1.0 A clear sense of who and what an Australian was had been established through political structures of the new nation. Federation in 1901 marked the end of one era and beginning of another for Australia.

- Fears for the defence of Australia or whether Australia was to be protectionist or free trade had diminished as a national Defence force and Parliament were established.
- It was now time for the Australian Parliament and indeed Australians themselves to decide who and what an Australian should be.
- This decision is never really 'completed'
- However, Australians were motivated by various hopes and fears to establish citizenship.
- Citizenship was to in turn to help dictate who and what an Australian was.
- "Ultimately in this society, it was one's race... which wither provided social opportunity or blighted one's prospects with far more certainty than one's class position or gender. (Raymond Evans et al, 1997) 1901 - Our future's past: Documenting Australia's federation Sydney, NSW, Australia Pan Macmillan Australia. P. 23-24.)

1.1 Who and what an Australian was, was defined by citizenship. Citizenship was defined by political structures.

- Exclusive political structures such as the Immigration Restriction Act, the Pacific Island Labourers Act excluded people from society and citizenship.

The Immigration Restriction Act 1901

- The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was introduced to combat the threat of the 'yellow peril' as well as other unwanted races.
- The Act was the manifestation of some ideas of social Darwinism (the notion that races were at different stages of development, with the white, British races being the pinnacle of that) as well as the fear they would introduce vices, take jobs and arrive in such great numbers as to overpopulate Australia. People:
- The political structure (Immigration Restriction Act) was proceeded by an intense fear, which united white Australians. It was not only political structures which influenced who and what an Australian was.
- The ideas of Australians are summed up well by John Hirst:
- "The 'inferior' races were excluded to preserve Australian society as pristine, harmonious and progressive." (Hirst, 2001) John Hirst, The Sentimental Nation: the Making of the Australian Commonwealth, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne.
- "We are guarding the last part of the world in which the higher races can live and increase

- Most supported views such as Deakin's: "We should be one people and remain one people without the admixture of other races." (Deakin, A 1901) Alfred Deakin, 12 September 1901, Commonwealth House of Representatives Debates, p.4804.
- Non-European migrants were restricted access to Australia. They were required to pass a language test (dictation test.) "It was a lie and a sham, but it was diplomatically acceptable " Lewis, Nation, race and citizen 1888 - 1914, 2012, Eagle Resources Pty Ltd, Australia.
- There were 50 000 kanakas in Australia prior to the introduction of the Act. The 'kanakas' were in many cases deported.
- The number of Chinese in Australia fell from around 38 381 in 1881 to 29 907 in 1901.
- This is an example of an instance where who and what an Australian is, is defined by political structures.
- "It appears that two thirds of the honourable members in this house really object to the Chinese, not so much on the grounds of possible contamination of the white race, as they fear that if they are allowed to come into Australia, wages will go down." Donald Cameron 1901. Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, p.4839-40

The Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901

- The Pacific Island Labourers Act was another part of the White Australia Policy, aimed principally at protecting Australian jobs and maintaining Australia as a homogenously white nation.
- Marilyn Lake describes it as:

1.2 Political structures based on benefits and responsibilities were also often based on inclusion/exclusion.

- These gave a clear sense of 'who was Australian' because they were and who they weren't: a) based on inclusion/exclusion and b) gave Australians a sense of who they were, because of the legislation they had.

The Franchise Act 1902

- After much debate and campaigning in the 1890s, women were granted the right the right to vote. Aborigines and other non-citizen foreigners were notable exclusions.
- This is Act is good example of an instance where political structures defined who and what an Australian was. The CITIZENS of a nation are important, as well as who can vote. It is a good way of gauging what sort of nation Australia was preceding 1914.
- Also important was who was excluded from the vote:
  - "The 1902 law had sent a signal to politicians, lawyers and the public - that Aborigines were of little worth." (Kelly, P 2001 p. 162) Kelly, P 2001, 100 Years: the Australian Story, Allen &
'New Education' (educational reforms begun in 1901)

- Education was a benefit that came with the responsibility of learning to be a good citizen.
- After Federation, the curriculum was reformed to link closely to the needs of the modern state.” (Mirams, Davidson, Gordon 2006 p. 84) Mirams et al, 2006, Imagining Australia, 1st edn, Cengage Learning, South Melbourne, Vic. p. 84
- The new education actively discouraged Aborigines from state schools, to maintain a "monoculture and homogenous national identity." (Ibid.)
- The new education (political structure) also was meaningful because it displayed the desire for Australians to be an advanced society where many people were educated - for free.Â
- Also, it was part of what an Australian was.

The Invalid and Old Age Pensions Act 1908

- A responsibility by state and/or nation was now being felt to look after the vulnerable. It was understood that this sort of policy was the hall mark of a "modern society" and there was that there is a "sense of deep national responsibility to every single unit in the community." (Kemp, Stanton 2004 p. 31)
- This Act (political structure) displayed to the world, that an Australia was a caring nation, progressive for the time.Â
- However, it is also important to remember Aborigines and other non-Europeans were EXCLUDED from the benefits.

The Defence Act Amendment 1909

- This was an important responsibility, and all citizens were expected to fulfil it.
- A key responsibility of citizenship was duty to the nation, either through the compulsory military training or being part of the being part of the 'civilian army' (12-26 year olds.)
- "The whole population ought to be trained to arms, every male undergoing three months training every year." (Hughes, B 16th February 1901)
- This Act (political structure) signifies the importance of national duty, defining who and what an Australian was.

The Maternity Allowance Act 1912

- Australia was seen as vulnerable, due to the low population density.
- Women were expected to produce new, white children for the nation and in return, they would receive a 'baby bonus' of £65 per child.
- "In no other part of the civilised world... is so much being done... for mothers" (Locke-Burns, 1919.) Lilian Locke-Burns, 26 June 1919 'State Provision for Mother and Child', Labor Call.
- Again, this Act (political structure) is important, in that it displays Australia’s status as a caring nation etc.
- Aborigines and other non-Europeans are excluded again.
1.3 Other policies, also gave a clear indication of what it was to be an Australian (e.g. egalitarianism, a 'fair go' etc.).
These include the:

**Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904:**
- Australians now had an official court to take their industrial disputes to.
- There was now an expectation that all workers would use the service and less time would be lost in these disputes than previously.
- "The Bill marks in my opinion the beginning of a new phase of civilisation." (Deakin, 1904.) Deakin, A 30 July 1904, Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, p.2864
- This "new phase of civilisation"

**Customs Tariff Act 1902 Tariff Acts and New Protection 1905-1907:**
- The Harvester Case (H.B. Higgins.)
- "The Harvester Judgement and Higgins are foundationally important. The philosophy was so right and in tune with the Australian ethos." (Bob Hawke, 2001 p.107) quoted in: Kelly, P 2001, 100 Years: the Australian Story, Allen & Unwin, Crow's Nest, NSW p. 107
- "Rather than looking upon it as charity, the pension was increasingly being thought of as a gift from the state." Robert Lewis 2012, Nation, race and citizen 1888 - 1914, Eagle Resources Pty Ltd, Australia.

THE HARVESTER JUDGEMENT AND THE "LIVING WAGE" EXCLUDED WOMEN.
- This Act (political structure) was important because it exemplified the lengths to which Australians were going to for a 'fair go' and shows who and what and Australian is.

1.4 The constitution and Australian Parliament
- The Constitution is a significant document as it presents Australia with a binding 'rule book' on how society is to run.
- It shows what sort of society, (who and what) we are.
- Aborigines were only mentioned twice in the constitution - section 127 said Aborigines were not to be counted in the Australian census and section 51 stated that the Commonwealth would not take any responsibility for Aborigines (policy etc.)
- Section 51: The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to:-Â
  ...(xxvi) The people of any race, other than the aboriginal people in any State, for whom it is necessary to make special laws.
- Section 127: In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives should not be counted.
- The Australian Parliament was a political structure, where who and what an Australian was, was debated. (Senate, house of Representatives, State Parliament.)
2.0 A clear sense of who and what an Australian was had not been established through political structures of the new nation.

2.1 Art and Literature were not political structures, and also contributed to the sense of 'who an Australian was.'

Art and literature were giving the Colonists an identity, united by Australian motifs and symbols, a distinctive and unique environment and its celebration through art and literature ('the bush'), and sport. From 1878, the Australian cricket team represented all of the colonies and thus a sense of pride and unity among the colonists ensued. The notion that Australia, should maintain links with Briton, but could become a nation of "Better Britons" was also an important hope for Federation.

- Literature was based heavily on the 'bush'. It portrayed an almost utopian bush scene, especially through art. (Streeton, McCubbin and Roberts.)
- Literature was part of the Australian culture, however it was male dominated. (6:1)

2.2 'The Bush'

- The Bush is a key part of Australia.
- Particularly in this period, there was a growing desire to associate Australia with something unique and special. There was a growing sense of nationalism. All around the world, countries were becoming more urbanised.
- Leading up to 1888, one third of all Australians lived in the capital cities. Comparatively few Australians lived in 'the Bush.'
- The desire for something unique and different was felt, and this was found in the bush.
- Artists, such as Frederick McCubbin, Arthur Streeton, Tom Roberts, Hans Heyson, Charles Conder and Jane Sutherland continued to feed this notion.
- The 'Noble bushman' was also important, and many artists celebrated this.
- The Heidelberg school was important in that it drew a number of artists together. It was based on the ideas of French Impressionism.
- Roberts painted scenes such as Shearing the Rams 1890 which were important, because it portrayed the increasingly 'Australian' caricatures which were emerging. These include hard work, resourcefulness, and mateship. Roberts wrote to the Argus on July 4 1890, "So it came that being in the Bush and feeling the delight and fascination of the great pastoral life I have tried to express it." (Quoted in: Leigh Astbury, 1985, City Bushmen, the Heidelberg School and the rural mythology, Oxford University Press, p. 107.)
- McCubbin, often tried to capture the feeling of people being lost literally and metaphorically in this new landscape. E.g. Lost 1907. Most of his work features only one person and works also with the ideas of people being alienated.
- Jane Sutherland was one of the few voices for women at the time and portrayed 'Australian women.' E.g. Portrait of Margret Sutherland as a young girl 1905.
- Arthur Streeton tried to capture the 'essence' of the Australian bush, the beauty and pride in Australian landscapes. E.g. the Gloucester buckets 1894.
- Although Australian Art of the time influenced identity and who and what an Australian was, it did not define it.
  - "The convict derived bush ethos formed the most important basic component of the national mystique" Russel Ward 1978, The Australian Legend, Oxford University Press, p. 23.
  - "The horrors of the city experience served to heighten their idealising of the Bush." (Gibb.)
Gibb, Donald Menzies, 1981, National Identity and Consciousness, Thomson Learning Australia, Melbourne p.Â