The making of White Australia:

Ruling class agendas, 1876-1888

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

I declare that the material contained in this thesis is entirely my own except where due and accurate acknowledgement of another sou has been made.	
Philip Gavin Griffiths	

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been written without the Australian Postgraduate Scholarship I was awarded in 1999, and I wish to thank ANU for the confidence it showed in me, and for funding two major research trips to Brisbane and Adelaide. From the Department of Political Science and then the School of Social Sciences in the Faculty of Arts, I received strong institutional support and the friendship and support of academics and postgrads.

I owe special thanks to Rick Kuhn, my principal supervisor, for his support from the very start of this project, for helping me deal with problems, and bring it to the point of submission. Panel member, Frank Bongiorno, challenged me and encouraged me, and continued to offer assistance long after he left ANU. Sarah Gregson has been a constant supporter and intellectual comrade. Her own thesis, "Footsoldiers for capital: The influence of RSL racism on interwar industrial relations in Kalgoorlie and Broken Hill" was an inspiration, and Sarah read and commented on this thesis. It was Ben Wellings, my room-mate at ANU, who suggested I read John Stuart Mill when I was puzzling over the fascination that some colonial politicians had for building an 'homogenous' society. Henry Chan made an immense contribution to this thesis when he rang me in January 2002 and asked me to write an 8000 word chapter on the politics of anti-Chinese racism for a book he was editing. I had six weeks to do it, and took seven. The book was never published, but writing that chapter forced me to synthesise the argument of this thesis, and gave the project a tremendous

boost. I have given many seminar and conference papers on the material in this thesis, and wish to thank all those who listened, and especially those who challenged my arguments. Thanks too to Bruce Knobloch for proofreading.

I wish to thank the staff of those libraries and archives I used in my research: Chifley Library, the Australian Dictionary of Biography, and the Noel Butlin Archives Centre at ANU; the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra; the National Library of Australia; National Archives of Australia; the State Library of New South Wales and the Mitchell Library; NSW State Records; Sydney University Archives and the Fisher Library at Sydney University; the UNSW Library and UNSW Archives; the State Library of Victoria; Victoria's Public Records Office; Monash University Library; the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne; the John Oxley Library in Brisbane and in particular Karen Freidl; Queensland State Archives; the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland; the State Library of South Australia, including the Mortlock Library; the South Australian State Archives; the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide; the British Library; and the Public Records Office, London.

My capacity to undertake this project was first developed as a member of the International Socialist Organisation, where I learned both the basics of Marxism and the nature of class struggle and political struggle. Dave Nadel and Tom O'Lincoln taught me how to write. It was the ISO's critique of left nationalism that first aroused a sense of dissatisfaction with the prevailing explanations of Australia's history and ultimately led to this thesis. The theories of the International Socialist tendency, especially the theory of state capitalism and its relationship to imperialism, provided the theoretical basis from which I began

my first independent explorations into Australian history 25 years ago. I owe my greatest intellectual debts to these comrades.

I wish to thank all my friends and comrades in the struggle for a better world—and especially Jane Keogh and Claire Bruhns from the Refugee Action
Committee in Canberra. My family, and especially my mother, Nelva, have given me enormous support and frequent scolding to hurry up and finish.

But in a largely solitary undertaking, such as writing a PhD thesis, it is those closest to you who bear the heaviest burden, and who are most critical to providing the affection and constant listening that allows it to happen. No one has done more to help me see this project through than my partner, Sigrid McCausland. She not only put up with the anxiety that comes when chapters never seemed to get finished, but also contributed her own vast knowledge of Australian history and archival sources to help me find my way.

Abbreviations

AJCP Australian Joint Copying Project

ASN Australasian Steam Navigation Co.

Col Sec Colonial Secretary

MHA Member of the House of Assembly (South Australia)

MLA Member of the Legislative Assembly

MLC Member of the Legislative Council

MP Member of Parliament

NSW New South Wales

NSW LA New South Wales Legislative Assembly

NSWPD New South Wales Parliamentary Debates

NT Northern Territory

ORDLA Official Record of Debates of the Legislative Assembly (Qld)

ORDLC Official Record of Debates of the Legislative Council (Qld)

PRL Political Reform League (NSW)

PRU Political Reform Union (NSW)

Qld Queensland

QPD Queensland Parliamentary Debates

QSA Queensland State Archives

QT Queensland Times (Ipswich)

SA South Australia

SAPD South Australian Parliamentary Debates

SMH Sydney Morning Herald

Tas Tasmania

TLC Trades and Labour Council

V&P Votes and Proceedings

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Vic Victoria

VPD Victorian Parliamentary Debates

WMDA Working Men's Defence Association (NSW)

Abstract

This thesis argues that the colonial ruling class developed its first White Australia policy in 1888, creating most of the precedents for the federal legislation of 1901. White Australia was central to the making of the Australian working class, to the shaping of Australian nationalism, and the development of federal political institutions. It has long been understood as a product of labour movement mobilising, but this thesis rejects that approach, arguing that the labour movement lacked the power to impose such a fundamental national policy, and that the key decisions which led to White Australia were demonstrably not products of labour movement action.

It finds three great ruling class agendas behind the decisions to exclude Chinese immigrants, and severely limit the use of indentured "coloured labour". Chinese people were seen as a strategic threat to Anglo-Australian control of the continent, and this fear was sharpened in the mid-1880s when China was seen as a rising military power, and a necessary ally for Britain in its global rivalry with Russia. The second ruling class agenda was the building of a modern industrial economy, which might be threatened by industries resting on indentured labour in the north. The third agenda was the desire to construct an homogenous people, which was seen as necessary for containing social discontent and allowing "free institutions", such as parliamentary democracy.

These agendas, and the ruling class interests behind them, challenged other major ruling class interests and ideologies. The result was a series of dilemmas and conflicts within the ruling class, and the resolution of these moved the colonial governments towards the White Australia policy of 1901. The thesis therefore describes the conflict over the use of Pacific Islanders by pastoralists in Queensland, the campaign for indentured Indian labour by sugar planters and the radical strategy of submerging this into a campaign for North Queensland separation, and the strike and anti-Chinese campaign in opposition to the use of Chinese workers by the Australasian Steam Navigation Company in 1878. The first White Australia policy of 1888 was the outcome of three separate struggles by the majority of the Anglo-Australian ruling class—to narrowly restrict the use of indentured labour in Queensland, to assert the right of the colonies to decide their collective immigration policies independently of Britain, and to force South Australia to accept the end of Chinese immigration into its Northern Territory. The dominant elements in the ruling class had already agreed that any serious move towards federation was to be conditional on the building of a white, predominantly British, population across the whole continent, and in 1888 they imposed that policy on their own societies and the British government.