

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>A.A.O.</b>	Australian Archives Office
<b>A.N.L.</b>	Australian National Library, Canberra
<b><i>Con. Deb. Adel. 1897</i></b>	Convention <i>Debates</i> , Adelaide, 1897
<b><i>Con. Deb. Melb. 1898</i></b>	Convention <i>Debates</i> , Melbourne, 1898
<b><i>Con. Deb. Syd. 1897</i></b>	Convention <i>Debates</i> , Sydney, 1897
<b><i>C.P.D.</i></b>	<i>Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates</i>
<b><i>D.T.</i></b>	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>
<b>La T.L.</b>	La Trobe Library, Melbourne
<b>M.L.</b>	Mitchell Library, Sydney
<b>n.s.</b>	new series
<b>N.S.W.</b>	New South Wales
<b><i>P.D.</i></b>	<i>Parliamentary Debates</i>
<b><i>P.P.</i></b>	<i>Parliamentary Papers</i>
<b>S.A.</b>	South Australia
<b>S.A.A.</b>	South Australian Archives
<b><i>S.M.H.</i></b>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
<b>T.A.</b>	Tasmanian Archives
<b>Tas.</b>	Tasmania
<b>Vic.</b>	Victoria
<b>W.A.</b>	Western Australia
<b>W.S.L.</b>	State Library of Western Australia

## REFERENCES

### Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Clark's Draft Bill is reprinted in John Reynolds, 'A. I. Clark's American sympathies and his influence on Australian federation', *Australian Law Journal*, vol. 32 (1958), pp. 62-74.

<sup>2</sup>The records are at present being classified by officers of the Australian Archives. La Nauze in *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, pp. 45-71, has reconstructed the story of the machinery committee's activities from other sources.

<sup>3</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, p. 661

### 1 Churchmen at the Bathurst Convention

<sup>1</sup>Some recent studies that discuss the political array of Australian colonial churches in the 1890s are: Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910*; Davis, 'Christian Socialism in Tasmania 1890-1920', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1972), pp. 51-68; Dickey, 'Charity in New South Wales 1850-1914', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 52, pt 1 (1966), pp. 9-32; Ford, *Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P.*; Lawson, 'The Political Influence of the Churches in Brisbane in the 1890s', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1972), pp. 144-62; Mahon, 'Cardinal Moran's Candidature', *Manna*, no. 6 (1963), pp. 63-71; O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, ch. 4; 'The History of the New South Wales Labour Movement 1880-1910', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1962), pp. 131-51

<sup>2</sup>*God's Greater Britain*, pp. 165-6.

<sup>3</sup>*S.M.H.*, 22 July 1892.

<sup>4</sup>Bollen, op. cit., pp. 43-4; Norman, *The Conscience of the State in North America*, pp. 16-19; Philip Wogaman, 'The changing role of government and the myth of separation', *Journal of Church and State*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1963).

<sup>5</sup>*God's Greater Britain*.

<sup>6</sup>Byrne, Camidge and probably Webb, it may also be noted, were members of the Bathurst Federation League (confidential memo by W. Astley (typescript), Astley Papers, M.L.). Nine of the 56 members of the general committee of the Convention were clerics (*Sydney Mail*, 28 Nov. 1896).

<sup>7</sup>*Bathurst Times*, 16 Nov. 1896.

<sup>8</sup>Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 4, pp. 274-5.

<sup>9</sup>*Bathurst Times*, 16 Nov. 1896.

<sup>10</sup>Cited in Murtagh, *Catholics and the Commonwealth* p. 20.

<sup>11</sup>*Bathurst Times*, 16 Nov. 1896.

<sup>12</sup>On the links between the Protestant interest in religious federation, and in the political federation, see French, *Churches and Society in South Australia 1890-1900* (M.A. thesis), p. 90-9, 407-19. Respecting the middle-classness of Protestantism, Bollen, op. cit., pp. 4-5, has concluded that 'The strongholds of Protestantism were the suburbs of Sydney and the larger country towns. The absence of working-men from worship caused increasing concern in the eighties, but all the efforts of the Churches over the following decades failed to reverse a general decline of inner-city parishes. Protestant ministries can barely have touched the greater part of Sydney's teeming labour force.' There were some 'acceptable' Methodist congregations in 'predominantly working-class localities', but these Bollen regards as exceptional.

<sup>13</sup>Perhaps the most telling evidence for this sweeping 'tendency' claim lies in the geographic distribution and incidence of viable Catholic and Anglican congregations.

Viable Catholic congregations *tended* to be found in inner-city and ‘poorer’ areas. Viable Anglican congregations tended to be located in all types of area *except* working-class. Bollen (op. cit., p. 114) points up the irony of the fact that those Anglicans, often associated with the Christian Social Union, who displayed the greatest concern to involve their church in the life and problems of the industrial poor mostly ministered in rural dioceses, where such problems scarcely arose. Camidge was a case in point (ibid.). Anglican congregations certainly were a significant and sometimes dominant element in suburban religious life. However, the New South Wales Anglican church as a whole – the ‘evangelical’ Sydney diocese being a partial exception – the suburban segment was far from predominant. Hans Mol in *Religion in Australia: a sociological investigation* (Melbourne, 1971), chs 12 & 16, has suggested that it is not correct, for this period, to speak of Catholics as typically working-class, of Protestants as typically middle class, and of Anglicans as typically upper class, or perhaps as typically upper-and-lower-but-not-middle class. His evidence essentially is the fact that, at the turn of the century, the occupational profiles of ‘census’ Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches did not differ greatly from each other. Mol’s argument, which is interesting but implausible, rests on two extremely risky assumptions. The first is that ‘objective’ class affiliation corresponds closely to ‘subjective’ affiliation; the second that the ratio of religious nominalism to religious seriousness is approximately the same across comparable categories in the respective churches.

<sup>14</sup>La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, app. 5.

<sup>15</sup>28 Nov. 1896.

<sup>16</sup>Murtagh, op. cit., p.30.

<sup>17</sup>*Sydney Mail*, 28 Nov. 1896

<sup>18</sup>*Methodist*, 29 May, 1897.

<sup>19</sup>*S.M.H.*, 18 Nov. 1896.

<sup>20</sup>Memorandum from Gosman to Convention organizers, Astley Papers, M.L.

<sup>21</sup>*Bathurst Times*, 17 Nov. 1896; *Sydney Mail*, 28 Nov. 1896

<sup>22</sup>*Bathurst Times*, 18 Nov. 1896; *Sydney Mail*, 28 Nov. 1896; *S.M.S.*, 18 Nov. 1896

<sup>23</sup>18 Nov. 1896. The 28 Nov. *Sydney Mail* had a similar perspective: ‘The agenda sheet submitted by the Procedure Committee contained motions on every sort of thing that could possibly be dragged into Federation, including one... acknowledging the existence of Divine Providence.’ The *Sydney Mail*, a weekly, was produced by the same publishers as the *S.M.H.*

<sup>24</sup>Cormack, *Australian Federation: a lecture*, pp. 27-30.

<sup>25</sup>*Australian Christian World*, 22 Jan. 1897.

<sup>26</sup>*Bathurst Times*, 23 Nov. 1896.

<sup>27</sup>Fielding’s motion was one of a large batch which were rushed through at the close, with scarcely any discussion. *S.M.S.*, 23 Nov. 1896; *Bathurst Times*, 23 Nov. 1896; Minute Book, People’s Federal Convention, L.L.

<sup>28</sup>Newspaper cuttings of Bathurst Convention, pp. 46-7; Quick Papers, MS. 53, A.M.L.

## 2      *The Cardinal Steps Out*

<sup>1</sup>*Freeman’s Journal*, 20 Feb. 1897.

<sup>2</sup>Encyclical letter *Libertas Praestantissimum*, 1888, cited in Wynne (ed.), *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII*, p. 161

<sup>3</sup>*S.M.H.*, 6 Feb. 1897.

<sup>4</sup>O’Farrell, *The Catholic church in Australia*, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup>A number of historians (O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 177; Ford, *Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P.*, pp. 204-6; Mahon, 'Cardinal Moran's candidature', *Manna*, No. 6 (1963), pp. 65-6) have suggested that one of Moran's principle motives for standing was the hope that thereby he might influence the electorate against returning 'socialist' candidates. Some Labour leaders at the time suggested this too (*D.T.*, 9 Mar. 1897; Workman, 20 Mar. 1897). It must be conceded that Moran was personally strongly anti-socialist and saw federation as, among other things, providing some security against socialist 'extremism', but that does not in itself establish anti-socialism as a principle motive for his candidature. Had it really been so, he either would not have stood, but chosen rather to speak out simply as a cardinal, or he would have stood and run a boots-and-all campaign. As it was, he did stand and then scarcely mentioned the socialist issue. The likelihood is rather than Moran quite realistically recognized that on an issue like federation, in which social issues did not often arise, the 'socialists' had no show; and that he therefore felt free to launch himself into the mainstream of Australian social and religious life.

<sup>6</sup>Encyclical letter *Immortale Dei*, 1885, cited in Wynne (ed.), op. cit., p. 132. An article, 'The Cardinal and Leo XIII', which appeared in the *Catholic Press* for 13 Feb, 1897, stated that Moran was 'thoroughly in accord with the religious, social and political views of Pope Leo. In the wide realms of Catholicity the great Pontiff has none more competent and more willing to aid him in his designs for the regeneration of society than the illustrious Cardinal-Archbishop of Sydney.' The article concluded with the hope that soon the Australian church would be 'the brightest jewel in the tiara of Leo XIII'. The *Catholic Press* was virtually the official organ of the archdiocese.

<sup>7</sup>*S.M.H.*, 17 Feb. 1897.

<sup>8</sup>Op cit., pp. 172-6.

<sup>9</sup>*Methodist*, 29 May 1897. The writer, Rev. J. Waddell, would no doubt have been even more horrified had he known that on 16 January Webb had written to Moran warmly congratulating him on his decision to stand (Webb to Moran, Moran Papers, Federation Folder, St Mary's Archive).

<sup>10</sup>*S.M.H.*, 31 Mar. 1897. Rev. G. McInnis, chairman of the United Protestant Meeting, naturally saw it that way (see *S.M.H.*, 3 Mar. 1897). The *Bulletin*, 23 Jan. 1897, saw Moran's Bathurst speech as 'the Cardinal's little feeler: should a complaisant public make no objection to him there, he could try a bigger coup.' Moran himself, in an interview with a *Herald* reporter (*S.M.H.*, 14 Jan. 1897) stated, 'It was thought that my position barred me from attending the Bathurst Convention. It does not do so any more now than then.'

<sup>11</sup>The Loyal Orange Institution chose a 'bunch' containing no Catholics at all (*D.T.*, 16 Feb. 1897). However, in the daily press at any rate, their campaign was greatly overshadowed by that of the UPM.

<sup>12</sup>See for instance reports in *Argus*, 5 Mar. 1897; *D.T.*, 17, 19, 23 Feb. 1897; *Tasmanian Mail*, 27 Feb. 1897. The press sometimes called the group the 'United Protestant Conference': However, McInness, the chairman, called it the United Protestant Movement, and I have followed that usage.

<sup>13</sup>T. Walton to T. Slattery, 11 Feb. 1897, Moran Papers, Federation Folder, St Mary's Archive.

<sup>14</sup>A proposal that Moran and Smith stand for election was publicly proposed as early as 13 November 1895, by the Protectionist politician Henry Copeland, a nominal Protestant but politically associated with Catholics (*D.T.*, 19 Jan. 1897). However, Smith had already, in reply to a previous telegraphed inquiry by the editor of the (Sydney) *Sunday Times*, advised, 'Surprised receive wire on such subject. I answer no.' Later he declined the

invitation of a formal delegation. Copeland had also publicly called for nomination by leading non-Anglican Protestants, but these also, when formally approached, declined to stand. However, it is of some interest to note that one of the non-Anglican Protestants referred to by Copeland, the Congregationalist Dr Bevan of Victoria, publicly declared that he would have liked to stand had his personal circumstances and the law of the colony of Victoria allowed (*S.M.H.*, 20 Jan. 1897). Evidently Moran's backers were not altogether astray in their calculations. For those interested in following through the story of the various delegations, of which the Catholic politician T. Slattery seems to have been the main organizer, the following references convey the gist: *S.M.H.*, 8, 9 Feb 1897; *Age*, 10. Feb. 1897; *Australian Star*, 8, 9, 10, 18 Feb. 1897; *Sunday Times*, 17, 24 Jan. 1897; *Evening News* (Sydney), 6 Feb. 1897; *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Jan. 1897; *Worker*, 23 Jan. 1897; *Australian Workman*, 20 Mar. 1897. Of special interest also, as giving a brief inside picture of one of these delegations, is S. Bradley to B. R. Wise, Wise Papers, M.L.

<sup>15</sup>23 Jan. 1897.

<sup>16</sup>18 Feb. 1897.

<sup>17</sup>*D.T.*, 19 Feb. 1897. The issue contained similar letters from Rev. W. W. Rutledge and from J. Auld.

<sup>18</sup>*D.T.*, 18 Feb. 1897.

<sup>19</sup>*Freeman's Journal*, 27 Feb. 1897; *Catholic Press*, 27 Feb. 1897. An editorial in the *Australian Christian World*, friendly to Moran's candidature, was also reprinted in the *Catholic Press* of that date.

<sup>20</sup>*Argus*, 5 Mar. 1897; *D.T.*, 11 Feb. 1897.

<sup>21</sup>Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910*, chs 5 & 6

<sup>22</sup>13 Feb. 1897.

<sup>23</sup>*S.M.H.*, 18 Feb. 1897; *D.T.*, 6 Feb. 1897. The *Herald* viewpoint it was appropriate for clerics to preach general political principles but not to take sides between political parties (see editorial, 23 Jan. 1897). Moran described the *Herald* as 'the organ of the extreme Congregationalists' (*D.T.*, 18 Feb. 1897).

<sup>24</sup>See also *Freeman's Journal*, 13 Mar. 1897; *Catholic Press*, 13 Mar. 1897; *Truth*, 14 Mar. 1897.

<sup>25</sup>*S.M.H.*, 4 Mar. 1897.

### 3 Campaign and Counter-campaign

<sup>1</sup>*D.T.*, 3 Mar. 1897.

<sup>2</sup>*Age*, 12 Feb. 1897; *D.T.*, 3 Mar. 1897.

<sup>3</sup>*S.M.H.*, 22 Feb 1897.

<sup>4</sup>Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910*, ch. 6.

<sup>5</sup>13 Mar. 1897.

<sup>6</sup>18 Nov. 1896.

<sup>7</sup>For example *Bulletin*, 10, 24 Apr. 1897; *Truth*, 18 July 1897; 1 Aug. 1897.

<sup>8</sup>The Victorian Council of Churches however slightly changed the test of its petition. Substantially, it omitted reference to a chaplain, and amended 'the Governor-General has power to...' to 'the Governor-General in Council has power to...' (*Argus*, 12 Mar. 1897).

<sup>9</sup>*Proceedings* (Adelaide, 1897), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>10</sup>*Southern Sentinel*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1897), p. 32.

<sup>11</sup>Suttor, *Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia 1788-1870*, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>An account of the 'vision' is provided in the *Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopaedia*, vol. 10, p. 1410. The 'vision' was referred to in some detail by S. H. Haskell in an address to

the 1899 Australasian Union Conference. Haskell had been the leader of the first (1885) Seventh Day Adventist mission to Australia and New Zealand. Mrs White was present during the address and, when she later spoke, in no way rebutted or amended what Haskell said. One may conclude both that the 'vision' story was known to the Adventists and that its circulation was endorsed by Mrs White (*Union Conference Record*, 28 July 1899).

<sup>13</sup>*Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, p. 326.

<sup>14</sup>*Union Conference Record*, Jan., Feb. 1898, pp. 13, 23.

<sup>15</sup>*Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, p. 1411.

<sup>16</sup>*Age*, 8 May 1894; *Sydney Evening News*, 9, 13 Aug. 1894; *S.M.H.*, 10 Aug. 1894; *Argus*, 14 Aug. 1894.

<sup>17</sup>Krause, *The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Australia 1885-1900* (M.A. thesis), pp. 156-79.

<sup>18</sup>McAllister, *The National Reform Movement*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup>*Proposed Amendments to the Constitution 1889-1928*, 70<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, House Document No. 551 (1929), pp. 184-5.

<sup>20</sup>*Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, p. 1030.

<sup>21</sup>Krause, *op. cit.*, p 242.

<sup>22</sup>Such as J.O. Corliss, W. A. Colcord and Mrs E. M. White. In 1889 Corliss had a watchdog brief on Sunday Observance issues (see *Seventh Day Adventist Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, p. 1029). In 1897 Corliss was the editor of the *Bible Echo* and also general field secretary of the Department of Religious Liberty (see *Union Conference Record*, Jan.-Feb. 1898, p. 23).

<sup>23</sup>*Australian Sentinel and Herald of Liberty*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1894), pp. 62-3. Here are printed extracts from twenty-six of these reviews. Interestingly, among them is a favourable notice from the *Freeman's Journal*.

<sup>24</sup>*Gleaner* (from 1898 the *Union Conference Record*), 1896-7, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup>*Gleaner*, 1896, 1897, and the *Union Conference Record*, 1898, contain numerous reports from and about these sales agents. They appear to fall into two categories. All members of congregations or of 'unorganised companies' distributed the *Bible Echo*, while full-time canvassers (that is, members who made a living from the commission received) sold more specialized and expensive Adventist literature.

<sup>26</sup>For locations of Adventist congregations, see any issue of the *Gleaner* or the *Union Conference Record* for these years. Locations of petition signers are usually indicated in the *Proceedings* of the Federal Convention, and the *Parliamentary Papers* of the various colonial legislatures.

#### 4 *The Recognition Issue at Adelaide*

<sup>1</sup>*The Federal Story*, p. 75. An analysis of the religious views of the individual members of the Convention is provided in Ely, *God, the Churches, and the Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Ph.D. thesis), ch. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Rough Diary, 21 Mar. 1897, MS. 2001, ser. 3, A.H.L.

<sup>3</sup>'Records', G.R.G./72, ser. 4/9, A.A.O.

<sup>4</sup>'Records', G.R.G/72, ser. 8/13, A.A.O.

<sup>5</sup>*S.M.H.*, July 1897.

<sup>6</sup>For instance in the *Age*, 9 Apr. 1897; *Argus*, 9 Apr. 1897. It was not mentioned in the *S.M.H.*

<sup>7</sup>23 Apr. 1897.

<sup>8</sup>17 Apr. 1897.

<sup>9</sup>*Proceedings* (Adelaide, 1897), p. viii.

<sup>10</sup>This seems a reasonable inference from Sir William Zeal's statement, *Con. Deb. Adel. 1897*, p. 1189.

<sup>11</sup>*P.D.* (Vic.), 1897, vol. 86, p. 1485

<sup>12</sup>*Con. Deb. Adel. 1897*, pp. 1184-6

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1186

<sup>14</sup>*Adelaide Advertiser*, 23 Apr. 1897

<sup>15</sup>*Con. Deb. Adel. 1897*, pp. 1186-8

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1188. Interestingly, Walker was the seconder of Fielding's proposal. Minute Book, People's Federal Convention, M.L.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 1188-9.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

## 5 *The Protestants Fight Back*

<sup>1</sup>May 1897.

<sup>2</sup>*Presbyterian Monthly*, June 1897; *Argus*, 7 May 1897.

<sup>3</sup>Secular and church periodicals and newspapers commented frequently on the issue. But see more especially *Argus*, 30 June; *S.M.H.*, 3, 6, 29 July, 2, 3, 4, 5 Aug; *Launceston Examiner*, 20 July; *Mercury*, 17 July; *South Australian Register*, 13 July; *Bible Echo*, generally; *Catholic Press*, 14 Aug; *Freeman's Journal*, 10 July; *Methodist*, 1, 8 May, 31 July; *Southern Cross*, 2 July. Public petitions were circulated in New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania but not in South Australia or Western Australia. In Western Australia the 'recognition' campaign was confined to delegations to the government by the Women's Christian Temperance Union and ad hoc groups of clerics (*West Australian*, 5, 6, 12 Aug. 1897).

<sup>4</sup>*S.M.H.*, 6 July 1897.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>See for instance sermon by Rev. J. Nancarrow, *Australian Christian World*, 30 July 1897.

<sup>7</sup>*Southern Cross*, 26 Mar. 1897.

<sup>8</sup>p. 20.

<sup>9</sup>*Southern Cross*, 22 Apr. 1898.

<sup>10</sup>21 May 1897.

<sup>11</sup>*Southern Cross*, 27 May 1898.

<sup>12</sup>*Australia without God*, pp. 20-1.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup>Press cuttings, Glynn Papers, MS. 1653, ser. 15, items 114, 116, A.N.L.

<sup>15</sup>Texts of the petitions set out in *Proceedings* (Sydney, 1897), pp. 81-2.

## 6 *The Adventists Persevere*

<sup>1</sup>Australasian Union Conference, Minutes of Executive Committee, 20 May, Avondale.

<sup>2</sup>On Colcord, Corliss and Mrs White see chapter 3.

<sup>3</sup>The pamphlet is reprinted in the *Bible Echo*, 12 July 1897. It is unsigned, but in the file copy of the *Bible Echo* in the Adventist Library at Warburton, 'W.A.C.' is handwritten at the foot of the reprinted pamphlet.

<sup>4</sup>*P.P.* (N.S.W., Vic., Tas., S.A.). One of the canvassers, S. Pretyman, recalled fifty-eight years later, 'Pastor Daniels visited Hobart and clearly set forth the issue; and our members responded well in soliciting signatures, and thus was performed the first task assigned me in our work...' (*Australasian Record*, 3 October 1955).

<sup>5</sup>See for instance *S.M.H.*, 14 July, 3 Aug. 1897.

<sup>6</sup>*Union Conference Record*, Jan.-Feb. 1898, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup>*P.D.*, (W.A.), 1897, vol. 10 (n.s.), p. 299.

<sup>8</sup>See note 3. The other pamphlet was also printed in the 12 July *Bible Echo*. At the foot is handwritten 'A.G.D.'

<sup>9</sup>*Gleaner*, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>*Union Conference Record*, Jan.-Feb. 1898, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*P.P.* (S.A.), 1897, vol. 1; *P.P.* (N.S.W. L.C.), 1897, vol. 56, pt 1; *P.P.* (Tas) 1897, vol. 36. The number of signatories in Victoria is not given in the *Parliamentary Papers*. The petitions themselves are in the parliamentary archives.

<sup>13</sup>The councils of churches organized public petitions in Victoria and Tasmania. In Victoria the Council obtained about 25 000 signatories. (*Bible Echo*, 16 Aug. 1897). In Tasmania they obtained about 1500 signatories (*P.P.* (Tas.) 1897, vol. 36). The Adventists obtained about 13 000 signatories in these colonies.

<sup>14</sup>The Hobart *Mercury* was mildly opposed to 'recognition', 29 July 1897.

## 7        *The Debates in the Colonial Legislatures*

<sup>1</sup>*Methodist*, 3 July 1897.

<sup>2</sup>*P.D.* (Vic.), 1897, vol. 86, pp. 522, 1697. On Longmore see Thomson and Serle, *A Biographical Register of the Victorian Legislature 1851-1900*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>*P.D.* (Vic.), 1897, vol. 86, p. 1474; vol. 87, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup>*P.D.* (N.S.W.), 1897, vol. 89, pp. 2599-600; *S.M.H.*, 3, 27 July 1897.

<sup>5</sup>*P.D.* (N.S.W.), 1897, vol. 89, pp. 2599-600.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 90, p. 3470.

<sup>7</sup>*P.D.* (S.A.), 1897, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 336. Each house, it was decided, should initiate its own discussion of the Adelaide draft.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 521-2.

<sup>11</sup>*P.D.* (W.A.), 1897, vol. 10 (n.s.), p. 65.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 299-301.

<sup>13</sup>On Inglis Clark and his circle see Ely, 'Andrew Inglis Clark and Church-State separation', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1975), pp. 279-80; and H. Reynolds, *The Island Colony, Tasmania: society and politics 1880-1900* (M.A. thesis, University of Tasmania, 1964).

<sup>14</sup>All spoke, or at any rate voted, against 'recognition' in the debate.

<sup>15</sup>Parliament of Tasmania, *Debate on the Draft Commonwealth Bill*, 1897, pp. 266-8 (copy held by Library of the Parliament of Tasmania).

<sup>16</sup>The Tasmanian legislature had decided procedurally to treat the Adelaide draft as an ordinary bill. It was considered first by the House of Assembly, and then, as amended, by the Council.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 288-90.

<sup>18</sup>*P.D.* (S.A.), 1897, p. 497.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 498.

<sup>21</sup>Parliament of Tasmania, *Debate on the Draft Commonwealth Bill*, 1897, p. 257.

<sup>22</sup>'Records', G.R.G./72, ser. 12/9, A.A.O.

<sup>23</sup>Parliament of Tasmania, *Debate on the Draft Commonwealth Bill*, 1897. pp. 278, 290.

<sup>24</sup>This was confirmed at the Sydney Convention. *Con. Deb. Syd. 1897*, pp. 31-2.

8 *The Lines Are Drawn*

<sup>1</sup>4<sup>th</sup> Quarter, 1897.

<sup>2</sup>Palmer, *Henry Bournes Higgins*, pp. 49-83. On Higgins's religious views see Ely, *God, the Churches, and the Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Ph.D. thesis), p. 189; Grant, *Henry Bournes Higgins: a Victorian radical in politics* (M.A. thesis), pp. 18-20.

<sup>3</sup>*P.D. (Vic.)*, 1897, vol. 85, p. 232.

<sup>4</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, pp. 656, 661.

<sup>5</sup>Six petitions for 'recognition' were received at the Sydney session, one from thirty-seven 'citizens', three from religious bodies, and two from the Australasian National League. Three petitions were received at the Melbourne session, each from a Christian Endeavour group (*Proceedings* (Sydney, 1897); *Proceedings* (Melbourne, 1898)).

<sup>6</sup>*P.D. (Vic.)*, 1893, vol. 69, pp. 123-5, 282-92.

<sup>7</sup>*P.D. (Vic.)*, 1897, vol. 87, pp. 250-1.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup>*P.D. (Vic.)*, 1897, vol. 87, pp. 250-1.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup>*P.D. (Vic.)*, 1893, vol. 87, pp. 238-9.

<sup>10</sup>Speech of Robert Harper (brother of Professor Andrew Harper) (*Argus*, 28 Sept. 1897). Harper said that the present proposal of the League was fairly ineffective, but would 'break the extreme secularity of the system'. Over-arching moral governance of a Protestant hue exercised through state agencies was the broad idea: 'We of the League seek to remove one principle hindrance to the State doing its proper work – caring for the morals of the community, work which cannot be accomplished without the aid of religion' (statement by annual meeting of National Scripture Education League, 1896 cited in *Presbyterian Monthly*, Jan. 1897). 'Religion' here would of course tend to mean Protestant religion. Andrew Harper's *Presbyterian Monthly* of Sept. 1897 was a lot more explicit. The State must teach morals, it asserted, and morals 'can be inculcated only on a scriptural basis'. One of the main keys to understanding the Protestant frenzy over the 'Bible in states schools' issue was clerical anxiety over the effect on the quality of Protestantism of the increasing ratio of native born to British born among the laity. 'The generation who enjoyed a home training is fast dying out,' declared the Rev. J. Steele in his moderator's address to the Victorian General Assembly in November 1897, 'and from this time forth the burden of upholding the church must fall on their children born and brought up in the colony... But our children are badly handicapped by the exclusion of the Bible from our State Schools. The element of reverence is, thereby, stunted and minimized...' (*Presbyterian Monthly*, Dec. 1897).

<sup>11</sup>*Southern Cross*, 16 July, 1897.

<sup>12</sup>*Age*, 29 Sept. 1897.

<sup>13</sup>*Geelong Advertiser*, 9 Oct. 1897.

<sup>14</sup>*Geelong Times*, 2 Oct. 1897.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.* It is relevant to note that in one of his speeches seeking election to the Federal Convention Higgins concluded by citing the words of the Bendigo poet William Gay: 'Let us rise, united, penitent,/ And be one people – mighty, serving God' (*Age*, 10 Feb. 1897). Prudential piety, perhaps, but it indicates a certain consistency.

<sup>1</sup>The temperature, which on 8 February rose above the century, may also be relevant (*D.T.*, 9 Feb. 1898).

<sup>2</sup>The letter from Higgins to Colcord, in which Higgins said this, cannot be traced. However, on 23 March 1898 Colcord wrote to Higgins, ‘Your letter of some days ago was duly received... While, as you suggest, it would have been desirable to have included the States as well as the Commonwealth in the provision...’ (Higgins Papers, MS. 1047, A.N.L.)

<sup>3</sup>The debates are summarized and discussed in La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, pp. 206-11.

<sup>4</sup>9 Feb. 1898.

<sup>5</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, pp. 655-7.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 657.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 658.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>Higgins Papers, MS. 1047, A.N.L.

<sup>10</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, pp. 658-9.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 660.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>Higgins, *The Convention Bill of 1898*, in *Essays and Addresses on the Australian Commonwealth Bill*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>14</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, pp. 660-1.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 662.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 662-4.

<sup>18</sup>*Australian Sentinel*, 1<sup>st</sup> Quarter, 1895, pp. 114-5; *Southern Sentinel*, Jan. 1898, pp. 5-6. Commenting on Sir Joseph Abbott’s speech, a *Southern Sentinel* commentator remarked in the June 1898 issue, ‘But what right have men to “set aside” and command their fellow men to observe as a day of rest a day which God has never ordained to be thus observed? Moreover, why has not everyone a perfect right to work on a day concerning which and the other five laboring days of the week God has said: “Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work”?’ Plainly the conflict here is not between Sir Joseph Abbott and the Seventh Day Adventists, or between the State and Seventh Day observers, but between the laws of men and the law of God.’

<sup>19</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, p. 664.

<sup>20</sup>9 Feb. 1898.

<sup>21</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 1, p. 664.

<sup>22</sup>Mar. 1898.

<sup>1</sup>Diary, 2 Mar. 1898, Glynn Papers, MS. 558, A.N.L.

<sup>2</sup>La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, pp. 102-3; O’Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, ch. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Glynn Papers, MS. 558, A.N.L.

<sup>4</sup>Diary, 12 June 1898, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 2, pp. 1732-3.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 1734-6.

- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 1736-7.  
<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 1737-8.  
<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 1738-9.  
<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 1739-40.  
<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 1740.  
<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 1740-1.  
<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 1741.  
<sup>14</sup>Apr. 1898.  
<sup>15</sup>3 Mar. 1898.  
<sup>16</sup>Diary, 2 Mar. 1898, Glynn Papers, MS. 558, A.N.L.  
<sup>17</sup>12 Mar. 1898.  
<sup>18</sup>Apr. 1898.

11      *'The Commonwealth Shall Not...'*

- <sup>1</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 2, pp. 1741-2.  
<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1769.  
<sup>3</sup>Garran Papers, MS. 2001, ser. 8, A.N.L.  
<sup>4</sup>Higgins Papers, MS. 1047, A.N.L.  
<sup>5</sup>See Australasian Union Conference, Minutes of Executive Committee 1 Dec. 1897.  
<sup>6</sup>*Bible Echo*, 7 Mar. 1898.  
<sup>7</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 2., p. 1779.  
<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 1769-70.  
<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 1770.  
<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 1770-2.  
<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 1772.  
<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 1773-4.  
<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 1774-5.  
<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 1775.  
<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 1775-6.  
<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 1776-7.  
<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 1777.  
<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 1777-8.  
<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 1778.  
<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 1778-9.  
<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 1779.  
<sup>22</sup>Ibid. Higgins was wrong both times. 7807 citizens signed the 'anti-recognition' petitions to the Adelaide Convention (see above, p. 24). Counting S.A. and Tas. Together with N.S.W. and Vic., about 22 300 signed the 'anti-recognition' petitions to the colonial legislatures (see above, p. 138, n. 13). No doubt there was considerable overlap, and the overall total may not have exceeded 25 000. The source of Higgins's error possibly can be traced. On p. 13 of the Jan.–Feb. 1898 *Union Conference Record* the signatories for the country as a whole are listed in an incorrect and misleading way so as to yield a total a little below 38 000. Probably Higgins got the wrong number from the Adventists, first applied it to the Victorians, realized this could not be right, and then hopefully applied it to the whole country!  
<sup>23</sup>Ibid.  
<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 1779-80.  
<sup>25</sup>2 Mar. 1898, Glynn Papers, MS. 558, A.N.L.

<sup>26</sup>See ch. 7.

<sup>27</sup>Glynn Papers, MS. 558, ser. 4 item 28, A.N.L.

<sup>1</sup>pp. 287-90, 951-3.

<sup>2</sup>p. 287.

<sup>3</sup>p. 951.

<sup>4</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 2, p. 658.

<sup>5</sup>p. 290.

<sup>6</sup>*Congressional Record, Senate, 1892*, vol. 23, no. 6, pp. 5993-6004, 6042-56, 6099. In conducting this research, the present writer unexpectedly came across, in the State Library of Victoria, a curious fragment of the 1890s events here being investigated. This library happened to hold the *Congressional Records* for the 1890s. It was these volumes which I consulted in checking the accuracy of Quick and Garran's claims. It was soon evident that someone had been examining the Congressional debates with a similar question in mind. Many of those sections of the debate in which references were made to 'religious aspects' were separated with little slips of paper, and furthermore someone had been busily underlining many of those portions in which the religion of Church and State was being discussed by the Congressmen. Who had been doing so, and when? Surprisingly it is possible to suggest a fairly conclusive answer, because the slips of paper used to make off these places were parts of an envelope, and about half of the postmark remained. 'FIT..... .TH VIC' and 'JA.....20...98' is fairly clearly 'Fitzroy North, Victoria, January 20, 1898'. 251 St Georges Road, North Fitzroy, was at this time the address of the Australasian Tract Society and the Echo Publishing Company. It was also the Victorian headquarters of the Adventists. Therefore one reasonably can surmise that the letter to the reader of the *Congressional Records* came from the Adventists. We know that around this time Colcord, the Adventist's religious liberty secretary, was corresponding with Higgins. We know that at this time Higgins lived in the suburb of Malvern, *not* Fitzroy (Sands & McDougall's Melbourne and suburban directories, 1897, 1898). We know from what Higgins said on 7 and 8 February, and 2 March, that he was closely familiar with the events relating to the closing of the 1892 Chicago Exposition on Sunday. The probability therefore is that the vigorously underlining reader was none other than Higgins himself and that he was conducting some personal research preparatory to the debate on Clause 109. The point has special interest in suggesting considerable care on Higgin's part in preparing for the debate. The envelope fragments are now in my possession.

<sup>7</sup>14 July 1892.

<sup>8</sup>Cited in *Australian Sentinal and Herald of Liberty*, August 1894.

<sup>9</sup>*The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*, p. 952.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 953.

<sup>12</sup>*The Making of the Australian Constitution*, p. 228

<sup>13</sup>Op. cit., p. 952.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 951-3.

<sup>15</sup>p. 25.

<sup>16</sup>*The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*, p. 953.

<sup>17</sup>See for example Cooley, *The General Principles of Constitutional Law*, p. 260; H. Rottschaefer, *Handbook of American Constitutional Law* (St Paul, Minnesota, 1939), pp.

726-8; L. Pfeffer, *This Honourable Court* (Boston, 1965), pp. 346-7; W. Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New York, 1929), pp. 1185-6.

<sup>18</sup>98 U.S. 145 (1878); 133 U.S. 333 (1890). In discussing these and other American cases, I have found Pfeffer's *Church, State and Freedom* useful.

<sup>19</sup>98 U.S. (1878), pp. 249-50.

<sup>20</sup>'Records', G.R.G./72, ser. 12/9, A.A.O.

<sup>21</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 2, p. 1738.

<sup>22</sup>*The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*, p. 951.

<sup>23</sup>98 U.S. (1878), p. 249.

<sup>24</sup>175 U.S. 291, pp. 178-80.

<sup>25</sup>29 Stat. 411.

<sup>26</sup>210 U.S. 50 (1908).

<sup>27</sup>9 Cranch 43 (1815); 1 How. 127 (1844).

<sup>28</sup>pp. 592-4.

<sup>29</sup>2 How. 127 (1844).

<sup>30</sup>*The Supreme Court and Religion*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>31</sup>3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (1898) pp. 224-5.

<sup>32</sup>p. 19.

<sup>33</sup>pp. 468-9.

<sup>34</sup>La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, p. 135.

<sup>35</sup>pp. 172-3. Many years later Garran expressed hearty endorsement of the recognition proposal (*Church of England Messenger*, 9 Apr. 1925, p. 172. Cutting in Garran Papers, MS. 2001, ser. 6, A.N.L.) Garran in retirement became chancellor of the Anglican Diocese of Goulburn (later Canberra-Goulburn).

<sup>36</sup>By C. Daley, *Sir John Quick: a distinguished Australian*, p. 16; Fredman (ed.), *Sir John Quick's Notebook*. In the latter, pp. 8-12, Quick describes with retrospective approval his youthful induction to the Bible and Protestant Christianity.

<sup>37</sup>p. 18.

### 13 To the Referenda

<sup>1</sup>*Con. Deb. Melb. 1898*, vol. 2, pp. 2439-44, 2474.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 2474.

<sup>3</sup>Higgins, 'The Convention Bill of 1898', in *Essays and Addresses on the Australian Commonwealth Bill*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>4</sup>Perhaps the fullest report was that of *S.M.H.*, 3 Mar. 1898.

<sup>5</sup>*Presbyterian Monthly*, Apr. 1898; *Australian Christian World*, 18 Mar. 1898.

<sup>6</sup>*Australian Christian World*, 29 Apr. 1898.

<sup>7</sup>12 May 1898.

<sup>8</sup>*Adelaide Advertiser*, 20 Apr. 1897.

<sup>9</sup>*South Australian Register*, 16 May 1898. In an editorial comment this interpretation was described as 'positively inconceivable'.

<sup>10</sup>*S.M.H.*, 13 June 1898; *Age*, 13 June 1898. The ministers in question came from Milton, New South Wales.

<sup>11</sup>*Age*, 15 June 1898; *S.M.H.*, 16 June 1898.

<sup>12</sup>*S.M.H.*, 20 Apr. 1898. Generally, however, Barton avoided religious references in his campaign speeches. Perhaps that was because on this occasion he was rather tellingly accused of inconsistency. *D.T.*, 21 Apr. 1898.

<sup>13</sup>*Southern Cross*, 20 May 1898.

<sup>14</sup>17 June 1898. See also 22 July 1898.

<sup>15</sup>*S.M.H.*, 13 May 1898.

<sup>16</sup>*S.M.H.*, 13 May 1898.

<sup>17</sup>Extensively reported in *S.M.H.*

<sup>18</sup>Autobiography, Higgins Papers, MS. 1057, ser. 3, A.N.L. Bennett, *Federation*, pp. 15-16, offers a brief but useful discussion of the part played by churchmen in the first federation referendum.

<sup>19</sup>*D.T.*, 12 Apr. 1898.

<sup>20</sup>Wise Papers, M.H.

<sup>21</sup>26 June 1899.

<sup>22</sup>24 June 1899. Moran's contribution, and that of the Catholics, is briefly noted by Mansfield, *Australian Democrat*, p. 142.

<sup>23</sup>*D.T.*, 21 June 1899.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>Higgins Papers, MS. 1057, ser. 1, A.N.L.

<sup>26</sup>*D.T.*, 21 June 1889.

#### 14 *Piety and Precedence*

<sup>1</sup>*P.D.* (N.S.W.), vol. 99, p. 742.

<sup>2</sup>*Australian Christian World*, 2 Nov., 7 Dec. 1900.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1900.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*; *S.M.H.*, 2 Nov. 1900.

<sup>5</sup>*Australian Christian World*, 7 Dec. 1900.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1900.

<sup>7</sup>Ely, God, the Churches, and the Making of the Australian Commonwealth (Ph.D. thesis), pp. 232-3.

<sup>8</sup>*Australian Star*, 14 Jan. 1901.

<sup>9</sup>*S.M.H.*, 3 Dec. 1901.

<sup>10</sup>*Australian Star*, 14 Jan. 1901.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*S.M.H.*, 15 Dec. 1901.

<sup>13</sup>*Australian Star*, 14 Jan. 1901.

<sup>14</sup>CRS A6, item 01/1800, A.A.O.

<sup>15</sup>*Australian Star*, 14 Jan. 1901.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*; *Argus*, 10 Jan. 1901.

<sup>17</sup>E. R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion 1859-1873* (London, 1965), pp. 29-30.

<sup>18</sup>McDonald to Lyne, 28 Dec. 1900, CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O. This letter and the one of 29 Dec. from McDonald and Tait to Lyne, were addressed to Lyne as New South Wales premier.

<sup>19</sup>McDonald and Tait to Lyne, 29 Dec. 1900, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>*S.M.H.*, 1 Jan. 1901; *Age*, 9 Jan. 1901.

<sup>22</sup>*Age*, 9 Jan. 1901; Tait to Lyne, 31 Jan. 1901, CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O.

<sup>23</sup>*S.M.H.*, 1 Jan. 1900.

<sup>24</sup>*Argus*, 7 Jan. 1901 (letter from 'Oriol'); *Argus*, 10 Jan. 1901.

<sup>25</sup>*Australian Star*, 14 Jan. 1901.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

- <sup>27</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup>*S.M.H.*, 2 Jan. 1901; *D.T.*, 2 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>30</sup>4 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>31</sup>*Age*, 9 Jan. 1901 (letter from Tait); *S.M.H.*, 12 Jan. 1901 (letter from J. E. Carruthers).
- <sup>32</sup>*Southern Cross*, 29 Mar. 1901.
- <sup>33</sup>12, 19 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>34</sup>4 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., 11 Jan. 1901. The writer was A. Black.
- <sup>36</sup>*Australian Star*, 15 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>37</sup>10 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>38</sup>17 Jan. 1901.
- <sup>39</sup>CRS A6, item 01/614, A.A.O.
- <sup>40</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup>*Protestant Banner*, 9 Mar. 1901.
- <sup>42</sup>10 May 1901.
- <sup>43</sup>CRS A6, item 01/614, A.A.O.
- <sup>40</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup>*Protestant Banner*, 9 Mar. 1901.
- <sup>42</sup>10 May 1901.
- <sup>43</sup>CRS A6, item 01/614, A.A.O.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup>Ibid. The course of cabinet discussion was reconstructed from handwritten minutes on correspondence received on the prayer question. Barton's long interview with Hopetoun was noted in *D.T.*, 18 Apr. 1901.
- <sup>47</sup>'Lord Hopetoun... is loyal Presbyterian, well versed in the history of his church, having acted on several occasions as Her Majesty's Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland.' (*Australian Christian World*, 14 Sept. 1900).
- <sup>48</sup>See religious profiles of individual 1897-8 Convention delegates, Ely, God, the Churches, and the Making of the Australian Commonwealth (Ph.D. thesis), ch. 13.
- <sup>49</sup>*Bulletin*, 18 June 1901; *Protestant Banner*, 15 June 1901.
- <sup>50</sup>10 May 1901.
- <sup>51</sup>E. G. White, *Fundamentals of Christian Education* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1923), pp. 475-84. This change in Mrs White's thinking is discussed in detail in Krause, *The Seventh Day Adventist Church in Australia 1885-1900* (M.A. thesis), chs 4, 7.
- <sup>52</sup>*Union Conference Record*, 17, 31 July 1901.
- <sup>53</sup>*C.P.D.*, vol. 1, pp. 815, 1136.
- <sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 815.
- <sup>55</sup>CRS A6, item 01/617, A.A.O.
- <sup>56</sup>*C.P.D.*, vol. 1, pp. 815-21.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 819-20.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 1077.
- <sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 1136-40.
- <sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 1137-8.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 1138-9.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 1139-40.

<sup>63</sup>14 June 1901.

<sup>64</sup>29 June 1901.

<sup>65</sup>14 June 1901.

<sup>66</sup>*Advocate*, 15, 22 June 1901; *Argus*, 15 June 1901.

<sup>67</sup>The British attitude, in detail and in general, is conveyed in CRS A6, item 01/1800, A.A.O. The federal government's view was succinctly stated by Barton on 16 July 1903, in reply to a question in the House of Representatives (*C.P.D.*, vol. 14, p. 2223). The varying rules regarding precedence in Australian colonies are set out in Todd, *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*, pp. 316-31.

<sup>68</sup>See particularly Chamberlain to Hopetoun, 30 Nov. 1900, 14 Mar. 1901, CRS A6, item 01/1800, A.A.O.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.* The general Table is set out in Ely, *God, the Churches, and the Australian Commonwealth* (Ph.D. thesis), p. 281.

<sup>71</sup>*D.T.*, 12 Jan. 1901; *S.M.H.*, 16 Jan. 1901; Smith to Barton, 3 Sept. 1903, clearly conveys the diversity of Anglican thinking (CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O.).

<sup>72</sup>In 1903 Smith told Barton, 'To me personally the matter of "precedence" is not a matter of much moment, but I hold an official position which lays me under an obligation to consider it, and to claim that I deem to be both just and expedient.' Smith to Barton, 3 Sept. 1903 (CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O.).

<sup>73</sup>CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O. *S.M.H.*, 16 Jan., 17 Apr. 1901; *Australian Christian World*, 8 Mar. 1901. CRS A6, item 01/617, A.A.O.

<sup>74</sup>CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O.

<sup>75</sup>CRS A6, item 01/1800, A.A.O.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup>CRS A8, item 01/304/3, A.A.O.

<sup>78</sup>This seems a reasonable inference from the report in the *Argus*.

<sup>79</sup>Barton Papers, MS. 51/951, A.N.L.

<sup>80</sup>Barton to W. E. Morris, Barton to A. Hardie, 5 June 1903, CRS A1, item 08/2687, A.A.O.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup>14 June 1903, *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup>*Commonwealth Gazette*, 6 Jan. 1906.

<sup>84</sup>*S.M.H.*, 12 Jan. 1906.

<sup>85</sup>28 Feb. 1906.

<sup>1</sup>Ely, *God, the Churches, and the Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Ph.D. thesis), p. 168.

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*Australian Star*  
*Australian Worker*  
*Australian Workman*  
*Bathurst Times*  
*Bulletin*  
*Daily Telegraph*  
*Evening News*  
*Hillgrove Guardian*  
*Illustrated Sydney News*  
*Liberty*  
*Sydney Mail*  
*Sydney Morning Herald*  
*Sunday Times*  
*Truth*

#### *Victoria*

*Age*  
*Argus*  
*Australasian*  
*Geelong Advertiser*  
*Geelong Times*  
*Review of Reviews* (Aust. Ed.)  
*South Australia*  
*Adelaide Advertiser*  
*South Australian Register*  
*Western Australia*  
*Morning Herald*  
*West Australian*  
*Tasmania*  
*Launceston Examiner*  
*Mercury* (Hobart)  
*Tasmanian Mail*  
*United States*  
*New York Times*

*Religious*

*New South Wales*  
*Australian Christian World*  
*Australian Churchman*  
*Baptist*  
*Catholic Press*  
*Church Commonwealth* (incorporating *Churchman* and *Bathurst Church News*)  
*Churchman*  
*Freeman's Journal*  
*Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales* (incorporating  
*Presbyterian and Australian Witness*)  
*Methodist*  
*Presbyterian and Australian Witness* (incorporating *Presbyterian Messenger*)  
*Protestant Banner*  
*Watchman*  
*Victoria*  
*Australian Sentinel and Herald of Liberty* (La T.L.)  
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*Gleaner* (Library, Australasian Division, Seventh Day Adventist Church, Wahroonga,  
N.S.W.)  
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*Herald of Liberty*)  
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*South Australia*  
*Church News*

*Southern Cross*  
*Western Australia*  
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