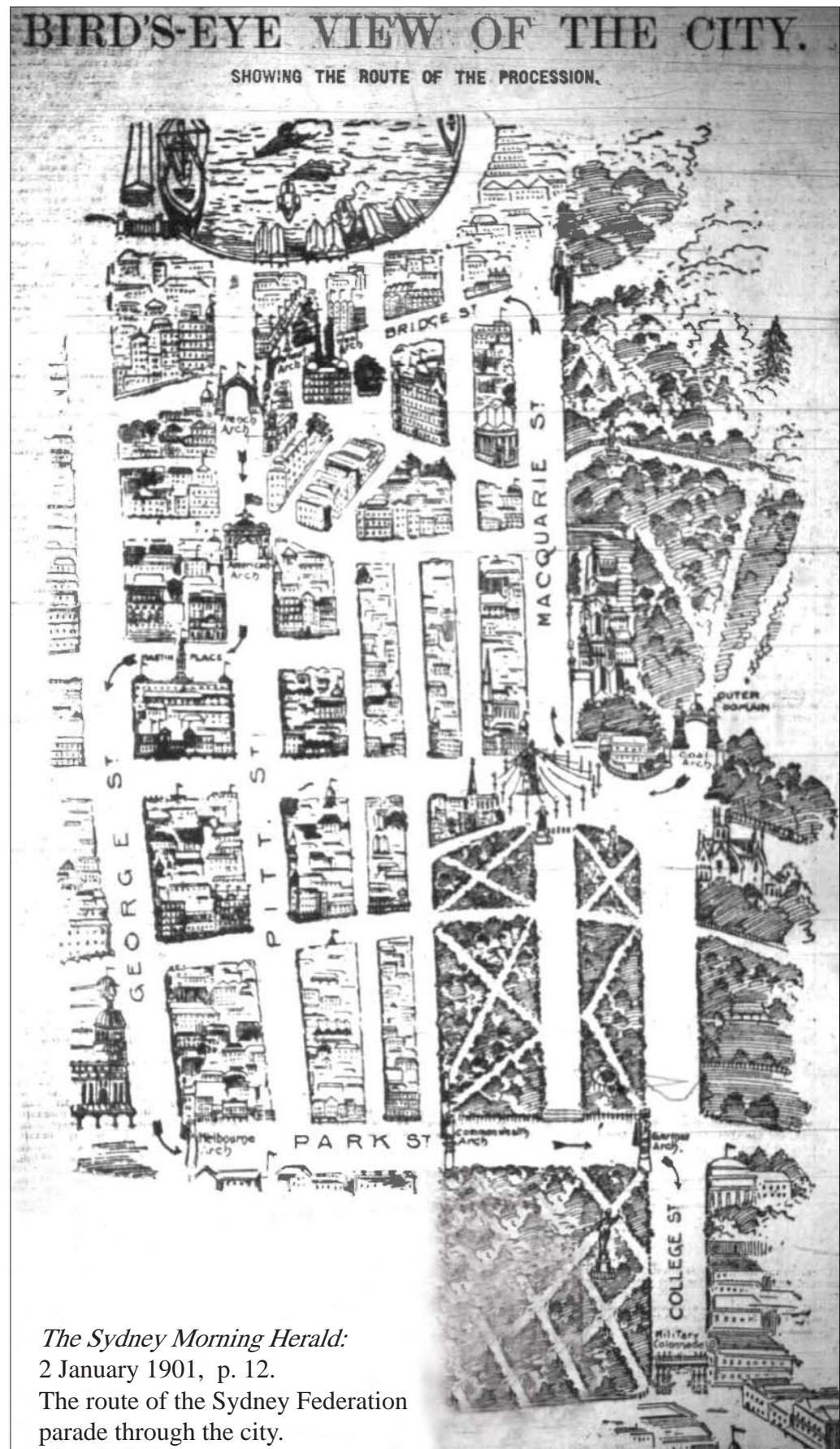


**BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY.**
SHOWING THE ROUTE OF THE PROCESSION.

*The Sydney Morning Herald:*
2 January 1901, p. 12.
The route of the Sydney Federation
parade through the city.

# 1. ARRIVAL IN SYDNEY

THE ROUTE OF THE PROCESSION.

1107.
Sydney's Land Titles Office exemplifies the elegant possibilities of the local sandstone, and is typical of structures that still domonate the eastern side of the city.
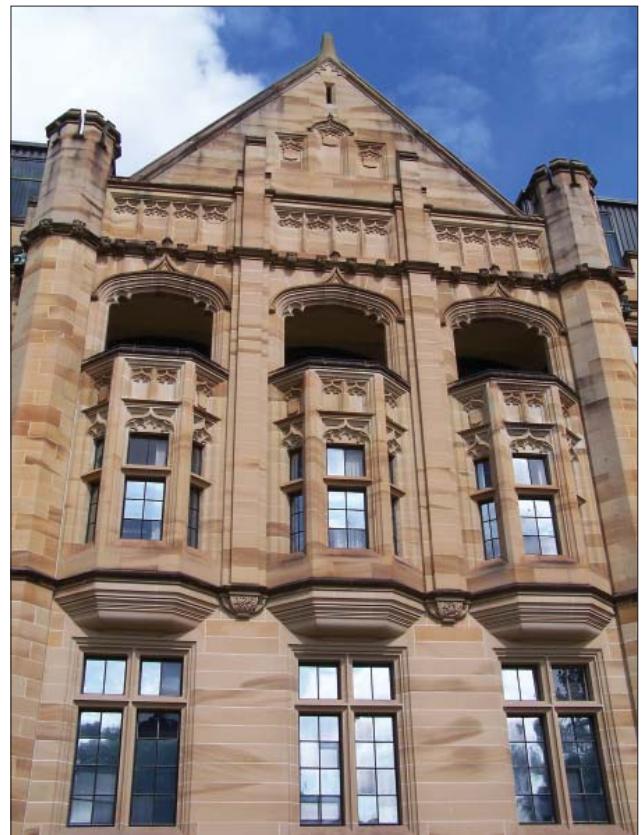
# 2.  COMMENCEMENT OF THE MARCH
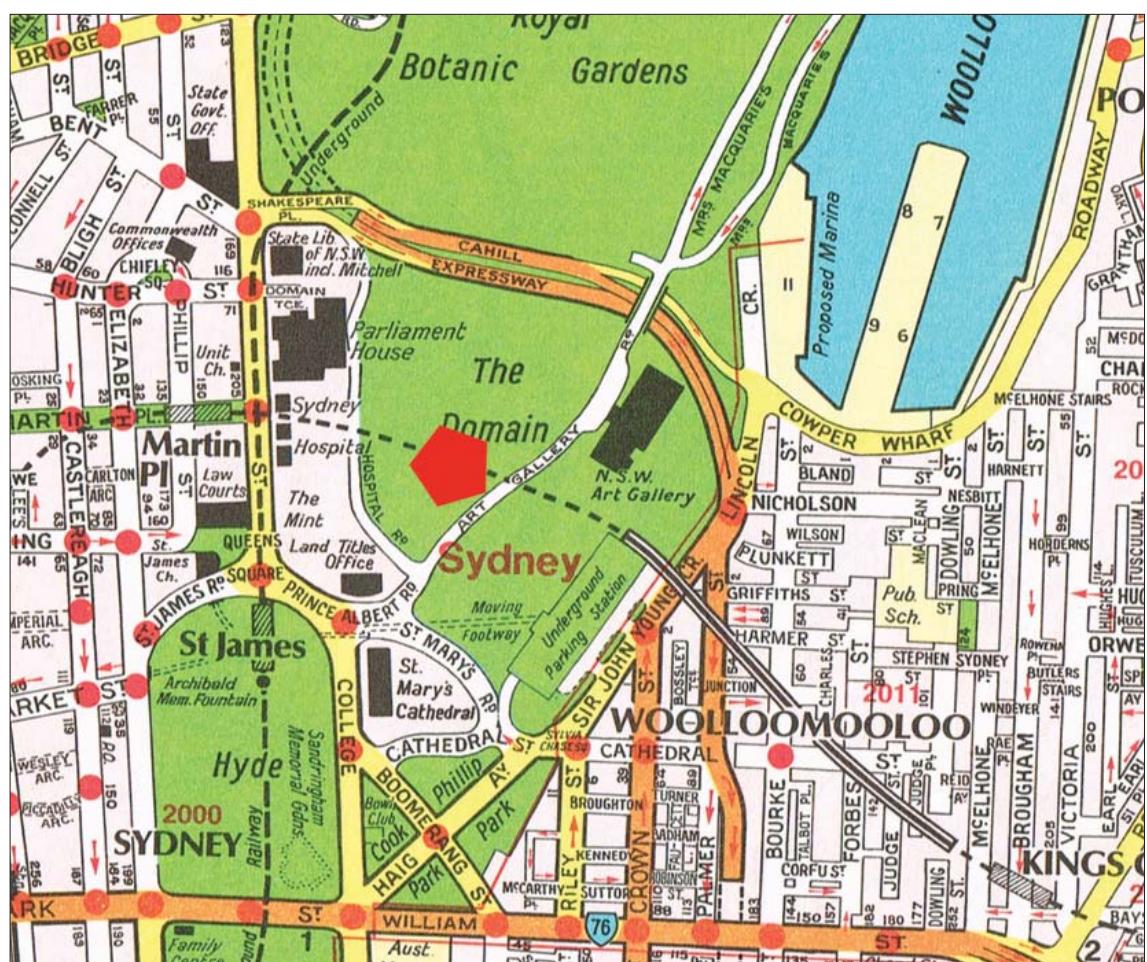
1105.
The State Art Gallery of NSW today.  It was on the field before this newly constructed institution that the Federation parade assembled prior to its 10:00am commencement on 1 January 1901.

1098.
The broad expanse of the Outer Domain, as it would have been in 1901. This was the most suitable location for assembling the huge number of march participants.  The large field still hosts major events such as rock concerts and Christmas carols by candlelight.

1101.

Robbie Burns on Art GalleryRoad, between the Art Gallery and the entry gates.

Although erected in 1905, a few years after Federation, Burns' romantic ideals of nationalism would have struck a chord, not only with Sydney's influential Scottish population.

1097.

The point where Prince Albert Road on the left, now joins the more recent Art Gallery Road on the right; which now goes out to Mrs Macquarie's Chair.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic an 13143006-8.
The Coal Arch in place near the Domain Gates in 1901.
Prince Albert Road was then the main thoroughfare through
the Domain.



1099.
The Coal Arch location today, looking back down the remnant Prince Albert Road into
the Domain. Note the degree to which the wide Moreton Bay fig trees bordering the
open spaces have grown over the road.

# 3.  RACE AND RELIGION

St Mary's Cathedral: *World Youth Day* database.
This modern aerial view of St Mary's Cathedral indicates its pre-eminent position even today. The vegetation would have been less obscuring a century ago as the march would have passed by the lower left, where the modern traffic lights control the intersection.

*Powerhouse Museum collection:* 239- 2429893881-422cff7.
View from St Mary's to Government House and Sydney Harbour. The partially constructed Art Gallery in the mid ground would date the image to around 1900. This view, with the still separated Garden Island in the background indicates the dominant position of the site.
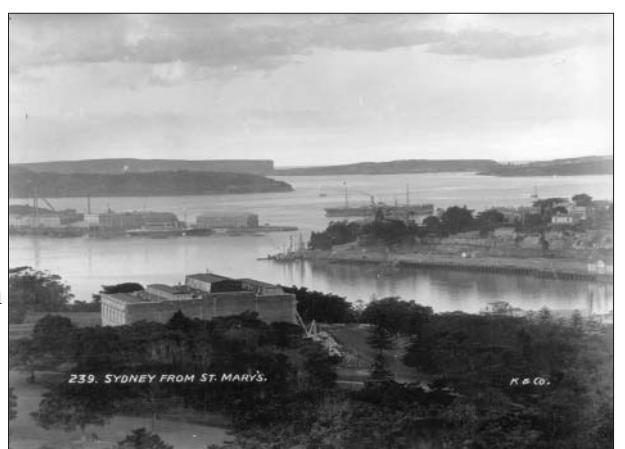
*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an 13148760-s42.
The Coal Arch location looking forward through an additional floral arch to St Mary's Cathedral. This structure commemorated the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York late in May 1901, on their return from the opening of the Federal Parliament in Melbourne. A century ago, there were fewer trees, and the road surface is indicative of horse transport rather than the later automobile.



1096.
Looking from Coal Arch site through the Domain Gates south to St Mary's Cathedral today. Note the current alignment visible through the overgrowth of vegetation.

1094.
The corner of St Mary's that had been completed in 1901, and where Archbishop Moran sat, presiding over his demonstartion at the passing parade.

*State Library of Victoria:* H21766 b52333.
St Mary's from Hyde Park in 1900, indicating the southern end and main entry yet to be constructed. The cathedral has long been the focal point for Sydney's influential Irish Catholic community.

1201.
Cardinal Moran now dominates the main southern entrance to St Mary's Cathedral, symbolically placing his blessing upon the modern city of Sydney.
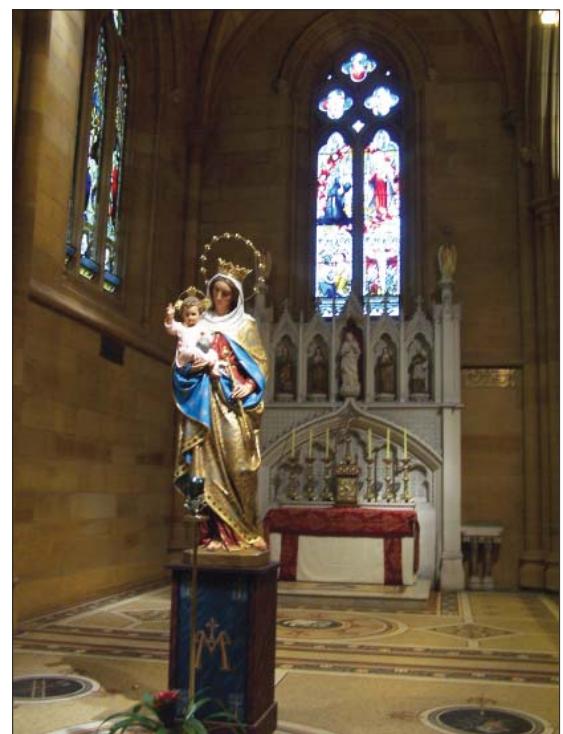


1091.
Statue of Australia's patron saint, St Mary, Help of Christians, in the western Chapel of the Sacred Heart in St Mary's Cathedral.

# 4.  CITY DEVELOPMENT
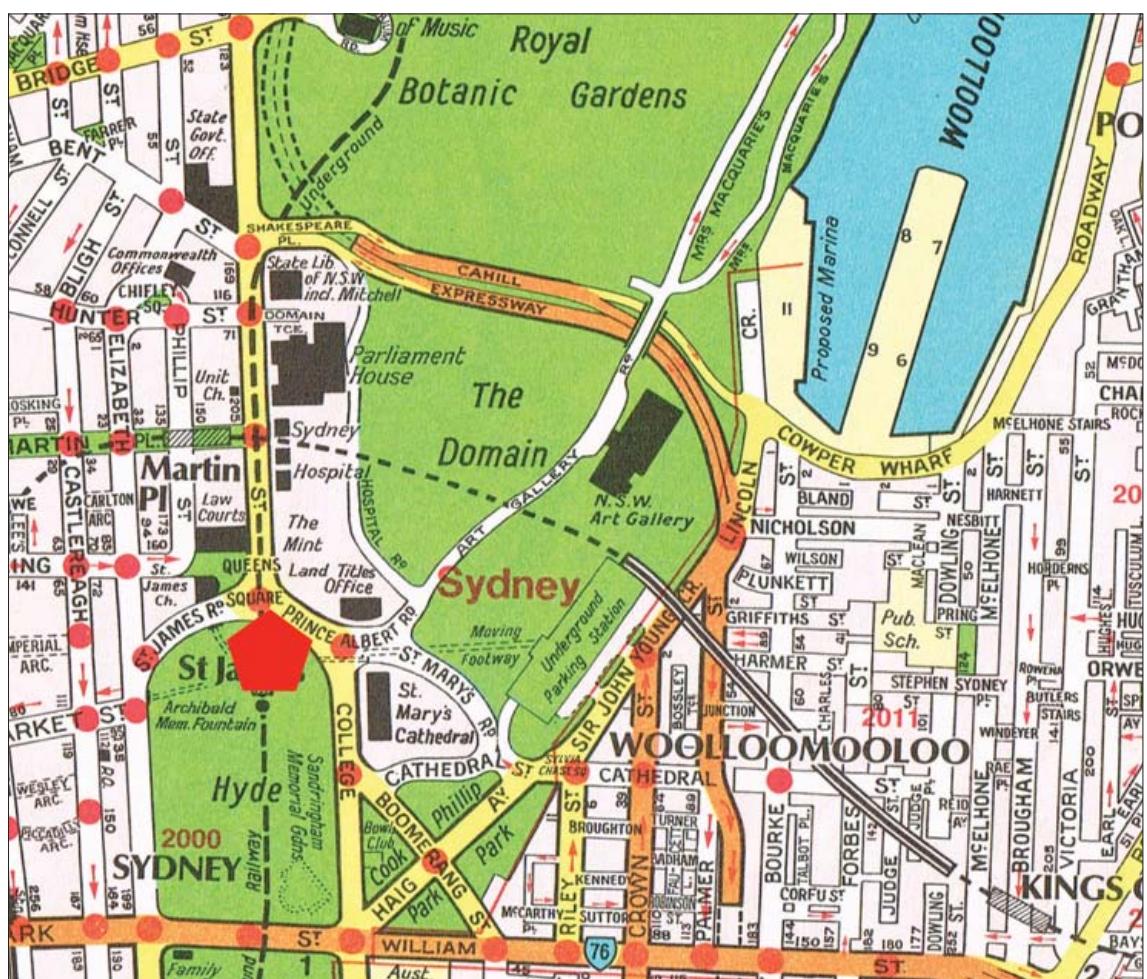
1110.
The drinking fountain at the junction of St Mary's Rd and Prince Albert Road. This was constructed by L Beveridge and donated to the city by Mayor John Hardie in 1884.

1411.
The other remaining Beveridge drinking fountain in Hyde Park. This facility is still used by young boys on their way to the Australian Museum and Sydney Boys' Grammar School in College Street.

1108.
Land Titles Office. At the time of
Federation, this was a mix of legal
offices, including the
Equity Court, Registrar of Pro-
bates and Intestate Estates Office,
and even the Master of Lunacy,
H F Barton.





Sydney Celebrates:
*One Destiny, The Federation Story* project.
Queen Victoria festooned with decorations
for the Federation celebrations. This is surely
indicative of the genuine warmth and affection
with which the monarch was held at the time.

*City of Sydney Libary:* 037/037156.
Queen's Square in 1900 looking west to St James's Church. Hyde Park is on the left and the Law Courts precinct to the right.



1114.
Queen's Square and Queen Victoria today. Having been moved to accommodate traffic expansions during the 1960s, and the establishment of pedestrian precincts in the 1990s, Her Majesty seems to have found a level of permanence. She has even turned to the left, if only to look back at St James, the hub of old Anglicanism, rather than previously glowering across at St Mary's Cathedral.

1111.
Hyde Park Barracks today.  By Federation, the military had moved out to Victoria Barracks, and this building was being used as the Metropolitan District Court.
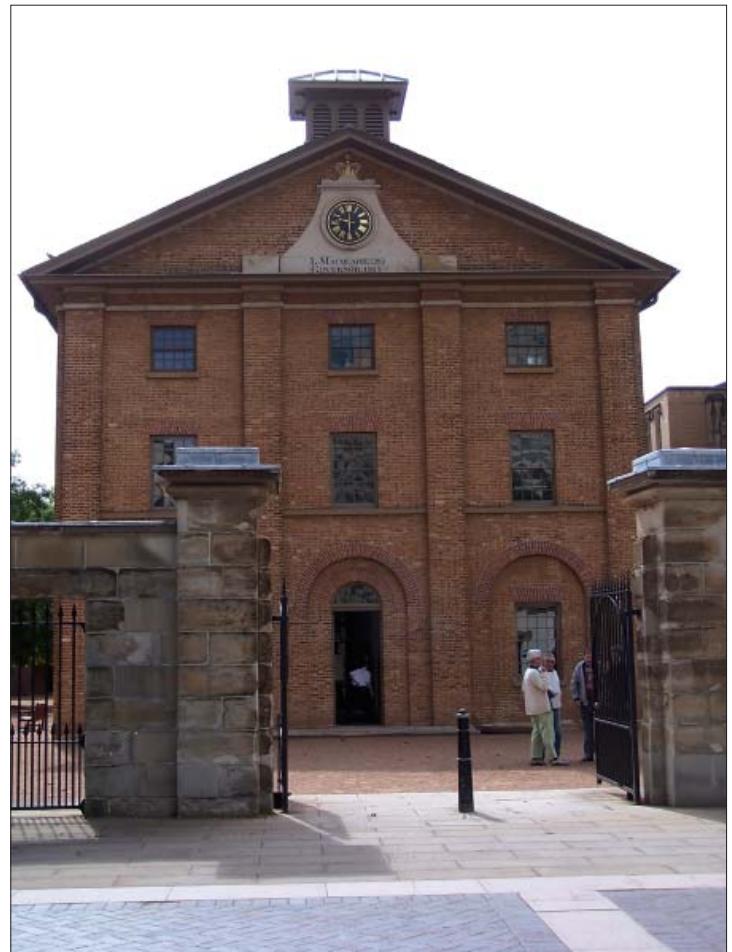


1116.
The local brickwork on the front of Francis Greenway's Barracks facing Macquarie Street. This is now one of the prime tourist attractions of the city.

# 5.  MACQUARIE STREET AND THE OLD CITY
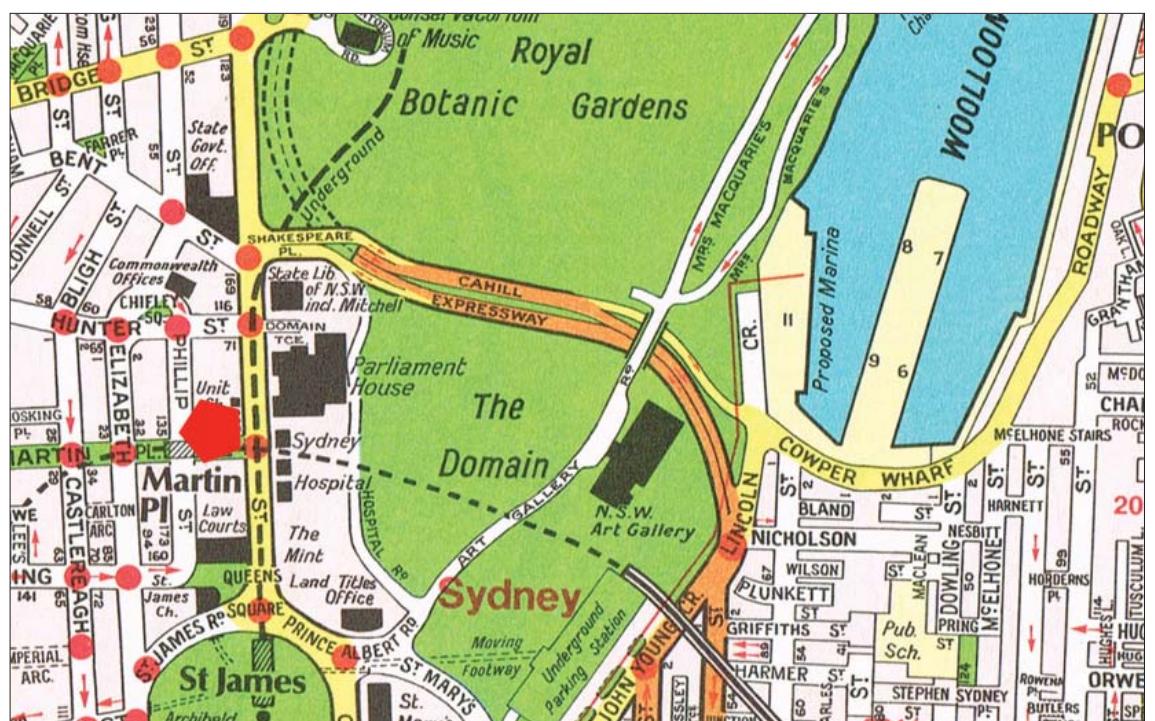
Sydney Celebrates: *One Destiny, The Federation Story* project.
The view looking down Macquarie Street in 1901 with the flags and
bunting for the parade. The original railings for the Mint are evident
on the right of the photograph.
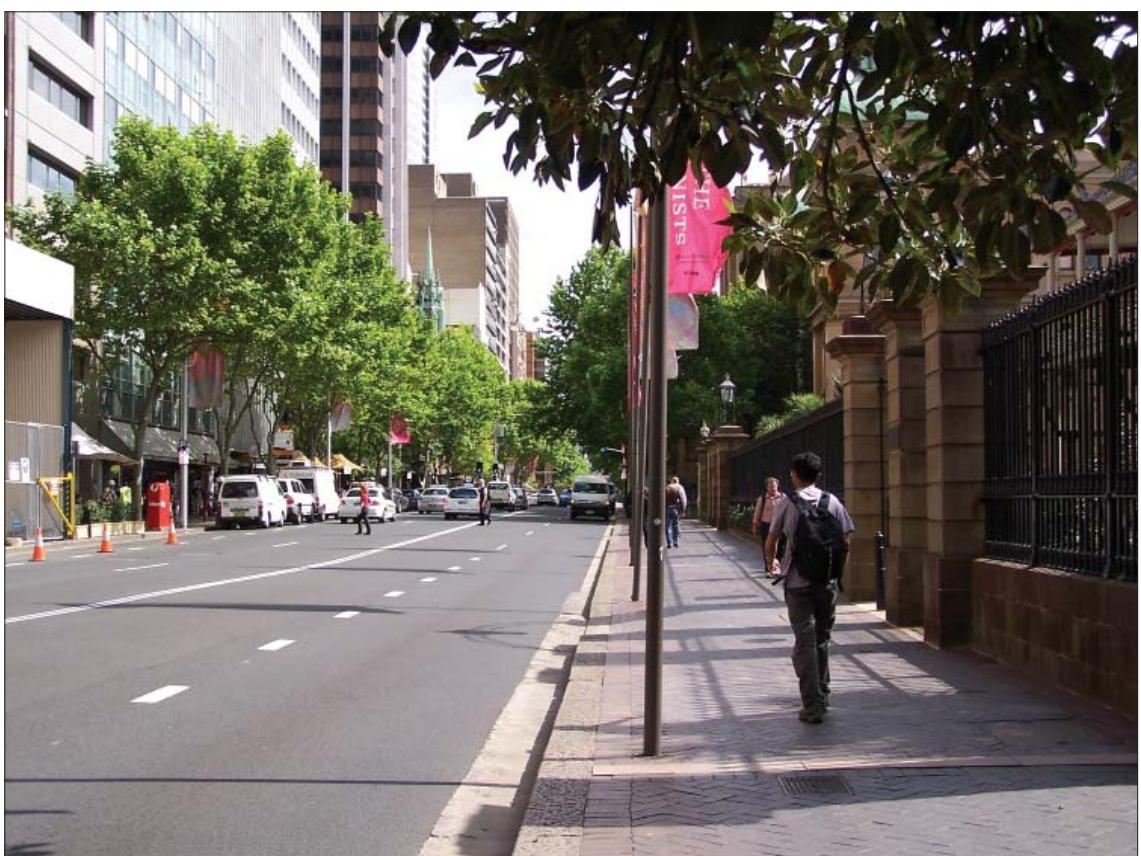


1117.
Macquarie Street looking north today.  Flags and flag poles remain, although the gentle-
men's residences on the left hand side of the road have long been replaced with offices.

Sydney Celebrates: *One Destiny, The Federation Story* project.
The parade, passing the Mint, evident by the stone gate supports and railings, and St Mary's in the top left background.



1120.
The Mint today. Little has changed with the conserved heritage building.

*State Library of NSW:* Home and Away 35178.
Burdekin House at the time of Federation. This gentlemen's
residence was replaced by St Stephen's Church in 1933, at the
time of the extension of Martin Place.



1123.
St Stephen's
Presbyterian /
Uniting Church, now
occupying the site
of Burdekin House,
and directly oppo-
site State Parliament
House.

*State Library of NSW:* Home and Away 35064. Houses on Macquarie Street. These fine residences filled the western side of the street between Bent Street and the Law Courts at Queens' Square. They subsequently became medical offices before many were demolished in the 1950s and 1960s for the current office buildings.



1132.
147 Macquarie Street. The former dental surgery and current Royal Australian College of Physicians still remains.

0033.
Sydney's State Parliament House today, with a new "heritage" coat of paint.

1212.
Former McDonagh Medical Surgery and curent Horbury Heritage Terrace at 173 Macquarie Street, now opposite the Mitchell Library.  The site of the original Australia Club to the right is now just another tall city building.

1206.
The Sydney Hospital was also a new institution at the time of the Federation Parade, although the copy of Pietro Tacca's 1634 *Il Porcellino* only dates from 1967. In an interesting example of the degree to which memory can play tricks, this statue has always seemed to have been in its place from much earlier. It was donated by Clarissa, the Marchesa Torrigiani to commemorate her father, the surgeon, Thomas Fiaschi.
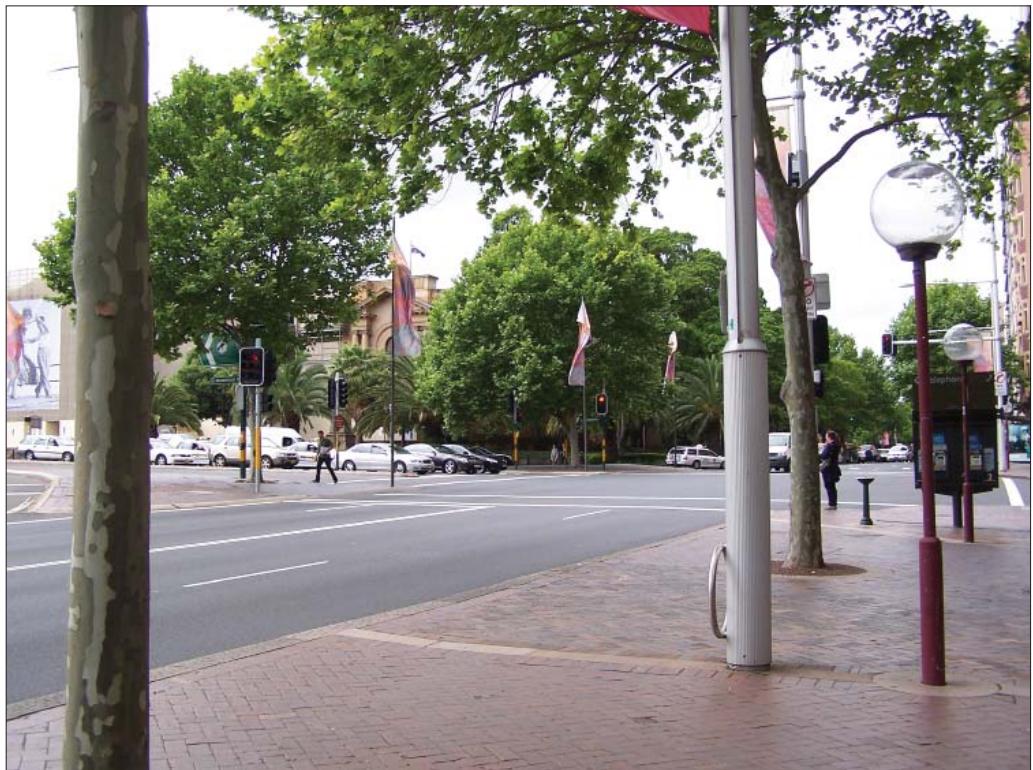


1135.
The Mitchell Library and Shakespeare Place from the site of the old library. At the time of the Federation Parade, these expansive locations were only just becoming appreciated.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic 3084399 v.
The forecourt of the new Mitchell Library prior to the Second
World War. This Shakespeare Place will soon be divided by the
Cahill Expressway exiting at the far right.
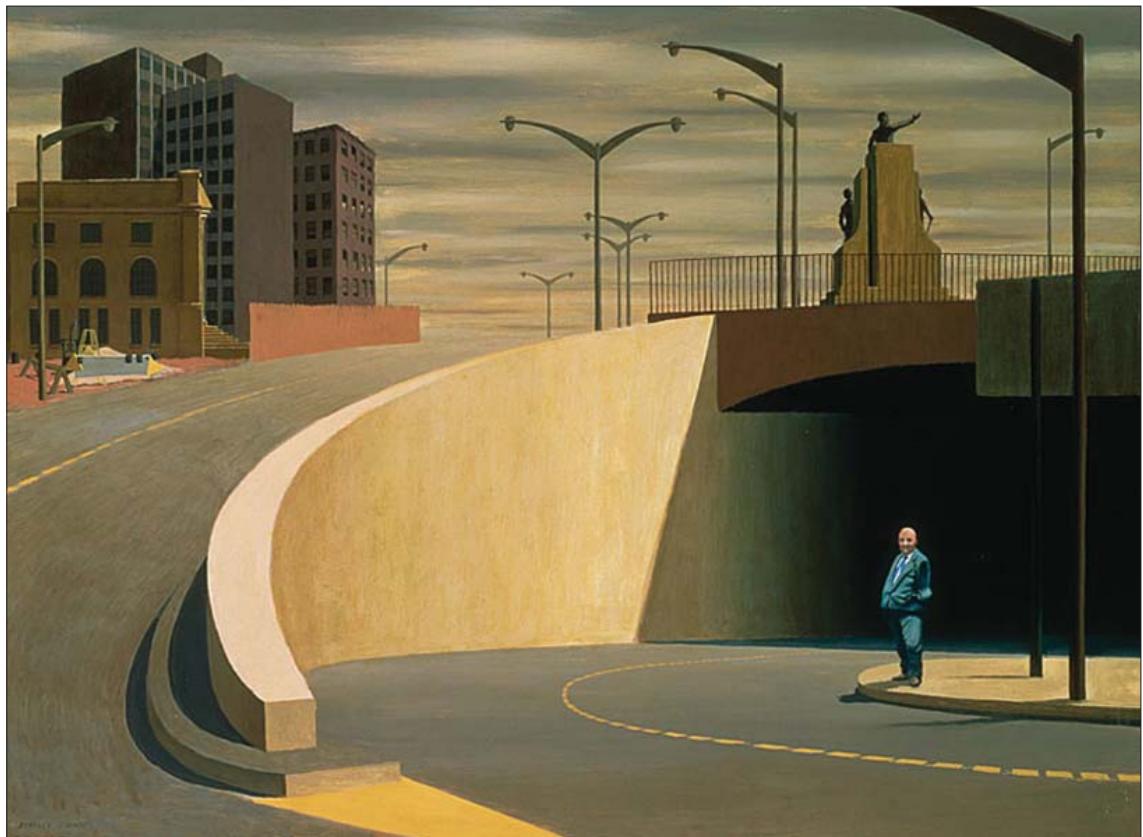


Jeffrey Smart: *The Tunnel 1962.*
Note the statue of Shakespeare above the new Cahill Expressway tunnel entrance.
Jeffrey Smart's artistic interpretation has been compressed with the relocated statue
now in the forecourt of the Mitchell Library.  Interstingly, the yellow stylised building in
the left background would be one of the few remaining images of the original Mitchell
Library.

Sydney Celebrates: *One Destiny, The Federation Story* project.
View of the corner of Macquarie Street and Bent Street from the
balcony of the original Mitchell Library looking across to the origi-
nal Australia Club as the Federation March passes by in 1901.
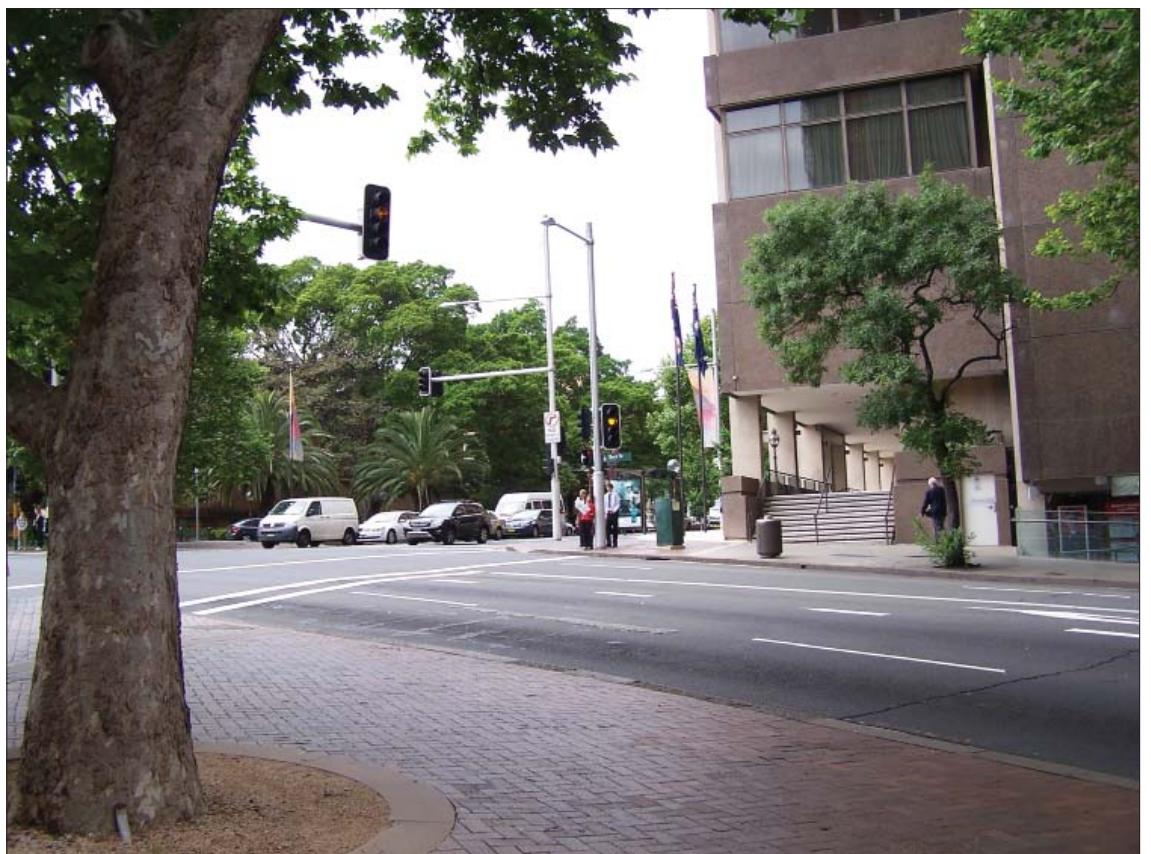


1136.
The corner of Bent Street today, with Hambros House and the modern Australia Club
still occupying the site.

# 6. THE MODERN CITY
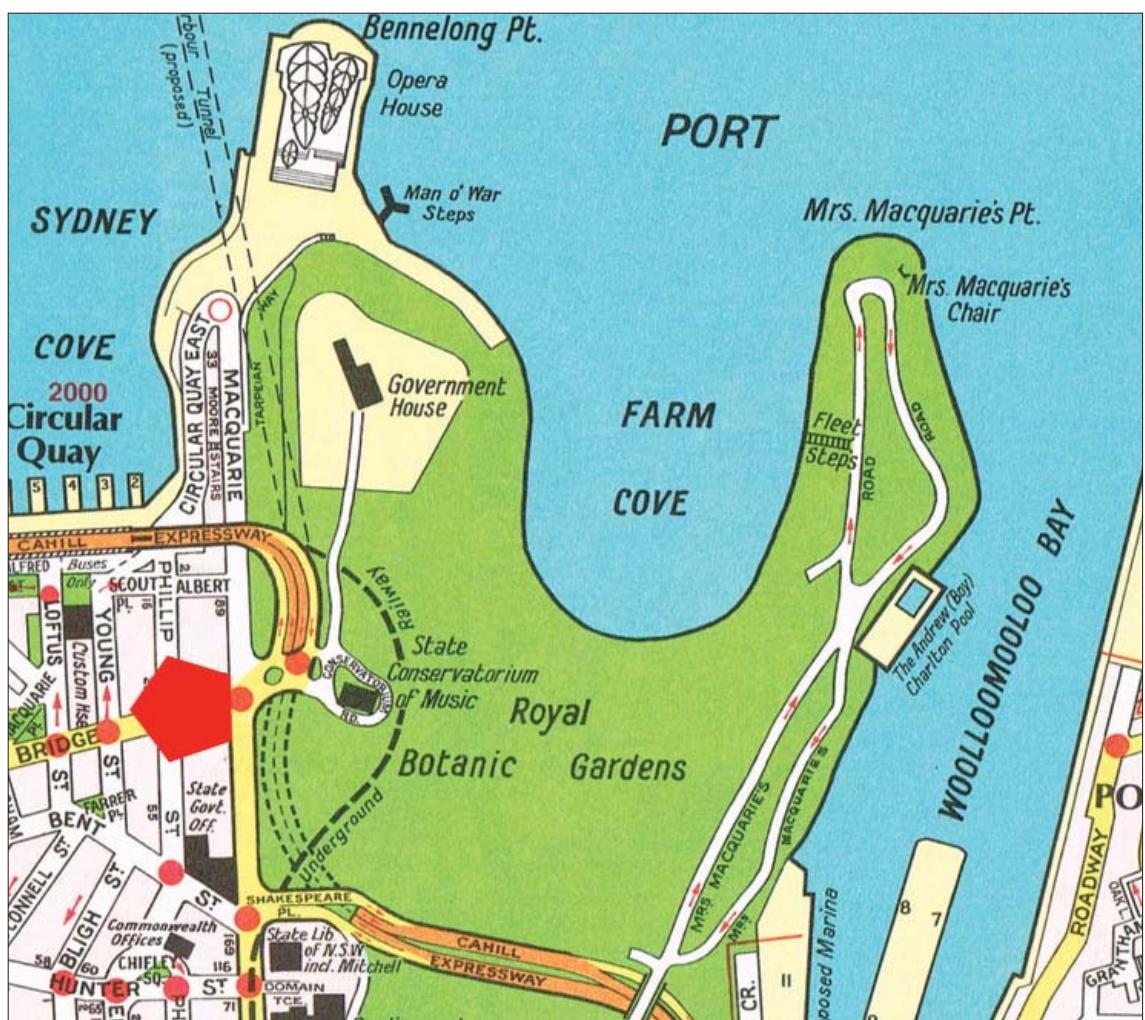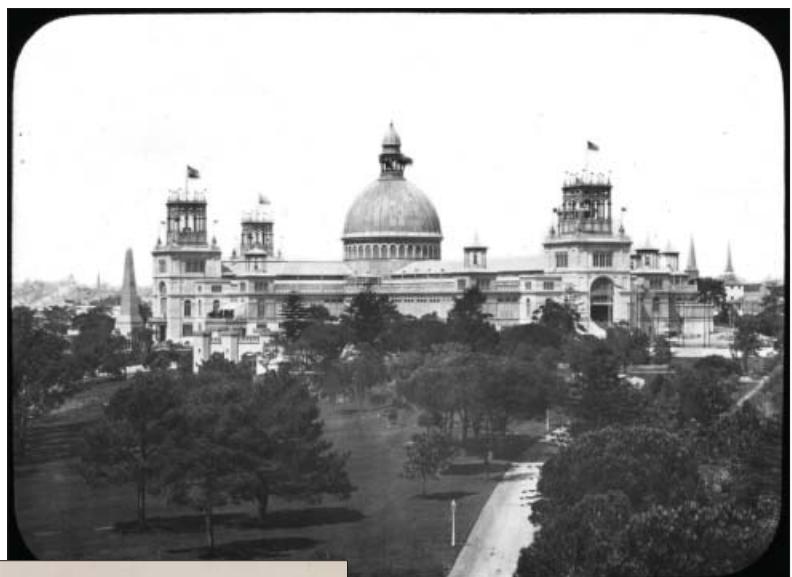
1445.
The Governor Phillip Memorial today, with the later Michell Library now in the background filling the previously vacant and under-appreciated space.
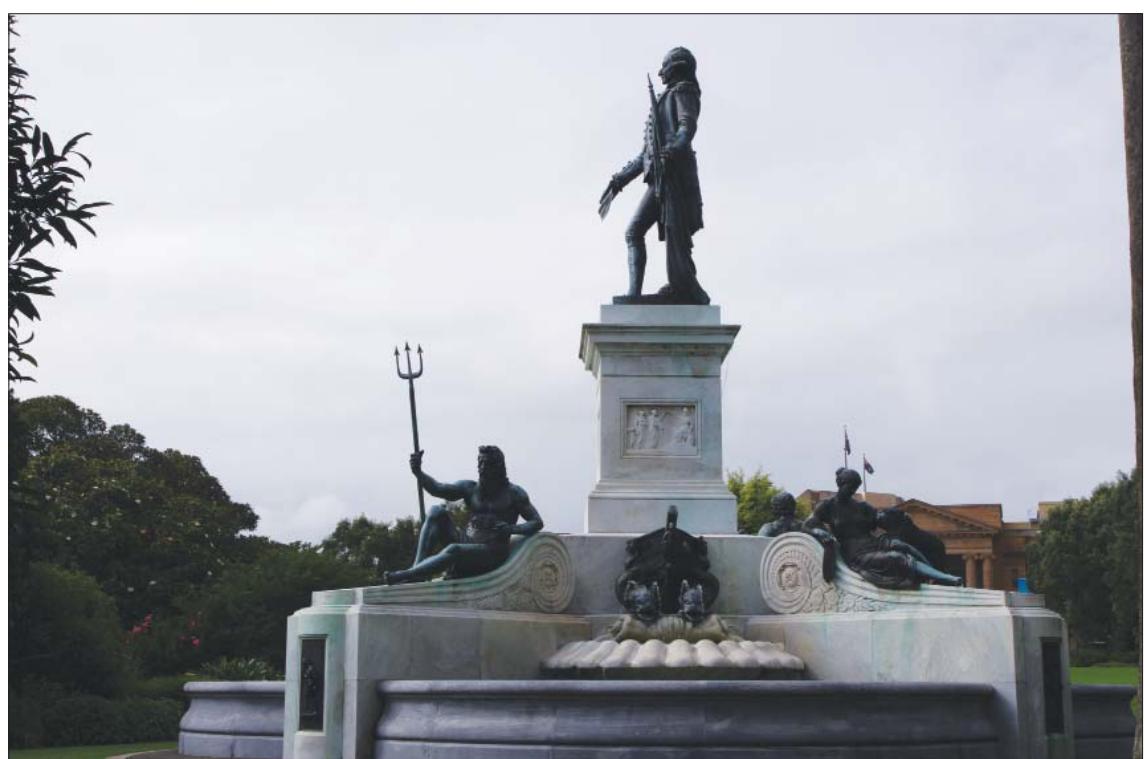
1138.
The former State Treasury Building, now the façade for the Intercontinental Hotel, on the northern corner of Bridge Street.



1139.
The Colonial Secretary's Office, now Chief Secretary's Office, today on the opposite corner is still a government building and the sometime office of the State Governor.

*Powerhouse Museum Collection:* 28116_3004413242.
View from Government House Gates down Bridge Street prior to the
1901 celebrations.  The Colonial Secretary's Office stands on the left,
and the Treasury Building on the right.

1448.
While Queen Victoria has been honoured with two large, and many smaller statues
throughout the city, her son, King Edward VII's imposing statue is now rather sidelined,
after also been moved to accommodate modern traffic flow.
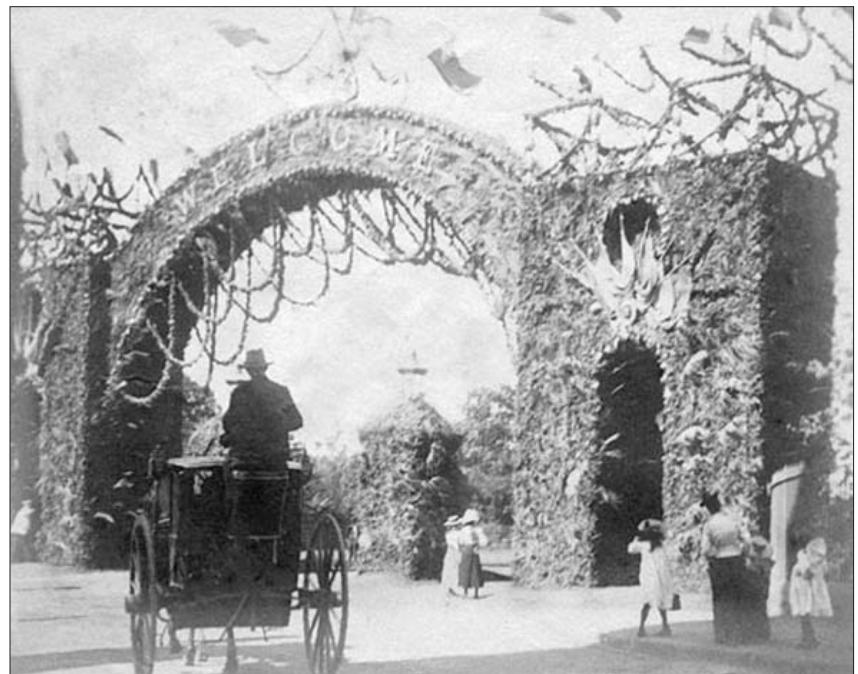
*University of Melbourne:* UMA/I/4550.
Government House Gates exuberantly decorated for the arrival of the new Australian Governor General, Lord Hopetoun.



1435.
The entry to Government House today is little more than a busy convoluted roadway intersection with the main traffic flow going down into the Harbour Tunnel.  The entry gates were moved further down the road and now remain forlornly in the right background.

# 7. INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE
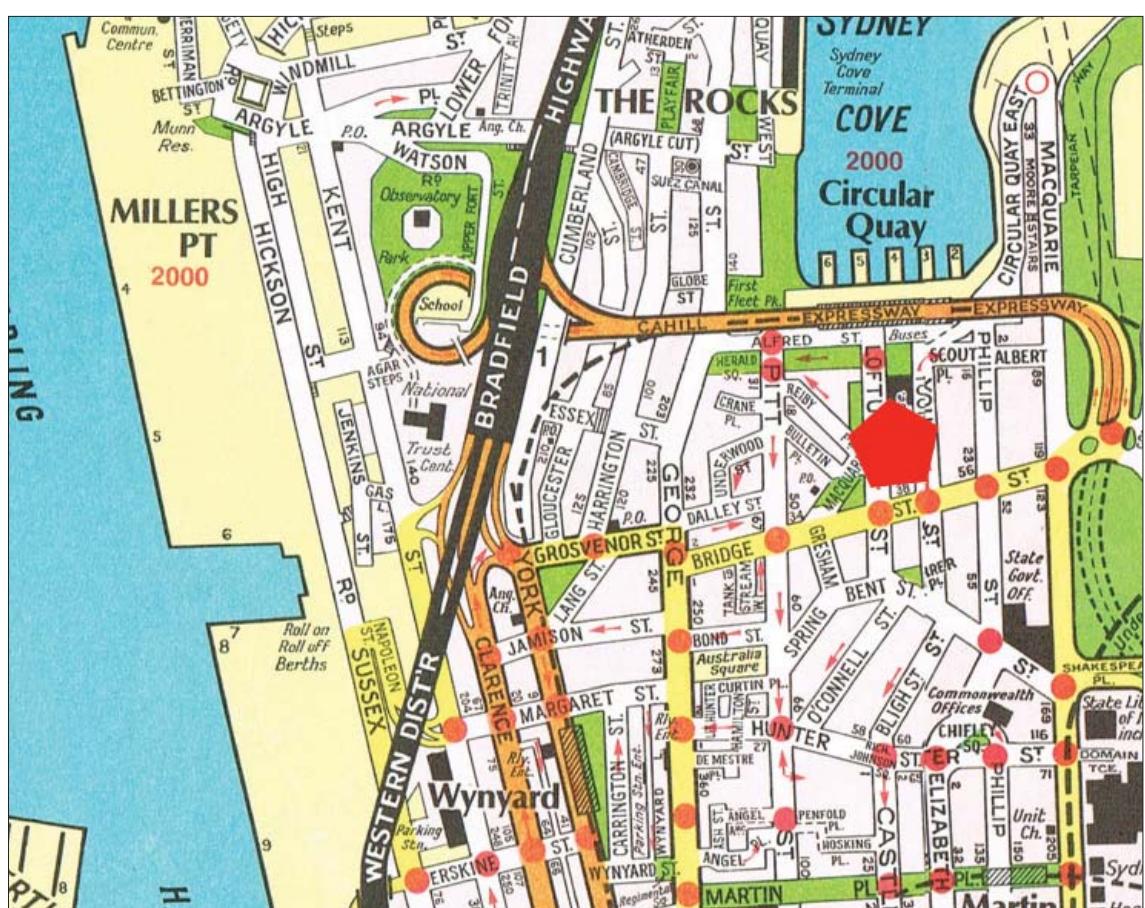
The march turned this same corner down into Bridge Street past the Colonial Secretary's Building. Note the Floral Arch at the entry to Government House in the background.



1140.
The point where the march turned left into Bridge Street today. The preservation of the glorious Sydney sandstone buildings in Macquarie and Bridge Streets makes this eastern district still one of the most popular precincts of the city.

1219.
The site of the old Tramway Manager's residence and tram terminus at No 60 Bridge Street is now the rear entry for the Intercontinental Hotel.



1144.
36 to 42 Young Street. As with the preserved terraces around the corner in Phillip Street, these are all that remain of original inner city living from the nineteenth century.

*State Library of Victoria:* H18534 a14748.
1900 view down Bridge Street, with the famous Fig Tree still occupying the side of the Department of Education site. This tree was one of the many landmarks lit up for the Federation festivities.



1142.
The Museum of Sydney, formerly a small parking space between Phillip and Young Streets. This was discoverd to be the site of the original Government House. Note the back of the Young Street terraces on the right.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic an13143006-6.
The Wool Arch looking downhill from the corner of Bridge and Loftus Streets.  The Wheat Arch is in the background.



1141.
The view down Bridge Street today, past the Young Street terraces.  Note the steepness of the street, although the march would have been going down hill in 1901.

*The City of Sydney Image Library:* 044\044118.
The procession down Bridge Street from Macquarie Place, passing the Department of Lands and under the Wheat Arch.



1148.
The Department of Lands from the same Macquarie Place location today.  This photo again embodies the classical heritage of the precinct, with the Department of Education, formerly the Department of Public Instruction behind.  This latter building was still incomplete at the time of the march, with its current façade not yet constructed.

*State Library of NSW:* perier_34375.
The view back from the rather bedraggled Wheat Arch to the Wool Arch.  Macquarie Place is on the left, with the imposing statue of Thomas Sutcliffe Mort just visible.



1146.
The site of the two arches today.  Macquarie Place is on the right, and the white Exchange Building centre field, marking  Pitt Street, and the point where the march turned left, rather than continuing on to George Street in the distance.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an10834037-s11-v.
The original Sydney Stock Exchange in 1900 seems to blend sympathetically into the streetscape.



1222.
The later Exchange Building from Macquarie Place. These harsh white offices appear less attractive than the original Stock Exchange.

1429.
The current Stock Exchange diagonally across from the Exchange Building.
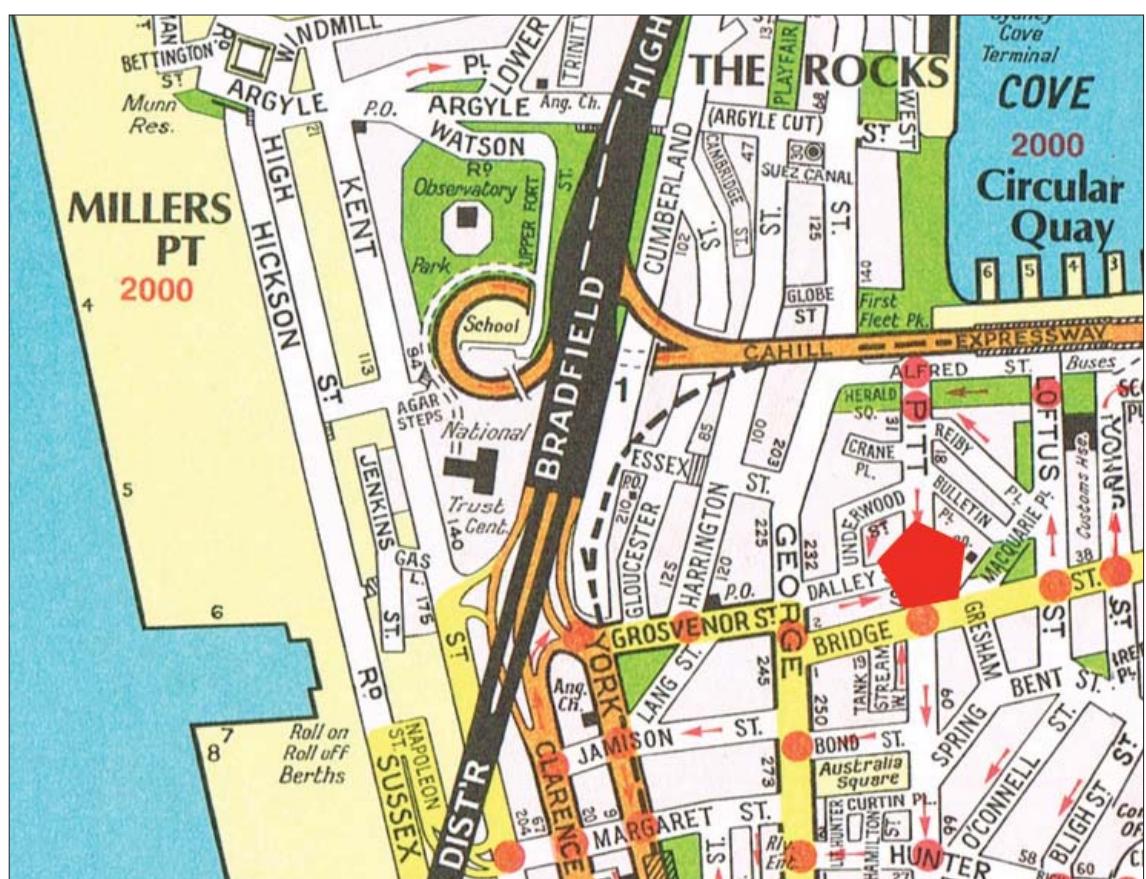
1147.
Thomas Sutcliffe Mort still dominates Macquarie Place.
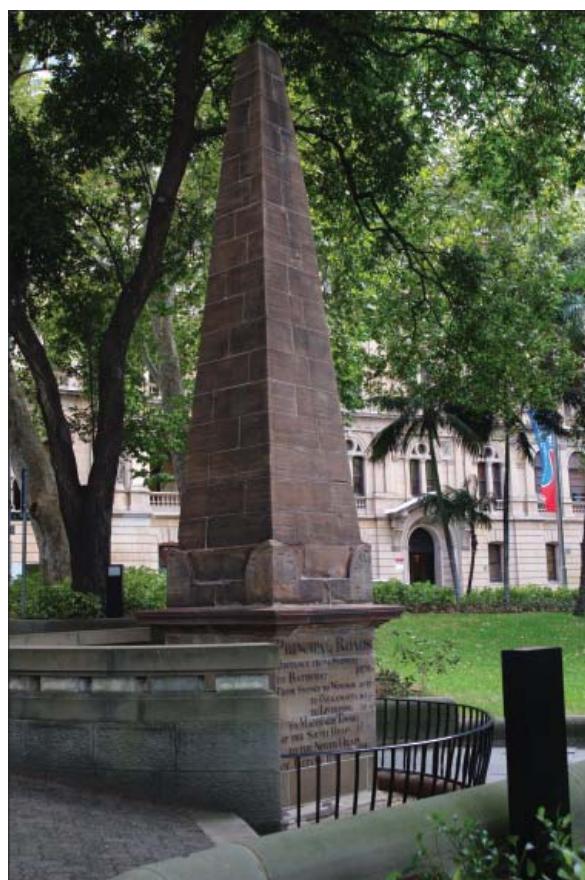


1430.
The original marker in Macquarie Place from whence all distances in NSW were measured.  With the later  construction of the GPO, tradition dictated this new building to assume the role.

# 8.  JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR
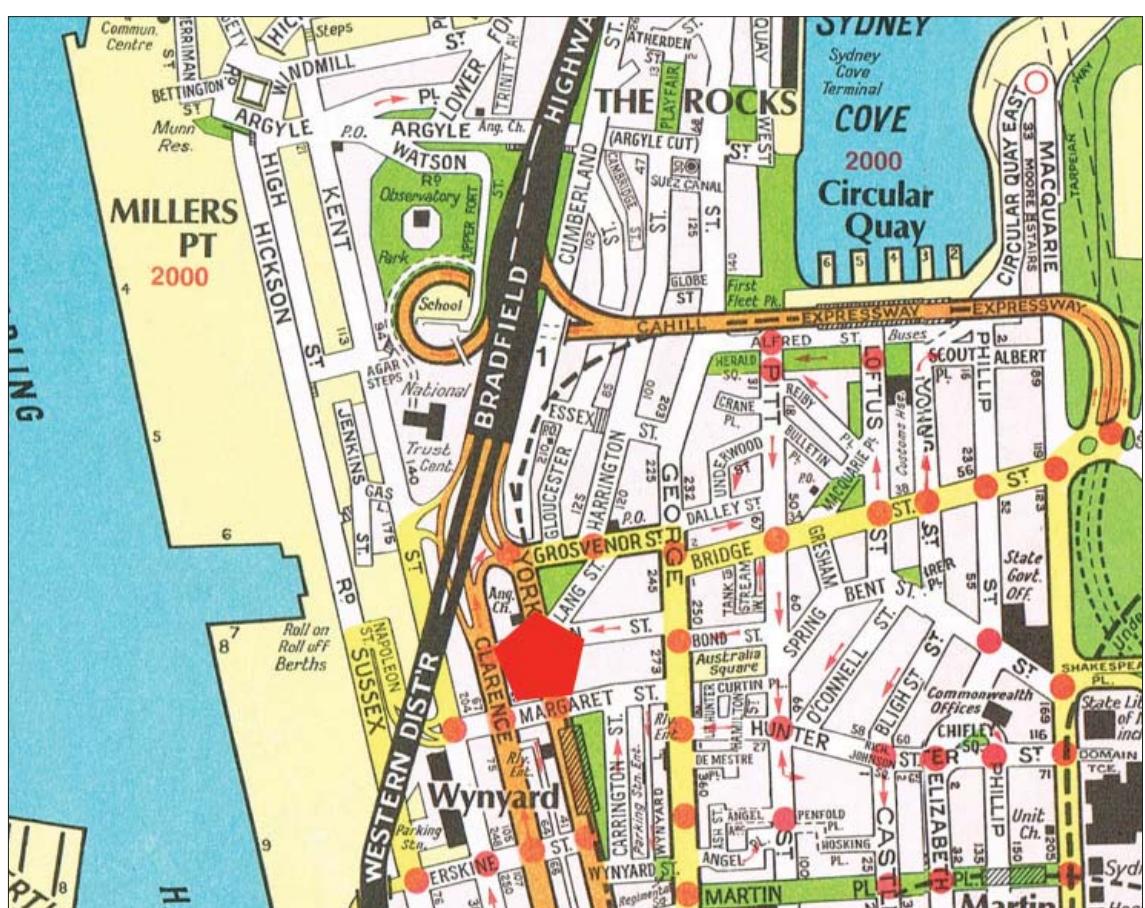
*NSW Government Records Office:* 12487 a021 a021000038.
The corner of Margaret and Clarence Streets in 1900 during the clean-up as a result of the plague. St Philip's Anglican Church is most notable in the background.
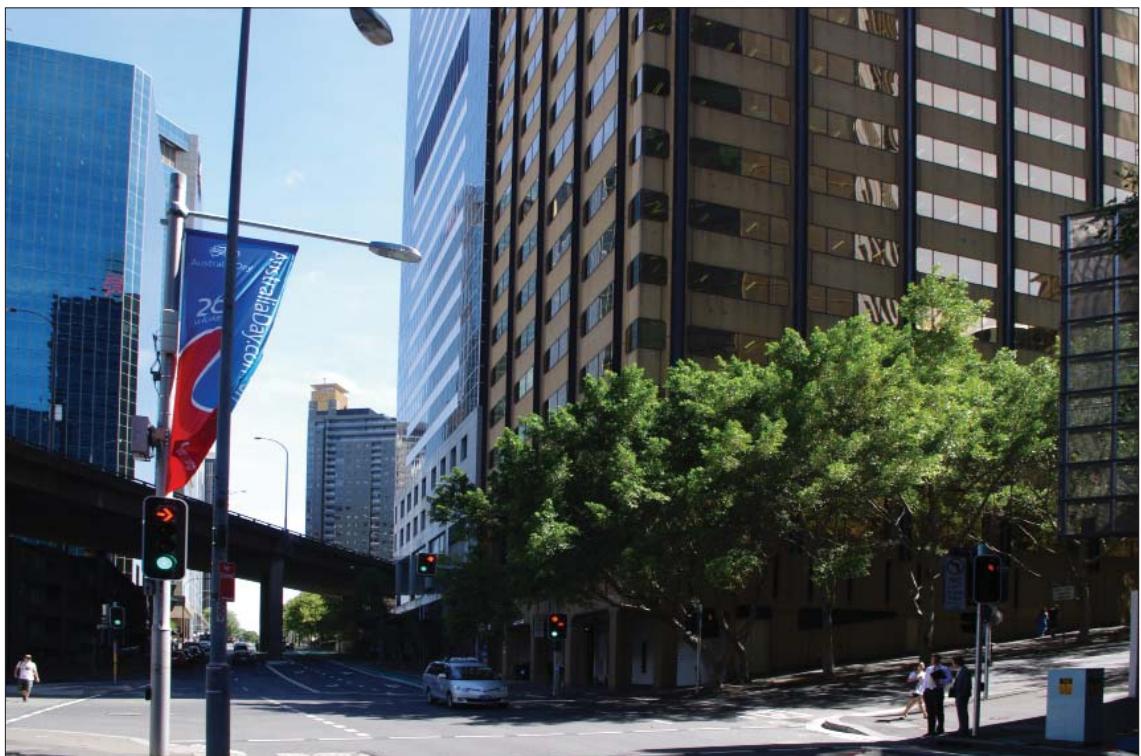


1473.
The corner of Margaret and Clarence Streets today, with the Australian Academy building, and other skyscrapers filling the block. In the background is the Western Distributor from the Sydney Harbour Bridge. The original geographical marker of St Philip's Anglican Church is still in existence, although now buried among the tall buildings.

1490.
Watch House terraces from 60-80 Erskine Street, between Kent and Clarence and Streets. These heritage listed buildings, including the police watch house on the corner, were well established by the time of the plague, and would have provided support and accommodation for those who lost their homes in the clean-up. Kent Street on the left now serves as little more than as an access road to the Harbour Bridge and the Rocks.



1478.
Slum clearance and redevelopment by the Port Authority soon after Federation resulted in Margaret Street being replaced by the more gradual sloped Napoleon Street, providing access for horse drawn vehicles to the developed dock areas.
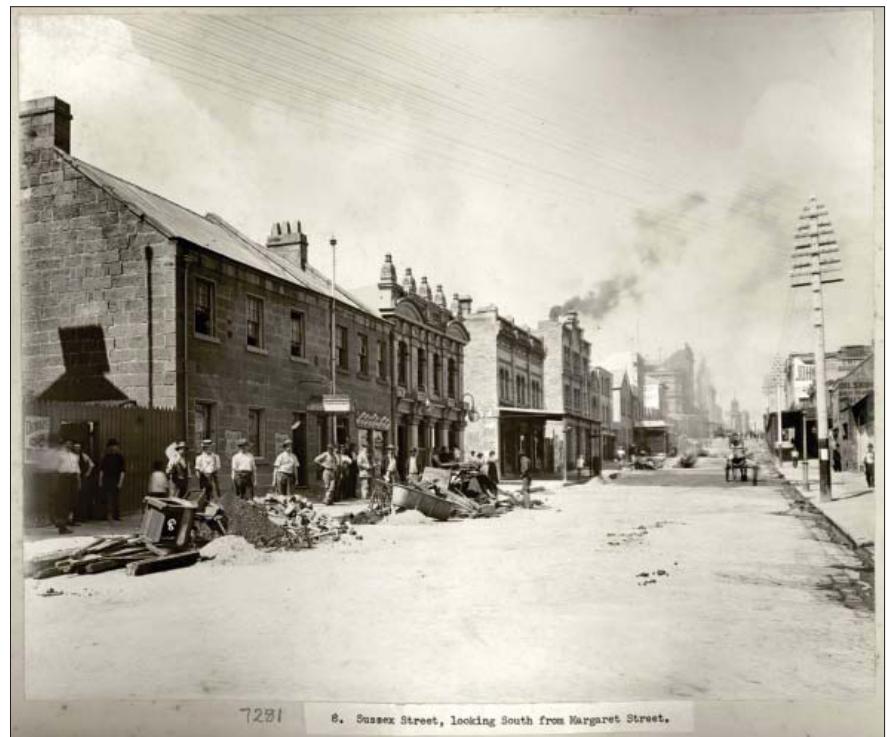
*NSW Government Records Office:* 12487 a021 a021000035.
Sussex Street looking south from Margaret Street in 1900. Again, rubbish is being cleared out from the residences as part of the plague clean-up.



1477.
Sussex Street looking south from Margaret and Napoleon Streets today. The residential district has long gone and the area is now part of the corporate city.

*NSW Government Records Office:* 12487 a021 a021000021. Reconstruction of the house at 64 Sussex Street after cleaning and disinfecting. An indication of how seriously cleanliness was taken after the outbreak of plague.
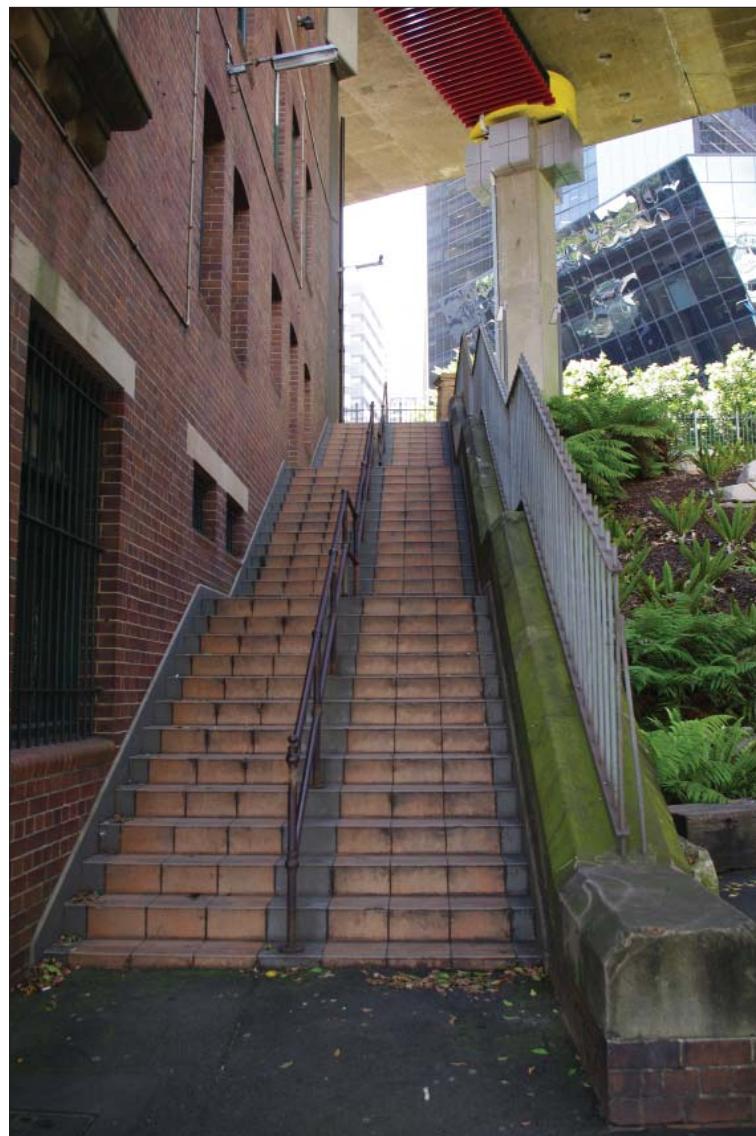


1475.
The location of 64 Sussex Street today. The housing has been demolished to make way for expressways and pedestrian access.
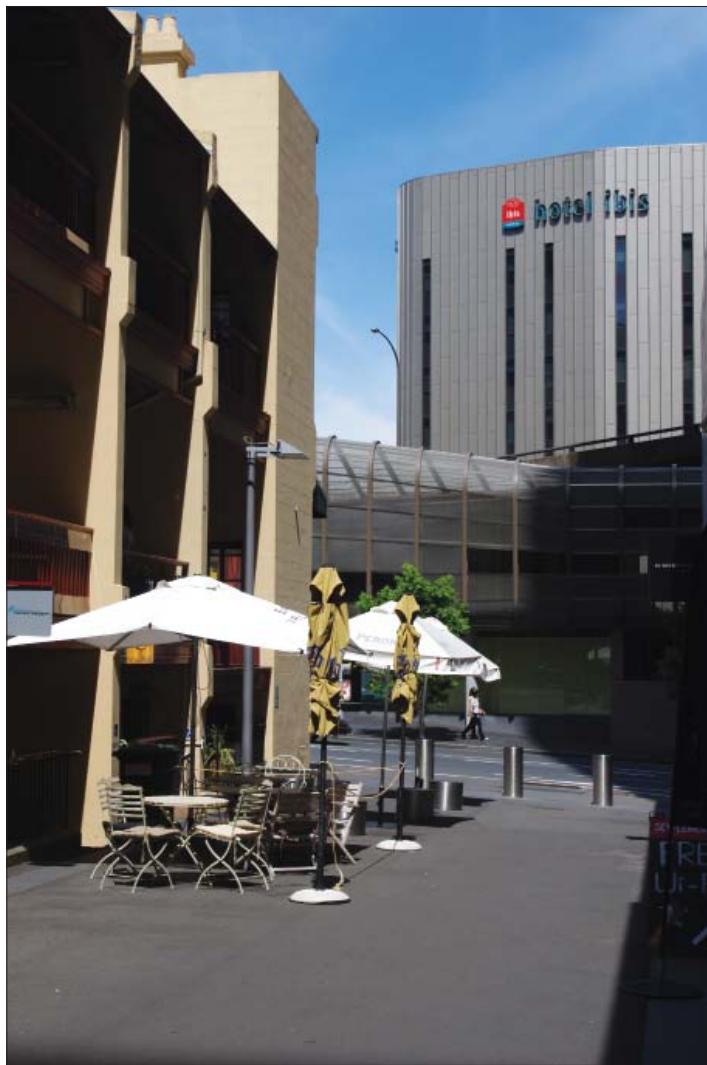
1483.
Alignments such as Sussex Lane remain to give a glimpse of what the district must have been like.



1486.
While the heritage value of the site is now recognised, it sits as an isolated pocket between overpasses and modern glass towers .

1488.
Patches of the original dockside heritage structure still exist along Sussex Street.
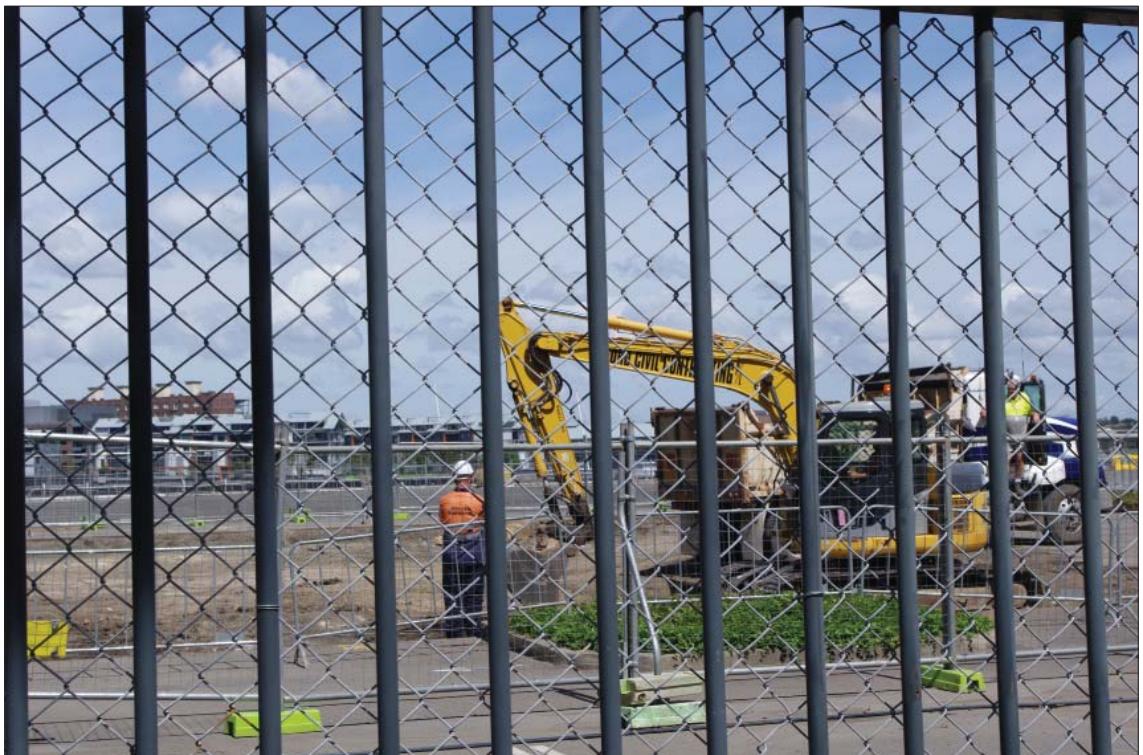


1481.
Barangaroo Redevelopment and palimpsest on a grand industrial scale. The small wooden docks in Darling Harbour were rebuilt after Federation, to be replaced by concrete wharfing during the 1960s and 1970s. Now that port facilities have moved to Botany Bay, the area is being converted into corporate offices and casinos.

# 9.  PITT STREET REPUBLICANS
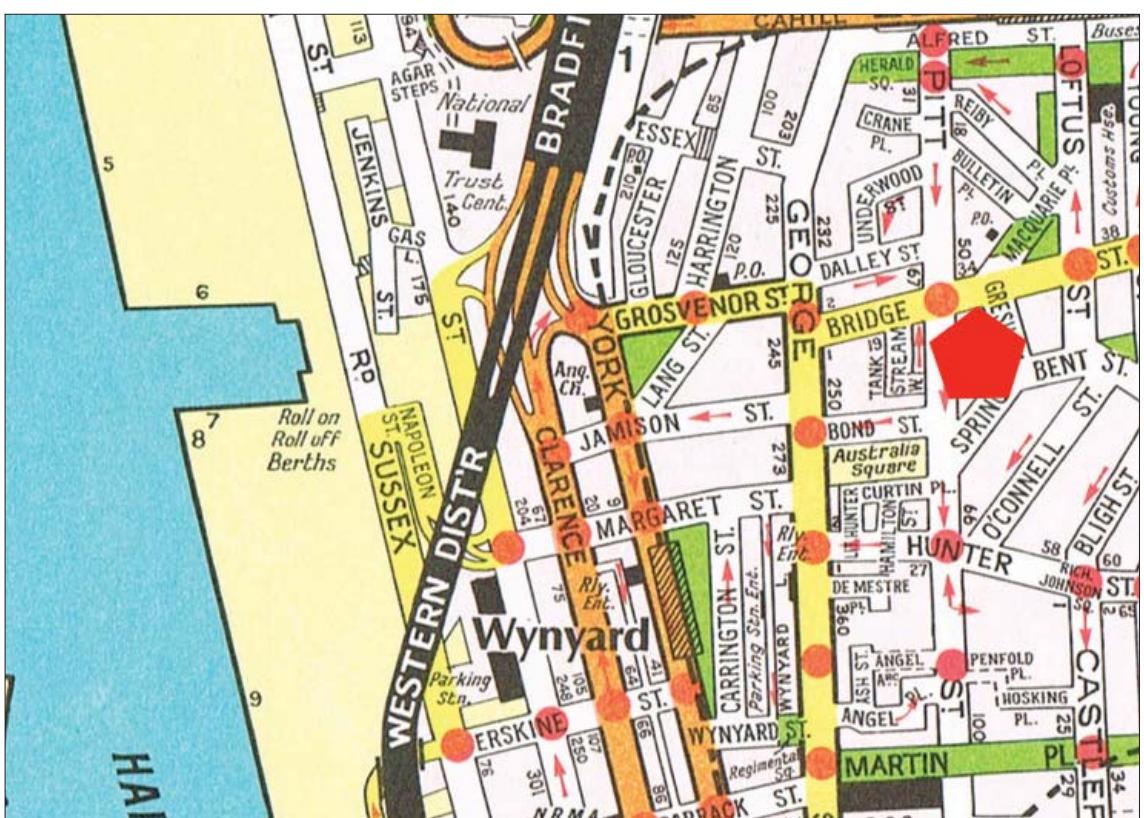
1150.
The Pitt Street corner from Bridge Street today, with the Exchange Building on the left.  It was at this point that the parade turned left from Bridge Street.



1426.
This location is now marked by the 1902 James White sculpture of Commerce.

1427.
On the opposite side of Pitt Street adjacent to the location of the French Arch now resides the aptly named Republic Restaurant in what was originally the Exchange Hotel: Herbert A Neich proprietor.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.
pic-an 13143006-9.
The French Arch at the point
where the parade entered Pitt
Street from Bridge Street.
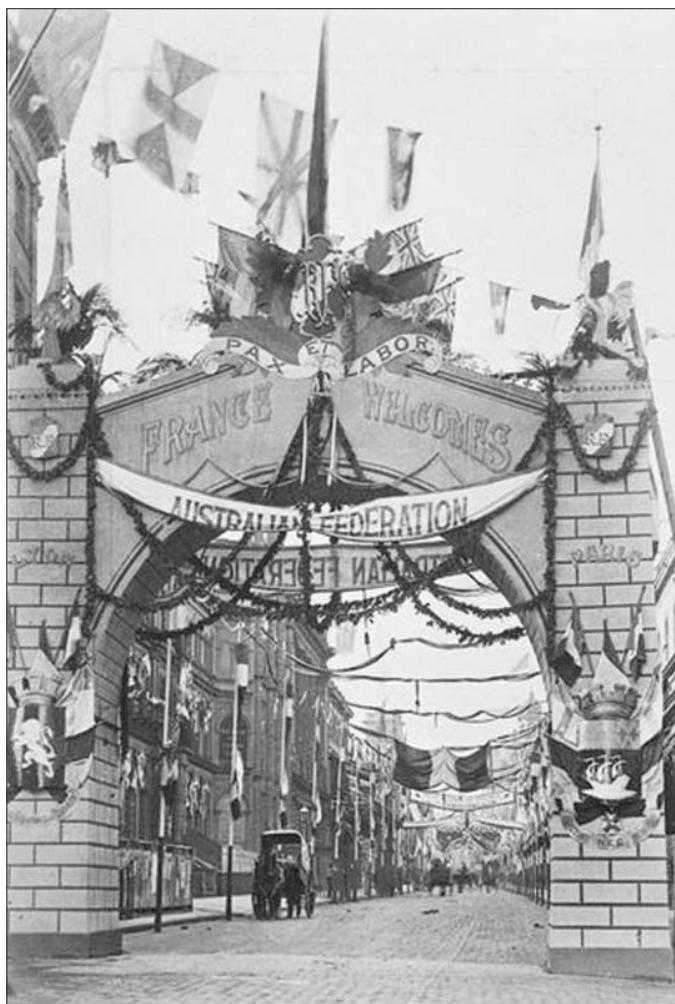
*Australian War Memorial:* P00670.001.
The march passing under the French Arch demonstrates the claustro-
phobic narrowness of Pitt Street even in 1901.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an 13143006-11.
The American Arch on the corner of Pitt Street,
Hunter Street and O'Connell Street.



1226.
The same Hunter Street, O'Connell Street intersection, with the
1924 steel framed and stone clad Herald Building on the corner.

*University of Melbourne:* UMA/I/4555.
The American Arch looking back down Pitt Street from Martin Place. The New York chasm sensation is evident here.
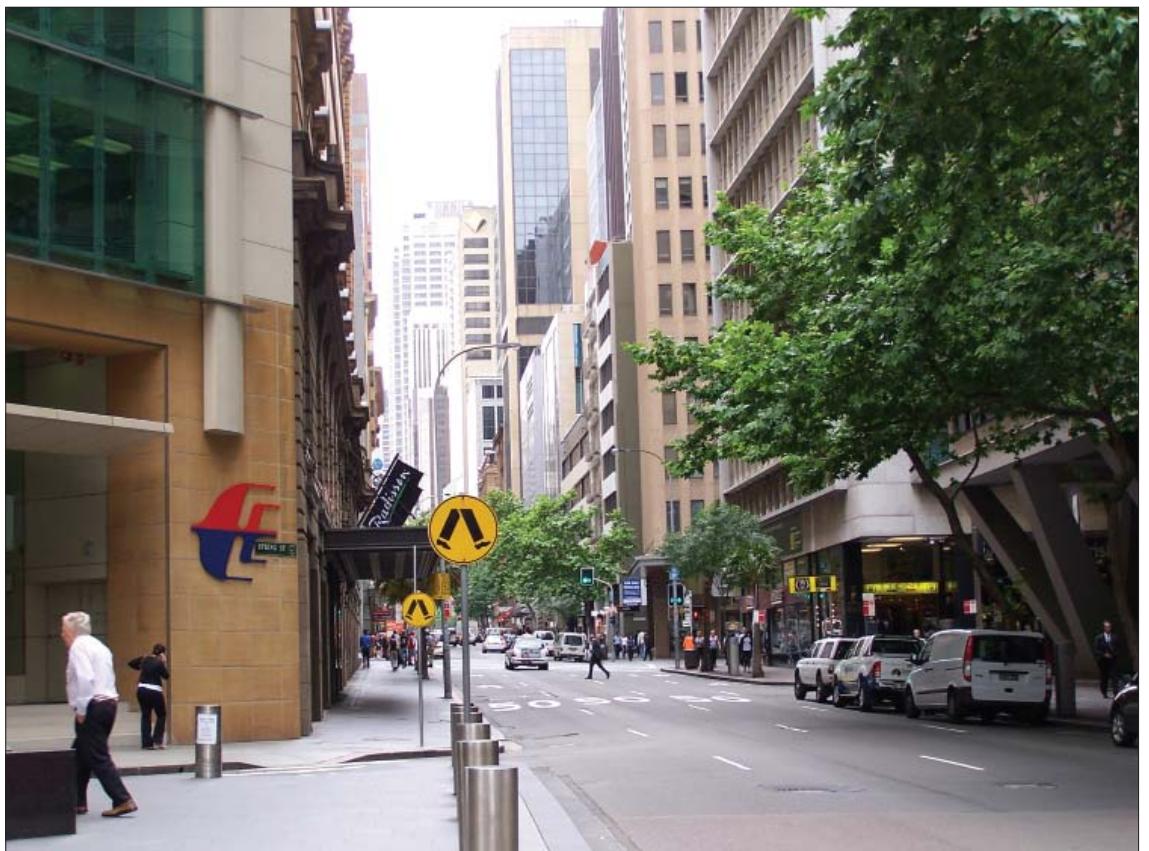


1152.
The claustrophobic effect of the old Pitt Street has actually been reduced with the open forecourt of Australia Square on the right.

1223.
Some of the original little lanes such as Bridge Lane still exist, here almost swallowed up by modernism. The Tank Stream Way in the mid ground, running parallel with Pitt Street, sits virtually atop the old Tank Stream.



1227.
Some things never change. Here at 125 Pitt Street, on the corner of Angel Place sits the Angel Hotel just as it did in 1901. Then the proprietor was Frank Wilson. The alley way behind the hotel was full of small businesses, including at least three architects, Albert Bond, Harry Kent and an F Moorehouse.

# 10.  THE COMMERCIAL CITY
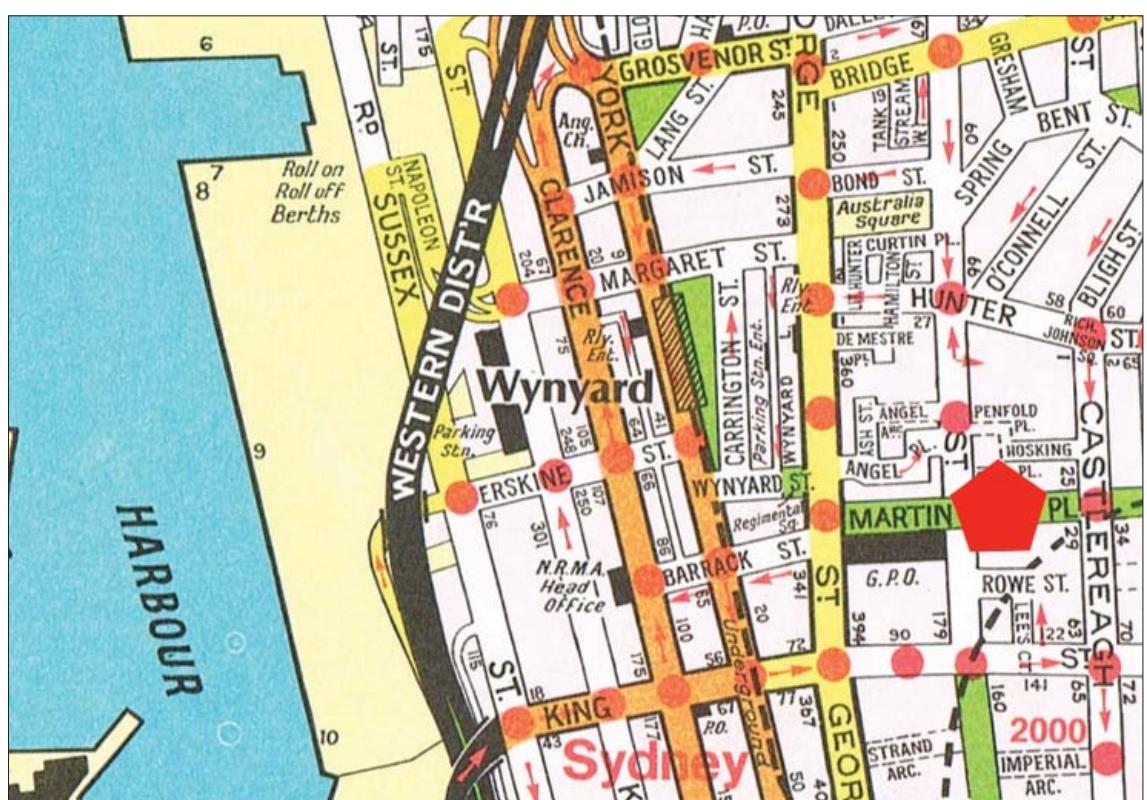
*City of Sydney Library:*
044\044132.
Martin Place and the GPO in 1901 from where Martin Place became Moore Street and its later extention to Castlereagh Street.



1159.
Martin Place from Castlereagh Street across the Pitt Street inter-section today. Since this image was taken just prior to Christmas, the general seasonal feel would have been similar to 1901.  Note the light fashion of summer contrasting with the heavy woollen clothing of a century ago.

*National Libary of Australia:* nla.pic-an10834037-s28.
Martin Place festooned with banners for the Federation Parade. It was at this point that the march moved from Pitt Street to George Street.



1155.
Martin Place from Pitt Street. It is notable that there was no giant Christmas tree in 1901. This decoration has been a most interesting point of contention between the atheistic Lord Mayor, Clover Moore, and the more populist State Government.

1422, 1424.
Architect James Barnet's famous Pitt Street carvings on the keystones and spandrels of the GPO, representing everyday city trades and local dignitaries from Sydney.

*State Library of Victoria:* H82.43/72 b17817.
Looking south down George Street around 1900, from the location where it is joined by Martin Place.  The main point of difference appears in transport, with the new trams and wooden blocked street surface yet to be replaced by later cars and tarmac.



1191.
Looking down George Street from the same position. This intersection has remained much as it was in 1901, although modern buildings dominate further along the street.

*State Library of Victoria:* H20249 a14756.

The corner has thankfully had some heritage protection. In 1900, this building was the Equitable Building Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, with the Safe Deposits Building further along George Street.  In keeping with the American flavour, the basement held the Manhattan Luncheon and Tea Rooms.



1229.

Now the Australasia Chambers with the Societe Generale House in the background, both expressing the late Victorian mix of Classicism and American modernist Roman-esque.  Note the additional vegetation in Martin Place and on George Street, and the presence of modern flagpoles for the Martin Place cenotaph.

1230, 1231.

Some of the small original buildings along George Street remain. The Darrell Lea Chocolate shop was originally the Union Bank of Australia, and then the Royal Exchange Hotel. The current McDonald's outlet at 357-377 George Street was originally the Pastoral Chambers, containing Baker and Rouse, importers of photographic stock, and Hebblewhite and Co, importers of sewing machines and bicycles.

1190, 1193.
One of the few remaining arcades in Sydney, the Strand Arcade still exists between King and Market Streets, and has now been heritage listed.

*State Library of Victoria:* H21600 b52455.
The Queen Victoria Building from the Market Street corner in 1900.  Note the massive telegraph pole and cross bars attempting to cope with the up to date communication and power technology.



1189.
The Queen Victoria Building from Market Street today.  This has been known as Gowings Corner, since before the Second World War, even though Supre now actually occupies the heritage building.  Imagine the sensation of the Federation Parade marching along this route past the freshly cut sandstone facade.

*City of Sydney Library:* 000322.
The Federation Parade passing the Queen Victoria Building on the left.  Health and safety regulations for spectators were obviously more lax than today.  Interesting to also note the number of women on the balconies. Obviously our notions regarding the physical restrictions on women a century ago did not necessarily apply.
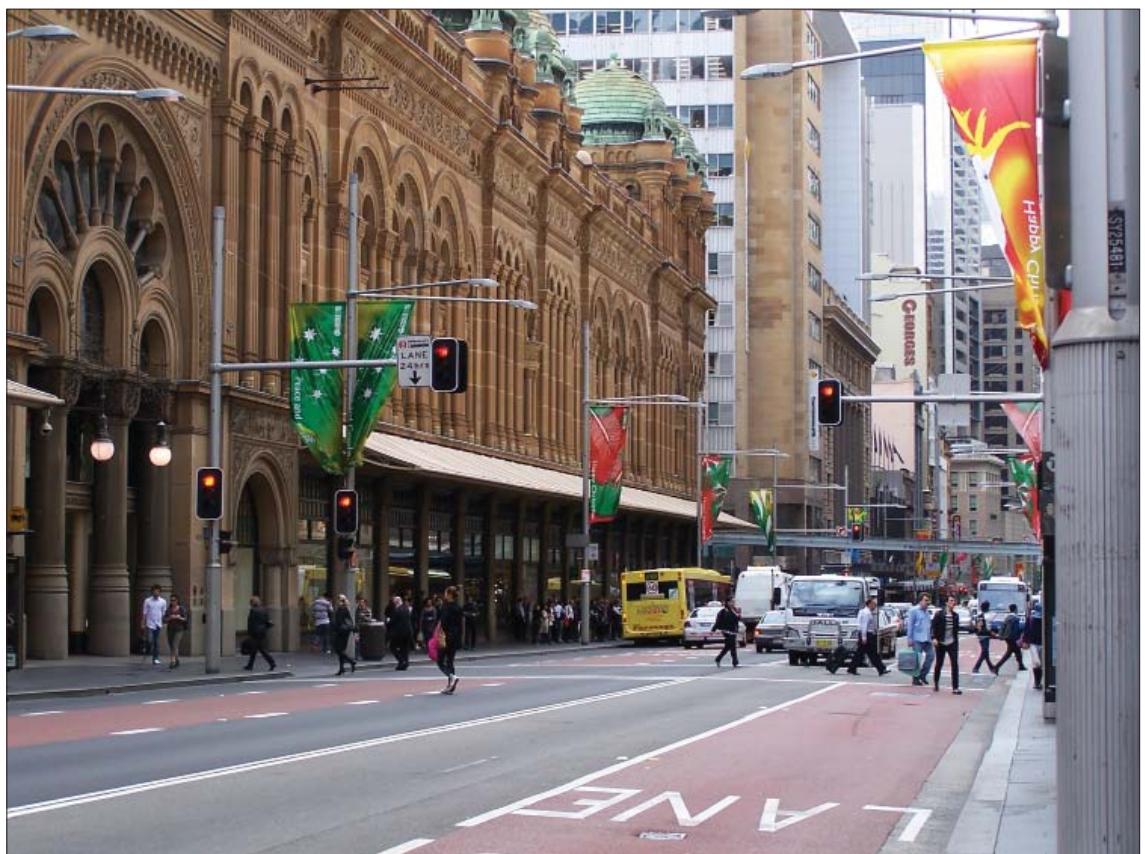


1195.
The Queen Victoria Building today from the same point on George Street, with smaller awnings opening up the facade.  The soon to be demolished monorail is visible in the background.

*University of Melbourne Archives:* UMA/1/4552.
The Federation Parade turning left at Park Street, taken from the parapet of the Queen Victoria Building. Note the crispness of the newly cut stone, and the same people packed on the awnings.
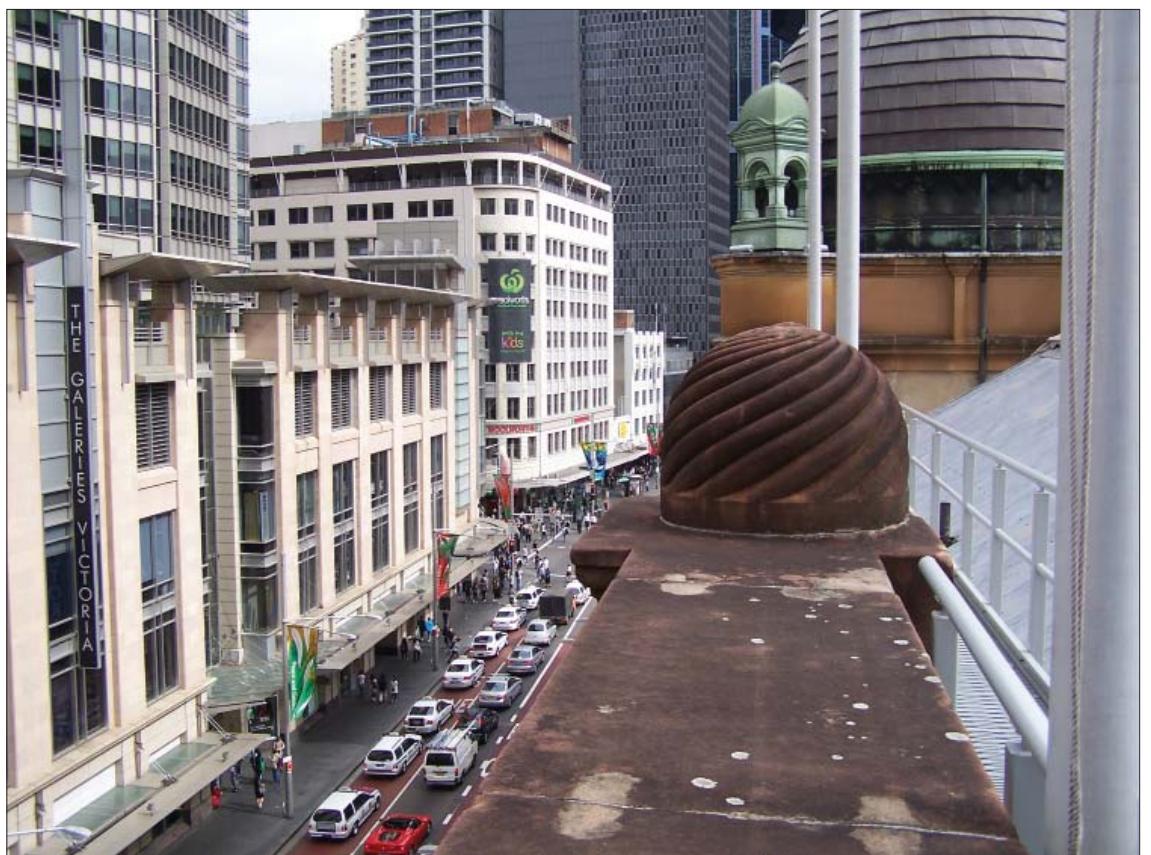


1185.
After a century of weathering the top of the Queen Victoria Building is precarious to say the least. The white Woolworths corner was the point where the march turned left into Park Street.

1182.
The interior of the Queen Victoria Building in its restored glory.

1184.
The Park Street intersection from the Hobbyco shop in the QVB. Just as Melbourne has the tradition of meeting under the Flinders Street Railway clock, so Sydneysiders often arrange to meet at Woollies' corner.
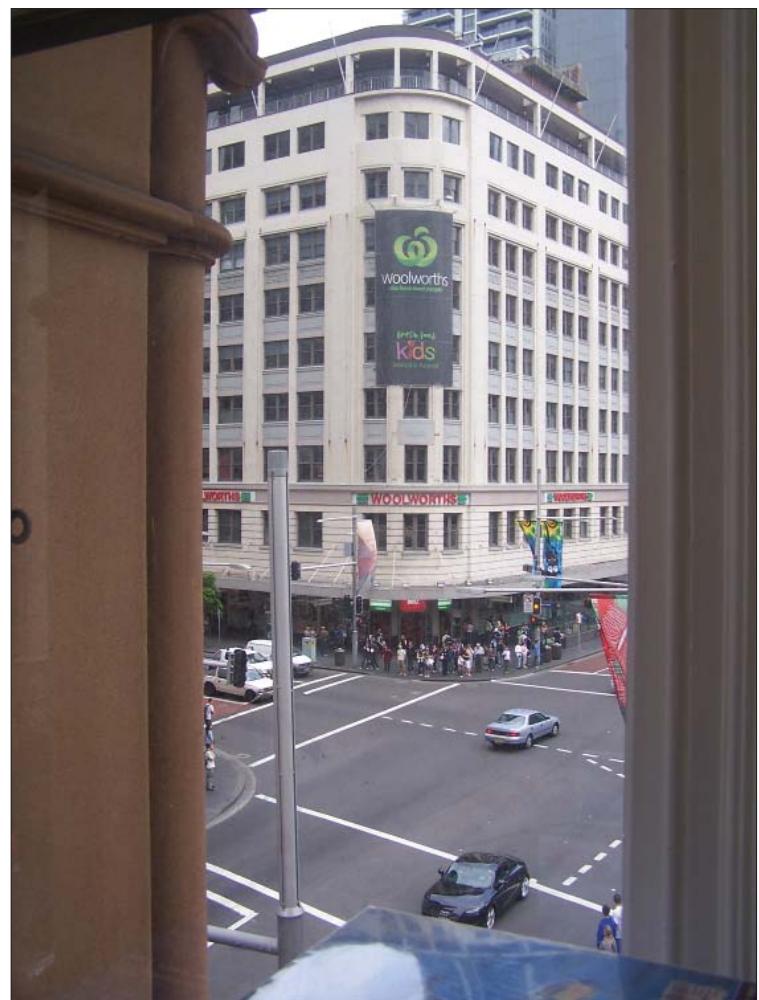


1451.
Queen Victoria now dominates the forecourt of the QVB and the Town Hall, as she has always presided over St James.

# 11.  CELEBRATION AND COMMONWEALTH

*State Library of Victoria:* H20259  a14764.
Sydney Town Hall in 1900.  This building would also have been only 18 years old at this time, and even more dominant without the overpowering influence of modern buildings and modern traffic requirements.



1179.
The close alignment between the Queen Victoria Building, Her Majesty, and the Sydney Town Hall. It was at this point that the parade turned left, thus failing to pass in front of the spectacular Town Hall.

1408.
The steepness of the route up Liverpool Street is evident with the steps at the front of Mark Foy's, and the new anti-slip covering on the footpath. Even electric trams found it a drag negotiating this hill.

*NSW Department of Road and Tramways:* Liverpool Street Junction 1934.
By the 1930s and the peak era of the tram system in Sydney, this slope up Liverpool Street (at the top of this map) was only suitalbe for down trams on the left hand line.
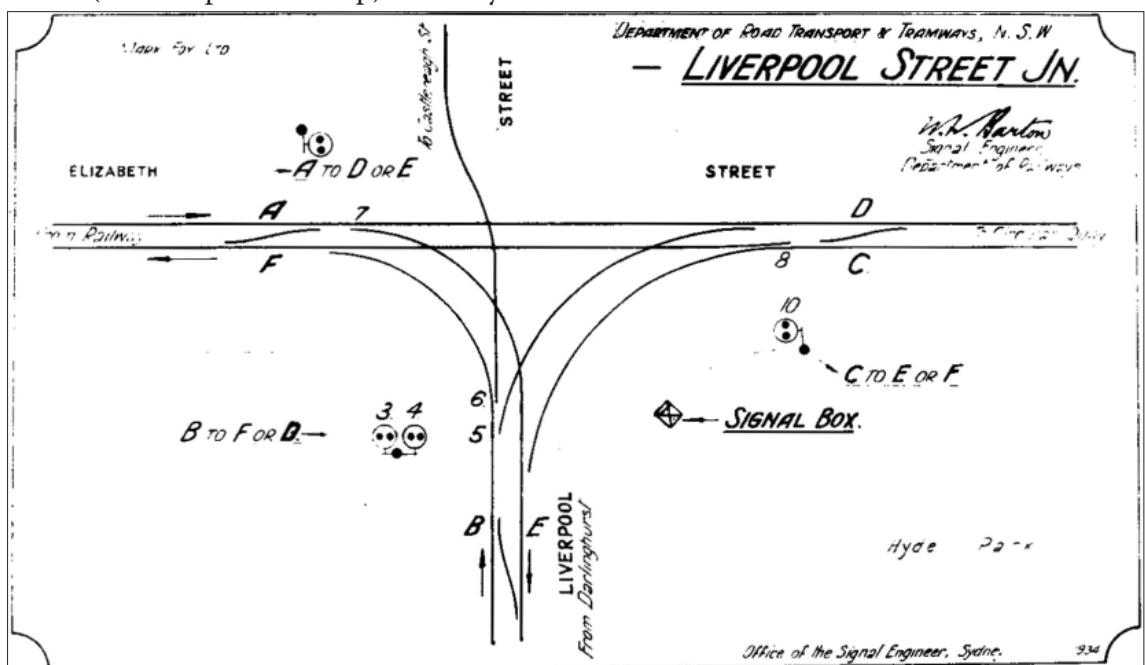
*National Library of Australia:* nla pic-an10834037-s39.
The Melbourne Arch in 1901 flanked by two hotels. The Lester's Hotel on the left will later become the Town Hall Hotel, before its recent demolition for Citicorp Tower. The Swan with Two Necks on the right will make way for road widening and Woolworth's in the early 1930s.



1176.
Park Street from George Street today, with the greater width of the roadway and the monorail yet again evident. This was the location of the Melbourne Arch.

*National Library of Australia:* nla pic-an237880507.
Park Street in the early 1900s looking east to Hyde Park.
The heritage row below commences with the chemist shop on the corner of Pitt Street.  The boot polishers present a rather strange New York sensation, and not something that one would now think of as being typically Australian.



1171.
What remains of heritage Park Street today, between Pitt and Castlereagh Streets. In 1900, these same shops were occupied by H G Packman basket maker, G F Kelly fruiterer, and J Harris tailor. Whether this row has been consciously preserved, or merely overlooked, it makes a nice interlude in the centre of the city.

1472.
The site of the original Tank Stream suspended swamp from Hyde Park, with Elizabeth Street in the background.
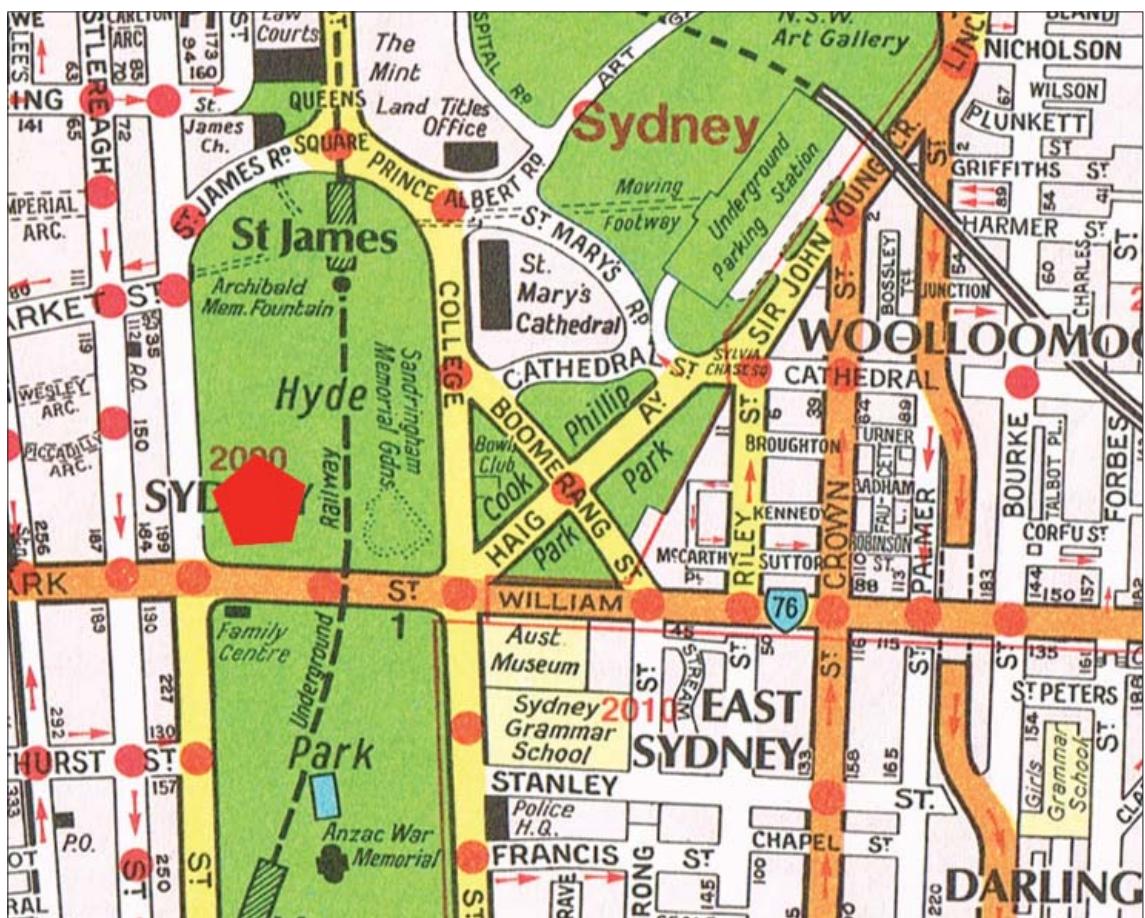
Australia Post: *The City's Centrepiece* p. 20.
Maps indicating location of hanging swamp and the
source of the Tank Stream around 1830.
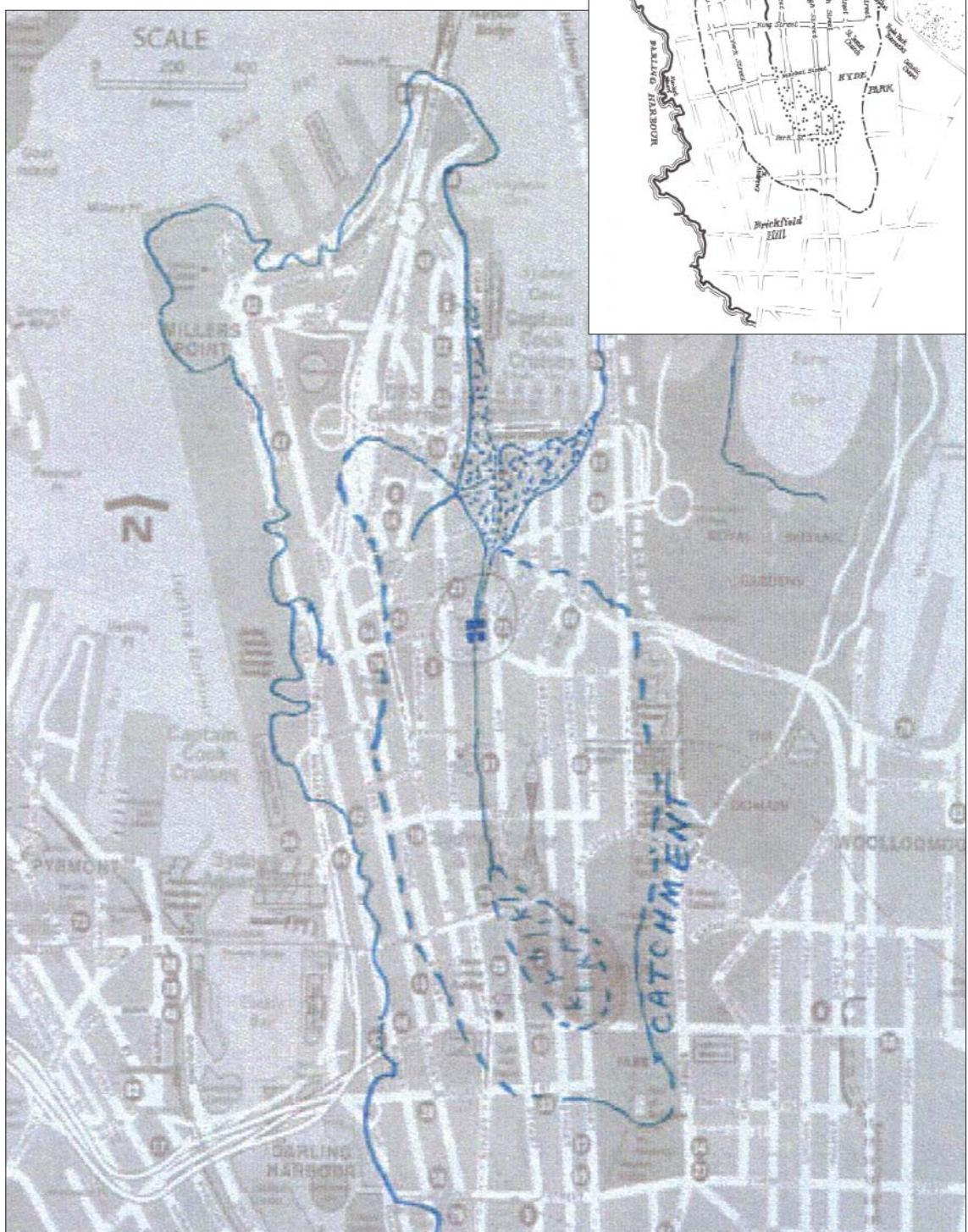
*State library of Victoria:* H21628 b52480.

The corner of Hyde Park at Park and Elizabeth Streets in 1900. The original office building in the centre of the photograph would be replaced by the T&G Building, the city's tallest building during the 1930s, itself replaced by the current Pacific Power complex in the 1970s.



1166.

The corner of Park Street and Elizabeth Street, where the parade would have emerged before passing under the Commonwealth Arch. The monument in the foreground is the Grand United Order of Oddfellows memorial to those lost in the First World War.

The Commonwealth Arch in 1901,
looking back down Park Street to
the Melbourne Arch in the back-
ground. The offset position would
have been to accommodate through
traffic before and after the march, as
well as align with the old Park Street
width.



1167.
The location of the Commonwealth Arch.  In the middle distance down Elizabeth Street
is Sydney's Central Synagogue, and in further down the road, the site of the original
Tank Stream swamp.

# 12. THE CLASSICAL EAST
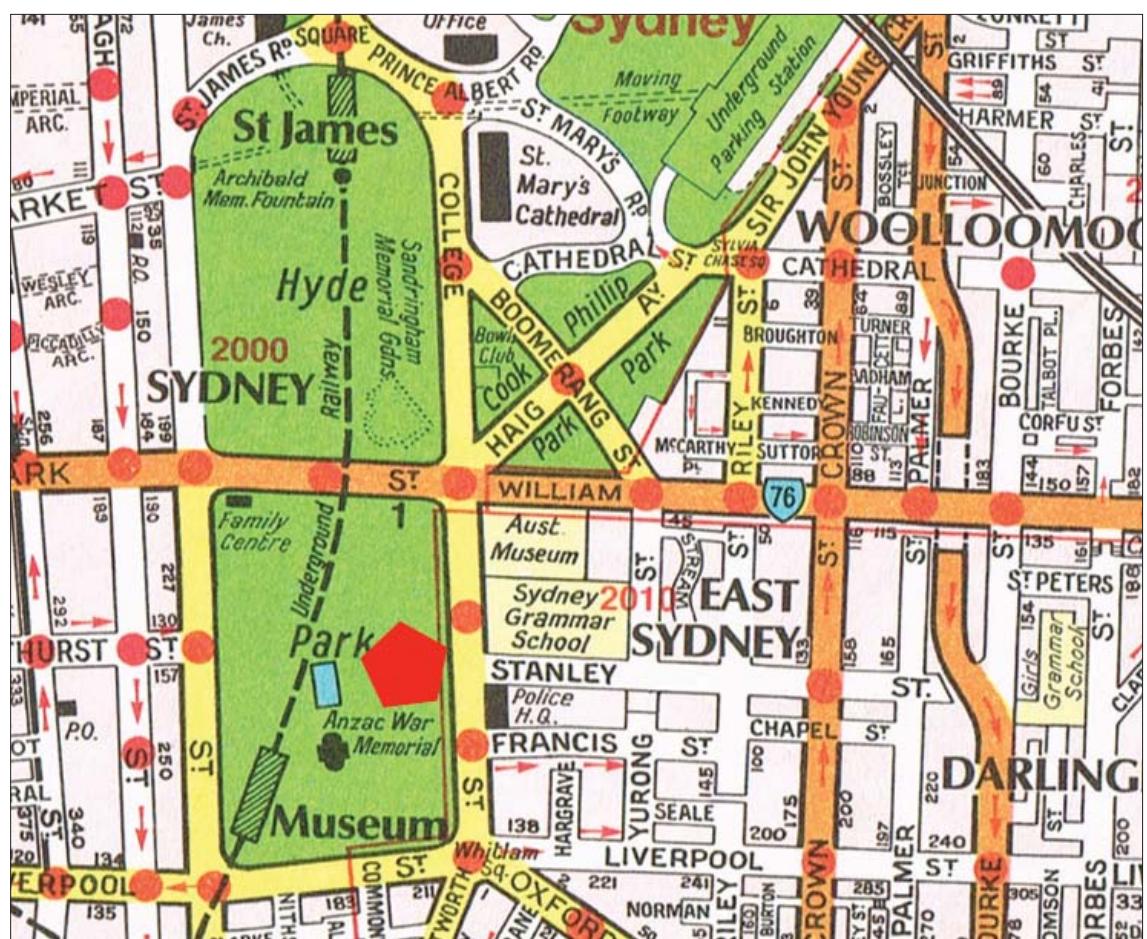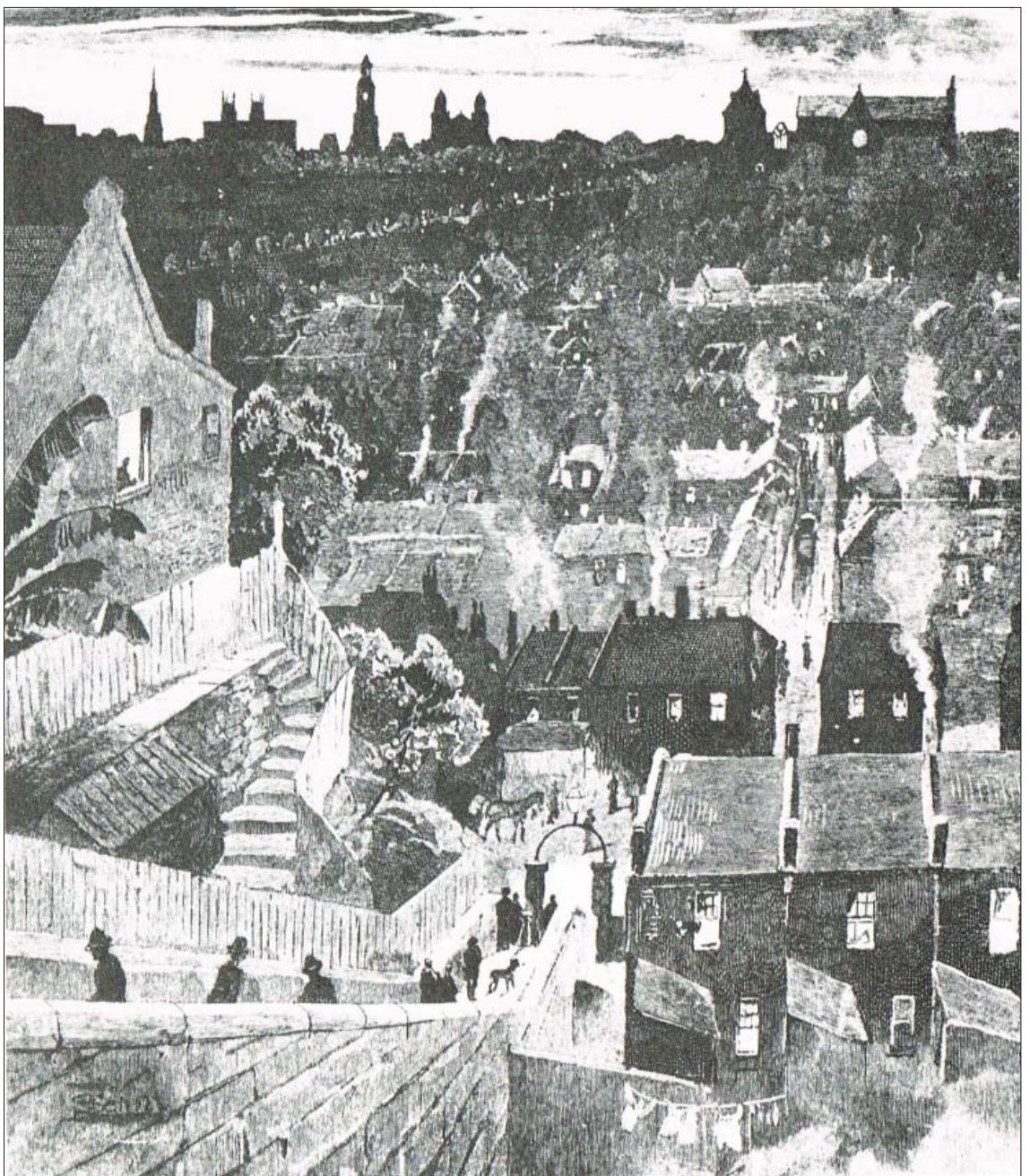
John Archer: *Building a Nation*, 1987, Collins Australia  p. 117.
This 1890 sketch from Garran's *Picturesque Atlas of Australia* gives a no doubt biased, but also useful impression of why inner city life was so often dismissed as unsatisfactory for the newly Federated nation.  The Darlinghurst "valley of sin" still exists, although will no doubt soon follow nearby Paddington and Surry Hills in becoming gentrified.
This drawing was done looking from the east, Kings Cross and Butler's Stairs back towards the city.  Note the Town Hall and St Andrew's Anglican Cathedral on the left hand horizon, the new Queen Victoria Building in the centre and the yet to be completed St Mary's Catholic Cathedral on the right.

*Museum of Australian Democracy:*
Federation German Arch. The German
Arch in Park Street prior to the parade.



1163.
Looking down Park Street today from the location of the Commonwealth Arch to the site of the German Arch. The widened street then plunges down into William Street and a Darlinghurst also becoming dominated by modern towers.

*State Library of Victoria:* H18521  a14752.
The corner of Park and College Streets in 1900, where the march
turned right and proceeded up the rise to Oxford Street.  William
Street on the left is much narrower prior to its widening over the
next decade.



1164.
The expanded Australian Museum still dominates the corner of Park and College Streets,
with Sydney Grammar School architecturally complementing next door.

1162.
The Sydney Boys' Grammar School, still the premier school for Sydney's elite, in the centre of the aptly named College Street.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-vn4704121-v.
College Street in 1900, looking along the roiute of the future march. The medical residences are visible in the background, and Sydney Grammar School is hidden by the Australian Museum.  The deserted streetscape would indicate a photograph taken on a Sunday afternoon.

*City of Sydney Archives:* 044123.
The classical Military Colonnade at the beginning of Oxford Street, with Hyde Park to the left. This was the last formal structure passed before the march proceeded out to Centennial Park.



1161.
The beginnig of Oxford Street today, with Hyde Park to the right. Towers such as the State Bank building now dominate Whitlam Square. The smart terraces have long gone, replaced by the Hyde Park Plaza. Wentworth Avenue drops down to the right in the middle distance.

# 13.  CITY REDEVELOPMENT
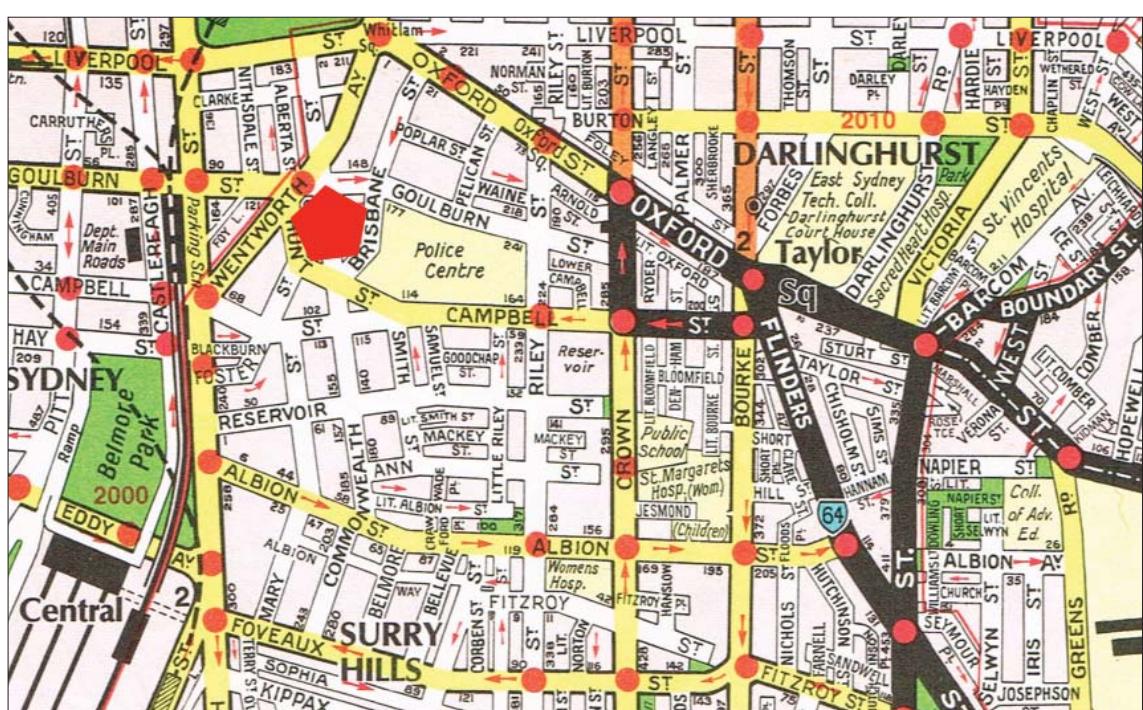
Central Station soon after construction, and before the addtion of the clock tower.  Eddy Avenue goes under the  viaduct in the foreground, with the tram viaduct behind in the backgound.  These roadway arches will later be mirrored in the arches shown below for the extended rail connection to the City Circle underground.



Private photograph from Flickr.
Eddy Avenue Central Railway today, with the re-instated tourist trams passing over the original tramway viaduct.
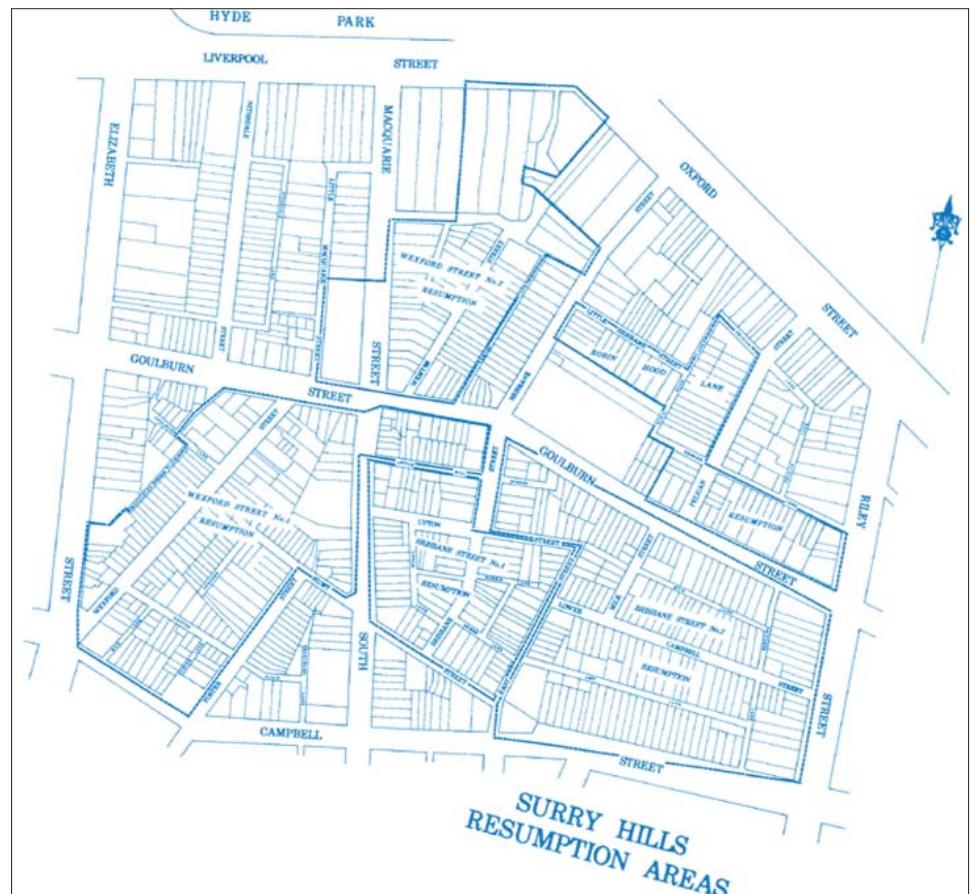
Sydney Streets: *City of Sydney* database.
The old Wexford Street district prior to redevelopment.



*City of Sydney Archives:* 067713.
Urban redevelopment early twentieth century style. Although demolished as part of the plague clean up, the area from Goulburn Street to Brisbane Street still looked like this in 1929.

*City of Sydney Archives:* 004175.
Wexford Street from Elizabeth Street prior to the redevelopment. This was the point nearest to the Central Railway construction site.



1405.
The former Macquarie Street South from the edge of Hyde Park; aptly re-named Commonwealth Street when the district was rebuilt after Federation.

*City of Sydney Archives:* 51 3028 003.
The fate of public institutions varied. The Chinese Church of England in Wexford Street was demolished as part of the redevelopment.
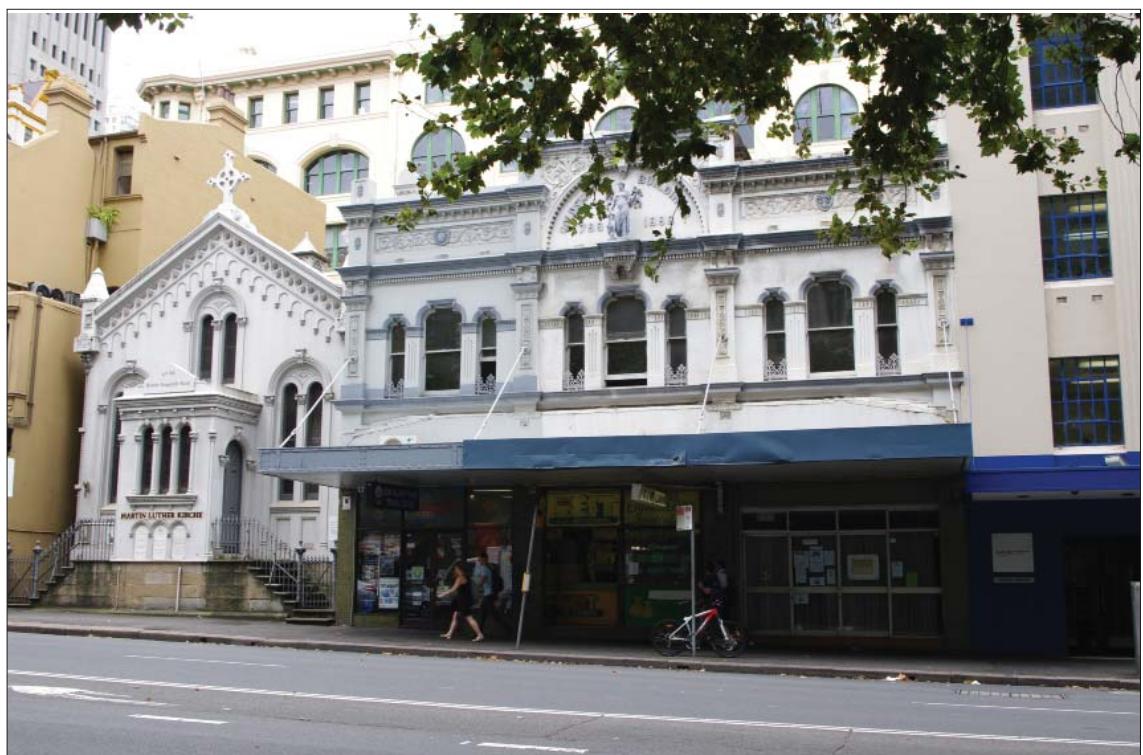


1397.
Some structures on the outskirts of the demolishing remained.  The Lutheran Church still stands in Goulburn Street, near the intersection with Elizabeth Street .

*NSW Govt Printing Office:* 1-47703. The original Wexford Street from Goulburn Street during the plague clean up in 1900. From this photograph, it is obvious why local authorities wanted the district improved.



1394.
All that is left of Wexford Street from Goulburn Street. Once the whole district was demolished and converted to commercial use, Foy Lane was constructed along the same alignment, running parallel to Wentworth Avenue.

*City of Sydney Image Library:* 004178.
Exeter Place from Foster Street. Foster Street still remains but
Exeter Street was swallowed up by Wentworth Avenue.



1392.
The broad expanse of Wentworth Avenue today, looking south towards Central Railway,
through the previously demolished district. Ironically, many of these buildings and sites
are now being converted back to residential, but for a very different clientele.

# 14. MARCH OUT TO CENTENNIAL PARK
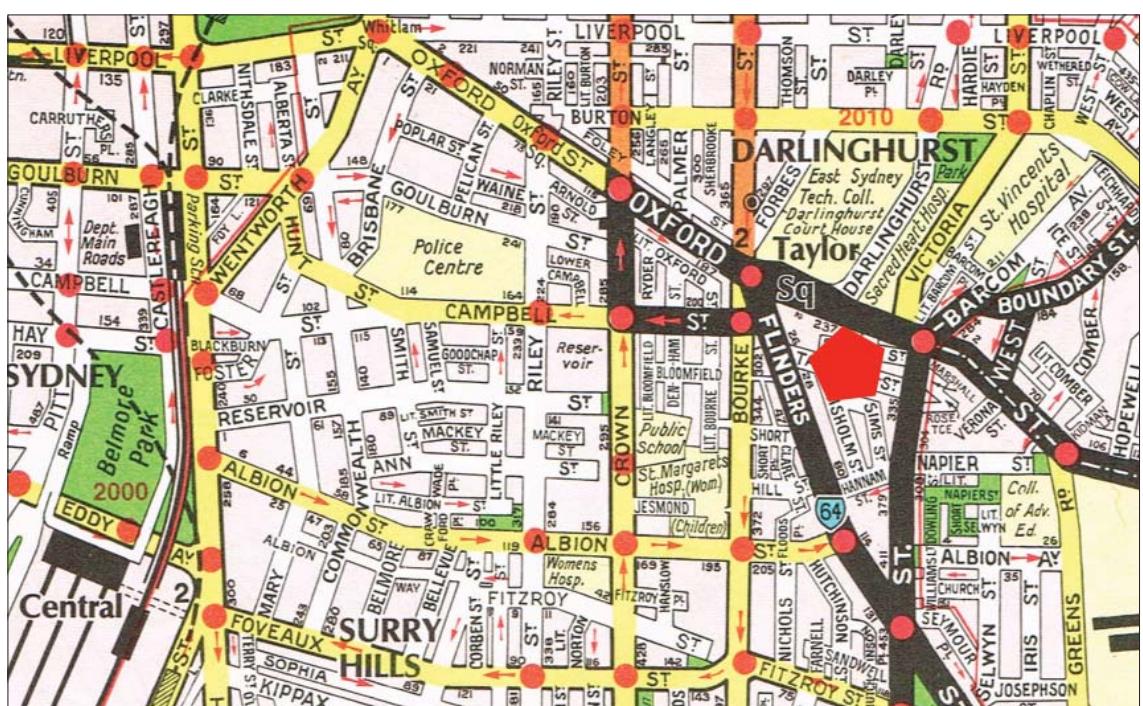
*State Library of Victoria:* H21638  b52477.
Oxford Street looking east from the corner of Hyde Park around 1900.  The whole left hand side of the street, including the original Burdekin Hotel, centre mid-ground, will soon be demolished to make way for street widening as part of the Wexford Street redevelopment.



1196.
Oxford Street from Whitlam Square and the point outside the noted three storey builing on the far left in the photograph above. Note the rebuilt Burdekin Hotel on the angled corner of Little Liverpool Street.

1197.
Darlinghurst Court House at Taylor Square. This august institution, and the gaol behind, would have been a significant site as the march progressed eastwards. The goal became part of East Sydney Technical College and recently, the National Art School.



1199.
Looking from Taylor Square.to the recently named Three Saints Square and Saint Sophia Church. Oxford Street to the east in the centre and Flinders Street to the south on the right, as it was in 1901, although the large intricate tram junction has long since gone.

*NSW Government Records Office:* 17420 a014 0001158.
Even in 1898, civic athorities had the foresight to construct the Rose Bay
tramline through the scrub that will soon become the Eastern Suburbs.
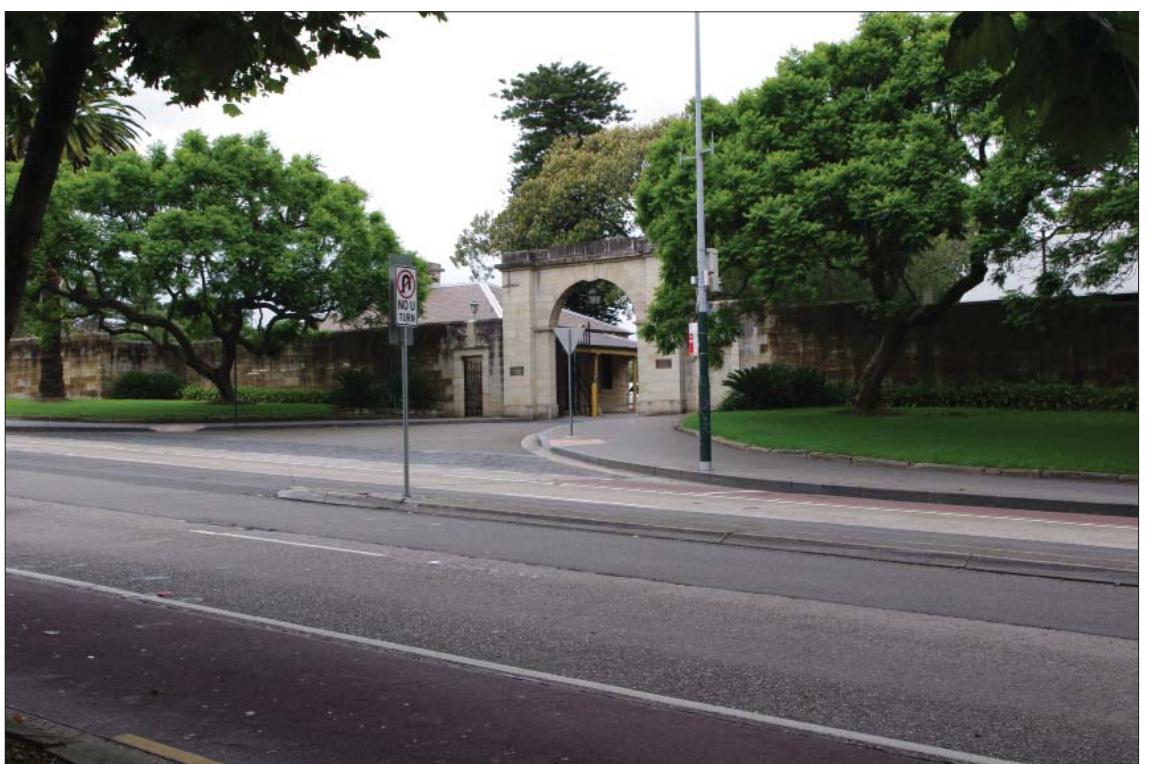


1456.
The rise up to Paddington proper passes Victoria Barracks, and the headquarters for the
military in Sydney for a century and a half.

1457.
Paddington Town Hall, at the crest of the hill from Victoria Barracks.
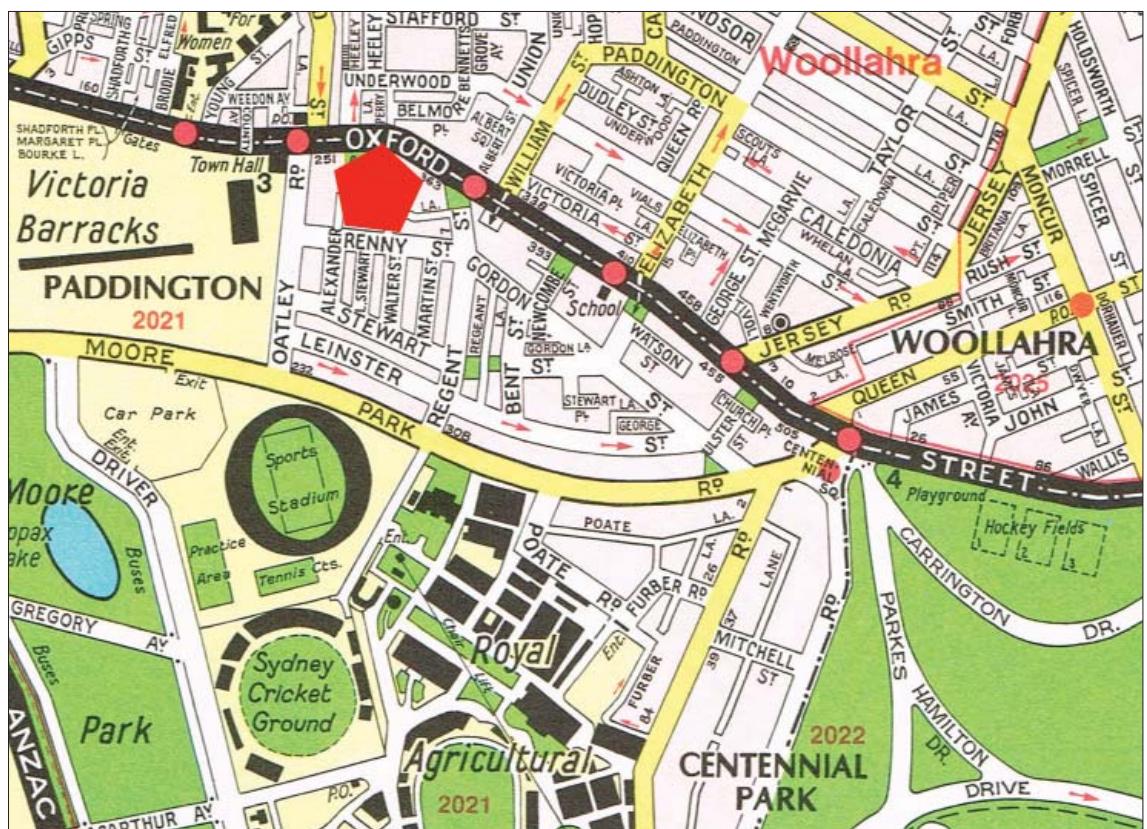
*City of Sydney Archives:* 032058.
Claimed to be Elizabeth Street, but possibly Oxford Street Paddington, with the St Francis of Assisi church on the left. The march would now be approaching Centennial Square and Centennial Park.
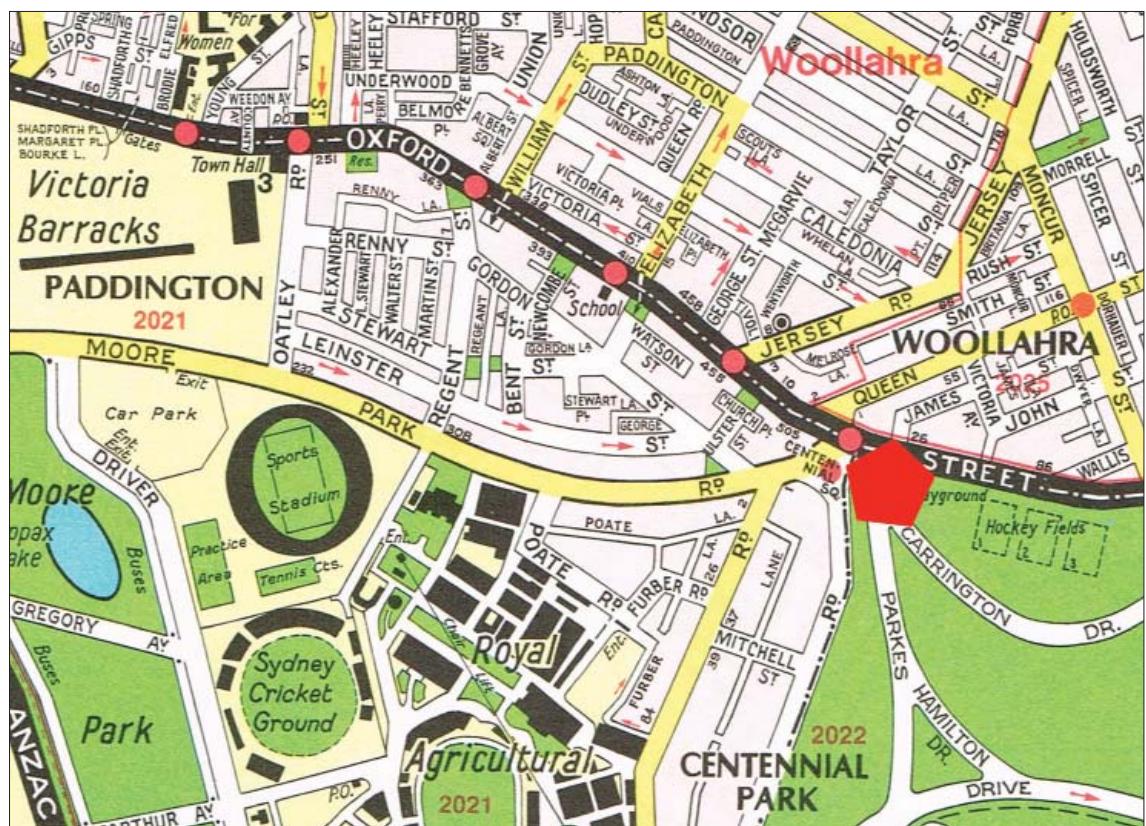
The original marble statue of Sir Henry Parkes.  Ironically, due to the parade entering by the side gate, the marchers would not have passed Parkes' statue.



1461.
The current bronze statue of Sir Henry Parkes on the corner of Hamilton and Parkes Drives in Centennial Park.  Note the degree to which the greenery has filled out over the century.

1464.
Alex Tzannes' 1988 Pavilion near the site of the original temporary inauguration struc-
ture. A sense of permanence at last.
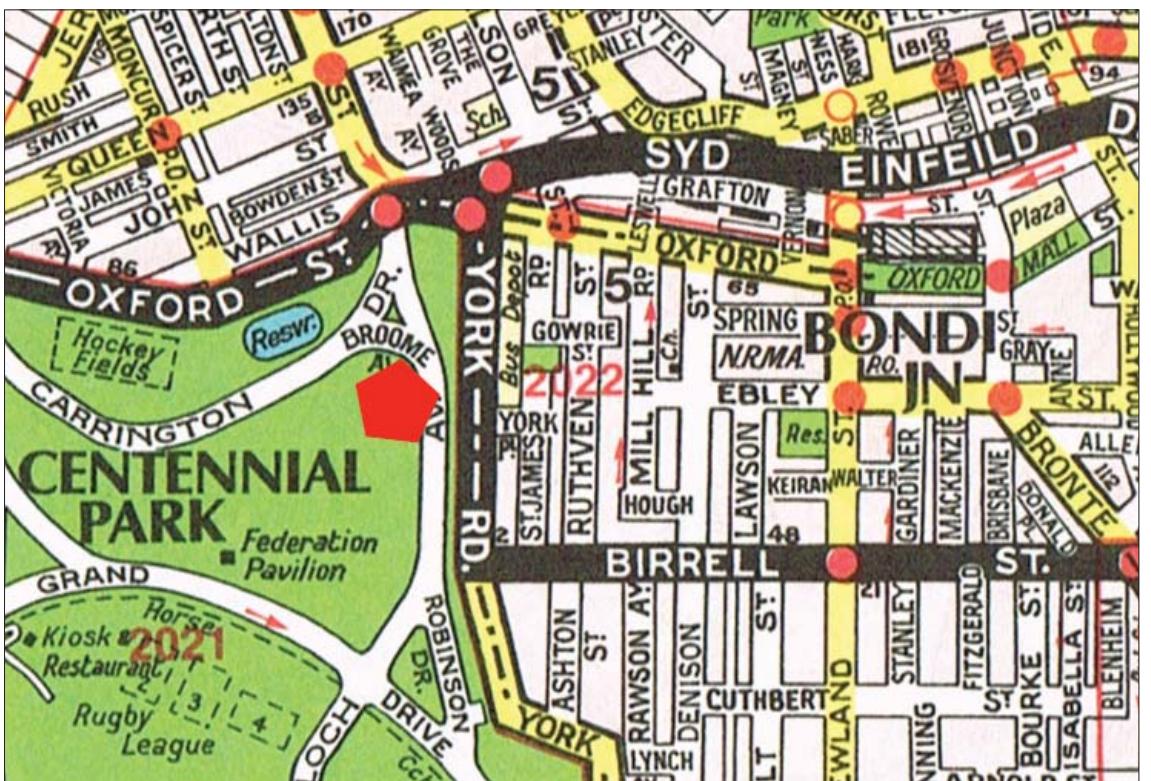
The Federation Pavilion and 1 January 1901 celebrations from above Federation Valley.  Busby's Pond in the background formed part of Sydney's earlier water supply.



1467.
The Tzannes' Federation Pavilion from the same location today.  Again, the growth of trees since the time of Federation covers the view to the still existant Busby's Pond.

*State Library of Victoria:* H18581 a14727.
The original celebrations from the slopes of the natural amphitheatre at the head of Federation Valley. Note the clothing worn on what would have been a muggy Sydney summer's day.



1469.
The Belvedere Amphitheatre now takes advantage of the slope above Federation Valley and the close proximity to public transport at Bondi Junction. At the time of my footstepping this was a construction site developing this significant location. It has since been completed with formal tiered viewing for outdoor performances.

# FOOTSTEPPING TO FEDERATION

An alternative approach to analysing Australian Society at the beginning of the Twentieth Century.

## MELBOURNE FEDERATION PARADE
## PHOTOGRAPH BOOKLET VOLUME 2

Eric Carpenter

# MELBOURNE  MARCH



*The Age:* 6 May 1901  p. 8. Route of the Melbourne Parade from St Kilda to the City.

# 1. POINT OF COMPARISON

*The Argus:* 6 May 1901 p. 6.
Route of the Melbourne
Parade.

THE PROCESSION.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE ROUTE.
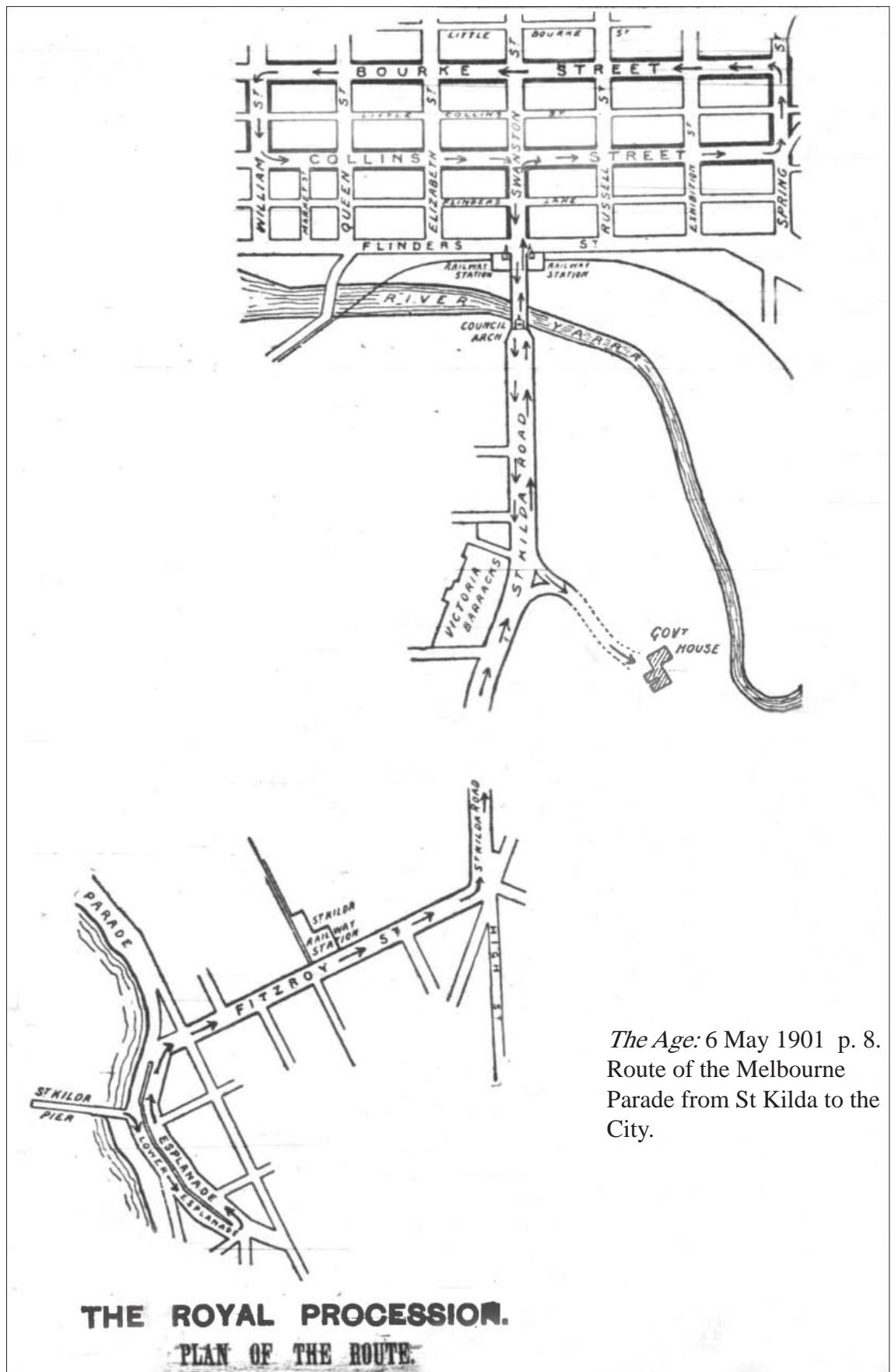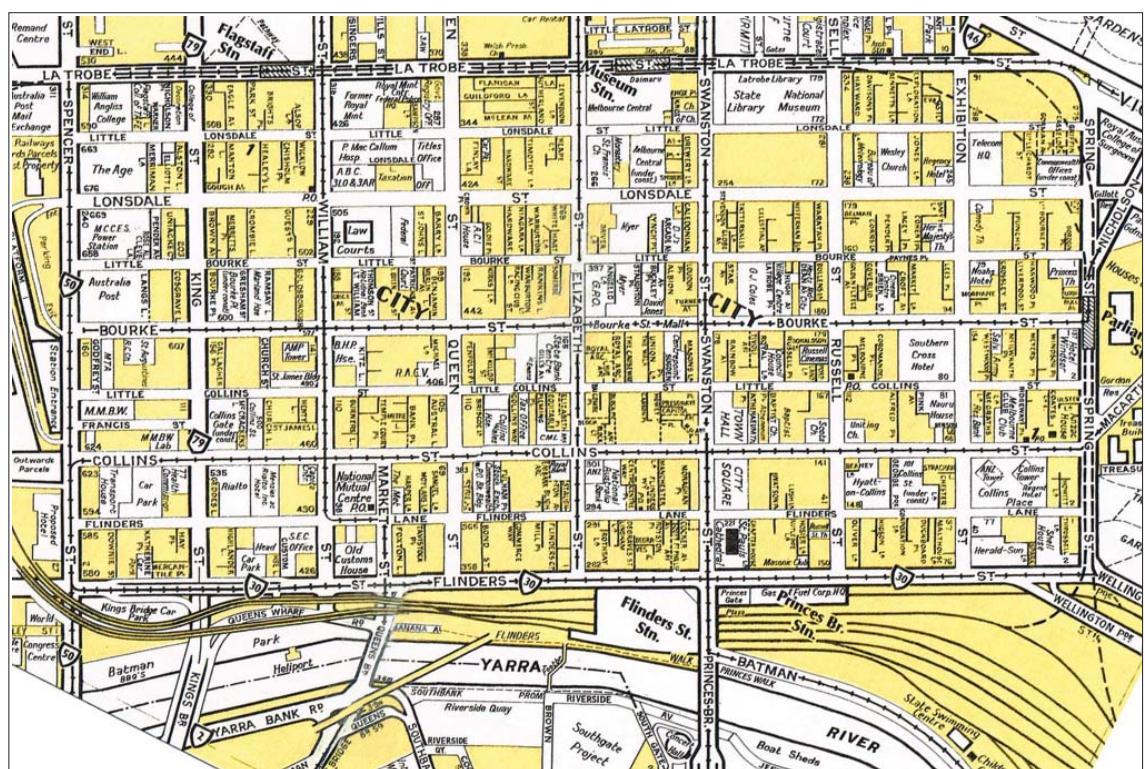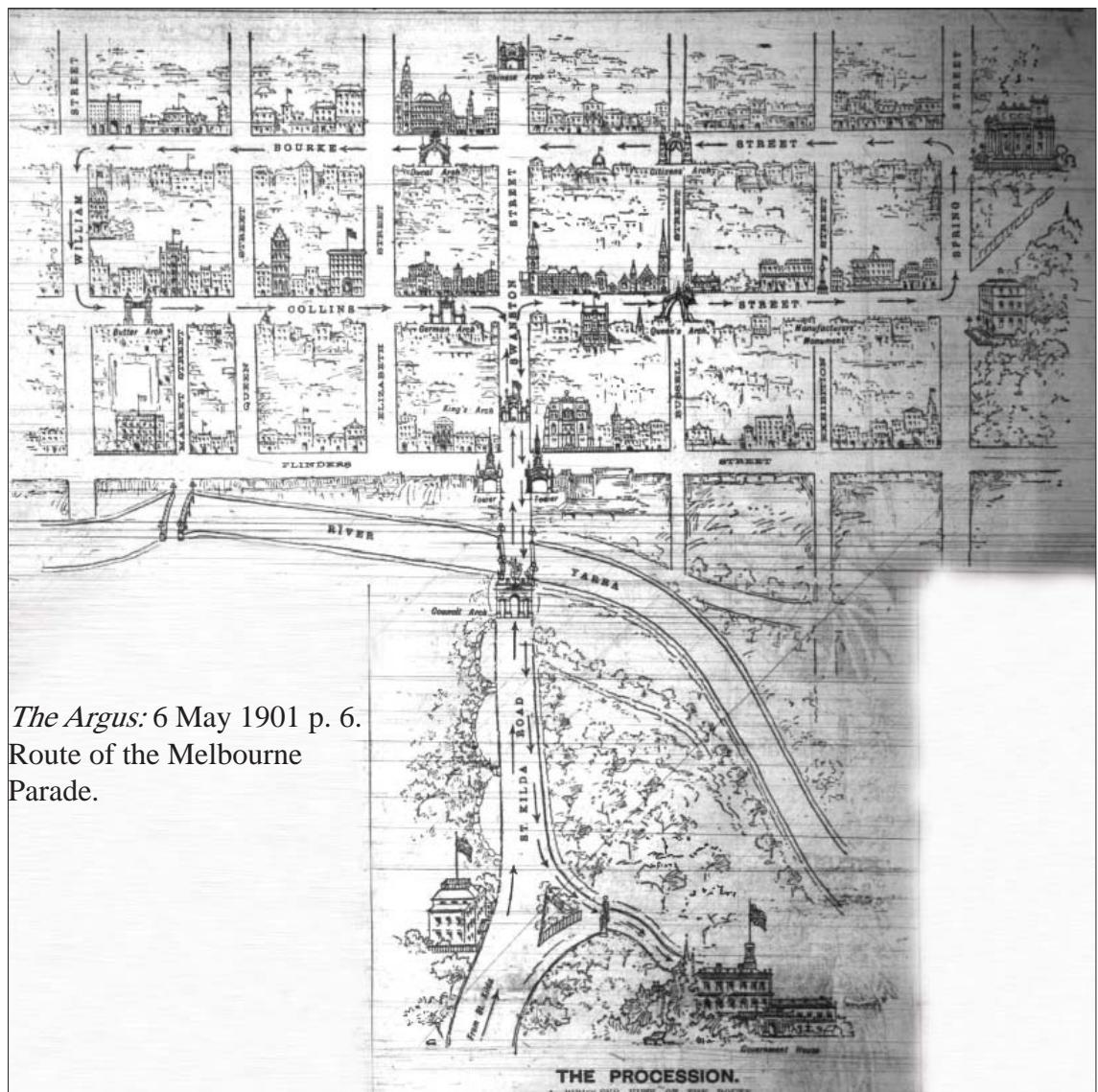
**ROUTE OF PROCESSION:**
**GOVERNMENT HOUSE TO EXHIBITION BUILDING.**

*The Age:* 9 May 1901 p. 7.
The later formal parade that accompanied the opening of Federal Parliament. Although the procession followed a slightly different route, the marchers would still have passed under almost all the arches.

TO-NIGHT'S FIREMEN'S TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION.
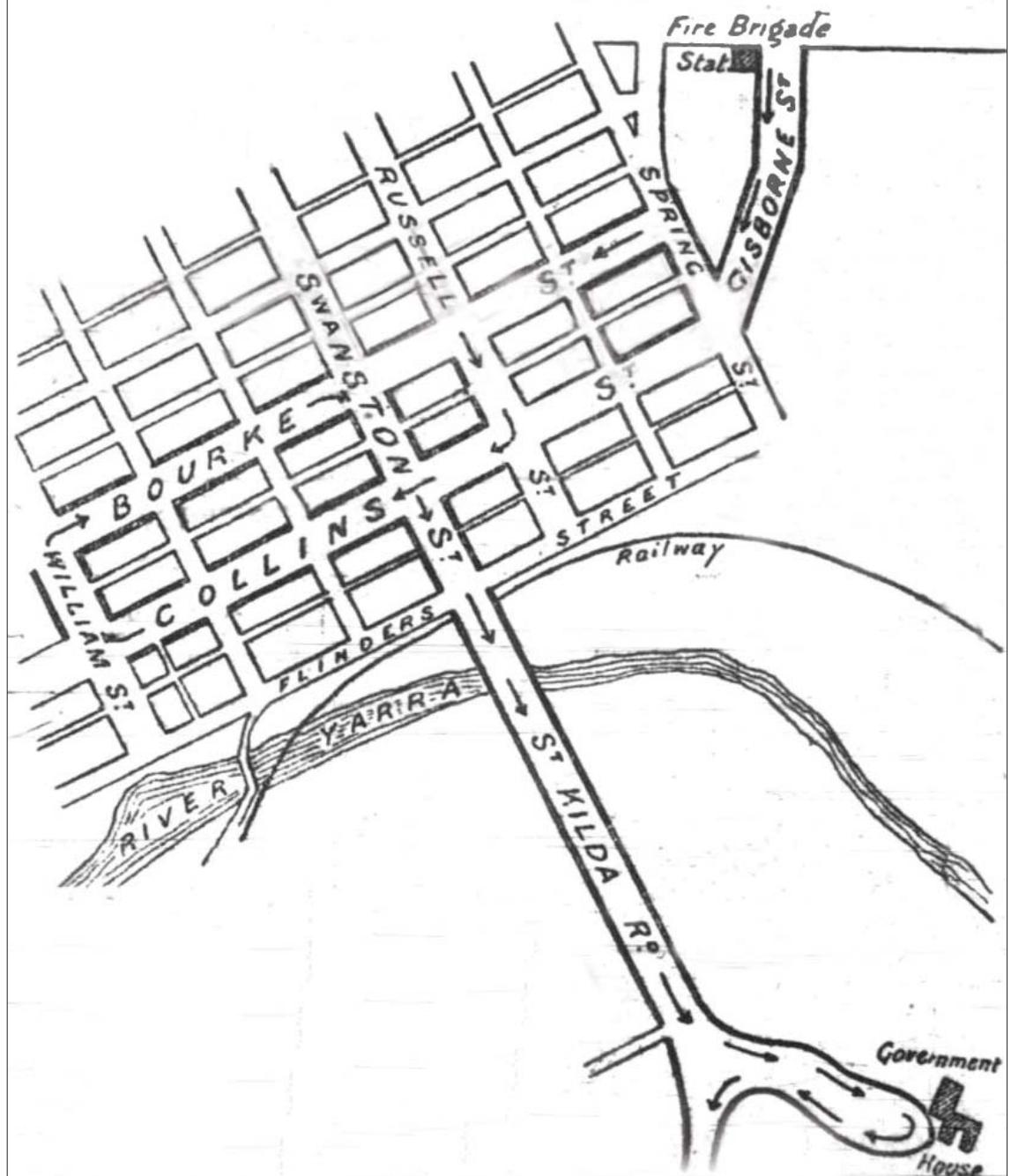
*The Age*: 6 May 1901  p. 5.
One of the supplementary marches in Melbourne that accompanied the opening of Federal Parliament. Again, although the route differed, most of the arches would have been passed.

# 2.  ARRIVAL IN MELBOURNE
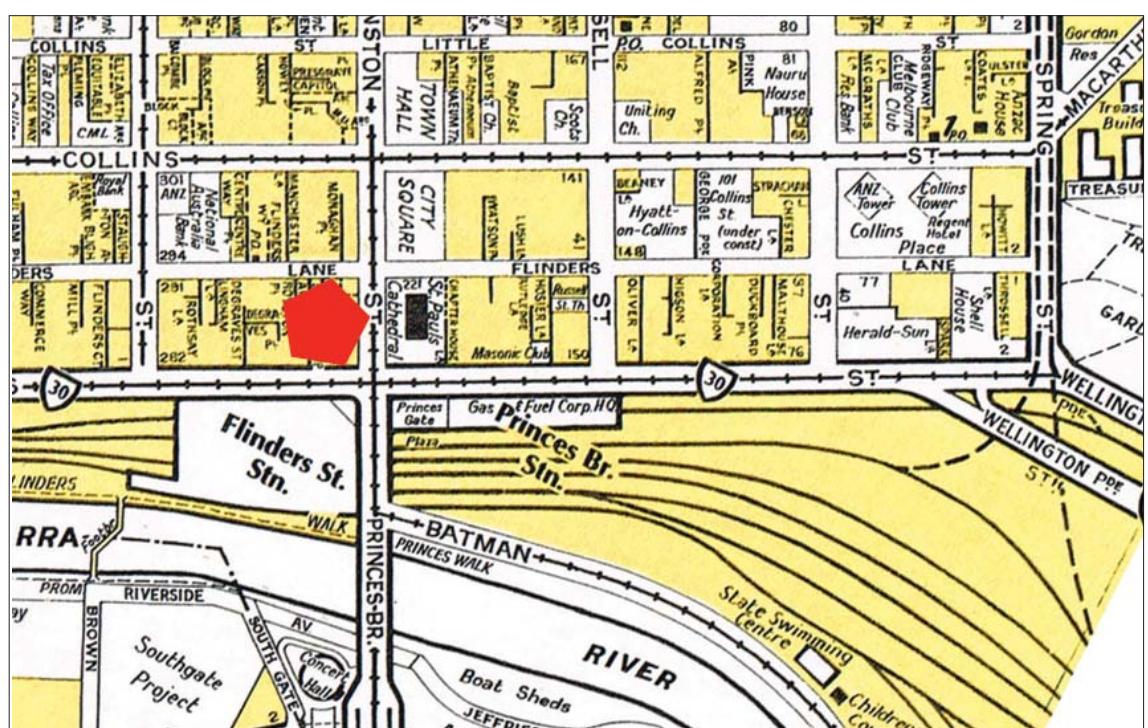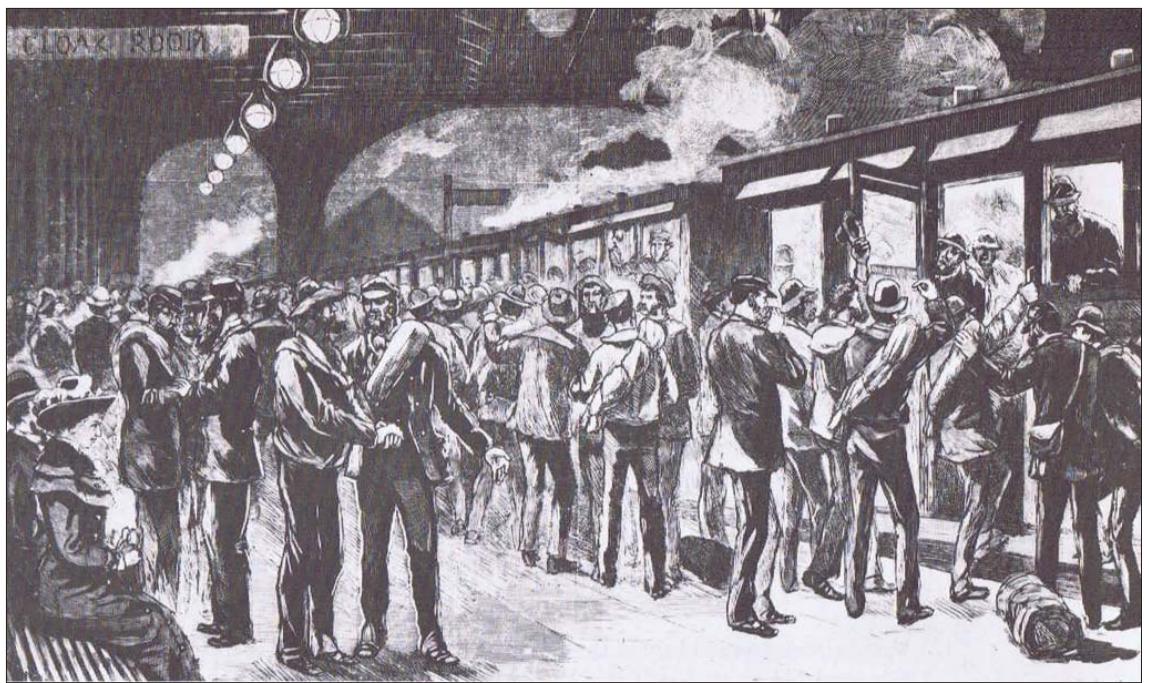
Patsy Adam Smith: *Romance of Australian Railways* p. 127.
The Sydney Railway Terminus in September 1880. Sailors turned miners are being fare-welled by shipmates from the *Zealandia* as they leave for the Temora Diggings.
This sketch would have been done at the old Sydney / Redfern Railway Station.



1868.
The semi-abandoned remnant of an earlier era.  These silver rails indicate that the Canberra Railway Station is still used; however its role as the principle link with the outside world has long been superceded by air and road transport.

WalkingMelbourne database.
Image No: P4XV14SF.
The entrance to Flinders Lane at the turn of the last century demonstrates the bustle of the workaday world.
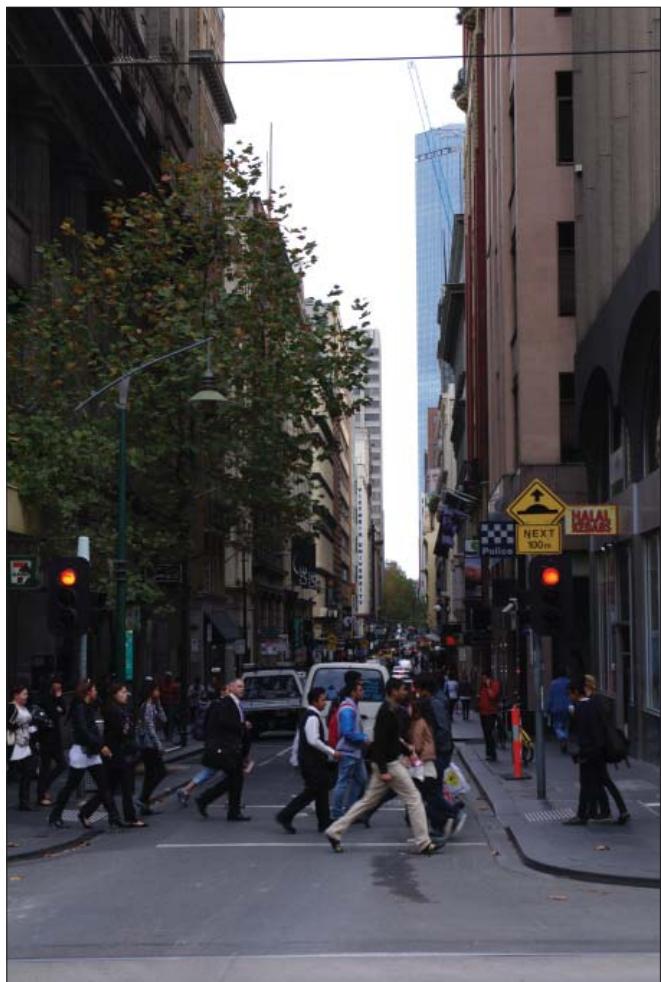


1621.
Flinders Lane today is a still hive of inner city activity, although now has as much to do with recreation and entertainment as industry and work.

*Melbourne Curious* database.
Swanston Street and the old Flinder's Street Railway Station around 1900, with the notably modern looking bicycle commanding the street. The Princes Bridge Hotel is yet to become Young and Jackson's.



1340.
Modern cycling past the Ocean of Experience and the entry to Flinder's Lane. Loretta Quinn's 1993 whimsical spiritual work is described as a commemoration of Australia's migrant experience.

# 3.  FIRES IN VICTORIA

1288.
Flying across northern Victoria on the 16 February 2009.  Smoke was still evident from the Black Saturday fires of a week earlier.

*Jake Valance Image:* 879335.
The devastation of the Victorian Black Saturday fires in 2009.

William Strutt: *Black Thursday.*
The famous and evocative painting of the Black Thursday fires on the 6 February 1851.

John Longstaff: *Gippsland Sunday Night 20 February 1898.*
The fires resulting from a heatwave in late 1897 and early 1898 burned through much of the country that would later be scorched by the 2009 fires.

# 4. ENTERING THE CITY
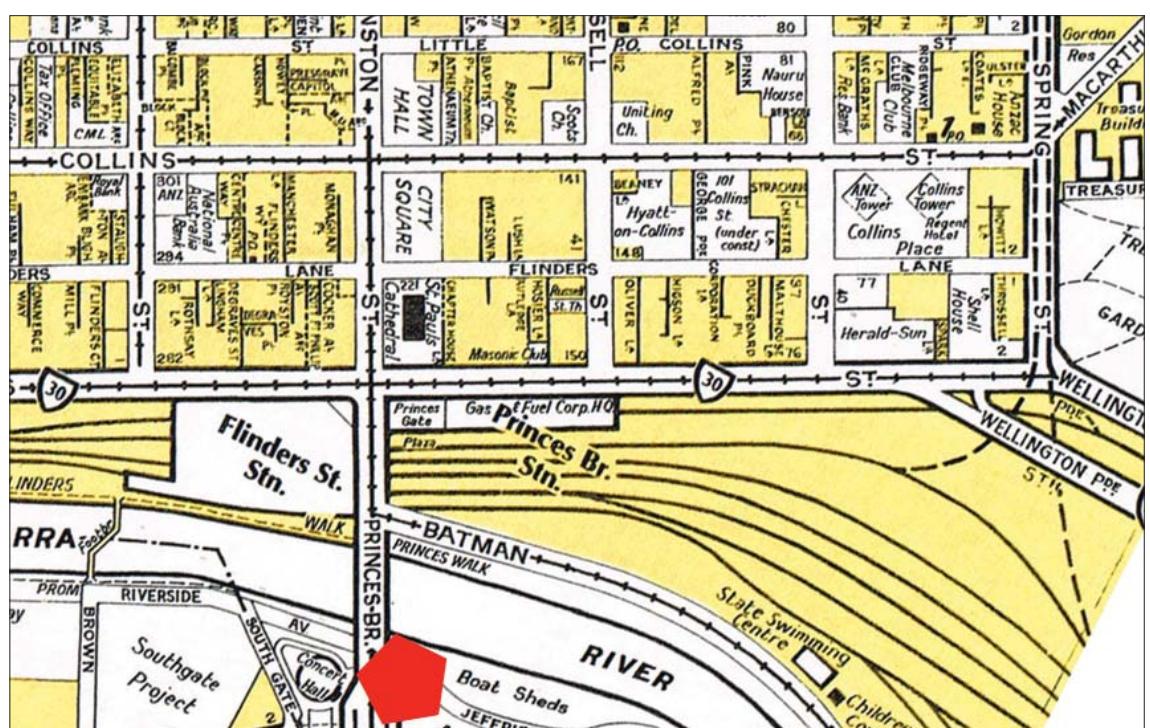
1637.
View along St Kilda Road back from the Shrine of Remembrance to St Paul's Cathedral and the southern entry into the City.



1638.
Victorian Governor Lord Linlithgow in 1895 at the State Government House entry.  In 1901, as Lord Hopetoun, John Adrian Louis Hope would become Australia's first Governor General.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an3229944091.
The Municipal Arch and decorations on the Princes Bridge leading into the City.

*National Gallery of Australia:* nga IRN+47148.
Frederick McCubbin: *Triumphal Arch at Prince's Bridge, Melbourne.*
As well as a quite accurate portrayl of the arch, this painting stands as a fine example of the Impressionism fashionable at the time.
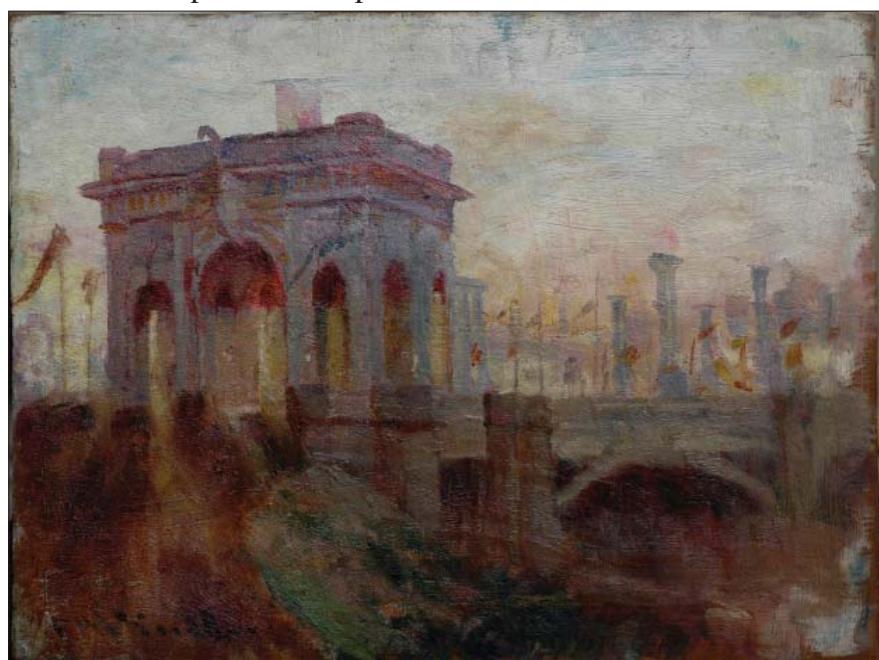
1296.
The scene today across Princes Bridge, from the location of the Municipal Arch.



1300.
Even among the modernist strucutres of South Bank, Victorian era decoration is appreciated and now restored to its former glory.

*National Libary of Australia:* nla.pic-an13117280.
The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York about to cross the
Princes Bridge enroute from Government House.  This photograph
was taken from the point of the later Pick-up-sticks Arch, as indi-
cated by the shadow of the Municipal Arch.



*Paul Pickering Image.*
The 2001 Centenary Arch looking back down St Kilda Road.
Quickly labelled the Pick-up-sticks Arch, this edifice appeared to
fail somewhat in embodying the gravitas of such an important
commemoration. Note also the degree to which the trees alongside
the road have grown over the intervening century.

*Paul Pickering Image.*
The discarded Centenary Arch. Even after a century, Australian society seems ambivalent about the long term recognition of such significant events.

St Peters: *Sydney and Suburbs* database.
Remnants from the "Best Games Ever" are now fading away at the St Peters recycling depot. At least they remain intact.

State Library of Victoria:
H92.200/4717 b18309.
The two Railway Towers at the intersection of Flinders and Swanston Streets.



National Library of Australia: nla pic-an13117280-9.
The Towers illuminated at night by the modern marvel of electricity.
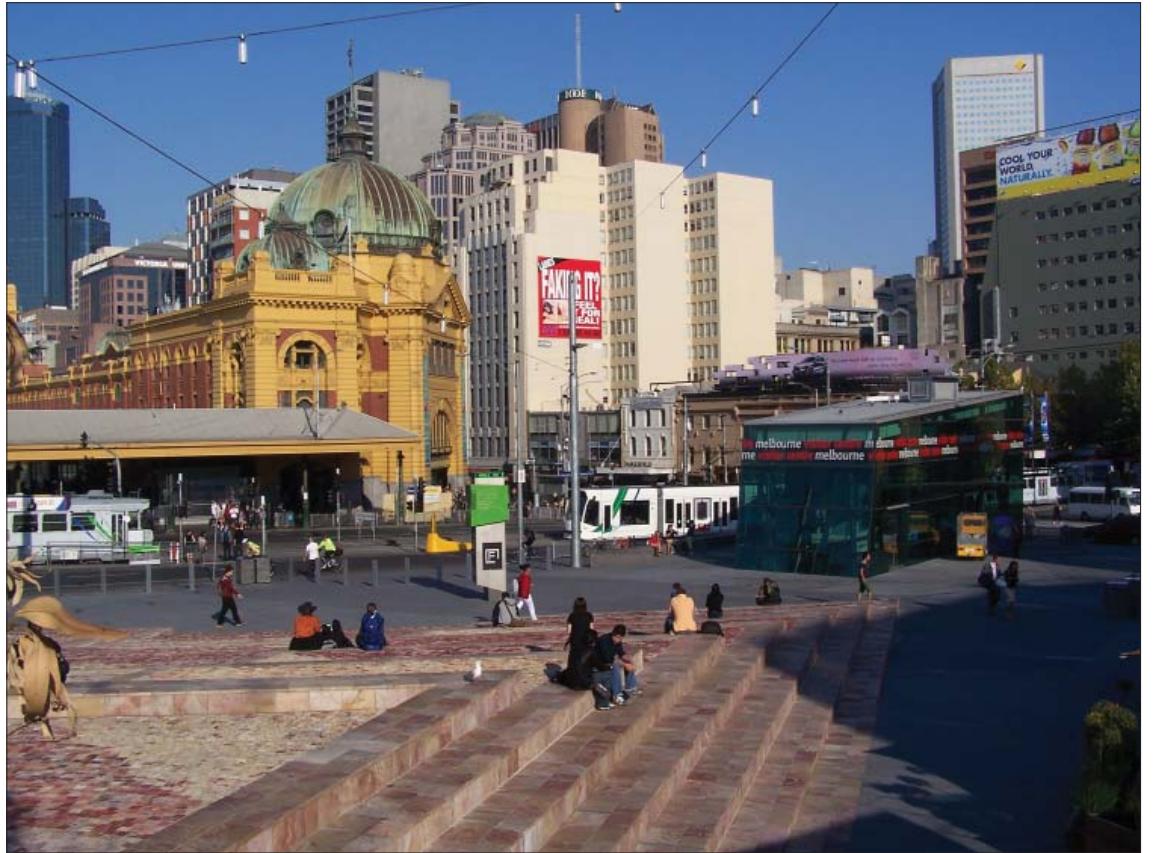
1311.
The location of the Railway Towers today, with the famous Flinders Street Railway Station entry viewed from Federation Square.

*Walking Melbourne* website.
The original Flinders Street Railway Station from Swanston Street in 1901. The parade would have entered the city from the left.
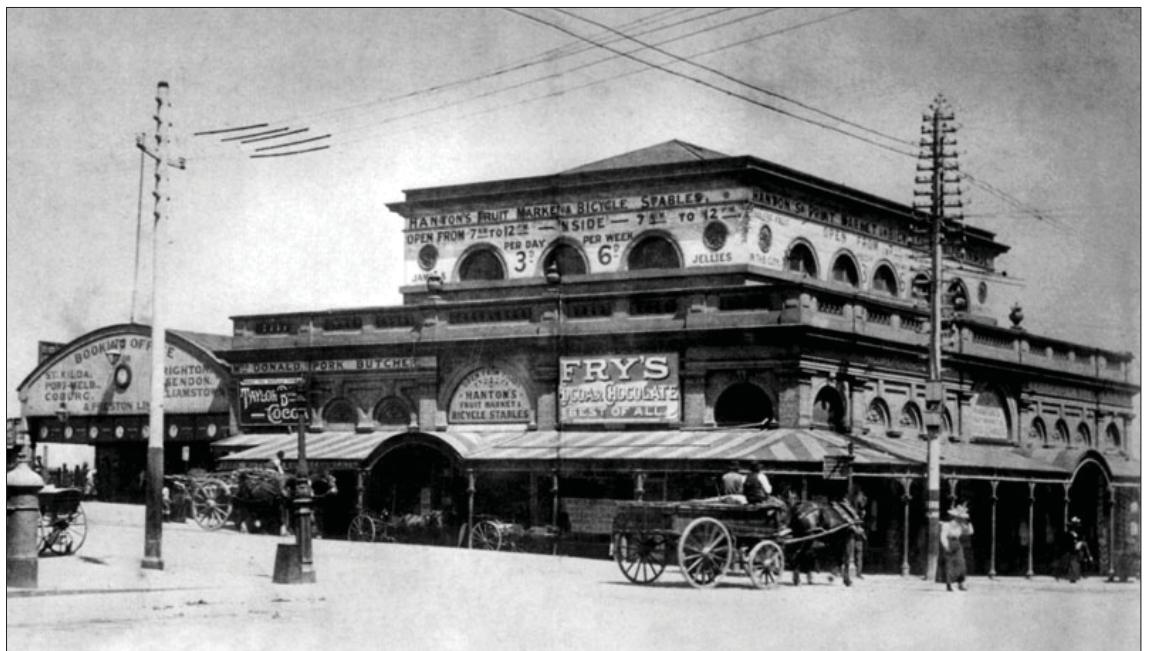
1327.
St Paul's Cathedral, with its orange Sydney sandstone spires, continues to dominate the inter-section today.
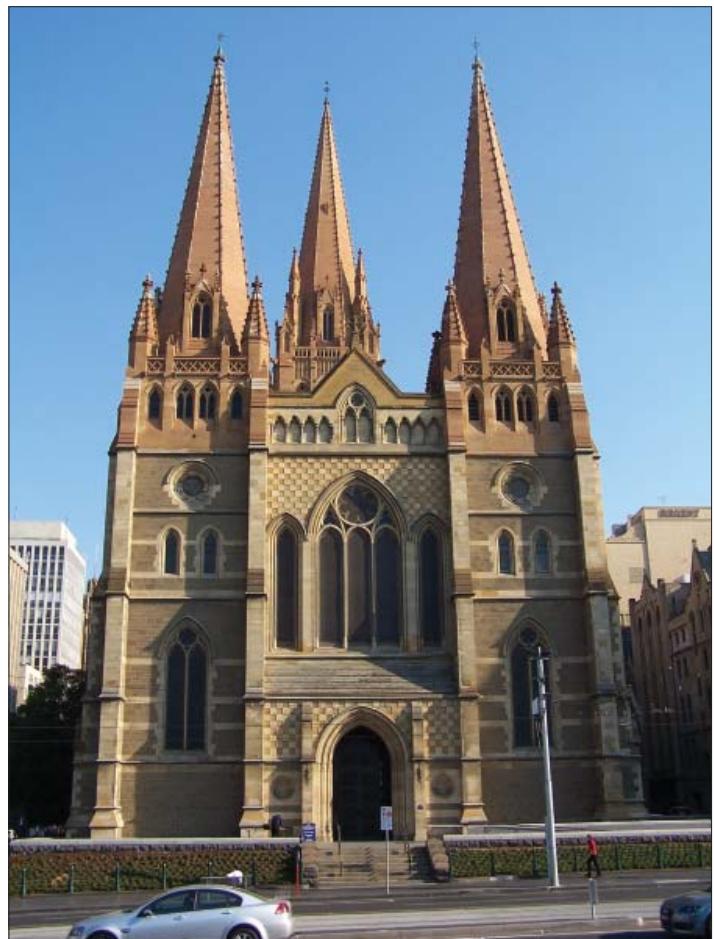
*State Library of Victoria:* Rose Series image 201.
Princes Bridge in the late 1930s.  Flinder's Street Station is well established on the right, and the future site of Federation Square contains the shops and entrance to Princes Bridge Railway Station at the lower left.  Federation Square will eventually cover over the open railway lines and yards on the left hand side of the road.

1319.
A rapidly lost enthusiasm?  Trees planted in Federation Square in 2001, and apparently forgotten are now slowly dying of neglect.

1325.
The permanent Commemoration of Federation under foot in Federation Square.

# 5.  SETTLEMENT AND PLANNING
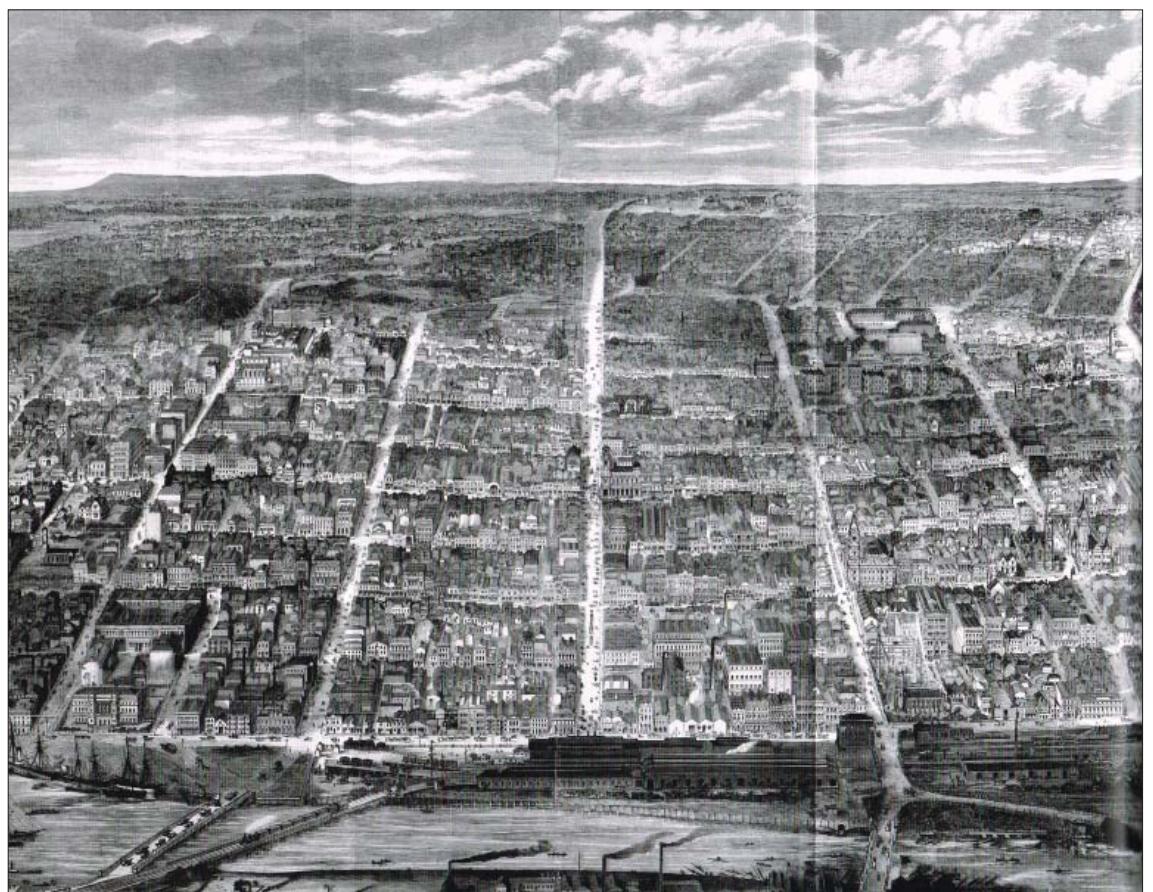


*Illustrated Australia News:* from the Univerity of Melbourne collection.
Samuel Calvert's engraved panorama of Melbourne in 1880 looking across the Yarra
River.  Princes Bridge is in the lower right hand corner, with the railway station above it
already a dominant feature.

Victorian Depatment of Planning and Community Development: *Heritage Victoria*. Nathaniel Whittock (1791-1860), City of Melbourne 1854, drawn from official surveys and sketches.
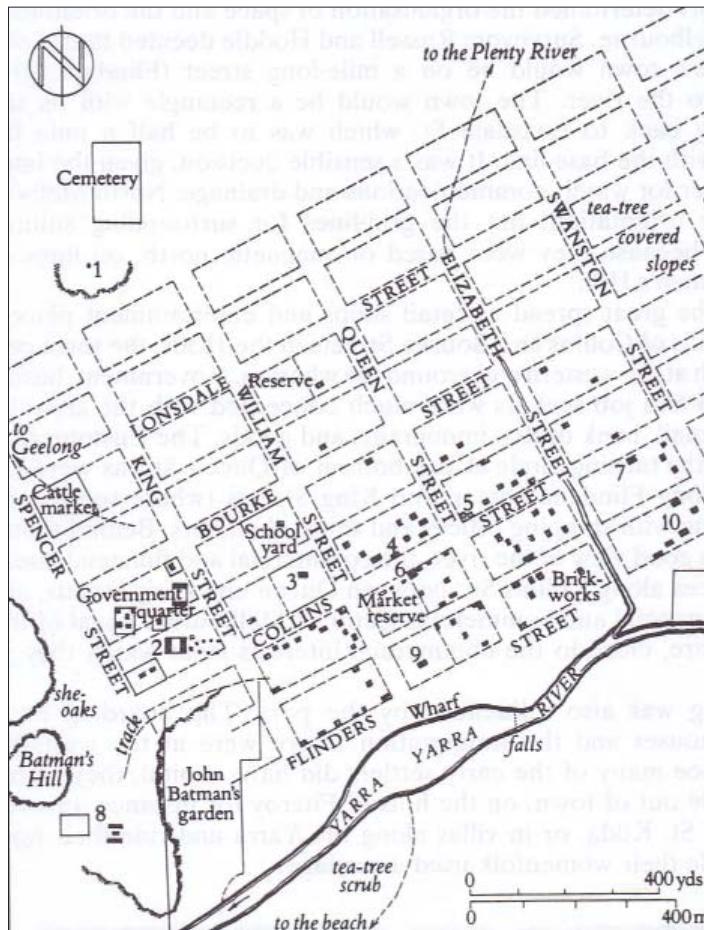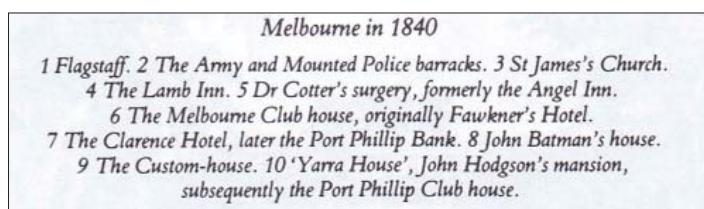


Jill Eastwood: *Melbourne the Growth of a Metropolis*, 1983, p. 15.
This 1840 map shows clearly the almost 5 chain blocks, with the 'little streets' running east west. Townend Stream and the source of future flooding is also evident down the alignment of Elizabeth Street.

1335.
The 99' (30 m) main roads in Melbourne retain dual tram tracks while still allowing room for vehicular traffic.  This was one of the reasons for Sydney abandoning trams half a century ago: that city's streets were simply too narrow.

1568.
Filling in the corner of George Parade and Collins Street, the Kitchen Cat restaurant  takes full advantage of the close ambience offered by Melbourne's little streets and laneways.

# 6.  MARVELOUS MELBOURNE
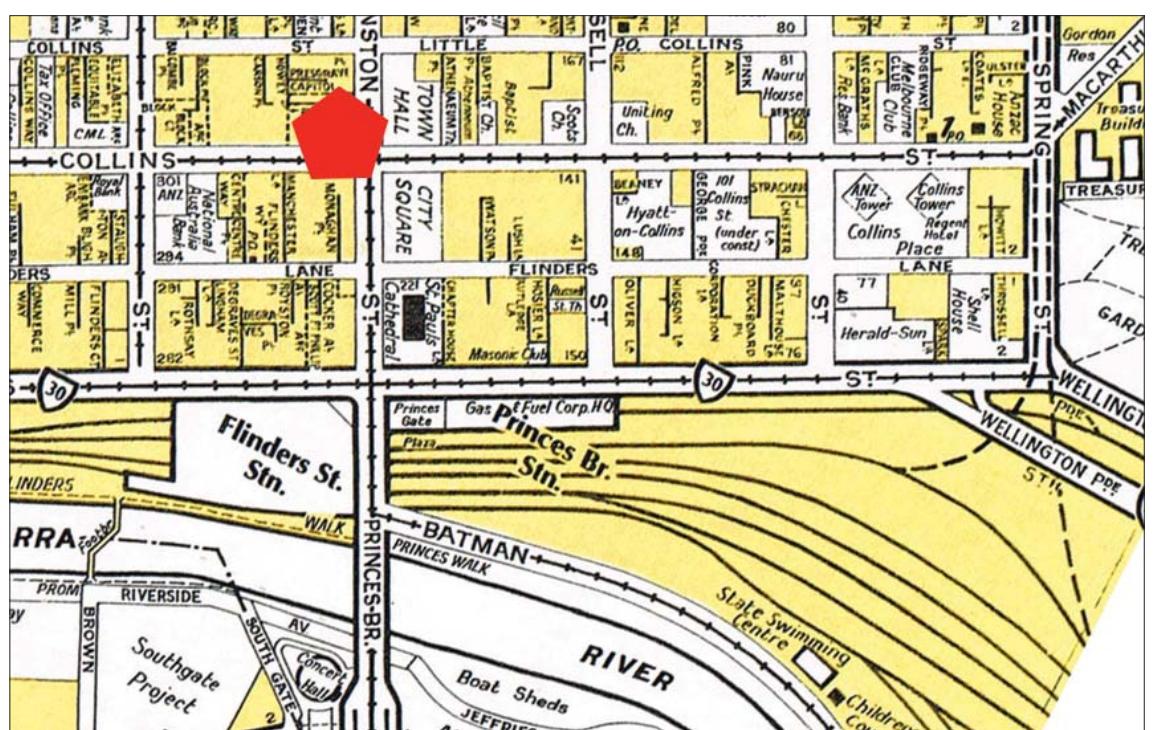
1641.
Web Gilbert's famoust statue of Matthew Flinders, with its apparently ever present sea gull, along the side of St Pauls Cathedral.



1594.
The Charles Summers' statue of Burke and Wills, with City Square and the Westin complex behind.  Having been moved many times since its creation in 1865, the statue arrived at its current location only in 1994.

*State Library of Victoria:* H2006.188/67 pi005254. Awaiting the procession to pass under the King's Arch. The Cathedral Hotel site is now occupied by City Square, while the stunted tower of St Paul's is just visible above the left hand flag on the arch.



1521.
The current location of the King's Arch in Swanston Street, looking back to St Paul's with the later addition of the spires.
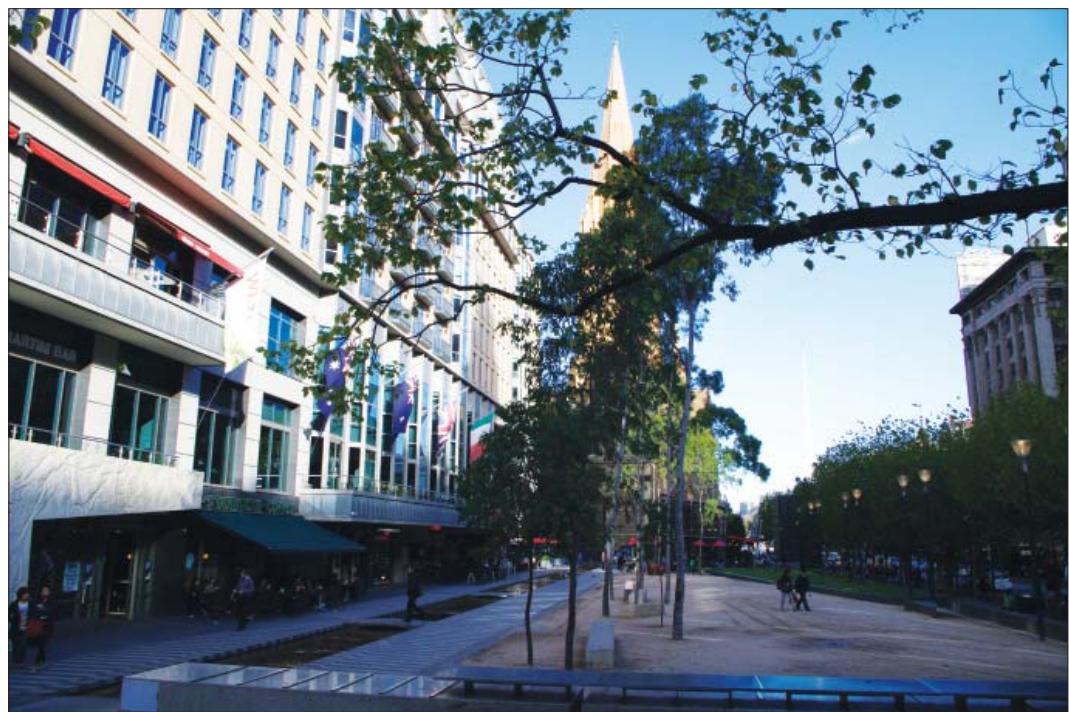
1564.
The much reduced City Square today, adjacent to the location of the King's Arch.
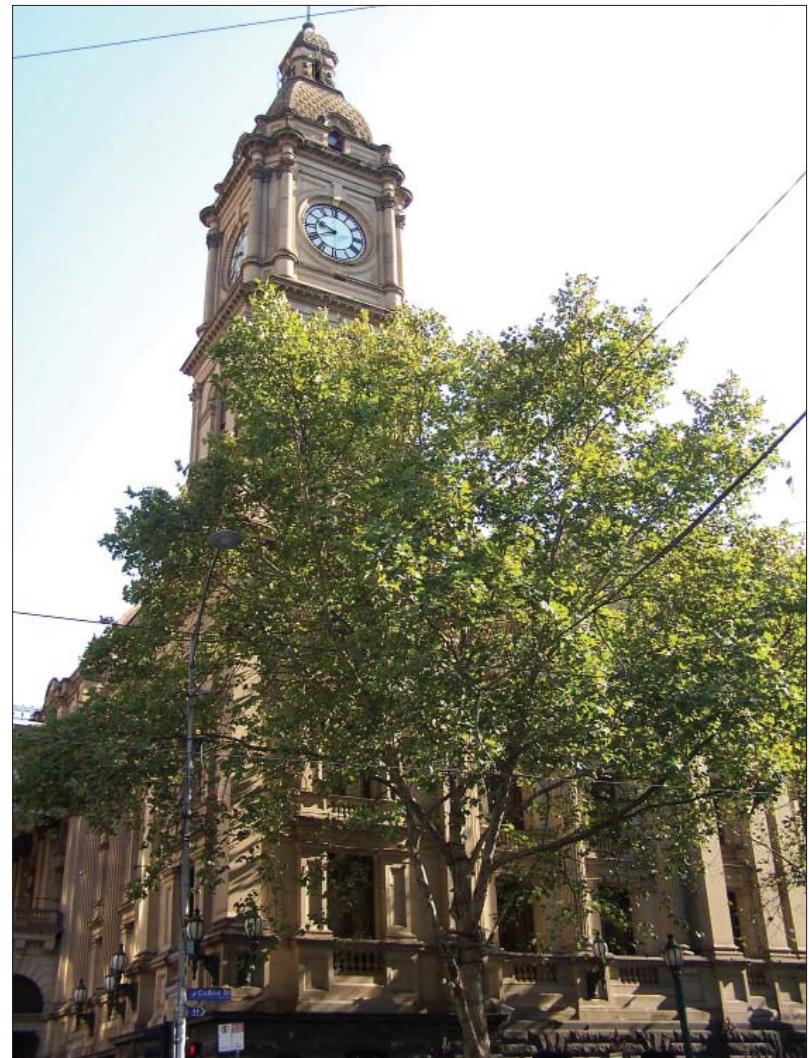


1351.
As was the case with Sydney, Melbourne's Town Hall was conspicuously by-passed by the parade.

*State Library of Victoria:*
H33608 pi000082.
The parade passed most of Melbourne's denominational churches, including the Collins Street Baptist Church. The Church as it was in 1901 with a rather alienating iron gate entry.
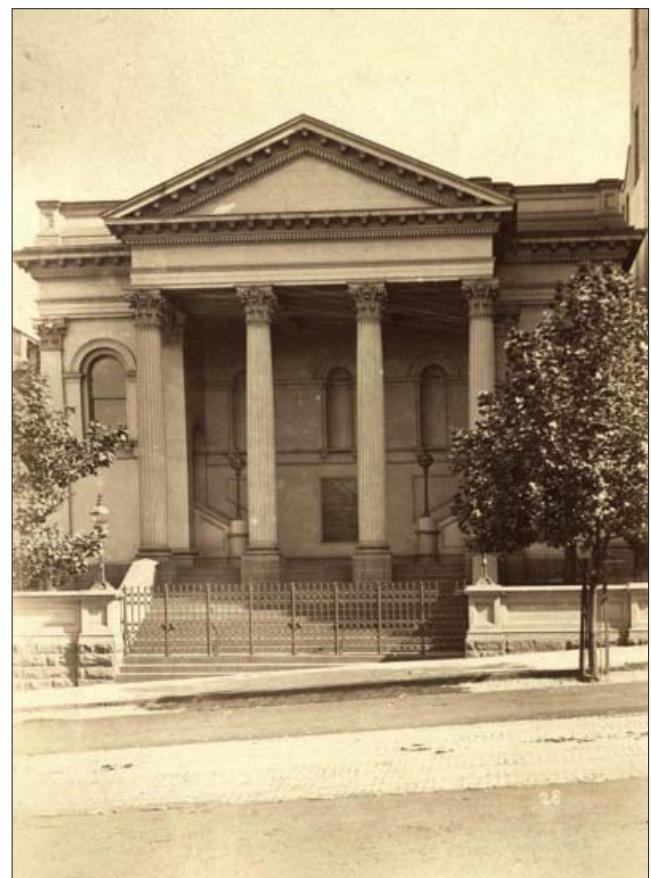


1357.
The church today is more open to the public, but now with an even more incongruous jewelery shop attached.

1566.
The location of Web Gilbert's original studio in George Parade, formerly La Trobe Parade. The laneway has been totally altered beyond recognition.
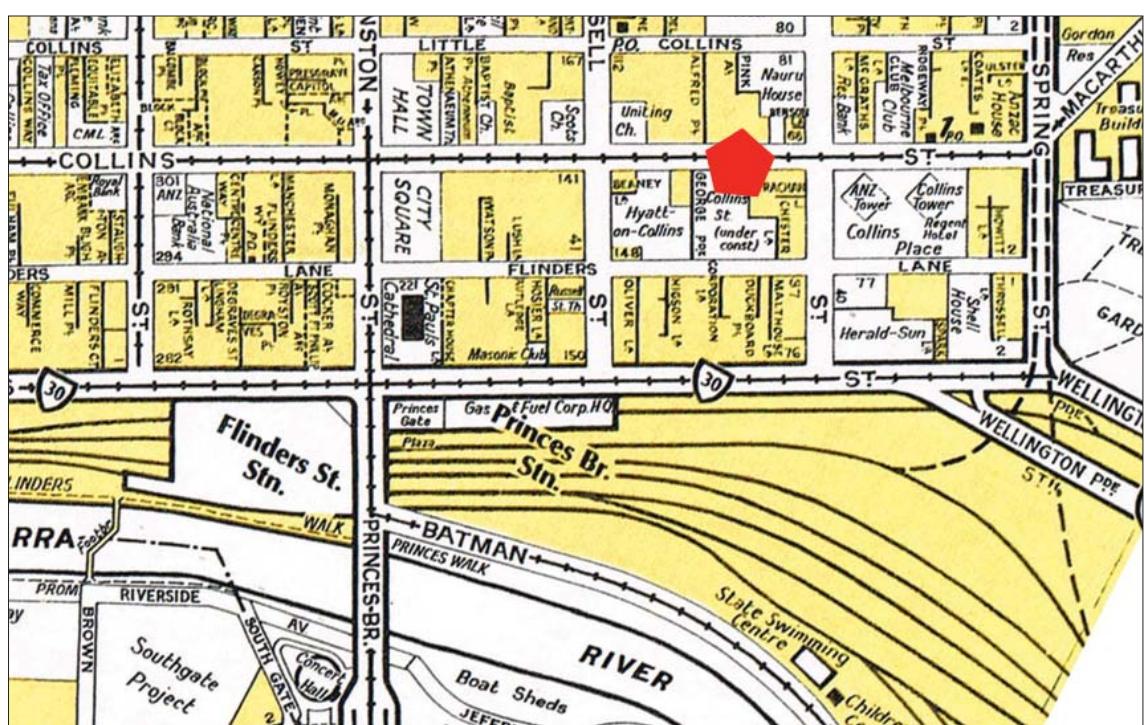
*State Library of Victoria:* H2005.34/241 je000309. Postcard presentation of the Queen's Arch looking back down Collins Street. Note the steepness of the roadway down to Swanston Street.



1361.
St Michael's Congregational, now Uniting Church, on the corner of Collins and Russell Streets, the location of the Queen's Arch.

1379.
Numbers 5 and 7 Collins Street were the residences of George Rolfe and surgeon W K Bolton. The building still houses medical offices today.
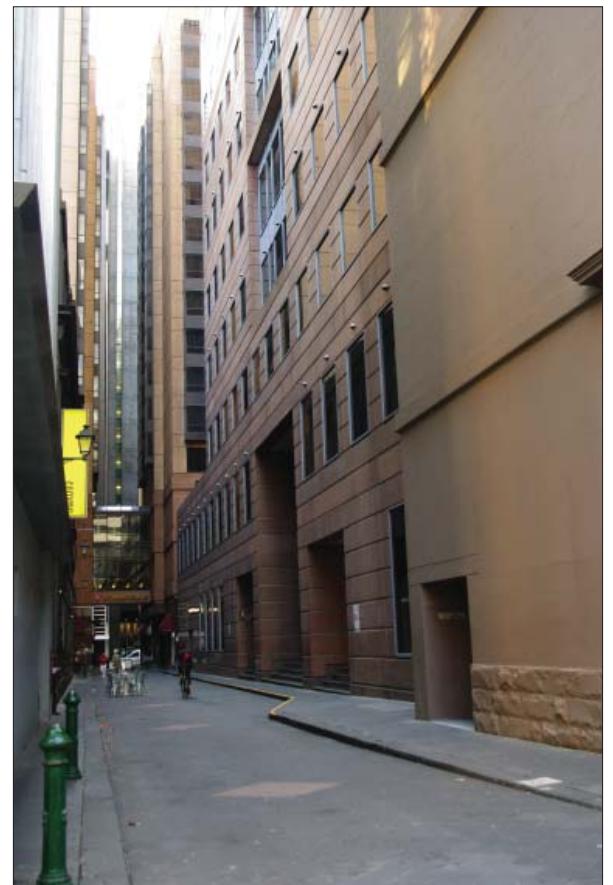


1572.
Alfred Place and the former location of Robert Berry's Livery Stables, indicating the importance of horses until at least the First World War.

1574.
70 to 80 Collins Street; former site of medical offices (similar to the building in the image below) turned into a vacant lot and public space as a result of concerns over the loss of heritage value!  Originally designated as a car park for the Nauru House behind.

1369.
Plaque on the townhouse site. Recognition of a lost heritage.



FORMER
TOWNHOUSE
AND SURGERY
A fine example of the townhouses
that lined this fashionable residential area
in the nineteenth century. This well proportioned
three storey house was built in 1867 for the surgeon
Dr. John Wilkins as a residence and consulting
rooms. The house was owned and occupied
by surgeons until 1911.

City of Melbourne



1370.
A fine example of the townhouse that would have originally occupied the space.

# 7.  SEATS OF POWER
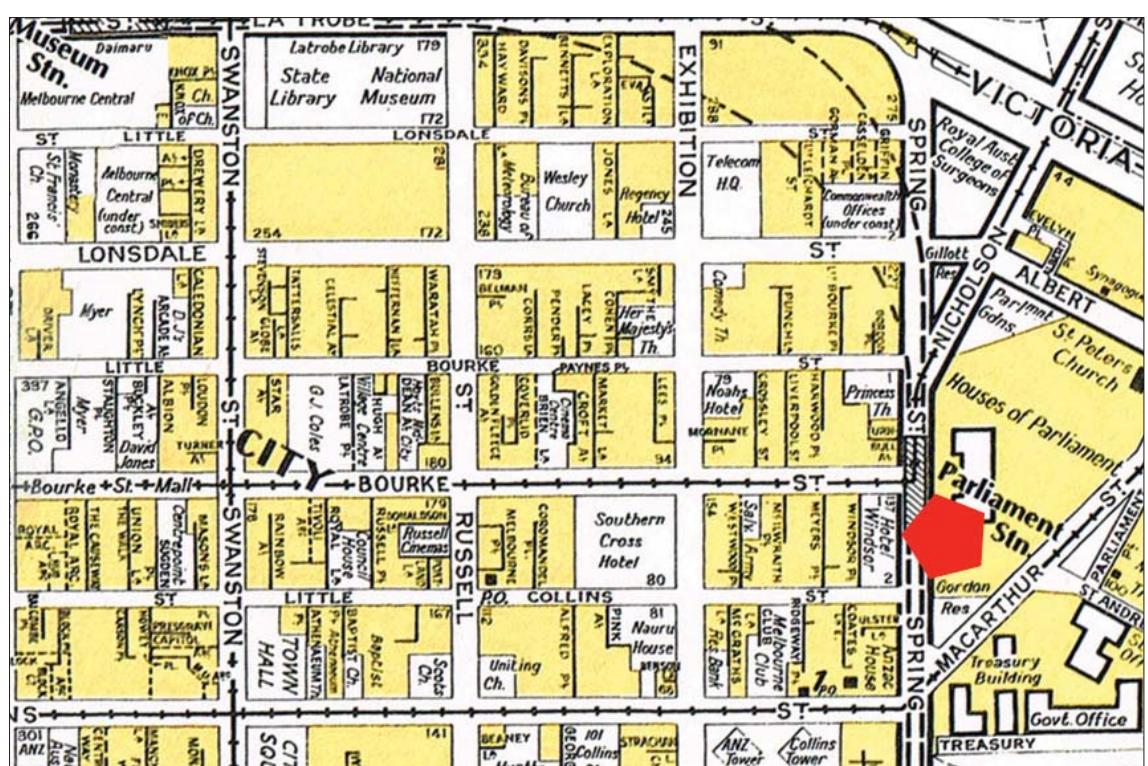
*Public Record Office of Victoria.*
The State Treasury Building and Gardens in 1897, festooned
for the Diamond Jubilee.



1383.
The former Treasury Building at the top of Collins Street today; now the Melbourne
City Museum.

*National Libary of Australia:* nla.pic-an3105317.
The Paris end of Collins Street from Spring Street at the time of Federation. Note the significant heritage residence on the left and the orginal tram on the original track.



1386.
The heritage residence at16 Spring Street was originally constructed for pastoralist William Campbell, but later became part of the accommodation for the new Commonwealth Government. The block behind is now dominated by the corporate world.

*State Library of Victoria:* H40267  b51791.
The Stanford Fountain at the time of the Federation Parade.  The palm trees are quite
new and the skyline back towards the city is also more open.



1399.
Gordon Reserve and the Stanford Fountain today. One advantage of tough bluestone is that it is hard wearing and long lasting.

1391, 1396.
The incongruity of the upright General Gordon and the rather fey Adam Lindsay Gordon sharing Gordon Reserve.
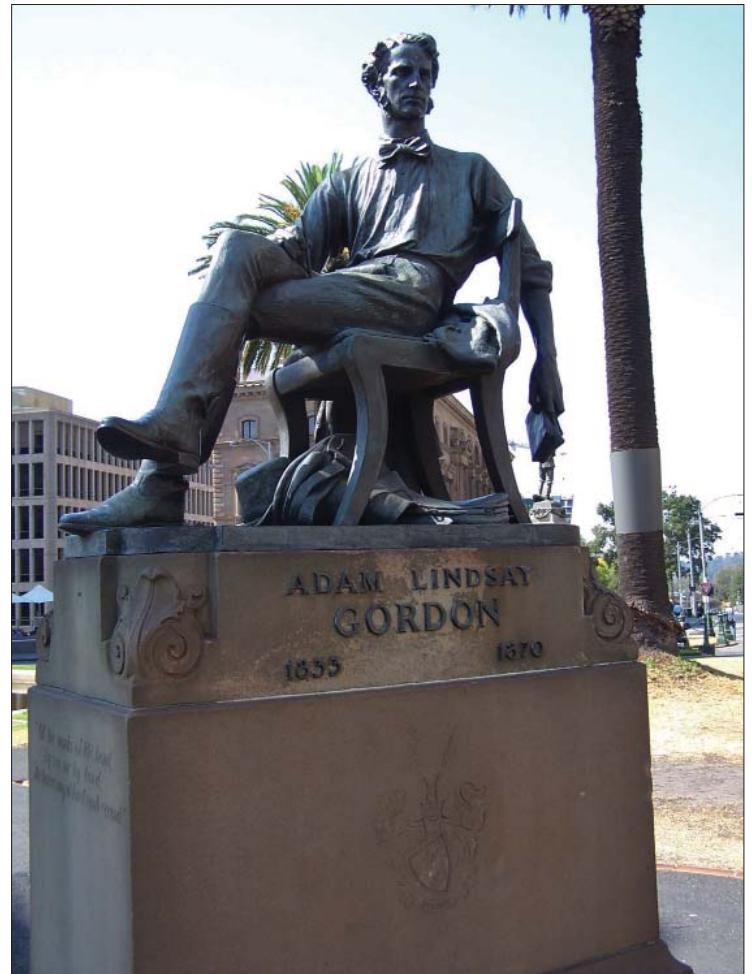
1393.
The Hotel Windsor today, prior to its expected redevelopment.

1407.
State Parliament in Spring Street still dominates the scene, and provides an interesting contrast in civic wealth to the much more subdued equivalent Sydney institution.

1428.
Commemoration of the Centenary of Federation in the footpath outside Parliament House.  This building was of course reassigned the role of temporarily housing the new Federal Parliament prior to the establishment of Canberra.



*State Library of Victoria:* H27418 a53789.
The Parliament Building in 1901 during daylight hours.

*State Library of Victoria:*  H2006.188/65  pi005252.
State Parliament from a similar location illuminated for the Federation celebrations.

*Museum Victoria*: MM004377.
St Patrick's Cathedral in 1897, with the Gisbourne Street tram tracks in the foreground, and before the additon of the 1930 spires.
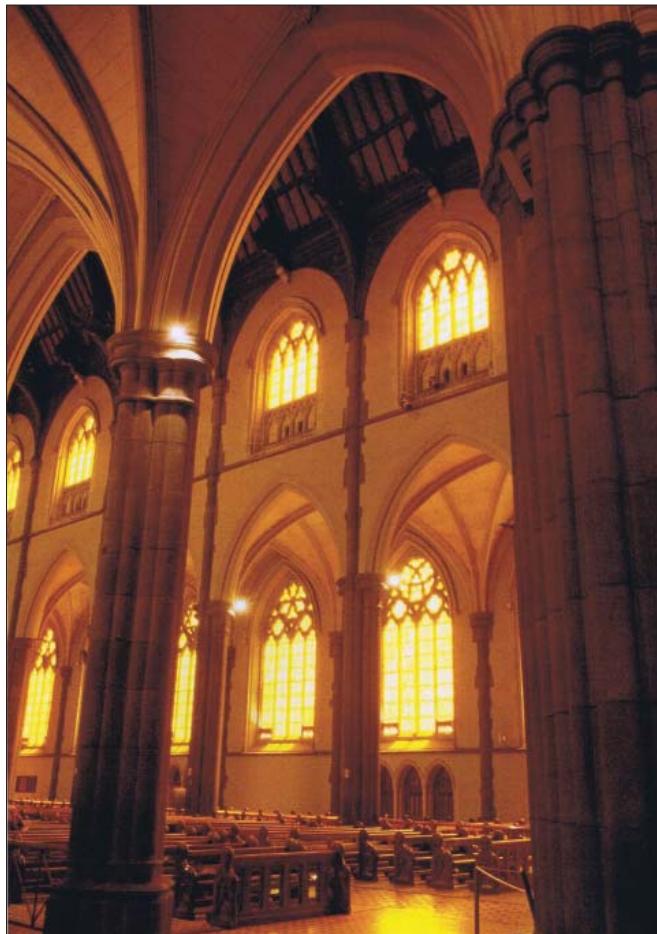


Ursula M De Jong: *St Patrick's Cathedral - a guide*, 2005.
The golden windows allow a glorious light to enter Wardell's building, but without the more expensive stained glass.

The original Princess Theatre across the road from the carriageway entry to Parliament House. Note the small terraced private residences next to the theatre, looking across at the seat of colonial and state government.



1402.
The Princess Theatre today is still a centre of Melbourne's culture.

# 8.  BOURKE STREET AND CITY LIFE
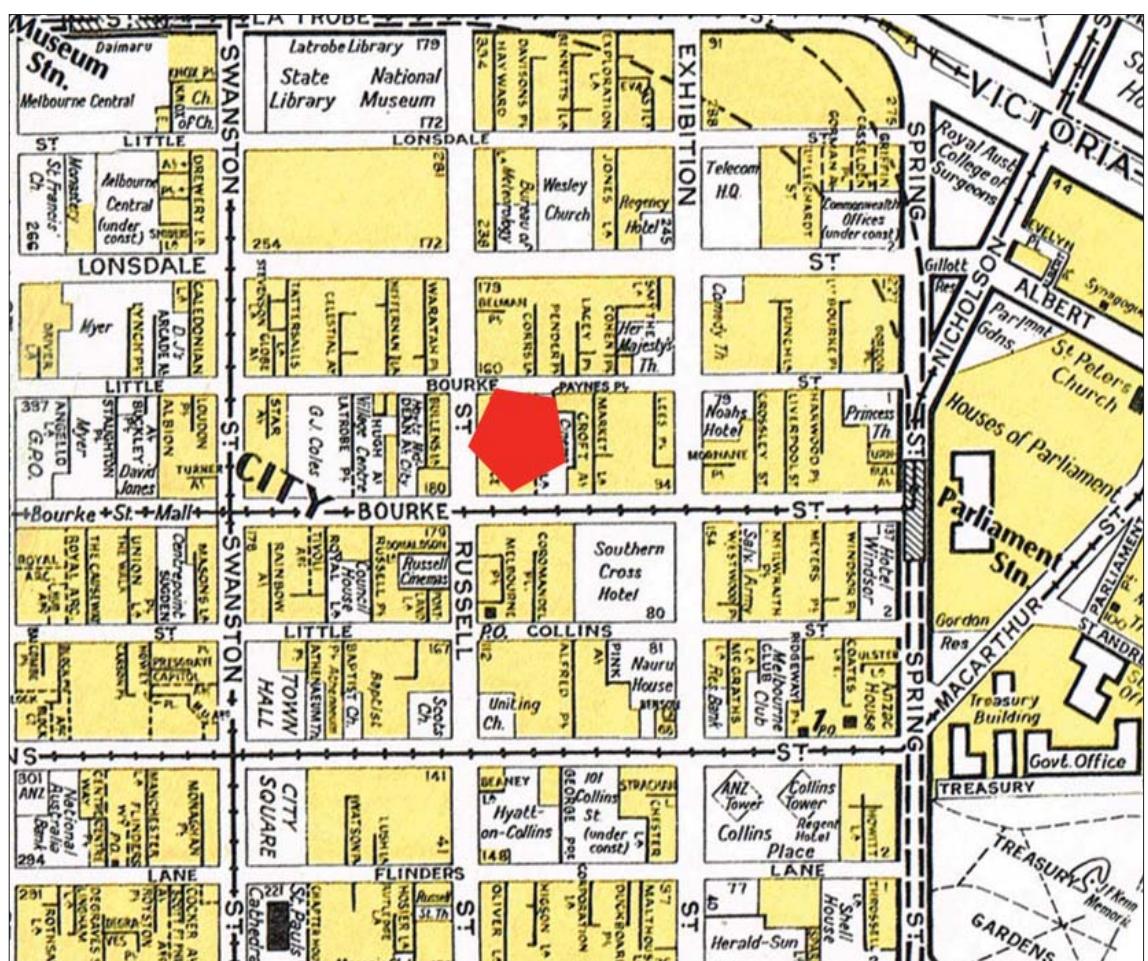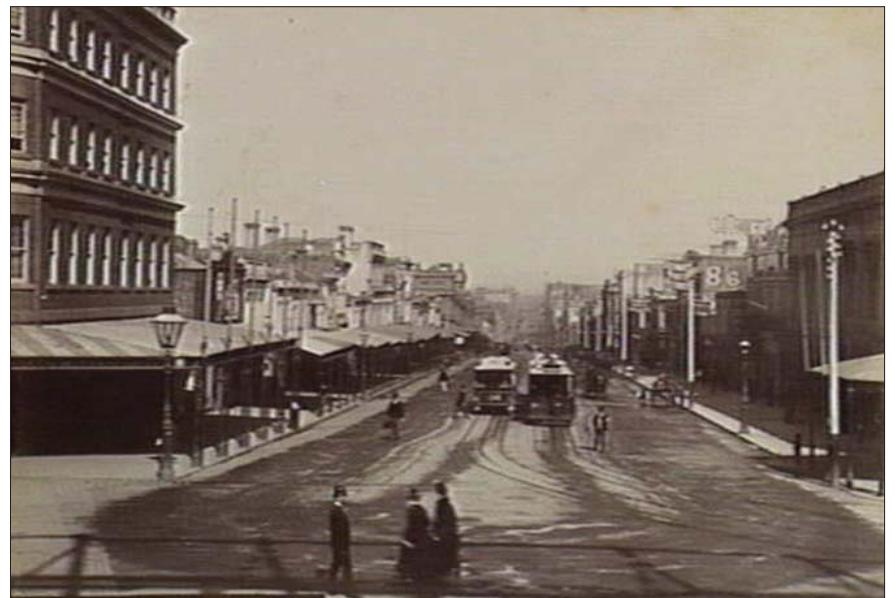
The entry to Bourke Street between 1880 and 1900.  Mrs Eliza Felix's Imperial Hotel stands on the right hand corner emphasising the prevalence of awnings to shelter pedestrians from the weather.
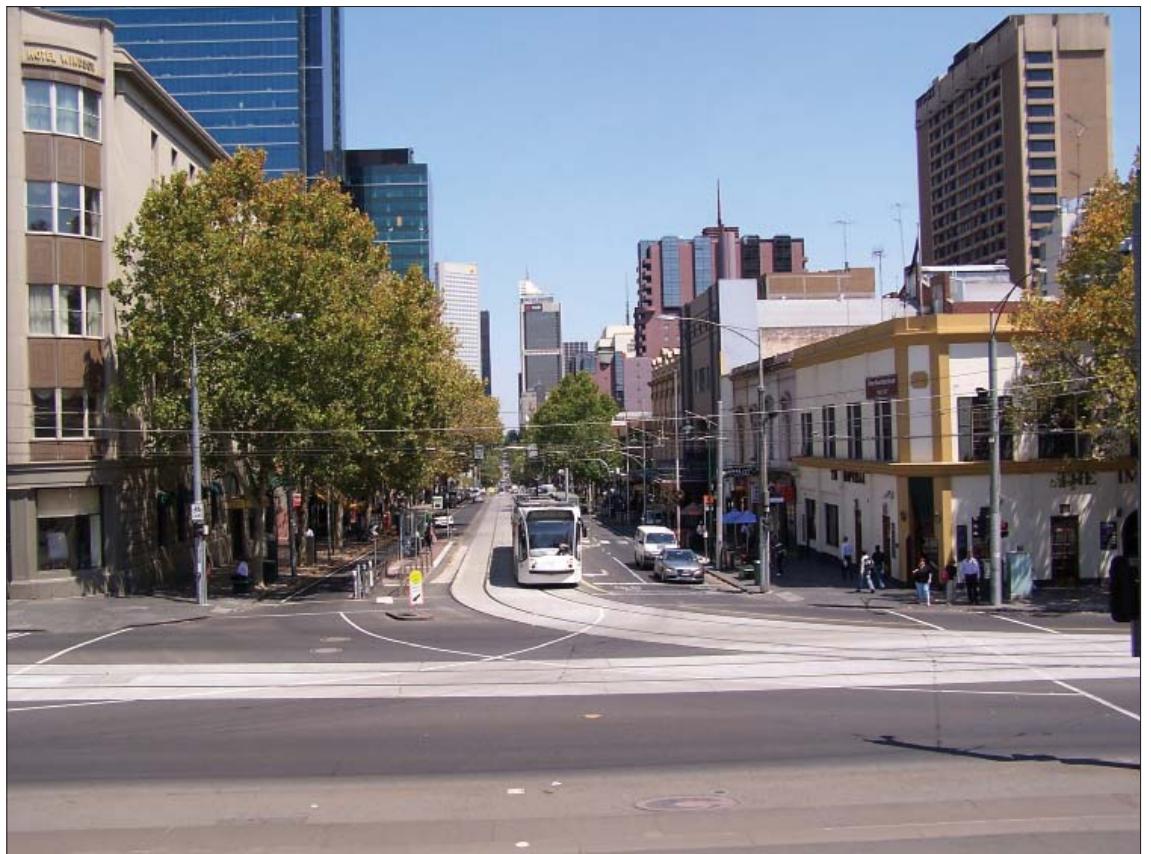


1427.
The intersection of Spring Street and Bourke Street today, again with the inevitable tram in the picture.  The Imperial Hotel, now resplendent in white and yellow, remains on the corner.  Again, note the tree lined streetscape replacing the awnings.

The Citizens' Arch in Bourke Street mirrored the Queen's Arch on the Russell Street intersection.  Here the GPO is clearly visible through the arch.



1413.
The location of the Citizens' Arch today, at the Russell Street intersection of Bourke Street, with the view to the GPO tower now virtually obliterated by modern buildings.

1421.
The Salvation Army headquarters then.
With socially depressed areas around Little Bourke and Lonsdale Streets, it is understandable that so many Protestant evangelical institutions were established in the district.



THE SALVATION ARMY
AUSTRALIAN FOUNDATION
SOUTH AUSTRALIA FEB. 1881.
VICTORIA DEC. 1882.
NEW SOUTH WALES DEC. 1882
TASMANIA NOV. 1883.
QUEENSLAND JUNE 1885.
WESTERN AUSTRALIA DEC. 1891
REJOICE IN HIS SALVATION
WILLIAM BOOTH GENERAL.



*State Library of Victoria:*
jc019247.
The Salvation Army headquarters in 1981.



1420.
69 Bourke Street and the Salvation Army headquarters today.

Sheridan Morris: *Melbourne Past and Present* p. 114.
Melburnians "walking the block" in 1880. Although twenty years before
Federation, the restrictive clothing from Europe is evident. Again, the safety
bicycle is also beginning to dominate the streets.



C J Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis* p. 42.
Hal Gye's image of Ginger Mick at the Markets.

*Walking Melbourne* database.
The Eastern Markets as they were on the corner of Bourke and Exhibition Streets between 1879 and 1960.
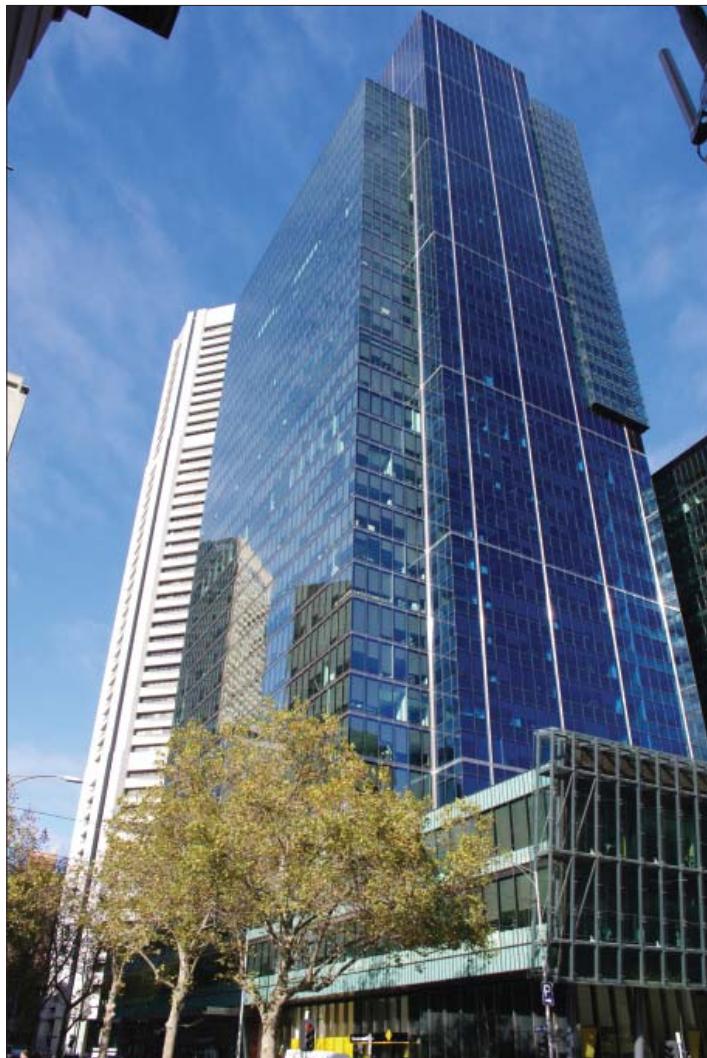


1597.
The Southern Cross complex now occupies the same block within Bourke, Little Bourke and Exhibition Streets.
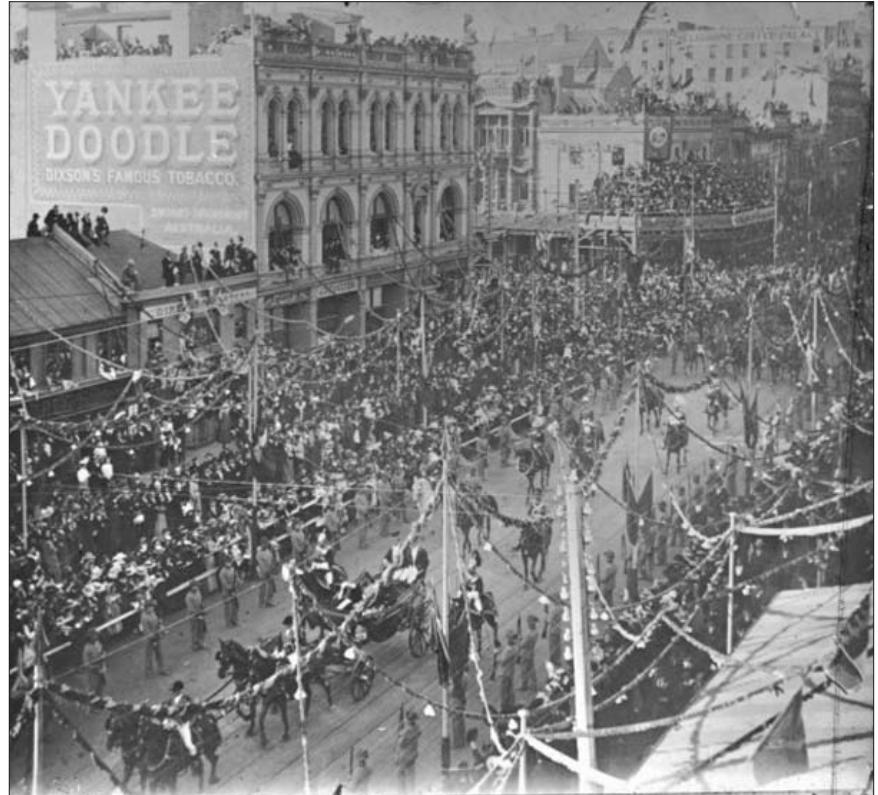
*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-vn3355464.
The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York driving past the intersection of Bourke Street and Exhibition Street.  The London Bank of Australia Ltd is on the far corner.



1416.
The same builiding at 90 Bourke Street. is now a trendy pub, although again no longer with the protective awning.

# 9. LITTLE LON'
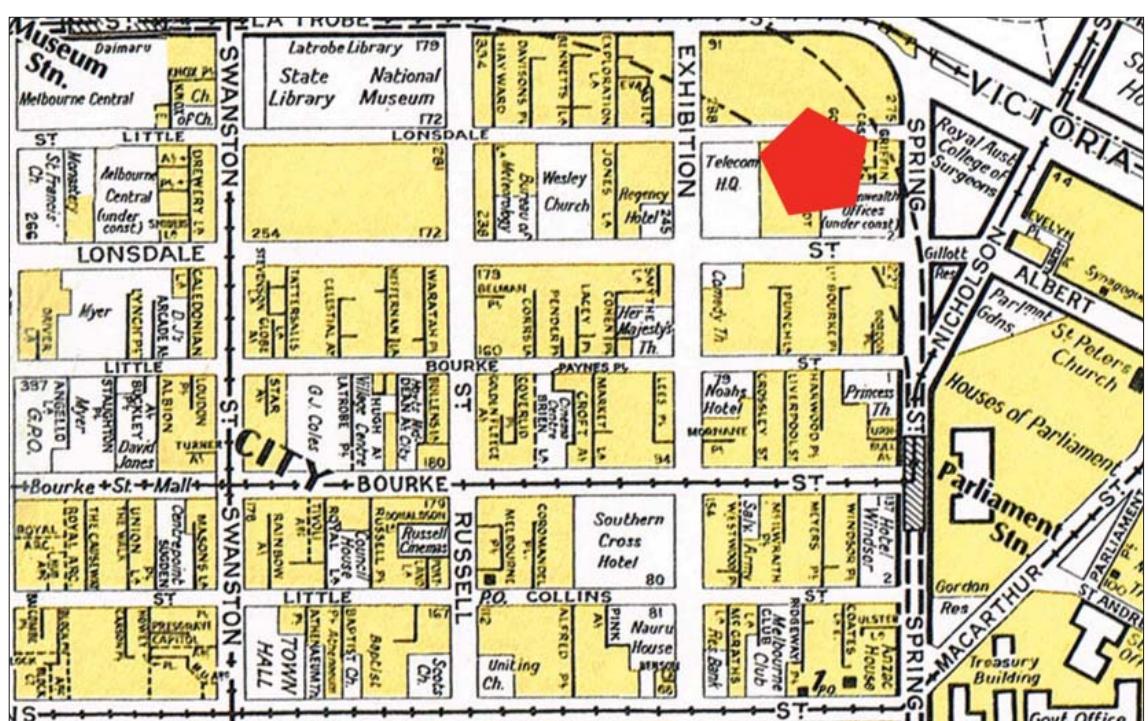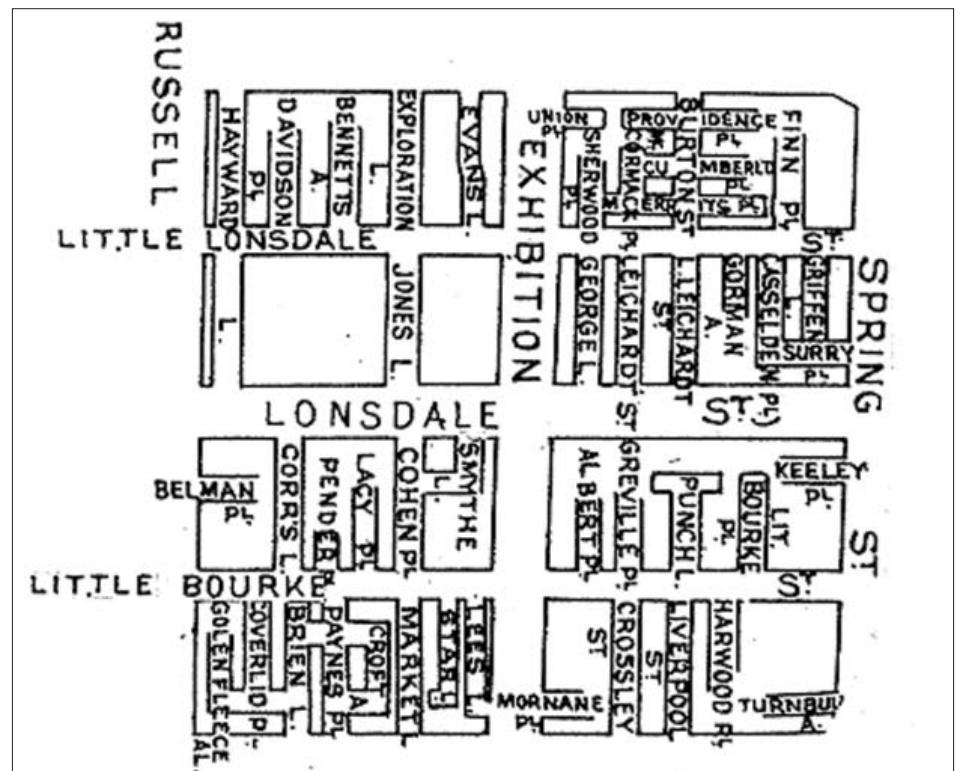
Victorian Govt: *History of Melbourne* database.
Lonsdale Street precinct in 1947 was still a myriad of laneways and little streets. Casselden Place is at the right hand side between Little Lonsdale Street and Lonsdale Street.



1611.
Little Lon' today.  Slum clearance, and 1960s industrialism has changed the distirct for good, but there are still some reminders of the earlier era.

C J Dennis: *Selected Verse of C J Dennis.* p. 70. Hal Gye's drawing of the imagined community of Spadger's Lane a century ago. Note the cobblestones across the laneway, the Chinese signage and the everpresent evangelical minister of religion. Interstingly, if the dome in the background is that on the Victorian Public Library in Swanston Street, then this imaginative drawing further locates the imaginary Spadger's Lane in the reality of the district; possibly being based on Cumberland Place.
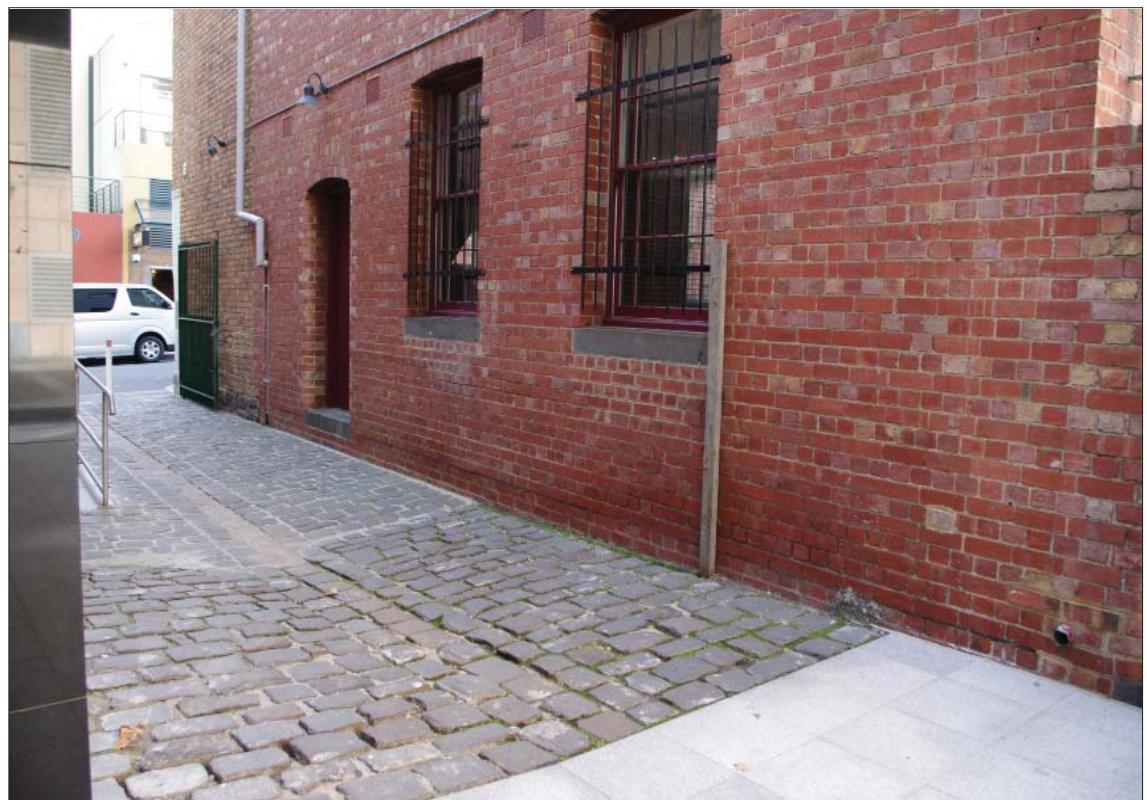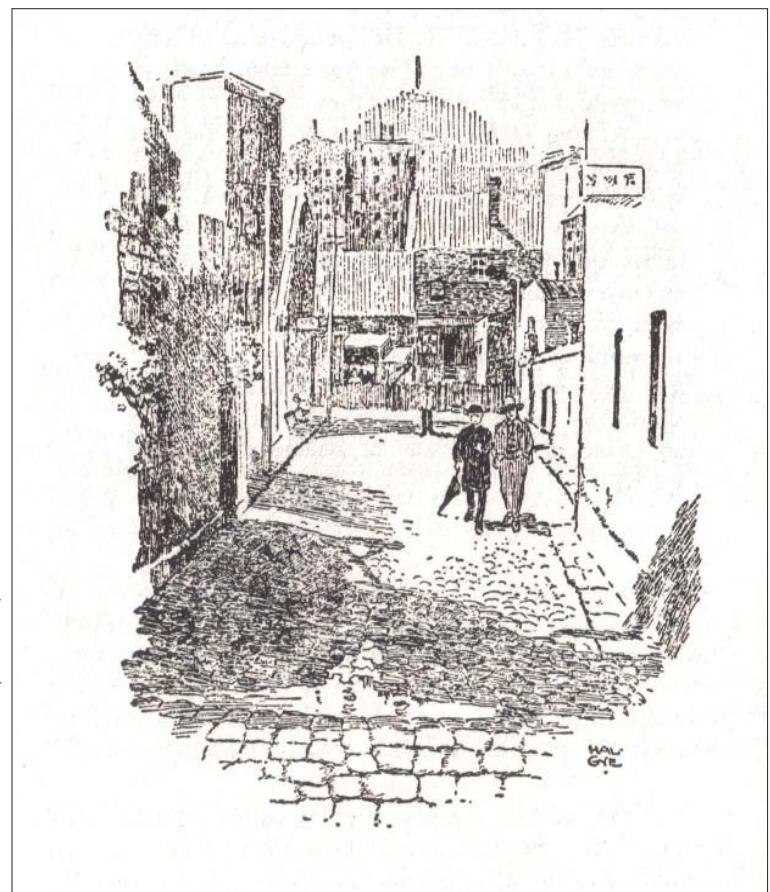
1609.
Casselden Place is one of the few remaining lanes with the same remnant cobblestones that would have formed the foundation surface of all the streets in the district, including Spadgers Lane / Cumberland Place.

53

1601.
The seamier side of Little Lonsdale Street is perpetuated in local signage.

1602.
Some recognition of heritage. John Casselden's cottage is mostly preserved, with Madam Brussel's Arcade in the background.

1601.
Madam Brussel's brothel at 32-34 Lonsdale Street has now been commemorated with an arcade.



1610.
The return of residential accommodation to Little Lon'.
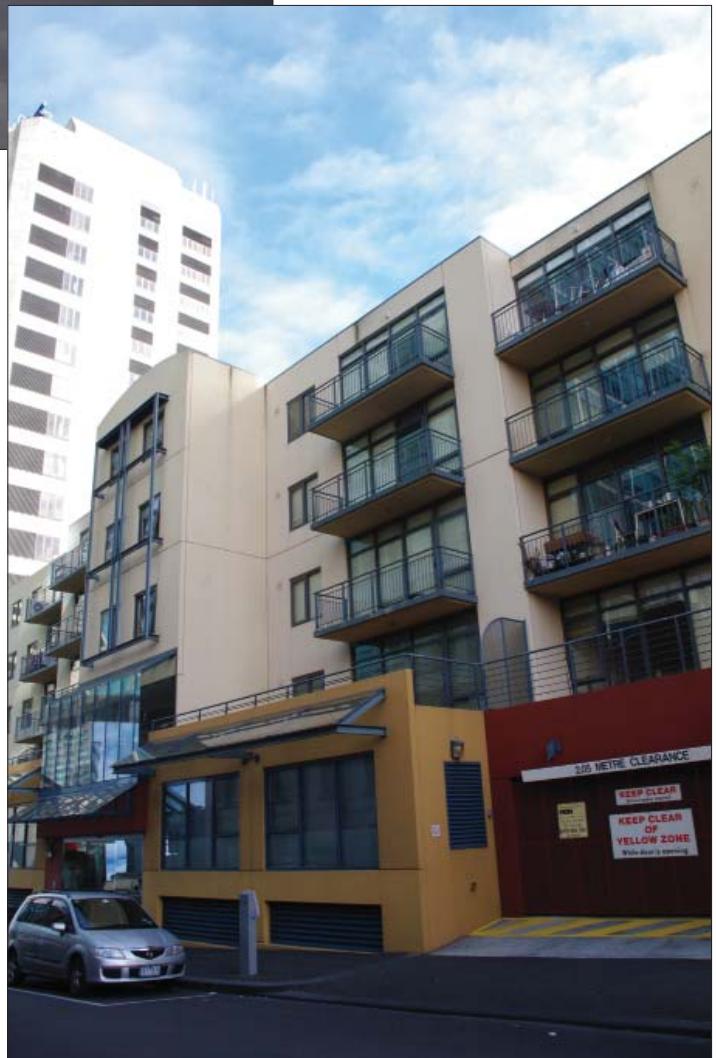
1591.
The next block down around Exploration Lane apparently still resembles the original Little Lonsdale Street of a century ago.



1593.
Other reminders of the original Little Lon', include the heritage listed number 104. Although with an oriental appearance, at the time of Federation this was the very Irish Munster Arms Hotel.

# 10.  RACE IS GOOD FOR BUSINESS

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an13117280-23.
The Chinese Arch on Swanston Street in1901. The entry to Turner Alley
is just visible on the left.



1436.
Swanston Street today, with Turner Alley present on the left. Virtually all the original
shops have been replaced with modern buildings, although the chimney stack on the
skyline hints that the brick building in the right hand midground may well be the
structure next to the right hand Chinese tower.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an13117280-12.
The Chinese dragon during the Federation celebrations.

*State Library of Victoria:* H96.160/650 cc001002.
The Chinese procession in Collins Street the day after the main parade.

1587.
Recognition of Chinese heritage with the Chinese Museum in the rather inaptly located Cohen Place – named after a local Jewish pawnbroker.
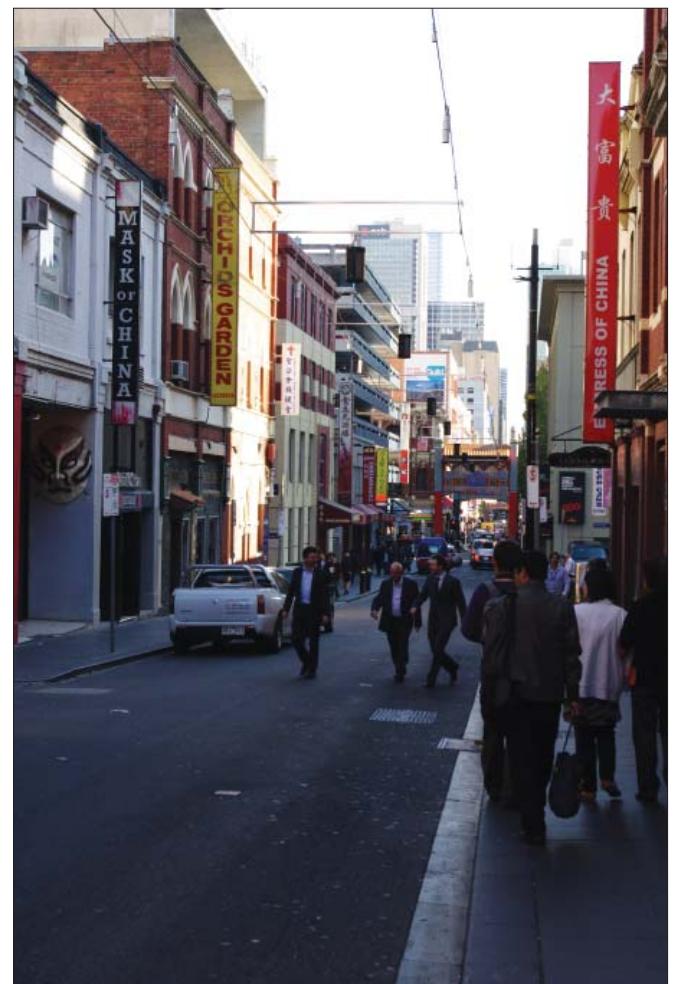


1586.
Melbourne's Chinatown in Little Bourke Street today.

1614.
Cooper's Inn on the corner at 282 Exhibition and Little Lonsdale Street later became a Chinese furniture factory before returning to its role as a hotel.

Culture Victoria: *A W Purnell Colection, University of Melbourne Archives*, Proposed furniture factory for Mr George Sue Gay at 22 Punch Lane, 10 August 1914. Apparently the building still exists, first as an inner city bar and now as the headquarters for Prosper Australia.
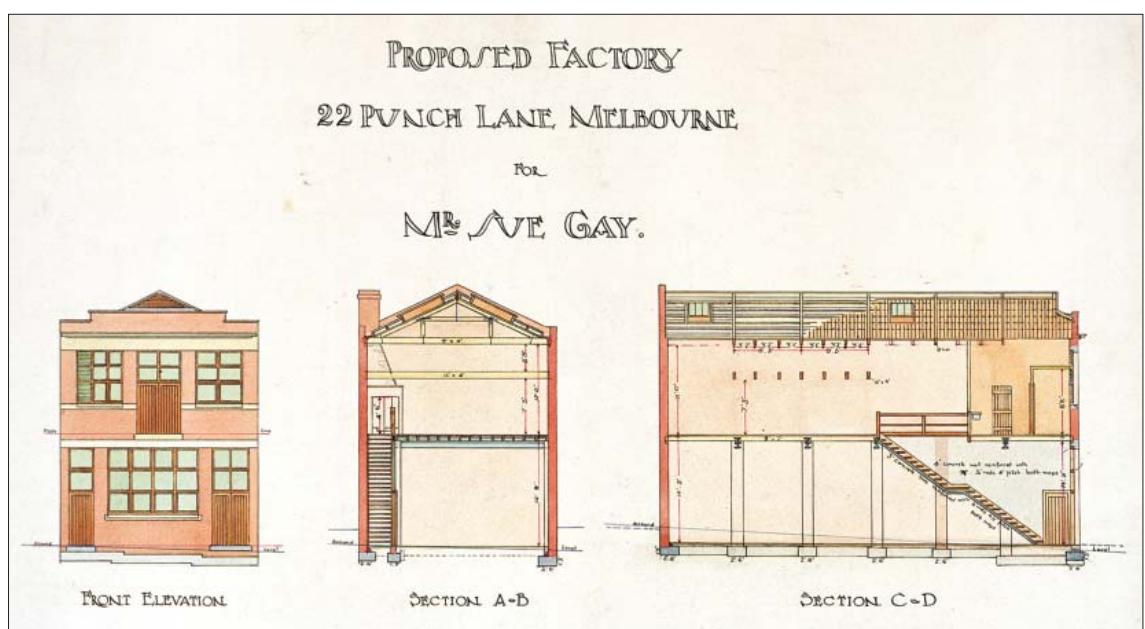
# 11.  VICE REGAL MELBOURNE
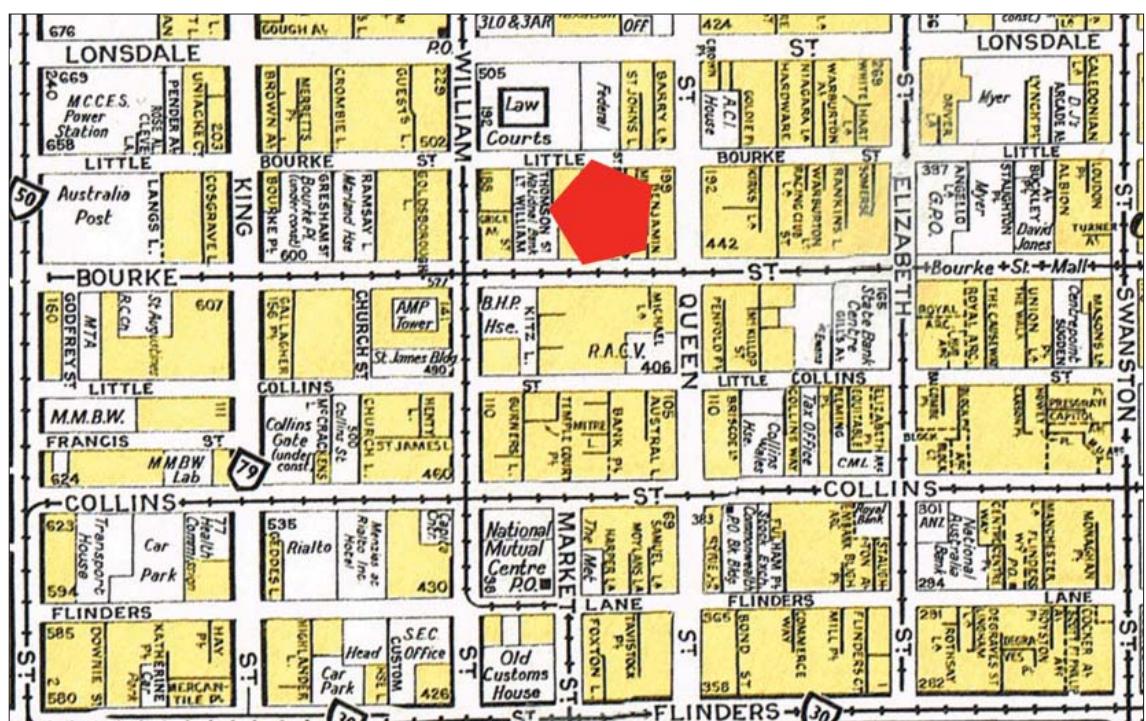
*State Library of Victoria:*
H2002.130/2  mp012304.
The Ducal Arch in what is now
the Bourke Street Mall, with
the GPO Tower behind.  Note
the steepness of the street in the
distance.
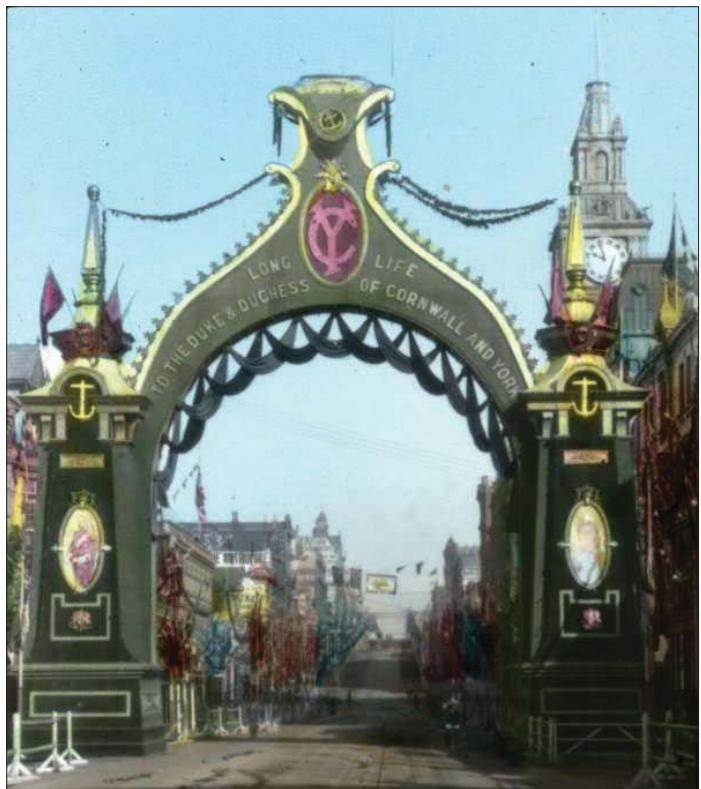




1443.
Melbourne GPO and precinct today.  As was the case with Sydney, the new Melbourne
GPO would have been a source of technological pride.

1434.
The Leviathan Clothing Company was standing on the corner of Bourke and Swanston Streets in 1901, and is still there today. However, this later building was not constructed until 1913, and is now a warren of smaller offices and shops.

HWT Image Library: *Herald Sun images of old Melbourne*.
The crowd gathering for a sale at Buckley and Nunn's in 1912. This was at the original building, long since gone.

*State Library of Victoria:* b46904.
Melbourne Synagogue at 472 Bourke St, with the larger St Patrick's Hall to the right at the time of Federation. Not much evidence of racism and sectarianism in this block.



1448.
Equity Chambers and the Melbourne Law School now occupies the site on the corner of Little Queen Street.

*State Library of Victoria:* H96.160/691 cc001154.
The location of the Ducal Arch later in 1901 after a heavy hail storm,
with the GPO again evident at the left.

1447.
The same location today, with the whole block redeveloped, interestingly, with the
addion of awnings as well as trees.
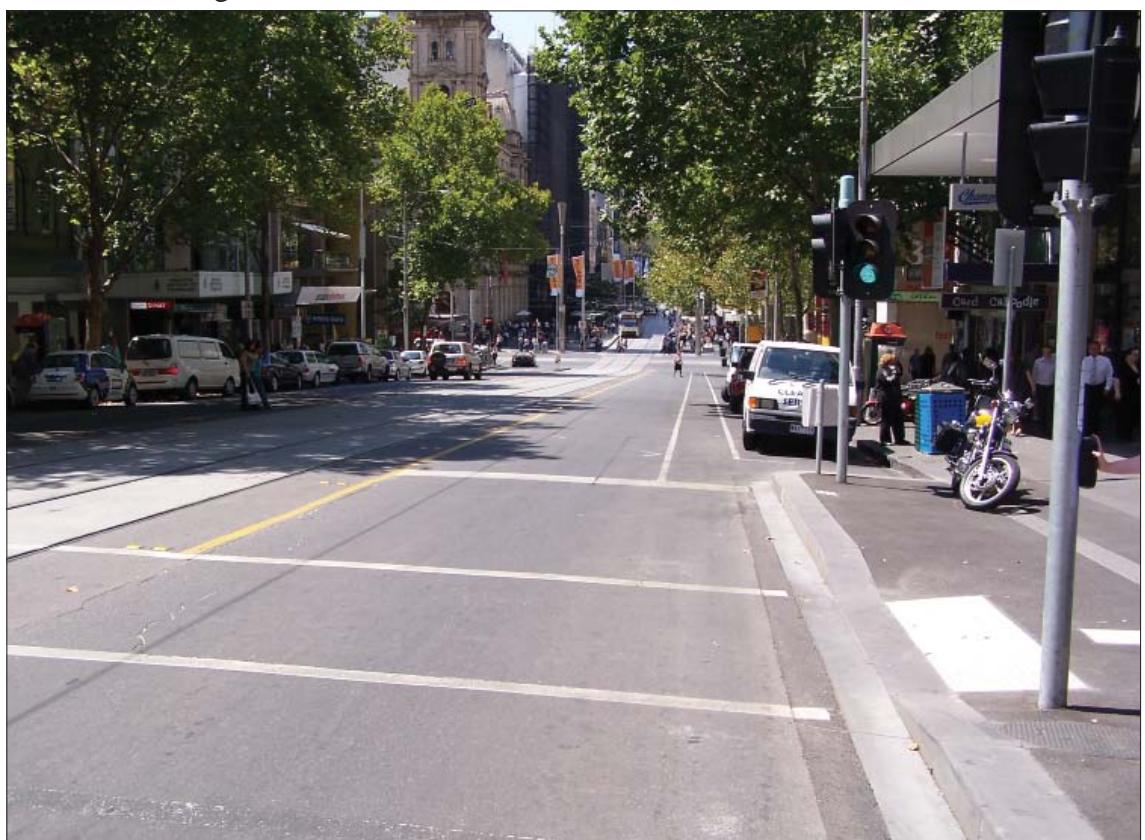
1440.
The Royal Arcade, then and now also marked the location of the Ducal Arch.  The style
and even colour mirrors Sydney's Strand Arcade.



*State Library of Victoria:* H21040  b51945.
The Victoria Horse Bazaar at 396 Bourke Street, indicating both the impor-
tance of horses to the economy, and the steepness of the street.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an3143346.
Bourke Street around 1900 looking east. The GPO is in the centre
of the left hand side of the street, and the Victoria Horse Bazaar on
the far left.
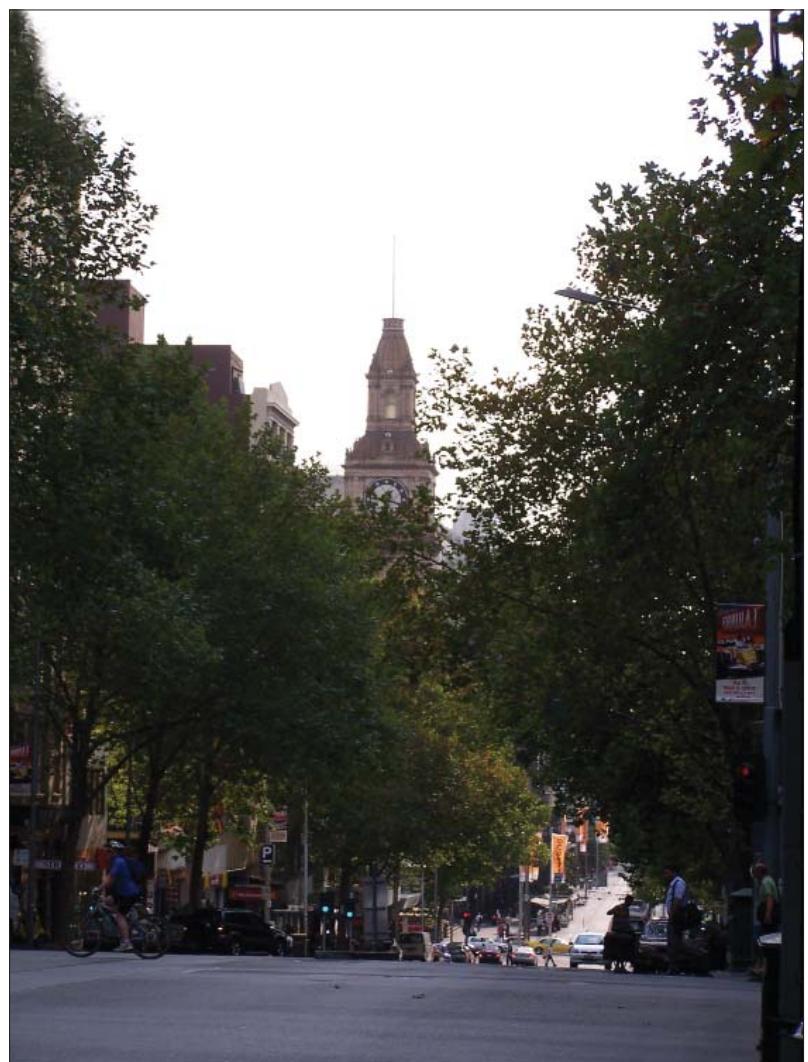


1461.
The GPO from the
western end of Bourke
Street. Foreshortening
emphasises the steepness
of the road with which
the horses and marchers
would have had to cope.

# 12.  WOOL AND HERITAGE

1644.
One reason why the march turned down William Street. Note the degree to which the street runs down the ridge of Batman's Hill, and falls away again to the west.

1450.
The Goldsborough Mort building still occupies the adjacent Bourke Street and William Street corner. Although apparently only half as large as the 1862 original, this building stands as an example of the successful conversion of a heritage structure into modern offices.

*State Library of Victoria:* H98.30/393  p100342.
The Menzies Hotel on the corner of Bourke and William Streets
was still standing in 1957, as indicatecd by the brand new FE Hold-
en and Ford Customline.  By 1972 this grand old structure would be
replaced by BHP House.



1642.
The very modern BHP House has
occupied this corner site since
1972.

*State Library of Victoria:* H2000.195/68 pi003487.
Shell Corner opposite was occupied by a general merchant's office.



*State Library of Victoria:*
H99.50/322 pi002157.
The current modern building,
photographed in 1960.  Note that the
Menzies Hotel corner tower and flag
pole is still evident on the diagonally
opposite corner.

*State Library of Victoria:* H94.150/45  pi000295.
The John Sanderson & Co wool brokers covered the
entire Little Collins Street to Bourke Street block on the
western side of William Street. Note the electicity  supply
box on the right hand side of this 1940 photograph.

1501.
The electricity supply box
evident in the right hand
side of the 1940 image
still exists, and has been
repainted heritage green.
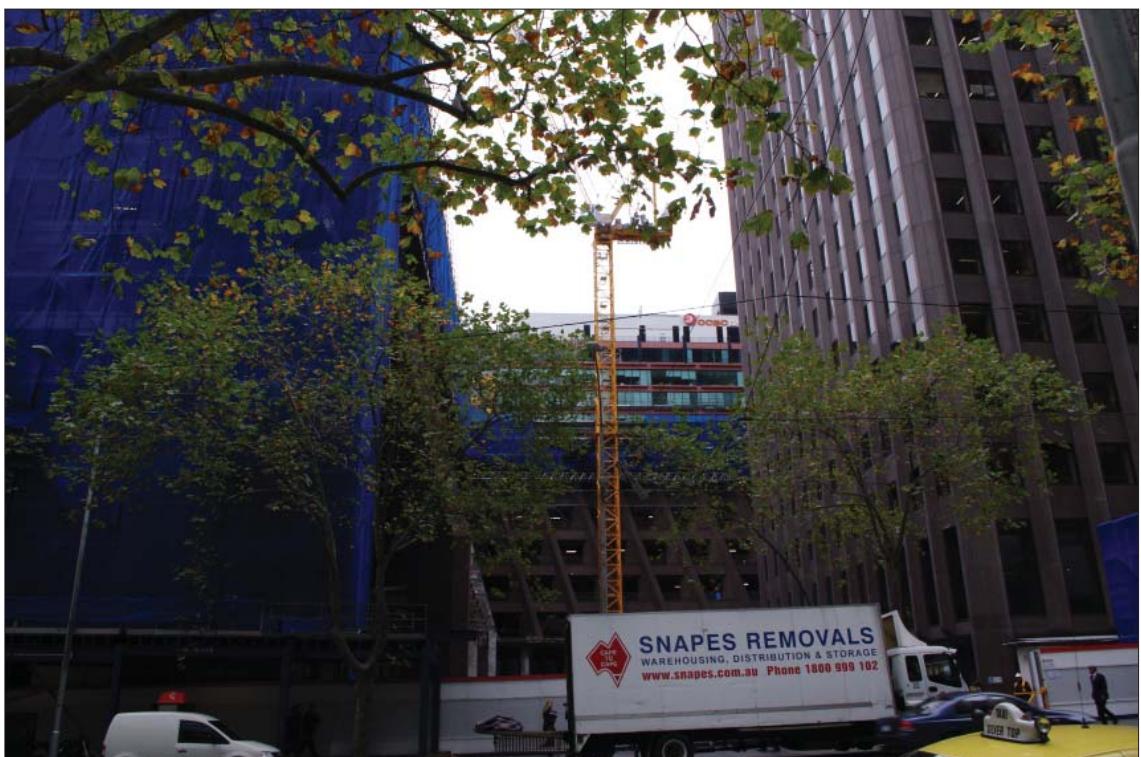


1466.
The St James AMP Centre now fills the site with continued redevelopment

1467.
This block from Little Collins down to Collins Street on the eastern side of William Street still retains its original heritage feel, with the Australian Widow's fund building at 84 William Street displaying fine architectural detailing.

1452.
The Australia Club also still occupies the corner with Little Collins Street.

*Melbourne's Western Market1:* Nostalgia Board database.
Looking across the location of the Butter Arch from the northern side of Collins Street to the Western Markets in 1900.  Market Street on the left runs down to Flinders Street, the suburban railway and the Yarra River.



1496.
The view back along Collins Street from the Market street intersection today, with little memory of the classical past.

1647.
TheAXA Centre now occupies the block on the southern corner of William and Collins Street. This modern structure has attempted to reflect the history and heritage of Batman's Hill by commemorating two of Melbourne's original founders.







1649, 1650.
Melbourne's founding fathers, John Pascoe Faulkner (left) and John Batman (right) on the forecourt of the AXA Centre.

The Butter Arch looking down
Collins Street, with Market Street
on the right.



1498.
The Butter Arch location today.  Again, note the greening of Melbourne's streets over
the last few decades.  One wonders what effect these trees are having on the water and
drainage pipes beneath the city streets.

# 13. FINANCIAL MELBOURNE
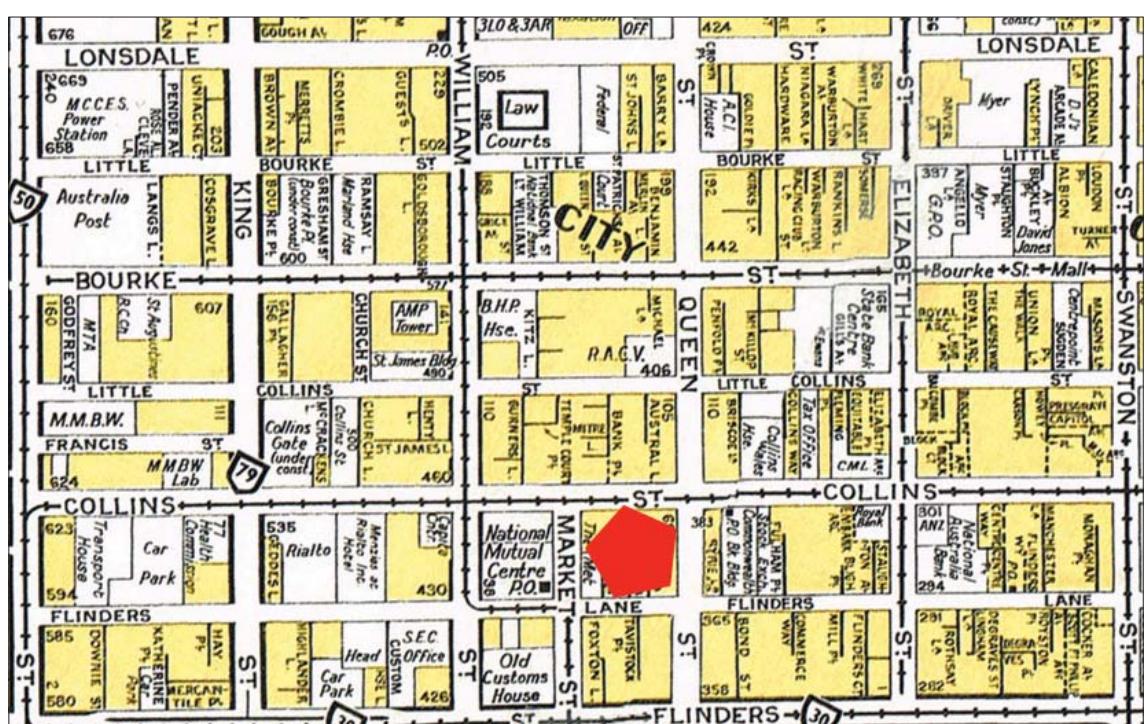
*Collector's Marvellous Melbourne* database.

This building was orginally designed as the ES&A Bank in the Gothic Revival style by William Wardell, and constructed between 1883 and 1887. William Pitt's ornate Stock Exchange is on the right.





1492.
The former ES&A, now ANZ Bank today, still functions as a financial institution.

*State Library of Victoria:* IAN01/08/91/13 mp007629.
The interior of William Pitt's 1890 Stock Exchange in all its late Victorian glory.



1488.
The Gothic interior of the Stock Exchange now serves as Melbourne's Banking Museum. Recognition of the significance of heritage, not only in preserving the façade of buildings, but their interiors as well.

1478.

The former National Mutual Life Assocation Building, constructed between 1891 and 1903.  This is one of the many symbols of an aspirational population that would have been passed by the Federation parade.  Ironically, this building at 389-395 Collins Street has since become the very privately owned Bank of New Zealand and A C House.
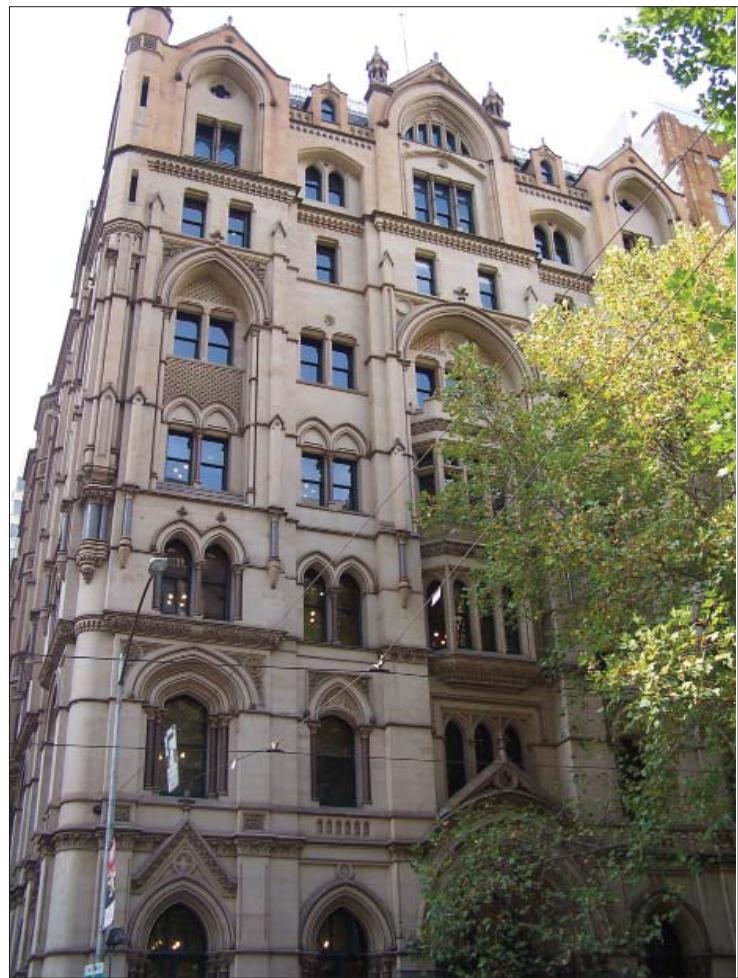




Skyscraper City: *T & G postcard.*
At the turn of the century, the T and G was located up from the Town Hall on the corner of Little Collins Street.  It was only in the late 1920s and 1930s that the institution moved to its massive premises at the top of Collins Street.  Note also the original Leviathan Building on the corner.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an3105291.
The view along Collins Street looking east, around 1900.
The wealth of the city is evident in this image, even allowing for a
decade of disastrous depression.



1507.
The slightly later 1904-08 Brunton Chambers now domintes the block today, with
the heritage building resplendent in its original brick and stone facing.

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an13117280-15.
The German Arch in 1901, between Elizabeth the Swanston Streets,
with the Town Hall clock tower behind.
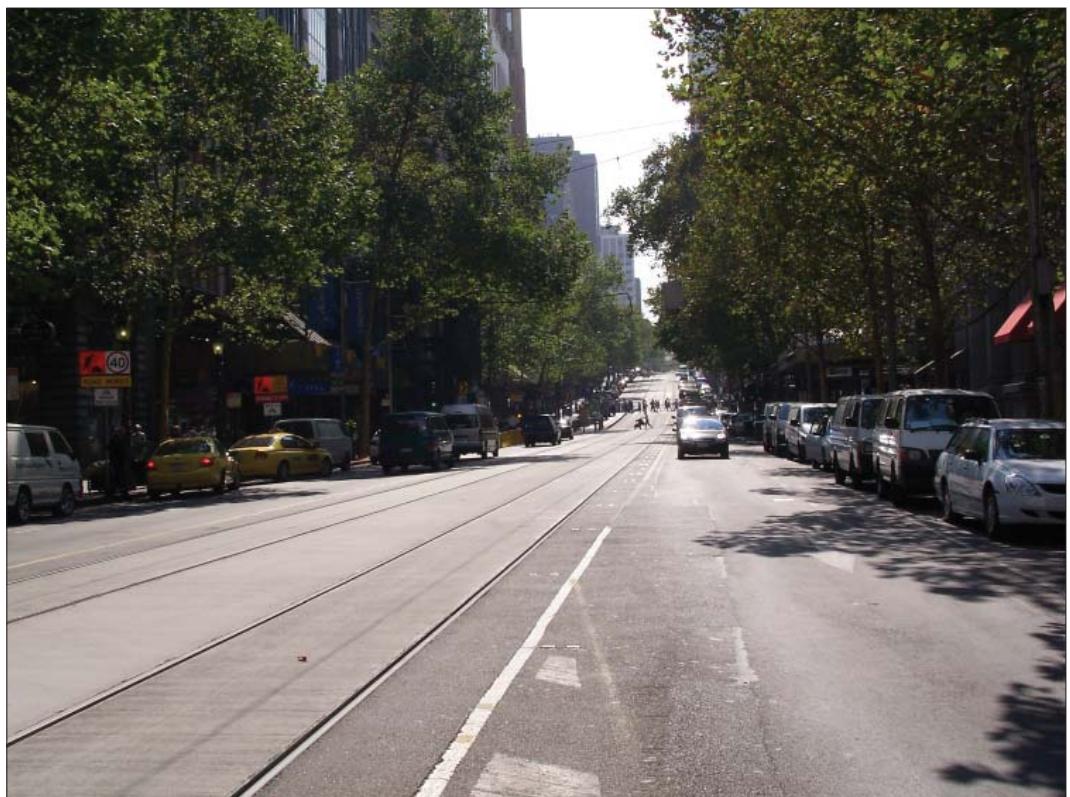


1509.
The German Arch location today. Again, note the growth of vegetation along the
tree lined streets, obscuring many landmarks.

Walking Melbourne: *Melbourne's Lost Hotels.*
The location of the German Arch in the 1940s, with the Town Hall clock tower still in the background. The Hotel Australia and the other Art Deco era buildings have totally changed the streetscape.
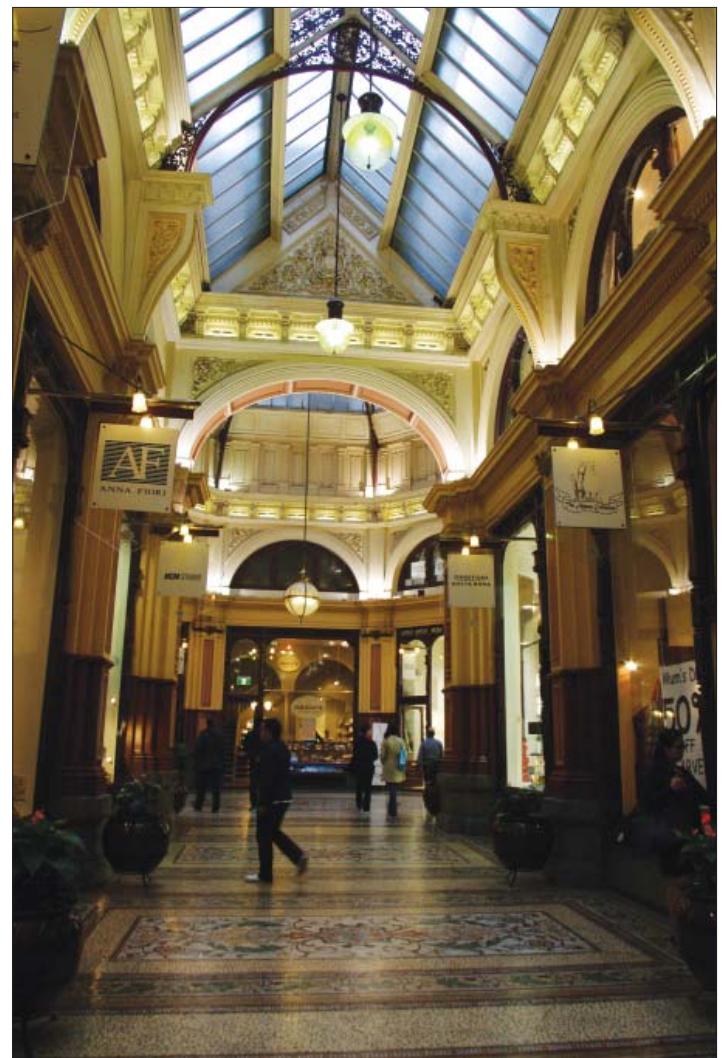


1654.
The Block Arcade still exists much as it would have in 1901, joining Collins Street and Elizabeth Streets, with the newer Brunton Chambers later filling in the corner.

Victorian Government: *Victorian Heritage* database image 5961.
Henry Parkes' 1890 Algerian Oak Tree has obviously been pruned at various times for preservation.

Sheridan Morris: *Melbourne Past and Present* 2008, Axiom Publishing  p. 92.
Aerial view over the MCG taken in 1935.  The many quite mature trees would have been planned and planted at around the time of Federation.  Susequently, many of these same trees have been lost with the redevelopment of the road and rail networks and the expansion of the sporting facilities.
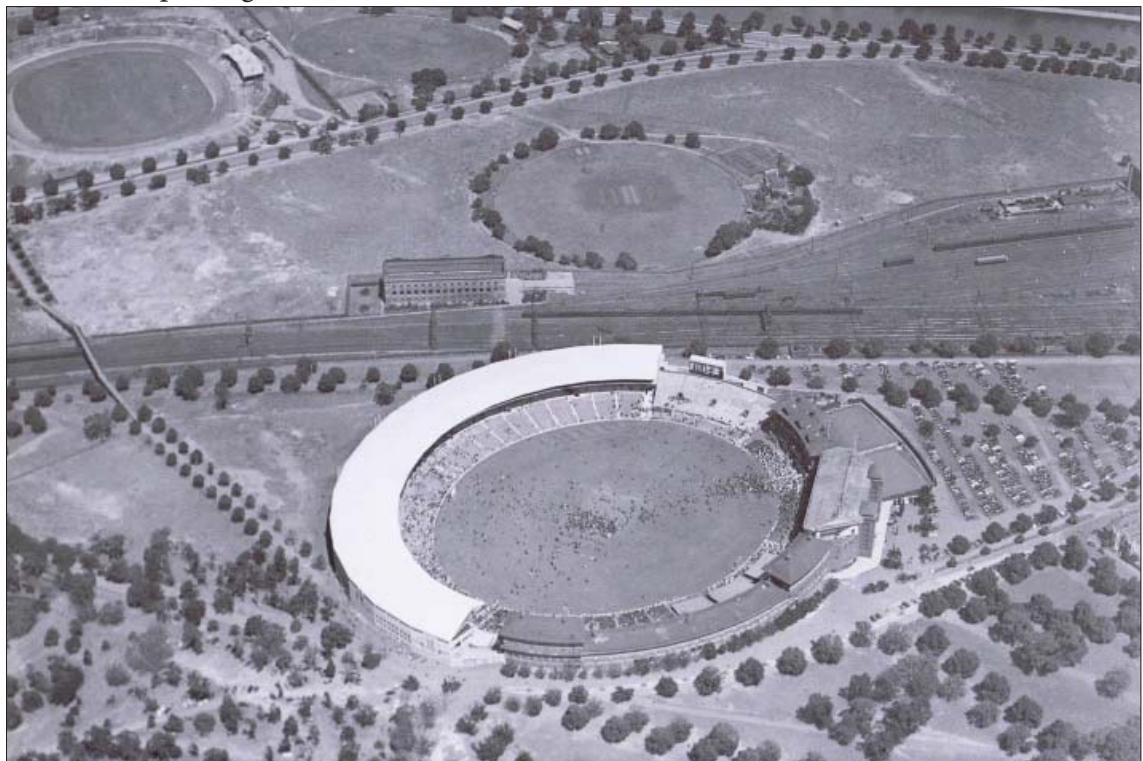
# 14.  AFTER THE PARADES

*National Library of Australia:* nla.pic-an13118171-5.
Melbourne's Exhibition Building in 1901.  This view emphasises
the 1880 lake that was originally constructed from a disused quarry.
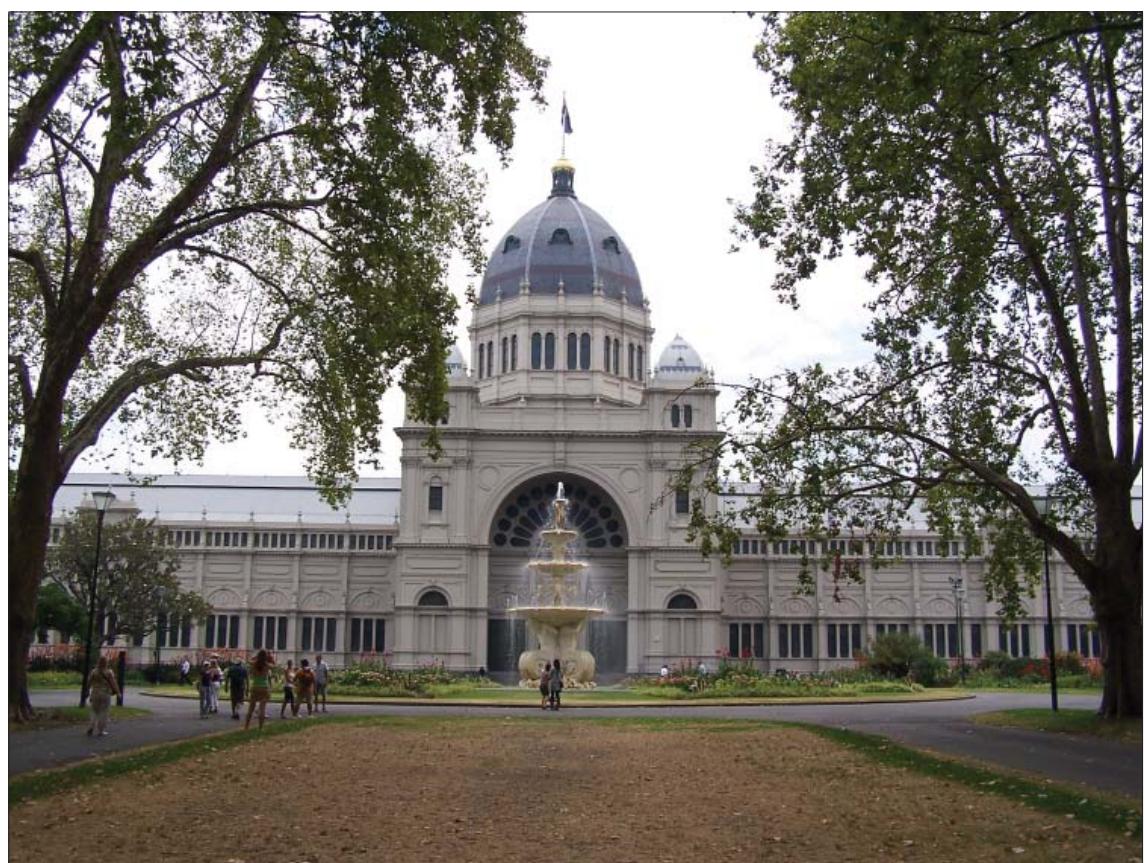


1526.
Melbourne's Exhibtion Building today.  Although some of the earlier rear additions
have been removed, the building not only survives to this day, but is still in regular use
for exhibitions and cultural activities.

National Library of Australia: nla.pic an-13118171-3.
Sketch of the Opening Ceremony with HRH the Duke of Cornwall and York addressing the Parliament 9 May 1901.



THE OPENING CEREMONY—HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ADDRESSING THE PARLIAMENT.
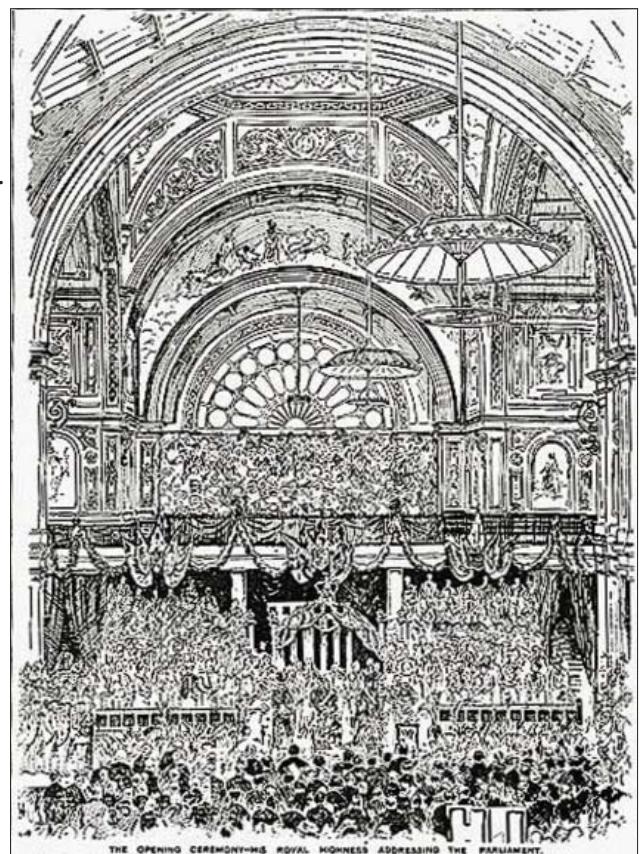


Tom Roberts: *Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia by HRH The Duke of Cornwall and York (later King George) 9 May 1901.*
Tom Roberts' iconic 1903 painting of the same scene. Ironically, soon after completion, this work of art was presented to King Edward VII and hung in St James's Palace. It was not returned to Australia until 1957 and is currently on display in the New Federal Parliament House in Canberra, on permanent loan from the British Royal Collection.

0996.
The half scale copy of Melbourne's Citizens' Arch on display in the new National Museum of Australia in Canberra.
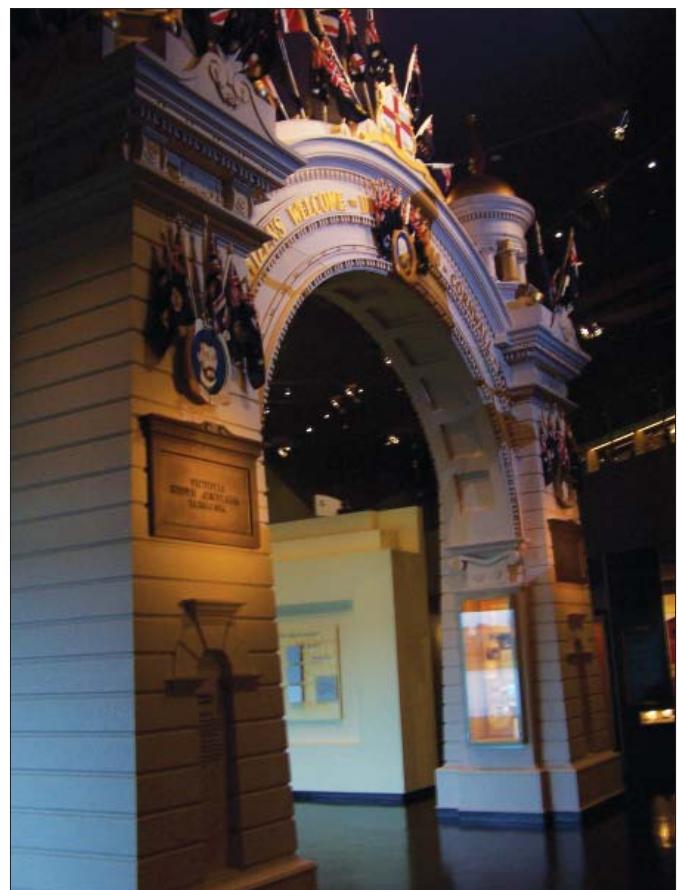




0999.
Perhaps the most symbolic feature of the arch is the Union Flag proudly presiding over the smaller and as yet unofficial Australian Blue Ensigns.