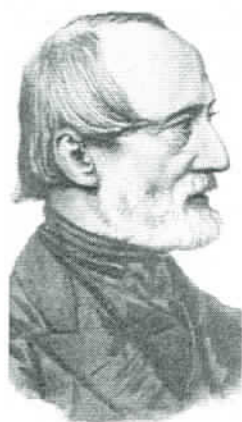


an australian mazzinian: andrew inglis clark

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This year marks the two hundredth anniversary of the birth in Genoa of Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian revolutionary forever linked with Giuseppe Garibaldi and Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, as the founding triumvirate of the Italian nation state. Mazzini was the most radical and visionary of the leaders of the Risorgimento, the nineteenth century liberation movement to free the Italian peninsula from Austrian rule in the north and Papal and Bourbon despotism in the centre and south and to create an independent and united Italy. He was also the most fervent, articulate and prolific theorist of Italian independence and unification.¹ But his activism was not confined to words; he and his followers were also the instigators of plots and conspiracies to further the cause; plots and conspiracies that failed but nonetheless contributed to the creation of martyrs, myths and legends.



Giuseppe Mazzini

Mazzini was above all a republican, a humanitarian democrat who believed that no race, gender or individual was superior to another. He was thus a champion of the rights of the working classes and was among the foremost advocates of the equality and rights of

women in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. He also believed that the nation was a higher form of association which would allow its citizens to develop their capacities and reach a higher plane. Although his life was dedicated to the creation of the Italian nation, Mazzini was an internationalist as well as a patriot. The nation was a stepping stone towards the eventual goal of the uniting of all humanity. Mazzini acknowledged the existence of God but rejected Christianity which, he believed,

had served its purpose; the religion of the future was democracy. If he repudiated Catholicism and the Catholic Church, Mazzini was critical of the Church's bitter enemy materialism in both socialist and Marxist forms. While accepting the doctrine of universal rights, the revolutionary patriot emphasised duty rather than rights, the obligations that individuals owed to each other and to society. His new Italy was to be the virtuous republic resurrected or reborn through suffering, self sacrifice and love, based on association and sustained by bonds of fellowship and love.

While Mazzini's goals of independence and unification of Italy were achieved by 1870, he died two years later a disappointed and disillusioned man. Instead of being created by sacrifice and popular revolution, Italy was united largely as a result of big power diplomacy; instead of taking the form of a democratic republic, the new Italy was a conservative constitutional monarchy that excluded peasants, workers and women.

Not long after Mazzini's death, a citizen of Tasmania hung the portrait of Mazzini in every room of his Hobart home.² The citizen was Andrew Inglis Clark (1848-1907), Tasmanian lawyer and politician, and one of the important players in the making of the Australian nation at Federation. Clark was an unusual colonist in that he was, like Mazzini, a republican.

The last decade of the twentieth century saw the development and failure of a movement to transform Australia from a constitutional monarchy under the British Crown to a republic. The movement was far from being the first stirrings of republicanism in Australia and, while Italy played no part in the debates and discussions of the 1990s, the events and heroes of the Italian Risorgimento were reference points for some nineteenth century Australian republicans. This paper explores some of the Australian links and connections with the Risorgimento with a particular focus on Andrew Inglis Clark. This Tasmanian republican and his role in the making of Federation were relatively ignored until the present republican movement reclaimed him as an important figure in Australia's republican heritage.³

The Italian struggle for independence and unification fired the imagination and gained the support of liberals and democrats everywhere, and in no place more so than in Britain. Echoes of the British enthusiasm were to be found in Britain's Australian colonies where local reformists and radicals responded with the added awareness that ruled from Britain, under the British Crown, their own land was neither free nor independent.⁴

Enthusiasm for the Risorgimento in both Britain and Australia was partly fuelled by Protestant bigotry and bitter anti-Catholicism and anti-Popery. When the Pope was driven from Rome and the short-lived Roman Republic established under Mazzini's leadership in 1849, the Sydney fire-breathing Presbyterian parson, John Dunmore Lang, sent forth to Europe his *Address to the Senate and People of Rome*, congratulating them on their revolution.

Right and honourable and right worthy descendants and representatives of an illustrious ancestry. Permit me, a humble individual from the utmost ends of the earth, to present you on behalf of the friends of freedom and of the best interests of mankind in the southern hemisphere my respectful and sincere congratulations on the noble achievement you have recently effected with so much honour to yourselves and with the prospect of such benefit to your country in the re-establishment of a popular form of government in the ancient and renowned city of Rome.⁵

The letter concluded with an appeal for freedom of religion in the new Roman state. What the Senate and people of Rome thought of this message from 'the utmost ends of the earth' is unknown.

John Dunmore Lang was also a leader in Sydney's mid-nineteenth century republican circles, of those who looked to a democratic and independent Australian future free from British rule. Past and contemporary Italian history was enlisted in their cause. The radical newspaper, *The People's Advocate*, proclaimed in an article in 1854 that the greatness of Renaissance Florence was based on her freedom, independence and republicanism, and that, if New South Wales became a republic, it would not only rival Florence in its grandeur, wealth and greatness but would also 'astonish the world with its rapid progress in the arts, sciences and manufacturing'.⁶

Among Dunmore Lang's parishioners was a highly educated and talented young woman, Adelaide Ironside, who from an early age published poems and prose in *The People's Advocate* and shared in her pastor's republican and radical views. In the words of Lang's biographer, Ironside was 'one of those native-born Australians who a generation before the nationalists of the 1890s believed her country would blast the rulers of all despotic nations and by advancing liberty provide a nucleus of light for the rest of the world'.⁷ She too gave her allegiance to the Italian patriots and linked the causes of Italian and Australian independence in her poetry and paintings.

In 1855 at the age of 23, Ironside went with her mother to Rome to develop her talents as a painter. Describing Garibaldi's abortive approach on Rome in 1860, Ironside wrote to Lang that 'come what may, I shall go on with my Art and cry 'Viva Italia' (sic) with the Republicans'.⁸ At the time, she was creating a visual public statement of her political sympathies: at work on her large Biblical painting, *The Marriage at Cana*, which now hangs in the Art Gallery of New South Wales, she informed Lang that 'the portrait of the bridegroom is that of Garibaldi'. The face of Christ has a strong resemblance to that of the bridegroom and may also be modelled on him.⁹

Ironside was making her portrait of Garibaldi-Christ in the period just after Garibaldi and his *Mille* had marched south and delivered the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily to a united Italy; when he had become the much feted and celebrated Romantic hero of the British world, including the Australian colonies. In Melbourne, for example, over one thousand citizens, British Australians and Italian immigrants, some of whom had participated in the battles of the Risorgimento, subscribed £350 for the purchase of a silver presentation sword for the Italian hero.

Enjoying the utmost political freedom themselves, the subscribers to this sword are anxious to offer their homage to that heroic Italian who has done so much for the enfranchisement of Italy, and the expulsion of the stranger from the garden of Europe.¹⁰

Some colonists were closer to the action. William Henry Embling, who returned to Europe to study medicine in Bonn and London, went out to Italy in 1860 to fight with Garibaldi in the English brigade.¹¹ The meeting of Gideon Scott Lang, a wealthy businessman, writer and journalist and member of the colonial elite, with Garibaldi was accidental. Touring Switzerland in 1859, he passed through Como then occupied by the guerrilla leader and his troops. In a long letter to *The Times*, not at that time a newspaper favouring the Italian cause, Lang described his meeting with Garibaldi.¹² Expecting to find a swarthy bandit chief, he had on the contrary encountered a brave and patriotic gentleman who comported himself as a British officer. Back in London, the Australian gentleman and his wife became active in raising support for the Risorgimento. In a second letter to *The Times*, Lang appealed for more British aid for Garibaldi's occupation of Naples.¹³

Thirteen years after Garibaldi met Lang, his death was the occasion of another outpouring of admiration in the Australian colonies. Some 10,000 people, including the Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales and the Mayor, gathered in Sydney to attend a function to commemorate 'the greatest man of the century'.¹⁴ Again Italian residents were prominent in the organisation. The speeches and the role played by Masons in the ceremony are a reminder that anti-Catholicism and anti-Popery lurked in the celebration of the Risorgimento and of the fiercely anti-clerical Garibaldi. David Buchanan, a member of the New South Wales parliament, elaborated on the hero's greatest moment: 'when he drew his sword with a view to destroying the temporal power of the Pope'.¹⁵

Compared to the effusive enthusiasm for Garibaldi, the champions of Giuseppe Mazzini in Britain — where he spent most of his adult life as an exile — were few, confined to educated radicals who shared in his republican and democratic vision, his beliefs in the equality of the sexes and his rejection of institutional and hierarchical religious organisations.¹⁶ But what Mazzini's British network lacked in numbers was more than compensated by the total devotion of his followers and their important roles in reform movements such as anti-slavery and feminism. Interest in Mazzini and his Young Italy movement extended in the British world as far as Tasmania, where the colony's young liberals took up his ideas; and none more so than Andrew Inglis Clark, who like the English acolytes, referred to Mazzini as 'the Master'.¹⁷

Born in Hobart in that European revolutionary year of 1848, Clark was the son of Scottish migrant parents with interests in the reformist movements of their day. On leaving school, he entered the family engineering business but abandoned it in 1872 for the study of law. Clark had wide ranging cultural and political interests and his home became a centre of liberal intellectual life in Hobart. According to one contemporary:

[Clark was] devoured by passionate enthusiasms for knowledge and liberty, and was one of those rare beings who really love their fellow men. His house prior to the establishment of the Tasmanian University, was a centre of original thought for the Island, and many men from many countries visited the ardent circle which met every Saturday night in the library of the padre, as his friends liked to call him.¹⁸

He edited the short-lived Tasmanian journal, *Quadrilateral*, which took a progressive stance on political and social issues and was the founder of The Southern Tasmanian Political Reform Association which advocated universal suffrage and electoral reform.

In 1878, Clark won a seat in the Tasmanian Legislative Assembly and served as Attorney General in the Tasmanian parliament in the 1890s. He left politics in 1898 to become a judge in the Supreme Court of Tasmania, becoming the senior judge three years later. From 1901 to 1903, he was also Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania.

The 1890s were the period when the rival leaders of the British colonies in Australia, men both driven by ideals and by instrumental ends, undertook the both delicate and rumbustious negotiations that culminated in the proclamation of the Federation of Australia in 1901.¹⁹ Clark was elected by the Tasmanian Parliament as a delegate to the Australasian Federation Conference in Melbourne in 1890. His crucial role in the drawing up of the Constitution in Melbourne and in the ensuing Federation Convention in Sydney in the following year has led to his being characterised as 'one of the chief architects of Australia's constitution'.²⁰

Clark was the only republican among the inner group of the founding fathers of Federation.²¹ When he had stood for election to the Tasmanian House of Assembly in 1878, the local newspaper, the *Mercury*, wrote of him 'holding such very extreme ultra-republican, if not revolutionary ideas that we hardly think he will prove acceptable to the electors of Norfolk Plains'.²² While his dream was an independent and republican Australian Federation free from subordination to Britain, he did not push his republican views at the federation conventions. But they were implicit in some of his speeches.

We are asking for the political autonomy of a United Australia, in order that the national life which we believe will exist under these conditions, may be produced and may bear the best fruits.²³

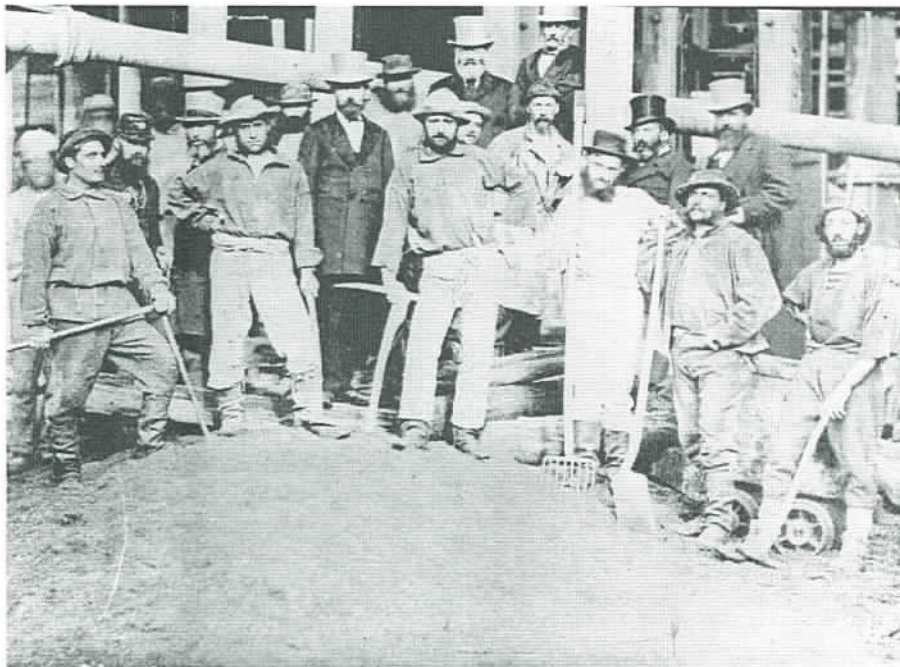
In a speech to the 1891 Convention, he acknowledged that he did not expect his 'ideals to be realised in the federal constitution about to be framed', and in his closing remarks alluded to his disappointment that the delegates had not met to create an 'independent nation'.²⁴ But if Clark could not secure an independent

Australia, he worked with considerable success in Tasmania for more progressive, humanitarian and equal political and social systems.²⁵

The main influences on Clark's political ideas were the American Revolution and Constitution and the Italian liberation movement and the teachings of Mazzini, whom he described as the 'holy prophet of humanity'. It is clear that he had some knowledge of Italian and sought out Italian contacts. When the Italian warship, *Garibaldi*, called at Hobart in 1873, he offered hospitality to some of the officers and corresponded with at least one of them, Luigi Blotto. In a letter sent from Yokohama, Blotto complimented him on his 'progresso nella lingua italiana'; his letter was 'molto ben scritto'.²⁶ Clark was also clearly steeped in the history of the Risorgimento and in Mazzini's ideas. Mazzini's *Doveri dell'Uomo* (*The Duties of Man*) had been published in an English translation in 1860 and subsequently went into multiple editions.

Clark shared in Mazzini's democratic republicanism and in the moral underpinning of his ideas. As John Hirst has shown, the creation of the nation was a progressive and sacred cause for some of the founding fathers including Clark. However, Clark went further than others

and moved closer to Mazzini in his belief that only through independence from the British monarchy could Australia fulfil its destiny, take its citizens to a higher plane.²⁷ As long as Australia remained an appendage of Britain, 'it would never contribute to the history of the world the ideas and achievements which a distinctively Australian nation would add to the common stock of human experience and accomplishment'.²⁸ Federation for Clark, like the nation for Mazzini, was not an end but a staging post on the way to wider and wider circles of federations which would carry humanity to a higher stage of development. And like Mazzini, Clark abhorred privilege and inequality. Rights were universal, and again like Mazzini, Clark was ready to admit and welcome women into the nation. In his essay *Why I am a Democrat*, he demanded an equal vote for all and argued that the doctrine and practice of one man one vote 'without regard to sex is the logical formula of a genuinely democratic suffrage'.²⁹ When Clark made a second trip to America in 1897, he was armed with letters of introduction to some leading feminists.³⁰ In language equally as mystical as that of Mazzini, he believed it was the bonds of mutuality that would bind men and women together in the future society, that 'love shall conquer all at last'.³¹



Visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Genoa.

AND THE CAPTAIN AND OFFICERS OF THE ITALIAN FRIGATE "GARIBALDI."

To the No. Three "Band, 3rd Albany Consols G. M. Co's" Mine.

AT BALLARAT. APRIL 29. 1873

The captain and officers of the Italian warship *Garibaldi* pose for a photograph with miners, during the official visit of the Duke of Genoa. Ballarat, April 1873. The ship also called in at Hobart. Courtesy, Ballarat Historical Park Association.

In 1890, Clark achieved his ambition to tread on the holy soil of the new Italy when he visited the peninsula en route to London to appear before the Privy Council.

Long years I craved to see the distant land
Made sacred by the toils and tears and blood
Of men who bore engraved upon their hearts
The name of Italy.³²

These are the opening lines of a long unpublished poem of over one hundred verses, *My Pilgrimage*, which Clark wrote about his time in Italy and which so clearly gives witness to his admiration for the Mazzinian Risorgimento. The Italian liberation movement produced a plethora of English writing in prose and poetry, and while much of it is superior in style to Clark's verse, falls short of his evocation of the martyrs and heroes.

The Italian tours of the late nineteenth century colonial bourgeoisie usually took the form of pilgrimages to the monuments of antiquity and art. Clark's Italy was something else. He did not come 'to behold the ruined monuments', 'the monuments of thy dead past'. What his 'eager eyes desired' was:

Some trace or record of the holy war
Fought to expel the Austrian and the priest,

and

The new and living Italy that taught
A doubting world the immortality
Of human aspirations.

Clark's sacred sites were those of his Risorgimento heroes and above all of Mazzini. In Genoa where Mazzini was born and buried, 'every pad of earth is holy ground'. Clark visited the house where:

... the feeble child
Who grew to be the prophet of his age
First saw the light of day:

From Mazzini's birthplace, Clark's pilgrimage took him on to the Camposanto which held the 'sacred dust', the shrine:

Where reverent feet may come
To find and bear away new hope and faith
For the eternal warfare fought between
The flesh and the spirit to obtain and hold
Possession of the world.

On his arrival at the tomb of Mazzini, Clark had astonished the custodians by taking off his boots and socks, telling them 'that it was Holy Ground'.³³

My Pilgrimage might be best described as a rollcall of the heroes, martyrs and sacred sites of the Risorgimento. Among those recalled were Aesilio Milano, executed in Sicily in 1856 after he tried and failed to assassinate King Ferdinand of the Two Sicilies. Milano had resigned his place.

At life's rich banquet, and to Italy
Gave all that future years might hold for thee
Of earthly love and joy.

and the Bandiera brothers, Attilio and Emilio, officers in the Austrian navy, whose plan to foment an insurrection in Naples and the Papal states in 1844 was betrayed and who were subsequently arrested and executed:

The brothers Bandiera faltered not
Nor closed their eyes before the Austrian guns,
Because across the mists of death they saw
The same unfading dream.

Among the holy places that Clark visited was the cell where Mazzini's close friend, Jacopo Ruffini, had killed himself in 1833 by driving a nail into his throat so that he could not betray his companions.

I saw the prison where Ruffini died,
Seeking in death a refuge from the dread
Of failure of his mortal frame to keep
The secrets of his soul.

If Genoa for Clark was the city of Mazzini, other cities were recalled for their Risorgimento pasts: Milan, not for its Cathedral or Opera House, but as the city where the republicans Enrico Cernuschi and Carlo Cattaneo fought in the insurrection of 1848; Venice, not for its canals and bridges, but for Daniel Manin, who led the revolution of 1848 in that city; Florence, not only for Dante and Savonarola, but for the tomb of the English poet, Elizabeth Barrett Browning:

Who sang the song of new born Italy.

From Florence on his trip, Clark took a detour to visit Lendinara — where Alberto Mario was buried — to meet Mario's widow, Jessie White Mario, a close friend of Mazzini who had campaigned for Italian liberation in Britain and conspired and nursed in Garibaldi's army in Italy and who was a propagandist for the cause:

Who shared his aspirations and his toils,
And whose writing pen
Has told the story of the master's life,
And gathered up the deeds and precious words
Of men who thought and spoke and
toiled and bled
To make new Italy.

Clark shared in the general British hostility to the Papacy and Catholic Church. Thus he did not loiter 'beneath St Peter's spacious dome':

Where cruelty and lust revelled in scenes
Of human agony and secret deeds
Of shame.

The Rome he sought was the 'later and grander Rome', capital of Italy reborn.

At the conclusion of his poem, Clark looked to the future of Australia. His memory and experience of 'the new and living Italy' would 'revive' his 'drooping faith' in the eventual triumph of an independent and republican Australia,¹ when:

Australia, thou alone
Our sovereign lord shalt be
No other land shall own or claim
Thy children's fealty.

Both Mazzini and Clark died with their visions for independent and republican homelands unfulfilled. It was not until the end of World War II and the experience and fall of Fascism that Italy became a republic based on universal suffrage and the political equality of all its people, men and women alike. Universal suffrage and social justice came much earlier to Australia, but the final steps to Andrew Clark's hopes for a republican Australia have yet to be taken.

NOTES

¹ On Mazzini, Gaetano Salvemini, *Il pensiero religioso politico sociale di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Messina, 1905; Denis Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, New Haven & London, 1994; Roland Sarti, *Mazzini: A life for the religion of politics*, Westport, 1997. The clearest expression by Mazzini on his ideas is his *Doveri dell'uomo (The Duties of Man)*, published in many editions.

² Henry Reynolds, 'Andrew Inglis Clark (1848-1907)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.3, Melbourne, 1969, p.401.

³ On the rediscovery of Clark in the context of the republican movement and the centenary of Federation, Michael Roe, 'Reviewing Clarkiana and Clark at Federation's Centenary', *A Living force: Andrew Inglis Clark and the ideal of the Commonwealth*, ed. Richard Ely with Marcus Haward and James Warden, Hobart, 2001, pp.1-13.

⁴ On Australian connections with the Risorgimento, Roslyn Pesman Cooper, 'Garibaldi e l'Australia', *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, LXX11, 1985, pp.205-215.

⁵ John Dunmore Lang papers, Vol. 2, Mitchell Library Sydney. MS A2222, quoted in Roslyn Pesman Cooper, 'Australian images of Rome', *Bollettino del Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerche sul 'Viaggio in Italia'*, 23, 1991, p.54. On Lang, D.W.A. Baker, *Days of wrath: A life of John Dunmore Lang*, Melbourne, 1995.

⁶ *The People's Advocate*, 8 April 1854.

⁷ Baker, *Days of wrath*, p.412. On Ironside, Jill Poulton, *Adelaide Ironside: The pilgrim of art*. Sydney, 1987; Ros Pesman *Duty free: Australian women abroad*, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 41-47; Ros Pesman, 'In Search of professional identity: Adelaide Ironside and Italy', *Women's writing*, 10, 2, 2003, pp.307-328.

⁸ Adelaide Ironside to John Dunmore Lang, 3 November 1860, Lang papers, vol.9, p.210; Pesman Cooper, 'Garibaldi e l'Australia', p.63.

⁹ Poulton, *Adelaide Ironside*, p.91.

¹⁰ *List of subscribers to the Sword of Honour presented to General Garibaldi by his admirers in Australia*, Melbourne, 1861; Lurline Stuart, 'Fund raising' in Colonial Melbourne: The Shakespeare Statue, the Brooke Bust and the Garibaldi Sword, *La Trobe Library Journal*, 8, 1982, pp.8-11; Pesman Cooper, 'Garibaldi e l'Australia', pp. 204-206.

¹¹ Pesman Cooper, 'Garibaldi e l'Australia', p.208.

¹² *The Times*, 20 June 1859.

¹³ *The Times*, 1 January 1860.

¹⁴ Pesman Cooper, 'Garibaldi e l'Australia', p.205.

¹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1882; *Ibid.*, p.211.

¹⁶ On Mazzini in Britain, Emilia Morelli, *L'Inghilterra di Mazzini*, Rome, 1965; Franco Della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani*, Milan, 1974; William Roberts, *Prophet in exile: Joseph Mazzini in England, 1837-1868*, New York, 1989; Harry W Rudman, *Italian nationalism and English letters*, London, 1940; Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English political imagination*, New York, 1998.

17 John Williamson, 'Andrew Inglis Clark — Liberal and Nationalist', *An Australian democrat: The life and legacy of Andrew Inglis Clark*, ed. Haward and Warden, Hobart, 1995, p.126. On Clark, Reynolds, 'Clark, Andrew Inglis (1848-1907); pp.397-401; John M. Williams, 'With Eyes Open: Andrew Inglis Clark and our Republican Tradition', *Federal Law Review*, 23, 1995, pp.149-179; John Hirst, *The sentimental nation: the making of the Australian Commonwealth*, Melbourne, 2000; *A living force: Andrew Inglis Clark and the ideal of the commonwealth*, ed. Richard Ely with Haward and Warden, Hobart, 2001.

18 Williams, 'With Eyes Open', p.155.

19 On the role of ideas, ideals, and the sense of the making of the Australian nation as a sacred cause, see Michael Roe, 'The Federation divide among Australia's liberal idealists: contexts for Clark', *An Australian democrat*, pp. 88-97; Hirst, *The sentimental nation*, pp.4-25.

20 Haward and Warden, 'An Australian democrat: The life and legacy of Andrew Inglis Clark', *An Australian democrat*, p.1.

21 Hirst, *The sentimental nation*, p.11.

22 Williams, 'With Eyes Open', p.156.

23 Roe, 'The Federation divide', p.88.

24 Williams, 'With Eyes Open', p.166.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

26 Andrew Inglis Clark Papers, University of Tasmania Archives, Correspondence, C/4/e.17. The papers contain two letters from Blotto.

27 Hirst, *The sentimental nation*.

28 Quoted in Williamson, 'Andrew Inglis Clarke - liberal and nationalist', *An Australian democrat*, p.131.

29 Andrew Inglis Clark, 'Why I am a democrat', *An Australian democrat*, p.204; see also Williams. 'With Eyes Open', p.158.

30 Reynolds, 'Andrew Inglis Clark', p.401.

31 Andrew Inglis Clark, *My Pilgrimage*, manuscript poem, Andrew Inglis Clark papers, Correspondence C/4/h8.

32 *Ibid.*, I thank John Hirst for drawing my attention to this poem.

33 John Williams, 'Andrew Inglis Clark: The republican of Tasmania', *Makers of miracles: the cast of the Federation story*, ed. David Headon and John Williams, Melbourne, 2000 in Headon, p.49.