

demanding by her new sense of manifest destiny and international mission.¹ Others believed that the traditional American foreign policy of isolation was best suited as a vehicle of American ideals of government and hoped that the election of 1900 would see a reversion to this older policy. Most were aware of the need for government changes in the States to cope with the new situation, and an 'Executive Despotism' was feared. The Philippines Commission was often scoffed at as only offering the natives a token participation in their own government. Others held that the governance of the Philippines would provide a happy hunting-ground for opportunists and adventurers of all kinds: the scum of American society. Throughout 1899 and 1900, the Philippines were the focus of anti-imperialist arguments as expounded by antipodean commentators.²

The Advocate in particular, took delight in publishing from overseas sources, large accounts of the proceedings of the Anti-Imperialist League, founded 17 February 1899, and the opinions of Cleveland, Bryan, Hoar, Bishop Potter and others involved in it.³ But when Lord Brassey was attacked by the San Francisco Monitor for his suggestions on praiseworthy British Imperial precedents, that paper's Launceston Catholic namesake defended the Australian experience of the British imperium, which it suggested, had been wholly efficacious.⁴

As the war progressed, anti-imperialist sentiments were expressed by other Australian organs with equal evidence against those interfering with Filipinos, Boers or Chinese and those exploiting them under a veil of misconceived ideals.⁵ The Tocsin heavily backed the excoriating proceedings of the 'Peace and Humanity Society of Victoria.'⁶

¹West Australian, 9, 21 Feb. 1899; South Australian Register, 15 Feb. 1899.

²See editorial comment in: Geelong Times, 9 Feb. 1899; Age, 25 Feb. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Feb., 15 June 1899; Bulletin, 25 Feb. 1899; Argus, 25 Feb. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 27 Feb. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 4 Mar. 1899; Advertiser, 10 June 1899.

³Advocate, 18 Mar., 27 May, 19 Aug., 21 Oct. 1899.

⁴Monitor, 26 May 1899.

⁵See editorials in: Geelong Times, 4 Apr. 1899, 27 Aug. 1900; Herald, 22 June 1901; Launceston Examiner, 21, 26 Sept., 4 Oct. 1901.

⁶Tocsin, 5 Oct. 1899, 15 Mar., 16 Aug., 13 Sept., 18 Oct. 1900, 4 Apr., 2 Aug., 10 Oct. 1901.

W.T. Stead's Review of Reviews familiarised Australian readers with a broad range of anti-imperialists by quoting their articles: Goldwin Smith; 'Mr. Dooley', (the creation of Peter Finley Dunne); Mark Twain, David Starr Jordan (who was to visit Australia); ex-President Harrison; Charles Francis Adams; Andrew Carnegie; Carl Schurz; William James; E.L. Godkin; Charles Eliot Norton; Edward Atkinson and others.¹ Anti-imperialist sentiments in United States' newspapers were also often quoted (e.g. San Francisco Argonaut, New York Tribune, New Bedford, Mercury and Minneapolis Tribune).²

When Cardinal Moran wished to take an anti-imperialist stance against excessive British interference in affairs of the new Australian nation, he quoted American precedents. Australians he held, 'owed much to the United States, for it had modelled out the liberty and independence which Australians today enjoyed'. The tone of Moran's attacks appeared to derive from the arguments of the American anti-imperialists, current at the time.³

Many predicted that the American presidential election of 1900 would turn on the question of 'anti-imperialism'. Maurice Low in the National accurately predicted in August 1899 the candidates and the issues. The election would involve McKinley against Bryan with gold or silver, protected

¹Review of Reviews, 15 Nov. 1899, 15 Jan., 15 Aug. 1900.

²See editorials in: Argus, 21 July 1899; Age, 9 Sept. 1899; Evening News, 18 Sept. 1899; Advertiser, 18 Oct. 1899. The Chicago Record's survey of anti and pro-imperialists in the United States conducted in mid 1900, was of particular interest: catholics were ambivalent; labour was against, protestant clergymen, businessmen, physicians and lawyers were in favour and New York evenly divided on expansion. A narrow majority of the populace appeared to be anti-imperialist. It is a pity for the researcher that a similar survey was not conducted in Australia during the Boer War.

³Catholic Press, 5 Oct. 1901. Moran's attacks appeared to be against Chamberlain's interference in the Alien Restriction and Military Organization Bills. See comment on Moran in Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 19 Sept. 1901; Melbourne Punch, 26 Sept. 1901; Capricornian, 28 Sept. 1901.

or freer trade but above all, pro or anti-expansionism, among the major issues to be decided by the electors. His views were well-known in Australia. Whereas attacks on trusts and city-bossism absorbed much editorial attention, the real focus of interest lay in whether Bryan would unleash renewed Anglophobia, associated with pro-Boer and general anti-Imperialist elements in the American population. Though it was conceded that Bryan had toned down his attacks on the American and British financial Establishments, he was still feared in Australia for potential economic and political irresponsibility.¹

As in 1896, but not to the same extent, McKinley's victory in November was hailed by most of the Australian press with relief. Once again 'Bryanism' had been defeated, and a friend of Britain's re-installed, it was held. The status quo, involving a cautious imperialism, the gold standard and business progress, had been seemingly reinstated. As well, parallel elections in Great Britain, Victoria and Canada, had also apparently endorsed 'Imperialism' for another four years. The election results wounded, but did not kill the arguments of anti-imperialist advocates in those countries.²

¹ Australians continued to be fascinated by these elections. See editorials in: Age, 9 Sept. 1899, quoting Low, 22 Oct. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 27 Dec. 1899, 18 Apr., 5, 10 July, 8 Sept., 1, 6 Nov. 1900; Brisbane Evening Observer, 18 Apr., 3 Nov. 1900; Launceston Examiner, 19 Apr., 25 June, 12, 14 July, 4 Sept. 1900; Sydney Morning Herald, 23 Apr., 27 June, 1, 6 Nov. 1900; Australasian, 19 May, 14 July, 11, 25 Aug., 13 Oct. 1900; South Australian Register, 8 June, 17 Oct., 5 Nov. 1900; Review of Reviews, 15 June, 15 July, 15 Aug., 15 Sept., 15 Oct., 15 Nov., 15 Dec. 1900, 15 Jan. 1901; Newcastle Morning Herald, 10 July 1900; Argus, 24 Aug., 7 Nov. 1900; Geelong Times, 8 Sept., 22 Oct. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 18 Oct. 1900; Perth Morning Herald, 27 Oct. 1900; Brisbane Evening Observer, 3 Nov. 1900; Courier, 6 Nov. 1900; Australian Star, 3, 6 Nov. 1900; Advertiser, 5 Nov. 1900; Coolgardie Miner, 6 Nov. 1900; Bendigo Independent, 7 Nov. 1900; Ballarat Courier, 7 Nov. 1900. As before, Catholic and Labor newspapers took little interest in the election.

² Editorials in: Australian Star, 8 Nov. 1900; Age, 8, 9 Nov. 1900; Advertiser, 8 Nov. 1900; Brisbane Evening Observer, 8 Nov. 1900, 6 Mar. 1901; Maitland Mercury, 8 Nov. 1900; South Australian Register, 8 Nov. 1900; Courier, 8 Nov. 1900; Argus, 8 Nov. 1900, 18 Jan., 16 Mar. 1901; Perth Morning Herald, 8, 10 Nov. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 8, 17, 27 Nov. 1900, 7 Mar. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 8 Nov., 17 Dec. 1900; Launceston Examiner, 9 Nov., 24 Dec. 1900; Ballarat Star, 9 Nov. 1900; Newcastle Morning Herald, 9 Nov. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 9 Nov. 1900; Mt. Alexander Mail, 10 Nov. 1900;

Apparently the so-called 'new imperialism' had triumphed over its opponent ideologies. As an abstract topic it was much discussed in the Australian press throughout the period 1899-1901.

The Daily Telegraph, borrowing a phrase from the British Saturday Review, dubbed the United States 'The Young Imperialist'.¹ With the new wave of popularity attached to the topic of imperialism by Britishers such as Rudyard Kipling and foreigners such as Edmond Demoulin in his Anglo-Saxon Superiority: To What It Is Due, the title seemed apt. America it was held, had grown up. The country was now impelled by the same economic and emotional motivations as older European powers. Perhaps given its energy, size and genius, the United States would one day outstrip them all: such were the early assessments.²

The Australian colonies were themselves not proof against this fashionable craze for imperialism. They had openly coveted Samoa; swiftly entered the Boer War; sent troops and ships to China and mentioned often a Monroe Doctrine of their own. Article writers from overseas articulated Australia's coming strength and ambition: Hugh H. Lusk in the North American Review; Charles Conant and Charles Burton Adams in the Atlantic Monthly³ and in

Footnote continued from previous page:

Geelong Times, 12 Nov. 1900; War Cry, 17 Nov. 1900; Freeman's Journal, 17 Nov. 1900; Liberator, 17 Nov. 1900; Australasian, 10 Nov., 1 Dec. 1900.

¹Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 18, 25 Feb. 1899.

²Newcastle Morning Herald, 20 Feb. 1899; Liberator, 25 Feb. 1899; Advertiser, 29 May 1899; Advocate, 4 Feb. 1899.

³Review of Reviews, 15 July, 15 Dec. 1900, 15 Jan., 20 Dec. 1901.

particular, an anonymous article in the British Spectator.¹ In the latter, Australians were beheld as aggressive, adventurous, materialist and progressive in trade and commerce: a people who would 'never rest fully satisfied within their boundaries'. By 2,000 A.D. they were expected to dominate Asiatic trade. If Imperialism was the 'new Pan-Britannic religion', in the opinion of the Bendigo Independent at the beginning of 1901,² then Australia was a devotee. As the Launceston Examiner put it in October 1901: 'The Australian ideal is to become a great Pacific nation and eventually to become overlord of the southern seas.'³ Most newspapers confidently believed that Papua, the Solomons, Fiji, Tonga and islands belonging to European powers in their area would become part of this future Empire. How then was it possible to criticize America's Pacific and Caribbean Empire without being hypocritical?⁴

When the Trinity College Dialectic Society debated the 'Morality of Imperialism' with Lord Brassey as a speaker, the debate which followed concluded with the argument that expansion was essential to self-preservation and that nations must grow with their rivals or die.⁵ When the Victorian Minister for Works complained that the military element was too prominent in the first Commonwealth Day procession that marked Australian Federation (1 January 1901), he was admonished that it was a militaristic age - that only nations which could wield force would have influence.⁶ Christianity

¹Entitled, 'What Australia Is To Be'.

²Bendigo Independent, 2 Feb., 9 July 1901.

³Launceston Examiner, 7 Oct. 1901.

⁴See editorial comment in: Daily Telegraph (Launceston) 5 Apr. 1899; Australasian, 8 Apr. 1899; South Australian Register, 6 Feb., 2 Dec. 1901; Ballarat Courier, 16 Feb. 1901; Maitland Mercury, 19 Feb. 1901; Herald, 23 Apr. 1901; Bendigo Advertiser, 30 Oct. 1901; Argus, 21 July 1900; Geelong Times, 30 July 1900; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 25 May 1901.

⁵Argus, 7 Aug. 1899; Australasian, 12 Aug. 1899.

⁶Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 12 Aug. 1899, 8 Jan. 1901.

had little to do with it. The old, 'establishment' Catholic Freeman's Journal claimed toward the end of 1899: 'we are about to found what will ultimately prove to be the Greatest Power in the Southern World'.¹

For those seeking moral justification, there was the concept of Kipling's 'White Man's Burden', introduced into Australia in mid-March 1899 by Stead's Review of Reviews.² The poem had originally appeared in February's McClure's and Stead seized on it as presenting the quintessence of the case for a self-sacrificing, humane and responsible imperialism. Empires were burdens, not advantages. They were an exhausting task to the righteous, whose onerous job it was to uplift ignorant native peoples and mitigate the crueller effects of imperial adventurers. To Stead, 'It is an international document of a high order of importance... a direct appeal to the United States to take up the policy of Expansion.'

The doctrine had instant appeal; not only to Americans, but Australians. It justified their own hopes and ambitions for the future; it rationalized their support for America; it gave meaning and logic to belonging to an Empire and having Imperial aspirations; it answered the charges of the anti-Imperialists; it made Imperialism respectable, and (until World War One) fashionable.

Australia's press was smitten. Norton lampooned the poem;³ Deakin in an excellent, long editorial in the Age (1 April 1899) intellectualized up on it;⁴ The Tocsin⁵ and Bulletin⁶ satirized it and though some rejected it, or suggested alternative 'burdens', few newspapers ignored it and most editors

¹Freeman's Journal, 9 Sept. 1899. See also comment in: West Australian, 12 Aug. 1899; Advertiser, 16 Aug. 1899; Capricornian 26 Aug. 1899.

²Review of Reviews, 15 Mar. 1899, pp.288, 342.

³Truth, 19 Mar. 1899.

⁴Age, 1 Apr. 1899. Age office files reveal Deakin as this editorial's author.

⁵Tocsin, 1 June 1899.

⁶Bulletin, 10 June, 22 July 1899.

rationalized the civilizing mission. It explained what Americans were doing in the Philippines and Britons in the Transvaal. Colonies, in Stead's words, were 'fines imposed by destiny'. In Mahan's terms, one matured into these responsibilities by a natural and inevitable ageing process of growth and development. 'It is to be hoped that the will of the wisp of foreign dominion may never attract us as it is now attracting our American cousins', Deakin wrote in the Age. But despite his editorial rhetoric, the prospect of assuming future burdens in the fullness of time was not anathema to him. Colonies were sobering responsibilities: a product of strength; not jingoistic playthings and foibles of youth. Empire it was commonly felt, was part of Australia's own ultimate destiny.¹

'Liberal Imperialism', voted into Britain in October 1900, was a form of liberalism that had been long followed by Australians, held the Sydney Morning Herald²: one compatible with their pride and place in what the Argus called 'an Empire of happy Commonwealths'.³ Rosebery had predicted a century of 'keen, intelligent, almost fierce international competitions'.⁴ Americans were often seen as indulging instinctively in an irreversible trend: a Darwinist action (with unavoidable messy side-effects) for ethnocentric and progressive ends. It was consistent therefore for editors to see Empire as a part of America's inevitable destiny as well.⁵

Competition might take other forms. Economic, as well as political, Imperialism had been unleashed in 1898 it was felt, not always with the most fortunate results.

¹See editorials in: Launceston Examiner, 27 Mar. 1899; Warrnambool Standard, 28 Mar. 1899; Ballarat Courier, 24 Mar. 1899; Bendigo Advertiser, 1 Apr. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Apr. 1899; Sydney Mail, 22 Apr. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 31 May 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 21 June 1899, 8 Apr. 1901; Capricornian, 4 Nov. 1899; Brisbane Worker, 11 May 1901; Mt. Alexander Mail, 27 Nov. 1901.

²Sydney Morning Herald, 29 Dec. 1900.

³Argus, 1, 2 Jan. 1901.

⁴Bendigo Independent saw the logical end of this competition as an Armageddon of the nations, 28 Feb. 1901.

⁵See comment in: Ballarat Courier, 2 Mar. 1901 and Review of Reviews, 15 Dec. 1900.

From 1899 to 1901 America was experiencing an economic boom, following the Spanish-American War. It bred an optimism bordering on arrogance in the American future. America's economic supremacy was constantly discussed in the overseas magazines entering Australia. Such writers as Brooks Adams, Andrew Carnegie and Ray Stannard Baker were often quoted.¹ It was generally considered by them that the economic centre of gravity either had, or was in process, of moving from the Old to the New World, centering somewhere on the Great Lakes. American predominance in the production of coal, the manufacture of steel, and cheap, but skilful engineering projects, was becoming legendary. It produced a love-hate relationship in Europe which had considered itself to the turn of the century as the world's work-shop.

Now the hard facts of economic competition with protection-fostered industries using cheap, hardworking labour, abundant resources, labour-saving machinery and managerial skill were leaving their mark on relative production rates. In these years Americans began to win contracts away from the British in railway lines, locomotive and bridge building and markets in other items.

Some colonial protectionist editors, remembering how ruthless and unfeeling British freetrade had been toward imports of Australian primary products, were at first less concerned at seeing British and other European industry 'in decay' than were Europeans themselves. (American-European trade rivalry in secondary production would increase the prospect of cheaper and better goods it was held.) More capital would mean an increased world trade, and a greater general prosperity.

Following Australian federation, more editors became distressed by overseas economic developments. Many who followed Joseph Chamberlain's line, began to argue that Britain was becoming America's debtor to an alarming degree and that the Mother Country's needs in food and raw materials could be more gainfully supplied by countries of the Empire. Existing economic trends would shortly result in Britain as a

¹Review of Reviews, 15 Feb., 15 Mar., 15 June 1899, 15 Feb. 1900, 20 Apr., 20 May, 20 Oct., 20 Nov. 1901.

second-class world power, if allowed to continue. Coming at a time when the new nation coveted increased trade and strong backing in Pacific affairs, American economic precociousness helped speed acceptance of notions of imperial trade preference with all but a few die-hard free-trade editors of the Australia press.¹

There were some specific economic irritations. The most pronounced of these concerned new American shipping and the protection of American trade. With stiff tariff duties to be paid, it was difficult for Australian colonies to share in the new prosperity, many editors claimed. Especially was this so in the case of the renewal of the San Francisco Mail Contracts. The application of restrictive new shipping laws meant these were to revert to Spreckles' lines and be carried in all-American vessels, cutting out the New Zealand shipping of the Union Company Steamship line from Honolulu to Auckland. The prospect of renewing the New South Wales-New Zealand subsidy was several times discussed in the Colonial Parliament of the former. The unsuccessful voyage of the Warrimoo seemed to indicate some of the difficulties involved in trading with Samoa and Hawaii.

A selfish disregard of reasonable reciprocity made the future of Australian trade and British shipping with these Pacific possessions a fairly gloomy one. Sydney's Chamber of Commerce expressed its unhappiness on the topic with a letter to the New South Wales' Premier and by an address requesting support from Chambers of Commerce in the other Australian colonies. Perhaps only a federal voice would be effective, it was argued. When the Sierra appeared in Port Jackson shortly after federation, there still seemed to be little that could be done to win reciprocal benefits for the mail run. Compromise had to await a loosening of the

¹For editorial comment see: Age, 24 Feb., 21, 24 Mar., 12 Aug. 1899, 10 Feb., 4, 9 Aug., 11 Feb., 13 Apr., 8 May, 3, 7 June, 9 July, 28 Dec. 1901; Warrnambool Standard, 7 Mar. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 7 Mar. 1899; Freeman's Journal, 11 Mar. 1899; Argus, 13 Mar., 29 May, 2 June, 23 Sept. 1899, 24 Dec. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 3 Apr., 30 Nov. 1899, 30 July 1901; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 30 Sept. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 12 May 1899; Australian Star, 30 June 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 8 Nov., 26 Dec. 1900, 13 June, 18 Mar. 1901; Launceston Examiner, 27 Apr. 1901; Herald, 19 June 1901; Bendigo Advertiser, 27 July 1901; Geelong Times, 16 Dec. 1901. As ever, the overwhelming success of American protectionist policies also fuelled editorial arguments for such a system in Australia.

American commercial approach. Until then, the colonies expressed a united unhappiness at subsidizing American shipping; although it was more efficient. The difficulty stimulated more talk of an 'All Red' line to Vancouver. Australian-American relations were somewhat soured by this issue to the end of 1901.¹

Other Australian trade and shipping expressed concern over American competition in coal on America's West Coast and in meat and foodstuffs to South Africa. But massive shipments of gold bullion (£800,000 in one shipload in October 1900) from Sydney to the United States aroused less resentment than previously as fears on currency subsided. The repercussions of the confusing United States' Supreme Court ruling on duties collected from the Puerto Rican trade (May 1901) was generally to the effect that Americans could now manipulate duties more freely in their new territories than in the continental United States. It took until after McKinley's death at the end of the year, for the implications of this decision to become clear.²

Mitigating these developments was the work of Colonel Bell. With no remuneration, he represented New South Wales at the International Commercial Congress in Philadelphia at the end of 1899. The presence of Asher Smith in Australia as a representative of the Congress's organization in May and June 1899, was taken as evidence of American business initiative, which, with the employment of more commercial agents in Australia, was commended as an American example for Australian colonies themselves to follow in their trade relations overseas.

¹For editorial comment see: Warrnambool Standard, 5 May 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 15 Nov. 1899, 3 July, 7, 29 Aug. 1900; Newcastle Morning Herald, 3 Aug. 1900; Launceston Examiner, 6 Aug., 13 Sept. 1900; Brisbane Evening Observer, 11 Sept. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 3 Aug. 1900, 8, 10 Jan., 16 Oct., 29 Sept. 1901; Perth Morning Herald, 30 July 1900.

²Editors commented in the following: Australian Star, 26 Dec. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 Apr., 8 Nov. 1900; Sydney Morning Herald, 11 Oct. 1900; Geelong Times, 28 May 1901; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 30 May 1901; Age (cables), 30, 31 May 1901; South Australia Register, 1 June 1901; Australasian, 1 June 1901; Mt. Alexander Mail, 7 June 1901; Age, 13 June 1901; Review of Reviews, 20 July 1901.

Sir Horace Tozer, Sir Andrew Clarke, Dr. Cockburn and W. Reeves, Agents-General for Queensland, Victoria, South Australia and New Zealand respectively, sailed from Britain to Philadelphia, to represent their colonies at the Congress. Bell sang their praises upon his return to Sydney and proclaimed the Congress a triumph from Australia's viewpoint. Shortly thereafter Bell was recalled to the United States due to his Democratic allegiances in a Republican year, after having served as American Consul in Sydney for seven fruitful years. During his time in office, Australian imports of American goods had increased almost fivefold to reach a figure of \$10,392,389 worth in 1899, much of this increase due to his efforts. Not only was he himself popular, but he had helped popularize United States' goods: Machinery, timber, tobacco, kerosene, paper, grain, tools and furniture. Yet return trade remained a third the import figure and still consisted of bullion, specie, wool, coal and hides mainly.¹ At the end of 1901 Bell was nonetheless promoting Australian trade to the London Chamber of Commerce. His work was appreciated editorially.²

In his address in November 1901, Bell had told the British that the centre of the commercial world was shifting toward Australia.³ But this was not the only flattering assessment that the newly-emerging political-economy received. In Newest England. The Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New Zealand, with some Australian Comparisons, published in 1900, Henry Demarest Lloyd, the famous American author and journalist, compensated for the disappointments of his own country's progressive developments, with glowing praise of the State social-welfare experiments in New Zealand and Australia. Lloyd saw them as providing a model for the future development of democratic capitalist societies and as providing the basis for much of the liberal-progressive

¹ Age, 3 Sept. 1901; Australian Star, 25 Apr. 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 9 June 1899; Bulletin, 19 Aug. 1899; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 13 Sept. 1899, 15 Aug. 1900; Sydney Morning Herald, 10 Oct. 1899; Sydney Mail, 9 Sept. 1899; Age cable, 25 Sept. 1899; Australian Star, 19 Dec. 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Aug. 1900; Geelong Times, 27 Nov. 1900.

² Review of Reviews, 20 Nov. 1901.

³ Ibid.

legislation needed in England and America. Solutions to problems of land distribution; trade disputes; equitable taxation; full employment; insurance and health benefits and particularly the co-operation between State and individual and capital and labour in producing a reasonably homogeneous middle class, were held up by publicists like Stead, as pertinent answers to present dilemmas.¹ Despite the scorn heaped upon Australian State-owned services by visiting American Senator Eugene F. Loud, Australians were generally flattered at this quiet, yet striking 'proof' of the superiority of their own political-economy over that of the highly publicized American.²

This lack of deep-rooted anxiety regarding the economic future being placed in jeopardy by United States commercial expansion, allowed more friendly energies to be expended on the editorial contemplation of an Anglo-American alliance, which included Australia.

Theatrical 'invasions' and religious assertions could be looked on with equanimity. At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, an American 'invasion' of theatrical talent, ranging from Charles Hoyt's 'Belle of New York', and a Georgia Minstrel and Cakewalk company, were quickly followed by the Janet Waldorf Classical Comedy Company and the Charles Southwell Comic Opera Company of New York. The Australian press and public found these aggressions delightful and it was noted how close were Australian and American tastes in comedy and farce.³

Regarding religious developments, the issue of 'Americanism' about which Pope Leo XIII had addressed a letter of reassurance to Cardinal Gibbons, reaffirmed acceptability of the patriotic Catholicism of the Dr Ireland

¹Review of Reviews, 20 June 1901, pp.661-3: 'Why Not New-Zealandise Great Britain?' - an article based on an interview of Stead with Lloyd. Unfortunately, both Bell and Stead came into some bad odour in Australia for their too pronounced opposition to the Boer War. This tended to mitigate their overall influence.

²See comment in: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 19 Sept. 1901; Bulletin, 28 Sept. 1901.

³Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 22 Mar. 1899; Quiz & Lantern, 6 Apr., 27 July, 9 Nov. 1899, 1 Nov. 1900; Sydney Morning Herald, 24 June 1899, 23 Feb. 1900; Advertiser, 23 Sept. 1899.

stamp: a decision cheered and welcomed by the Australian Catholic press for its implications.¹

There were sobering signs for the pro-alliance enthusiasts. The Melbourne journalist T.K. Dow, who had made a trip throughout the United States inspecting Agricultural Colleges in the Universities and Agricultural Bureaus in the State and Federal governments during 1898, wrote back in one of his long, detailed letters published in the Age, 2 September 1899, that during his observations of 4 July celebrations in San Francisco (1898):

I had been reading of the blending of the Union Jack with the Stars and Stripes in the eastern states and I looked around for some blending, but it did not come off. If any British subject in San Francisco owned a flag, he was keeping it for some other occasion. I never saw a British flag until I got to Canada. I was told at Los Angeles that a large number of flags had been got from San Francisco for blending purposes on 'the 4th'. They had no use for them at the Golden Gate...all flags save one seem to be tabooed...It did not transpire during the day that the attitude of England towards America had in any way changed during the last one hundred years, nor was there any reference made to the part which England had taken among the European powers in connection with the Spanish War. They say such things were mentioned in the East, and I left America without being fortunate enough to hear a single word upon the subject...As for sentiment of the desirable sort, I looked for it in vain.²

An article by John Foster Fraser in the Contemporary Review together with Dow's evidence 'proved' to the

¹Catholic Press, 8 Apr. 1899; Advocate, 15, 22 Apr., 20, 27 May 1899; Austral Light, Sept. 1899; Monitor, 11, 18 Aug., 20 Oct. 1899. The complex issue aroused much discussion in the Australian Catholic press.

²As can be gathered from the lengthy quote, Dow's observations are important for their detail. He commented on California and Stanford, Chicago, Wisconsin, Niagara, New York and Cornell. See Age, 11, 18, 25 Feb., 4, 18, 25 Mar., 8, 15, 22, 29 Apr., 20, 27 May, 3, 10, 24 June, 1, 15, 22, 29 July, 5, 12, 19, 26 Aug., 2, 9 Sept. 1899.

Advocate that the American 'man in the street' cared little for Britain, despite that country's enthusiasm for America.¹ 'Falcon' (Mr Whitelock), a prolific letter writer for the Newcastle Morning Herald and the Grafton Examiner, had long held the same view, though the Catholic Press attacked him for it.² Another Australian traveller to the States observed in 1901: 'The Americans seem to hate the British intensely.'³

There was other evidence of lack of harmony. Outstanding among these was the poor results of the Anglo-American Commission meeting in Quebec to decide on the position of the Alaskan Boundary. Australian press commentators were usually neutral on the issue. Those partisan, considered that Canadian intransigence was giving heat to the lengthy negotiations and that the Dominion was unnecessarily souring Anglo-American accord. (A Commission decided in favour of the American claims in 1904.)⁴

Further discord was revealed in the anti-imperialist arguments, taken up and repeated by some sections of the Australian press. Opposition to the Boer War by substantial numbers of the American people did nothing to improve fellow-feeling; nor did the revival of Anglophobic election bluster in 1900. John Norton held that no gains in friendship could be made until America was rid of her irritating new conceit - a result of their ludicrously tiny war with a decrepit power.⁵ Sydney's Daily Telegraph claimed that Americans were simply coldly indifferent toward an alliance that would 'nullify (their) vast gains in national pride and in

¹Advocate, 15 Apr., 9, 16 Sept. 1899.

²Catholic Press, 13 Jan. 1900.

³Age, 19 June 1901 anon.

⁴See editorial comment in; South Australian Register, 11 Apr. 1899; Australian Star, 27 May 1899; Sydney Mail, 3 June 1899; Argus, 19 June 1899; Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 July 1899; Advertiser, 29 July 1899 (American correspondent's letter); Age, 7 Aug. 1899, 7 Sept. 1901; Advocate, 29 July 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 9 Aug. 1899, 17 Mar. 1900; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 16 Sept. 1899, 8, 10 Jan. 1901.

⁵Truth, 11 June 1899.

national advancement'. The New Zealand Minister who preferred to join a future Anglo-American Colonial Zollverein than become a part of Australia was, according to that paper, condemned to a long wait. The alliance impulse it felt, was 'a fad which lacks popular backing' (in America).¹

Yet there remained in Australia a vast number of incorrigibly optimistic liberal-conservatives in the press who never ceased to hope that their ethnocentric-progressive ideal would be realised, and they seized upon each clue large or small, as a sign of the coming millenium.

Despite the body of evidence to the contrary, many newspapers believed that American attitudes had indeed changed toward the British and had become more friendly. They relied partly on Mahan's widely quoted admonition to his countrymen to cultivate British friendship. An American businessman returning from a successful career in Australia convinced the San Francisco correspondent to the Age that 'the victory of the United States over Spain in the recent war has served to clear away much of the prejudice that once existed among Australians toward this country'. He claimed that an increase in the volume of trade in American goods accurately reflected this trend.² Especially kind treatment of Lord Herschell who had died during the Quebec Anglo-American Conference combined with American concern for Rudyard Kipling, reported to be dying in the United States were taken with American plans for a 'Peace Jubilee' on the occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday, as

¹ Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 4, 9 Dec. 1899, 3, 17 May, 3 Aug. 1900, 3 Jan. 1901. For other editorial comment see: Advocate, 24 June 1899, 26 May 1900; Mt. Alexander Mail, 26 June 1899; Review of Reviews, 15 Oct. 1899, 15 May, 15 June 1900; Catholic Press, 10 Feb., 25 Aug. 1900; Tocsin, 14 Mar. 1901; Argus, 19 Nov. 1899; Liberator, 2 Dec. 1899; Sydney Morning Herald, 2 Dec. 1899, 3 May, 3 July 1900; Australian Star, 9, 19 Dec. 1899; Herald, 30 Dec. 1899; Brisbane Evening Observer, 2 Jan., 5, 16 May 1900; Newcastle Morning Herald, 2 Feb., 5, 28 May 1900; Launceston Examiner, 12 Jan. 1900; South Australian Register, 11 July 1900; Perth Morning Herald, 30 July 1900.

² Age, American letter published 25 Feb. 1899. See also, 3 June, 1 July 1899.

There were special reasons for Australian cordiality. Colonel Bell's gesture in promoting New South Wales' trade evoked a particularly warm response. On the occasion of Bell's leavetaking for America in 1899, an impressive gathering was held at the Sydney Town Hall. 'It is doubtful whether in the history of our colony, any representative of a foreign nation received such an enthusiastic reception', claimed the Sydney Mail. On the occasion, the Governor said:

Our feeling for America is in no way based on public documents, or upon what diplomats may write or say, but it is a brotherly feeling by which our hearts go out to Americans whenever we meet them.¹

As well, some Australians were flattered that Senator Bucklin, chairman of a fiscal committee on the United States' Legislature, was in Australia at the beginning of 1900 observing Australian economic practices.

When the new federal constitution was ready to be presented by Colonial legislatures to the British government for approval in the latter half of 1899, it had been made abundantly clear to the public by the presses in all the colonies that since the initial discussions in 1889, a heavy use had come to be made of American precedents in the formulation of that constitution.²

For the framers of the Australian federal constitution, James Bryce's The American Commonwealth of 1888 had been a bible.³ Alfred Deakin considered that their debt to the work was 'almost incalculable'. Inglis Clark in a draft proposal of 1891 was the vital force in the assertion of the primacy of American precedents. With A. Deakin, framers such as I. Isaacs, S. Griffith, E. Barton, R. O'Connor, J. Symons, H. Higgins, B. Wise, J. Quick and R. Garran especially, studied them in depth.⁴ Beside Bryce, their principal printed guides appear to have been the Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States by American authors such as Story, Kent and Walker, and Burgess's Political Science and Constitutional Law.⁵

¹ Sydney Mail, 20 Oct., 30 Dec. 1899.

² For press comment see: Sydney Morning Herald, 17, 18 Feb., 25 Apr., 13, 30 May 1899; Age, 21, 27 July 1899; Argus, 30 Jan. 1899; Australasian, 4, 11 Feb. 1899; West Australian, 30 July 1899; Western Mail, 12 May, 4 Aug. 1899.

³ J.A. La Nauze, The Making of the Australian Constitution, op.cit., p.273.

⁴ La Nauze, op.cit., p.275.

⁵ La Nauze, op.cit., p.352.

Even above the Canadian creation of 1867, the earlier American style had been considered the classic example of a modern federation, despite the heavy criticism of American institutions in Australian presses throughout the 1890's. Arguing and illustrating from the rich body of the United States federal practice, the politicians of the smaller and larger colonies bolstered their differing concepts of interest in the Australian variety. American phrasing and judicial decisions directly influenced Australian drafting and provisions, especially on matters pertaining to irrigation, interstate commerce and the regulation of Sunday observance.¹ On residual and specific powers between the general and local governments; on a bicameral system consisting of a House of Representatives based on population and a Senate representing the States equally, and on judicial review, elements were similar. On the issues of a separate executive, the workings of the cabinet system, a Bill of Rights and the powers of the Commonwealth and Senate, matters were significantly different.²

In all, the press's role as educator and disseminator to politicians and public regarding these adoptions, adaptations and changes during the formative years since 1889, was very important. There can be little doubt that the sharing of a common ocean as frontier and a common governing principle since 1899, has forged enduring links in the psyches of the two nations, especially in Australia.

To mark the special ceremonies surrounding the first Federal procession, 1 January 1901, the Daily Telegraph suggested that a special invitation be sent to America. 'No nation in the world better knows the value of the step that Australia is now taking than the great Republic of America', it held.³ American citizens responded by constructing an arch worth \$428: the most expensive of any nation's contribution. They had asked for some military token (through Chamberlain) to represent the country and were rewarded with the Brooklyn, Commodore Schley's flagship. during the battle of Santiago Bay. It was the most impressive

¹E. Hunt, American Precedents In Australian Federation, op.cit., pp.254-6.

²A good summary is contained in L. Fredman, The United States Enters The Pacific, op.cit., pp.49-52.

³Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 8 Nov. 1900.

vessel to visit for some time.¹ As New Zealand's Chief Justice Sir Robert Stout expressed it on behalf of Australians in the November Forum: "For the United States of America there is the warmest feeling of friendship".²

To an extent, these feelings were reciprocated. Among the congratulatory messages from overseas regarding federation sent to W.H. Fitchett and reproduced in the Australasian Review of Reviews (20 April 1901) was one from Vice President Roosevelt, written 10 December 1900:

All men who are awake to the great movements of our time must watch with keen interest the assembling of the first Parliament of the giant young Commonwealth of the South Seas, whose statesmen have given us so many lessons to those elsewhere engaged in governing democracies, and whose soldiers have shown such sterling valor and efficiency. For America the interest is not only keen, but of the friendliest type and we wish God speed to Australia in the career now opening for her.³

The attempted assassination of McKinley and his final death (6-14 December 1901) called forth from all shades of Australian opinion shock and outrage. The act was the work of a lone anarchist, Leon Czolgoz, of Polish descent, who had shot the President several times while he was in the process of shaking hands with him during the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. It was the third such presidential assassination within the living memory of many Australians.⁴

At the request of Barton and his ministers, Lord Hopetoun, Australia's first Governor General, sent a get-well telegram expressing 'sincere sympathy' and hoping for his recovery that he might 'continue his wise guidance of the destinies of the great people of the United States...'. The Lieutenant-Governor also sent a cable on behalf of the New South Wales Government. Barton despatched a special letter of sympathy to the United States' Consul General in Melbourne.⁵

The nature of the crime and the blamelessness of McKinley's character resulted in a vast outpouring of

¹Age, 10 Nov. 1900, 2 Jan., 3 May 1901 (cable); Sydney Morning Herald, 14 Dec. 1900, 26 Apr. 1901.

²Review of Reviews, 15 Dec. 1900, pp.720-1.

³Review of Reviews, 20 Apr. 1901. A message from William Jennings Bryan was also published.

⁴Age, 9 Sept. 1901; Advertiser, 9 Sept. 1901; Warrnambool Standard, 9 Sept. 1901.

⁵Age, cable, 9 Sept. 1901; West Australian, 9 Sept. 1901.

popular sympathy throughout Australia. Anarchism was seen as a threat to civilization. McKinley, in the vanguard of the civilizing process due to his leadership of a huge group of progressive Anglo-Saxons friendly toward the Empire, seemed symbolically threatened by evil forces. Memories of American regard at the time of Queen Victoria's death at the beginning of the year and kindly thoughts for the man who only the day before in a speech at Buffalo had promised a policy of 'peaceful expansion' and genuine reciprocity animated much of the feeling.¹ Moran's praise was hagiographic:

If he were asked to present...a man who might be linked with true progress and liberty, whose whole anxiety was for the welfare of his people, the person he would present would be the President of the United States.²

The Liberator³ and Protestant Banner blamed the Jesuits for the murder⁴. The Catholic Press used the opportunity to vilify the Truth as an anarchist 'rag', calling it 'the filthiest and most ruffianly publication in the English-speaking world'.⁵ Labour journals used the occasion to explain why anarchism was acceptable and how it was different from nihilism. Nonetheless, the Melbourne South branch of the Labour Party openly dissociated itself from anarchism.⁶

¹See editorials in: Mt. Alexander Mail, 9 Sept. 1901; Australian Star, 9, 14 Sept. 1901; Brisbane Evening Observer, 9, 11 Sept. 1901; South Australian Register, 9 Sept. 1901; Launceston Examiner, 9 Sept. 1901; Ballarat Star, 9 Sept. 1901; Ballarat Courier, 9 Sept. 1901; Evening News, 9 Sept. 1901; Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 9, 11 Sept. 1901; West Australian, 9 Sept. 1901; Bendigo Advertiser, 9 Sept. 1901; Argus, 9 Sept. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 9, 10 Sept. 1901; Perth Morning Herald, 9 Sept. 1901; Evening News, 10 Sept. 1901; Launceston Examiner, 10 Sept. 1901; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 9, 10 Sept. 1901; Quiz and Lantern, 11 Sept. 1901; Argus, 12 Sept. 1901; Coolgardie Miner, 11 Sept. 1901; Warrnambool Standard, 13 Sept. 1901; Southern Cross, 13 Sept. 1901; Leader, 14 Sept. 1901; Age, 11 Sept. 1901.

²Freeman's Journal, 21 Sept. 1901.

³Liberator, 7, 14, 21 Sept., 12, 26 Oct. 1901.

⁴Protestant Banner, 14, 21 Sept. 1901.

⁵Catholic Press, 14 Sept. 1901. The Truth was a model of propriety concerning the issue, however, 22 Sept. 1901.

⁶Tocsin, 12, 19, 26 Sept. 1901; Brisbane Worker, 21 Sept. 1901. See also Geelong Times, 18 Nov. 1901; Mt. Alexander Mail, 21 Nov. 1901.



THE LATEST VICTIM.

Melbourne Punch, 12 September 1901.

When McKinley died in a poignant manner, the sorrow in Australia was profound and unaffected. His death became known at 8 p.m. Saturday night. When he received the news, the New South Wales' Premier Mr See, left the theatre he was attending immediately to send a telegram of condolence through Sir Frederick Darley to Washington. Cardinal Moran sent a message to Cardinal Gibbons on behalf of Australia's Catholics. The Melbourne and Sydney Stock Exchanges sent a cable of sympathy to the New York Exchange. Barton drafted a telegram stating that McKinley's loss was 'profoundly mourned in Australia, where he was regarded as the proved friend of the people of the British Empire'. As well, innumerable civic and business organizations, clubs, consuls, meetings, shipping, State and local government organizations, expressed sorrow by passing motions, adjourning meetings, sending representatives to the Consuls, decorating shop fronts and flying flags at half-mast. On the Sunday morning following the news, in the Churches of city and country, eulogistic sermons were preached, pulpits draped in black and muffled bells rung.¹ To W.H. Fitchett, the assassination sent 'strange echoes' throughout Australia.

It touched into new and sudden consciousness the sense of kinship with the American people; and nowhere throughout the civilized world has the sense of sympathy with the great American Republic, in the tragic calamity which has overtaken it,

¹See editorials in: Advertiser, 14, 17 Sept. 1901; Advocate, 14, 21 Sept. 1901; Herald, 16 Sept. 1901; Brisbane Evening Observer, 16 Sept., 30 Oct. 1901; Australian Star, 16 Sept. 1901; Australasian, Independent, 16 Sept. 1901; South Australian Register, 16 Sept., 31 Oct. 1901; Launceston Examiner, 16, 30 Sept. 1901; Age, 16 Sept. 1901; Warrnambool Standard, 16, 19 Sept. 1901; Barrier Miner, 16 Sept. 1901; Evening News, 16, 18 Sept. 1901; Catholic Press, 21 Sept., 19 Oct. 1901; Newcastle Morning Herald, 16 Sept. 1901; Ballarat Courier, 16 Sept. 1901; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 16 Sept. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 16, 17, 19, 20 Sept. 1901; Geelong Advertiser, 16 Sept. 1901; West Australian, 16, 17, 18 Sept. 1901; Ballarat Star, 16 Sept. 1901; Bendigo Independent, 16 Sept. 1901; Perth Morning Herald, 16, 17 Sept. 1901; Mercury, 16, 17 Sept. 1901; Argus, 16 Sept. 1901; Singleton Argus, 16 Sept. 1901; Geelong Times, 17 Sept. 1901; Quiz and Lantern, 18 Sept. 1901; Queensland Times, 19, 21 Sept.

been keener than in Australia and New Zealand.¹

If few deaths of non-Australians moved the sentiments of large numbers of people in the way that McKinley's had, then few newly-emerged political leaders abroad evoked such a pronounced enthusiasm with their arrival on the world stage, as did Theodore Roosevelt.

By promising to continue McKinley's policies of commercial reciprocity; an isthmanian canal and a Pacific cable, and due to the force of his own versatile personality and proven strength of character, he quickly captured the Australian imagination.² Irish Catholics admired him for his realistic assessment of Cromwell.³ Protestants were jubilant

Footnote continued from previous page:

1901, Table Talk, 19 Sept. 1901; Southern Cross, 20 Sept. 1901; Capricornian, 20, 21 Sept. 1901; Leader, 21 Sept. 1901. Mr. A.G. Wooley, a visiting American Temperance Lecturer, who read many of the newspaper tributes in various States, said he 'highly appreciated the sympathy therein expressed', Sydney Morning Herald interview, 21 Sept. 1901. See 'Ave Caesar Imperatur' by 'F.M.', Australian Star, 27 Sept. 1901; Australian Star, 17, 19, 23 Sept. 1901; Mt. Alexander Mail, 17 Sept., 20 Oct. 1901; Australasian, 21 Sept. 1901. The telegrams were kindly acknowledged in all instances.

¹Review of Reviews, 20 Sept. 1901.

²See editorials in: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 18 May 1899, 16 Sept. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 16, 21 Sept., 30 Oct., 20 Nov. 1901; Australian Star, 16 Sept. 1901; Advertiser, 16 Sept. 1901; Herald, 19 Sept., 26 Oct. 1901; Barrier Miner, 19 Sept. 1901; Australasian, 21 Sept. 1901; Leader, 21 Sept. 1901; Brisbane Evening Observer, 26 Sept. 1901; Mt. Alexander Mail, 28 Oct. 1901; Age, 28 Oct., 9 Nov., 5, 7, 28 Dec. 1901; Bendigo Advertiser, 31 Oct. 1901; South Australian Register, 16 Nov. 1901; Review of Reviews ran him as a Character Sketch, 20 Nov. 1901, pp.441-5, 464; 'Our American Letter', Sydney Morning Herald, 20 Nov. 1901.

³Catholic Press, 21 Sept. 1901.

for his interest in missions and staunchly Protestant New England background.¹ The Singleton Argus claimed that his well-known exploits as a 'Rough Rider' had paved the way for the popularity of the Australian Bushman Corps performing in the Transvaal.² He was widely championed as a true democrat-independent of political bosses and economic wire-pullers. Only a month after assuming office, the Bendigo Independent was referring to a 'Roosevelt Revolution'.³

Some editors had been apprehensive regarding his dynamism. Roosevelt's Message to Congress in December 1901 calmed the fears of many regarding the nature of America's new foreign policy. Unlike the belligerent tone expected, the Message was praised for steadiness and maturity; for moderation and consistency. It reaffirmed Monroeism and produced an impression of integrity and security which was reassuring to many Australians at a critical time in their development.⁴

As the first year of the new century drew to a close, the euphoric new Federation in the South Seas faced an uncertain but hopeful future alongside the sobered, but optimistic, newly consolidated Empire of the United States of America, which shared similar racial and political ideals. It did so largely with feelings of regard and somewhat muted misgivings.

¹Australasian Independent, 16 Nov. 1901; War Cry, 28 Sept. 1901; Southern Cross, 1 Nov. 1901.

²Singleton Argus, 28 Sept., 5 Nov. 1901.

³Bendigo Independent, 28 Oct., 4 Dec. 1901.

⁴See editorials in: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 6 Dec. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 5 Dec. 1901; Launceston Examiner, 14 Dec. 1901; Review of Reviews, 20 Dec. 1901; Newcastle Morning Herald, 30 Dec. 1901.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

'"A WORLD POWER": AMBIVALENCE AND ENTHUSIASM, 1902-1908'

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Nonetheless after 1901, social, economic and political 'misgivings' there were, up to 1908 in Australian press assessments of the American domestic scene, just as there had been in the period 1889-95.

On the social level it was clear that the situation of the Negro had little improved. The problem he assumed for the whites was still referred to as 'a sort of national nightmare', with the promise of the continued rapid growth of population and accompanying violence. As the Age put it: 'with the best good will toward the American people, we cannot help thinking that they have been amazingly lax in their attempts to deal with their great racial difficulty'. In the case of the racial discrimination concerning the Californian schools question (1907), the Americans were sometimes criticized for not moving with more despatch. 'For if America were, in spite of California, to surrender her Pacific slope to Japanese immigration our white Australia ideal would speedily fade into the shadowy domain of vain unrealisable dreams', wrote the Age. While white violence was still deplored as a solution to those problems and other remedies were preferred, the invitation of a Negro to the White House met with scant approval. Prejudice could be supported by a work such as Par Pierre Leny Beaulieu's Les Nouvelles Sociétés Anglo-Saxons (reviewed in 1902) which praised the quiet orderliness with which the British had solved their own colour problems in the colonies.¹

America was still considered an unattractively violent country that resorted too often to extra-legal means such as lynching, to solve its crime problem. (Sixty-nine negroes and two whites were lynched in 1906.) As the vast majority of the worst clashes had a racial basis, they were publicised to help point the moral of the efficacy of the White Australia Policy.²

¹ Ballarat Courier, 30 Nov. 1907; Herald, 17, 29 Apr. 1903; Argus, 18 Mar. 1905, 21 Jan. 1907, 4 Jan. 1908; Age, 1 Feb. 1902, 21 Apr., 7 Nov. 1903, 4 Mar., 15, 29 Apr. 1905, 27 Sept., 3 Nov., 29 Dec. 1906, 3 Jan., 7 Feb., 23 Nov. 1907, 3 Aug. 1908.

² Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 Sept. 1906, 4 Jan. 1907; Argus, 9 June 1904, 9 Feb. 1907; Age, 11 Oct. 1902, 5 Oct. 1903, 13 Apr. 1904, 6 Feb. 1905, 8 June 1907, 4, 19 Sept. 1908.

Immigrants in America were criticised by some press organs for transmitting huge amounts of money back to Europe (\$50 million in 1908). The cosmopolitanism of the population was noted by the Victorian politician, J.H. McColl, during his visit to America in 1905. According to his estimates the population of Washington D.C. was two-thirds coloured; in New York seventy per cent of names over businesses were foreign, and in Chicago ninety-five per cent were. 'The old fashioned Anglo-Saxon Yankee is almost a back number', he complained. 'In cities and trains you do not meet him...the United States are being re-cast'. He blamed cheap foreign labour for frustrating the strike actions of the trade unions.¹

One Australian woman traveller² to the United States criticized a host of minor irritations in American life through a series of letters to the Age in 1905. They included such social matters as unchecked expectoration by the men; hot air stuffiness in trains and buildings; taciturnity, lack of humour, money-mania and annoying curiosity in the populace; the 'spoiled nature' of the women and their inelegance and noisiness; and the exclusiveness and extravagance of 'society'. Other things complained of were the arrogance of tip-hungry waiters; the expensiveness of the 'a-la-carte' menu; the lack of commercial catering for the pockets of the poor and the impossibility of getting a decent cup of tea anywhere.

She held indictments more serious than those pertaining to life style. The national obsession with automobiles, the unbearable noise and frequent accidents in the cities and the exorbitant hotel costs, were small complaints beside her condemnation of the contrasts in wealth in big cities. After describing the excruciating poverty of the slum dwellers and of some of the 60,000 unfed children in New York and the 10 million destitute in the nation, she concluded: 'there is a growing

¹ Age, 21 Oct., 18 Nov. 1905, 25 Mar. 1908.

² Alice Henry was the possible author of these articles. A pioneering woman trade unionist, she had been a constant contributor to the Argus and Australasian during the 1890's. She travelled to the U.S. in 1905 and was appointed Official Secretary of the Chicago Branch of the National Womens' Trade Union League. She performed valuable service in journalism and education in the National Womens' Trade Union League until 1919. See Australian Encyclopedia, Vol.4, p.484. The suffragette, Vida Goldstein, who returned from the U.S. in 1902, and Helen Jerome, who was writing travel articles for the Sydney Worker at this time are also possible authors of the articles.

and menacing poverty problem of vast dimensions threatening the future of this great country'.¹

American Varieties by Charles Whittier (1908) attacked New York's suicidal pace and tasteless display; the ugly, dirty, and unfinished nature of Chicago and the ostentatious culture of Boston. Such criticisms when repeated by Australians were sometimes frankly recognized for what they were: 'it is a favourite salve that we give to our own self-complacency when we picture American life as honeycombed with corruption' commented the Age. Yet American ignorance of Australia still rankled. In 1908 the Age's San Francisco correspondent wrote:

...many absurd ideas prevail in this country regarding the southern continent. Not one person in 10,000 dreams that it has cities as populous as any in the States, barring the four or five great metropolitan centers. Practically no one is aware of its immense production in grain, wool and gold. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that an Australian book is not to be found on the shelves of any bookseller. American newspapers give no space to Australian happenings except now and again to belatedly record some odd or unusual incident.²

In 1905, J.H. McColl had estimated the cost of living to be 25 - 30 per cent higher in the United States than in Victoria. Trusts, in their middleman capacity, he held responsible for this, through artificially pegging prices to turn enormous profits. By contrast, Swinburne noted that producers' co-operatives in the United States were anomalously retarded. Social disabilities, climatic disadvantages, excessive hours of work and need for conspicuous consumption were all believed to hold down the American standard of living to a level generally below that enjoyed by the average Australian.³

Exploited child labour; the irrelevant and 'guilty conscience' philanthropy of benefactors; the 'robber baron' mockery of Rockefeller regarding fines for his trust activities and the fact that one per cent of the people owned ninety per cent of the national wealth, periodically

¹Age, 'An Australian Woman in America', 1, 15, 22, 29 July, 15, 19 Aug. 1905, 10, 18 Aug. 1906, 8 Sept., 6 Oct. 1906; for poverty see also Times Correspondent's 'Year Amongst Americans' (1907), in Age, 10 Oct. 1908.

²Age, 25 Apr., 22 June, 15 Aug. 1908.

³Argus, 5 May 1906; Age, 19 June, 21 Oct. 1905.

disgusted most sections of the Australian press.¹ Regarding American books entering the country whose subject was how to achieve 'success', the Age commented:

...at present we have little need of books to excite cupidity to greater spasms of avarice. The strenuous life is good for a man only when a fair fraction of it is so directed as to make him a better character.²

The Australian press was also anxious to make a distinction between money earned 'cleanly' and that earned 'uncleanly'.³ The shocking conditions of American working women were much discussed through the book of Marie van Vorst, The Woman Who Toils, (1903).⁴

As part of the argument to retain State ownership of Australian railways, the private, exploitive ownership of American railways was often condemned.⁵

An unwelcome reminder to Australian editors of the periodic vulnerability of the rich American money market and the prosperity of their own economy was the brief 'bankers' panic' of 1907 in Wall Street. A faulty banking system, together with irresponsible speculation and unchecked monometallism were held as responsible for the brief slump.⁶

The great anthracite coal strike of 1902 in America, which lasted 22 weeks; cost over \$22 million and put 146,000 men out of work, cast a bad light on strike actions in general. It pointed the need for efficient arbitration arrangements and (in the eyes of Tom Mann) for public or state ownership of mines. The attack by Ray Stannard Baker on abusive use of trade union power aroused some comment in more conservative circles.⁷

¹ Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 May 1908; Ballarat Courier, 30 Nov. 1907; Herald, 6, 14 Aug. 1907, 17 Feb. 1908.

² Age, 6 June 1903, 9 Jan. 1904, 14 July, 29 Sept. 1906, 1 June 1907.

³ Argus, 6, 17 Aug. 1907.

⁴ For Marie Van Vorst, see Who Was Who In America, Vol.1, 1897-1942 (Chicago, 1968), p.1273.

⁵ Age, 6, 31 Aug. 1907; Argus, 30 July 1903; 22 Mar. 1907.

⁶ Ballarat Courier, 24 Apr. 1908; Newcastle Morning Herald, 10 Dec. 1907; 22 Feb. 1908; Herald, 26 Oct., 2, 9, 16 Nov. 1907; Argus, 4 Jan., 11 Mar. 1908; Age, 19 Nov. 1907; 4 Jan. 1908.

⁷ Argus, 7, 18 Oct. 1902, 2 Dec. 1903, 2 Feb. 1904, 26 May 1905; Age, 6 Dec. 1902, 9 May 1903, 4 Apr. 1906.

Prodigal wastage of natural resources such as coal, timber, mineral oil, gas, grass and rivers publicised in the Fortnightly Review's 'Chronique of Foreign Affairs' and by James Hill in the National Review, was viewed as a warning to Australians.¹

But as well, the full spectrum of social, economic and political elements in American life and leadership that had excited disapproval in the earlier period, 1889-1895, were examined in something of a new light during the period 1902-08. Unlike the earlier period of ambiguity, the bulk of the comment was now approving.

Approval was expressed in Australia toward the new spirit of self-criticism and self-renewal animating American society as well as the various ongoing unique accomplishments of that civilization.

After Australian federation, there developed a feeling of sympathy for America - a fellow democracy that evoked a relative degree of jealous and spiteful detraction from the older European aristocracies.

In a way similar to America,² Australia attracted a variety of criticisms from Britain: that the country was uncultured and materialistic, carried a huge national debt, was unintelligently administered and was prey to foreign 'dumping'. These overseas press criticisms were resented for discouraging investment and immigration.³

Other criticisms had been revived. Anthony Trollope,⁴ the well-known English novelist, during his Australian visit in 1871 had maintained that the Australian population 'blew its own trumpet', i.e. boasted too much. Max O'Rell (really the French commentator Paul Blouët) had accused Australians of drunkenness: ('a terrible taste for tippling').⁵ Another critic held that Australian girls talked and walked badly.⁶ The Argus,

¹ Age, 7 Mar., 4 July 1908. See also Argus, 2 Mar. 1905; 26 July 1906; 6 Feb. 1907.

² E.g. Montague Vernon Ponsonby's The Preposterous Yankee (London, 1903). In general, see Westin, et al., Views of America (N.Y., 1966).

³ Age, 9, 12 Sept. 1905.

⁴ A. Trollope, Australia and New Zealand (London, 1873).

⁵ M. O'Rell, John Bull and Co. (London, 1894).

⁶ An editorial argument raged over the views of the Hungarian intellectual Emil Reich, who in his book, Imperialism, Its Prices, Its Vocation, believed that women in America had been 'imperialised', or unsexed by frontier living - a view with obvious transferability to the Australian situation.

referring to the American novelist James Howell's essay 'On A Certain Condescension in Foreigners', reminded readers of that writer's genial disgust at his own country having become a general butt. It remarked: 'The Australian has had to endure almost to the degree of nausea a precisely similar impeachment'.¹

In 1905, some Australian commentators pointed to the extreme scarification which contemporary American 'muckrakers' such as Upton Sinclair, were subjecting many of their own institutions to and the extreme optimism of Americans abroad regarding their country, despite this self-denigration. An attitude toward such criticisms similar to that of Americans was encouraged. Especially admired was the American style of expatriate loyalty.²

Also in 1905, an Australian traveller to Washington recorded of President Roosevelt 'Then he shook my hand and repeated his kind thoughts about Australia, which do me good to remember when I notice and hear the cynical way that Englishmen in London refer to Australia'. Australians felt closer to Americans - past and present, one of the most criticised peoples in the world - in the face of their own 'systematic vilifiers' as the Age called them.⁴ After 1903, A.W. Jose, Australia's new correspondent to the London Times determined to reverse the misleading and bad impressions fostered in Britain about his adopted country.⁵

Attracting a great deal of favourable comment from 1902 to 1908 were the findings of the Mosley Education Commission - a semi-formal creation consisting of twenty-three British labor leaders, designed to examine and learn from the several advances in American education.

Many press organs in Australia felt with the Age that it would 'stir us out of our national lethargy on this vital national interest'. The paper considered that American education was 'adapting itself more rapidly to the needs of the people than that of any other country'.⁶

¹Argus, 29 Aug. 1903:

²Argus, 31 Mar. 1905.

³Age, 19 Aug. 1905.

⁴Age, 27 Jan. 1906. See also, Argus, 1, 4, 6, 11 June 1906.

⁵A.W. Jose, op.cit., p.89, 90, for biographical details of Jose see Australian Encyclopedia (Sydney, 1956), Vol.5, pp.147-8.

⁶See editorials in Age, 30 May 1904; 11 Jan., 4 Feb. 1905; 25 Aug. 1906.

Praise was lavished on the excellent pupil-teacher ratios; the superior facilities and equipment; the more efficient localised control; the general relation of education to relevancy in work and life and the particular emphasis on technical education for boys and domestic training for girls. Some Australian papers in commenting on the Mosley Report (1904) emphasised the superior higher capital expenditure per child in rural areas.

W.E. Chancellor's comments on a relative lack of competitive examinations in America, were discussed contemporaneously. The Prussian Royal Commission's findings also backed up the Mosley explorations and stressed classroom morale based on positive motivations and a high degree of popular interest.¹ Other American ideas regarding a secularised approach to religion in schools; the superiority of engineering education at the college level; training for practical professions and the educative role of travel were stimulated by the American example.²

The Australian metropolitan press sometimes laid claim to an American hero like Alexander Hamilton who was viewed as an indirect influence on Australia's own constitution-makers. On the other hand, there was some favourable comment on A.M. Low's suggestion in the National Review for the inclusion of American names in the Crown's list of birthday honours.³ On the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, the Argus commented: 'In honouring such a man as Franklin, the Americans honour themselves'.⁴ When George Francis Train died in America in 1904 one Melbourne newspaper⁵ remembered him in an editorial, as an innovator and 'one of the best known Americans on the face of the globe' - terms much kinder than those used in the papers of his own country. An appreciation of common qualities of heroism was a sincere flattery made by Australian pressmen toward their American counterparts.

The civic pride of cities such as New York, Denver, Philadelphia, Hartford, Brooklyn and Kansas City, prompted by the tree-planting

¹Age, 22 Sept., 24 Nov. 1906, 9 Feb. 1907.

²Argus, 31 Dec. 1902, 4 July 1903, 10 June 1904.

³Age, 28 June, 4 Oct. 1902.

⁴Argus, 24 Feb. 1906.

⁵Argus, 18 Feb. 1904.

societies, women's clubs and art leagues of those centres, was held up by the metropolitan press to Australian city-dwellers as an inspiration. The encouragement of the interest of local children in their city's cleanliness and beauty, fostered in clever ways by organizations such as Boston's 'Twentieth Century Club', attacked the older image of such cities as primarily corrupt or commercial. Older misconceptions of places such as Chicago and Washington were revised. The former's élan and the latter's impressiveness were testified to by a number of Australian travellers, while the new 'clean governments' of smaller areas were well-publicised.¹

The pluck and vigour that characterized America's approach to the rebuilding of San Francisco, destroyed by earthquake in April 1906, was held up for special praise. A sympathetic response for Australia's Pacific neighbour, with which it had enjoyed contacts for so long, was immediate and strong. Deakin cabled Roosevelt (through the Governor General and British Ambassador at Washington): 'The people of Australia share the sorrow of their American kinsmen in the terrible calamity which has befallen the Pacific Coast'. State governors sent similar messages. The American Consuls Orlando Baker in Sydney and J.P. Bray in Melbourne, received large numbers of callers and messages of sympathy. The Secretary of State replied: 'The President is deeply touched by the many manifestations of sorrow which he has received from Australia. He gratefully appreciates your telegram of sympathy'. Taking advantage of the belief that every Victorian 'would have willingly contributed to relieve the distress', the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce and the Lord Mayor established funds. The University Conference on Sydney's campus sent a message of sympathy to Stanford University for the damage it had suffered. For many days, newspapers were filled with anxious enquiries concerning the safety of the scores of Australians known to have been in California during the disaster.²

Sensitive about world opinion regarding the White Australia policy (Roosevelt in conversation with an Australian thought it should be

¹E.g. Editorials in Age, 7 Feb., 3 May 1902, 2 Feb., 14 Dec. 1907.

²Newcastle Morning Herald, 21 Apr. 1906; Argus, 20-26 Apr. 1906; Age, 21 Apr. 1906; 1 June 1907.

modified),¹ many organs of the Australian press sought support from overseas newspaper opinion. In America they found it in such suggestions as that of the Pennsylvania State Legislature to regulate race and the opinion of an organ such as the Chicago Inter-Ocean which saw whites as incompatible with Japanese. Even the London Daily Telegraph was quoted for its approval of United States and Australian restrictions - often lumped together in overseas eyes - as a fair thing.²

The effectiveness of America's image abroad, which attracted in the two decades 1884-1904 at least 220,000 immigrants a year, compared with a fall-off in intake in the same period in Australia of from 46,000 to 14,000 immigrants, aroused a grudging admiration in Australia. More impressive however some found, was that country's attitude toward excluding the Japanese. Regarding immigration, Victorian M.P., J.H. McColl, who had visited America, wrote in 1905: 'the history of the United States and the present position of matters is pregnant with lessons for us, lessons both to copy and avoid'. Legal Aid societies, designed to protect ignorant immigrants from exploitation, were one such lesson.³

If one element dominated the news from America at this time, it was the implacable attack by President and press on the Trusts. American shipping rings, oil and kerosene trusts and Harvester Tractor monopolies were bitterly attacked in the Australian press for their crushing of Australia's infant industries (such as the Commonwealth Oil Manufacturing Co.) and their open arrogance. The evil publicity attending these developments inspired discussion on legislation to frustrate similar monopolistic growths in Australia. The Australian Industries Preservation Bill (1906) designed to prevent the 'dumping' of foreign products, was the fruit of this discussion and paralleled legislation in the United States (1903) and Canada (1904).

¹See 'An Australian Woman in America' for Roosevelt's reactions to 'White Australia'. Age, op.cit.

²Herald, 24, 28 Sept. 1907; Age, 27 July, 26 Aug. 1907.

³Age, 12 Sept., 18 Nov. 1905; 16 Feb., 5 Oct. 1907. In 1903, 1,500 Australians were admitted to the U.S.

The attack on the International Harvester trust came to a climax in October-November 1905. The trust had thrown down the gauntlet and Australian legislators had taken up the challenge. 'It is a case which calls for nothing short of prohibition' cried the Age, enraged by the American company's deliberate policy of sustaining loss in its attempts to destroy competing Australian producers of agricultural machinery such as McKay's Sunshine Harvester Co. This 'frightful...scourge from America...a scandalous robbery of our farmers by the foreigner' as it was called, whipped up press reaction and tipped the balance against the further intrusion of American trusts into Australia.¹ It illustrated the despatch with which an aroused Australian public and legislature could act, basing itself on well-known American precedents.² The Elkins Act (1903) served as a particular inspiration to Australian anti-trust legislators such as Isaacs and Deakin.³

The 'tremendous wave of socialism and radicalism' sweeping America, described by Maurice Low⁴ in the National Review for May 1906 (a view confirmed by the London Outlook), was seen by all liberal elements of the Australian press as an encouraging portent. The general American revulsion against the Trusts was widely recorded as a fundamental change-of-heart against the idea of uninterrupted exploitive capitalism. These 'Progressive' developments were well-received in Australian editorial circles.⁵

Civic corruption and other evils in society were mercilessly exposed by the 'muckraking' journals of the period and were thus brought forcibly to Australia's attention. Meat packing, insurance, legislative and legal scandals were ruthlessly exposed. From 1905 the word 'graft' came into increasing use. Ray Stannard Baker's expose of Sam Parkes,

¹Ballarat Courier, 6 May 1908; Age, 7, 29 May, 1 July 1902, 27 Apr., 15 May, 17 Oct., 1 Nov. 1905, 18 June 1906, 12 Oct., 7 Dec. 1907; 13 Mar., 7 Nov. 1908.

²The battle is described in B.R. Wise, The Commonwealth of Australia (London, 1909) pp.268-71.

³Newcastle Morning Herald, 6 Dec. 1902, 17 June 1904, 20 Oct. 1905, 14 Oct. 1907; Age, 31 Aug. 1903, 28 Nov. 1905, 21 Nov. 1906.

⁴(Alfred) Maurice Low: 1860-1929. British journalist. Author of The American People, A Study in National Psychology (1909).

⁵E.g. Argus, 2 July, 8 Dec. 1906.

a corrupt labor boss in the New York building trade, portrayed the typical 'grafter'. Tammany Hall still exerted considerable influence during this period and continued to excite fierce periodic condemnation.¹

Despite much adverse criticism of plutocracy, the philanthropic and personal qualities of a John D. Rockefeller were sometimes compared with that of the more acceptable Cecil Rhodes. Andrew Carnegie's lavish, continual library grants in this period were often condemned by Australian progressive editors as a sop to the real needs of the people. Some Australian conservative-liberals nonetheless saw merit in the idea. The older rationale of the irreversible accretion of capital in the interests of business efficiency and general prosperity continued to find small voice among Australian conservatives.²

Liberal press organs evidenced pleasure at the phenomenal growth and success of the American Federation of Labor - a body which succeeded in attracting a large membership where the Knights of Labor had failed.³ Even the more Australian conservative newspapers could admire a labor organization with the stature of the A.F. of L. for remaining as aloof from political socialism as it did in America.⁴

In the realm of sport, Sir Thomas Lipton's continual yachting defeats at the hands of the Americans in the America's Cup, instead of exciting indignation as such defeats had often done in the past, were now considered to be teaching the United Kingdom salutary lessons in humility. Australasia's win over the United States in the Davis Cup of 1908, led the Argus, which had become a fine sports-reporting paper, to declare of the American team, 'they have taught us much about tennis and proved to us what a fine sportsman an American gentleman is'. The Bill Squires - Tommy Burns boxing content⁵ and following it, the famous world heavyweight championship contest between Burns and the giant negro Jack

¹See editorials in the following: Age, 28 Nov. 1903, 6 Feb. 1904, 8 July, 23 Sept. 1905, 2 June 1906, 20 July 1907; Argus, 11 Dec. 1903, 23 Jan. 1904.

²E.g. Editorials in Age, 25 Nov. 1905; 13 Apr., 1 June, 28 Dec. 1907; Argus, 20 Oct. 1906; 12 Jan. 1908.

³Newcastle Morning Herald, 17 May 1904; Age, 1 June 1907.

⁴Argus, 29 Dec. 1904; 15 June 1905.

⁵For the Burns-Johnson fight see Australia's Heritage, No.65, (Sydney, 1971, pp.1546-51) discussing the role of Hugh Donald McIntosh, the fight promoter.

Johnson in Sydney at the end of 1908, were considered in some circles as praiseworthy examples of sport aiding international understanding. Jack London, the flower of American sports-reporting, who covered the uneven struggle for the Sydney Morning Herald and the Argus, further enhanced the popularity of white Americans in Australia by praising the sportsmanship of the 20,000 spectators, the stadium organization and facilities and by his clear bias in favour of the smaller white contestant.¹ Through the force of his own personal good nature, Johnson himself did much to enhance the reputation of the American negro in Australia, long appreciated for his talent for entertainment.²

Even Wu-Ting Fong, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, had, in the Daily Mail, praised the competence, independence, intelligence, beauty and vivaciousness of American women. The Australian press joined in what was by this time a world-wide admiration of and interest in this distinctive variety of womanhood. Blackwood's Magazine put it neatly: 'The good American woman is the most active and aggressive of her sex. She has the most decided convictions on social questions'. The Australian press sometimes pictured her as the 'sheet anchor of the country' in times of moral crisis. An American woman of different style - the 'Gibson Girl' - became for the western world in the new century, the archetype of feminine glamour.³

As ever, America attracted favourable attention for its successful social experimentation. A number of disparate examples came briefly into focus: the convict farms opening 'difficult' lands in the South; the use of experimental psychology in the treatment of mental disorders such as schizophrenia; the moral-legal implications of euthanasia; the legislation against juvenile smoking, for pure food, prohibiting liquor and discouraging divorce, and the code of ethics drawn up by the United States' legal profession. In some cases they inspired similar efforts

¹J. Moore covers Johnson's role and general opposition to the fight in 'A Black End To Our Coming Of Age', The Review, (Melb., 25 Sept. 1971). See also, Age, 27 Aug. 1903; Argus, 29 July, 1, 28 Dec. 1908.

²Quiz, Table Talk, Lantern, Melbourne Punch and the weeklies of the great metropolitan papers, often carried 'notices' praising visiting Negro entertainers.

³E.g. Age editorials, 22 Feb., 8 Mar. 1902, 9 Apr. 1904, 3 Feb., 6 Oct. 1906.

in Australia.¹

In the world of the theatre, the great American theatrical entrepreneur J.C. Williamson, continued to enrich the cultural life of his adopted country. In 1907-08 he spent ten months abroad - much of it in the United States, engaging outstanding artists to bring to Australia, where they were usually assured of an enthusiastic reception.²

Regarding American fiction, the unfavourable judgment of Lord Jeffreys in the Edinburgh Review of a century before, was now being reversed. After 1902, it was more often characterized as distinct, racy, original, colourful and earthy. Though without grand passion, novels like those of W.D. Howells were considered 'a delectable gain...the English public has begun to appreciate the distinctive worth of the American school of fiction'. Australian editors generally concurred with these judgements.³

A number of books on America received favourable reviews in Australia during 1908. Maurice Low in his America At Home even made 'hustlers' (a term then in use) look good for their tenacity and achievements. Paul Borget's Outre-Mer; Henry James's The American Scene; H.G. Wells's The Future in America; Professor Munsterberg's The Americans, J. Foster Fraser's America at Work and Charles Whibley's American Sketches were reviewed for the light they cast on enigmas in the American character. When the Ballarat Courier explained the swiftness with which America had overcome the depression of 1907, it praised the 'virility and masterful energy of its people'. Clearly the balance of social comment upon America was changing in its tone and emphasis.⁴

Australian protectionists continued to believe that the key to America's burgeoning prosperity lay in its system of high tariffs. In

¹Some comment in, Bendigo Independent, 5 June 1908; Age, 26 Apr. 1901, 15 Mar. 1902, 11 Feb., 13 May 1904, 8 Apr., 1 July, 20 Oct. 1905, 17 Mar., 1 June 1906, 28 Aug. 1907, 15 Aug. 1908; Argus, 28 May, 14 Nov. 1906, 1 June 1907, 1 July 1908.

²Age, 5 Mar. 1908.

³E.g. Age, 16 Aug. 1902; Argus, 26 Mar. 1904.

⁴Ballarat Courier, 24 Apr. 1908; Herald, 18 Dec. 1903; Argus, 15 Apr. 1903, 28 Oct. 1905, 14 Jan., 12, 22 June 1908; Age, 28 June 1902, 1, 15, 29 July, 19 Aug., 21 Oct. 1905.

1902, they held them responsible for the high United States' government surplus. Editorially, the argument was pressed hard, with the hope of promoting a similar degree of protection in the New Australian Commonwealth and all its States. Encouragement was thus given to growing concerns such as Beale & Co., whose Sydney piano firm, by producing 4,000 instruments in 1901, made inroads into what had been a virtual German import monopoly.¹

In 1902, Frank A. Vanderlip stimulated much discussion in Australia with his article for Scriber's: 'The American Commercial Invasion of Europe'. America's trade excess of \$260 million to Europe since 1895 was explained in Australia as the fruits of a wise policy of having first built up American home industries to a position of relative strength. J.A. Hobson, the famous British economist, was quoted as blaming Britain's relative trade decline on the continuance of free trade. Andrew Carnegie, in a rectorial address delivered at St. Andrew's University, Scotland in 1902, agreed with Hobson and predicted a future protective European economic federation evolving to counteract America's growing dominance. To 1908 and beyond, these themes were amplified (with the use of Mulhall's Wealth of Nations) as America's trading successes continued. The economic moral for Australia was continually pointed by the protectionists.²

Trade with the United States was healthy and expanding during this period. In 1903, U.S. goods accounted for almost a half of the foreign trade being conducted by the Commonwealth. By 1908 - at 43% - it was almost as high as the peak figure in the decade preceding federation.

Imports from the U.S. were largely responsible for the general steady rise in trade volume. Usually between £4¹/₂ and £5¹/₂ million in value, they were a continuation of the great jump in the popularity of U.S. goods that followed the Spanish-American war. In one of the highest years for imports, 1903, the U.S. provided Australia with

¹ Age, 2 Jan., 4, 12 Mar. 1902. This prosperity had been indicated by the 'skyscrapers' of New York to John Young, an Australian traveller (Sydney Morning Herald, 6 Dec. 1901).

² Age, 16, 26 Apr., 9 Aug. 1902, 2 Jan., 3 Aug., 22, 23 Oct. 1903, 5 Aug. 1904, 3, 9 Feb., 27 Aug., 11 Oct. 1906, 30 Oct., 28 Nov. 1907, 7, 23 Mar. 1908.

tobacco, timber, machinery and flour worth almost £¹/₂ million each in value. It provided implements for husbandry, metal manufactures, kerosene and printing paper each to the value of approximately £300,000. Leather, vehicles, tools of trade, boots and shoes and barley were imported to around the value of £100,000 each. The largest single item was £1,139,000 worth of wheat. Mining machinery and railway equipment were popular. In the years 1900-1906, Australian States imported £1,070,816 worth of rails and locomotives from the U.S. Many of these items cut heavily into some former purchases from Great Britain.

Exports jumped to the unprecedented figure of £4,338,701 in 1906, but were usually around £2¹/₂ million in value. These figures were not as high as in the years just prior to federation, but were usually triple the value of goods sent during the depression year of 1894. In 1902, when goods were sent to the value of £2,714,424, the most important items were gold and gold coin (£2,092,000 worth from N.S.W.); copper - in blister, matte and ore - to the value of £464,000, from Tasmania; coal and coke to the value of £103,444, from N.S.W.; wool worth £108,688 from Victoria, and the balance in marsupial skins.

Still high in export value, was wool. Despite the restrictions of the Dingley tariff, wool jumped spectacularly in value during this period, until by 1908 exports of this commodity had quadrupled the 1902 figure. In 1906 it was worth an unprecedented £912,679, but this figure never rose above 3% of the total cropped. Australian wools generally benefited from the tariff in relation to others as they discriminated less against greasy varieties. Because of its light-shrinking quality this wool was the type the U.S. generally imported. This feature of the general trade picture must have engendered some good feeling in Australia toward the U.S. from 1902 to 1908, as wool exports continued to increase in value. The figures for coal were the opposite. From 1901-5 the value of coal exports fell to an average of 201,000 tons. As the era of sail passed however, this phenomenon was a general one. The U.S. was Australia's fourth largest recipient of gold in 1906, when £2,195,000 was sent in specie and £144,157 in bullion. (Trade via Ceylon helped confuse the general picture of the ultimate destination of such wealth.)¹ In all, the U.S. in the period 1902-08, was Australia's third most important overseas customer.

¹Commonwealth Yearbook, No.1, op.cit., p.508.

Trade Between Australia and the United States, 1902-08

FISCAL YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	TOTAL	WOOL	% SHARE OF FOREIGN TRADE
1902	£4,989,812	£2,714,424	£7,704,236	£212,960	37.4%
1903	£6,368,532	£2,625,399	£8,993,931	£410,604	49%
1904	Figures not available	—	—	£703,998	—
1905	£5,005,387	Figures not available	—	£647,296	—
1906	£4,633,553	£4,338,701	£8,972,254	£912,679	41%
1907	£6,765,182	£2,405,401	£9,170,583	£815,254	36.1%
1908	£6,039,753	£2,395,466	£8,435,219	£881,172	43%

Figures compiled from Yearbook, No. 1 (Melbourne, 1908). They refer to
Australia alone.

The adoption of preferential tariffs ('imperial preference') by Australia in 1907-08, affected the total trade picture with the U.S. very little. Upward trends and ratios remained generally steady. Though smaller U.S. firms found the Australian tariff daunting, U.S. trusts overcame the obstacle easily enough. Increases were not spectacular after 1908. However, though U.S. competition with British goods received some checks, the increases in U.S. imports was greater than for British imports into Australia. In certain new lines such as motor cars and accessories, electrical and radio equipment, films, motion picture and office equipment, American goods were clearly preferred.¹

The figures for trade with the new U.S. acquisition, the Philippines, are interesting. Both exports and imports experienced a dramatic increase from 1891 to 1908, especially in the period between the Spanish-American war and Federation. Imports reached their highest figures in 1907 (£95,582). In that year, they consisted of flax and hemp to the value of £65,796, and cigars to the value of £27,502. This was never more than .2% of that country's exports, however.

Import figures are more revealing. Australian traders enjoyed a huge jump in sales following the Spanish-American war. This rose from .40% in the years 1887-91, to .94% in the year 1908. From a low of £24,664 in 1896, trade rose spectacularly to £604,589 worth in 1908. This consisted in that year, of butter worth £46,447; coal worth £190,920; flour worth £90,653, fodder worth £15,128, horses worth £12,134 and timber worth £30,849. The greatest single item exported to the Philippines was meat. This consisted of bacon and hams to the value £6,910; beef worth £151,076, mutton worth £8,056; pork worth £18,017 and other meats worth £4,792. Such trade increases would have provided a further basis for Australian-American good-will at this time.

Slight increases were also recorded concerning trade with Hawaii. Figures are difficult to interpret, due to the inclusion of other islands in the trade, but it appears that the value of trade from 1887-91 was £275,892, approximately. By 1897-1901 it had increased to £350,796 and was worth £398,721 in 1908. The percentage value of this trade dropped from .93% to .62% during the period, however. This was

¹In general, see L. Churchward, 'Trade Relations', op.cit., pp.75-7. Also, Age, 8 Aug. 1903, 9 Jan. 1904, 21 June 1905; Argus, 12 June 1905.

Trade Between Australia and the Philippines, 1887-1908

FISCAL YEAR	IMPORTS	% OF TOTAL	EXPORTS	% OF TOTAL
1887-1891	£13,350	.04%	£117,471	.40%
1892-1896	£15,869	.06%	£24,664	.07%
1897-1901	£69,385	.19%	£150,999	.34%
1902-1906	£70,669	.18%	£331,047	.60%
1906	£89,840	.20%	£436,389	.63%
1907	£95,582	.18%	£570,528	.79%
1908	£83,601	.17%	£604,589	.94%

Figures compiled from Commonwealth Yearbook, No.1 (Melbourne, 1908)
p.500.

probably due to the tariff restrictions applying to the annexed territory and the more severe competition from other traders, including the U.S. itself. Nonetheless, in the case of Hawaii, the trade balance heavily favoured Australia.¹

Yet trade in the Orient increased by significant percentages. With China, from a value of £43,884 in 1887-91 (.15% of total exports), exports to China rose to £208,601 (or .47%) in 1897-1901. By 1908, the figure was £280,265. The benefits of the 'Open Door' principle were clear. Exports to Japan were even more dramatic. From a figure of £39,787 in 1887-91, the figure had increased to £225,086 in 1897-1901, and was £543,789 by 1908 - a rise from .03% to 1.97% of the total foreign exports. Clearly, if Japan could be kept militarily passive, it stood to become Australia's fastest-rising overseas customer. No doubt, this realization animated some of the enthusiasm for the U.S. as a police-keeper in the Orient and the Pacific.²

A Naval Bill, similar in terms to the 1904 American bill on domestic shipping, was urged on the federal government by several newspapers. The American initiatives, in protecting coastal trade by preference and subsidy, the appointment of American captains and crews and the provision of superior food, were especially commended. That such developments would lead to an ultimate decline in British shipping was denied.³

The low cost of transporting goods by rail in the United States (.36d per ton per mile) continued to be contrasted unfavourably with the extremely high cost of similar carriage in Victoria (1.53d per ton per mile) and other parts of Australia. In 1902 the Age, which had long fought for better rates believed, 'the United States achievement represents a rather remote ideal for Australian railway management to work toward'.⁴

In the same year that paper urged a bolder Australian policy on electrification of suburban rail lines on the Ohio model. Similarly, electric trams on the model of New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco

¹ Yearbook, No.3 (Melbourne, 1910) pp.604-05.

² Yearbook, *ibid.*

³ Age, 21 Mar. 1904, 27 Mar. 1905; Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 Dec. 1902, 17 Apr. 1905; Argus, 16 Aug. 1902.

⁴ Age, 10 Mar., 3 July 1902, 29 July 1903.

were generally recommended at a time (1904) when only Bendigo appeared to be listening. As ever, American successes were attributed to superior management. By 1905, Australia was accused by the Age of being fifteen years behind the times in the realm of electric traction.¹

Nevertheless, Andrew Carnegie's The Empire of Business (1902) was occasionally lauded by conservative editors for its portrayal of the American businessman as a professional person of considerable integrity. Carnegie's ideas on profit-sharing, to close the gap between labor and capital, beside enhancing worker keenness and efficiency, were often praised as 'practical philanthropy'. Clearly, America's 'captains of industry' were regarded as being superior to those in less productive countries. Their encouragement of knowledge, invention and skill in the American workforce was also praised. 'In Australia we are in a peculiarly favourable position for benefiting by American experience since we also have a continent to develop', concluded the Age in 1903.²

During their twenty years of operation in Australia, the American insurance companies had, to 1906, assured the lives of 29,967 Australians for the sum of £12 million. Of those companies, Equitable Life, which closed the writing of new business in Australia due to economic problems in its home office, had insured 16,000 Australians for £6 million (to 1906). An enquiry assured Australians of the solvency of this and other American insurance companies operating in Australia such as the New York Life Insurance Co. and Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York. Australian customers were encouraged to continue to assure themselves with them.³

The failure of the Chaffey's irrigation efforts at Mildura prompted critics like R.J. Hinton to suggest the successes of California to provide a better lead for the future. The setting up of a Departments of Irrigation at the State level, similar to America's, was urged to tackle the problem of cultivating waste-lands such as those in the

¹Age, 6 Jan. 1904, 18 Mar., 16 Nov., 8 Dec. 1905, 9 Apr. 1906.

²Herald, 28 July 1903; Argus, 14 Apr. 1902; Age, 21 June 1902, 5 Jan., 14 Apr. 1903.

³Argus, 8 Feb. 1906.

Wimmera. Local experts such as George Swinburne¹ and the American, Elwood Mead, proposed an International Irrigation Conference in Melbourne in 1908, to benefit from American expertise applied to local conditions.²

Certain economic innovations in American rural areas provided inspiration for similar Australian projects. The Oregon sugar-beet industry demonstrated to the £60,000 Maffra factory in Victoria, that losses could be sustained while the business survived. Artificial fish hatching, beginning to yield impressive results by 1902, was but one of the benefits of a more scientific approach to farming - one encouraged by the research and advice of American Agricultural Departments in the universities and Agricultural Bureaus in the field. Another result of such research had been control of the fruit fly and codlin moth (1905) by employing their 'natural enemies' - an ecological idea with an Australian ancestry. Luther Burbank's advances in horticulture evoked a widespread interest in rural areas, while the idea of forest reservations and national parks for timber and pleasure so encouraged by the conservation-minded Roosevelt, appealed to all sectors of opinion. The greater mechanization of and superior telephonic communications in rural areas such as California and Indiana, were also brought out in a pointedly comparative way. When Oklahoma was admitted as a State of the Union in 1907, the Bendigo Independent hailed the United States, now composed of 46 states and 80 million people, as 'the greatest and most populous Republic recorded in human history'.³

¹George Swinburne (1861-1928) was an Englishman who arrived in Melbourne in 1886 and became an engineer and manager of the Melbourne Hydraulic Co. 1888-97. In 1897 he visited the United States and studied electrical developments there. In 1903 he was given the Portfolio of Minister of Water Supply in Bent's government. His important Water Bill was passed in 1905. He was Victoria's Minister for Agriculture from 1904 until he resigned in 1908. He was an important public figure, much interested in Technical Education, to the end of his days. See P. Serle, *op.cit.*, pp.397-99.

²Age, 26 Feb. 1903, 15 June 1907, 2 Apr. 1908; Argus, 8 Dec. 1908.

³Bendigo Independent, 22 June, 1908. See also, editorials in Age, 19 Feb., 6 Aug., 1902, 26 Dec. 1903, 14 Sept. 1905, 2 Jan., 13 Mar., 1 June, 3 Sept. 1906, 10 July, 5, 16 Nov. 1907; Argus, 2 Jan., 13 Mar. 1906. For other comment, see Age, 31 Mar. 1902, 26 Feb. 1903, 4 May, 16 Aug. 1904, 18 July 1905.

'There is scarcely any political figure in the world today that commands more respect than does the President of the United States of America', wrote the Age at the opening of 1902.¹ Theodore Roosevelt had quickly gained the confidence of Australians. He was, to use ex-Victorian Premier George Higinbotham's words, the 'still, strong man in a blatant land' - courageous against the trusts; of broad cultural and physical prowess, and a healer of divisions between races and classes.²

The Roosevelt charisma and its significance was restated by that paper later in the year:

The name of Roosevelt seems to have come upon the world to charm it. The nations at large watch the political and industrial life of America as one of the object lessons of the age. From almost every point of view it is worth watching. America increases her accumulated wealth more rapidly than any other State has done within the ken of history and the increase of her population has almost kept pace with its multiplied opulence. The line of Chief Magistrates, elected by the people, have been mostly men of sterling purpose and high intellectual capacity and he who now sits in the presidential chair promises to equal³ the best traditions of the White House at Washington.

Roosevelt was a fascinating figure to the Australian, as to the world press, and his political realism - an equal mixture of boldness and caution - was in tune with the conservative-liberalism of the bulk of the Australian press.⁴

In 1903, the Age, whose image of Roosevelt affected its whole view of the nation he led, wrote:

It is not an uncommon thing for Australian writers and speakers to refer to America and the Americans as the shocking example of demoralization in public life. They quote Tammany and the growth of Trusts, throwing in, by the way, a passing allusion to the worship of the Almighty Dollar and consider that they have quite established the rottenness of "machine politics" in the United States. Of course, these are the methods of political charlatanry and they injure only the dupes

¹ Age, 2 Jan, 1902.

² Age, 31 May 1902.

³ Age, 9 Sept., 6 Dec. 1902.

⁴ E.g., see Newcastle Morning Herald, 23 Dec. 1902.

who permit themselves to be deceived by so shallow a criticism.¹

To the Age, 'a corrupt people do not choose men of inflexible honesty to rule over them'. Seemingly, to her new power status, America had added integrity and respect. Roosevelt served as an advertisement for clean government and successful democracy. Roosevelt's sage Messages to Congress, whose theme revolved around solidarity, were praised for their high tone and educative function.² In 1907, the Age apotheosised Roosevelt as 'incontestably the loftiest and strongest ruling spirit of the age'.³

One paper desired his re-election in 1908, 'in the interests of calm and sober government; in the interests of social reform and morality as they affect the American people and in the wider interests of humanity at large' - especially in the encouragement he gave to the causes of the worker and world peace. In his battle against the Trusts, he had awakened the public conscience; intelligently used the powers of his great office, and created 'one of the most remarkable revolutions the world has ever seen without a gun or a barricade, but simply by laws and the law courts'. Not only was he admired for his strength and vividness, but also for his Americanness. The Australian hagiography stemmed partly from his being a near perfect example of the successfulness of the best of what was conceived of as the American type: bright, progressive and energetic. For the first time since the simple nobility of Lincoln, an American type captured the Australian journalistic imagination and was widely and genuinely admired.⁴

'To Australians, the personality of the President is only less in importance than the personality of our king', wrote the Melbourne Herald.⁵ Roosevelt had refocused interest in the Presidency as the elections of 1904 and 1908 illustrated. The Democrats' choice of Chief Justice Parker instead of W.R. Hearst, as their presidential nominee in

¹ Age, 9 Jan., 21 Apr., 2 May 1903.

² See editorials, Age, 14 July 1904, 30 Sept. 1905, 10 Feb., 6 Nov. 1906.

³ Age, 10 Jan., 9 Feb. 1907.

⁴ E.g. Editorials in, Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 Nov. 1907; Argus, 10 Nov. 1904; Age, 13 Apr. 1907.

⁵ See editorials in, Herald, 22 Aug. 1907, 4 Feb. 1908.

1904 was taken as further proof of the good sense of the American public in the election of its leaders. Roosevelt's own condemnation of Hearst as a 'self-seeking demagogue' reinforced that sense of values. By 1908, even William Jennings Bryan had become acceptable as a candidate. Roosevelt's choice of W.H. Taft in 1908 was approved of, not for his dashing and crusading qualities, but because of his competence and the promise of continuance of Roosevelt's moral attitude toward Trusts and other malefactors. To the Age, Taft would redeem the democracy 'from the aspersions of timid, weak critics'. That paper later recorded:

...talking to the more intelligent of our present Fleet visitors we gather that the rascality which comes to the surface now and then in the American courts and in American politics finds no support in the masses of the people of the great Republic.¹

The several powerful elements making for Anglo-Saxon solidarity in the period up to 1901, continued in the period 1902-08. Friendly feeling between the two people was so obvious that the Age remarked hopefully, 'probably in the course of the present century...similar influences of a reciprocal character may be operative between Great Britain and Australia'. George Harvey, editor of the North American Review and Harper's, writing in the Nineteenth Century in 1904, confirmed the impression of the period under discussion as one of increasing amity. Maurice Low's regular American letters to the National Review were well-informed epistles read closely by the Age's editors in Australia, confirming this view. Largely through this source, Australians throughout 1904-05 were made aware of a change of attitude in America that was increasingly anti-Russian and pro-Japanese. 'The future of America lies in the Pacific', wrote the Age, presuming that she would naturally wish to combat Russian movements into that Ocean.²

Talk of formal alliance was not only prompted by immediate diplomatic events, but also by such supportive works as John Dos Passos's The Anglo-Saxon Century and the Unification of the English-Speaking People, favourably reviewed in Australia toward the end of 1904. In early 1905, the Honourable George Peel's The Friends of England performed much the same function of providing a background intellectual rationale.³

¹ Age, 7 Nov. 1904, 3 Mar. 1907, 22 June, 1, 4 Sept., 4, 5 Nov., 12 Dec. 1908; Argus, 11 July 1904.

² Age, 28 June 1902, 7, 14, 28 May, 4 June, 8 Oct. 1904.

³ Age, 29 Oct. 1904, 29 Apr. 1905.

Whitelaw Reid, the famous journalist who took up the post of American ambassador to London in 1905, continued the growing feelings of solidarity so well served by John Hay his predecessor, as did Mortimer Durand (1904) and James Bryce (1907) - British ambassadors to Washington. Upon the occasion of the latter appointment, the Herald wrote,

British we are to the backbone and spinal marrow, but first and most precious to us in our relations with foreign powers is the friendship - capable of being developed into such a working understanding that the "Yellow Peril" would cease to give us such anxiety - with the United States.¹

At the time of Whitelaw Reid's appointment, the Newcastle Morning Herald claimed with satisfaction that Anglo-Saxon amity had never been so high.² The ex-New South Wales premier George Reid, who had visited America a decade before,³ wrote in the Argus in 1908 of this affectionate mutual regard.⁴ Any editorial suggesting an alliance with a third power, was usually prefixed 'Anglo-American-....' Proposed alliances were now considered as being contracted between equal partners.⁵

From 1902, Australian commentators usually referred to the United States as either having the status of a first-rank power or actually being the leading nation of the world in terms of population, wealth and political power.⁶ This view had been best represented by W.T. Stead's The Americanisation of the World, or the Trend of the Twentieth Century (1902).⁷

The renewed German attack on the principle of the Monroe Doctrine in Venezuela in 1902 stimulated Australian editorial discussion defending the traditional American policy of 'Hands off'. Not only was this

¹ Herald, 8 Feb. 1907.

² Newcastle Morning Herald, 29 Apr. 1905.

³ See G.H. Reid, My Reminiscences (Sydney, 1917). For Reid, see P. Serle, *op.cit.*, pp.263-7.

⁴ Argus, 23 May 1908.

⁵ Argus, 11 Mar. 1904, 28 Oct. 1905; Age, 5 Aug. 1905.

⁶ Argus, 1 Jan. 1902; Newcastle Morning Herald, *op.cit.*

⁷ Stead's book is a remarkable prophecy concerning the growth of American influence. It believed that the Empire of Great Britain had no choice but to push energetically for some form of political and commercial union with America, whilst Britain retained the capacity to do so.

because Britain had been forced to recognize its operation in the same country years earlier, but also because it suited Australian self-interest to do so. As the Age put it in 1902:

At some future date, when the people of the Australian Commonwealth possess a strong ministry to represent their interests from an international stand-point, possibly they may hope to be placed upon the same footing as their fellow British colonists of the Western Hemisphere by the enunciation of the rule that further acquisitions in their immediate vicinity will not be₁ favourably regarded by the British government.

Others agreed; one of the best known being A.R. Colquhoun, the travelling correspondent, in his book, The Mastery of the Pacific (1902).²

Commenting at Lismore on the statements of Ewing, the Commonwealth Minister for Defence (13 January 1908), the Herald made the remarkable proposition,

...that if, in perfect harmony with our position as a British state and not for an instant consenting to ever modify the principle of British Imperialism, we Australians could enter into some working arrangement with the United States by which the Monroe Doctrine could be applied to us, the best assurance of our safety that the earth holds today would have been provided.³

Ewing had clearly intimated that an American alliance would be welcomed in order to keep Australia white. Roosevelt's own reaffirmation and extension of the Monroe doctrine ('The Roosevelt Corollary' of 1904) doubtless encouraged this attitude.⁴

American rebuffs to Germany in Venezuela, the Caribbean and the Philippines were pleasing to an Australia becoming increasingly fearful of German designs in her own area. On 11 September 1906, the Age wrote: '...Germany in her secret soul entertains the ambition of founding a German empire on the ruins of the British in Australia'. On 10 November of that year, Ambrose Pratt published in the Age, a serial considered

¹ Age, 27 Nov., 22 Dec. 1902.

² Age, 7, 9 Mar. 1903.

³ Herald. See also, 2, 6, 7, 27 Jan., 19 Feb. 1903.

⁴ Argus, 20 Dec. 1902; Newcastle Morning Herald, 10 Dec. 1902.

strategically impeccable by the military experts, which forecast in fictional terms, a projected future German invasion of Australia to take place in 1914. This resurgent Teuton-phobia reflected the prevailing nervousness of British opinion with regard to invasion scares. It tended to further enhance the efficacy of an Anglo-American alliance in Australian eyes.¹

Roosevelt's political machinations regarding Panama were observed with guarded approval by 'realistic' Australian observers aware of the obstructiveness of the American Senate in foreign affairs and the troublesome lack of cooperativeness of small Latin-American states. The vastness of the design and the interests at stake were too great for faltering, as they involved nothing less than an American 'paramountcy of the Pacific' in the opinion of the Ballarat Courier. With the guarantee of Panama's territorial integrity, comment became overwhelmingly approving. The shortened sea-distances from Australia to London and New York and the potentialities of the markets to be opened to Australian primary produce, excited enthusiasm. An almost equal interest centred on the awesomeness of the engineering feat and the valuable advances in tropical medicine accompanying the canal's construction.²

Not only did Australian newspapers express pleasure at Roosevelt's final rebuff of Kruger's interventionist envoys Wessels and Wolmarans, but also at the fact that the peace, finally negotiated with the Boers (1902) was recognized by papers such as the New York Tribune as being extremely generous.³

During this period few fears were expressed for the political future of Canada. The easier relationship now existing between the two countries was reflected in the peaceful invasion by 100,000 United States' settlers into the cheap lands of Canada's three prairie provinces in 1904-05, especially around Calgary and Edmonton. Far from creating friction, the movement was encouraged by Clifford Sifton, Minister for the Interior, for the increments of population, ideas, capital, ambition

¹See also, Age, 7, 10 Jan. 1903; Argus, 30 Dec. 1902, 29 Jan. 1903; Herald, 11 Feb. 1908.

²Ballarat Courier, 21 Dec. 1907; Newcastle Morning Herald, 23 Nov. 1903, 26 Feb. 1904, 18 Feb. 1908; Argus, 16 May 1904, 23 June 1908; Age, 17 Nov. 1903, 4 July 1908.

³Age, 8 Mar., 9 Aug. 1902.

and machinery accruing to what had been waste areas. Some Australian observers believed that Canada enjoyed the protection of the Monroe Doctrine as a guarantee of their security and there was a vague desire by some to encourage for Australia a similar form of protection.¹

One indication of Australia's new desire to attract the favourable attention of the United States was the Age's repudiation in early 1907, of open Victorian sympathy for the Confederate cruiser Shenandoah. The incident which had occurred over four decades before, was now described as a 'shameful' episode, one best forgotten.²

At all levels, Mahan's ideas on seapower informed the Australian debate on British Imperial naval deployment. On the other hand, Mahan's great disciple, Roosevelt, was obviously aiming for a commanding influence in the Pacific by the use of seapower. In 1903, the Herald, commenting upon America's fleet build-up, regarded it 'not only with unconcern, but indeed with gratification'. It was noted in 1905 that the United States had increased its navy in the decade 1894-1904, by 185 per cent. This was twice the British increase and 40 per cent higher than the German figure. Alfred Deakin, Australian correspondent to the Morning Post, who as Prime Minister kept his journalistic identity secret, was recommending in that paper, a role for Australia in such naval developments.³

By 1902, Australian statesmen and the press who supported the White Australia Policy, were becoming paranoid regarding the East in general and Japan in particular. Trade figures with the latter might burgeon, but good relations were not expected to. Japanese sensitivity toward the exclusionist immigration policy was recognized, but the supposed general desire of that country to wish to flood Australia with cheap goods or manpower added to a fear and an aversion among many editors, in the opening years of the new century.⁴

¹Age, 9 Dec. 1905; Herald, 3 June 1908. From an article in St. James Budget. For the general phenomenon see Edgar McInnis, Canada, A Political and Social History (New York, 1954 edn), pp.374-5.

²Age, 23 Feb. 1907.

³Herald, 15 Jan., 14 May 1903; Age, 9 July 1904, 16 June 1905. The Jervois' blue-water doctrines, and others, were discussed in this context.

⁴W. Levi, Australia's Outlook on Asia, op.cit., p.28; J. Shepherd, Australia's Interests In The Far East, op.cit., pp.16, 17.

As one of the few independent States of Asia, Japan caused serious and genuine concern to editors after 1900. Though the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 had relieved some of the more conservative newspapers,¹ the Bulletin was one organ which reacted violently at its existence. The weekly believed that Australia had been betrayed as an ally and her immigration policy endangered.² The Barrier Miner³ and the Age⁴ were slightly more optimistic, but many editors revealed concern.

This concern became more serious in 1905. Though Japanese courage, chivalry and military prowess was admired during the Russo-Japanese war, an unease concerning the future ambitions of the country began to find voice.⁵

Before the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), Australian editorialists were openly pleased that America had both frustrated Japanese territorial ambitions southward by occupying the Philippines and encouraged Japanese settlement in Manchuria northwards as a foil to Russia. These actions distracted Japan from casting covetous eyes on Australia, it was believed.⁶

Following Japan's decisive win over Russia in that war and the American-sponsored peace that concluded it, the tone of the reactions became more shrill. Australia appeared more vulnerable; the British fleet less protective and American strength more attractive in the light of this development. Only the 'Open Door' policy in China remained as an effective Anglo-American check on predatory powers, it seemed. However, the Root-Takahira agreement at the end of 1908 did much to assuage Australian fears of Japanese expansionism. As the Newcastle Morning Herald put it: 'President Roosevelt in the last days of his rule has succeeded in lifting the United States to the forefront in the

¹ Argus, 14 Feb. 1902; Courier, 13 Feb. 1902.

² Bulletin, 22 Feb. 1902.

³ Barrier Miner, 14 Feb. 1902.

⁴ Age, 17 Feb. 1902.

⁵ See editorials, Age, 17 June 1905; Launceston Examiner, 12 June 1905; Argus, 22 June 1905. J. Shepherd suggests that fear of Japan helped lead to compulsory military training in 1909 and a separate Australian navy in 1910, (op.cit.).

⁶ Age, 14 June, 29 Oct. 1904; Newcastle Morning Herald, 14 Nov. 1904; Argus, 11 Mar. 1904.

interests of peace and freedom'. The agreement was a fitting end to the sudden and intense trouble between the two countries (1906-07) which developed regarding the admission of Japanese into Californian schools. American relations with Japan in the period 1902-08 enhanced the impression that America not only had difficulties with Japan similar to Australia's, but was moving with the most forceful energy in the area to correct them.¹

News of the invitation sent by Deakin to Roosevelt, extended to the sixteen warships of the Great White Fleet to call at three Australian ports during the Pacific leg of their world cruise (1908), was received with almost universal approbation. As the Herald put it regarding the American presence: 'The late Mr Seddon used to dread that policy; we welcome it, as an important factor in the preservation of the balance of power and consequently of the world's peace'. And a little later: 'They are the ships of a people who can speak our language, who think our thoughts and whose ideas on all that relates to the higher civilization [...especially...the maintenance of the dominance of the white races in the Pacific] run much in the same grooves as our own'. The Age added:

There is no country in the world outside the Empire with which the Commonwealth is more deeply interested in maintaining cordial relations than America for reasons both of sentiment and policy...the national exigency that despatched the great battle squadron...is not one whit more an American than an Australian problem.

As the Argus put it, 'our joy is that kinship rises instinctively when we contemplate the emergence of the United States as a World Power'.²

¹Age, 15 Feb. 1902, 17 Dec. 1904, 15 Apr. 1905, 5 Jan., 10 July 1907, 30 Sept. 1907; Argus, 22, 31 Aug., 2, 29 Sept. 1905; Newcastle Morning Herald, 1 Dec. 1908. In general, see the thesis of D. Sissons, 'Attitudes to Japan and Defence', op.cit.

²Herald, 5 Dec. 1907, 24 Feb. 1908; Age, 25 Feb. 1908; Argus, 31 Aug. 1908. M. Ruth Megaw covers this episode well in her thesis, 'Some Aspects of the United States Impact on Australia (1901-23)', Unpublished Ph.D., University of Sydney, 1967 and in her article, 'Australia and the Great White Fleet 1908', Jour. Royal Aust. Hist. Society (Sydney, June 1970), pp.121-31. The fleet's reception in Australia is also covered in Terry Methrell, 'Social Responses and Public Leadership During the Visit of the Great White Fleet, August-September 1908, (A brief study in culture and emotion in Australian life)', B.A. Honours thesis, University of Sydney, 1967. Franklin Matthews, Back to Hampton Roads (New York, 1909) has been supplemented by Robert Hart, The Great White Fleet: Its Voyage Around the World 1907-09, (Boston & Toronto, 1965). T.A. Bailey's Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis (Stanford University, California, 1934) also deals with the fleet cruise.



Melbourne Punch, 10 September 1908.

Dismay had been periodically registered at the Anglo-Japanese alliance which seemed to allow Japan an unwelcome influence in the Pacific.¹ The result had been 'to place our rich, sparsely settled and as yet undefended country more or less at the mercy of a coloured race whom our "White Australia" ideal has bitterly offended'. America, by establishing a naval base at the Philippines could help act as a white buffer against Japan and be Australia's nearest foreign neighbour. The fleet's significance was dramatised even further. The visit, expected by the Ballarat Courier, would lay 'the foundation of a friendship which may last for years and profoundly affect the future history of one or both', of either Australia or the United States. As the Herald put it:

If by the adverse fortune of war, the protection of the British navy should ever be insufficient for us, to whom should we turn with faith and confidence if not the United States?²

With the focus of world attention briefly on Australia during the visit, many editors looked forward to some dispersal of international ignorance regarding the country. This would be assisted, it was thought, by the accompanying presence of many American correspondents, who would disseminate throughout America and the world, many impressions of Australia. Australia's press public were therefore anxious to impress America and the world in a favourable manner.³

Some Australian egos were undoubtedly encouraged by the words of Donald Mackinnon at the closing meeting of the Australian branch of the Imperial Federation League, 20 July 1908. 'At the end of the twentieth century', he said, 'I think it most likely that America and Australia will have divided the Pacific between them'. At the same meeting, Dr Curty Salmon, predicted that the United States would assume that dominance long before the century ended. 'Although this may not coincide with purely British desires, it will at any rate, help on Anglo-Saxon sentiment', he said. 'Many present difficulties would be solved and future possible

¹J.H. Nish, 'Australia and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1901-11', Australian Journal of Politics and History IX, No.2, Nov. 1963, pp.201-12.

²Ballarat Courier, 21 Mar. 1908; Bendigo Independent, 31 Mar. 1908; Age, op.cit.; Herald, 3 June 1908. For Deakin's views on the fleet visit see J.A. La Nauze ed. Federated Australia op.cit., pp.239-41. Letters dated 17, 25 Aug., received 3, 14 Oct., 1908.

³Newcastle Morning Herald, 9 May, 18, 20 Aug. 1908; Argus, 2 Sept. 1908; Age, 25 Apr. 1908.

complications avoided'. Thus with no diminution of loyalty to Britain, some Australians saw in the people of the United States 'our most sincere, our most reliable, our quite natural allies in all that makes for the welfare of what is in most respects a common people'. The Americans were 'gallant men who stand not only for might, but the friendship of a great, spirited and exalted nation'.¹

On the arrival of Admiral Sperry and the fleet in Auckland (10 August 1908) the Herald commented:

there was a sentiment, somewhat strong a few years ago, that the growth of American power in the Pacific might be a challenge, if not a menace to our own flag. That sentiment has either died away or is rapidly becoming extinct. If a vestige of it still exists, we doubt whether it will survive the enthusiasm aroused by the visit of our distinguished neighbours.

It would also help disperse ignorance in Australia:

What a tremendous power the United States has become is, we are disposed to think, but unsufficiently realised either in the old country or this. So rarely do Britons, or for that matter Australians, stop, amidst the hurry and bustle of their business or pleasure to reflect upon the growth of nations around them, or upon what that growth may portend to the world's balance of power.²

For that reason, the Age believed America had paid Australia a unique compliment by the visit. 'We desire a better acquaintance with Americans', it wrote.

We have looked on at the growth of the western republic with the interest that must attach to every work of marvellous human expansion. The Americans are a people who stand in the forefront of the world's progress. They have dealt with problems that reach to the heart of humanity...they are worthy of our closest study. We have more to learn from America, in what to imitate and what to avoid than from any other nation.

America's battleships, far from being a menace, stood 'for equity, for order, for peace, for a greater sense of security'.³

Admiral Sperry himself hinted at some of the significances of the

¹ Herald, 21 July, 7 Aug. 1908.

² Herald, 11, 20 Aug. 1908. See also, Age, 17 Aug. 1908.

³ Age, 21 Aug. 1908. For Rear Admiral Sperry who commanded the fleet (in lieu of Admiral Evans) and who was a delegate at the second Hague Conference, see Who Was Who In America, Vol.1, 1897-1942 (Chicago, 1968), p.1163.

visit during the fleet's magnificent Sydney reception, attended by hundreds of thousands of Australians: 'Such a demonstration of kindly feeling must have more at the back of it than a mere curiosity and excitement over an unusual spectacle', he said. Sydney's reception was only outdone by Melbourne's. These civic exertions had their effect. Sperry for one, proclaimed the need to readjust his ideas on Australia, upon which the Herald observed, 'It is difficult to get Australians to understand what an exceedingly small place they occupy in the minds of the people of other nations'. As for Americans, the Bendigo Independent commented, 'They are our older brothers in colonization, most excellent wide-awake and ready-handed brothers, but not perfect by a long way'.¹

'Never in our experience have we received a heartier, truer welcome', said Sperry. 'The whole citizenship of Australia is profoundly impressed', wrote the Herald. 'If it commits a fault it is in being overanxious to demonstrate how exceedingly rejoiced it is to welcome the American naval flag to these waters'. With considerable exaggeration the Age claimed,

...the whole world is taking careful observation, because all men see that it is fraught with significance the extent of which cannot be at present measured...We Australians, growing into nationhood with our own responsibilities in the great work of national defence, would love to think of ourselves and the great American Republic as travelling through the centuries,² with ever-increasing cordiality and love for one another.

Deakin's cable to Roosevelt sent through the Governor-General Lord Northcote, to the British ambassador to Washington was delivered on 20 August and included:

...The people of the Commonwealth gratefully appreciate the generous response to their invitation by the President and citizens of the great republic and rejoice in the opportunity afforded by this demonstration of the might of the American power to express their sincere admiration of your sailors and their esteem and affection for the country whose glorious flag they hope to see always floating beside that of their motherland.

Roosevelt's reply, sent through the British ambassador's seaside summer residence at Massachusetts, included:

...I am especially grateful to learn of the cordiality

¹ Herald, 22, 27 Aug. 1908; Age, 25 Aug. 1908; Bendigo Independent, 26 Aug. 1908.

² Herald, 28, 29 Aug. 1908; Age, 1908; Ballarat Courier, 29 Aug. 1908.

shown by the people of Australia and the splendid welcome accorded to the fleet. I desire further to give expression to the very high regard in which the American people hold Australia.

This mutual respect and understanding was evident in the speeches exchanged by Deakin and Sperry during the visit.¹

Flatteries continued in many forms throughout the time of the visit. Warmth for America was accompanied by some editorial expressions of bitterness and disappointment with Britain as the result of her neglect of Pacific affairs. 'Australians feel no sort of confidence in Imperial guidance in matters pertaining to Austral interests' wrote the Age at the end of August, 1908.² And at the beginning of September: 'We in Australia have more constantly turned our eyes to America for light and guidance than we have to the mother country'.³ The Age was not the only spokesman infected by overstatement during this period. Deakin claimed the visit had opened 'a new chapter in Australian history'.⁴

Among other reactions noted was that of the British press. The Standard, Daily News and Daily Chronicle emphasised the negative side of the ethnocentric factor in the visit - fear of Japan - as being chiefly responsible for the enthusiasm of the welcome, and took occasion to remind Australia that Japan was Britain's ally. In the Times and elsewhere, Jose and Deakin as Australia's press spokesmen, vigorously rejected this view and that of probable future reliance on American aid.⁵

Deakin's reputation as orator and national representative had been considerably enhanced by the visit. It was one of the few occasions when he could be seen in perspective as a leader of world stature. As Wade, the premier of New South Wales recognized, the fleet visit had provided Australia with almost its first opportunity to respond as a single nation on an international occasion. The press added that it also

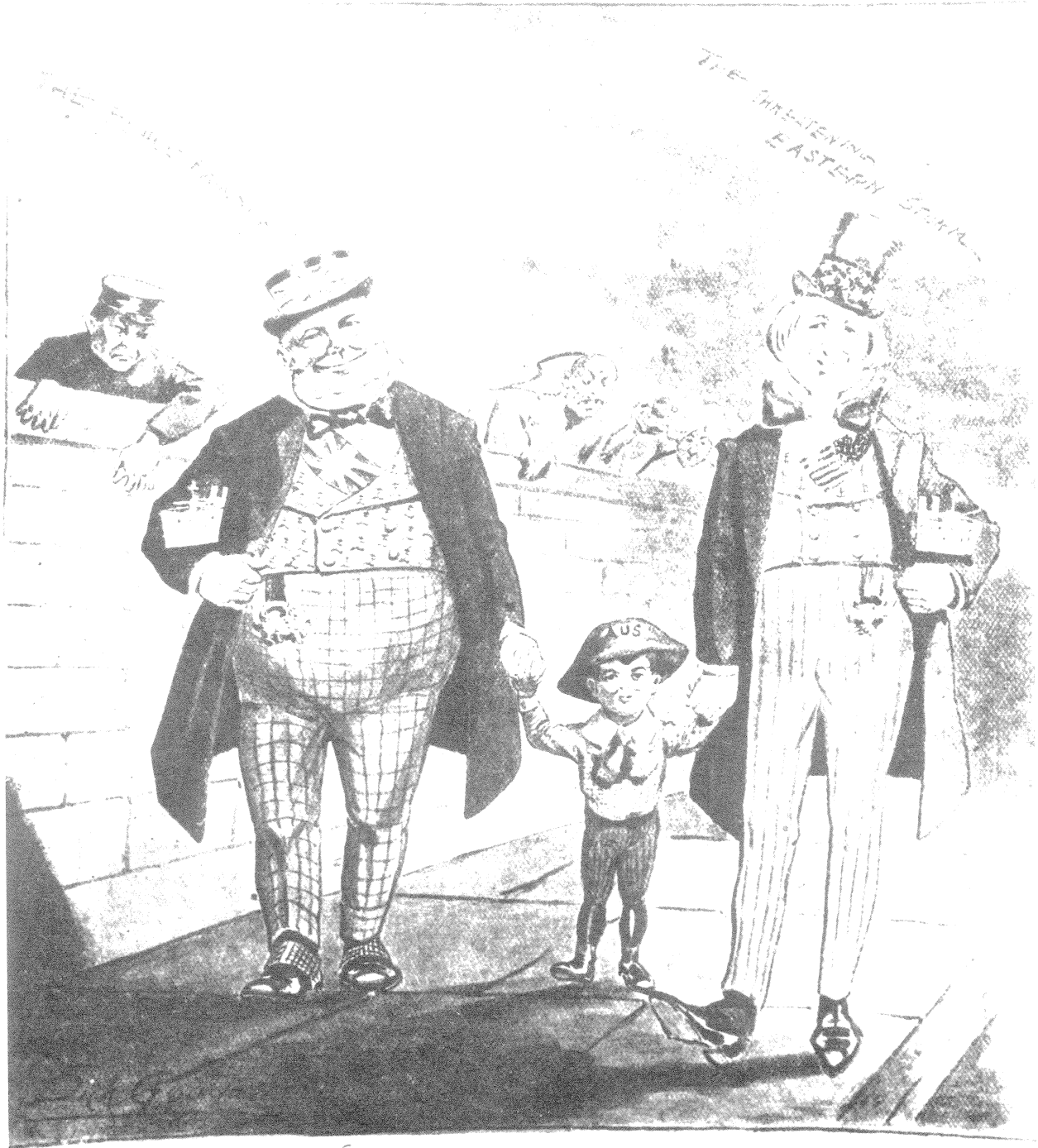
¹ Most large dailies carried the texts of the telegrams during the end of August 1908.

² Age, 31 Aug. 1908.

³ Age, 2, 3, 5 Sept. 1908.

⁴ See comment in, Herald, 1 Sept. 1908; Ballarat Courier, 1, 3 Sept. 1908; Argus, 5 Sept. 1908.

⁵ See editorials in, Herald, 5, 7 Sept. 1908; Age, 15 Sept., 3 Oct. 1908; Newcastle Morning Herald, 9 May, 22, 24 Aug., 4 Nov. 1908; Argus, 25, 26, 27, 29 Aug., 3, 4, 5, 14 Sept. 1908.



SAFE !

AUSTRALIA.—“ Those bad boys can't hurt me when I'm with Dad and Uncle Sam.”

Melbourne Punch, 3 September 1908.