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AUSTRALIA

FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW
AUSTRALIA FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW
By JESSIE ACKERMANN, F.R.S.G.S.

WITH SIXTY-FOUR PLATES

Cassell and Company, Limited
London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne
1913
DEDICATED
IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
TO
THE LOVE OF MY YOUTH
AND
THE ONLY LOVE OF MY LIFE

"... all my heart is buried with thee,
All my soul goes onward with thee."
PREFACE

Australia is attracting the attention of the world at the present time. Not so much that it affords possibilities for the pioneer spirit, but because of the process of social evolution through which it is passing, and the fact that it has called women into the councils of men in the capacity of citizens, to aid in the establishment of "New World conditions for the people."

While it is true that the country, in every respect, is crude and in its merest infancy, still, it is a fascinating occupation to dive into the heart of things, and try to foresee what manner of social order will evolve in this experimental station of social enactments.

So far as I am aware, a woman has not yet written a book on Australia. Those which have appeared present the man's point of view; consequently, the position of women in the country which pioneered them into citizenship has hardly been touched upon, much less properly set forth in its vital bearing on national life. It is, therefore, my purpose to deal more especially with the women of this country, and what they are doing with the
enlarged powers which have been bestowed upon them. In order properly to present the subject, it is necessary to outline, briefly, the natural, political, industrial, social, religious, and home settings in which the women of Australia "live, move, and have their being" as equal citizens with men.

I have paid four visits to Australia. During my journeys, I have been thrown into the closest contact with every phase of life in each State, having travelled far more extensively than anyone in the country, or any visitor who has landed on its shores. I may, therefore, be justified to the claim of being in a position to speak of things and affairs as I have seen and lived them.

I wish to express my indebtedness to G. H. Knibbs, Esq., Commonwealth Statistician, for valuable help placed at my disposal; to the various departments of State Governments for numerous facilities which have afforded opportunities of research; and also to Colonel Kenneth Mackay for permission to select and make use of the verses which appear at the head of each chapter.

JESSIE ACKERMANN.
CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE
1. SOME GENERAL REMARKS . . . . . 1
2. THE NATURAL ASPECT OF THE ISLAND . . 6
3. A GREAT COUNTRY OF GREAT ENTERPRISE . 16
4. THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA . . . . . 35
5. AMUSEMENTS AND GAMBLING . . . . . 46
6. LIFE IN THE BACKBLOCKS . . . . . 59
7. G L I M P S E S OF HOME LIFE IN AUSTRALIA . . . 70
8. MEN IN AUSTRALIA AS HUSBANDS AND FATHERS 76
9. MOTHERS, CHILDREN, AND THE BIRTH-RATE . . 86
10. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE . . . 101
11. ROMANCES OF CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISES . . . 115
12. CULTS AND "ISMS" ABOUND . . . . . 124
13. THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILES THROUGH THE BACKBLOCKS IN A GOSPEL VAN . . 135
14. CONSTITUTIONAL SETTING OF POLITICAL OPERATIONS . . . . . 144
15. HOW AUSTRALIA IS RULED . . . . . 154
16. STRIKES AND THEIR CAUSES . . . . . 165
17. UNIONISM AS A MONOPOLY . . . . . 181
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Riots in Parliament</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>How Women Got the Franchise</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Women of Australia as Citizens</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Some Laws Relating to Women and Children</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Reforms which Women Citizens could accomplish</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Women and Wages</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>The Girls of Australia</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Education of Girls</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>The Business Girl</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>The Future of Australia</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Reminiscences of My First Visit to Australia</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Facing Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Jessie Ackermann, F.R.S.G.S.</td>
<td>Frontispiece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. the Hon. Kenneth Mackay, C.B., F.R.G.S., M.L.C.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fern Trees on Mt. Wilson, N.S.W.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance to the Jenolan Caves, Blue Mountains, N.S.W.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle Wings, Mammoth Caves, Western Australia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Stringy Bark Forest, Tasmania</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Camel Caravan across the Dry Country</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flannel Flower of New South Wales</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kangaroo Paw of Western Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arum Lilies in Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing to Harvest a heavy crop of Wheat in New South Wales</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wheat Stack containing 150,000 bags, at Wallaroo, South Australia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Mining in New South Wales</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Broken Hill Silver Mines, N.S.W.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building the Great Dam at Buerden, near the Federal Capital Site</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rails leading into Central Station, Sydney</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grapes grown in the Far North</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cane grown by White Labour</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin Washing, New South Wales</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The City River. A Beautiful View on Federal Territory</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prize Design for the Federal Capital of Australia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament House in the New Federal Capital</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Charles Scrivener, the Surveyor-General</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beginnings of the Federal Capital</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Office for Home Affairs at the Capital</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Official Residence in the Capital City, built by Colonel Miller</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughing Jackasses</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Companion Birds in the Zoological Gardens, Sydney</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Remarkable Sculpture by Webb Gilbert, of Melbourne</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Yacht Race in Sydney Harbour</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manly Beach on a Warm Day</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felling Trees, New South Wales</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclaimed Backblocks: Orange Gathering</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclaimed Backblocks: Hop Picking</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Friendly Visitor in the Backblocks: Kangaroo and Young</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Squatter's Mansion in the Western District, Victoria</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raisin Drying, Renmark, Murray River, South Australia</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Rich and Wonderful Valley of Young Apple Trees</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigating an Orchard</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Pear Orchard: where Children pick and pack the Fruit</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Rabbit Catch: Children are often engaged in this work</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Australian Aborigine</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Natives of To-day</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Girls' College at New Norcia</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Old Church at New Norcia: the Resting-place of Bishop Salvado</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Forres, O.J.B., Abbot of New Norcia</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the Sunday Night Service of the Sydney Mission in the Lyceum Theatre</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. W. G. Taylor</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gospel Van</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening a New Church in the Backblocks</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After many Years of Toll in the Backblocks</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Public School in the Northern Backblocks</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Government House of New South Wales</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Former Government House of New South Wales</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Members of the last Inter-State Labour Conference, held at Hobart</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon. Alfred Deakin</td>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon. Joseph Cook</td>
<td>192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon. Andrew Fisher</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir John Quick</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Grace Watson</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Muriel Fair</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Mary Foster</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Cameron</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. R. Dwyer</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Vida Goldstein</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Australian Society Girl—Native Born</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of Girls who &quot;Do Things&quot;: Sydney Members of the G.R.G.</td>
<td>272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss May Moore</td>
<td>284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Harbour: Ocean Liners at Circular Quay</td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins Street, Melbourne</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Post Office, Sydney . . . . . 296
King William Street, Adelaide . . . . . 298
Roseworthy Agricultural College, South Australia . 298
Miss Ackermann at the time of her First Visit to
Australia . . . . . . . . . 302
The Generation of Women set to Work for the
W.C.T.U. during Miss Ackermann's First Visit
to Australia . . . . . . . . . 304
"Father" Lucas, of Sydney. . . . . . 306
The Town Hall, Sydney . . . . . . 308
COL. THE HON. KENNETH MACKAY, C.B., F.R.G.S., M.L.C.
Australia’s National Poet.
AUSTRALIA
FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

CHAPTER I

SOME GENERAL REMARKS

"Thou hast in thy confines many a haven
Where peace and plenty reign from year to year,
Where lines on fair white brows are never graven
By lonely days and nights of lonely fear.

"Where dance and song are never out of fashion,
And life is an eternal, gracious Spring:
Where Honour is a creed and Love a passion,
And every true man is of himself a King."

KENNETH MACKAY.

AUSTRALIA, to many, is still an undiscovered continent. Formerly the position of the island left it far off the regular highways of commerce. So meagre was the knowledge of its possibilities, so uninviting its apparent prospects, so scanty the openings of a business character, that inducements to visit the country were few indeed, until the discovery of gold brought the famous immigration of early years. This led to a new and enlarged interest in the country, and great was the influx of people, chiefly men, which followed.

When one fully realises the extent of natural resources, the opportunity of creating a distinct
and modern civilisation for the masses, the advantages of climatic conditions, and the vastness of bounds wherein a hundred and fifty millions or more well-housed, well-fed and well-clad inhabitants could become entirely self-contained, it is a remarkable fact that the Island Continent could so long have remained an unknown world.

The first genuine interest taken in the country was due to the glaring innovations along the lines of democratic, not to say Socialistic, legislation. The thinking people had good reason to be fully aware of a grossly, almost criminally, defective social order. It must be said to their credit that, to the extent of their ability, they set about to adopt a system of government that would make it impossible for the usual evils which oppress, grind down, blight, and curse humanity in the Old World to take rootage in a new land. This is by no means to say they succeeded; but they tried, and are still working at the experiment. Always on the look out for new methods, they are given to copy rather than originate or evolve; a lack of originality, indeed, is the most striking characteristic of the people as a whole. They are almost destitute of this form of genius. I refer to the people generally, as well as the professional politicians who make a trade and business of politics. Which remark is true of a large percentage of representatives of different States, as well as those of the Commonwealth.

When the first accounts of the country and its possibilities were written, even the British Public was surprised, and the Press did not hesitate to express grave doubts as to the truth of some of the
SOME GENERAL REMARKS

statements. Froude sent out his widely read opinions and prophecies, which brought down the wrath of the people upon his frank soul, rigorous pen, and commercial instinct. People read and marvelled.

Later, the London Times sent Miss Shaw, as clever a woman as ever dipped pen in ink and put it to paper, to write up the colonies, and tell what people were doing. Her brilliant articles were copied far and wide. She became familiar with the country and the people. This enabled her to produce a record based on fact and knowledge. At the time of her visit, I spent eighteen months in the country as the representative of an American magazine. Later, Pearson and McClure sent their best men in quest of facts; then followed students of social questions, professors and pupils, until in time Australia became the Mecca for observation concerning up-to-date legislation in the interest of all the people—the whole of the people—for such was the claim of those law makers. Numerous articles appeared in the French and German periodicals; the Argentine and Chilian magazines devoted page upon page to the publication of methods to be adopted in Australia, dealing with labour problems and strike questions.

Twenty years ago the Women’s Political League of Iceland was in communication with the women of Australia, making diligent inquiry as to their methods in trying to gain votes for women. The International Council of Women, an organisation with 10,000,000 members in twenty countries, repeatedly requested Australian women to send delegates to their gatherings; also to prepare papers
bearing on social reforms, detailing to what extent women were helping to carry them into operation. Australia stands the only country in the world in which the chief outside interest centred around attempted Socialistic legislation. Of the country itself there seemed little information. Resources and possibilities were subjects upon which the reading public remained in Egyptian darkness for an astonishingly long period. What strikes even a woman with peculiar force is the fact that when so great an interest was aroused abroad along a given line, the statesmen of the day had not sufficient genius to take advantage of the situation and send forth a flood of general information concerning future prospects of the island. This was one of the miserable failures of those early politicians. Had they risen to the opportunity of twenty years ago, at the present moment there would be no lack of earnest hearts and strong hands to develop the almost unthinkable resources. The £65,000,000 imports yearly would now be produced to the consumers, duty free. The cry of the “increased cost of living” would have been strangled by plenty of cheap, wholesome, home-produced food.

Just now a sense of Australia has fully dawned upon the enlightened world. The dim light other years shed upon the island has become noonday glare, revealing how goodly a possession awaits the millions who seek a new home in the land of plenty. In fact, it is believed that the covetous eye of more than one country is steadfastly fixed upon these broad acres as the rightful heritage of those who will enter and develop the land as well as inhabit it.
Photograph by permission of the Government Printing Dept., New South Wales.

FERN TREES ON MT. WILSON, N.S.W.
SOME GENERAL REMARKS

This growing interest in the resources is due to a variety of causes: Crowded adjacent countries, seeking an outlet for over-populated areas; live, active agents-general; the Imperial Conference; the energy of consuls in foreign lands; and, by no means least of all, an energetic High Commissioner.

At present it is the proper thing to write upon the resources of Australia. Vast droves of sheep and cattle that would extend, single file, around the world; piles of pure gold, over which the nimble small boy could not climb, and greater uncounted wealth, are all themes upon which much energy is being spent, that the country itself may now be "writ large" everywhere. When the "call of the pen" fails to get into the blood of the visitor, the wily reporter seeks him out, and the stranger suddenly develops a gift of tongues—many tongues. Opinions ooze from every pore of his body, and congeal into words faster than he can utter them. A visitor will not hesitate for a moment to give his "What I think of Australia and the people" from the deck of a steamer as he sights the first dim outline of the distant coast. But these opinions will always be interesting and sometimes amusing to the people who know, in their heart of hearts, that Australia, in the final analysis, must be acknowledged as the coming country for "the people."
CHAPTER II

THE NATURAL ASPECT OF THE ISLAND

"Years of brave working full of high endeavour:
Nights bright with hope, and days when hope is dead;
Seasons when luck seemed to have gone for ever,
And gold is not more hard to win than bread."

KENNETH MACKAY.

There are few really striking features in an Australian landscape. The mountains are scarcely more than one line after another of foothills, with the exception of two or three ranges, which, at most, fall far short of mountain heights elsewhere. These stretch themselves along in the general direction of the coast-line, breaking the monotony of the flat plains, and lend a fine setting to cities snuggled away in the valleys. This leaves the interior a great flat basin, awesome to behold, but, like all weird solitudes, it is wildly fascinating.

The Blue Mountains of New South Wales are the most imposing, both in relation to elevation and variety of vegetation. The highest point of this glorious range has been chosen by about half a dozen retired squatters as a summer resort from the busy world, and it is truly another world from that of the plains. The rain, snow, and cold are too severe for winter residence. One need not dwell upon the details of sunrise and sunset, lights and shadows, spring and autumn colouring; they are common to
ENTRANCE TO THE JENOLAN CAVES. BLUE MOUNTAINS. N.S.W.
mountains everywhere, but seem to reach a climax
under these clear southern skies and vaulted heavens.
As the greatest height is barely above 7,000 feet,
perpetual snows are unknown. In the sheltered
gullies a remarkable tree, semi-tropical in appear-
ance, flourishes even in the snow regions. The huge
fronds, feathery and graceful, look out through the
light snows with a majestic air of conscious beauty,
while almost every other tree is denuded of summer
garb.

For centuries Nature has been silently con-
structing show places beneath these mountains that
rival anything human genius has been able to produce.
The limestone caverns are marvels of delicate love-
liness, such as nothing but the ages could create.
Vivid recollections of my first visit to the Jenolan
Caves twenty years ago come to mind as I write.
The trip was a long, hard one, made by private conveynance. Upon reaching the Cave House, I was
ushered into the bridal-chamber—lonely quarters for
a bachelor girl—where reposed a suit of men's
apparel in which to array myself for an underground
expedition. The blue cotton trousers reached only
to my shoe-tops, and there was an absence of the
usual gearing which must lend a sense of security to
that cut of garment. We carried torches, and pro-
visions were also necessary, as the trip required
either a full day or the entire night. Never shall I
forget how the guide pointed out all sorts of fierce,
weird, and unearthly things which took shape and
form according to the degree of individual imagina-
tion. It was hard work, this wriggling along narrow
passages and crawling snake-fashion through others,
emerging with blistered hands, red face, and disordered locks; but such was the price of “seeing the caves” in those early years.

Much of this real enjoyment and wholesome fatigue has vanished. The Government has thrown up great highways, constructed railways, and hewn out motor-roads to facilitate travel for those attracted by this form of natural beauty. It has become a popular honeymoon trip, but the abbreviated garments of my first visit are no longer necessary. The present-day bride returns from her subterranean exploits free from any evidences of the trip. The caves are now well lighted by electricity, which reveals much that was formerly hidden. The colouring is so vivid that a fertile imagination may weave the fantastic forms into both the grotesque and beautiful.

In some sections of the island the timber forests are so dense and dark that it would be no misnomer to designate them the Black Forest of Australia. Gippsland is said to produce the tallest trees in the world. So huge are they that I hesitate to deal in dimensions, fearing the charge that they are of mental growth, created to fit imaginary figures.

Of the hundreds of families of trees, the outstanding, ever-present one, which looms large upon the horizon at every turn and takes rootage where the slightest nourishment is found, is the gum, or eucalyptus family, including over three hundred varieties. Some of these are among the most beautiful specimens that soil could produce—rich in foliage, glorious in bloom, and valuable as timber. The white blossoms attract thousands of swarms of
EAGLE WINGS MAMMOTH CAVES, WESTERN AUSTRALIA.
bees, both wild and from domestic hives. The flower is sweet, and adds great medicinal value to the honey. At eventide and early morning, the air is scented for miles around with the rich and refreshing perfume. The red blooms are most vivid in colour, hang in great clusters, and are much used for decoration. Flowering trees are a feature of the winter season, and are far too numerous to name. Bright yellow, all shades of red, and many tints peculiar to this climate dot the plains, presenting a sense of real life in desert places, where they also abound.

On the west coast a most peculiar small tree, known as the "Black Boy," flourishes on the hillsides, and forms a fascinating feature of ugliness. It has no market value, but lends a picturesque touch to the landscape, which otherwise is bleak and sterile. The trunk is perfectly black, barren of growth except at the extreme top, where a long fringe of narrow leaves droops towards the ground, forming a more complete skirt than any garment ever worn by the natives.

As the island extends into the tropics, and through the semi-tropical and temperate zones, it is easy to imagine that climatic conditions would produce an endless variety of tree life, which must, of necessity, create a beauty not to be despised, although of an unusual character.

In the North-West the whole aspect of the country changes. Large trees vanish. The sand plains are covered with bushes, most of which are ablaze with tiny flowers of every possible shape and shade. They are really the "saving clause" of
many a mile through the weird "Never-Never," and are the redeeming feature of "No Man's Land." Some of the small trees on the plains produce wooden fruit. I have gathered these products in both Western Australia and New South Wales, as perfect in shape as the rarest table fruit ever produced. In the former State I made a fine collection of wooden peaches. These were not like Yankee nutmegs, made by hand, but are a genuine growth of the trees upon the sand plains.

A great drawback to Australia, not only from the natural aspect point of view, but, more important, from that of cultivation, is the lack of rivers and the uncertainty of rainfall, upon which all agricultural development depends. There are a number of rivers, but none of them is to be compared with the great waterways of other countries. The water question will always remain one for the most serious consideration, chiefly because the mountains follow the coast-line. For some years the rainfall in the most populated places has been equal to requirements. This has brought unprecedented prosperity, and the country has forged ahead in leaps and bounds.

No mind can imagine what the calamity of a drought is like. I chanced to be in the country some years ago during such a period. Thousands and thousands of sheep lay dead upon the plains. From every direction droves of cattle, almost obscured by clouds of choking dust, tottered their famished way toward some coastal water supply. Men and women, hopeless with a despair which "maketh the soul sick," fled, leaving their possessions
behind, and endured the long march over hot, cracked, baked, and burning earth in search of life-giving water. Those soul-stirring words of Long-fellow, descriptive of a famine, could well be applied to the situation:

"Thirsty was the air around us,
Thirsty was the sky above us,
And the thirsty stars of heaven
Like the eyes of dying men glared on us."

Oh, the horror of it!—a horror which entered my very soul; the memory of it is graven upon my consciousness, never to be obliterated. To this day, when I see a patch of dry earth, the cry for water is so painful that I long and long to drench it until not another drop can be absorbed. It is years since the people have suffered the visitation of a drought; but the natural conditions render them as possible in the future as they were certain in the past.

During a later visit, when on the eastern coast, an awful flood submerged a vast section of the Newcastle district; I witnessed the devastation at close range. The water rose so high that people rushed to the house-tops, and fled to the hills for safety. I joined a Government relief steamer that visited the spot. In sending out small boats with food to the people on the hills, we frequently rowed over the buildings, only the extreme top of a chimney indicating where a house stood. The desolation was heart-sickening. Houses were swept away and came floating down the river with furniture, hay-stacks, dead sheep, horses, cattle, and, occasionally, a human form—man, woman, or child. The calamity
that threatens from an excess or the lack of water is almost unthinkable.

Like America, the size of the country affords scope for great happenings. A disaster which reduces one section of it to a camp of misery and want may be utterly unfelt in other parts. There are floods, cyclones, earthquakes, and fires which are most shocking, and yet so purely local as not to make an impress on the country generally.

A short time ago, when a howling wind was blowing at a fierce pace, the cry of "the mountain is afire" was heard in the watches of the night. We all rushed to the nearest window, and no pen or words could describe what we saw. A bush-fire had broken out on one of the foothills. At every fresh gust of wind, the flames rolled upward like unbroken waves of the sea. They mounted higher and higher, spreading wider and wider, until the very heavens became like a sheet of moving lava. The morning saw only the charred and blackened stumps of the few remaining trees. Horrible as it was, it was merely local, and created no special stir, although the capital city at one time seemed threatened with sure and certain destruction.

During the summer months the country, in aspect, reaches the very acme of all desolation. Every blade of grass withers to a dismal and forlorn yellow; not a real yellow, but burnt and hopeless, a sort of this-is-the-end-of-me shade. Flowers disappear, and the very stalks drop off at the roots; disagreeable sand-storms smite one right and left; the hot winds, like an escaped breath from the nether world, circle about in fiendish delight. This,
O. MINU
A. MARSTILLA
however, is greatly to be desired—even at 108 or 114 degrees in the shade—when compared with the humid parts where the wilted people droop with the whole surroundings.

This may all seem most uninviting, but the very vastness of it is compelling. I have stood under the blighting sun when the semi-tropical rays get into the very blood and bones, with dead sheep and dying cattle on every hand; when the over-heated sand came stinging its way over hands and face, until I seemed rooted to the place, unable to move. This awful warring of the elements carries a strange spell in its track. The possibilities of it all are overpowering. Comparatively few people have been in those places where Father Time whets his scythe and Death is double-armed with fatal darts, for such scenes are limited to certain sections, and are not liable to frequent recurrence.

It is rather remarkable how soon the discomforts of the dry season are forgotten with the coming of the rain. The feeling which prevailed among the ancient Egyptians at the moment of the overflow of the Nile, and prompted long watches, which were spent listening for the voice of the Sphinx, is, as it were, reflected in Australia when the rains, which alone assure a bountiful harvest, set in. I have known members of a family to wire the news to others of the household travelling thousands of miles away, “It rains! It rains!”

In a single week of rain the whole country begins to burst into life—and such life! Never was a greater transformation brought about in less time! A month later, no one would recognise a single
locality. Everything springs into beauty. Shrubs, plants, grasses, creepers, and carpet upon carpet of endless variety of wild flowers, colour the earth from one end of the island almost to the other. In fact, wild flowers in winter are the great feature of Australia.

Scientists declare that most of the flora is distinctively Australian. These primitive types exist elsewhere in fossil form only, as belonging to the past ages of a country. Bacon says, "God Almighty first planted a garden." Perhaps this was the spot! There are three thousand families, not to speak of family branches of wild flowers, and nearly three hundred known specimens of orchids, which, although delicate and fragile to look upon, seem hardy and vigorous. The colouring is faint and tint-like rather than decided, and the fantastic-fringed forms are among the wonders of the floral kingdom. Then there are the rugged, sturdy, almost bold families which fairly force themselves upon notice, and demand attention whether one will or not. The Kangaroo Paw is a compelling, saucy-looking, haughty-headed flower, with monkey-like hair—a real outstanding growth upon the stem, which shades into grey as it nears the blossom. Hair is not peculiar to it alone, for there are many hairy plants to be found, especially in desert places.

The sand is as productive of plant-life as the richer forms of soil. In the northern part I have seen miles and miles literally covered with pink, yellow, red, blue, and variegated flowers, some of which take rootage in cracks in the rocks, where they thrive in a scanty supply of yellow sand. At
THE KANGAROO PAW OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

ARUM LILIES IN AUSTRALIA.
UNIV OF
CALIFORNIA
a picnic not far from a large city, I gathered nearly
two hundred varieties of flowers without leaving
one hill.

The people are flower enthusiasts—not one class,
but almost everybody. Children roll in flowers,
caress, fondle, and gather them from the beginning
to the end of the season. Flower excursions are
arranged by the Government and form a most
popular outing. These take place on the half-holidays,
and frequently are repeated on Sundays, when whole
families leave the city and spend the day with the
flowers in the country. I never saw such a sight in
my life. I have spent hours at a time at stations,
merely watching the crowds, trying to study the
relation of flowers to the people. What a day they
have had! The older ones read or visit; but the
children! The joy and happiness of those droves of
youngsters as they romp and roll and tumble about
amongst a multitude of blossoms is a delight simply
to contemplate. A flower show in a great city can
in no way compare with these open-air, admission-
free exhibitions, where every flower-voice invites
the weary and heavy laden, the toilsome and dis-
couraged, to come and rest in Nature's bowers. By
night the baskets are filled, bunches are tied up,
and men and women are decorated with them
wherever a stem can be thrust or a festoon hung.
These gay, happy crowds plunder the fields, but soon
every trace of their pillage will be covered with
brighter freshness, and the scene repeats itself, until
the earth refuses, for a time, to array herself in her
festive garb.
CHAPTER III

A GREAT COUNTRY OF GREAT ENTERPRISE

Broad plains are thine, desert and mountain fastness,
Nature's wild heart throbs in thy breast alone:
Within the magic circle of thy vastness,
Rest spreads her couch, Ambition builds her throne.”

KENNETH MACKAY.

SCATTERED over the area of nearly three million square miles, the developed resources of which would sustain more than a hundred and fifty millions, is a population of barely four and a half millions, or 1.51 persons to the square mile. Australia is, therefore, the most sparsely populated of the civilised countries of the world. This, compared to Europe with 114 to the square mile, Asia with 55, and America with 11, indicates the extent of unoccupied land on the island—a matter of the greatest possible concern to the thinking people of Australia. Because of inducements held out to settle on the land, and employment to be found in the mines, there is a much larger percentage of men in the Commonwealth than of women. For every hundred women there are one hundred and eleven men. At the present rate of increase by birth and immigration, in the year 1950 the population will have reached only fifteen millions—one-tenth of the sustaining capacity of the land.

In face of every effort to induce people to settle
PREPARING TO HARVEST A HEAVY CROP OF WHEAT IN NEW SOUTH WALES.
VIA
AMERICA
in the country, and despite the crying need of natural development, more than one-third of the population centralise in the six capitals. From 20 to 44 per cent. of the inhabitants of each State live in the chief city. At this rate, in a very short time the blighting and poverty-producing conditions of the Old World will be a developed certainty, and the utter incapacity of the citizens to create a higher social order will brand the Australians as the weakest of all peoples.

No mind can estimate the vastness which awaits permanent occupancy. So fertile is the soil that, with proper irrigation systems, almost anything a given climate produces would thrive and become a valuable resource. Take, for instance, the land suited to producing lucerne. I visited a station where six acres had been planted as an experiment. The outlay in preparing the ground, clearing, watering, and fertilising was £10 an acre—a goodly amount, unless the returns are considered. In the first place, the roots, which must be fertilised once a year at a cost of 16s. per acre, yield abundant harvest from six to seven years at the rate of four tons of fodder to the acre. This has a market value of from £7 to £8 per ton. It is not only one or two crops a year, but in harvesting these six acres, by the time the last section is cut, the point at which the cutting is started is ready with a new growth.

Wheat is the great agricultural product. Nearly seven million acres are under cultivation. In four years, 182,271,588 bushels found their way to the markets of the world at an export price of 4s. 2d.
per bushel. The value of the crop in 1911 was £18,048,770—about £2 14s. 10d. per acre. Compared with the highly cultivated conditions of Denmark, soil where the yield is forty-four bushels to the acre, or New Zealand, gathering twenty-seven bushels, thirteen bushels in Australia seems a small return. But the vast acreage available and the inducements to occupy the land largely equalise conditions.

Gold was once considered the most valuable resource of the country. All other industries were neglected or sacrificed to the development of the mines, until it became a grounded belief that agricultural operations were hardly worth while.

No doubt gold has been a great resource. In 1910 alone, the value of the output was £11,628,849. This gave occupation to 58,000 men, who were actually employed underground, to say nothing of those engaged in trade and traffic created by the industry.

The general epidemic of "gold fever" continued for years. It is probable that millions' worth of the precious metal will yet be brought to light in almost unheard-of places. But when mining tools have been dropped for all time, there will still be millions upon millions of acres awaiting the plough and seed. This whole island will one day smile back a harvest of golden grain, compared to which mining values will be of small moment. Australia could easily become the great granary of the world.

Sheep and cattle are the chief pastoral enterprises. I have been on a station of a million acres. Most of the land was leasehold. Thousands of head of cattle and sheep roamed over this great stretch
of land, and contributed in no small way to the output of beef and mutton, as well as bales of wool and hides. At the present time, there are nearly 92,000,000 of sheep in Australia, or some twenty per head to the population. The value of the wool, most of which is exported, reached the high figure of £28,000,000 in 1910. This gives an idea of the extent to which a large population could be supported without imports.

The story of the settlement of America, and of the energy and achievements of the early pioneers of that country, form a volume of history over which the world has wondered ever since the facts became known. But the hardships and the brave, dauntless spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers were as little when compared to the heroism of the early settlers of Australia. America had great resources, comparatively short distances to the populated world, and soil which needed neither fertilisation nor irrigation.

In Australia, a small number of people have wrestled with all manner of natural disadvantages, and have displayed a courage and faith in the country that is without parallel in history. They have undertaken enterprises so gigantic as fairly to stagger the mind when detail has become a matter of study and investigation.

For years there was a violent objection to opening the doors of Australia to further general immigration. To this sentiment the wobbly politician bent the nimble knee as he has ever done, and until recently immigration has been limited. Had the attempts at carrying out great schemes of development by a small number of people been
undertaken in parts less remote from the populated countries of the world, the whole heart of modern endeavour would have been set on fire with admiration, and the results heralded from pole to pole and sea to sea. Australia has struggled through one success to another, until now she can point with pride to what has been wrought, and teach the Old World many a lesson in downright enterprise.

When gold was discovered in Western Australia, and the rush became wild and furious, the gold-seeking mobs reached the field only to be filled with dismay. The rain season had failed, and water for house purposes was sold at 2s. 6d. a gallon. During the rainless periods the mines were unworkable, and hundreds of miners bid fair to perish from thirst—in fact, many of them were obliged to return.

Never having seen a gold-rush, and being full of the zeal and vigour of youth, I made the long journey to the camp before the railway was open. To land on those burning plains, destitute of a shrub or blade of grass, among the unwashed masses, was an experience which will serve a lifetime. Gold so cheap and water so dear! To realise that thirst for water became greater than the haunting, goading thirst for gold, was a sensation far beyond description. For days at a stretch the blinding sandstorms swept the camp, bringing a merciless thirst on every breeze. The prospects of the field seemed doomed, and would have been, but for the plan presented by Sir John Forrest, who was then Premier of Western Australia. When Parliament passed the Water Scheme Bill, the matter of developing and carrying out the project was undertaken by
Mr. E. Y. O'Connor, Engineer-in-Chief for the State. He was certainly a genius in his line. His great mind grasped the possibilities. In five years the most unique hydraulic engineering feat in the world was an accomplished fact. The goldfields had a water supply. Mr. O’Connor’s work saved the mining industry to the State.

This, it must be remembered, was not undertaken for the benefit of a community, but solely to develop a single industry. A brief statement of the scheme may be of interest:

Some eighteen or more miles from Perth a reservoir was constructed 760 acres in extent, which drains the mountain range and surrounding country for 569 miles. The water is pumped through steel pipes 80 inches in inside diameter, 8\(\frac{1}{16}\) inches thick, withstanding a pressure of 400 pounds to the square inch. A series of stations along the line draw water from the next lower, finally carrying it to the elevation of 1,200 feet. This system supplies an area of 16,000 square miles. At various intervals the main pipes may be tapped and the water carried to farms and stations for stock and irrigation, as well as for housekeeping.

In 1911, 1,001,789,000 gallons of water were consumed. The net cost of the construction was £3,256,000. As yet, the scheme is not a paying one. The annual deficit is from £25,000 to £44,000 to the Government. Without it, agriculture and pastoral pursuits would have failed in many quarters. The goldfields, where one city alone contains 25,000 souls, would never have been settled, and the loss in gold could hardly be estimated.
Another huge piece of water conservation is now under construction. It will not, however, require any special engineering operations. The building of a dam in New South Wales is considered one of the wonders of modern times. A wall 784 feet long, 240 feet high, and 170 feet at the base will form a reservoir 224 feet deep. When filled, a supply of 209,500,000,000 gallons will be on tap for a population of many thousands, scattered over a wide area.

The work is patterned after the Roosevelt Dam at Salt River in the United States. The total quantity of material to be conveyed to the site is 581,000 tons, 50,000 of which is cement.

At very short notice, 80,000 sleepers were cut, and a road was thrown up over which to carry materials which were to be used in the building of a dam with a capacity only 10 per cent. less than the famous Assouan Dam of the River Nile in Egypt. Such is the enterprise of Australia. Unprecedented prosperity makes it possible to carry out these gigantic plans.

This is the Railroad Age, there is no doubt about that, and Australia keeps well to the front in her mileage. In past times railways were built a few miles at a time, and extended or added to as conditions warranted. In Australia, projects which include thousands of miles of line are carried out, and little comment is passed upon the subject.

When the Turkish Government could not raise funds for a railway between the High Priest of the Prophet and the resting-place of Mohammed, a call
to the Faithful was made. In eighteen months, £88,000,000 sterling landed in the strong-room of the Sultan. The plodding, patient camel fell into contempt and disuse. Millions of pilgrims may now check their baggage to Medina, taking a side trip to the Christian Holy City if so inclined.

The wilds of Siberia have been compassed and the depths of the Andes penetrated. The one-time waste places of Africa, China, Manchuria, and Persia have become familiar from the windows of the railway carriage. Wonderful! all of this. But soon the vast stretches from sea to sea of Australia will be linked up by a trans-continental railway.

This has been hastened forward to meet an increased Yellow Peril scare—a perpetual nightmare to a class of agitating patriots, who, from time to time—as elections draw near—rend the air with a revival of the last alarm. The populace catch the note, and echo it on every breeze: “The Yellow Peril! The Yellow Peril!” The infant generation will surely have it in the blood! The chief purpose of the hasty construction of this railway is for military transport in time of necessary defence. But the object of the road in no way detracts from the magnitude of the undertaking.

When the section now in the course of construction is complete, it will not greatly facilitate the moving of troops because of the difference of gauge. A military man told me, in speaking of the defence of the country, that in moving troops from Melbourne to Brisbane it would take sixty days to carry 20,000 men and their equipment, because of the detraining due to the change of gauge. Therefore,
the question of quick transportation for defence seems as far from solution as ever.

Kalgoorlie will be the base of supply during the early stages of building. Two million sleepers will be required; of these, 2,000 will be used daily, for it is expected that two miles of line will be laid every twenty-four hours. Advance depots will be established with thirty days' provisions always on hand.

The work will begin with 1,000,000 steel sleepers made in England. Later, wooden ones supplied by the Western Australian Government will be used. The men will be fed and clothed by means of stores on wheels. In addition to regular meals, extras of one sort and another may be obtained from the stores at reasonable rates. Fresh meat and bread will be supplied daily from a baker's and butcher's shop, also on wheels. The greatest difficulty is the water supply. This will be brought by trains run by electricity from Kalgoorlie. Later, other sources may be available. The main hospital will be located at the base of supplies; but doctors, tents, emergency hospitals, and all necessary medical requirements will be within available distance of the workmen.

Surveyors have calculated that 40,000 square miles of pastoral land will be opened for settlement, and in seasons of drought the railway will enable cattle-men to transport their herds quickly to more favourable sections.

The entire scheme, with its outlay of £4,000,000 sterling, has been bitterly opposed by members of both political parties. For years to come there is no
hope that the line will earn the interest on the money invested.

Some 2,000 men are to be employed (preference to unionists), and equal numbers will begin work at the points from which the line is to extend. The work will be done by day labour, the Government being the contractor, thus saving to the Treasury the profits usual to those who undertake the contracts. The plan is similar to the methods adopted in New Zealand. The Government employs the men at day wages, but the right to hand the work over to a contractor has been reserved, should such a course become necessary.

The tenders called for included 150,000 tons of steel rails to be landed on the south and east coasts. Plans and specifications are posted throughout the Commonwealth and London; a fee of one guinea for specifications and 5s. for plans has been made. All smaller materials, such as nuts, spikes, bolts, etc., will be tendered for in Australia, and manufacturers employing unionists only will secure preference. It is estimated that three years will be required in which to complete the line; but, even then, direct communication from the north to the south coast remains unchanged. They are still cut off one from the other by the long sea trip from Port Darwin to Brisbane, or some of the minor northern ports.

In carrying out the measures introduced by other Parliaments, in meeting pledges made and legislation enacted by the previous party, the Government finds itself saddled with gigantic enterprises which will test the skill of the clearest brains.
The housing of the Commonwealth's interests under one roof in London, where the representatives of the States may "dwell together in harmony," is an undertaking of no mean order. The purchase of the freehold—*not leasehold*—at the cost of close upon half a million sterling, and the manifested energy in speedy construction of a large and suitable building, will impress the British public with the wealth of this distant and still largely unknown possession.

There is, in Australia, an entirely unmanageable native product, which has careered before puzzled and bewildered law-makers, first of one State and lately of the Commonwealth, for years. It has consumed State resources in the past, almost to the wreckage of finances, and at the present moment the white elephant of the Northern Territory recklessly thrusts its mighty trunk into the common treasury of the people, gulping down bushels of gold coins of the realm; with the result that it merely waxes fat, and its enlarged proportions render it an increasing problem for the Commonwealth and a genuine curiosity to the world.

"What shall we do with the Northern Territory?" Hansard is full of it. For years Parliaments have spoken with Babel voices, for upon it seemed to hinge the policy of half a dozen departments. The expense involved in taking over and developing its supposed resources, without a clear-cut policy of productive development, could easily bring complete financial wreckage to the country.

The accumulated debts of past years have become the legal heritage of the people, which they are in
Photograph by permission of the Government Printing Dept., Queensland.

GRAPES GROWN IN THE FAR NORTH.

Photograph by permission of the Government Printing Dept., Queensland.

SUGAR CANE GROWN BY WHITE LABOUR
honour bound to meet through the people's Government. Administration of the Territory involves a quarter of a million outlay yearly.

The Crown has possessed itself of more than half a million square miles. The discovery of its possibilities, the development of its mineral wealth, the utilisation of the vast pastoral capabilities, and the population of the country, have been placed in the hands of one man. Dr. Gilruth, who held the chair of Veterinary Science at the Melbourne University, has fallen heir to what might be termed the Chair of Control of the Territory. It is to be hoped the Doctor possesses the ability to think in continents and kingdoms, otherwise the task will be a difficult one.

The first principle of settlement has been set down as no sale of land. Possession—if it may be called such—is acquired by leasehold only. For settlers inclined toward stock-raising, areas of from 500 to 3,000 miles in extent will be available. For agricultural purposes, blocks of 640 acres of first-class land, or 2,580 acres of second-class land, will be thrown open to settlers, rent free, for twenty-one years, and 5,000 such blocks may be applied for. At the expiration of that time, the annual rental will be determined by a Board, possessing the power of revaluation every twenty-one years. The settler is required to live on his block six months out of every year. He is also given a time-limit in which the fencing must be done, and the regulations stipulate the size of the herd with which the area must be stocked.

The plan is to survey systematically the whole
 Territory, explore its resources, mark off small holdings, and invite immigrants from Europe to enter in and possess the land.

At the present time the Territory is practically unoccupied, save for the fragment of one head of stock to the square mile in pastoral regions. The agricultural sections produce cotton, Indian corn, tobacco, and rice. Should the policy succeed, this will be the only place in the world where all these products are the result of white labour alone.

The Doctor, unlike the Government which appointed him, makes no rash promises as to the uncounted thousands who will swarm to the north. In fact, he warns the Government not to be disappointed if at the close of five years the population has not reached 10,000.

A measure of success will depend on the acceptability of leasehold. The average settler who invests his life in bringing raw and crude material into a finished product, has most serious objections—it may be prejudice, it may simply be human nature—to "doing the work for the Government," as he expresses it. The policy was so complete a failure in New Zealand that the results will be watched with close interest. Should success crown these efforts, the question of coloured labour may be considered for ever settled.

Ten years ago, soon after the States federated, the matter of building a capital city became a vexed question which hinged entirely on State jealousy and ambition. The bitter fight waxed fierce between the States of Victoria and New South Wales as to
TIN WASHING. NEW SOUTH WALES.
whether Sydney or Melbourne should have the advantage and honour.

In order to bring harmony out of chaos, it was determined to found a city in some new place where Australian building ideals and characteristics could be moulded and fashioned into a worthy monument of local colouring.

The question of building somewhere at some time having been settled, the struggle for "where" became positively fierce. As New South Wales was the oldest colony a sense of fitness led the Government to agree that the Mother State was justly entitled to the city, provided the State donated the territory on which it was to stand, specifying that sovereign rights should be vested in the Federal Government.

The uproar caused in New South Wales, and, in fact, in the country generally, cannot be described. Local members of the House from all sections of the State took their seats year after year pledged to press the claims of some one district for the location of the city. The eloquence wasted over impossible and ludicrous situations would fill a small library. The more unsuitable and hopeless the region the stronger and more vigorous were the demands. For nearly ten years the subject became a hardy annual that waxed and flourished.

Newspapers entered into the battle and became wild in denunciation and loud in praise of this or that locality. The solitary editor, assuming the Divine right of mouthpiece for the people, wrote his "We" in larger letters than was his wont.

Bills and Acts, Acts and Amendments followed;
framed by one Parliament, and torn to pieces by the next as soon as unhallowed hands could clutch them. At last, a majority vote selected the valley of Yass-Canberra district as the spot where the unborn city will, by degrees, take shape. By a strange irony which often weaves itself about the individual, one of the members who most bitterly denounced the selection of the present site, by wildly exclaiming, "The wastes are so bleak, the spot so barren and dry, that a crow never flies across the place without carrying a water-bottle"—is Minister of the very Department under the supervision of which the city will be built. Should the general plan and architecture take form and colouring from the style of his oratory, undreamed-of characteristics will probably astound a waiting public.

The report of the Commission appointed to visit various sites sets forth the fact that Yass-Canberra "forms a perfect amphitheatre in which the city would be surrounded by glorious hills." It sounds rather smothering for a hot climate, but doubtless the sessions will provide sufficient breeze for a limited population.

It was decided that the world should have a chance to compete in a plan to lay out the city. Descriptions of the area were worked out to the minutest detail. These were drawn by the Surveyor-General to the Commonwealth, and sent to the British consuls of the world, with the result that hundreds of plans from many countries poured into the department for months before the time-limit had expired. These were studied and sorted by a committee, which
THE CITY RIVER. A BEAUTIFUL VIEW ON FEDERAL TERRITORY.
reduced the real competing number to about half a dozen: the final award went to a Chicago architect. Everyone will regret that the prize passed out of Australia. The whole world wonders now why the call for designs outside of Australia itself was ever made. This is but a proof of what is so often said of these people: they are mere imitators. Originality is unknown. They are positively unable to originate. Everything is a copy with some small alteration, usually a disadvantage to the subject. It is so in building, law-making, constitution-forming, dress, business, and industries; from the highest officials to the shop-assistant. How the enterprising young men of Australia can ever forgive the stupidity of placing the planning of their city in the hands of a foreigner, an intelligent person fails to understand.

The truth is, there is little encouragement given to the native generation in any department of life. If they want a bishop or primate, they import him. There are hundreds of men, born in the country, just as clever, wise, capable, and learned as the average man imported for ecclesiastical positions, if they would but give the Australian a chance. All local talent is brushed aside with a wave of the hand. The hall-mark of foreign parts must be writ large, in order to secure the best places of development for young men.

Although the honour of the first prize in their competition fell to a distinguished countryman of mine, I still hold it scarcely short of criminal that Australia should go abroad and bring the whole world into competition for a prize which by right none but Australians should have been allowed to
contest. If Australia is ever to be a country for Australians, the native sons should have a chance. Men from all foreign parts, including the Homeland, imported to fill places in which Australians could develop, should be most rigorously boycotted, until it is known that there is no possible or available Australian capable of filling the requirements. Invite immigration, of course, but give positions in Australia to Australians who are fully competent to fill them. There are multitudes so gifted.

There is a peculiar fascination about this idea of building a city in an uninhabited region, where possibility is limited by only ability to create and money with which to carry out plans. I, therefore, determined to pay a visit to the territory, and see for myself the very beginning of things.

At this time the site was rather cut off from speedy communication by travel; but when the railway connects the place with other lines it will form the trunk between Sydney and Melbourne, shortening the present distance by some eighty miles.

An entire night in trains, or waiting for them at stations, brought me, long before daylight, to the nearest point of rail. From Queanbeyan, a drive of eight miles over good roads leads to the foothills that form a setting for the new city. The valley is backed by the more distant ranges of mountains, which change their garb of colour between daylight and darkness so frequently as to throw almost a spell of witchery on the whole landscape. From this area of 900 square miles, 12 square miles have been measured off as the actual site of the city. The
THE PRIZE DESIGN FOR THE FEDERAL CAPITAL OF AUSTRALIA.
THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN THE NEW FEDERAL CAPITAL
(From the Prize Designs)
spot will hold intense interest to those who watch
the daily building of a new and modern city spring-
ing from the very mountains of this oldest of old
lands.

In five days we drove about 190 miles over the
reservation. Viewed from every point, beauty
increased, and possibilities grew with each hour of
driving. The secretary of the department chanced
to be on the spot, also the Surveyor-in-Chief of the
Commonwealth. Maps, books, designs, literature,
explanations, and detail were all on such a large
scale as to almost bewilder the mind of a woman.

An immense gorge in the mountains will form
a water supply of such vast extent and capacity
that the water question of the city, should the popu-
lation reach unheard-of numbers, is settled at the
very outset. This is the great advantage of the
whole situation—the certainty of the supply will
sound a note of security. The district will be governed
something after the manner of the federal city of the
United States. The people who dwell within the
boundaries will be disfranchised, as they also are in
the District of Columbia, and no land will be sold.

Already there are general offices for the depart-
ments. A small three-roomed residence for the
secretary of the department, workmen's cottages,
several camps, 200 miles of splendidly built roads,
and an observatory, which is in no mean degree of
advancement, considering that operations are sus-
pended from time to time by reason of the lack of
funds. It is the purpose, however, to push the work
in 1918 with some 4,000 workmen as soon as means
are available.
AUSTRALIA

The present generation of builders will not live to see the city in any sense complete. It must be the labour of many years. It is the hope of Australia, that gradually there will appear upon those hills one master-stroke of architecture after another, until a world-triumph will stand in the form of a modern city suited to the climate, of which the on-coming generations will be proud.

All success to the new city, which has been christened Canberra.
MR. CHARLES SCRIVENER, THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL.
TEMPORARY OFFICE FOR HOME AFFAIRS AT THE CAPITAL.

FIRST OFFICIAL RESIDENCE IN THE CAPITAL CITY. BUILT BY COLONEL MILLER, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL TERRITORY.
CHAPTER IV
THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA

"From gross delights and selfish aims,
From souls that love whate'er is mean,
From every thought that mars or shames,
Keep Thou our waking manhood clean."

Kenneth Mackay.

In most countries the population is a matter of natural increase. As peoples are a reflection of the locality in which they are born, a race is as much the product of a country as trees are of the soil. Students agree that the geographical position, climate, landscape, and, in fact, the soil itself, because of what it produces, are all woven into the very fabric of peoples, producing that indefinable whole summed up in the word temperament. It therefore holds that, in general make-up, they must be in harmony with other features of nature about them. Types of people are but so many expressions of physical geography.

The Greeks wrought what they did, not because they were Greeks, but because of the particular situation and conditions of Greece. The Spartan women were a phase of development, not because they were born in a country called Sparta, that might have been anywhere, but because Sparta is where it is. The word "call" expresses it better, perhaps, than any other. The "call" of a locality gets
into the very blood, and creates national characteristics.

Olive Schreiner once took me out to the little house where she wrote her remarkable book, "The Story of an African Farm." Not far away is a great hill edging the desert, called there "the karoo." A furious wind sweeps round the corners of the house, and in some mysterious manner resolves itself into a low, sad wail. With almost human energy, it sighs itself into every nook and crevice, gathering like a cloud of sound around the head and ears of all within the walls.

When Mrs. Schreiner grew enthusiastic of the solitude of this waste place, and told me she often saw tigers prowling over the hills as she looked out of the little window while writing, being more impressed with the present wail than the past tigers, I inquired: "But what about the wind from the desert?" Her face grew fairly radiant as she exclaimed: "I love it. I love its vastness. The great stretches were the constant inspiration of the book, and what you call a wail, was the voice of unmeasured greatness speaking to my soul."

She was born in Africa, has travelled in many countries of the world, but, bound up in the restless spell of the karoo, she always gravitates toward her strongest love. She is part of it. It is part of her.

This general fact, that peoples are in a true sense a very part of their surroundings, makes it easy to describe them; but not so of Australia. Correctly speaking, it cannot be said that there is yet a generation of Australians who bear the imprint
of Australian atmosphere. The country is too young. It is true there is a third generation of sons of the soil. Most of them are yet in swaddlings. The wisest seer could not prophesy what characteristics they will develop. The second generation since the settlement of the country may be Scotch, English, Irish, or even German on one side, with a half-Australian parent on the other: hence, the population cannot be regarded as a product of the country, or termed Australians, any more than the heterogeneous mass occupying the United States can be called Americans. There are few in the latter country who could date American parentage on both sides four, or even three, generations back.

The question of parentage, however, matters less here than elsewhere. The people of Australia are intensely patriotic, and possess a genuine love of country, but as to a line of ancestry, they have a very wholesome disregard for it as a necessary factor in human affairs. They well know that in a democratic country, verging so closely upon Socialism, it counts for nothing. Little is heard of who a man’s forebears were; whether they were black or white, yellow or brown, whether they were born in or out of wedlock, or hanged and quartered. What their occupation may have been is of little moment. There is a mighty need of brains. The man who can supply mental energy finds scope to use it in the interests of the people and for the good of the country. He is not debarred from any position, even that of leader of the Nation, because of circumstances which may or may not have surrounded his youth or his parentage. No one cries out, “Crucify
him! His father was this or that." Some of the men of brains, and good, hard common sense, without the means of an early education, have thought out schemes and put into operation plans which have made Australia what it is to-day. It must be noticed, however, that marked ability has usually occupied itself in working out some developing process, rather than dealing with scientific government; matters which call for a trained mind, rather than one of mechanical bent.

As the people are in a transition period, evolving from old-world temperament into a state of local colouring of both mind and body, it is impossible to write of them in their present condition other than as a mixture of two races, in which the Australian type is decidedly manifesting itself in the younger generation.

Generally speaking, there is rather more than less of an artistic sense in the average person. This is a somewhat unexpected feature. The material side of life in a new country makes such relentless demands upon time and energy that everything is crude. The people are apt to become crude also, from the very lack of time to follow the natural inclinations of mind or soul desire.

In the midst of all this strenuous life more or less time has been given to the cultivation of the voice, and the training of the musical talent, which is the general heritage of the young. Almost everyone sings. The sweetest notes of the rarest birds cannot compare with the thrilling delight of the human voice. All the song birds of the world could not hold the thousands under the magic power
LAUGHING JACKASSES.

COMPANION BIRDS IN THE ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS, SYDNEY.
of an Australian Melba, or Ada Crossley—they are but two, outstanding, to be sure, of the many who are wonderfully endowed with the power of song.

It has frequently been commented upon that birds in Australia are as a rule songless. But the compensating kindness of old Mother Nature leads one to say, "Natural law makes no mistake." In journeying through the country, one is almost stricken with a sense of loneliness, because of the absence of song birds. The plumage of the feathered tribes is gorgeous, and completely harmonises with the rich and vivid colouring of their setting. They seem to be part of the flaming sunsets and all else about them. Strange to say, no one expects them to sing. They are caged or housed in many homes merely because of their grace of body and brilliancy of plumage. The people are quite content to do the singing, and enjoy the silent beauty of the birds.

Music has always been a popular form of entertainment. There is scarcely a singer of note, or a musician of pronounced genius, who has not been taken to Australia at most unheard-of expense, and, be it known, without a financial loss. German musical societies render German music in the original under most able directors, and have sustained public interest year in and year out.

When the Duke of Edinburgh visited the Colonies in 1867 a reception cantata was written and set to music by local talent. It was rendered by 5,000 voices, with an orchestra of fifty pieces, and a grand organ built by an Australian firm. Popular "Monday
Musicals” in the Town Hall of Melbourne discovered Nellie Mitchell (Melba).

The grand old De Kontski, the last pupil of Beethoven, bewitched the throngs that streamed to hear him. Perhaps the greatest musical festival of the Southern Hemisphere was a thirteen weeks’ engagement, during which fifty-two orchestral concerts were given. They were held when Paddy’s Market, in Sydney, was new; before it had been defiled by anything so earthy as trade and traffic, or eating and drinking.

At one time a colossal choir of 4,648 school children sang a more or less difficult programme, after but a month in which to prepare.

Many attempts have been made at the composition of an Australian National Anthem. The most popular was sung before an audience of 40,000 people. Needless to say, it captured every heart:

“Maker of earth and sea,
What shall we render Thee?
All things are Thine.
Ours but from day to day,
Still with one heart to pray,
God bless our land alway,
This land of Thine.

“Here let Thy peace abide;
Never may strife divide
This land of Thine.
Let us united stand,
One great Australian band,
Heart to heart, hand to hand,
Heart and hand Thine.
"Strong to defend our right,
Proud in all nations' sight,
Lowly in Thine—
One in all noble fame,
Still be our path the same,
Onward in Freedom's name,
Upward in Thine."

There seems to be an artistic note in the people. Everything in the country is unique, and should develop a characteristic school of art. But as yet there is not the first indication of an expression of Australian art which pervades the country. This is because the people, like the age in which they live, are most material. "They are of the earth, earthy." The detail of building up a new country is material in the extreme. One hears little besides stocks, sheep, wool, rain-belts, wheat-belts, railways, immigration, and those most important things which are the foundation of a new country, but when forever talked of savour strongly of an earth-eaten soul.

When men make large sums of money, they send to Europe for art decorations, pictures and sculpture, often with no more appreciation of them than a cat would have of a holiday. But the public mind associates these things with "moneyed people," and there they are. It is true that the Soul of Australia has not yet produced an artist, working upon native subjects. When a student feels the call to express himself on canvas or in marble, he hies away to Europe to study, removing himself from the only possible development of an Australian artist. One could no more express Australian character in art by painting in Europe than a blacksmith could
forge horseshoes in the clouds. There is a lack everywhere of any expression of the Soul of Australia, which differs from everything else in the unique possibilities it affords. I have been thrilled beyond the power of speech in the desolate and waste places, as I have felt the magic power of a breathing soul in the mere vastness of the stretches before me. Oh, what an Australian artist, poet, sculptor could create! What the unbounded freedom of this restless, moving spirit could weave into art! Marble could take almost Divine form; canvas would speak a new language to the world, known only to the heart which hears it in the bosom of Nature. It must come—it will come! The power is irresistible. It will leap up in the blowing sands upon stretching plains; speak through the herds upon ten thousand hills. It will settle from the lowering clouds upon the last mountain peak, and circle into life with voices from the very stones by the wayside. The man who will sally forth drinking in what the Soul of Australia has to give, and in turn pass it on to the waiting people, will do as much for Australia in the future as the most ardent explorer has accomplished in the past. Australia needs ballast between the material and the Divine, between the Present and the Future. Stepping stones to a touch with the Eternal. The soul of a country revealed to the people through the compelling force of a native art by a native artist for native people is ever an upward and onward trend. Art, like temperament, is natural. It belongs to local landscape and environment. It is richest when drawn from sympathetic touch with Nature. This oldest of all lands has a message to the newest of
all conditions. Where are the men and women to deliver it?

So far as I am able to learn, there is but one native-born, locally trained Australian sculptor. There are others occupied in various States, but all have studied abroad, returning with a foreign brand which becomes the current coinage because there is no local mint.

When visiting the studio of Mr. Webb Gilbert, whose works bear marks of striking originality if not of Australian conception, I took the opportunity to gather his ideas concerning the prospects of a national school of Australian art. Mr. Gilbert takes a rather pessimistic view of the situation. "The great trouble," he said, "is the lack of support given to a local artist who deals with Australian subjects. Those who have money consider it the proper thing to import, not because they know anything about art, but 'from Europe' is the hall-mark for those who furnish their houses for other people to criticise. The really artistic class, those who know anything about it, have limited means, and cannot indulge their fancy."

Although Mr. Gilbert was born in Victoria, there was nothing about his studio to suggest his native land. From a huge block of marble he was slowly bringing out graceful curves and lines which would later stand forth a beautiful woman. But she might be one of many tribes. There was nothing local about her. The most striking feature in the studio was a large group in bas-relief, representing—of all things—a Tibetan legend. The detail was as finely wrought as anything I have seen in Italy or Asia.
A Chinese sat for some weeks as a model. The artist is so familiar with the story his work represents that he fully caught the soul of the remote Ancient who had come down to the close of life, leaving its ceaseless struggle behind, thinking only of what awaited him in some other realm. It is wonderfully worked out—a masterly production. True art is in every stroke. As I drank in all that it stood for, and what it must convey to anyone with the smallest sense of art, I inwardly sighed to think what a loss it was to Australia that so much talent should have been bestowed upon a foreign subject. I thought of the timber camps, the goldfields, the plains, and countless spots where Australia itself could be made fairly to live and breathe under the touch of this artist's hand. To feel the pulse beats and the heart throbs of a new art that would astonish the world, and see a drifting and still drifting in the other direction, is disheartening to a struggling man. Mr. Gilbert practically fought his way to his studio alone. When but nine years of age he was hurled upon a pitiless world, with the art genius in his soul and the fires of ambition burning in his being ere the battle of life was upon him. Through all he kept his eye on a definite goal, and, unaided, has achieved wonders. His courage is worthy of his country. He related, with much modesty, his toilsome days and often sleepless nights in brave attempts to give the people something of their very own. In summing up the drift of artistic taste, a school of Australian Art to him seemed almost hopeless. Upon inquiry as to his future prospects, there was no uncertain note in his reply:
A REMARKABLE SCULPTURE BY WEBB GILBERT, OF MELBOURNE.
THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA

"I shall stick to it, until the people learn that Australian talent is not to be despised because it springs upon a native heath."

Success is assured for him. These people will, in future generations, come into their own. There will be a race of Australians as sturdy of body, trained of mind and cultured of manner as ever took rootage upon fertile fields in balmy clime. It will come, but—it will be a very long time, for it must travel over the sure pathway of steady development.
CHAPTER V

AMUSEMENTS AND GAMBLING

"It is well to collar and kick and pass
In a fierce-fought football match;
And it's grand to bring a flyer to grass,
While the barrackers breathless watch."

Kenneth Mackay.

In the matter of amusements there is little calm, quiet enjoyment among the masses. They must have excitement in some form. Something that fairly gallops along with a moving interest—the sort that strains every nerve, awakens all expectancy, and ends with a rushing climax; the more blood-stirring and hair-raising the better. They love to shout, clap their hands, wave their hats, and by real demonstration show their approval and appreciation, or the reverse, of the incident claiming attention.

At a political meeting the average man will get as much enjoyment out of hearing his favourite candidate heckled as he does from seeing an opponent put down with a sudden thud. The noise, shouting, and laughter all appeal to him, to say nothing of the quick and clever retorts which roll freely from the average stump orator. Women, too, enter into the spirit of it with great zest; not because they have the slightest idea what it all means, but it is an
opportunity to give vent to an abnormal desire to manifest.

Crowds, numbering hundreds, stand in the street for two hours at a time, and derive no end of enjoyment from the harangue of some agitator whose utterances are often destitute of rhyme or reason.

On Sundays the parks and domains are crowded with people who merely go to amuse themselves by looking at quaint and often weird freaks; some of these speakers are burdened with a “message”; others are out airing a grievance, but few of the onlookers are really interested beyond being with the crowds, and joining in anything that stirs the blood. They get downright amusement out of the merest trifles.

Rinking is most popular, and was quite the craze when I left Australia. There was no line drawn as to times or seasons when “sets” might go. The rinks are open to all, and attract every class. The lady of the house glides past her maid, triumphantly performing the same grand double-step with sundry and all sorts. Everybody pays the same “floorage,” and all have equal rights. No questions as to where one may go; no doubtful boundaries beyond which the favoured would not pass. None of that. Whatever may be the lines of demarcation outside, in the rink they all reach a common ground. So popular was the amusement that there was not a single grade of society unrepresented on the floor, with the exception of those who were under lock and key and could not get there.

Moving pictures have had a run in every State.
In fact, at almost every siding where there is a hall, they are crowded with a jolly throng, and are the great family outing for Saturday night, when hundreds buy their tickets fully aware that there is but standing room. At various times a bit of a stir in the papers or from the pulpit as to the standard of the pictures has resulted in increased attendances. As a whole the tone is well sustained. There is no doubt as to the educational value of the amusement. It is a sane and helpful expenditure of time and money, if not carried to excess.

The theatre holds its own, and probably always will. In Australia, the management produces the sensational to a very large extent although the presentation is clean morally. Much of it is harmless enough, but some features could be dispensed with to the general good of high ideals. As a rule, the theatres are crowded with young and old, who seem thoroughly to enjoy anything whatever that stands for acting.

There is, of course, a section of every community to which this does not apply. Thousands take their pleasure and amusement in a normal and quiet way. For those to whom wild demonstration does not appeal, there are less intense forms of entertainment. High-class music is always offered to the people who seek the milder and more real forms of pleasure.

While much amusement is taken in a less strenuous way, it must be said many forms of it manifest an increasing desire for excitement, which is a matter quite apart from the rational, healthy, amusement-loving spirit which is always a hopeful feature in any people. If this abnormal love of excitement could
A YACHT RACE IN SYDNEY HARBOUR.
C. ITALIAE
be suppressed in the young, or the energy of it
directed into some channel of usefulness, it would
be good in the next generation.

The question naturally arises: Why so much
undue excitement? Upon investigation, we find
there is a vital reason for much of the cheering,
hat-swinging, hand-clapping, and general uproar, for
that is what it amounts to. The truth is, many of
the onlookers have coin of the realm at stake in the
proceedings where the crowds are found at games
of chance. The spirit of gambling is rampant among
all classes. This is not to say that every Australian
stakes money on sports, or games; but some of all
classes indulge freely in seeking this form of gain.

The average person in Australia, including some
men, women, and children from each class, seems
born with the blood of chance in his or her veins.
If not, it has been inhaled from the gambling atmo-
sphere which pervades all things. This is a sweeping
statement. Let the doubter go into the question.
He will find the gambler in all grades of society,
from the smart set, who are by no means the least
of sinners, to children ten and twelve years old,
who may be seen on the race-course, publicly putting
down gold and backing a favourite horse. The Dean
of Newcastle remarked recently that children, boys
and girls not more than ten years old, could give the
names of the twelve winning horses of the Melbourne
Cup, but had no idea of the names of the twelve
Apostles. Children begin with marbles, and end only
with opportunity to stake anything upon which they
can put their hands. Small girls at school have been
known to bet their lunch, and, losing it, to go without.
Some boys were playing marbles under a tree where I happened to be visiting the school. Suddenly a spider, dropping by its web, stopped within about three feet of the ground. The attention of the boys was attracted toward the movement, whereupon one of them said, "I bet it will run up."

"I bet it will drop," called another.

"What do you bet?" chirped a third.

All the marbles in the possession of the first boy were staked on the movements of the spider. The interest in that insect became a consuming passion with the little group. They scurried along the ground some distance from the dangling spider, where, squatting on their heels, they breathlessly watched the course of travel. Suddenly it dropped, perhaps another foot, then unexpectedly took an upward course. It had come down, and also "run up."

In settling the matter as to who had won the bet, a free fist-fight ensued, and two of the boys became disabled on the winner attempting to secure his winnings from the other boy, who protested that the spider did "run up."

In the factories, and among the shop assistants, gambling is almost universal. Girls save a certain amount each week, merely to stake it on chance of some kind. Often the percentage of their earnings thus risked deprives them of many comforts which they would otherwise be able to secure. But what wonder, after all, that these girls so freely indulge in what to them does not appear an evil? For the spirit of gambling may be traced to the very doors of the church, where the exchequer is reimbursed
AMUSEMENTS AND GAMBLING

from the proceeds of raffles at which an object is sold for twenty times its value.

Card-playing is a favourite pastime in the home. Often without stakes, but more frequently there are risks, even if the amount is small. Women gamble at cards to a much greater extent than is generally known. They often leave home at eleven o'clock in the morning, gather at the house of some woman friend, and keep up the playing, with an interval for lunch, until afternoon tea is brought into the room. Bridge is their choice of card games, but there are others with which women are familiar.

A Commission was appointed by the Government to investigate the result of the totalisator, and the possibility of dishonesty in the use of it. Some of the evidence given must have been a revelation to Australia.

A leading bookmaker stated under oath that his yearly turnover was about £800,000. This is merely one operator on the turf.

In Sydney, during 1911, £6,500,000 passed through the hands of the bookmakers, and this city is by no means the scene of the great and favourite races. Evidence showed that the annual amount changing hands in the Commonwealth on the race-course alone amounts to £20,000,000. Added to this is the equal amount placed on games of chance: for every event in the sporting world means stakes from the general public. This statement has been made by no less an authority than Bernard R. Wise in his work, "The Commonwealth of Australia," in which he affirms that "nine-tenths of the embezzlements, and forgeries and breaches of trust which come up
in the Australian courts are directly due to horse-
racing and its concomitants."

The question of women making use of the gam-
bling machine has been under consideration by the
Commission. At the present time they go in herds,
flocks and droves to the race-course. The Melbourne
Cup Day of 1911 presented a scene scarcely more
than equalled at Ascot. It was most gorgeous. The
weather was perfect, and there were 120,000 people
on the grounds, who had come from all States—
from places so remote that two weeks of time must
be spent in travel alone to reach the capital. Accom-
modation on steamers was impossible unless a passage
was booked months ahead. Every possible space
where a human form could be folded up like a jack-
knife, and stowed away, was packed with a cargo
of human freight. Hotels in Melbourne were over-
crowded in a similar way. The display of ladies' 
dresses on the lawn was beyond description. This
dazzling picture must have represented the expendi-
ture of thousands of pounds.

Women are there not only to see but to chance.
After the races a woman's letter appeared in the
Evening Post for September 30th, 1911. As it so
perfectly describes many a scene on the course, it
is presented in full for future meditation:

"Then the football scrimmage at the totalisator.
I give you my word it is the hottest thing you can get
into. They talk a lot about a 'man's strong arm,' but
a 'woman's elbow,' with a good back drive, that knocks
the flies off you, and the language, even among the 'perfect
ladies,' is very blue. We heard one of the nobility say
'damn' four times in a minute while she was fighting
her way to the window. There was admitted provocation, because each time she said it, a portion of her wearing apparel had been torn off by other strugglers, and you know, girls, we wear so little nowadays that we can't afford to lose much. The men gather round and watch the mêlée with an amused grin. All the same, they are not above getting us to put a bit on for them—you know. They talk for a quarter of an hour on the demoralising effect of racing on women in the abstract, and then ask the demoralised one to get him a five-shilling ticket on 'Amendment.'

"We heard one lady tell a party of eight good souls that it was lucky to rub a Chinaman well; the poor things had lost up till then, so they started looking for a mascot, and soon sighted 'Johnny' walking on the paddock, and rushed him. They all got round and jostled the unfortunate celestial. If he had been of a musical turn he might have sung, 'Put me among the girls,' because he was there all right."

The whole thing is considered so utterly demoralising to women that the Commission considered the question as to whether they shall be allowed to bet at any of the races by the use of the totalisator. We infer from this that women are more easily demoralised than men, or that the latter have already reached the limit.

The extent of the interest in racing may be gathered from the statement of one of the secretaries of a racing association, which was but one of hundreds. He explained that the society was composed of forty-three clubs, among which were Friendly Societies and Eight-Hour Clubs, and Licensed Victuallers' meetings. All of these, of course, profit by their affiliation with the association.
Another point made clear in the evidence was the utter dishonesty of the average jockey. The bookmakers depend so entirely upon their dishonesty that when a rider has been disqualified or suspended, it is quite understood that the bookmakers are to keep him until his licence is restored.

Aside from horse-racing, upon which betting is indulged by all sorts, each class seems to have a recognised feature of chance from which others are excluded, not by arbitrary rule, but by a sort of "common consent" arrangement. The mining region has its sports; the timber regions and the city and villages. It is safe to say that there is not a single class along the various grades of society unrepresented in a wild rush of greed for gain: something for nothing. Every once in a while there is a pious outbreak by the Press against the national evil, but it is through this same medium that the gambling public is kept in touch with the turf. From it comes the first news of results so eagerly awaited by the gambling-mad crowds. The Pulpit joins in a periodical note of danger, which, like the beating of a mighty drum or the blowing of a furious blast, leaves but an echo. This dies with the midnight watches, without gathering the force of action, and Press and Pulpit lapse into an after-storm calm, and luxuriate in the atmosphere of duty well done: in an alarm well sounded. But the evil spreads—thrusts its roots down and down, growing firmer in grip and stronger in grasp upon national life each year.

On the goldfields, especially in Western Australia, where everything is gamble, gamble, gamble, the
chief source of chance, aside from the big races held annually, is whippet racing. Dogs of this small breed are trained to the course, and are in such demand that the price has increased 50 per cent. in a very few years. Men are employed, and give their entire time to the training of the animals. The dogs are as carefully bred and reared as are the best race-horses. The races take place every week, and are attended chiefly by working people. Entire families attend. Women become so excited that they are hardly responsible for their sayings and doings. They are quite beside themselves in wild demonstrations in which the youngsters join with shout and yell, until an attempt at speech on the part of an onlooker is impossible. It is a perfect tumult, uproar, and Bedlam turned loose from start to finish. Often the week’s wage is staked and lost to the last threepence.

The real distress caused by excessive indulgence in this favourite sport has kept whole families in poverty and want year in and year out.

In speaking to a whippet owner as to the possibilities of dishonesty in these races, he described the manner in which dogs were “doped.” Frequently a dog is given an effective but harmless dose to prevent him winning the race, just as jockeys are bribed to hold back their horses in the interests of the bookmaker. This, like horse-racing, is not even clean, fair gambling.

Large sums of money change hands in betting on the flight of pigeons. Thousands of these birds are bred for the chances staked on their flight. They are hatched in a certain locality, and when full grown
are carried to given points of greater or less distance from home, liberated, and the money is gained or lost on the speed of their return to the places from which they were taken.

Often whole Sundays are spent making the long journey, with no other object than gain. There is no sport about it; no opportunity of being amused while the return is made. It has a money basis pure and simple. There is, of course, a peculiar interest attached to the bird itself. No matter whether it is taken east, west, north or south, the moment freedom is secured away it goes, with face set toward home.

The birds are sold by breeders for half a crown a pair, and a comfortable living can always be made by supplying the demand.

In Western Australia the business men put themselves on record in regard to the gambling evil. The following resolution was unanimously passed at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in Perth:

"Owing to the spread of gambling in the State, this Chamber urges upon the Government the necessity for enforcing the gambling laws, in order to suppress it; Gambling, it was stated, was carried on to an extent in Kalgoorlie paralleled in no other part of Australia. Women were the worst gamblers, and the money which the miners gave their wives to pay the storekeepers’ bills was often squandered in whippet racing. Warehouse managers stated that dishonesty of a party of youthful employees had been traced to unregistered racing, which with registered racing, it was urged, should be restricted. A deputation from the Chamber will bring the matter before the acting Premier."
MANLY BEACH ON A WARM DAY.
"The Commissioner of Police (Mr. Hare) when interviewed, said that he had received a letter from the Kalgoorlie Council, urging the suppression of betting. 'Personally,' he said, 'I have, ever since I became Commissioner, been in favour of the suppression of bookmaking at race meetings and sports gatherings. The laws permit of this being done, but for many years past it has been allowed to continue. Racing clubs would not, in my opinion, suffer in the slightest degree if bookmaking were prohibited, because the totalisator gives ample facilities for any speculation which racegoers desire to indulge in."

While this was being done by the responsible portion of the community, the Government extended every possible facility to indulge in the vice in the district where this vote was the chief factor in placing Labour members in power.

In New South Wales the guardians of morals urged a State Lottery as a productive resource in State revenue. The chief function of government is to protect the weak against the strong. Every member of every parliament should be as interested in the moral welfare of a community as it is in the material progress. To see a vice which has reached the magnitude of a national curse flourish at noonday, producing only evil effects wherever it lifts its brazen head, and then proceed to entrench it behind the mighty fortifications of legislation, brands a set of law-makers as unworthy guardians of the interests of the home and the young.

An Australian crowd is generally good-natured and courteous. To watch the people collect and mass themselves together is an experience of great interest. They gravitate toward a collection of their fellows
as naturally as waves come to the shore and recede. The object of attraction matters little. It may be a well-known missioner, or the landing of a prize-fighter. When Johnson, the negro pugilist, visited Australia, the section of the community which view his brutality as a "scientific expression of high-class art" flocked in tens of thousands to welcome him. The crush was so great as they bore down upon him in a mad attempt to touch the hem of his coat-tails, that at times life and limb seemed in danger. The police dug him out from the motley mass, and later he was wined and dined to the limit of his capacity.

These wild scenes of unbridled enjoyment repeat themselves on every possible occasion that gives scope to a real and genuine outburst. The coming of a stranger, the going of a well-known personality, the celebration of a national day, a football game, rowing, boating, anything whatever, inspires action. Girls and boys, women and men, all take a hand or voice in anything that leads to a crowd, or offers an excuse for a lusty yell.
CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE BACKBLOCKS

"But a people rot in the lap of ease,
And trade, be it all in all,
Breeds the canker-worm of a fell disease—
The germ of a Nation’s fall."

KENNETH MACKAY.

The “Never-Never” is the Soul of Australia. This is where failure kills, or success is writ large; where weak women are made strong, and courage finds birth in a single day of struggle; where Hope chases the shadows of Despair that lower and often settle upon the heavy grind of daily toil. So hard is the struggle that only a woman’s heart may cry it out. Her soul would shrivel if her faith failed. The blowing sands of the “Never-Never” have made women brave to endure. The sweeping fires which threaten property and life have armed them with almost superhuman strength. The howling winds, which roar about the house, hammering and beating at door and window until no spoken word within can be heard, bring no terror to her heart which is stayed on Him “Who calmed the waves on Galilee.” Soul meets soul in the battle—a battle in which women would go to the wall did not the hand of Nature restore a balance at her very feet in those kindly voices which compel a forgetfulness of woe-swept senses. Morning always comes after a night of storm.
The pale dawn seems to stretch out arms of light, offering a compensating embrace of gladness that banishes all gloom. Ten thousand sand-flowers, dripping with the jewelled glory of dewdrops, lift their heads in morning salutation. Miles of yellow and pink and purple loveliness, born not to droop on dinner tables in remote cities, shed their beauty where faint hearts may be renewed by this near touch of the Divine.

After having lived in fifty-two communities of the world, nothing has awakened within me so much intense admiration as the bravery of these pioneers of a new country who have been, and are still, fashioning a higher destiny for millions of the human race. I most reverently say, "All hail!"—and gladly yield the unfading palm of a dauntless courage, a determined purpose, and an almost superhuman achievement to these heroic spirits. No words can express the part women have taken in the settlement of Australia. They should have place in the new Hall of Fame. Their names should be written large in the history of their country. They never will be. It is not the custom. There is no kind of toil to which man has put his hand, but woman has bravely and heroically taken her share, bearing and rearing children, as well as performing unlimited and unnamed drudgery. They have "subdued" the land, dug wells, felled and burned trees, put up houses, stables, fowl-runs and fences, driven six-horse teams, ploughed, and, in fact, have stopped only where demand ceased or strength failed.

With the inborn desire to do everything possible they have developed small products, by the sale of
LIFE IN THE BACKBLOCKS

which they have clothed and educated the children, frequently taking their produce fifty miles to market, the whole stretch of the weary way being a trackless tale of mother-love, which truly "endureth all things." Women have burnt, beaten and hammered their imprint upon this country in a manner that only Eternity will reveal. While men cleared the bush, women wrought to the extreme of their strength.

I know one woman whose whole family was born so remote from a doctor that all seven of her children had to take the chance of living or dying, to say nothing of the risk of the mother. This was a common state of affairs. No doctors, nurses, hospitals or medical service within a hundred miles.

The Governments have tried to recognise the fact that this is one feature of home life in the newer places which demands attention; but as yet the only step taken is to contribute a certain amount yearly to the income of medical men who will go out as far as possible. This, however, leaves many settlers a distance of from fifty to one hundred miles away from medical service.

Lady Dudley formulated a scheme of district nursing for the backblocks, but it fell through for lack of financial support, and no special movement is now organised to meet the situation.

Even at the present moment a most shameful and cruel condition surrounds hundreds of mothers in the backblocks.

Abraham Lincoln declared the greatest national asset to be mothers. Someone in Australia, by a process of calculation all unknown to the mind of
womankind, has estimated the advent of a child as a national asset to the value of some £242. It looks cold-blooded to set down these three small—very small—figures as the material value of child-life to a State, but such is the spirit of the age. It may be possible that there is a table of addition or subtraction whereby the value of a child to a State can be worked out to a fraction, but there has never yet been discovered a multiplication process that could compute and put down in figures, of whatsoever length, the value to the State of the "mothers of men."

It is the right of all prospective mothers to demand the utmost care and attention. The Church, the State, and Society owe it to them. The criterion of the heights to which a civilisation has risen is the provision made to bridge mothers over the extreme experience of their lives, and provide service and comfort that will preserve to the home and State the mother-care for children, and protect women from the needless waste of life, without which child, home, and State all suffer.

In the city or town there is remarkable readiness to "lend a helping hand." A hard-working woman considers it not only her duty, but a real privilege, to do anything in her power for a neighbour's husband or children when the wife and mother is incapacitated for domestic duties. Among the few charms of life in the poor districts is the really Christlike spirit of the charity and service rendered so freely to their fellow-creatures in distress. Yes, in any town or city the children, home and husband will be looked after in such cases.
LIFE IN THE BACKBLOCKS

But what about the mother out in the backblocks? Many women are so far away that, were facilities to reach a city hospital available, it would still be quite out of the question to leave home. What would become of the children while the mother was away? Perhaps the nearest farm is ten miles distant. The folk there, too, are short of help, and could not leave home, and the possibility of housing more children is entirely out of the question. The plain truth is: the mother cannot leave her home.

What about those mothers a hundred miles off the railway, which means the same distance from the nearest doctor? I know a doctor who was wired for to go to a mother in the very extreme of suffering—a case of urgent need for the best medical skill. He coolly replied: "I will come for a guarantee of twenty pounds"—and this, too, to a family that had rarely seen a coin of any kind, being entirely dependent upon the usages of the "stores" system, which keeps scores of farmers in the grind of abject poverty. I have also known a nurse who refused to go to a similar case unless £3 10s. a week was pledged. These cases, which I positively know to be true, are the exceptions for which we blush over "man's inhumanity to man."

After seeing much of the needs of life in all the States, I am quite convinced that district nursing in the bush will never meet the cruel, cruel needs until maternity nursing is taken up by the Churches as a home missionary agency. What ordinary professional nurse is going to sacrifice her usual comforts and isolate herself from the life to which she
has been accustomed by going to the bush, when she can do just as well, in a business way, in the centres of life and activity? No, a nurse, to meet the requirements of bush life, must first of all be well trained, and next, she must be filled, to running over, with the missionary spirit; that spirit of consecration of service to God and her fellow-creatures that will endure "all things"; the sort of inspiration that has sent men and women to China and the ends of the earth as medical and maternity missionaries, specially trained to meet the needs of those lands.

The Churches consider it worth while to send maternity nurses to foreign fields, to women whose physical and spiritual needs in no sense measure up to the wicked neglect of women of their own tongue, tribe, and race, who know as little of a higher life as the merest pagans the world over. There are conditions in the far backblocks before which paganism pales and fades away. There are women in Australia, white women, and children, too, who at the present moment are helping to develop the national resources of that new land—women who are an asset to this country, and should be made the same for the life to come, who have equal claims on the Church with the pagan mother. The glamour of distance and a false idea of the virtue of self-sacrifice have cast a spell of enchantment that allures many to far fields by no means so needy as this homeland. In every non-Christian country of the world there is medical service, such as it is, in the most remote regions—and as for paganism, it is not necessary to seek it abroad.
RECLAIMED BACKBLOCKS: ORANGE GATHERING.

RECLAIMED BACKBLOCKS: HOP PICKING.
One by no means discounts the need of foreign lands, or the duty of Christendom to those peoples; but in the face of such dire necessity for help, when the cry of the mother rises from every section of this great land, one longs to weave the fabric of romance and sentiment about the "Never, Never," and clothe it with the fascination of wearing pagan clothes, living in native style, and spending years in the study of a foreign tongue, of which little use is made when learned. The Church has a duty it has never carried out to the people who languish in spiritual darkness and suffer physical agony indescribable. This could be met by the Church rising to the needs of the hour, and begin by making maternity nursing one of the first agencies of home missionary work. There are no end of ways in which the message of the Christ-love could be brought to the people. The sweetness of the Christ-life lived out in these homes by a skilled and consecrated woman would be a perpetual benediction. I am confident if the Churches had full knowledge of the situation, each would undertake to at least help to meet the dire needs of the home field.

And yet I do not know that they would! The pitiable and heartrending condition of the women burnt its way into my very soul and fired me with a determination to do something on their behalf. I went before the Council of Churches and plainly stated what I had seen. I offered to undertake to form a band of Young People Crusaders to raise money for such a work: that is, making maternity nursing a feature of home missionary work. The Council took the matter under consideration. The
proposition merely died a natural death, and was not so much as given a Christian burial. A leading minister of the Council, in speaking of the matter later, said: "If anyone would place in the Council's hands £2,000 a year, to carry on such a work, the basis of distribution of the fund among the different denominations would wreck the Council." Why? Well, because the struggle for grab would swamp the enterprise.

The old settlers, those who survive to tell the tale, are seamed and lined with the scars of warfare. The struggle for them is over. They learned to wrest from the soil the best it could give, and are now surrounded by all manner of modern comforts. Some have gone to live in the adjacent cities, but the majority of those who fought the battle prefer to live amid the scenes of victory. Indeed, many could not be induced to leave the bush. Things of no value and, to the average mind, positively ugly possess, for them, a rare fascination. A scrubby old tree becomes a monument of strength. The very sand-plains, which have never produced a farthing's value, speak with ten thousand voices. There are no desolate places. Everything has received a baptism of tongues—of soul language. Men and women understand it together.

Each stroke has helped to weld their lives into a unity of spirit that is beautiful beyond all description. This going down-hill hand in hand after the hard march to the top is as pathetic a feature of out-back life as it is beautiful.

During an inland trip I was the guest of a couple who had been comrades for forty years. They were
A FRIENDLY VISITOR IN THE BACKBLOCKS: KANGAROO AND YOUNG.
comfortable. A daughter took charge of the house, and the boys "looked after things." My visit chanced to be when the fruit trees were in blossom. As the day waned, and the sun cast lengthened shadows, we went to the orchard to enjoy the wealth of flowers with their promise of abundant fruit. We sat upon an old log under a tree. The good wife threw her sun-bonnet back from a strong and intelligent face, so that it hung by the strings around her neck. The farmer was silent. He was a man of few words. Over the ground stretched a carpet of fallen petals; the setting sun was playing hide-and-seek through the boughs, and the old couple were lost in retrospect, recalling the age of the trees, the time of planting—one before Bertha was born, another after Henry died: "Ah, Henry! had he lived, he would have made his mark—such a bright boy." It is always so.

Time passed. The sun hid itself away, the shadows gathered and the night was at hand.

"Come, Mother," said the good man, and his voice was low and tender; "we must go." Suiting the action to the word, he rose, and looked down upon the faded face, for "Mother" did not move. Then, grasping an overhanging bough, he gently shook the branch until the white petals fell softly upon her head and shoulders, into her lap, and among her faded locks. When the shower ceased, he murmured rather than spoke: "I'm crowning you Queen of the May, Mother; Queen of the May."

We rose, and walked in the direction of the house. She leaned hard upon his arm. When near the steps he turned, took one look in the direction of
the orchard, and said: "Yes, Mother, it's forty years!"

He disappeared into the house, and "Mother" and I sat on the veranda. She seemed in a chatty mood. With pardonable pride, the success of their efforts was related; then, retravelling the journey of life with "Dad," she said:

"Forty years is a long time. He has never been away from me but one night. At the close of each day he has always said: 'Sarah, I love you more to-day than I did yesterday.'"

There was a husky sound in her voice, and moisture in the eye as she said: "You see, it has made the heavy places so much easier, and the crooked ones are now straight." There was something about it that got into my soul. It abides with me. It was a glimpse that made me feel, though usages change, new customs spring up and are adopted, home surroundings alter, but the sweet home-spirit abides in all rural Australia.

The home-seekers from other ports must forge their way to the same sort of country to which the earlier pioneers set their faces. Everything is still pioneer. The backblocks are little nearer than they were in the old days. They are just as hard to clear; the earth is quite as unyielding to all save the toiler who compels it to put forth. The work will be equally hard for women, and the same fight which built character, stimulated hope, increased faith, wearied flesh, discouraged hearts, dampened ardour, will—must—be endured for a hundred years to come.

To settle on the land in Australia means something
A SQUATTER'S MANSION IN THE WESTERN DISTRICT, VICTORIA.
Fifty years ago this was in the Backblocks.
—in every respect. But, for all that, it is a place where woman "has come into her kingdom," Eve's paradise re-discovered. Woman's inheritance here was rightly set forth by a recent visitor, who said: "The land is hers by right of conquest of the soil. A land of barley and wheat, vine, fig-tree, and pomegranate, a land of oil olives and honey: a land wherein bread shall be eaten without scarcity: where they shall lack no good thing."
CHAPTER VII

GLIMPSES OF HOME LIFE IN AUSTRALIA

"So, on Life’s keys, with sure and steadfast hand,
Strike clear and splendid chords—and meanness must depart,
For in your art you hold the magic wand
To stir the great and good in every heart."

Kenneth Mackay.

In order to know anything about home life it is necessary to go where it is lived and become part of it. Aside from the generous hospitality of hundreds of homes where I have been made comfortable and happy in the bosom of the family, I have made opportunities to come into close contact with life in the home, and adopted methods which would bring me in the nearest touch with people of every class. Not as a matter of curiosity, but because it is my belief that a nation can never rise higher than the tone of the home.

The greatest amount of general information was gathered during the time I canvassed typical sections of cities, villages, mines and timber camps, to put electors on the roll, and to meet personally hundreds of men and women in their home surroundings.

In order to see and talk with the men-folk, much of my work was done after they returned from the toil of the day. It was a most interesting experience, this very close contact with such widely different phases of home life.
There was no difficulty in engaging men in conversation concerning the chief industry of a given locality. The largest interest of men centres around their daily occupation. The detail of the business, its value to the country, the limited outlook under which it was started, and the character of the sons who developed it, were subjects upon which men talked freely and women, too, frequently expressed their opinions. The conditions of the working-man, wages, cost of living, and everything bearing on affairs and events, was sooner or later touched upon in the course of these conversations. It was a fine experience—this feeling the heart-throbs of the masses, gathering their ideas, ideals, aspirations, and hopes, as well as their material outlook. Yes, the home is the place to get near to the people. The degree of nearness, in more or less isolated places, is a surprise to the average person. But, knowing the power of a sympathetic interest, one is able to get very close to human hearts in a wonderfully short time.

I carried out these methods to a greater or less extent in several of the States. This experience, added to observations in the hundreds of homes where I have been a guest, lead me to sum up some features of home and family life in Australia, based on abundant opportunity for study at close range.

The outstanding feature of home life, I should say, is a clannishness in the family which is hardly equalled among the Scotch. The individual is not the unit. The family is the unit. Each member seems to be included in every action, whether it is one of duty or pleasure. Thought for the others
obtains in every relation of life. It is evinced in the sweet touches of small but speaking daily acts, as well as in matters of more serious interest.

The frequent mention of the name of one away at school—the genuine delight at the thought of a speedy return, the numerous preparations for a welcome homecoming, and all the plans: "We'll do this or that; we'll go here or there when he or she comes home," is a beautiful feature of home interests. Yes, the family is the unit.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist between certain members of the family, as a whole, they make common cause in all generalities. Fall out as much as they may among themselves, there is a solid standing shoulder to shoulder for each other at the slightest indication of outside criticism.

Each family becomes a clan, as it were, and they remain so to the end; even when interests, business, and marriage remove them to distant parts. They rarely marry out of the home. The family tie is not often broken, and death only makes vacant a chair in the unit circle.

In many countries the going home or "running in" after marriage has some restraint. It is no longer "my home" in the real sense, but here there seems to be no difference. Often when the young folk take a holiday the children are sent in swarms "over to grandma's." I have known married couples who were going away for some months to distribute a family of five among the home-folk or married brothers or sisters, there to be looked after during their absence. This is not at all unusual, and the delight with which the whole family render this
HOME LIFE IN AUSTRALIA

service for one of the clan is most refreshing in this age of selfishness.

In many parts of the world parents feel as the children begin to grow up that they themselves have earned the right to indulge in pleasures of one sort or another, and "the children's time will come later." The parent-view here is very different. They reason: "The children are in the process of education, and this or that will be of greater value to them now than later. We had better plan somehow to take them." This "somehow" is a matter of intense interest, for it is a further evidence of the unit idea that works itself out so wonderfully.

As a nation is made up of the family unit, national life is largely a reflex of the home life of the people. We therefore in Australia see the logical outcome of the clan spirit of the home evinced in a spirit of nationalism rarely seen in new countries. If Victoria, Western Australia, or any of the other States sends a team to play against a foreign one, the splendid national spirit displayed toward the home players, the keen interest taken, and the eagerness awaiting the results, the loyal and patriotic demonstrations of national pride when the news comes, "the Victorians won," is a real surprise to the onlooker. To them it is "the Australians won." Their individual pride over the victory of the players from any State gives evidence of the true national spirit that characterises the young Australian. If the reverse news comes, the ready excuses for defeat, the points of disadvantage from which "our boys" suffered are blazed abroad in a manner that one cannot help admiring, although the excuse may be
pure invention. And this is a feature which will increase as time passes. It finds its rise in the source from which all true national life flows—from the bosom of the family unit or clan.

Another impressive feature of home life is the extreme measure of genius for and love of music. Not only the gift of song, but devotion to instrumental music; anything that can produce harmony: stringed, wind, or pipe, from a Jew’s harp to the largest organ in the world.

I was once asked to go far off the lines of travel, and give a few lectures in a wattle camp, where the people knew little of the outside world. A bark hut was rigged up for me, and after speaking in the evenings, I tucked myself away in a hammock in the shanty for safety from “creeping things.”

The men were shy over the presence of a lady in the camp, and the first lecture was given chiefly for the benefit of the natural denizens of the remote fastness. I suggested that we have a large campfire the next night, and I would give a musical evening. My genius is very limited along musical lines, but I once excelled in picking a Jew’s harp—an instrument found in almost every tent in that camp.

One may smile over the association of music with this ancient device, but there is real harmony in it, and skill to bring it out is of no mean order. The announcement of the “musical” to be given brought every man and woman to the camp-fire the following evening. Some of the more shy sat with their backs toward me, too nervous to face a strange lady. The scheme was a great success. That Jew’s harp
sounded a note of sympathetic interest which found a ready response in the limited assembly. After the music and an address, I returned to my primitive quarters for the night. There was a strangeness about it difficult to overcome. Sleep was impossible. I could almost feel the deep shadows which fell across my crude abode. As I listened I could hear the night sounds softened by distance. Through the cracks of the roof, away beyond the swaying branches, came the flash of a twinkling star or a stray moonbeam. The heavens have always a message for those who know the voices of the night.

But hark! late as it was, a passing breeze brought a soft and mellow sound from the abode of some weary toiler. An echo issued from some home, and the air vibrated and thrilled with a sense of joyous sound. Only a Jew’s harp! Longfellow’s lines came to mind,

"I sang a song into the air,
It fell to the earth, I knew not where:

"Long years after, from beginning to end,
I found my song in the heart of a friend."

This same touch is found in most homes. Sometimes it is a mouth-organ, accordion, or flute, and may be followed all along the list of instruments, the piano having deserved popularity.

This is by no means to say that all Australians either play or sing well, but it means that music is in them, and when it ripples into sound from the finger-ends, or gushes from the lips in merry song, it sinks into the soul as one of the refining features of home life, which never fails to leave an impress.
CHAPTER VIII

MEN IN AUSTRALIA AS HUSBANDS AND FATHERS

"This life is but a chapter in a story,
A minor phase in an omniscient plan,
A fleeting prelude to the changeless glory,
That awaits the coming perfect man."

KENNETH MACKAY.

Much space in these pages is given to the status of women and girls of Australia, because of their classification in political life and the many opportunities and obligations which fall to their lot. The position of men in all countries is practically the same, while that of women changes with the spirit of the times, until it is now taken as the criterion of national progress. It has been said: "A country will never rise above the status of its women."

To state the condition of women in Australia and relate their activities in no way discounts men, or gives the impression that the sterner sex is either the submerged or subdued half. It merely reflects the spirit of a new order of things. Men have always, throughout human history, held a recognised place. It has never been challenged, disputed, or claimed by women. So great an innovation as citizenship for women has in no way readjusted their sphere, nor is such likely to be the case. In relation to matters dealt with in these pages, men have gone the usual way of men the world over. This being so, there is
no need to dwell at length upon what they are doing or how it is being accomplished.

There are, however, two positions in which the men of Australia form an interesting study. As husbands and fathers they may be termed unique in those phases of men's lives which are less public and, consequently, little known.

The first striking feature of the husband in Australia is his assured position as head of the home—not to say head of the house, but of the aggregate forces under the roof of the house, which constitute home. There is no mistake about that. Women may vote, have political views, as they sometimes have, and may speak in public; but, as a rule, when affairs of domestic interest are in question, the husband certainly is head of the home. Not the arbitrary, stern, dominating, all-wise, "rule or ruin" sort, but the one who is consulted "because he knows." Women and children, especially girls, have always been assured that he really has a grip of things. This fact produces certain results, well worth a moment's consideration: results which will, with the changing position and education of women and girls, lead to perplexing situations. In times past the womenfolk have accepted the dictum of the head of the home as the final analysis, the highest court of appeal, and have been more or less satisfied to abide by it, until men quite unconsciously expect it. To say they demand it is overstating the situation; but they undoubtedly expect it. This refers to the average husband in a fairly well-regulated home.

Of later years, women and girls have changed.
They are more independent than formerly—much more. I well remember, when organising among these women twenty years ago, it was almost impossible to induce a woman or girl to take an office in the society until she had first "talked it over" with her husband or father. But these days we rarely hear one suggest a delayed decision until the father or husband has been consulted. To-day it is a question of "Yes" or "No," as inclination may dictate or position make possible. This is by no means the chief change which is steadily taking place. Women are now more given to thought, and consequently have views and opinions. To avoid a state of open rebellion, or to dethrone man from a position he has always held by right of being man, women have, perhaps at first without intent, taken to "managing" their menfolk. The necessity for it has grown with their increasing propensity toward ideas and opinions. Many wives confess to a fully developed art in management, and declare that "in the interests of peace it must be done."

This feature of domestic life furnishes abundant food for reflection, for it is entirely out of keeping with what the position of wives and daughters should be in a country of boasted equality of the sexes. Surely, the first principle which equality establishes is that of freedom of action so far as husbands and wives are concerned.

If a man is free to hold opinions on home matters, why should not a woman have equal privileges, without regarding a difference of opinion as a state in which "she always clashes with her husband"? This matter of "management" is degrading,
MEN AS HUSBANDS AND FATHERS 79

both to husband and wife. It must, in the very nature of things, involve more or less deceit. Some say "harmless," but anything which retards character-building and soul-growth can never be regarded as harmless. It is impossible for a wife or daughter systematically to "manage" a man without a growing contempt for the object which makes a more or less underhanded course necessary, "in the interests of peace." One can feel an inborn contempt fairly oozing out, as a woman lays her plans to convert him to her way of thinking, or to secure for herself things or privileges to which she feels fully entitled.

When the wife has failed to gain her ends, the daughter falls upon him from another point of attack, with an innocence that would do credit to a righteous cause. Having won the double battle, for herself and mother, this young miss gradually becomes aware of her superior powers over her good father, with an inner disregard (unconscious, perhaps) for the mater, who often relies upon the daughter to take up the course of "management" where she fails. So the game goes on. I have never been in any part of the world where wives and daughters so systematically, and, as a rule, so successfully, manage their husbands and fathers, while the men seem so sublimely unconscious of the fact. I do not by any means say this is true in all homes, but it is widespread.

The moral effect is pernicious, the whole system degrading, and certainly out of keeping with the otherwise delightful relationship of husbands toward wives and daughters.
One comes to feel that a husband is essentially a product of circumstances and conditions, as well as of his mother's training and cooking. The training, by common consent, has always been declared by a household of girls to be most defective. It is quite true that mothers train husbands. In Australia the attitude of husbands generally in the different grades of society towards wives and daughters is largely alike, with the difference which arises out of positions. The degree of wealth has little bearing on the real question.

Among the working-classes, husbands, unless given to drink, are whole-souled, sensible men in relation to their wives, daughters, and money—especially the latter. Of course, they expect home affairs will be talked over with them, but their wives are the freest women on earth, and really practise fewer arts of management than women in higher social circles. There is less necessity, for much of the management has a bearing solely on matters of money. It must be said that working-men have a much clearer idea of the economic value of a wife in the home than have men in other stations of life. Not because the wives of workmen do the actual work of the home—that cannot be the reason, for there are few houses in all Australia where the women are not forced to do more or less housekeeping because of the scarcity of help—but in one case, the wife is regarded as a producer equal with the man, and in the other, women are usually considered consumers and non-producers, housework notwithstanding.

When a sober workman—and there are thousands
of them among the working-class—has drawn his wages, he usually turns it over to his wife, retaining a reserve tobacco fund, for his pipe is his pocket god. He does not require a detailed account of expenditure, but expects the housewife to provide proper food, well-cooked, and to make both ends meet. The extent to which they have been able to bring the ends together may be gathered from the fact that in 1910 the amount of their accumulated savings was £58,117,498; to which was added, during the year, £48,780 in interest. This gives an average of £35 16s. per depositor, or £12 0s. 3d. per head of the entire population of the Commonwealth. It speaks well for the thrift, sobriety and prosperity of the labouring class.

Saturday night, the entire family, including the baby, start out to do the week-end marketing. Sunday dinner is always a factor in a working-man’s life. Usually it is the only one he has with his family, year in and year out, save on general holidays. His expectations are fully realised, and ample justice is done to the occasion.

After dinner, unlike men of other classes, the father often gathers up the whole brood, including “the Missis,” and the pleasures of the day are enjoyed by all. Not one is left behind, unless from choice.

The shortcoming of the workman is not so much as a husband, but rather as a father. Generally speaking, he has little or no ambition for his children. He has always worked, and as soon as possible the children, boys and girls, become wage-earners. They are often sent out into the grind, when they could,
without financial embarrassment, remain at school until a more suitable age.

Numbers of men who figure in the very forefront of the nation have come from the workman’s cottage—yes, from mines, the street, wharf, sheep-runs, and all other possible places. They have fought their way to success single-handed. This is a good thing up to a certain point; but much as they have accomplished, one may estimate the greater value their services would have been to their country had some sacrifice been made by the father to better qualify them for the positions they now hold, and for opportunities open to all.

There is a kind of husband and father, and in no small number either, who is the sort of person everyone admires, and at the same time all who have any knowledge of him in the home cordially detest him. It may be questioned if it is possible to admire and detest the same object, but it certainly is. There are scores of people, most admirable for given qualities, and equally detestable because of others. They are types of class, and are found in every part of Australia. These are brave men; men who have forged their way inland step by step, and have battled on in the very teeth of adversity with a courage which refused to be defeated. They have wrested from stubborn Nature the fruits she so reluctantly yielded. They have developed resources and in endless ways contributed to the national wealth. Most of them were wise, shrewd businessmen, and have made greater or smaller fortunes. They now live in abundant comfort amid the scenes of their early struggles. From the door of the well-
furnished home of modern conveniences, equal to those of the city house, may be seen the cattle " upon a thousand hills," and sheep roaming far and wide over vast plains. They have plenty. Life with them is now easy. The wife who has shared all the hardships, and reared a large family amid grinding toil, has an easy time so far as manual labour is concerned. There he is, from forty to a hundred miles off the railway line, and a greater or less distance from the capital city; or possibly he has abandoned the former home to revel in the luxury of city life.

This class of husband is hospitable, delightful to know, and bubbles up with tales and adventures of early life. He is full of descriptions of men and places, and is truly a part of all that he has wrought. In matters of charity he is open-handed; gives to the Church, whether he subscribes to the tenets or not, because he believes in the moral value of it to the community. He is connected with all manner of progressive movements in the district, and is frequently chosen to represent it in legislative halls. But for all this—and you are impelled and compelled to admire it—he has one fault you cannot forgive, and your last thoughts of him are akin to contempt. With the years of increasing prosperity, he has drawn in the family purse-strings until his close-fisted, grinding, selfish attitude to the partner of his toil and hardship and his young lady daughters is past all belief or description. This illustrates how curiously virtues and faults enter into the make-up of the individual.

I have known men to do things so small that the
wonder is that they can look wife and daughters in the face. A man drawing an income of £4,000 a year will go to the pantry and inspect the house supplies. Finding too many tins of this, or bottles of that, he takes the surplus in his carriage, and returns them to the grocer. His daughter, with an allowance of £1 a week, has received her cheque on Monday morning with a sixpence, given to her the day before for Church collection, deducted from the amount.

In the far-away places, a man will repeatedly take the only available conveyance and horses, drive to the railway, and leave them in the village until his return from the city. The wife is left without any means of getting about for weeks at a time, and that, too, with no other member of the family at home. A man of wealth, who frequently goes to the capital of his State where he lives at an expensive club, once took his wife to see the Melbourne Cup race. He sent her to a third-rate boarding-house, gave her £1 for spending money, and left her to get about as best she could, while he put up at his club, and enjoyed himself after the manner of men.

A man with a large family will own a motor, and keep it in a garage at a capital for his special use when he is in the city, enjoying this expensive luxury with his men friends.

The pronounced failure among husbands is this type of rich man. How you long to have greater capacity with which to despise him. How you smart and burn with indignation for the womenfolk, who have helped to earn it all, but never have a penny,
although they do have the home comforts which such a man would naturally provide for himself.

This husband is the blemish upon the husbands of Australia. His bounds are marked, for the girls of to-day are far too clever to submit to the injustice and tyranny. With his generation he will run his race and finish his course. Unmourned and unwept, he will be numbered among the past and bygones of the early days.

Another peculiarity of this type is the determination that the boys shall begin where he did. Often and often a man will tell his son that he began life with a sixpence; he does not realise that times have so changed that it is the acme of all injustice to ask his son to begin under the same conditions: that the chances of years ago have completely passed with the times, never to return.

It seems utterly hopeless to think of ever working a "change of heart" in this type. They, like their own times, will become things of the past.
CHAPTER IX

MOTHERS, CHILDREN, AND THE BIRTH-RATE

"All things are bright to you, baby mine!
For the world is very fair, and no echo of despair
Comes to fill your heart with care, baby mine.

"All lips have smiles for you, baby mine;
For earth's sadness or its gloom, there is neither place nor room,
When a life has yet to bloom, baby mine."

KENNETH MACKAY.

We may sum up the shortcomings of the women of Australia in regard to their citizenship, point out their weaknesses as a whole, run up against their points and angles with evidences of the collision, but it must be said that they are royal mothers. Many of them, as such, reach the ideal standard; remembering, of course, that there are exceptions to this statement, and very many of them.

It is impossible to "toe these women to the line" with the mothers of other countries, for the reason that the setting here is unique. It has no parallel elsewhere.

Mothers of all classes are overworked. This is one situation which cannot be overcome by the possession of money. It all revolves around the cruel lack of domestic help. The entire supervision of the house, often the housework itself, including the washing, devolves upon the mother. Then there is the care of the children: the making and
MOTHERS AND THE BIRTH-RATE 87

mending, not to mention the individual training which no real mother can neglect. Church work and social obligations are demands which must be met to a greater or less extent. In thousands of cases all detail falls to a single pair of hands. Often the strain is more than flesh and bones can endure.

At the very outset, then, it must be understood that the mother is under great nerve and energy strain almost every moment of her waking hours.

As population increases some of these difficulties may vanish. It is doubtful, however, as the cause of the condition gives no token of change. Domestic help is simply impossible.

This state of affairs calls for greatly revised methods of housekeeping, which in less favoured climes would be out of the question. The nursery is transferred to the open, either the lawn or sand, where even the baby is free to crawl about at will, investigating the mud-pies and play-houses of the older ones. If one of them trips and falls, unless injured, the busy mother calls from some point where she has them in sight: "Get up, that's a little man," or "Don't cry; don't be a baby!" The tears are dried without coddling, and the imaginary hurt is cured without any interruption in the work of the always busy mother. This does not mean neglect, but it spells in very large letters the beginning of independence of the children of Australia.

They play out of doors from one week-end to another, and live in the open as much as possible. They romp, scamper, roll, and frolic; they yell and shout, for they are lusty young creatures. As this
continues day by day out of doors it may easily be seen how, when in the house, they often forget to lower their voices, walk softly, or close the doors without a bang. The romp and fun spirit is still upon them, and what might be considered most objectionable manners is but a lack of consciousness that lawn deportment should be subdued in the house.

It is perfectly true that the great majority of children are sadly deficient in the personal charm of pleasing manners, which is by no means a "station of life" defect. They are very excitable by temperament, and scamper to the doors, windows, fence or gate, at every possible opportunity to cheer or yell. They love to watch processions, funerals, or a circus; crowd to football games, prize-fights, races, or any manner of sport at which those of tender years are allowed. They bet, barrack, and manifest for their "side," regardless of fair play or other considerations. Crowding the picture-shows, they scream, shout, and fairly roar, hoot or clap in following the key-note sounded by the audience. The truth is, children are often given too much liberty along apparently harmless lines, but which, in reality, have a reflex action most questionable in effect. A love for healthy sport is wholesome, and a normal condition to vigorous childhood, but an over-developed love for pleasure and excitement is bad, very bad.

This independent spirit among the children, and their assumed ability to look after themselves, gives an unfavourable impression as to the proper training in the home. It is erroneous so far as a large percentage of homes is concerned.
In time the romp wears off. The "good will to others," which is really the spirit of the child, finds expression later in a grace of manner that will, in the future, stand to the credit of the young people of Australia.

It must not be supposed that the children are always left to themselves. The real charm of the mother is that she makes time for "the children's hour." How they love it! How the mother loves it! And how often the "Dad" joins in. Yes, this children's hour moulds many a life. It is a supreme balancing factor in thousands of homes.

"Between the dark and the daylight,
When the night is beginning to lower,
Comes a pause in the day's occupation
That is known as the Children's Hour.

"They climb up into my turret,
O'er the sides of my great arm-chair;
If I try to escape they surround me—
They seem to be everywhere."

Longfellow knew. Many a time have I seen the rhythm of these expressive lines set to the music of action. Often a mother has said: "I must now have my hour with the children; take a book and come with me." Under a pretext of reading, but really to join in the delight of that most enchanting hour, I have followed, book in hand, to the upper room, where a great consciousness of all that I have missed in life has come upon me again and again with overpowering sense.

The children were fully prepared for bed,
and were eagerly anticipating their hour: their very own hour. First, came the mother’s talk on the conduct of the day, and how they had treated each other. Then followed apologies for rudeness, kisses of forgiveness, a general clearing up of all the day’s accounts, ready to begin a new and clean page on the morrow. After these confessions, not wrung from them, the puckered lips, moist eyes, and the sweet resolve to “be better to-morrow”—happiness reigns in each little heart; then comes a chapter of the favourite story, followed by a romp with “Dad.” The day closes with clasped hands and upturned faces as they kneel about the mother’s knee, then—oh, the joy of it!—the good-night kisses, each resolved to have the “last.”

In hundreds of homes have I seen this beautiful sight repeated with varying details, as a hard-worked mother finishes the day of grind and struggle, with the never-ceasing hope that she will be able to stir the very best in her children into action.

““The greatest battles that ever were fought,  
I’ll tell you where and when—  
On the maps of the world you will find them not,  
For they were fought by the mothers of men.””

I would not pretend for a moment to say that this picture is a true one of every home in Australia. I wish it were. But it is quite within bounds to state that there are hundreds of thousands of just such homes, not confined to one class, but in every walk of life.

The subject of the education of children is one upon which there is a great variety of opinion among
A RICH AND WONDERFUL VALLEY OF YOUNG APPLE TREES.

IRRIGATING AN ORCHARD.
MOTHERS AND THE BIRTH-RATE

well-to-do people. Schooling in Australia is free. Children must attend until they are fourteen. This gives rise to a general wail from many parents, especially fathers who are the breadwinners. Not that dire poverty or actual necessity would drive the children to work, but often those of one generation will calmly say: "We went to work when we were nine or ten years of age—why should our children be made to go to school? We got on all right." With many of them it is a firmly rooted idea that education is quite unnecessary. School inspectors in different States have told me that many children only go a sufficient number of days, or even hours, to keep them barely within the given limit of required attendance.

In view of a recent movement in the Victorian Parliament it is not surprising that the value of education is discounted by a large number of parents. Five school committees, composed largely of landowners, sent a petition to Parliament requesting that the Christmas holidays should be moved down to March and April, in order that child-labour could be obtained during the fruit-packing season. There was a very lively discussion in the Upper House. Hansard records the speeches. It is past belief that they were really made. Yet here they are, word for word. One of the members pointed out that Christmas holidays at present were of no value to the parents by way of getting either work or money out of the children.

It must be remembered that at fruit-picking time, down in that beautiful valley, the sun stands as high as 160 degrees. The official record shows this,
yet in the very halls where men are sent to legislate in the interests of the home, and for the protection of the helpless, a member publicly declared that "children in the country should not be allowed to go to school up to the age of fourteen; that it was nonsense." The member further argued that the records of attendance at school in that district fell off greatly during the picking season. No fewer than 400 summonses had been issued at one time, to compel parents to send their children to school.

In order to learn the true situation, as well as to have a look at the valley which has attracted world-wide attention, I departed, bag and baggage, on a tour of investigation.

The result was, first, I learnt that the members of the education committees which prepared the petition were composed almost wholly of fruit-growers, who wanted to secure cheap labour. In order to do this, they were willing to rob little children of Christmas holidays—a season around which centres those influences that figure so largely in the after-life of both men and women. Interviews with a number of parents convinced me that they were quite as willing to agree to the criminal sweating of their children as the growers were to avail themselves of the advantages of child-labour.

The abomination of parents' greed in sweating their own offspring, and the spectacle of business men ready to brutalise children, is sufficiently appalling, but that a body of law-makers could sanction such proceedings, and by their votes betray the trust reposed in them by the decent portion of the community who put them in office, is beyond human
A PEAR ORCHARD: WHERE CHILDREN PICK AND PACK THE FRUIT.

A RABBIT CATCH: CHILDREN ARE OFTEN ENGAGED IN THIS WORK.
MOTHERS AND THE BIRTH-RATE 93
calculation, and an outrage to the moral sentiment of all mankind. The Trades Hall Council passed a resolution of scathing denunciation upon the passage of the measure by the Victorian Parliament.

The fruit-growing industry is not the only one into which children may be lured with legal protection. In a recent letter from one of the wheat-growing districts, the writer referred to the rabbit-catching industry in the most forceful manner, and set forth alarming facts which should be known far and wide. It reads as follows:

"This trapping business is a very serious matter, and if something is not done to prevent the children from following the occupation, then they must grow up miserable specimens of humanity. Boys, and sometimes girls, are out all night setting traps, and when they go to school are quite unfit to learn anything. Anyone who has seen much of them cannot mistake the trappers. They have a worn-out appearance, their habits are dirty, they live in surroundings that are filthy, and the whole life is a degrading one. Once a boy takes to it for some time he becomes useless for anything else. What sort of a nation could be built up with these units? A good deal has been said about conditions in dairying districts. Although children there were cruelly over-worked, they lived amongst cleanly conditions. Not so with the rabbit trappers. Theirs was a degrading work. How were the teachers to succeed who had to work in those districts? How were they to overcome the stunting effects of child-labour? Unaided, they could not do it. Was it not possible to teach those people that the child was not only the property of the parent, he was the property of God and the nation. It was a great pity that legislation fell so short on this
matter. When it was what it ought to be the schools would send out thousands of additional children of whom their country need not be ashamed."

All this as an off-set to the many homes wherein the influence of the mother alone makes such a state of affairs quite impossible.

It has been said at various times that "there is great antagonism to large families, that children are a nuisance, and there is a general shrinking on the part of women from the responsibility of motherhood, because of their selfishness and love for pleasure."

There was never a more mistaken analysis of the situation than to apply such language to the birth-rate of Australia. A decrease of birth-rate prevails chiefly in the families of the high middle-class—among women of culture and refinement. It is not a shrinking from a responsibility that has produced this result, but a deep understanding of how great is the responsibility, and what the rearing of a family up to the present-day requirements means. Much more is expected of a child now than formerly. There was a time when a very limited education was sufficient for girls. They married young, and domestic life bounded their horizon. Not so to-day. Girls, as well as young men, are less and less inclined to marry, but are generally disposed towards business pursuits, for which they must be trained. It is a day of speciality. To succeed in the world means to be prepared to the point of excellence in some one thing, and go at it in earnest. This involves greater expense in rearing a family,
and providing all that is expected for them until they are grown and properly launched in life. As the children come along it usually means increasing sacrifice on the part of the mother, which often reaches the point of giving up all extras for herself, and ends in doing without help, even when obtainable. At last, overworked, she lands in nervous prostration and general wreckage. The demands are so much greater than energy of flesh and bones that mothers must go to the wall physically, and children fall behind the requirements, or families become smaller.

Although marriage has decreased and the birth-rate per family is on the decline, the increase in population among the white race is greater than it has ever been. This is due to the diminished percentage of mortality among children, especially infants during the first year of their lives. The study of child-life now ranks among the sciences. In the medical profession there are men who devote all their time to the treatment of children's diseases. Nurses are specially qualified to care for them, and hospital work for the little folk is one entirely distinct from any relation to adults. It is the children's day. They are now being made ready for the world and life. The greatest advance in any science of modern times is in that directed toward the conservation of infant life.

In poor settlements in the midst of city life thousands of mothers are instructed as to how to care for infants. The most highly trained nurses go before them and demonstrate, by object lessons, how best to care for a child in every particular.
Then, too, child diseases are better understood, and the whole situation of infant mortality has been grasped to the saving of tens of thousands of infants, which, set over against the birth-rate and the diminished percentage of marriages, still leaves a very large increase in the population. Until the science of child-life is equally understood among dark races there is little danger of the white race being swamped. In China, eight children out of ten die during the first year. Among white races the proportion that live is seventy per cent.

Concerning the conservation of infant life, there is the usual cry and groan of the alarmist: "It is that of saving the unfit." But just here recent laws step in and say that children must cease to be unfit. They have died in the past because they were born unfit, born victims of environment, offspring of over-worked and under-fed mothers, consequently the law says that during a given period before and after the birth of a child a mother may not follow any calling or engage in any sort of work in factories or public places of business. Her occupation for that time at least must be motherhood. Thus a child stands a higher chance of at least being properly born. There are institutions among all classes in many parts of the world, known as "mothers' schools." These are not only for the purpose of giving mothers a larger knowledge of child-life and the care of children, but urging upon them the imperative duty of imparting all necessary knowledge to their girls and boys concerning the duties and responsibilities of parenthood.
MOTHERS AND THE BIRTH-RATE

Over a hundred years ago the younger Malthus wrote essays on the "Principle of Population." The idea was entirely new. No one had ever figured out such an astounding proposition. His father, who was also considered an authority on the question of population, could hardly grasp the truth even of figures; for the young man proved that in an alarmingly short time the earth would cease to yield a supply of food equal to the population. His theory was not accepted in his day, but those who are familiar with the works of Professor Brentano will know that the most accurate calculations known to mathematical science have proved that Malthus' "Principles" were quite correct. The Professor says: "The consequence has been an absolutely unprecedented increase of population, and if it were to continue at the same rate as within the last twenty-five years, there would in 898.35 years be one European to every metre (about 40 inches) of surface of the globe; and if we include the other races, we should in a thousand years stand shoulder to shoulder." This means that there would not be a foot of soil anywhere on the earth's surface for food production. From these facts it may be seen how necessary it is before alarmists set out to harangue the public from platform, pulpit and press, to look into the subject in all its bearings.

There are other phases of this question which will have a very marked effect, not only on the future percentage of birth-rate but also upon the vigour of oncoming generations. Women, in Australia especially, have advanced in a knowledge of scientific motherhood. They are seriously con-
sidering themselves as life-givers. In contemplating the far-reaching consequences as such they have a new and enlarged vision of their life-giving rights, as well as of their responsibilities. Science has come to their aid and declared that no living woman, no matter how strong she may be, can do justice to children either by way of care or otherwise, unless there is at least a period of three and a half or four years between births. Women have come to feel that, in the best interests of the future race, it is better to rear three or four physically sound and mentally fit citizens than help to swell the increasing flood of poorly equipped specimens of humanity, that make up so large a number of the rank and file of the race. Yes, women are beginning to see that there is one supreme and sacred right which they, as life-givers, must demand. That is to decide when they are mentally, spiritually and physically able to take on the conditions of motherhood, and carry them out to the highest betterment of the human family. It is a well-known fact that less care is given to improve the human family by proper times and seasons of birth than there is to preserving a particular breed of swine or sheep.

An inquiry was opened in 1912 concerning the use of the totalisator as a gambling agency. One witness pointed out that the abolition of the machine would seriously affect horse-breeding. Nothing was stated, however, as to the effect upon the human race. It is surprising, in looking over the annual statement of the State Treasurer, to learn the vast sums expended on the care of the mentally and
physically unfit, and to recall that no legislation has been passed to prevent the procreation of the unfit.

By scientific process the silkworms of France were once saved to that country by destroying the eggs of the diseased worm. This same process is carried out in most orders of lower animal life to improve stock; but when woman has grasped the idea of producing a fit human race in the only possible way—that is, when she herself is fit to become a life-giver—then the very air is rent with libellous utterances concerning her scientific attitude toward her own offspring.

No railing or wailing, no groans or moans, or abuse, will move women in their fixed and determined purpose to safeguard the future generations. The women of Australia are very much alive to some questions: there is no doubt whatever about that.

I have before me the official report issued by the Department of Defence. An Act of Universal Training for Military Defence was passed some time ago. This sets forth that all boys between the age of thirteen and fourteen must go into training until eighteen years of age. This is compulsory. Of about 100,000 who presented themselves for medical examination in the Commonwealth, 2.7 per cent. were temporarily unfit, that is, they were suffering from some physical defects which would be remedied in time.

Out of the whole number, the very small percentage of 8.5 were found wholly unfit for training. In round numbers, about 4,000 out of 100,000 were
rejected. It is very doubtful if any other country could clear so large a percentage of physically sound lads between the age of thirteen and fourteen years.

There seems little danger of the decay of the race in Australia.
CHAPTER X
THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

"Grant us, O God, the Right Divine,
That steadfast steers its course by Thee,
So that our lives as lamps may shine,
To guide Australia's destiny."

KENNETH MACKAY.

Religious alarmists are numerous, and are an unfettered menace to the country. They fairly wallow in lamentation over any sign of unquenched fires or unbounded future woe. The "eternal punishment" dogma so fascinates them that to limit future misery would rob them of their chief joy of heaven. They are dying off gradually, although slowly, and for some time will still put forth like a hardy annual which neither cold nor heat blights or kills.

To a normal, sane mind the religious unrest of Australia is the most hopeful sign of progress. With every phase of life bounding onward, it would mean spiritual decay and a victory of the material were the people to sit like so many graven images under the false preaching which, at most, was merely spiritual pap for sucklings when the race was young and wrapped in superstition.

Australia cannot afford to lag behind in this general move toward a knowledge of God. The whole world, both Christian and non-Christian, is in the throes of a great religious unrest. There has been
nothing like it in modern times. In Asia, the millions are struggling out of past-age darkness, marching in a solid mass toward the Truth. I say Truth, because they are reaching out for the best the Universe holds for human hearts.

"The world is moving out of darkness into light—
It is daybreak everywhere."

We must conclude, when taken in connection with the changing aspects of our civilisation, that this awakened religious thought is a blessing rather than otherwise.

St. Augustine said: "God made man for Himself, and man will never rest until he rests in Him." Even when progressive thinking assumes discouraging forms because we cannot see back of it and have no gift of vision for the future, still, the very fact of new religious movements indicates a mental activity concerning things Eternal, and may be only a roundabout way to a common spiritual anchorage for the whole human race. We all believe that Truth never has been, and never will be, crucified, beheaded, or hanged. We repudiate the once-accepted idea of "Truth upon the scaffold, and a lie for ever on the throne."

It is quite true that in Australia church-going has greatly fallen off. The absence of the working man from places of worship is a noticeable feature at present, when compared with a decade ago; but close observation must convince one that there is just as much real religion among the people as there was in other years.

The masses have merely broken away from
dogmas—not from the principles of Christianity. I venture to say, after much investigation, that there has never been a time in Australia when such wide-spread manifestations of a firm grip of the principles taught by the Founder of our Faith as applied to daily life have obtained.

The operation of the human mind in the realm that touches on the unseen, and, therefore, to many, the unknown, is slow of development. Men, who, by thought or conviction, have "emerged from an old faith" will be long in recovering a balance because they are not aware that they are still rooted and grounded in the very same belief, but have merely discovered fragments of a larger Truth. We shall never know full Truth during an age of error and evil.

It is not a new interpretation of Truth they seek, but a restatement of it, given to the masses in a form that may weave itself into national life as well as into that of the individual. A religion that will clear politics of corruption, business of a greed for gain to the loss of the many, industrial life of wrong and oppression, and develop a sense of what the brotherhood of man means—all of which but stands for applied Christianity. Such a religious system will gather to itself the unchurched masses. The matter of belief will adjust itself. The mental faculties of the populace are becoming trained. In time prejudice and superstition will die. They die hard; their grasp will be a long one, but die they must. When dead—and some dear souls will want to embalm them and put them in a glass case where an occasional glance will be a comfort—
when dead, and minds are free from the incubus, reason will have full sway, and man will come into his own spiritually. Whatever the Unseen holds for mankind, it is a certainty that the people are steadily moving toward it, and will never halt this side of their final destiny. For a time there will be a struggle through the bewildering perplexities of a theme over which nations have been divided, but upon which they are now making a common cause.

Yes, there is less church-going in Australia, far less than formerly, but even this does not indicate that the religion of the people has in any sense diminished. It is fully within the bounds of truth to state that I have talked to thousands of people on the subject of a personal religious belief. It is the vital factor of existence; not the following of some special cult or ism, but the inner living of a religious life based on some measure of understanding the relation between the Creator and the created. These conversations with such varying classes of people lead me to affirm that the men and women of Australia are really religious—deeply so.

To be sure, there is an increased tendency to regard the Sabbath as a day of outing instead of church-going. Much as this is to be regretted, it in no way indicates that the spirit of worship is dead within the human breast. It is not. Worship is part of man's being. That is why he was given a soul. That is how he differs from the lower animals, and if, for any reason, the Church has failed to attract or hold the masses, it does not necessarily point to the fact that man has lost either his inclination or capacity to worship. He has merely turned his
heart and mind toward the Divine through other channels than the medium of forms and creeds which no longer appeal to him or meet the requirements of his soul. Generally speaking, the pew is far in advance of the pulpit, both as to a larger interpretation of truth and methods which would translate the power of the teachings of Christ into applied Christianity.

While, of course, regret is felt because of the attitude of many toward church-going, and the practical abolition of Sunday as a time to attend Divine Service, still, it must be admitted, that absence from church, under certain aspects of mind toward preaching and church forms generally, is far better than attendance simply as a matter of example or the mere following of an established custom.

Disbelief in a creed, and objections to forms in practice would create a spirit of resentment that tends to dwarf soul-development and engenders a dislike for sacred things. There are means of worship outside the church, and while no one would advocate “forsaking the assembling of yourselves together,” the matter must be viewed from the standpoint of the individual. When a system of service ceases to produce a worshipful frame of mind, it is better to seek some other medium that moves the heart of man to thrill and vibrate with a living sense of his relation to the Creator.

The question is, having abandoned church-going, to what extent does the withdrawn portion of the community seek or make opportunity for worship? Sunday, to the working man and his family, speaking as a whole, is a holiday—“a rest day by way of
changed activity,” as he usually puts it. In summer it is a day of picnics in larger or smaller numbers. Sometimes just a quiet family outing to the seashore, with dinner and tea on the beach. A book, perhaps, for the father and mother and a wade in the sea and a play-spell in the sand for the bairns—a family day together. Away from the grind, from housekeeping and cooking, from things “of the earth, earthy”; close to Nature, that so silently and so powerfully speaks of Nature’s God. Alone, as a family. What may this work out for the soul-development of each? To what extent may these quiet days by the sea, that must help strengthen and cement the family ties, be made a means of soul growth? Are these times made a season of worship? Let someone speak who knows!

All Sunday outings are not of this character, but many, very many of them may be thus described.

The feature of great promise in connection with the religious life of the people, is a sustained interest in the Sunday school. Even when parents never enter a church, the children are regularly sent to the school. As the question of religious teaching in public schools is one upon which there is a divided opinion, parents realise the necessity of giving the children every possible opportunity of Bible teaching, and, as a rule, prefer that it should be given in the Sunday schools rather than in those of the State. While the adult and parent generation may be in a drifting condition on religious matters, the great hope of the Church lies in the Sunday school. Every effort is being made to bring them up to the world standard of graded organisation. When the
Bible ceased to be a factor in the public school education, the Sunday school was at once seized upon as the only means of making good the loss.

An enlightened man, who represented the best type of the workpeople, once discussed the question with me. In reply to my inquiry as to the changed attitude of his class toward the Church, he quietly remarked: "You see, there is now a grown generation of educated workmen. The State schools have taught us to think, and we have developed mental power." Here followed a well-thought-out argument upon education and its relation to the present-day religious atmosphere.

"But," I contended, "a belief which will not bear the searchlight of a developed mind should go to the wall. Surely, you do not pretend to say that Christian philosophy and its tenets will not stand the analysis of reason?"

His reply was: "Religion itself will, but you must get rid of creeds and dogmas."

He had many ideas on the subject, too numerous to give place to at this moment. One, however, impressed me greatly. "The Church," I remarked, "is straining every nerve and using stupendous effort to solve the question of how to get the working man into the Church."

"Yes," he thoughtfully replied, "but they are working at the wrong end of things. Let them solve this problem: What is keeping him out of the Church?"

It is a point worth consideration. Let him who preaches, reflect.

A person of the smallest observation must see
that the influence of the Church is on the wane. This has no bearing on Christianity itself. It simply means that the ministry is so far behind the pew that it has no influence over the masses. The Church is stranded, high and dry, on the outer rim of the times, trying, with the husks—dead and mouldy—of outlived creeds, with withering and blighting dogmas which are both dwarfing to soul and dis-honouring to a wise Creator—trying, with dead methods, to reach, reform, and regenerate a living world in a moving age. It cannot be done.

At the present moment the air is blue with sulphurous flames and fumes threatening to engulf the ungodly in an eternal embrace, from which a Methodist minister is energetically struggling to free them, much to the wrath of a cult who refuse, in the name of God, to quench the hand-made-self-lighted “fire which dieth not.”

When the popular preaching of the hour makes it necessary for a fellow minister of modern views publicly to defend God against the blasphemy of eternal punishment, and refuse to heap further infamy upon a beneficent Creator, an intelligent observer need not ask why the pew is empty!

“I sent my soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that After-Life to spell:
And by and by my soul returned to me,
And answer’d, ‘I myself am Heav’n and Hell.’”

Thousands of men, week by week, spend all the hours of light within the dark, damp, and bleak bounds of a coal-pit, having only the Sabbath Day above the ground. Think of them, going to church
to be consigned to eternal torment and otherwise maltreated for shortcomings, while no effort is being made to make it easy to develop soul in a properly fed and comfortably housed body. Conditions are necessary in order to develop and live a religious life. The Church is doing no end of Christian work. That is, it is trying to save drunkards, while vicious laws make sixteen for every one saved. They rescue girls and leave the moral atmosphere of the streets a cesspool of danger in which they go down to wholesale destruction. The Church spends thousands working at effect, and leaves the core of the social order to fester moral corruption which sends out the blight of the Cause.

But just here the Church takes issue and proclaims its mission as that of soul-saving, "leaving the work of the State to the State."

In a recent sermon, a leading preacher in Melbourne from the Old World took as his subject, "The Reign of Justice."

In the course of its delivery to a large congregation composed chiefly of young people, the reverend gentleman wildly exclaimed, "The Church, as a Church, has no business with politics or economic systems. Its business is to proclaim Justice."

That is just what is the matter—the Church is busy proclaiming—and passing resolutions/

When a mayor issues a proclamation—what next? He sends word to the police that the proclamation is to be put into force. How? By using the constituted channel through which effect may be given to the ukase.
When we consider that there is not a moral, spiritual, or financial phase of church life which is not directly affected by both political and economic conditions, and further, that every member of the Church is under the domination of those conditions, to say the Church has no business with political and economic systems is a rank libel on the very principles taught by Jesus Christ.

The temperance question is a political question. Has the Church, as a Church, no business with that? Politics in legal operation protect a boy's property and secures it to him until he is twenty-one. Politics, the same politics, gives a girl the legal right to sell her virtue at the age of from thirteen to sixteen years, and, having sold it, a self-righteous body, which moves only in droves and herds, forthwith starts out on a rescuing crusade; but before going, under the teachings of this preacher, they must call for a basin of water, and loudly proclaim: "I wash my hands, as a Christian, of politics and economic systems, and solemnly devote my life to 'lift up the fallen.'" The comfortable, well-dressed congregation listens and eagerly drink in the blighting doctrine of the preacher, pacifying themselves, as a whole, that they have no responsibility in systems which grind the face of the worker; while many of them wear the very garments which have been sweated out of the toil of overworked and underpaid women and children.

As a matter of fact, the Church, as a Church, is directly responsible for every wrong which is not righted, and every drunkard lost to home, Church, and Society, and for every girl pursuing a downward
course. Why? It has already been remarked that the Church, as a Church, holds the balance of political power, and when, not as individual members but as an aroused and awakened whole, a sense of Christian citizenship and its responsibilities will solve the material problems which now retard and dwarf spiritual growth and limit the work of the Church. Meantime, the endless injury of such false teaching to young people can never be estimated. It would be far better for the country if every pew was for ever vacant than that such arrant "piffle" should blight young minds.

At a recent ecclesiastical gathering, a resolution was introduced to set aside a certain Sunday each year as a time to bring before the public the problem of industrial life as related to the Church. The discussion which followed waxed heated and eloquent. The subject took on political colouring, and the camp immediately split into factions. The Labour Party, Socialism, and Anarchy were branded as things with which the sacred assembly must not defile its hallowed hands. Exclamations of "No politics in the Church" rent the air. One dear old soul told me his citizenship was in heaven.

("In fact," said he, "I have never voted, and never expect to depart from my custom." That man was overdue where he holds his citizenship.)

The men who sounded the warning note to the Church in supporting the resolution were openly assailed by their opponents as "smoodgers," labourites, and similar endearing terms usually confined to political meetings.

At the same gathering the matter of the absence
from Church of working people was another note sounded in a minor key.

"Yes," tearfully exclaimed one speaker, "we long for the workers' attendance at Divine Service, but the Church cannot identify itself with politics. There is nothing to do but to pray for better relationship between master and worker." The speaker clasped his hands in a thrill of holy ecstasy, and cried: "Oh, for a time when the employer will say to his workman, 'The Lord be with you,' and the worker will reply, 'The Lord bless you.'" It was worse than mockery—far worse. It was a direct, downright insult to intelligence.

Such interchanges of pious courtesies would be very welcome if they were established on the principle of Right and Justice. But, under present conditions, for the two factions into which the industrial world is divided to go through such a hypocritical performance is too impossible to contemplate.

The rank and file are in no way opposed to the Gospel and its Divine teaching. In fact, much of it is lived out in their lives by natural instinct; but they object, and object most seriously, to the Church professing to stand for the redemption of mankind, and at the same time putting forth no attempt in a practical way to:

"Make it easier for men to do right,
And harder to do wrong."

That is the mission of the Church. And if in order to carry out a God-given work the Church is too cowardly to go into the open field of politics, economic systems, or any other place where the battle must be
fought out, the sooner a memorial is established to
the sacred memory of outlived usefulness the better.

The difficulty of securing the services of men for
the ministry is so great that the denominational
field is largely undermanned. In places with a popu-
lation of two and three thousand, or even fewer, there
may be found as many as seven different denomina-
tions represented by ill-paid, half-equipped men,
playing a hard game of grab for followers, while many
a place is left wholly beyond the pale of the Church.

There is an increasing cry for good men, or any
men, to enter the ministry. So urgent is the demand
that the Methodists are importing men, and the
Presbyterian body appointed a Commission to look
into the matter of "Scarcity of Candidates for the
Ministry."

The report is based upon a circular sent to all
the ministers of that Church, asking for the result of
their observations. It is a matter of note that a
minority sent replies. The summing up of the inquiry
as to "Why so few young men are to be found
ready to enter the ministry?" speaks for itself.
Comment is unnecessary:

1. The condition of spiritual life in the congrega-
tions.

2. The attractions of more lucrative work.

3. Inadequate financial provision for the ministry.

4. The preference of congregations for young men.

5. The lowering of the status of the ministry by
the class of men employed by the Home Mission
Committee.

No one so much as suggested that the Church is
enslaved by an outlived theological creed that would
for ever bar young men of vigorous thought from such a waste of energy.

The world is moving. The sooner the Church catches step the sooner will it be able to devote its energy to the legitimate work of the Church, instead of consuming its strength with problems of how to justify its existence.
CHAPTER XI

ROMANCES OF CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISES

"Remember, too, if shining through life's sadness,
    Glow rosy gleams of love's own tender rays,
These are the bright reflections of the gladness
    You have shed on other lives in other days."

KENNETH MACKAY.

About sixty years ago, when missions to Australia were claiming the attention of those whose concern it was to see that all tribes of the human race had shepherds to gather them into spiritual pastures, there were very few who interested themselves in the native race of Australia.

In the sixth century, the monk, Benedict, established a religious order which still bears his name. Its chief endeavour is to undertake religious work in the most neglected or needy fields of the world. Those who were fully familiar with this fact were probably not surprised to learn that a company of brothers were well on the way to Australia.

Having landed, they proceeded towards the interior searching for a locality with a large water supply, for this was the chief feature in connection with founding a mission.

They fared forth in their usual way without purse or scrip. The story of the hardships and privations which they endured would fill a book, for it constitutes as thrilling a romance as ever wove itself
into human activity. How the leader raised money until the work could be self-supporting and gained an enduring influence over the natives, is a story of inspiration to all who learn it. Suffice, however, to say that Father Salvado founded the world-known "New Norcia Mission to the Aborigines of West Australia," to which the savages came from far and near. First, for the material benefits they received, and later—much later—because they began to take an interest in the religious teachings of the man who truly tried to be a father to them. As the climate was warm most of them lived in a state of nature, and roamed loose and at large, knowing nothing of a system of life, tilling the soil, or any means of livelihood.

One can imagine how hopeless the task seemed, and how great must have been the faith and hope of one who had put his hand to so great an undertaking, resolved never to look back.

In time, he was joined by new forces from Spain. These brothers purchased teams and provisions and started for the station, to find the founder had progressed to the point of interesting the natives in simple agriculture. Thus, by stages, land was cleared, crops put in and harvested; wells were dug, water conserved, fruit-trees and vines planted, land fenced and stocked, buildings erected, church finished, and twenty small cottages put up to give the younger generation the family idea and cultivate the home instinct.

The story of the development of these people, said to possess the smallest degree of intelligence of any known race, is quite wonderful. Little could be
NO MEN
AMIG-DILLAS
done with the old generation, but the second and third have been moulded into more or less useful members of the community. The young ones were put in school for a portion of the day, and the unoccupied time was devoted to work, such as farming, sheep and cattle breeding, agriculture, and any occupation in which they could be taught to lend a hand, until in time a real transformation, not to say complete civilisation, had been wrought: but at what a cost!

The whole work spread until it could no longer be called merely a mission. It developed into a township, but only after tremendous effort on the part of the hero of this great enterprise and a band of brothers whose vow of poverty was intensified by the very conditions which surrounded them. They endured extreme heat, hunger and thirst, living for weeks at a time on snakes, lizards, and any manner of creeping thing that would help sustain life. They travelled unshod, often falling faint and weary by the wayside, too footsore to tread farther the rough roads with next to starvation staring them in the face from time to time.

I will not follow them farther through the details of want and suffering, but rather give glimpses of the results.

No one would pretend to say that even the third generation of aborigines has reached a high degree of development. It is not in them. But, for all that, it is surprising to see what has been done. Under supervision, for they have no initiative, they become first-class ploughmen, carpenters, teamsters, expert pruners, sheep-shearers, shoemakers, and, in
fact, measure up to par in the usual industries. They are by nature lazy, lack application, and must be superintended. For servants they may do, but as masters they are impossible.

At school they are rather quick at learning if they can be induced to study. Most astonishing of all, they are musical beyond the average. In fact, the organist of the church for some years was a full-blooded native born on the place. He played by note and trained a large choir for church service. Their band of many instruments was once the pride of the mission.

In order to break up their corroboree (native dance), the cause of their frequent "walkaways" from the mission so disastrous to discipline, they were taught to dance. Every Saturday night this amusement, under the direction of the bishop or some of the brothers, was indulged in. It usually took place on the floor of the spacious old mill.

As the younger generation arrived at a marriage-able age they were settled in one of the cottages built for the housing of natives. The married men were all employed at the usual wages, in either the mission township or upon the stations which were acquired by the brotherhood.

The founder saw it flourish for many years. At eighty-six, he was still planning for its interests, when he suddenly died in Rome, having gone to Europe to recruit the ranks of the brothers.

To the great rejoicing of the whole community, the remains of Bishop Salvado were brought to the scenes of his struggles, sufferings, and triumphs, and
THE GIRLS' COLLEGE AT NEW NORCIA.
This building cost £20,000.

THE OLD CHURCH AT NEW NORCIA: THE RESTING-PLACE OF BISHOP SALVADO.
fact, it
They are supposed as many as man.
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The

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of
now repose within the walls of the church where he was for sixty years a familiar figure.

At the time of his death, the entire mission was established on a self-supporting basis. There were always about fifty monks who received only their plain fare and scanty apparel in return for hard and heavy toil which was a great asset to the mission. This meant the work of fifty able-bodied men for sixty years—that is, each year they had fifty years' work free. Multiply that by sixty, and one begins to understand what the Benedictine Order contributed to the development of the State, and how it is possible to carry on the work on a self-supporting basis with a large staff still at work without pay.

It is not my purpose to follow at length this far-reaching enterprise, but simply to point out how this religious activity keeps pace with the mighty strides Australia is making along every line of development; and the movement has learned, as all others must, that in this age creeds and dogmas count for little: applied Christianity is demanded. The value of religion must be translated into modern requirements and present-day needs. Moving events have created new demands, and the Christian work which fails to crystallise its power into applied activity will soon fall behind in the race and lapse into oblivion.

It was well that when Bishop Salvado passed away he had not encumbered the new management with plans for the future. The natives greatly decreased in numbers of late years. They drifted to the north, or, like most races, went down before our civilisation. This made it necessary to open up
new work for them in the north, where they are still found in larger numbers and in primitive conditions.

The movement has been well planned, and is in the process of maturity under the direction of the new head, Bishop Torres, of whom I shall speak later. It is seen that the station at New Norcia carried out the work for which it came into being, and the removing of operations among the natives to the north in no way affects the original intent of the mission. Bishop Salvado "built better than he knew" when he organised along lines to meet modern requirements.

The system under which the whole enterprise is conducted is largely patterned after methods in practice by Dr. Booker Washington, of Tuskegee. As is seen, the work is chiefly done by the brothers, who rise at three o'clock all the year round in order to have time for religious duties and meditation before they enter upon the toil of the day. It is the contribution of their labour which amounts, in aggregate, to 8,000 years of hard, hard work, which has brought the station to the point of self-support. They never beg, ask for subscriptions, or take a collection in the church. It is wholly on a business basis. All their clothes, including shoes, are made by the monks in the monastery. The fowls, ducks, and geese are looked after by them. A head of each department is responsible for the work. The vast vineyards, orchard, vegetable-garden, milk, butter, jam, flour, are all produced by the free labour of the monks.

The great feature of the future will be the estab-
lishment of educational facilities for settlers' sons and daughters. A girls' college has been erected at a cost of £20,000. There is room for 150 students, and the equipments are up-to-date in every possible respect. The artistic decorations inside were carried out by the monks. Upon entering the girls' chapel, one is ushered before a bit of old-world painting and carving that fairly transfixes the onlooker. It is impossible to realise one is in the heart of West Australia, far off the line of travel. The entire building has all been planned for health and comfort, and is filled with as bonny a set of girls as ever bent their energy to struggle through the maze of modern-time education. No "physical degeneration" about this third generation of Australian-born girls.

However much we may dissent from the tenets of any particular faith associated with educational institutions, there can be no doubt about the advantages of a school that is not unlike the setting of the home-life of the girls. In fashionable boarding-schools, girls from the rural districts frequently absorb city conditions which completely unfit them for the life to which they must return; but from here they go back to their homes with music, dancing, needlework and such a degree of learning as they choose to pursue, and naturally they drop again into country home life.

The teachers are all degreed graduates of Belfast University, and, like the monks, have taken the vow of poverty, receiving nothing whatever for their services beyond clothes and food. This enables the institute to place the means of education within the reach of even the new and struggling settlers.
The fee amounts to about £26 a year. This would not cover the price of the food but for the fact that the stations produce all forms of necessities, comforts, and luxuries free of cost, because the labour of production is performed by the monks. The tuition fees, therefore, are clear gain, and are invested in improvements. Just now a new building is being erected for a boys' college, and in the course of a few years New Norcia will be the most extraordinary educational centre in Australia. Whether we approve of it or not, there it is, and no hand save disaster may stay its progress. The food for reflection is that it has evolved out of a greatly needed institution of other days for other purposes. "O, Time and Change!" Happy that form of Christian work which meets and becomes part of that change.

Bishop Torres is a clear-headed, far-seeing man: up-to-date in every respect: deeply spiritual, and dedicated to poverty and work.

As the country became known, a real missionary spirit was awakened in England and Europe, with the result that all known sects of the Protestant Church, as well as the Roman Catholic, established themselves among the new settlers. The Methodists have out-distanced all other Protestant bodies in the gigantic development of means and method to reach the masses. The largest Protestant work in the Southern Hemisphere is now carried on in the old Lyceum Theatre, left by the late Hon. E. Vickery for a city mission. This property, aside from meeting the requirements of a place of worship seating some 4,000, yields a revenue of £4,000 a year from rents which is devoted to the branches of work carried
AT THE SUNDAY NIGHT SERVICE OF THE SYDNEY MISSION IN THE LYCEUM THEATRE.
I: UV

C: INTERMEDIATE
REV. W. G. TAYLOR.
on among all classes throughout the city. That there is necessity for rescue homes, free breakfasts, and the hundred and one things intended to reach the needy is a sorrowful commentary on a city of more than half a million inhabitants in a new country.

The Rev. G. W. Taylor was for some years at the head of this perfectly organised work—almost boundless in its operations—and at his retirement was succeeded by the Rev. P. J. Stephen.
CHAPTER XII

CULTS AND "ISMS" ABOUND

And this is sure: no earth-concerned disaster
Hath power immortal souls to curb or mar;
For each of its own destiny is master,
And each will reach its self-appointed star."

KENNETH MACKAY.

A new country is essentially a place of experiments along every line: industrial, commercial and social, as well as religious. This is but natural. The scope of operations, unbounded opportunity, and, perhaps more than all else, the refreshing freedom from forms and usages, are all allurements which attract many types of restless humanity. Some of these seek channels through which to work out personal aims, while other honest, earnest souls are prompted by a genuine desire to promote spiritual growth and development.

Large numbers of those who have found new light on religious matters and move toward a larger horizon, have taken rootage as if by homogeneal instinct and have permanently housed their cult.

No matter what the teaching may be—Christian or non-Christian, logical, wild, or impossible—if it but comes out clad in a new garb of language, there the people flock and swarm. Revival services, whether conducted by a cultured preacher or an unlettered converted sailor, attract thousands and
thousands if the gatherings are held in the open or on undenominational ground. The singer sways the masses until they sing themselves into an uncontrolled state of religious hysteria. They make all sorts of rash vows, give money far beyond their means, and, as an after climax, lapse into a religious lethargy as calm and reposeful as if an overdose of spiritual soothing syrup had been well administered.

In America, men, as a rule, find a safety-valve or outlet for excitement in a hurrying, rushing, wild chase after the almighty dollar, but in Australia they must demonstrate and push in crowds.

I make no further comment upon this at present, but merely mention it to illustrate how easy it is for cults and "isms" to become domesticated with fruitful results. There is a large and open field among those who have no place of regular worship—those who have outgrown the old and are seeking for the new, or, at least, for something to grip that will meet enlarged and developed soul requirements. Therefore, any strong personality presenting even fragments of truth may soon establish a following.

A belief in modern-day Spiritualism, founded on a broader interpretation of Scripture, and a more highly developed spirituality of the individual is spreading rapidly in the large cities. I find this teaching in Australia, as elsewhere, appeals to a type of temperament. It is a stage of "soul-growth" to many who have suffered great sorrow and those of mystic mould, who are of the earth, less earthly than the average. To them it is a Balm of Gilead. But in this material age, when the masses are
abnormally so, it is doubtful if the ordinary mind will be attracted to a teaching which presents such weird and uncanny aspects. But in Australia it is housed and roofed prepared to remain.

In the larger cities the Temple of Truth stands as a guide-post to the latest phases of God Revealed to Man. Christian Science holds sway in some sections, while a screaming pulpit and press roar and thunder against it. The law courts now and again deal with a healer who lands in prison for unlawful practice; but every cause has had, and will continue to have, its martyrs.

After the wild scenes of some of the revival meetings, the calm and repose of a Christian Science gathering is at least refreshing. The believers sit serenely folded away in the secret places, as it were, of sure and certain Truth—an attainment greatly to be desired.

The most recent importation of spiritual development has established itself in Sydney. An American of pronounced force sets forth his views under the name of Self-Realisation, for which he has opened a place of worship known as The Sanctum of Self-Realisation—the self being the spark of the Divine breathed in human nature. The meetings are crowded; a great majority are young men and young women. I have seen scarcely an old person in the gathering. This indicates that the young people are, at least, thinking, and may by no means be called irreligious. It is an honest searching after God.

The greatest departure, however, is to borrow the name of "Church" for a purely secular purpose
removed poles apart from the usual acceptation of the term.

I had heard of a Socialistic church and Sunday school, and was most desirous of knowing its aims and objects. Fearing a visit to such a "profane place" on my part would be regarded by my friends as a positive indication of a "backsliding" condition or spiritual decay—if the term may be used—I resolved to go alone.

On Sunday morning the business streets of Melbourne are utterly forsaken. It is good to feel the pause. As I made my way along some of the great arteries through which the streams of humanity flow all the week, it was a sense of relief to be unattended.

Turning into one of the main streets, I followed some children as guides to the hall to which I had started.

Two men stood at the inner door, apparently to welcome strangers. They extended a very warm handshake, inquired courteously after my well-being, handed me a singing-book, entitled "Revolutionary Songs," and remarked: "All the seats are free; please make yourself at home."

This I did, and watched the children, about 400 in number, come in and take their places in groups, classified by ages: the girls on one side of the house, and the boys on the other—the former predominating.

The gathering as a Sunday school had, at least, the virtue of originality. A man of rather striking appearance, partly because of his extreme and glaring features of dress, went to the platform and
announced, in a voice that commanded attention at once: "Children, we believe in a sound mind in a sound body. We will first pay attention to our bodies. Mr. Smith, please take the piano. Miss Brown, kindly come to the platform."

Whereupon a vigorous youth seated himself at the instrument, and a woman of uncertain years and heavy tread reached the platform, and proceeded to line up the children for physical drill, which they entered into with great zest. They fairly fought their arms and legs through the volume of sound hammered from the piano by the lad, who swayed his shoulders and bobbed his head to every chord he struck. At a given signal, the leader of each group seized a red banner from which fairly screeched in yellow paint some favourite motto or thrilling watchword and prepared for action.

Under the powerful strains of sound which issued from the corner where the youth held his own, the children started off in a grand march up and down the aisles, between the chairs and over all parts of the large and well-appointed hall. With lusty voices they shrieked: "Keep the red flag flying," for this was one of their popular "hymns."

By this time they were quite ready to settle down to the lessons of the day. I made the rounds of the various groups, where I was welcomed by each teacher and allowed to put any question I desired to the class.

The scholars were graded, each teacher dealing with themes, purely secular, suited to their age and understanding.

A class of very bright lads, numbering twenty,
aged from fifteen to nineteen, was studying the French Revolution. The teacher asked each scholar what he considered the bravest act, and who was the greatest man of that period. Each gave an answer based on his idea of greatness. This led to a discussion, during which I was allowed to ask them individually what constituted real greatness. Most of them had ready answers, but one thoughtful boy was silently meditative. Finally, I went back to him, feeling he had some clear opinion on the subject. His answer was the finest analysis of greatness I have ever heard. He looked up with some hesitancy, and when pressed for an answer, said: "Well, I should say the fellow who does the most with the stuff he has to do with." This lad knew what true greatness means.

On the platform a large class of girls of from fourteen to seventeen years of age seemed to have a monopoly on the time of the leader and chief-in-general. I found them reciting familiar quotations from Ruskin on co-operation. There was no parrot-like mummerly about the recitation. Each girl was asked to give the real meaning of her quotation. They had ideas which may or may not have been original, but each evinced a degree of thought that was surprising in young girls.

The climax of the varied teaching was seen when I reached a class of girls from about eleven to fourteen years of age. Each sat with a little booklet in hand, into which not one was allowed so much as to take a sly peep, for they were to "recite by heart" the Socialistic Catechism. This was made up of a long list of questions which appeared to be
the creed of their industrial and political faith. Girls are required to pass through this class and must be well grounded in the answers before they are advanced into other groups.

In order to satisfy herself that each girl really understood the subject, the question was put in half a dozen forms. The answer frequently showed that they had in many cases merely committed the lesson to memory, for there was a lack of understanding when the questions were put in a less familiar way.

I noticed many of the questions bore upon the relation of Capital to Labour. Some of these were answered in a most spiteful manner. One girl, who indulged in rather undue vehemence in her replies, was very chatty upon the subject of Capital. The teacher was quite willing that I should put any question I saw fit to the class or any member of it. Curious to know if this young miss had any special idea as to how Capital should be dealt with by Labour, I put the question to her:

"What could Labour do to adjust things?" She hesitated a moment, and then as glibly as possible answered, "There's one thing I wish we could do—if Labour could afford to be idle one year, we would see where Capital would be." The manner in which she delivered herself of her views showed she was "grounded in the faith"—the Catechism had done its work.

Just before the children were dismissed the leader announced, "This evening, before the regular Church begins, the baptism of infants will take place. Parents wishing to dedicate their children
CULTS AND "ISMS" ABOUND

to the cause of Socialism are invited to bring them half an hour before the service."

After nightfall I again made my way to the hall, into which numbers were pouring from all directions. The place seated about a thousand. As the people entered they paused in a free and easy way to shake hands with friends, have a little chat and visit, then pass on to a seat. While the little groups were thus engaged, young men were walking about among the people calling out and selling newspapers, periodicals and printed matter which set forth their views upon the universe in general and Socialism in particular. A large number of the Catechism was sold, and much general matter was purchased by women as well as men.

The leader arrived, and was followed by five mothers and fathers; the latter, baby in arms, stood in a row well to the front and the infants were "baptised into the Socialistic Propaganda, and dedicated to the Socialistic Faith." The parents retired to the back of the hall, and about 150 men filed in line from the rear to the platform. These were the members of "a choir of male voices." An orchestra of twenty-five took their places below the platform, and the speaker looked very much at home behind the desk or pulpit in front of the choir.

The announcements were made, and included no end of interesting items. First, "The Literary Society will take up the study of Shakespeare, and the season will open this week. The tickets will be on sale at the usual places. The Amateur Dramatic Club has decided to fall in line with the Literary Society. In order to aid them in the interpretation
of the great writer, they will give representations of those plays taken up by the Literary Society last season.”

Then followed dates and hours of band rehearsals, club meetings, Debating Society, and a host of activities, to which effort is directed in the development of this 'ism.

At the close—and I should have said the music was fine—I had an interview with the leader to learn more of their political creed. He was exceedingly polite and quite ready to impart information, a portion of which was that they were “rank Socialists, out and out, pure and simple. We are on the increase,” said he, “and in some small places we hold the balance of power at local elections. Last time we went to the polls we registered 20,000 votes in this State, and we are a power that must be reckoned with. In conclusion,” he remarked, “we have other churches in different States, and they are all in a flourishing condition.”

Yes, one can certainly find a creed out here, housed somewhere, to suit a conscience of any type, even those who have a leaning toward Brigham Young and his beehive system. His disciples are found in the streets of the great cities, and they occasionally report converts among women and girls. Australia is fully up to date in live and active efforts to meet all sorts who may be in search of “new light on old themes.”

Perhaps the “service” which seems most creepy to a woman investigator is the regular Sunday night meeting of the Anarchists’ Association. It is almost beyond belief that an advertisement of this
association could appear in the great Saturday
dailies in the column headed "Religious Services."

I made my way to the headquarters of this society,
so fearsome in name as to produce less curiosity than
shuddering, and received cordial welcome after dropping
the required "silver coin" in a box which
confronted me at the door with no uncertain shake
of the contents. The man who sat at the receipt
of custom, as it were, was a huge fellow in mid-life.
His foreign face indicated Greece, and his speech
betrayed those remote regions. As the people
gathered, in order to see the audience and at the
same time gain information, I engaged the Greek
in conversation as to their creed and the people
who made up the gathering, which was composed
wholly of a foreign element. In they came, Russian
Jews, Italians, Greeks, and other nationalities. I
inquired if he could possibly tell me how many
countries were represented among some 120 people
who had gathered in the hall. He stepped somewhat
within the door, took a good survey of the assembly,
and, returning to me, gave as his calculation: "At
least eleven."

The leader was a small man of neither personality
nor ability, nor was he a speaker. He proceeded to
the platform, put a packet of literature and imposing-
looking documents upon the table, beckoned to the
Greek, and took a chair beside the table.

After a conference the small man rose unannounced
and opened the proceedings. First, a letter was read
from a woman Anarchist in New York, who saluted
them as "Comrades." She explained her desire to
come and lend them a helping hand, but it must
be under guarantee that the Government would in no case attempt to prevent her landing. Having commented on the possibility of her free entrance into the Commonwealth, he proceeded to expound their creed.

"We have," said he, "three planks in our platform in order to reach the goal of absolute Liberty and Freedom.

"First: 'We must exterminate God. The idea of a god of any kind means slavery. The slavery of worship!' Second: 'We must abolish the State, for the State means slavery: it crushes individualism.' Third: 'To wipe out all law. Law is the tyrant which enslaves the whole human race. We declare for absolute and complete freedom and unbounded individualism.'"

He further proceeded to point out how the desirable end would be reached. The process of argument extended through the entire platform until he landed the individual in a condition of godless, lawless, stateless freedom which made me tremble from head to foot. Not that such an end could ever be attained, but the fact that the gathering was possible in the very heart of Melbourne! Yes, there is religious liberty in Australia without any limitations!
CHAPTER XIII

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILES THROUGH THE BACKBLOCKS IN A GOSPEL VAN

"While she whose path is set in by-ways lowly
Is free to rise above material things,
Until she bursts the sordid shackles wholly
That bind the upward flight of her white wings."

KENNETH MACKAY.

There is a peculiar fascination in following the trail of the settler. This alone enables one to appreciate fully the difficulties to be met in remote places.

With this object in view, I undertook a journey of 850 miles in a Gospel van. After travelling thirty miles by train, which required three hours to cover the distance, I reached the end of the line—a small centre of a very large and sparsely-settled township. The first impression brought a thrilling sensation as if suddenly stranded upon a small section of the Sahara Desert, for we had landed in a real sand-storm. The wind evidently had some grievance, for the sand was helpless before the blast. Again and again it was drawn from the earth in sheets, and with this we had to do battle until we reached the hospitable home to shelter us while a trip into the backblocks could be planned.

I had heard of this mission work far from the centres of population, and often wondered about the religious life of those heroic spirits who went for-
ward to lay the foundation of empire-building in a new country. The object of this particular mission is to establish direct touch with remote settlers, where already the busy hand of progress has bent its energies to dethrone the forest and bush, and make wheat monarch of that vast region.

To carry out the plan of Gospel work in the backblocks, a missioner of unusual experience in pioneer work in the State had been appointed to this field. I well recall my first sight of this energetic man. Some years ago—too many for a woman to think of mentioning—I saw him in the southern wilds, perched on a ladder trowel in hand, helping to erect a brick church. Since then he has built and paid for—that is, raised the money for—seven buildings, and I believe has had a hand in the erection of each.

The story of the erection of these places of worship, and the struggle of the farmers through good and bad seasons with an everlasting determination to meet their obligations, is so pathetic as almost to savour of an element of the tragic, and the various resources of the missioner in devising means to make the work self-supporting are scarcely equalled in my wide experience of missionary effort.

When the sun is shining and the grain is in ear—that's the time to reach a farmer's heart—this man, wise in his day and generation, after religious service in the home and a time of real soul-blessing to the settler, asks: "How many bags can you give this year?"

When the harvest is gathered, the missioner must make his rounds again, collect the donations
of grain, and market it to the best advantage. It is a wonder, after his long years of commercial experience, that the missioner does not go to America and "corner" the wheat market for his work! During these grain-gathering trips, services are held wherever night overtakes him; and what a picture it is! Tom and Harry—the pioneer horses—the Gospel van, and the sunburnt missioner departing with his wares, but leaving a tenfold blessing behind. The good housewife stands in the door and calls out: "Don't be long coming again!" The farmer walks beside the van to open the gate, and shakes hand with a hearty "God bless you, so glad you came!" As the van moves out of sight, the missioner sings—hear him!—"Praise God from Whom all blessings flow"—another opportunity to comfort hearts with the never-failing Gospel of Eternal Love to the sons of men.

It was with this missioner that I started out to see the real life of the backblock settlers, and understand something of the hardships endured and sacrifices made in trying to build up a new country. The lack of comforts and the heavy grind for about three years is a great drain upon mind and energy, and taxes every resource of body and spirit not to become disheartened over the monotony of it all. Yes, everywhere we went there was so much good cheer, such generous hospitality—the best there was is good enough for anyone travelling that way.

The Gospel van in which we travelled was by no means an up-to-date, high-speed motor-car, but a mere buckboard, quite springless, with a cover
which withstood the elements. In this was a small cupboard containing the books for service and a travelling library, which is a boon to the settlers. Books are given out on one round, and changed or collected on the next. This cupboard was adjusted to leave space beneath which the missioner could crawl when it became necessary to spend the night in these limited quarters. I often tried to picture him, for he is a man of no mean size, folded up like a jack-knife, halting by the wayside for the night, far beyond human habitation, amid the silent cry of the wild, for the bush always speaks in an unheard voice. Perhaps this is where he gets his own greatest blessing and many of his messages for the people! He must give as much of the outside world as possible, so he stores away a lantern and trappings, a phonograph, and portable bed if perchance he may find some spot of shelter under which to place it. The seat in the van was kindly given up to another lady and myself. The only available space for the builder, driver, preacher, missioner, was to place a box in the van in front of us, and, seated upon this inside the conveyance, let his legs and feet hang over the dashboard.

The roads—in many places there were none at all, only trails cut by the surveyors—led through the deep shadows of dense forests, over the sand plains and up the hills to the great farms that were cleared, and even now were smiling forth a rich harvest. The fascination of the virgin soil, the glory of the sunshine struggling in between the branches, the sweet smells of the native bush, refreshed by abundant rain, the lengthening shadows and fading
OPENING A NEW CHURCH IN THE BACKBLOKES.

AFTER MANY YEARS OF TOIL IN THE BACKBLOKES.
light were all awesome in the extreme, and the thrilling vibrations of untouched Nature truly awakened a new song of gladness in the soul.

Beyond all of this stretched a well-cultivated farm. A small house, spotlessly clean, sheltered a family of four. The good farmer and his wife hastened to the gate at the sound of wheels to bid us all welcome. The farmer was chatty, well informed, but a bit advanced in years. He had taken up the land for his boys. This was one feature that greatly impressed me: so many men and women were willing to endure the solitude and hardships for the sake of giving the boys a start. Often and often the old people said: "Not so much to us, but it will be a home for the boys away from city life." As we talked that evening, the farm-wife told us how she came to one small room, and as each had been added she helped in the building, whitewashed the ceilings, papered the walls, and in every way shared the heavy toil of an early home-maker. It was for this family of four that the missioner had driven thirty-five miles to hold a service, for which no words could express their gratitude.

Morning found us early on the road, going on and on, to see what the very heart of a new land holds to charm and fascinate. At noontide we camped by the wayside to refresh man and beast. Once we put into a real camp where several tents had been erected on the shore of a salt lake. At this time it was entirely dry, leaving the bottom as white as a snow plain, adding a varied feature to the landscape. Four young men occupied the place, and were intent upon such development as would make it an
ideal home. One of these young men expressed regret that there could not be an evening service, remarking that there would be a large congregation. They could get together nine, including the juveniles of another camp. As this could not be arranged, he saddled a horse and rode to the next farm, where a family of three and one stranger were present. For as much as seven months at a time this family had been unable to join in any means of grace, so the visit of the missioner was thrice welcome.

The life of the settler is full of promise, and this fair and fruitful land holds health, comfort, and happiness for those who are willing to dig it out by heavy toil—but it is heavy toil; there is no mistake about that. It is some years of little result, much discomfort, many hardships, and few advantages; but to those who are willing to work and wait, there is sure and certain reward. The waiting will be made much easier by the ministrations given by the mission and the good cheer of the missioner. Contact with people in those remote regions strengthens one’s faith, and leads to a deeper belief that the trend of the world is upward, ever upward.

The recollection of some of those homes, and the people within them, will ever abide in my mind. One dainty little body, artistic by taste and instinct, found herself housed in an iron habitation of three rooms and a cook-house.

On leaving Victoria a bonny bride, her ideas of the great Westland were vague and unformed. Dainty wedding presents, and all of her own paintings, were carefully packed, and at great expense landed in her future home, to remain stowed away
A PUBLIC SCHOOL IN THE NORTHERN BACKBLOCKS.
for the very lack of room in which to house them. The paintings had, in honour of our visit, been brought to light and hung unframed against the iron walls.

"You see they are my own," remarked the little body, as she brushed away what seemed more like a dewdrop on a beautiful face than a real tear—"you see, they remind me of home and the home-folk."

A quick apology followed—"Not that I am unhappy, but it is so much harder than I had any idea it could be."

Soon the missioner restored balance by asking her to help in a sale of work to be given for the benefit of the church, some twenty miles distant—their usual place of worship when driving was possible. We lodged the night there. Before we left—it was so like a woman—she brought out a little pile of samples of dress goods, and said: "Do help me to select something from these patterns. I've not had a new dress in four years, and I would like something that is worn."

Taking the bundle from her hands, I fingered over the pieces, held several patterns against her face to see the effect upon her clear skin and rosy cheeks, and said no end of things to express my interest in this new frock which was to be a real event in her life. We talked of styles, length and cut, all the way to the van, in which I was soon seated to journey on.

Having driven some miles, a recently ploughed field attracted the attention of the missioner. Calling at the hut, we found a family of seven, living in one room, with a small apartment in which the
cooking was done. This was one of the "homes" I would like to forget.

The father had been there for years, but "luck was down on him." The truth is, he was a hard-working man, but the genius of management was a hopelessly unknown quantity with him. The condition of the room proclaimed the husband and wife an evenly matched pair in this particular. The unkempt children, wild and untamed as the fleeing rabbits, were all at home, "for," moaned the wretched mother, "we are too far away to send them to school, and they have nothing to wear even if there was one."

Calling to one of the children, to which the whole brood responded, she sent them in a body in search of the father.

The word "tragedy" does not begin to express it. Wreckage—heart-wreckage and disaster. Failure was king, and his reign was supreme. Failure in these far-away places is so complete, so awful, as to paralyse all effort. These people had reached a state of mind where they accepted the situation as the hand of a cruel Fate. The most awful condition into which a human being can drift is to accept failure. With no other hope for a large family than that the grinning visage of relentless Fate should for ever pursue them was almost unthinkable. But there it was. During a quiet talk with the woman upon the more hopeful side of life, she burst into tears and had a hard cry. I was glad, for the open flood-gates of a woman's soul are at least a present relief.

Later in the day we halted beside a road-pump,
where a travel-stained stranger was leading his horse to drink. The missioner entered into conversation with the wayfarer, who readily agreed with the proposition that a service should be held at his house.

"For the last fifteen years," said he, "I have lived forty-two miles up this road, and we have neither seen nor heard of a preacher in these parts. There are," he continued, "five families, including seventeen children, within fifteen miles of my house, who will give you a good hearing."

A day for the visit was settled upon, and when the time came the stranger had mustered the people from the countryside for miles round.

Two features, aside from the home life of the people, greatly impressed me during that trip. First, the appreciation of the settlers for church services, and how willingly, to the extent of their very limited ability, they helped the cause. Next, the self-sacrifice of men who give up all prospects, and separate themselves from surroundings dear to them in order to go as a living voice of good cheer to the people who are completely cut off from the attractive features of life which so directly appeal to humanity generally.
CHAPTER XIV

CONSTITUTIONAL SETTING OF POLITICAL OPERATIONS

"Give us the brotherhood that knows
No bar of caste, no pride of creeds;
The unstained soil where Freedom sows
Fair fields with her immortal seeds."

KENNETH MACKAY.

The organised setting in which the different political parties operate in Australia is democratic to the last degree. With certain marked improvements and changes, the Federal Constitution is based upon that drafted for the American colonies when they became independent. The qualifications of electors to exercise the ballot for the Senate and Lower House are identical. This is a wide departure from State regulations, and the effect will be closely watched by all students of scientific government.

The story of actual federation is a long one, full of incidents which spread over many years before the governments of each colony could meet upon a basis of equal and just possibilities for sections both remote and varied in conditions of life. To have worked out a Constitution at all satisfactory to the entire country was a triumph of no mean order, notwithstanding the now admitted weakness of portions of the instrument.

It has been in operation for more than ten years, a length of time which should test its strength and
THE FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE OF NEW SOUTH WALES

Photograph by permission of the Government Printing Dept., New South Wales.
thoroughly indicate any weakness. To review the results of these years of legislation in the order in which it has been enacted, and follow the far-reaching effect upon interests involved, would occupy the full space of more than one volume. For good or bad, the Federal Parliament has made history. Time alone will determine the value as a whole.

In eleven years eight Ministers have held office. This is not to say that they have really been in power. During that time eight sets of more or less new men have had their hands upon Commonwealth interests. Five months of chaos produced three changes of government. The absence of anything like a connected policy could but work out irreparable loss to the entire Commonwealth. It was merely a political game. Men slid into office over a track greased by party and personal interests. Such political manoeuvre is fraught with the same disaster to the country that a similar change of management under new hands would produce in a great commercial concern.

The story of what the first Parliament, with Mr. E. Barton as Prime Minister, accomplished is a commentary upon the supreme lack of statesmanship on the part of the leaders. Hansard tells the true tale. In the analysis of those pages it is evident that the honourable members had received a Pentecostal baptism—not of grace, but of showers of words. The talking match entered upon after the Governor's first speech to the Parliament is before me. It covers nearly 800 columns of the official book.
When the session closed, the combat of English—good and bad—was recorded in twelve volumes. Nearly 17,000 pages of closely-printed matter made up of the murmurings, mutterings, and more or less senseless chatter of wild and untutored politicians. These were bequeathed, through Hansard, a heritage of posterity.

For three years the whole body drifted hither and yon, until, almost consumed by the gnawings of abundant speech, the spark of life waned, flickered and died. One body at least, for which there has never been a resurrection morning. Reading the full reports of the eleven years of Parliamentary work is most instructive and highly entertaining, by reason of the grotesque humour of much of the proceedings.

The Federal Government consists of two Houses. The members in each are seated under the same electors' qualification. Six senators represent each State, but in the Lower House representation is based on the population. The upkeep of this legislative body involves so great an expenditure, and becomes so heavy a drain upon the Commonwealth, that in order to justify the outlay great good from its deliberations should accrue to the country. The following list is suggestive:

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<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Senate: salaries, etc.</td>
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<td>House of Representatives, ditto</td>
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<td>Library</td>
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<td>Refreshment rooms</td>
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<td>Water power</td>
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<td>£521</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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**£185,341**

When reduced to a simple, readable fact, it figures out at a daily cost of £509. In Coronation year the sum was increased to £600 per diem. This continues all the year round: not merely when Parliament sits, but salaries and added travelling expenses remain the same daily at the above cost. During the year 1911, Hansard records forty-four meetings of the Senate, some of which were exceedingly brief. This cost the Commonwealth £7,160. The Lower House sustained the greater brain-fag of ten weeks, sixty-one sittings, out of twelve months, for which members drew £9,718 in salaries. The Senate worked seven weeks, and the members gleefully tripped up and drew salary for twelve months.

Now, if Commonwealth legislation can be transacted in ten weeks of the year, why this great expense of twelve months’ salary? All sane thinkers recognise the fact that there must be a central channel of operation through which the interests of the entire
Commonwealth may and must be served, but the records of 1910–11 show that the Federal Parliament sat six months out of twenty-four. In any other occupation the mere suggestion of drawing yearly salary for a few weeks' "value received" would be beyond consideration. Membership in the Federal Government at £600 per year for seven and ten weeks' work is highway robbery to the nation, no matter what party is in power.

The Constitutions of the various States are framed on so general a basis as to enable them to become part of the Federal Government with more or less sacrifice of interests; the loss to Western Australia constitutes a menace to that State.

Each State has a Legislative Council, which forms the Upper House. In New South Wales and Queensland the number is unlimited. Membership is obtained by nomination in the Council and ratification by the Governor of the State. Members serve for life. The non-limitation of numbers affords the possibility of flooding the Chamber with party men to carry party measures. Up to the present time such an attempt has not been made, although in one of the States the advisability of the measure was freely discussed, taking as a precedent the suggestion of British politicians to create countless peers in order to carry effective legislation. The life membership in the Council of two States carries no financial benefits, not even out-of-pocket expenses. Members have free railway and tramcar passes. They are also provided with postage and stationery.

The other States adopted a restricted franchise for electors voting for the Upper Chamber in the
FORMER GOVERNMENT HOUSE OF NEW SOUTH WALES; NOW A FEDERAL ART MUSEUM AND MUSICAL CONSERVATORIUM.
form of a property qualification or the payment of certain rent. The sum varies in different States.

The Constitutions, especially that of the Commonwealth, appear to offer a most democratic system of representation, and on the surface would seem almost Socialistic, but when in operation quite the contrary is the result. This is not, perhaps, so much the fault of the system itself as the lack of compulsory measures in enforcing the exercise of citizenship.

The returns of recent Commonwealth elections as well as those of most of the States indicate that not one of the Governments was elected by a majority vote of all the electors.

Beginning with the Federal Parliament—and the principle would remain unchanged whichever party chanced to be in power—it is but a matter of dealing with facts and the possible working out of the system.

The late Government, which happened to represent the Labour party, went into power on a 80 per cent. vote of the electors, 28 per cent. voting for the Liberal party. The shocking abuse of citizenship in not exercising the franchise is recorded in the fact that 42 per cent. of the electors failed to make use of the vote.

This Government was seated by merely a majority of 22,000 votes of those who cast their ballots. Various estimates and calculations have been made as to the party shade of the non-voters on the roll, who made up somewhat more than 1,000,000 delinquents, 470,000 being women. Of course this particular Government was not to blame, but rather is the example to be emulated, in that its supporters,
including the women, voted their full strength to almost the last and least of its followers. It, nevertheless, shows how utterly unrepresentative a Government may be when it takes up the reins of office.

In 1912, Parliament did away with postal voting in the Commonwealth, which disfranchises all electors in remote regions unable to get to the polls, also inmates of hospitals and other institutions. In the future the Federal Government is likely to be less and less representative.

The secret ballot secures a much larger degree of honesty than the open system in use in most parts of America; but for all that it does not produce representative results.

In almost every State there are seats occupied, and, in fact, whole Governments in power, which represent really a minority of votes actually cast.

Take, for example, the last State election in Western Australia. A Liberal Government went to the country with a majority, but the Labour party swept into power with thirty-four seats—nine to the good. These thirty-four seats were secured by a comparatively small majority. Many seats are now represented by one party, while the actual majority of votes cast for the seat has been 65 per cent. for the other party—the votes having been hopelessly split by the multiplication of candidates representing one party.

Labour regulations reduce the number of candidates to one by a process of selection. Once in a while a nondescript will mount the fence, ready to
spring to either side, and gravely proclaim himself an Independent. Usually his perch gives way under him, and he lands in the mugwump quagmire of political oblivion. There is no place in political economy, or any other economy, for fence-birds of human breed.

The Liberal party in a number of States has no method of selection. The political ambition of the average Liberal candidate is only matched by his lack of qualifications and a decent regard for the principles he is supposed to represent. The cold-blooded manner in which from three to half a dozen men will defeat and deal wreckage to all they profess to hold sacred requires no comment; nor does the type of man who greedily gazes upon a £200 or £300 a-year empty chair as his natural heritage by right of—needing the salary.

Several seats in that Government were held by men of opposite views from the majority of the electors of the district which they represented. Where there are three or more candidates on one side and but one on the other, it is easily seen how entirely unrepresentative a seat may become. It is possible in a district where 2,000 votes are cast for a selected candidate to secure the seat by 510 votes, or even fewer if properly distributed, leaving 1,490 electors without representatives.

To overcome this, a system of compulsory preferential voting became law in Western Australia. This, however, failed to restore the balance, for many of the electors departed far and wide from voting the entire party ticket.

At a recent State election the Liberal party
went into power with a screech and yell of victory on a large majority of Labour votes.

The following table, taken from the official Labour organ, with the results of the "top man" of each district, illustrates how such a result could occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOP LABOUR MAN</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denny</td>
<td>12,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGillivray</td>
<td>14,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coneybeer</td>
<td>16,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coombe</td>
<td>3,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thamm</td>
<td>2,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verran</td>
<td>6,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>6,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland</td>
<td>4,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>5,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryan</td>
<td>3,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Loghlin</td>
<td>2,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehmann</td>
<td>2,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>80,768</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOP LIBERAL MAN</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>7,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farquhar</td>
<td>6,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudd</td>
<td>16,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>4,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>5,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>5,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald</td>
<td>5,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>6,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peake</td>
<td>6,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritchie</td>
<td>5,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgoyne</td>
<td>2,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homburg</td>
<td>4,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78,261</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority for Labour, 2,507, but a Liberal Government is in power.
Numerous systems have been evolved in order to bring about representative government, but so far each has failed. The only remaining test will be compulsory enrolment and the reduction of candidates to one on each side.
CHAPTER XV

HOW AUSTRALIA IS RULED

"It matters not what be your creed or class
So that your word may not be bought or sold
And that through all your life you steadfast hold
As truth, that honest hearts are more than gold,
And count as sacred gems or beggar glass."

KENNETH MACKAY.

In dealing with this subject, natural inclination would lead to a presentation free from party reference. But the "anti" spirit is so fierce and furious, the relentless hatred and class feeling in politics so bitter, that any discussion of the present rule in Australia must deal, more or less, with party politics.

The difference in the political faith and creed of the parties is that of "anti" alone—one being anti-Liberal, and the other anti-Labour. Generally speaking, the underlying principle of each is to secure the spoils of office.

It would be most unfair to say that one party holds the monopoly in capacity to hate the other with a downright, unadulterated hatred, "pure and undefiled" by any sense of moderation.

In the days of the Labour Government the Commonwealth was ruled by thirty-six unknown men, six from each State—these make up the Interstate Labour Conference, which meets every three years. Their operations extend over the entire Common-
MEMBERS OF THE LAST INTER-STATE LABOUR CONFERENCE. HELD AT HOBART.
wealth so long as their party is in Federal power. They represent so small a part of the people that the matter of their sway constitutes a menace to a country of democratic professions. In fact, there has never been a monopoly, hierarchy, or monarchical despotism which could compare with this arbitrary tyranny of the party rule of these thirty-six men.

The Conference is, to a large degree, self-constituted, for it represents only Trade Unionism, which is composed of 19 per cent. at most of the working-men of Australia. They arrogate to themselves the full right to control the national Parliament. This body begins operations by formulating the Labour policy of the Federal Government, in which there is a large majority of their supporters. Following this comes the drafting of the fighting platform, all of which goes to the caucus of the Government, not for consideration, but as the dictum of the Conference. Upon this the members are to base their opinions, and in support of it they are pledged at their election to cast their votes, without any possible knowledge of what features the policy may include. They are merely pledged to carry out the decision of the Conference.

The platform is discussed by the Conference in the form of resolutions. The last gathering took place in Hobart, where they sat with doors closed to the public, and also to representatives of the Press, with an exception in favour of the official Labour organ. A report of the proceedings leaked out, appeared in the local papers, and spread over the sea to the mainland. Thereupon the Conference resolved itself into a committee of the whole, or
something similar, and drew itself into closer and
more carefully guarded quarters. But the leakage
in publicity continued.

After the formation of the policy every official
of the Labour party is brought within its meshes.
Their allegiance to the platform is the only
guarantee of office, should the party be in power.
Not a single member of a Labour Ministry has
sufficient influence or prestige as a statesman to
carry a single resolution. At the Hobart Con-
ference a vain and strenuous attempt was made
to establish an Executive outside the Conference that
would give the Labour Government the freedom of
human beings, and remove the manacles which the
meeting further clinched by promptly voting down
the proposition. But no amount of argument could
prevail.

The resolution was a cunningly devised effort to
usurp the power of the Conference and free the
Ministry from the thraldom of enslaving political
serfdom. The details of the Supreme Executive
proposals are worthy of analysis, and the suggested
powers include the following:—

(a) To carry out the instructions of the Commonwealth
Political Labour Conferences, and attend to the general
management of all matters pertaining to Federal politics,
save and except the selection and running of candidates
for the Commonwealth Parliament.

(b) To summon the regular conferences and special
conferences whenever requested to do so on requisition
of not less than four State executives.

(c) To elect and control its own officers.

(d) To present to Conference a report covering the
work and progress of the party during its term of office,
with an audited statement of its financial transactions.
(e) To confer upon all matters affecting the general welfare of the Australian Labour party.

(f) And to decide such matters as may be referred to it by any State executive.

The measure having been defeated by the Conference, the Ministry became a political automaton, moving only at such times as the Conference spoke the word of command.

The dictation of the Conference has completely upset the centre of gravity in Australian politics. The actual seat of Government is no longer the building in which the slaves of Unionism go through the farce of debates on legislation to which they are already pledged before election; nor is it the secluded quarter wherein the caucus secretes itself behind closed doors to plan ways and means whereby they may meet their obligations to the Conference. No, there is no real power outside the political Interstate Labour Conference when a Labour Government exists.

The truth of these statements is verified by the leaders of the party themselves. At the Labour Conference held in Sydney in 1912, the chairman stated to the 600 accredited delegates present that their Parliamentary representatives had to confine themselves to putting the policy of the Conference before the people, elaborating it, and voting for it in Parliament. In proof of this, the pledge, which must be signed by a prospective candidate before he goes up for selection, is here presented:—

**Pledge:**

"I hereby pledge myself to support the candidate selected by the Federation, and if elected to do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the State plat-
form, and on all questions affecting the platform to vote as a majority of the Parliamentary Labour party may decide at a constituted caucus meeting."

It is at once seen that there is no possibility of carrying out the will of the people after the member is in office. No matter what pledges he may offer in return for votes, or what requirement in a certain district should be presented for legislative consideration, the elected members go like dumb, driven cattle to take their seats with a body of men who become the machines by which the decrees of the Federal Conference are ground into law. All relation of the member to the electors ceases when the door of the House closes behind him. His only duty or recognised obligation is to do the bidding of his masters who pledge him to obedience.

The responsibility assumed by a candidate in signing the pledge is one closely related to moral ideals. In the first place, the Conference and Caucus hold a mortgage on his conscience. The selected man signs away all his rights to freedom of will, opinions, or action in matters of legislation, and must be deaf, dumb, and blind to all things save voting according to his pledge. This makes it for ever impossible to evolve statesmen. It, therefore, holds that all members who sit representing the Labour party are but nonentities, paid so much a year to vote yes or no, according to instructions.

Not satisfied with demanding a written pledge, the signing of which involves a point of morals—for in so doing a man is frequently compelled to discard his principles—the ownership of a member is further established in severing the last thread of connection
between the representative and his constituents, as set forth in the following resolution:

"Mr. Griffith moved:

"That the Labour party be given the right to recall any member who is not faithful to his pledges, or who in the opinion of the party should be withdrawn."

It will be observed that the people whose interests the member is supposed to represent, those who put him in office, have no say in the matter. If he fails to serve the party instead of his electors, then the party may demand his withdrawal:

"That the Federal Government submit to a referendum at the next election the following: 'That any legislation passed by the Federal Parliament hereafter shall be deemed as an amendment of the Constitution.'"

The power asked for in the above resolution would amount to the abolition of the entire Constitution. Merely to present a Bill in two Houses where a majority vote carries a measure would make it a simple matter to pass an amendment to the Constitution, doing away with it altogether; and nothing but the said resolution would remain as a guide to governing the country. Anything passed by a majority of one would immediately be submitted as a referendum.

The following shows the trend of thought when viewed in the light of a Bill (private member's) which was introduced into the Parliament of 1910, and which was carried as far as the second reading.

This expresses the highest ideal and final goal of the Government:
"That the Interstate Conference immediately take into consideration the remodelling of the whole of the Federal Constitution, with a view of the abolition of the High Court and the State Governments and Parliaments, as at present existing, and the transfer of their property and powers to the Government and Parliament of the Commonwealth."

The Conference was especially enthusiastic in its demand to have the Constitution amended. Should the attempt to abolish it fail, their purpose was unanimously expressed in the following resolution:—

"That the proposals submitted at the recent Federal referendums be placed upon the Federal fighting platform."

The amendments here referred to were submitted in referenda to the electors of the Commonwealth in 1911. By a majority of a quarter of a million votes they were defeated, having been carried in only one State out of the six.

The absolute power of the Conference over officials may be better understood by the following financial dictum which must be added to the demand already exacted from the party as a whole:

"That a Federal fighting fund, locally administered, be established in each State, and that it be compulsory for all Federal Labour members to contribute thereto such percentage of their salaries as Conference may decide."

A second heroic struggle was made to get the Government out from under the weight of the Conference by trying to wrench from its clutch sufficient freedom to enable individual members to breathe without asking permission. This resulted in the usual failure of all efforts to guide their deliberations. Note the attempt:
"In order to maintain discipline and loyalty to Labour party ideals: (a) A Federal Executive be established, with full power to interpret, administer, and enforce all questions deduced upon by an absolute majority at Interstate Conference; (b) The President of State Executive to form Federal Executive, with secretary elected by Conference; (c) Each State Executive to contribute £5 affiliation fee towards Federal Executive."

The lament of Victoria was voiced in a bitter wail against compulsory training, and the Conference was asked to take the following stand:

"Mr. Stewart (Victoria) moved:

"'That the Defence Act be so amended as to clearly set forth that the object of getting citizens into the defence forces, based upon universal compulsory training and service, is defence of the Commonwealth against aggression, and, therefore, no person should be compelled to bear arms against any workers engaged in an industrial dispute, notwithstanding anything contained in the oath of allegiance or any other condition of compulsory service.'"

This being the mind of the Conference, when life and property were endangered by the Brisbane striking mob, the Prime Minister was powerless to meet the protection demands of the people made on their behalf by the Queensland Premier. It must be recognised that Mr. Fisher was placed in a very awkward position. He stood like a storm-tossed atom of nothingness between the tyranny of the Conference and his obligations to the Commonwealth to carry out the Constitution. As it is probable that the security of his political position was staked in any departure from the ukase of the Conference, it may be seen that this consideration far outweighed his loyalty to the conditions of the
Constitution; therefore, he calmly refused troops during the strike, and relieved his obligation to the law-abiding portion of the community by a substantial contribution to the strike fund, as a further expression of his willingness to remain the supreme political puppet of all the realm.

It is significant to note that when the wish of the Conference is conveyed to the Federal Parliament, it is not submitted as a matter for their consideration, but goes before them as a request in the following arbitrary manner:

"That Conference requests the Federal Labour party to formulate a definite programme of propaganda and organising work to be carried out by the party during the recess of Parliament, and that the party keep a record of the performance of all members, and that each record be submitted to the next Federal Conference."

Much interest centred around a resolution relating to the number of days and length of hours which should constitute a day or week of manual work. This subject has been a question of consideration at most political gatherings for some time. During the eight-hour celebration in 1911 in the city of Sydney, it was the chief theme in the speech-making of the evening, which ended in a declaration that the time was now at hand when the eight-hour demonstrations should be abolished. They had practically won the day on that point. In the future, the celebration should be either abandoned or absorbed by a vigorous six-hour movement, which must sooner or later become the legal limit of daily toil. The Conference expressed its views in the following manner:
"That, under our present economic conditions, with a system encouraging by machinery the production of commodities of life, it is now necessary that six hours constitute a day's work, and that the same be placed as a plank upon the Commonwealth Labour platform."

Not satisfied with a secured reduction in working hours, a newly appointed member for Victoria declared that he could "do as much work as any man needed to do in four hours a day." He expressed a further belief that within the lifetime of the infant generation four hours a day would become the standard limit for every working man and woman. The most recent move, however, is to reduce the number of working days to five a week. It is not clear whether the intention is to include the four-hour-a-day idea in the five-day-a-week scheme. At any rate, Mr. Fisher is credited with bestowing his benediction—he is allowed to do that—upon the movement, expressing his belief that "it is a wise plan to shorten hours of labour and increase efficiency and rewards."

As a concluding expression of the trend of Australia's rule at the present moment, it may be well to indicate the attitude of individual States, as well as the Commonwealth, on these matters of supreme and vital moment.

The State Labour Conference of New South Wales recently met in their capital city. No fewer than 209 resolutions were introduced bearing on industrial matters. The following have been selected from the long list:

"That no employer shall be eligible to become, or permitted to remain, a member of the P.L.C. unless all his employees are members of their respective unions."
"That railway freights and fares be abolished, and the necessary revenue be derived from the proceeds of a greater land tax, without exemption."

"The abolition of first and second-class railway travelling, and institution of one class only."

"That the Parliamentary Labour party consult with the central executive of the P.L.C. whenever any interpretation of policy is necessary."

"That eligibility for candidature for the Federal Parliament, the Legislative Assembly, or for the Municipal Council shall be restricted to members of industrial unions affiliated with the Trades Hall Council."

"That a levy of 6d. per member be struck on all members of the P.L.C. and affiliated unions, 1912, for the purpose of raising a fighting fund for the next Federal elections. A communication to be sent to the secretary of the Trades Hall Council, asking the non-affiliated unions to vote sums equal in amount to the levy."
CHAPTER XVI

STRIKES AND THEIR CAUSES

"Be not discouraged if the way seems lonely,
If heavier grows the dull and daily load;
Remember, at its worst, that life is only
A stage upon an ever-changing road.

"For this is true: the Lord of Broad Dominions
Who doth misuse his day of pomp and power,
Will be even as the least of all his minions
When he returns to face his judgment hour."

KENNETH MACKAY.

When the working people have a grievance, based on sweating, long hours, or badly arranged working quarters, and employers refuse to right these wrongs, the only redress remaining to the worker is to strike, and strike hard. It is a legitimate attitude toward oppression as a means of defence. All agree to this. But the strike in Australia is peculiar to the soil and atmosphere. In epidemic form it spreads with great rapidity, and usually dashes itself to pieces with its own weight and the force of gathered momentum.

There is little real cause for strikes. The worker has demanded and dictated legislation whereby his interests shall be protected against the greed and avarice of moneyed combinations. The labour market is under his supreme control. He is able, through organisation, to stamp himself with the trade mark of his estimated value and dictate reason-
able terms and fixed hours of work—all of which is his right, and, indeed, his duty to his family.

The worker in Australia has caused the establishment of industrial courts of his own mould and fashion. Again and again has he agreed to stand by the awards of these courts, which determine wages and hours, the decision to hold good for a given period. In order to protect the worker from any failure on the part of the employer in carrying out the award, the court imposes a £1,000 penalty on the latter. No guarantee, however, is given to the employer that the men will keep faith with the agreement. There being as a rule no penalty attached for violation of contract on the part of the men, most strikes are ordered without regard to given notice, and take place at any moment. This, too, in face of the fact that the rules of the union require that a ballot of members shall be taken before a walk-out is declared.

The combined forces of Labour have done much to improve conditions and safeguard their interests. They have demanded and secured deliverance from the relentless and often cruel oppression of Capital. By their own efforts they stand forth before the world clothed with a higher manhood, and have opened the gate through which the workman passed when he came into his own.

Having thus freed the workman from the galling yoke, combined Labour proceeded at once, with more cruel vehemence, more brutal oppression, more diabolical tyranny than anything its members had experienced from Capital, to grind to powder and beat to earth that greater number of the working
STRIKES AND THEIR CAUSES

classes who refuse to grant the rôle of Dictator-at-large to Unionism.

That the strike fever has assumed epidemic form is seen in the fact that in ten months of a single year there have been ninety-one strikes, very few of which had any bearing on either wages or length of working days. They were in no sense industrial strikes, merely attempts—most of them complete failures—to dictate terms under which men shall be allowed to meet the obligations of providing for their families.

The causes of these strikes are, themselves, a commentary upon the unbridled arrogance of Unionism as interpreted by its agitators. In Victoria, where the "Sunshine Harvester" works employed some hundreds of men, it was discovered that there were fifteen on the pay-roll who were not members of a union. With the usual assumption of power which prevails in all manner of dictatorship, Unionism demanded that the manager should dismiss the free workers. This, of course, he refused to do, considering such tyranny unjust to the satisfactory hands. It is hardly necessary to record the result. Hundreds of men who had no say in the matter were hunted like galley-slaves from the peaceful pursuit of their daily occupation. The strike fever spread to other shops, and thousands found themselves out of employment. The companies, however, secured 1,400 free workers to fill the places of the strikers. After thirteen weeks of idleness, during which time the work in the factories was being pushed forward, the men resolved upon unconditional surrender, and volunteered to return under old conditions. But this
could not be. A new order of things had been established. The employers declined to dismiss any of the free workers who were as efficient as the returning strikers. The situation, briefly stated, tells a suggestive story. Three months of idleness of 2,800 slaves ordered not to work. Three months of privation, discomfort and want for women and children by reason of £58,000 lost in wages and withdrawn from housekeeping purposes, to say nothing of the climax. The men were glad to march back and take up work with 700 free workers who refused to take on either the financial burden or unjust demands of Unionism. The strike collapsed.

In Tasmania the members of the Mine Employees’ Association walked home and lived on strike pay—money which always represents the loss of comforts to women and children in the home—and refused to return because the manager saw fit to enforce the Trespass Act and dismiss a worker found guilty of violation of its rules on the company’s property. The strike collapsed.

A strike with most unusual results took place a short time ago in a factory where a large number of hatters were employed. Through the illness of a presser, a temporary hand who was not a presser was sent to the bench to fill the vacancy for a few days. Now, this man was not a member of the union, for the simple reason that there was no union for general workers, and the Pressers’ Union refused to receive him. When the officials of the Pressers’ Union heard of the unholy act of the manager in filling the place of the disabled worker with one of his employees who had been unable to
find shelter in the fold of Unionism, they objected and demanded that the proprietor should not only turn him away from the pressing bench, but dismiss him at once from his service. This he manfully refused to do. Again the lash of a monopoly of the right to work was brought down upon 850 helpless workers who were driven into idleness and discomfort.

The unexpected feature of the situation was not an extended strike, as is usual, but the exasperated owners of all other factories declared a lock-out as an expression of sympathy with the manufacturer who had been forced to close down his works. And the Union learned the lesson that the strike game operates both ways. The strike collapsed.

No realm is sacred. The epidemic is not a respecter of hallowed ground. Recently the lay preachers of a certain district in Victoria furled the Gospel banner, closed the Book, and withheld the usual “means of grace” from erring humanity while the Messengers of Peace went off on strike. The country folk drove from miles around to their respective places of worship to find empty pulpits, the only explanation being the simple announcement, “There will be no service to-day.”

The strike arose over a request for a particular preacher to take an anniversary sermon at a place where he was not announced for that special date. The whole matter stirred up so much strife and bitterness, that it was deemed advisable to call a special ecclesiastical court to settle the matter. After a conference, at which a day for the sitting of the court should be determined, the offending
brother presented a "peace-with-honour" proposition, which must be regarded as the climax of strike methods. The proposal as set forth was:

First: "That each side accept the other side's statement. Second: That neither side withdraw anything. Third: That both sides come out with equal honour."

Which means, in the larger interpretation, the incident never occurred.

This was not satisfactory to the superintendent of the district and a deadlock followed, leaving the strikers still striking, the superintendent still on the defence, and the multitude cheerfully pursuing a downward career, unrestrained by any sound of "The Gospel of Peace." Eventually the strike collapsed.

Unionism gone mad gave a free exhibition of the many forms it may assume when the cadets in Adelaide went into a state of rebellion and refused to go out to drill, giving as a reason "Some of the boys had no 'Union cards.'" The strike collapsed.

On one occasion I chanced to be in the office of a manager of an enterprise of public entertainment. A few moments before the curtain was to rise the leader of the orchestra rushed into the office and frantically exclaimed: "My men have all gone on strike!" The reason given was that the women musicians were being paid £2 10s. per week, while the men were drawing £3 10s. for identical work, and the strikers demanded equal pay. The matter was carried to the Court of Arbitration. While in the process of investigation numerous organisations of women passed resolutions of thanks, greetings and
goodwill, conveying their undying gratitude to the
men who had so gallantly defended the cause of the
women musicians. It chanced that I was appointed
to convey all this heartfelt joy to the men. In call-
ing at the office to deliver my commission and trans-
late its meaning into beams of gladness, I meekly
apologised for the absence of a visible halo with which
the women had mentally crowned them, and proceeded
to extend to them the congratulations of the women.

Bewilderment deepened into confusion as the
embarrassed hero tried to stammer out an explana-
tion. Recovering his power of speech, with hang-
dog look he offered an explanation of the situation.

"You see," said he, "we really did not want
the women in the orchestra. We knew the only way
to get rid of them was to strike for equal pay. The
court would award it, but we were fully aware that
the manager would not pay equal salaries; there-
fore the women would be dismissed."

I humbly put out my hand to recover the gush-
ing resolution and inquired what objection they had
to women in that special orchestra. The allowable
"because," as a reasonable answer given by women
to any or all questions, contains as much logic and
sense as his reply.

"We object to the presence of women players
on general principles," was the ground on which he
justified their action.

Of all the malicious strikes on record this will
for ever stand out as the low level mark of unscrupu-
lous men who resort to cowardly Union measures in
seeking their own interests.

In the city of Launceston the stage hands of one
of the theatres went in a body and demanded that the official at the ticket office be dismissed at once, the reason being that he was a non-Union man. To force him into membership of that body this course was pursued. The manager waved them to one side like so much chaff before a north wind. Boys were secured to fill the places of the ushers, and the stage work was undertaken by members of the company.

In leaving a Western port recently the entire cargo of a ship was taken back to Sydney, a distance of some thousands of miles, because the wharf men suddenly went on strike. By the time the steamer reached Melbourne the lumpers in that port were considering the advisability of following the pace of the West.

In order to get to the bottom of the situation, I went ashore and asked a lumper to look after a box which had been freighted by that steamer. The experience which followed was full of interest. In answer to my request the man stated plainly that he could not undertake to handle anything for me until the question of the contemplated strike was settled. Men of similar occupation 8,000 miles away had asked for an increase of pay, and they considered there was no reason why they should not do likewise. The matter was to be thrashed out at dinner when most of them congregated at 12.30 in a water-front restaurant.

Proceeding at once to the designated place, I inquired if I could get dinner before one o'clock. The question was received in open-eyed wonderment. After some hesitation the girl in charge managed to
say: "Ladies don't eat here, mum; we has only men." As there appeared to be no objection to a lady having a meal provided she paid for it, I remained. Everything was plain, but perfectly clean. Very soon big, strong, unkempt men shuffled in, throwing their hats on the floor, and seating themselves in the order in which they entered until each table was filled.

Surrounded and hemmed in on every side by more than a hundred men, I ordered dinner and awaited developments. No one seemed to regard the presence of a lady as an intrusion upon their domain or a matter of any note. There was considerable excitement when the strike question was fully entered upon. The men expressed their views freely, frequently calling them out to others at remote parts of the room. A cunning-looking man who sat opposite me remarked: "With the ships now in port waiting to be unloaded, there is at least two quid, ten bob in sight for each. And boys," he continued, "it's a pity not to scoop it in before we say quit." Others fell in with the "quid-bob" idea, and the discussion waxed warm.

Sitting at my right was a chatty fellow, who seemed more or less to settle things when he spoke. As he was so glib and free of speech, I tried to look innocent, and ventured meekly to inquire the cause of the discussion. His tongue must have been hung on a pivot in the middle so it could wag at both ends. He appeared to chew his words, for they issued forth in fragments which required no small measure of effort to collect and set in order. Finally, it was made clear that "men on the other side"
(meaning in the west) "were demanding more pay, and they were not going to be out of it on this side."

It so happened that the cost of living in the west is about 38 per cent. higher than it is in the Eastern States. This, however, was no consideration, the contention being, "We are not going to be downed over here when others are getting better pay for the same work."

They were served with a good, well-cooked meal, and plenty of it. Two kinds of soup, meat and pudding, from which to make a choice, three vegetables and unlimited tea and bread made up a bill of fare upon which each man squandered the lavish sum of sixpence. A similar meal on the other side could not be obtained for twice the amount. This fact, when stated, had no bearing with the men. Their only point of unreason was, "What other men are getting we’re going to have."

In paying for my lunch at a table where a tired woman sat collecting sixpenny toll as the men passed out, I inquired how it was possible to serve that kind of meal for so small a price, and make it pay.

"It pays all right," she replied, "if I only could get help to cook. My two girls look after the house and wait at table. It’s the cooking that’s the bothering thing. No woman can do it. I feed more than a hundred hard-working men three times a day. The other week I decided to get a Chinaman to do the cooking. He did fine; got up good meals and no waste. The third day the men caught sight of him as they were in the middle of their meal. ‘Strike,
boys, against a Chinaman cooking our chow!' shouted the leader. They rose in a body, marched out, and told me to put up a notice when I had a white cook. The cooking fell on me until I could find someone, but they have no mercy on a woman trying to earn an honest living. They're White Australia mad."

The strike movement became so widespread that one captain took a gang of free workers all around the ports of Australia and New Zealand where his line of steamers call in order to dispatch his boat on time. In nine days each man received £14 for his services. In one instance the lighter came out late on Saturday night. The men worked a portion of an hour on Sunday. For this they received 5s. 8d. each. The days on which the boat was actually at sea they were paid 10s., and during the entire trip board and lodging were included.

Reckless striking in Brisbane reached a climax both in the cause and disastrous effects upon labour generally. This movement was in no sense an industrial strike, and, worse still, it was well known to the paid agitators that the very matter which formed an excuse for their criminal proceedings was to have been considered before the Arbitration Court within seven days. This fact must be borne in mind. The whole thing was merely a revolution against the rules of the tramway company. Of these regulations every worker was fully aware when he entered the service. A large number of men in the employment of the company were not identified with the labour Union. In order to protect these free workers from annoyance which would follow if they became
marked non-Union men, rules were issued that Union badges should not be worn on uniforms during working hours.

As a means of forcing free workers into membership in the Union, it was decided, notwithstanding the rules by which they were bound, to don badges and leave non-Unionists an open target at which Union despotism could be more readily aimed.

At a given time all Union badges were put on when the men reported. In order to maintain discipline the men wearing them were at once dismissed from the service.

One of the rules of Unionism, and one which is the underlying principle of all true democracy, is that of giving the individual members the right of a voice in the matter of declaring a strike. This was utterly ignored. With a dishonest and wilful abuse of established usages, a strike committee formed itself into the "I AM" of the industrial system of all Queensland. The employees of forty-three branches of industry, covering every possible occupation, were herded in droves and hurriedly ordered out of industrial occupation, to live upon the charity filched from fellow workers by the iron hand of grab, known as "strike levy." Beaten by arbitrary rules into enforced idleness, thousands of men and women surrendered the right to earn honest bread, the yielding of which reduces the worker to the lowest level of abject slavery.

In a single day all wheels of action ceased, and the gloating tyrant of Unionism looked upon the misery of a whole community with that sense of satisfaction which goes far to prove that sections of
the human family are not yet removed from a capacity to glory in brute method which belonged to primitive ages.

When the Strike Committee had virtually placed the city in a state of siege, and the certainty of starvation in the near future became apparent, the Premier exercised the right which each State reserved to itself when military management was turned over to the Commonwealth—that of protecting life and property by aid of the troops. This was called for by the Premier, and as promptly refused by the Commonwealth.

In these circumstances the Premier of Queensland turned the safety of the community over to the hands of the Commissioner of Police, who realised the situation, and was not slow to act.

A call was issued for a citizens' volunteer police force. In other words, the Commissioner said to the public: "You have been denied the right guaranteed to citizens by the Constitution; now is the time to prove, as Britons so often have done, how well you can protect yourselves."

It is doubtful if so universal a response has ever been made in an hour of need. Yonder on the horizon could be seen mere specks, "hardly larger than a man's hand," moving nearer and nearer; they increase in size until they take on the forms of horses and riders. They fairly leap and bound into the midst of the stirring scenes. On they come, horses foaming at the mouth and flank, the men flushed by the long hot dash through tropical heat, half choked by clouds of dust. They were volunteering for action, and were soon sworn into service and
armed against the most deadly foe of law, order and human rights—Unionism gone mad under paid agitators.

Trades Hall came up against a force never before encountered, and with which it had not reckoned—the public protecting itself. Farmers and their men, citizens of all stations of life, bushmen from far and wide to the number of four or five thousand, armed in defence of the community, so alarmed the general Strike Committee, that the chairman rushed off in all haste and sent a wire to the Prime Minister, requesting him to send troops at once, and protect the strikers from the police. Picture it!

When the public demonstrated to the full that it was able to offer self-defence, the leaders of the strike wrote to the Employers' Association, meekly asking for a conference which was decisively declined. Free workers were pouring into the city from all quarters, and workmen were available in hundreds. The collapse of the strike was now in sight. Gradually the deceived and ill-advised men came, hat in hand, and asked to be allowed to return.

Had the revolution been of an industrial character and the men suffering from any form of abuse or oppression, that fact would, perhaps, have justified a strike. But within eight days of a legal settlement of the very point at issue, to manifest a wanton display of overestimated strength and power, was one of the most severe blows Unionism ever allowed its paid agitators to deal the workmen.

Many of the sane Labour leaders freely acknowledged that the move had worked irreparable loss to the Labour cause. Some went so far as to attri-
bute the defeat of the Labour party in South Australia, where a general election was then in the process of plans for the campaign, to the reflex action of the unjustifiable strike. The chief official organ of the Labour cause, as well conducted a paper, with as clever writers as may be found in the Commonwealth, was not slow to express the general opinion of the rank and file in its disapproval of the Brisbane strike.

There is one feature of strikes which is now causing some uneasiness among the members of Unions themselves. The financial side of such a move involves thousands and thousands of pounds, aside from the vast sums lost in wages. During this particular strike in Victoria alone a strike levy of £16,000 was paid from the hard-earned wages of men who had no stake in the strife. All of this was withdrawn from home supply where women and children feel it most keenly.

Trades Hall itself has taken up the matter. The haste with which strikes have been called by "revolutionists" has been strongly condemned. The Unions themselves have discussed methods to prevent unjustifiable striking in the future.

The drain on the finances to maintain strikes is almost past belief. In one year, in one State, the money drawn from the general treasury, aside from strike levy, amounted to £85,000. The annual contribution to the Unions in a single State amounts to £895,000, all of which comes from the wage-earners.

A very large percentage of the funds, nearly one half, is spent in administration expenses. These
figures are before me in the printed statement of the State Registrar of various societies.

The expenditure of the registered trade unions—they are not all registered—for the year 1909 amounts to £16,256. Of this, £2,582 was paid away in benefits, and £8,398 was expended on management. In looking through the reports of twenty-six other organisations, I find this is by far the largest percentage of expenditure of funds for management of any record in the Commonwealth. The balance was divided between helping other Unions, legal and political expenses, and contributions to Labour papers.

Little wonder that serious working men are looking into the matter of the extent of their financial obligations as related to the heavy demands upon their earning power!
CHAPTER XVII

UNIONISM AS A MONOPOLY

"Save us, we pray, from sordid greed,
From churlish fear, with men to share—
The empty lands we do not need,
The burdens that we may not bear."

Kenneth Mackay.

Every student of history must know that in past times far too little attention was given to the welfare of the worker in the matter of either pay, hours of work, comfort, or opportunity for improvement. The condition of the labourer of early days in Australia was a disgrace to any civilised country, and the situation continued unchanged until the idea of organisation took possession of the worker. It most naturally assumed the form of a plan of defence, which, being recognised as the only protection, spread far and wide, developing into numerous friendly and benefit societies. These are, in number, like the sands of the sea. Aside from a direct bearing on industrial conditions, there are schemes of provision against want during sickness, poverty in old age, and an unpaid undertaker's bill or pauper's grave at the end of years of toil. The many benefits derived from membership more than justify the energy invested in keeping alive such enterprises.

Among the efforts put forth for the improvement
of the condition of the workman, nothing can compare in achievement to the astounding results of organisation represented in Unionism. Its first pronounced mission was to reduce the length of a working day, and secure reasonable hours of toil in all occupations. From the time of the first union in Victoria, until the most westerly State had reached the desired goal, a period of fifty-six years elapsed. During this time Unionism was most fruitful in securing for the worker reforms which should never have been necessary in a new country. The "eight-hour" agitation triumphed and is now the recognised day's work throughout the Commonwealth. Meantime the public school system which provided for and compelled a wider general education of the masses, has stirred the latent force of self-consciousness. As yet it is merely a stir. When the full awakening comes the workman will enter into his own by reason of a new-born sense of what belongs to him—and this is the only hope of the human race. No power can turn back the hands of the clock. For the workman in Australia the hour has struck twelve. The island fairly shakes with the tramping steps toward the only secure goal of mankind: that of eternal justice, [here and now, to the individual in the industrial world.

Had Unionism confined itself to the betterment of its own, instead of pushing away from the original intent of the founders and resolving itself into a fierce and cruel monopoly for the supreme and sacred right to toil and earn honest bread, it would long since have become the predominating factor
in the building of a new Nation. The fact of the enduring benefits obtained by the Union in its sane moments is an evidence of what it could accomplish when freed from the blight of the paid agitator.

No one would for a moment, in these democratic times, deny to the worker the right of organising in self-defence. It is the only effective channel through which to voice the demands of Labour, which was once as speechless as the dead. But for this medium of expression, the worker to-day would be scarcely a step removed from the "galley slave at midnight scourged in his dungeon," and Eternal Hope, "the last friend of man," would long since have faded into despair.

It is my belief that workers should stand in a solid body, not only for proper hours and surroundings, but for a more just and equal distribution of the value of what they produce. Up to the present time they have never secured it, therefore they would be unworthy of their heritage if they did not include in their purposes of combination a demand for a larger share in production.

Unionism, when confined to its legitimate operation, gives to Labour the strength and dignity which removes the toiling individual from the servile servitude of the past and clothes him with a living manhood that engenders respect and consideration, wherever it unfurls the banner of industrial justice in the name of the people.

As a combined force, Unionism has been able to strike a higher bargain in the labour marts of the world, and secure advantages which, when
left to the struggling worker, reduced him to the helpless prey of avarice and greed.

It is, therefore, perfectly legitimate for Unionism to concern itself with the question of surplus in production values, and how it shall be divided. Labour has discovered, as if scales had suddenly fallen from closed eyes, that it is the nerve, backbone, and sinew of the country. To what part of the wealth the workman produces is he entitled is the great question of the present moment.

Shall Labour continue the tool and machine, operated to produce wealth, with barely a living wage for the producer—merely a wage-earner?—or shall the producer become a factor in the concern for which he spends his energy? When plant, interest and expense of operation are deducted, and the surplus figured up, to what percentage of the balance is the producer entitled?

Whether people agree with the principles or not, it is the chief question with which both Labour and Capital must wrestle in the future of the labour discussion. Business men may as well make up their minds to face it, for it is here, written in a language which requires no interpretation. It will remain a fixed and determined issue until the entire problem is settled. Individual point of view will decide to what extent the principle will have personal sympathy from employers of labour.

For this purpose labour organisation would seem to be a wise movement, because the basis is sound. It is not only wisdom for the present, but a duty to future generations. No sane person will dispute the right of Unionism to strive after high ideals.
UNIONISM AS A MONOPOLY

As it became apparent that legislation was the only possible way these principles could be put into force and the ideals worked out, Unionism assumed a political and party shade. When Labour took the stand that it was an obligation of the State and of the community at large to step in and adjust and regulate the relation of employer and employee, then and there a new Unionism came into being. In 1890, when the great strike was producing commercial stagnation and industrial wreckage, the Unions selected from among their own ranks men who should represent their interests in the State Legislature. This gave birth to a Labour force, destined to exercise no small degree of influence in the future legislation of the country.

As the working man forms so large a proportion of the population, it is just and proper that he should have direct representation in all law-making bodies. To this no fair-minded person could object. It is, however, when organised Unionism holds up a mailed fist, and shakes it in the face of individual rights, that it outrages all moral sentiment, and should be put down by pen, voice, and law. Unionism in the rôle of the tyrant lays down rules for those out of its ranks, and interferes with the rights of all who do not see eye to eye with its methods. It claims a sort of divine right to create the most cruel of all monopolies—the possibility of earning bread only when workers enlist under its banner. It is Unionism as a high-handed monopolist to which thinking people object. Its voice is lifted in a mighty cry against all sorts of combines (and justly, too!) conspiring
to secure unlawful gain at the expense of the consumer. No words of English seem sufficiently hard or strong in which to express the unionist condemnation of a "corner" in any commodity; but brainless, unreasoning Unionism creates a more criminal trust than any it seeks to destroy in its organised attempts to crush out the freedom of the right to work.

The Federal Government gave an impetus to the creed of Unionism in taking the monopoly of the right to work under its wing, and fostered its unholy aims by enacting class-legislation, which is, probably, without a parallel.

The function of government is to secure justice to all parties, protect society against abuses which victimise either Labour or Capital, and legislate in the interests of the whole. Injustice to either side disturbs the balance of that superstructure known as Social Order, and works out endless evil to all concerned. In every crisis it is most essential to find out the principle that will maintain moral, social, and economic poise. As development brings many changes by which Capital and Labour are affected, it is impossible to enact legislation likened unto the laws of the Medes and Persians, "which changeth not." New conditions require new methods. But those measures, unless based upon eternal justice, will work out sure and certain destruction to any cause, no matter what elements of good it may possess. If a balance is to be sustained in the industrial world, and the wheels of progress kept moving until a given end is established, there must be no attempt at class distinction.
THE HON. ALFRED DEAKIN.
UNIONISM AS A MONOPOLY

Not long since the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth received a deputation from Trades Hall, conveying a mandate for his future actions in regard to the employment of unionists. Like a piece of clay in the hands of the potter, the chief executive was quickly formed and fashioned into a willing servant in the skilful hands of Unionism.

Later, the Department of Home Affairs, under the instruction of the Minister, sent out a circular letter containing orders for the future regulation of day labour. The following is a copy:

"Department of Home Affairs,
"Melbourne, Sept. 21st, 1911.

"In connection with Day Labour, please carry out the following instructions:—

"... Please note that the Minister has directed that absolute preference is to be given to Unionists. See that this is given effect to in any future engagement, and, in discharging any present men, discharge non-unionists first.

"The Minister also desires to be furnished at once with a list of non-unionists employed. Please make necessary inquiries and supply at once."

The contents of the circular was brought up in the Federal House in the form of a no-confidence motion moved by Mr. Deakin, leader of the Opposition. The types of men who took part in the mêlée which followed may be judged by a few quotations from Hansard—the official record of Parliamentary proceedings. The violence of language would have disgraced a revolution in Russia. Extracts are taken from speeches made by men who are pledged to support the free institutions of democracy. One honourable member declared that "the lowest dog
on the face of the earth was a non-unionist. He should be taken out and drowned.” (Great laughter and cheers from the Labour side.) An article of faith was expounded in a blast of fury from a representative of the people, as he wildly exclaimed: “Any violence whatever done to a non-unionist is perfectly justifiable.” Trades Hall joyfully proclaimed: “Now that we have the backing of the Federal Government, we can make a hell on earth for all workers out of the union.”

The debate continued for some days. Both sides had a hearing. A protest from the Opposition against using the powers of the Government in the interests of a section of the community as a reward for election support was a lost effort. The vote against the motion was carried by a majority of ten. This, of course, was anticipated.

Instructions were issued that unionists were to be given first claim to occupation. During slack seasons, when hands must be dispensed with, the order of dismissal will be based upon the Union membership of the worker, non-unionists having no possible chance of being retained. All Government contracts will go to firms employing only union men. The test of efficiency is not ability to work, but the possession of a Union card, and without this a man is denied the right to earn an honest living for himself and his family.

The extent to which a Labour Government is bound by Unionism is seen on all hands. During a visit of the Postmaster-General to the scenes of mob-union rule in the Brisbane strike, the Minister declared it was his intention to secure employment
first for those men who went out in revolt, and whose places were filled by free workers. These men were to be rewarded for breaking their contract, violating Union laws, and trying to bring a whole State to a condition of lawlessness, by first preference to employment given by the Government.

The Labour Conference has considered the advisability of apportioning Labour supporters as officials at the polling booths in connection with Federal elections.

Perhaps the most glaring and bold dash to seize the whole Federal machinery for the Labour Party was the resolution to pack the High Court Benches with judges pledged to support only such laws as are enacted in favour of the Labour Party. Read and mark!

Resolution:

"That two additional judges be appointed at once in the High Court, in order to insure verdict in accord with the spirit of Federal, industrial, and other legislation."

When the Hon. Andrew Fisher visited his native city he made a speech so far at variance with his attitude toward these questions when in Australia, that the general forbearance of his party was tested to the last degree.

"My party," said Mr. Fisher, "adopted the view that the people must be free to sell their labour without let or hindrance. Privilege has not wholly been eradicated in the new country; but I hope to see greater freedom and facilities for the people of Australia than exist at present. I have but one opinion about the political development of the toiling masses—I believe there should be no
class in the class sense of the term; but that legislation should be for the whole nation."

In this high-sounding speech, Mr. Fisher probably comforted himself with "legitimate mental reservation" concerning the 80 per cent. of workers outside the unions of the country, against whom the preference to unionists legislation was aimed.
CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICIANS

"And now they laugh at fools and knaves
Who seek her seats for pelf and pay,
And bury in dishonoured graves
The sordid hopes of such as they."

KENNETH MACKAY.

Politicians, unlike poets, are not born, but are made; created by the people they represent. The ideals and moral status of any community may be read in the type of man who represents it in Parliament. It would be unfair in dealing with politicians to separate them from the people who put them in power. When a majority of the citizens in any district want strong, brave, brainy men to make the laws under which they must live, they make their choice at the ballot-box. Therefore, the politicians who are now found in legislative halls in the States and Commonwealth of Australia, are a hand-made, home-manufactured product, exactly the type desired by voters who put them in power. Those who do not vote support them just as truly as those who do; for absence from the polls must be interpreted as approval of the one selected, as it is said "Silence gives consent." Whether it does nor not, each politician is credited with representing the majority of his constituents. Therefore, we assume, as electors possess the power
to make any desired change in the character of representatives, and make no use of it, they are perfectly satisfied with politicians as they are.

The way in which candidates are moulded and beaten into shape by the strong hands of electors must of necessity limit candidature largely to a class of self-seeking men who have all to gain, either financially or socially, and nothing to lose by standing for election. As methods differ in the Labour and Liberal movements in Australia, it may be well to point out the uncertain and unquestionable rocky highway over which a would-be candidate must travel before he is landed in the security of a comfortable chair, and a more comfortable salary. As between the types of men who enter the race without having trained for the contest, in the Liberal and Labour Parties, there is little from which to choose. That is, about the same class of man, possessing equal ideal-standards, are found in each party. The best men in the Labour ranks are entirely outside the pale of the political arena, and the strongest men among the Liberal faction consider the very shadow of Parliamentary life defiling.

In the Labour Party, methods degrade the man. It seems to me that a man who values his freedom, his conscience, his honour: a man with any great idea of responsibility of his duty and obligations to his electors, could never accept a position in which he draws a salary from the people, to represent the people, knowing full well that his hands are tied, and his liberty sold out, root and branch.

I hold that the man who will consent to draw
THE HON. JOSEPH COOK.
ill-gotten gains from the public Treasury—I say ill-gotten, because he in no way fills the position he is supposed to by the ignorant electors, who know as little of a policy as they do of the most foreign and impossible subject—is totally unfit as a legislator. If electors were not so hopelessly indifferent to what they are really doing when they cast a vote, such a state of affairs could not exist. This is just as true of the electors of one party as of the other, the only difference being that one party is driven to the polls, while the unspeakable ignorance of the other keeps them away. I have not seen, in any constitutional country, such alarming lack of knowledge on the part of the people upon the vital issues of national moment, as is evident among the electors of the entire Commonwealth. Men are just as uninformed as are the women. Electors have simply no idea of issues. I speak generally: there are the usual exceptions.

In the Liberal ranks it would seem that a candidate must perforce sacrifice every regard for truth in order to be able to make the unlimited promises demanded of him, not only by his party, but also by the individual who bases any and all claims upon the member, from a free railway pass for life to a fat job with a regular and unearned salary, as his rights, chiefly because he wants them. Letters of request, couched in the language of demands that deluge the helpless victim, claiming rewards for putting him in office, must be most humiliating to any self-respecting man.

Electors have no conscience in shameless imposition upon their members, therefore they select the
type of man who will feel the obligation of being elected, rather than the one who will compel respect by services rendered. Because it is the class of men who are honoured by the position, rather than those who would honour the position, who have made their way to legislative seats, the personnel of the governing bodies of States, as well as that of the Commonwealth, is far below the standard of elective Governments elsewhere.

As the various State elections draw near, an investigation of the status of the self-proclaimed candidates is an investment of time well worth the while. Men whose market-value in the business world has never reached a higher rate of wage than £2 10s. per week, become imbued with the sense of a Divine call to draw £6 per week in the burnished and shining coin of the realm. They unhesitatingly go through the democratic procedure necessary to announcement as a candidate, no matter how limited their qualifications may be.

It has been known that a street-sweeper, a hot-pie vendor, carpenters, plumbers, tailors, and those of various occupations in which men are unable to acquire or develop any capacity for official life, freely offer themselves as worthy and qualified exponents of the gigantic questions involved in legislating for the building of a new country.

It is not the occupation of these men to which one objects, because all employment is highly honourable and entitled to the highest respect. But when a man's lack of ability in a business way keeps him a street-sweeper, or a pie-pedlar, it is self-evident that he can never rise to greater height
in making a success of the business of the nation than he has reached in his own private enterprise.

The question repeats itself in connection with the class of men in Parliament. "Why are so few responsible and able men willing to contest elections?" Conversation with a large number of representative business men indicates that there are several well-founded obstacles.

Commercial life in Australia has reached the same state of keen competition that obtains in other countries. Perhaps even more so, because the rates of wages are so much higher.

Men who are unable to retire from business pursuits must give their undivided attention to matters in hand, or go to the wall. There is neither hope nor prospect for the man who places his business interests in the hands of another. The time necessary to meet faithfully the obligations of political life is entirely out of the question to the heavily burdened business man. The same holds true of high-class professional men. What doctor, lawyer, dentist, or man of science could give the benefit of the brains which have made his private business a success to the affairs of the nation, without loss, or even the wreckage, of his own concerns?

In municipal government it is almost an impossible matter to find men of ability to administer the affairs of large cities; consequently the same class of men—those to whom the position means something—frequently take their seats among the City Fathers, often to the disadvantage of the rate-payers.

Another reason which prevents the best men
from going to Parliament is the fatal mistake, in my opinion, of the payment of members. This is a question upon which varied views are entertained, and one so far-reaching as to demand the earnest attention of thinking men.

The original idea was to remunerate men of small means, whose counsels were of value to the country, to the extent of the time given up to Parliamentary duties, leaving them free to work at their regular trades when not occupied with affairs of State. It was purely in the interests of such as these that the system was introduced.

The small sum of £300 per year was not an inducement to men of large personal interests, but became a bait for men who had never reached that market value in private affairs. This is evident from the scores who are ready to stand as soon as an election is announced. It was a fatal mistake. The salary should have been large enough to induce a high type of men to give their time to politics or the position should carry no financial benefits whatever.

A free pass over State railways and upon trams, the social prestige of membership, especially to ambitious women who goad their husbands on, added to an annual sum which continues summer and winter, rain or shine, and during the sitting or standing of the House, is a great, yes, a mighty, inducement to multitudes of men, each of whom feels justified in asking the suffrage of any community.

This reduces politics to a trade; not a profession. There are men in the Parliaments of more
than one State of the Commonwealth who have no other occupation, and could not earn more than half the salary allotted to a seat were they to compete in the market of real labour. That this statement is not overdrawn can be proved after an election which displaces the old force and puts new men in power on either side.

When the Liberal Ministry went out of power in 1911 in Western Australia, there was a general slump in Liberalism. A general search for occupation became the order of the day. The same thing happened when the Labour Ministry went out of office in South Australia. Members were hard pressed. Years of the House environment had quite unfitted them for the toilsome trades from which they had come, and they had become victims of political caprice. It seems a prevailing opinion that the salary should either be abolished or raised to a standard of compensation to men of brains who are capable of carrying on the business of the nation.

So long as certain methods and systems remain the plan of operation with either political party, just so long similar results will follow.

The fetters that bind the State members and Ministry are, of course, applied to Commonwealth politics. At the present time, in order to be a successful Prime Minister, or member of the Cabinet, one must have a tuneful soul, and be able to sing under all circumstances that now discarded creed of the once-popular Sankey hymn: "Oh, to be nothing, nothing, nothing!" but simply to do the bidding of the Caucus and Interstate Conference.
This state of abject nothingness brings down the contempt of even those who have embalmed the Ministry with the sweet perfume of spikenard, and anointed them freely with the oil of achieved ambition.

The advent of Mr. Fisher's Labour Ministry produced some extraordinary "reforms" in the Commonwealth Parliament.

The Speaker and President took their seats without the usual outward signs of office, those of wigs and gowns. The following year, the clerks of Parliament aired their brains by the absence of superfluous headgear. The Serjeant-at-Arms and the Usher of the Black Rod discarded knee breeches and silver-buckled shoes, while ceremonial swords "passed out" by order. The mace was missing, and upon inquiry by a New South Wales member, the Speaker informed the assembly that he had decreed the removal of the objectionable symbol of pomp and vain glory: "They were now looked upon as frills and factors which keep workers servile, because those not yet developed intellectually consider the man in purple and fine linen displaying gaudy raiment even in robes of office an object of worship."

In addressing a meeting recently in the interests of his party, a Minister branded himself with his own trade-mark as he freely circulated English coined in the mint of the brain of a man who is supposed to argue in the current speech of his party. In referring to the Opposition, he playfully called them "jelly-wobblers, of the singed cat order"—(note the simile!). Continuing his instructive argu-
THE HON. ANDREW FISHER.
ment, he remarked, "They are goners—next year they will be buried without flowers." Comparing the candidates of the respective parties, the Honourable Minister designated the Liberal man as a "singed cat compared to a Bengal tiger, coming of the lineal descent of Balaam's ass. They are a cross-breed between a squirt and a blow-fly."

In conclusion, he assured the audience, "I am the most independent man in the world."

Of such are the politicians of Australia! These are the men who have been swept into power because one section of the community is so dead to any sense of citizenship as to have turned the country over to incompetent, inexperienced men who are about equal in number among both Liberal and Labour Parties.

The country lacks a leader: a statesman. There are many in Australia who are representative men, and fully able to pilot the country through the bewildering maze of the political highway which would lead to the highest good to the largest number; but they cannot be induced to enter public life. They will be forced to do so sooner or later, in order to restore political balance.

A gentleman asked me on one occasion how Australian politicians compared with those in America? I can but repeat what I then said: "They are not to be mentioned in the same breath. Politicians in America, generally speaking, are from a far more brainy and intelligent class. But they are corrupt to the core. American politics so reek with corruption that it would be an insult to all Australia to compare the representatives of this
country with those of the Republic. It is not dishonesty which brands the Australian politician. He is either brainless on matters of State because of lack of experience, or he is in the bondage of salary and party, and dare not use his brains if he possess any."

I have met one man whom I regard as the one possessing the keenest grip of the science of government of any man in the Commonwealth. Sir John Quick has contributed so largely to the literature on constitutional reforms of government that he is now regarded as an authority on the science of governing peoples. To what extent he would be able to put his scientific knowledge into practical operation I have no means of knowing.

Probably the most able statesman, whose experience justifies such a claim, is the Honourable J. C. Watson, first Prime Minister of the Labour Party. His very ability led him out of the fettered caucus method which rendered his services in that capacity valueless for the said reason—lack of freedom to act.

To wipe out trade-politicians, time-servers, dummies, and graven images, from the legislative halls of Australia becomes the first duty of the electors of this democratic country. So to amend political possibilities as to put down class legislation on either side, and rally self-respecting men of brain and ability to the rescue of the nation, becomes the first serious consideration of the citizens of Australia.

By the way what are women doing?
SIR JOHN QUICK.
CHAPTER XIX
RIOTS IN PARLIAMENT

"To outward seeming very few
   Were half so pure as he:
He sat each Sunday in his pew,
   Where all the world might see.
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"Divested of their shining hats,
   Bald, vulture-beaked, and keen,
Odd ones were 'Stores,' and more were 'Fats,'
A few were just between."

KENNETH MACKAY.

Because of the types of men elected to membership in the State and Federal Parliaments, the most shameful scenes ever witnessed in a civilised country constantly disgrace almost every session, making it impossible for self-respecting citizens, with any sense of justice or honesty of purpose, to contest elections.

Could the women who are slow to understand the value of being citizens but once witness a "Parliamentary Scene," listen to the onslaught of words, and see the actions suited to those words, they would realise their disloyal and criminal neglect of duty in tolerating representatives who turn administrative halls into bull and bear pens. These men enact laws under which the women of the country must live.

The most shocking scene, a record of which

201
stands a lasting discredit to the Federal Parliament, took place during a debate upon a no-confidence resolution. The culminating tragedy robbed the House of its noble Speaker, and had a restraining effect upon the insane and reckless disorder which had prevailed during the session.

One member delivered himself of a speech of ten hours' duration. That sitting continued fourteen hours. When the members were almost submerged in the fury of a sea of angry words, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole.

A general pandemonium again ensued. The Speaker, Sir Frederick Holder, who was not at that moment in the chair—fell insensible upon the floor of the chamber, exclaiming as he fell, "Dreadful, dreadful!" These were his last words. He was carried off unconscious, and died in a few hours.

Between the respective parties there is not the smallest degree of tolerance. The introduction of a Bill recently into one of the State Parliaments, upon which all were not agreed, brought forth streams of the most disgusting language ever indulged in among the despised unwashed. The furious, unchecked abandon to larrkinism could never be realised unless the scenes were witnessed. It was nothing more than the fearsome bitterness of party spirit rampant among law-makers, expressed in action as well as words.

Bills were not handled upon their merits. Their advantages to the country and people had no meaning for the maddened herd, compared to which striking mobs are gentlemen. The first, last and only consideration was the supreme issue as to
which party would profit. Stonewalling and gag methods were freely applied by members who were able to secure the floor for the greatest length of time.

The debate was kept up for many days. On one occasion, after an all-night sitting, the entire assembly was upon the verge of a battle royal of fisticuffs, when six of the Opposition (Labour members) were ordered out of the House. As a protest against the ruling of the Speaker, the entire Opposition rose and strutted out of the Chamber, leaving the members of the Government to cool down, and proceed with business. They absented themselves for the remainder of that sitting.

Had not the age of martyrs long since passed, one could discover a shade of bravery in the gigantic folly and idiotic tenacity with which these politicians hold on to a hopeless party situation. All-night sittings, fasting, soldierlike courage, dissipation of energy, waste in nerve-strain, are termed the "political oppression of the other side," which phrase may indicate either the Liberal or Labour Party. The "oppressor" always means the party in power.

These exhibitions of human weakness will forever remain in my mind as the most pathetic scenes upon which I have ever looked. I wonder how women would deport themselves under similar circumstances?

What is one to think when one picks up a daily paper, and reads in flaring letters:

A PARLIAMENTARY ROW

SPEAKER HOOTED FROM THE CHAIR
AUSTRALIA

This experience came to a Speaker under circumstances as unusual as the situation was peculiar. The Labour Party chanced to be in power in New South Wales, with a bare majority. In order to secure the certain passage of any Bill, they conceived the idea of remaining in office by creating a fictitious majority. This was done by electing a Liberal member to the Speakership. It secured to the Government a necessary majority, but it was the beginning of a round of quarrels and disorder.

As volumes and floods of criticism poured upon the Speaker from all directions, he assumed an attitude of defence, and defiance. Legislation was practically blocked in the disorder which prevailed, week in and week out. It was a common thing to see a morning paper adorned with shrieking headlines, in fierce-looking letters, setting forth the situation in the following manner:

NEW SOUTH WALES ASSEMBLY RIOTS

FURTHER DISGRACEFUL SCENES

TUMULTUOUS UPROAR

SEVERAL MEMBERS REMOVED

AID OF POLICE SOUGHT

Resentment against the frequent approach of the Serjeant-at-Arms towards certain members of the Speaker's own party led to a strenuous resistance of
RIOTS IN PARLIAMENT

that official. Upon several occasions the Speaker sent for the police to eject forcibly a member who defied his orders, by either holding himself with main force to the seat, or roaring like a bull of Bashan, in an attempt to drown the voice of the Speaker.

Next day the readers of the morning paper were regaled with more striking headlines. One daily loudly proclaimed:

- ACCUSTOMED TO IT

- ANOTHER SCENE IN PARLIAMENT

POLICE AGAIN CALLED IN

and the record of the proceedings as set forth in the Evening News mentioned that:

"Mr. Levy tried to infuse a little gaiety into the proceedings by mimicking the tones and phrases of the absent Speaker. We don't know if the elect of Darlinghurst was successful or not, but in any case, the joy of the most successful mimic is apt to be engloomed by the fact that he shares his gift in common with parrots, monkeys, and other animals of weak intellect."

Before Parliament went into recess, a move which may have prevented bloodshed, the final act of the Assembly was described in a local paper. As it fully represents a thrilling feature of Parliamentary usages, it is here given in full:

"The remarkable experiences of Mr. Willis as Speaker of the Assembly were enlarged to-night, when he was hooted out of the Chair by members of the Opposition, and hurriedly made his way under escort across the lobby to his private room.

The trouble arose when Mr. Wade, Leader of the Opposition, was replying to a speech of a conciliatory
tone made by the Premier, with reference to the Christmas season. Mr. Wade was several times "heckled" by the Speaker, and finally strode from the Chamber without another word. The Opposition members then gathered round the side of the Chairman and hooted furiously. Mr. Willis called for the Serjeant-at-Arms, but his voice was like that of one crying in the wilderness. The Ministerial members gathered at the other side of the Chair and answered shout with shout. The ordeal was too much for even Mr. Willis. Flushing red, he left the Chair and hurried out of the Chamber, and the House broke up in disorder.

"In the lobby there was another scene, and the trouble threatened to develop into a free fight, when the Premier intervened, and an acute situation was relieved."
CHAPTER XX

HOW WOMEN GOT THE FRANCHISE

"When shadows gather round our pathway, sweet,
Remember, lest your spirit faint and fail,
How out beyond, where sky and forest meet,
After long quest, you found 'The Holy Grail.'"

KENNETH MACKAY.

In the Conservative countries, which are emerging from the "old order of things" into constitutional forms of government, the great question is, "What shall we do with our women?" At other times men were wont to say, "We will never understand women." They may not understand them any better to-day, but thinking men know full well that the enlarged influence of women must be reckoned with as a vital factor in all human affairs.

Woman is now a real world-problem because her new position has brought her into close competition with men in every walk of life. The economic value of women to the nation is involved in modern development. How best to utilise this force to the advantage of the home, and for the good of the country, is now the chief concern of thinking men. The situation throughout the world resolves itself into the same question. "How may we locate women in this oncoming new civilisation without rendering her advancement a loss to home, and a detriment to her sex and the race?"
AUSTRALIA

It is not a question as to what extent each of us favours the new order of things—that is not the point. The fact must be faced that this is not a passing phase of life, but a permanent factor. No hand may ward it off; no power stay its march. The only wise attitude, then, is to set aside all prejudice concerning what women have or have not done, or been, in the past, and meet a new situation with an open mind, and a determined purpose to use the "woman genus" where it will count for most.

When the spirit of democracy seemed to seize the people of Australia and express itself in all sorts of legislation along social lines, the colonies became the great experimental station of the world. Numerous innovations were the result of each session of Parliament, until the world fairly stood aghast.

The franchise had been placed in the hands of all men over twenty-one years of age, with certain qualifications relating to time and place of residence. Lunatics, idiots, and women were debarred from citizenship, and relegated to a common constitutional dumping ground, where mental capacity rendered them companionable, at least, so far as politics were concerned.

About twenty-one years ago, an organisation of women, which had made the world its parish, was being presented to the women of Australia. It was a firm belief of this society—the Women's Christian Temperance Union—that the misery arising from the evils of strong drink relating so closely to women and children, as well as to home life, would never
HOW WOMEN GOT THE FRANCHISE

be put down until the ballot was placed in the hands of women. One of the twenty branches of the work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union was known as the Franchise Department. This was carried forward by means of circulating literature, drawing-room or public meetings—usually the former—and pressing home the just claims of women to the ballot, as well as pointing out what, by way of giving the vote to women, could be done in making the world cleaner for men, wider for women, and safer for children.

Being greatly interested in the work myself, while travelling over the colonies writing for a leading magazine, I organised more than four hundred branches of the Society in various sections of the island. In connection with each Union a local superintendent of the Franchise Department was appointed. The various colonies were organised, and, finally, I completed the chain by calling a great convention in Melbourne. This was the first intercolonial assembly of women ever held in Australia. It created unbounded interest. Delegates came from each colony. The general public attended the meetings, and frequently there was quite a sprinkling of Members of Parliament. When the officers were elected, among others, a National Superintendent of the Franchise Department was chosen. It became her duty to encourage the superintendents of each colony, who in turn gathered information as to the work of local branches, and brought it up as a report of their department, to be read at the Intercolonial Convention each year. There is no possible doubt but the quiet work of
the Union, carrying on this systematic process of the education of public sentiment in favour of the franchise, had a marked bearing upon results. Although it never created what might be termed a public demand for the franchise, still, it was a force.

At that time there was no movement of any wide extent in the colonies organised with the sole object of securing the vote for women. Up to the present moment, I venture to say there is not one woman in a thousand in Australia who has the faintest idea how or when the franchise was given to them. I have talked to thousands and thousands of women in the Commonwealth, and I have never found one, not even a leader in any of the women’s political societies, who could give me any information as to how the franchise was secured. In every case it has been necessary to go to Hansard and read for weary hours through hundreds of pages before any intelligent understanding of the subject could be reached.

The gift that the Government of Australia placed freely in the hands of the women was not forced from men by an overpowering public sentiment. Ministers and members were not abused, threatened, and maltreated, until life became a burden too great to be borne, their property was never endangered by the advance-guard of a “popular demand.” The truth is, the average woman was totally indifferent to the subject, and was without even a passing opinion as to what good or evil might arise from such new responsibility.
In Western Australia, the Bill was made a cat's-paw to carry a party measure. Sir John Forrest was then Premier. A great State issue arose against which Sir John firmly stood; he assumed leadership of the League which put forth great energy to keep the State of Western Australia out of the Federation.

When Sir John suddenly changed front, and committed the political blunder of his life, his great anxiety was to devise a method by which he could carry to victory the identical issue he had worked so strenuously to defeat. A brilliant idea dawned upon him—"Give women the Franchise." Up to that moment his "political conviction" was that such a move would be an "unwarranted step." But necessity knows no bounds. "Votes for women" was the political broom used to sweep the State of Western Australia into the Commonwealth. The recovery of the State from the Act will be seen only by future generations.

Therefore, with willing hands and ready feet, the party made all haste to crown the women of the State with the political glory of citizenship. They were then and there created "persons" in their own right. They were rescued bodily from the cesspool of former political companionship, to which the tyranny of the ages had relegated women generally. But for all that, it must for ever remain a source of humiliation to the women of that State when they recall that necessity, and party necessity only, led the men to hand over to them that which should, in all justice, have been given when responsible government was secured to the State.
The lowest level to which a body of politicians can descend is to pass an Act of legislation merely to use it to promote personal or party interests. That is precisely how and why the franchise was given to the women of the Western State.

Without the slightest preparation for citizenship, or any inclination to take on the responsibility involved, the women were thrust into this new situation. The report of the first election at which the women voted states that, out of the numbers of women who took the trouble to enrol, or whose names were placed upon the roll for them, 15 per cent. only went to the polls. The following election, which took place three years later, witnessed an increase over the previous vote of but a twenty-eighth of one per cent., all of which proves how hopeless is the process of legislation in advance of public sentiment. Any law, to be effective, must be backed by a demand of the people.

The State of Victoria was the last to fall into line and grant the franchise to women. A study of the situation in that State affords conclusive proof that a demand must precede a supply in law-making, as well as in other affairs. The women in the other States had been full-fledged citizens some years before those of Victoria came into their own.

The injustice was keenly felt, and the women, to the extent of large numbers, were determined to secure the vote. Again and again a majority in the Lower House had voted in favour of the Bill; but just as often it was calmly rejected in the other Chamber. A number of members in the Upper House had blocked the advancement for years. At
each session they cried out like a voice in the wilderness against it. Goaded on by their attitude, the women renewed their energy, increased their zeal, and added hundreds to their numbers, as the fight waxed harder. They petitioned and petitioned; but experience proves that to present petitions to law-makers from women shorn of the power of citizenship is like casting pearls before—honourable gentlemen! Results—nil!

At last the opposing voices fell into the final hush, from which no sound is heard, and the Act was promptly passed; but, strange to say, not until women had been voting at Commonwealth elections for some years.

During the time the Victorian women were fighting for the State franchise, and, indeed, ever since, they have polled the largest percentage of votes in the Federal elections cast in any State. They wanted the franchise. They fought for it. In voting, they measure up to within 8 per cent. of the votes cast by the men of the State. The result of the election in 1912 shows that the women in the rural districts, who voted under numerous disadvantages, such as long distances from the polls, and lack of means to reach booths, came out in greater numbers than in more closely settled districts provided with greater facilities. The highest percentage of votes cast by women in any country district reached 80.85 per cent.; and the lowest fell to 48.18 per cent. The latter is the record in a suburb of Melbourne, where every elector was practically within walking distance of the booth. 322,000 enrolled, as against 297,000 men. The percentage of votes cast
by men was 68.48 per cent. Women polled 59.12 per cent. of those enrolled. They are well organised, and there is little doubt but at future elections they will overtake the men. They wanted the vote; they fought hard for it for years; and now they use it.

In looking on from the distance, where echoes only are heard of the great fight women are waging peacefully and also by militant methods in England and the United States, it is well to consider that this interest and effort necessarily enhance the value of the prize and constitute a guarantee that good use will be made of the power when placed in their hands.

In South Australia the Bill was presented by one and another of the members with varying degrees of success. First, they asked for a limited franchise; a property qualification. It was lost—very much so. Ten years later the text was so amended as to include women on an equal standing with male citizens. I chanced to hear one of the early discussions. In those days, there were men in Parliament possessed of great oratorical gifts. Some of these were for, and others against, the Bill. It was wonderful what a frenzy they could work themselves into, clawing the air and pawing the earth for vigorous English with which loudly to protest against, or clamour for, the Bill. When the amended measure came in, it removed all disabilities, giving women citizenship on equal terms with the men.

Many who favoured the qualification clause were wildly opposed to equality with men. One of these concluded a dramatic exhibition of impo-
MISS GRACE WATSON.
The most widely known woman in Commonwealth politics.

MISS MURIEL FAIR.
Organiser for the political women of South Australia.
tent fury by saying: "As the rights of women are recognised everywhere, from the crown to the gallows, they needed no place in politics." The pulse of the House seemed to indicate that the passage of the Bill was a certainty. As a last attempt to stay further favour, an amendment was introduced making women eligible for Parliament. To the surprise of everyone, it was carried—carried by a large majority, as also was the Bill. This, however, is the only State in which women are fully equal with men in the matter of membership in the State Parliament. But even in that State, after all the years in which men interested themselves, the women's vote at the present moment, in Federal elections, remains second lowest in percentage.

The Commonwealth members have now and again taken great credit to themselves for giving women the vote for the Federal Government. Every once in a while some member rises, halo in hand, to anoint himself high priest, and claim the glory touch of shepherding the women into the kingdom of Federal citizenship. In reading the Commonwealth Constitution, it will be seen that there was no other legal course open to them. In the clearest English it is plainly declared that the Federal Powers may not disfranchise any persons by whose vote any of them hold their seats. As the members from at least two States had been sent there partly by the votes of women, it was entirely out of the question to disfranchise the women of those States. Neither would it have been a statesmanlike move to legislate in favour of the women of two States, and debar those of others from the same status.
Hence, they were practically bound to give the suffrage to the women of the whole Commonwealth. There is, therefore, little credit due to an "unbounded generosity" on the part of men, in either State or Commonwealth, that women are citizens. In the Federal Government it was a situation from which there was, practically, no escape. There was no alternative.

In different States the possibility of making party use of woman's vote has been regarded as a legitimate reason for granting female suffrage; while in others the time-eaten, hoary-with-age motive "expediency" has proved a nondescript garb which would excuse the brain-fag of explanation.

Citizenship having thus been forced upon women, it is clearly seen that nothing short of education will lead them to a sense of their obligations. The situation in Australia can have no possible bearing on the woman's movement in other lands. Elsewhere politicians have not yet fallen to the pit-level of handing over to women what justly belongs to them, merely to use them politically. Where women want the vote, there they will make use of it.
CHAPTER XXI

WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA AS CITIZENS

"It matters less if strong or weak you be,
So that your face be set to noble things;
Pure souls can out of crutches fashion wings,
And duty, if bravely done, not seldom brings
Heroic thoughts that set a nation free."

KENNETH MACKAY.

In order to take a calm survey as to the real value of woman’s suffrage in Australia, it is necessary to present the absolute facts as to results, bearing in mind that there are numerous local situations which obtain only in lands where women are pioneers. These easily account for the lack of interest on the part of many women in the politics of the day. The heavy burdens resting upon them in this new land, as mothers, wives, home-makers, and housekeepers, keep them to the grind of burdensome routine work, which was as new to them as it was impossible to escape.

The facts here presented are gathered entirely from official reports.

It may be well at the outset to state my own personal views on the suffrage question, that the reader may understand I write wholly free from prejudice. I was born, reared, and educated in a country where lunatics, idiots, convicts, Red Indians and women, are declared by constitution and usage
unfit for the gift of citizenship. I was cradled, nourished, and cherished in an atmosphere of belief that women had, of course, been properly classified. I, therefore, in common with the girls of my time, accepted it in the passive way usual upon subjects on which we were not informed, and in which we had no voice: satisfied, although we were not even designated as "people."

It was not until I took up a systematic study of economics, and realised woman's value as a vital factor in home and national life, that suffrage for women took the form of a great principle in my mind. This was intensified after six weeks spent in the East-End of London, where I earned my living as organ-grinder, costermonger, selling flowers and newspapers, and hawking on Ludgate Hill. My experiences there increased my conviction that there were conditions in the Social Order of our day that would never be removed until the women of the country wherein the evils exist had the power to help put them down.

It was generally predicted in Australia, in reference to the franchise in the hands of women, that it would be merely a matter of doubling the vote on each side, and therefore would have little effect upon politics generally. But this conclusion was arrived at without any knowledge of woman's real attitude toward the subject.

\(\text{The women electors are divided into two classes: those who want the vote, and use it, and those who regard citizenship as a joke, and a very unpleasant one at that. Of the latter, they and their children are well provided for. The pangs of hunger}\)
and the pinch of poverty, the grind of never-ending toil and the battle of simply keeping alive and staying on earth, are all strange to them. Without any knowledge of the laws that govern women and children, they are quite certain they have all that is to be desired by way of legislation. Their husbands will look after that, and they have no further concern. The women of Australia are so delightful, and so full of common sense in most things, one never ceases to admire them. But a knowledge of their supreme selfishness in their political relation to the interests of women and children who do need something almost discounts their many virtues and good qualities. No woman has a right to be selfish, to be unreasoning, when a great principle is involved; and within citizenship is enfolded the highest interests of the home, the largest protection of children, as well as the welfare of the nation at large.

In presenting conditions as they obtain in Australia, it is most desirable to free them in every sense from party politics. Under ordinary circumstances, and in almost any other country, such a thing would be possible; but here the very atmosphere is so charged with fierce and cruel party spirit that the surface, heart, and core become party, and party only. It is a statement of fact to declare that the individual is so party-ridden as to be anti-anything and everything that is not clearly and plainly branded with the party ear-mark. This is just as true of one side as the other. The abuse of one side by the other is nothing less than barbaric: quite equal to the malicious hatred entertained in
religious beliefs toward attempts to dethrone pagan gods. This being the case, there is no possible way to make clear the political situation without reference to party politics. Such would be quite as necessary did the Opposition hold power under similar circumstances.

There are but two political parties, and, each being so criminally "anti," the women are at a great disadvantage in exercising their vote. The many who "detest it" foolishly imagine they have nothing either to gain or lose by the use of it. The other class is composed largely of the wives of working men, who, first of all, feel a true sense of appreciation in being classified as "people and persons." It must be said that the working women have a clearer grasp of what the use of the ballot means than have the women whose lines have fallen in less toilsome places. There is dignity, very great dignity, in the mere fact that women have been placed in a position where they have a direct voice in making the laws under which they and their children must live. The working women are keenly alive to this, and unceasingly strive to live up to the advanced position to which citizenship has brought them. They well know the power the women of Australia have in their hands, and, moreover, they know how to make the widest, if not always the wisest, use of it, largely for the reason that they have something to gain. If they ever move out from the bondage and slavery of being driven to vote for a given man, who alone may claim their suffrage, they will not be slow to make calls upon candidates that will put men to the test.
WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA AS CITIZENS

If the social problems demanding legislation do not receive the attention of members, women are in a position to unseat them, and fill their places with men who will carry out their wishes. But as yet they are not united. It will come. I have met nothing among women of such absorbing interest as the coming dawn of conscious power on the part of the working women. If some unseen force could but crush out the "anti" spirit which prevails among the women who make up the different classes, they could, combined, move the nation. It would be unfair to other women to say that the Labour women vote because they are burdened with a sense of responsibility they dare not shirk. It is not true. They vote largely from party instinct.

The working women have grandly and nobly risen to the discharge of their duty as citizens, so far as actual voting is concerned. For this we must give them full and just credit, whatever the impelling motive may have been. That the results have told is unmistakably written in political events.

The effect of the preponderance of a one-class woman vote upon national affairs is a feature of the value of woman's vote to the nation which must not be overlooked. Its bearing is direct, for it may produce undemocratic and unrepresentative government, regardless of which party is given power.

Take, for instance, the late Federal Government, which chanced to be made up of a Labour majority. This Parliament sat elected by 80 per cent. of the votes. Of course, it was no fault of the
Government, but it is doubtful if a so-called representative government has ever before been seated by so small a majority of the electors. Of the votes cast, the 80 per cent. which elected the Government represented those of the Labour Party, and 28 those of the Liberal Party.

The fact that 470,000 women did not vote at this election, and that but 10 per cent. of that number represent one class of women, while 90 per cent. belong to the other class, shows to what extent class legislation has been brought about in placing the ballot in the hands of women; one section of the women march to the polls in a solid body, like loyal citizens, and the other fail to recognise any possible relation between themselves and citizenship. Had the other class outnumbered the working women in the discharge of their political duty, the result would have been equally disastrous, for in either case class balance would have been destroyed.

That numbers of men did not vote, I am fully aware, and I have dealt with that fact elsewhere. The serious situation has alarmed thinking men, and the contemplation of measures to compel citizens, men and women, to vote, by imposing penalties, speaks for the laxity of men as well as women in the discharge of their duty to their country.

In Western Australia, when 28,000 women and as many men failed to vote at a recent election, a resolution to impose a fine upon all non-voters was passed by a society of women, and a committee appointed to wait upon the Government, requesting
them to bring in a Bill to that effect. The Resolution read:

"Resolution:

"Whereas: The ballot was thrust upon the women of this State to meet a political and party emergency, before public sentiment was ripe for it, and no effort has been made to educate them up to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship—Resolved: That the Government be called upon to enforce voting by all men and women duly qualified, under penalty of a fine of five pounds for the first offence, and a month's imprisonment for the second."

Yes, it has altered the very course of a nation, and made a volume of history in a day, as it were, all of which is due to the unrelenting, ever-acting agencies of organisation. In many parts of Australia, a leader among the working women knows where to put her hand on her forces at any hour. Not only so, but she is able to marshal them into line in quick time. They are in small companies, ready to take up marching orders at the first call to action. Upon election days they swarm to party rescue from every quarter.

Everyone loves strength. It appeals to the weakest. No one can look unmoved upon the condensed strength and power of this procession of women, advancing toward the goal of their hopes and ambitions. They have gained momentum, and an object of contact is certain to go to pieces before the force that presses them onward. All of this is the undeniable, indisputable, sure and certain result of the women rising to the obligations of citizenship. The point is not how or why they vote, but that they vote. They are getting what they
desire, because they have the good, hard common sense to seek it through the only possible channel at command.

The unprecedented prosperity of the country is fatal to citizenship. Individuals are too busy with personal concerns. Opportunities of making money are so tempting and time-consuming that the average man neither knows nor cares what becomes of national affairs until his interests are touched. The womenfolk of the professional class are a sad reflection of the attitude of the men, and equally engrossed in details of nothingness when compared with serious obligations. Such unspeakable selfishness of business and professional men of brains and ability, and such indifference to their duty of citizenship, have never been known in any other part of the world. Until some great national calamity arrests the attention of the best people, things will remain as they are. Anyone will drift into power—from a street-sweeper to a pie-pedlar. Class feeling will remain just as bitter, and class legislation will run rampant, working out endless evil to the nation.

Among the classes of women who do not vote must be reckoned the average churchwoman—I mean members of the churches generally. Some of these consider politics and voting as worldly, almost to the point of a sin. The idea of Christian citizenship has never dawned upon them. If it does, they become prejudiced against a candidate because he entertains “other views” on certain moral questions. Because they cannot manufacture a fleshy bundle of accumulated virtues and label it “My Candidate,” they calmly decline (with thanks) any re-
sponsibility of citizenship, and devote their entire energy to what is termed by them "Christian work." That is, they lapse into a state of pious enchantment over one sinner gathered into the fold (if only for a day), while the lack of proper laws drives countless numbers to spiritual blight and bodily ruin.

Women Church-members hold the balance of power. Let men who stand in the pulpit, and have the courage to deal with citizenship as related to women Church-members, sound a sane note on this far-reaching subject. This done, the Church will do something to warrant support by a public which is so rapidly withdrawing, and joining other agencies for the uplift of the world.

At any rate, whether preachers rise to this duty or not, there is no possible way for a woman, no matter what her position in life may be, to escape the fact that a duty has been placed upon her, which every instinct of patriotism, every sense of loyalty, and every interest in her home and country demands she should discharge in the normal, conscientious manner in which she sets about the accomplishment of her duty in home, church, and society.
CHAPTER XXII

SOME LAWS RELATING TO WOMEN AND CHILDREN

"We praise of chivalry. Laud those who live
The pain and care of Motherhood to face,
The while we steadfastly refuse to give
Them equal rights to shape our coming race."

KENNETH MACKAY.

As in other countries, the women of Australia, generally speaking, are alarmingly ignorant of the laws under which they live. Few, indeed, have the slightest knowledge of even their legal relation to their children; and as for their status, it is as unknown to them as the most remote foreign subject.

Although women have been made equal with men so far as voting is concerned, the most appalling inequality in their legal status obtains in every State of the Commonwealth. This is observed in regard to punishment for given offences, as well as in provisions made by some of the States for the housing of offenders against the law in the case of State wards, and especially in relation to the conduct of women in public places. There are offences for which a policeman puts his hand upon a woman and brings her to account for her deportment before the law; while a man, guilty of similar conduct, merely acts up to the privileges which are granted by men to men.

If a girl with painted face and brazen mien
LAW AND WOMEN AND CHILDREN

parades the street, flaunting her calling in the face of a man who objects to her boldness, in his righteous wrath he may "put down" her kind by handing her over to the police. Charges may be brought against her, he being the only witness on whose evidence she is sentenced. The law is often meted out according to the standing of the outraged male victim. The woman pays the penalty. ("Men and women sin, two by two, but they pay for it one by one"—woman is the one.)

A man may outrage every sense of decency by improper advances and proposals to a woman in the street, and, unless he is in a state of intoxication, she has no redress. A man who is really out of his normal mind under the influence of liquor is legally responsible to the law for his liberties with women on a public highway; but a brute clothed as a gentleman, about whom there is no sign by which to take warning as in the case of a drunken man, may freely manifest his brutalised nature in the face of self-respecting women citizens, and there is no appeal for them. The poor drunkard is the victim of the law; and a woman—well, if she is fleet of foot, may escape, provided there are no lights which would make pursuit on the part of her annoyer unsafe.

Women would be horrified if one boldly declared that no mother in the Commonwealth really owned her children. The only child whose ownership is vested in the mother is the one born out of wedlock. When it comes to a matter of disgrace, the mother and innocent child must for ever bear the brand. The law says the child is hers: hers to
have, hold, possess, and own. Furthermore, its registration as an illegitimate child must be in the mother's name. A child born in wedlock may not carry its mother's name omitting the father's, except by special Act of Parliament. If the mother of an illegitimate child is able to produce proof positive as to the father—which is a most difficult matter in the face of the numerous legal safeguards—he is required to make a small contribution to the support of mother and child. This, however, is so far from adequate in keeping them from starvation that the mother, often a mere girl, is driven to every extremity in order to support her offspring. It usually ends in the child going to some institution, or becoming a charge of the State. If the father is unmarried, it is an easy matter to escape the clutches of the law, and flee to regions where he will be quite free to continue his criminal career.

In Victoria an effort was made to wipe out the vile system which would have been a disgrace to the Dark Ages, by the introduction into Parliament of a Bill modelled upon the laws enacted in Switzerland. The object in view was to check the evil before it assumed the shocking and alarming proportions it has reached in many parts of Europe.

The Bill set forth that all children of this class whose parentage could be made clear must be registered in the father's name as the child of an illegitimate father. (As every child comes into the world along the lines of the one and only law prescribed by the Almighty, it follows that there is no such thing as an illegitimate child.) The illegitimate proceeding is on the part of the father, and he should
bear the disgrace. Hence the justice of the child bearing the father's name.

The Bill further provided, in cases where the father was a married man, that this child should have an equal claim upon his property with those of his legal wife. If the father chanced to be unmarried, he must at once make legal his relation to the child by marrying the mother. In a country of progressive and experimental legislation, it is by no means surprising to learn of the introduction of such a Bill. The astounding part of it is that the majority against it was but one vote. Never has a more heroic measure been undertaken than this effort to protect innocent childhood. It is certain that an enlightened public sentiment will bring Victoria out of the moth-eaten and iron-rusted usages of bygone times, by passing the Bill in the near future.

From time to time a general cry is raised: "Something must be done to guard the purity of your young womanhood"; but what about guarding the virtue of the young manhood?—or the old manhood, for that matter? Some of us who have long been familiar with Rescue Homes and similar institutions, realise a fact which must be taken into consideration in solving the problem: each of these children had a father!

As has been stated, it is a world-condition, based chiefly on the moral standard of peoples, and obtains to a far less extent in the Commonwealth than any other country of the world, with the exception of Iceland.

That the climatic conditions are not to be con-
sidered in the matter, may be seen in the fact that Iceland, with a climate like that of the central United States, has the smallest percentage of illegitimacy; while Austria and Norway reach the highest level: that of 20 per cent., as against the 6.2 per cent. of the Commonwealth.

When the women electors send men to Parliament with sufficient wisdom to think out a scheme of protection for girls and punishment for men, the name of Australia will be redeemed from the reputation of an utter disregard for any sense of justice in dealing with and legislating for, the sexes. Meantime, the entire responsibility rests upon the women voters. (What are they citizens for if not to know something of the laws under which they live, and to use their mighty power of citizenship to remove these abuses?)

Until this is done the ancient legislation which took rootage in the rock of ages will still disgrace the statute books of the States and Commonwealth, and no degree of advanced legislation can be termed Democratic until it first of all obliterates sex.

So far as I am able to learn, there is not one of the States in which girls are properly protected by law. Because of the activity of women’s societies the laws are greatly improved, but at most the age of consent is not above sixteen years—the very time when girls need every possible protection of both home and State. On the occasion of my first visit to Australia I waited upon a Premier with a deputation of women to protest against the scandal of legal protection being withdrawn from girls at
the age of thirteen years. It has since been raised to sixteen—but why sixteen?

A child who cannot legally sell her doll or her toys may sell her virtue. A man may place a sovereign—or a shilling, for that matter—in a girl's hand as the price for which he traffics in virtue, and there is no redress for the girl, and no punishment for the man. In regard to a girl's material possessions, the law argues that until she is twenty-one she is not sufficiently balanced, and lacks judgment and experience, to enable her safely to possess houses and lands.

(False ideas on the part of mothers, and criminal failure to impart to girls the information which will make them capable of self-protection by a knowledge of self, renders them easy prey to the vicious. One grows quite impatient with the indifference of women whose duty it is to do for the unprotected girls what they are unable to do for themselves. Girls will never be properly protected in this or any other country until women, as citizens, make it their business to see that proper laws are enacted, and mothers back up the laws by some common-sense teaching on these subjects in the home. Ignorance is by no means innocence; frequently, quite the reverse. Girls learn by experience out of their homes to their sorrow those things which should form the chief feature of the home education of every girl.)

The most absurd laws regulate the relation of the father and mother to their children and the property of those children. It is a matter on which women in general have never bestowed a moment's thought.
In some States the father practically owns the children. A dying husband may absolutely will away an unborn child. When he is dead and six feet of sod cover him, his morally criminal action becomes a living force, the effects of which will never die. No depth of sod could keep down his responsibility. Cases of this sort are on record, and are also a matter of present-day experience.

(When it comes to a sense of justice, or even logic, in lawmaking, men are certainly very curious.) So grotesque is woman's position concerning property, it would be amusing as well as absurd were it not for the cruel operation of the law. For instance, when a son has acquired property, but failed in the good sense to possess himself also of non-assessable chattels—as a woman and children—such an one, dying without will, the law gives his possessions to "his next-of-kin," which, being interpreted, means his father. By what process of logic it is reasoned out that the father is next-of-kin to his children is not at all clear to the dense mind of a woman. I am here reminded of the reasoning power of a little boy on the subject. The said boy was given four shillings with which to purchase Christmas presents for his father and mother. The day before he was to bestow his choice of gifts upon his happy parents he shyly approached his mother, saying, "Mother, I spent the money. I paid three shillings for a present for you, and one shilling for one for father." The astonished mother inquired into this favouritism on her behalf, to find that her hopeful son had expended the money after a most logical
process of analysis which should wholly vindicate his action.

"Well, you see, mother," said the child, "father is related to me only by marriage, but you are related to me by bornation."

Where does "bornation" logically and legally come in in "next-of-kin"? A question for women citizens to answer.

Again, if a wife dies intestate all her property goes to the husband. Few women seem aware of this. If, however, a man dies under similar circumstances one-third goes to the wife, and the remainder to the children. The manner in which the former law may work itself out was illustrated in the case of a most unscrupulous man marrying a woman of means chiefly because of her possessions. She inherited, by will, the large estates of her husband at his death, as well as a goodly heritage from her parents. These she held, not in trust, but as her own, and with it she planned to educate her daughters. Meantime, she married a second husband, to whom she bore two sons.

While out with her family they met with an accident, in which she was instantly killed, passing away without a will. This left the property willed to her by her first husband, and that to which she fell heir from her parents, absolutely to the second husband. Note the operation of the law. He at once made his will in favour of his own children, and the bulk of the estates at his death passed into the hands of his boys; leaving but meagre provision for his wife's three daughters. Strange that women citizens accept such possible injustice through
a wholly legal channel as the heritage of their children, with full power in their hands to right every wrong!

There is also that relic of the ages so remote that one can hardly recall the "when" of it—the unequal grounds for divorce; giving man all the advantage and licence which was granted, or rather, which he took, when Time was still young.

The legal establishment of two codes of morals in the divorce law, one for men and one for women, is strangely out of tune with the setting of a new country. But in Australia it is flourishing in a number of the States. An aroused public sentiment—if it could be done—would overturn such injustice during a single sitting of Parliament, if women voters were as alive to injustice to their kind as they are interested in the latest fashion importation, or the questionable news floating around from as questionable a source.

It would be impossible to record all the inequalities which exist in the statutes of this great Commonwealth.

The same distinction is carried down even to the institutions provided by the State for men and women, who, in one way or another, become either temporary or permanent wards of the State.

Take, for illustration, one of the prisons where I went over the quarters assigned to the men and also those set apart for women. Compare one feature only, that of bathing facilities. The men's quarters were partitioned off properly, thus securing a sense of privacy and avoiding the herding together so lowering to manhood. But the women's quarters,
what were they like? Merely a series of tubs side by side. Each was open and they were ranged along the wall without regard to that degree of common decency to which a man or a woman is entitled, no matter what may be the unfortunate conditions to which they have come. That the slightest distinction in the measure of comfort provided for men and women should be made in favour of men, reflects not only upon the men responsible for the injustice, but upon all citizens who sit idly by and tolerate abuses to which they could put an end by taking an intelligent interest in the well-being of those about them.)
CHAPTER XXIII

REFORMS WHICH WOMEN CITIZENS COULD ACCOMPLISH

"I often wonder had'st thou been contented
To browse like some sleek doe, obedient, mute,
Waking and resting 'mid sensuous, scented
Perfumes of beauteous Eden's flowers and fruits

"Would not that life have made for madness,
Had'st thou not eaten of the gracious tree
That gave thee knowledge, if it taught thee sadness,
That slew thy ignorance, but set thee free?"

KENNETH MACKAY.

It would be unfair to the women of Australia to say that no attempt has been made to improve unjust laws which are regarded by men as "wholly suited to the present." They have moved in these matters, but in such small numbers and scattered forces that little has been accomplished.

Prior to a recent State election, a somewhat numerous society of women sent out a long list of questions to each candidate, to ascertain his attitude on greatly needed social and moral reforms. These related chiefly to laws which govern women and children. They were put in plain English in a very direct manner, and required no interpreter to set forth the meaning. The secretary received a goodly number of answers, many of which were non-committal. The weakness of the movement was the fact that the society was organised in but one city, and local women had not been asked to
co-operate. A candidate's views on the questions could have had no direct bearing on his election unless the women of his constituency were making the inquiry. It may readily be seen that direct result was quite impossible, as no candidate was in any way pledged to support a Bill bearing on any one of the questions by the electors of his own district, unless it might be those of the section wherein the society operated. The incomplete systematic organisation of most of the women's associations makes a general movement in any direction quite impossible.

When a Bill was recently introduced into one of the Parliaments bearing on the marriage question, the women proved what they could do in matters of carrying moral legislation if they unitedly set about it. The chief point of the Bill related to divorce, and was introduced to establish equal grounds for husband and wife as a parting of the ways. Certain clauses were objectionable to religious sections of the community, both Roman and Protestant. Bishops fairly rent the air in their denunciations of it. Instructions were sent out to local churches calling upon the clergy to blow a mighty blast on a given Sunday that would resound through the land, and either terrify or melt the stony hearts of godless lawmakers. Petitions were placed in churches and freely circulated for signatures. A few earnest and devout women, who knew nothing more about the matter than that they had been asked to help swell the number who opposed the Bill, spent days and days securing signatures. What else happened? Thousands of women citizens wrote
personal letters to their particular member, calling upon him to meet their demand or settle with them at the ballot-box when next election day rolled around. Needless to say, the section of the Bill that women were determined should pass was swept into law. All of which shows how feeble the voices of bishops and prelates are, how powerless their hand when lifted against a measure involving the interests of women, if women citizens take a stand. It must be pointed out that opposition to the Bill was not altogether due to the clause of equal grounds for divorce, although numbers of men regarded it as a sort of "infringement of sacred rights." The truth is, when women citizens make a just demand upon their representatives, those men know their seat is at stake in the manner in which they respond. This being the case, women are responsible for every moral wrong which could be made right by law.

In a new country laws frequently fall into usage and become part of the legal code, merely because they have served older countries in older times. This is especially true of those relating to women and children. The laws have by no means moved forward in proportion to the advancement made in the general progress of woman's new position.

Legislators in Australia are utterly consumed over affairs of State. Political questions, which really mean party questions, are creating an atmosphere so blue and thick that members on both sides are fairly lost in the smoke of battle. When they emerge and are again visible to the "naked eye," there will still be matters of urgent claim
upon their time which seem likely to hold a mortgage on the future for years to come. The outcry of the populace for railroads, harbours, surveys, waterways, and the long list of developments required to place the waiting hundreds upon the land, for which the demand increases daily, are time-consuming. It is a wonder that railway and land grooves are not worn through the very grey matter of each weary brain. What time will these men devote to correcting unjust usages based on antiquated laws unless women citizens, by eternal vigilance and organised action, see to it that the crooked places are made straight? In order to create a civilisation in this new country free from the possibilities of Old World conditions, the women must stand together in their demand for legal enactment which will deliver the oppressed and make strong the weak.

It is not overstating the situation to say that there are scores of legislators perfectly innocent of any knowledge of law generally. Even men of the legal profession, and, indeed, administrators of justice, are not fully aware of the inequality of many of the laws.

These things could all be set right by women without the blowing of trumpets or a mighty bugle blast to fell the ancient walls of inequality with a sudden crash. No wild demonstrations and bitter denunciation of mankind in general and legislators in particular are necessary. It will not be done by women agitators, but by the process of an education which will arouse within woman a sense of responsibility as a citizen, and her true relation
to the man who represents the interests of women and children in Parliament.

Before the political fusion of two parties of the Commonwealth took place, when the Labour Party was a force to be reckoned with by either side, because it held the balance of power, I went to some of the Labour leaders in the House to ascertain their exact strength and position in Federal politics. In response to my questions, a well-known and clever member said: "We are the House of Lords: nothing can pass unless we allow it to go through." It was the truth briefly and clearly stated. That is exactly the position of the women voters of Australia if they all stood together concerning reforms that pertain to themselves. They would hold the balance of power.

The great difficulty is the lack of a national leader who could carry the women out of the dense "anti" atmosphere, and unite them, regardless of party or religion, in the bonds of a common cause, to secure just and honest laws for women and children. Strange to say, among the many gifted women there is not one with the genius of organisation and the ability of generalship in the entire Commonwealth who could direct the women of the nation—not one! I have met most, if not all, of the prominent women, and the lack of experience, or the absence of a peculiar and necessary type of ability makes national leadership to them hopeless and impossible.

The nearest approach to such an one I found in the charming personality of Miss Vida Goldstein, of Victoria. Miss Goldstein is widely known, has
MRS. R. DWYER.
Organiser of the Labour Party in New South Wales.

MISS VIDA GOLSTEIN.
Who secured 51,000 votes as a candidate for the Federal Senate.
the reputation of being a good speaker, and certainly possesses a breadth of view which should enable her to command a great national following. The chief feature which has militated against her in assuming generalship in her native land is a firmly fixed idea on the part of the public that her political leanings are of so pronounced a type that she would sweep her forces in a given party direction as elections came to hand.

Whether or not there is any truth in the supposition, it is a standing barrier between herself and leadership. Then, too, up to the present time, Miss Goldstein's work has seriously suffered from lack of funds with which to operate. With a cause at the back of her which should command the support, financially, of all sections of the community in a land of such unbounded prosperity, there must be a weak point in ability to present the cause in a manner which forces it as a vital issue upon the consciences of men and women.

Women are eligible for both Houses in the Federal Parliament, and Miss Goldstein has stood both for the Senate and the House of Representatives at Federal elections, and has secured a goodly measure of popularity in her own State. It was, however, an offence to thousands of women that one of their own sex should thrust herself into the "filthy cesspool" of politics, as it was frequently expressed. There is no doubt but that there was much disgust on the part of women over the matter.

Numbers of women who are barely educated up to the responsibility of casting a vote, now that women are citizens, would liberally support a move-
ment that had for its object the enactment of laws which produce a better condition for women; but they are violently opposed to such an innovation as a woman lawmaker actually occupying a seat among men. Until a clear-brained, all-round woman springs into being, there is not likely to be a united national movement on the lines indicated.

We find in history that an emergency has always either found or made the man. The finger of destiny has pointed out and the populace has declared, "Thou art the man!" This should hold as true in the affairs of women. An emergency is upon the people of Australia. It is just as important to men as to women that the energy of women should be conserved, directed and utilised in national affairs. There is a daily unfoldment of opportunities upon which women should lay their hands as their legitimate sphere of action. Women have risen to the emergency elsewhere, surely they will not fail where there is so much need!

Men continue to repeat here, as they have mumbled and muttered through the ages, that "home and not politics should be the interest of women." But to what section of land or sea could the home be moved to place it in a latitude or longitude where it is not endangered day and night by the direct effects of politics? It would be a very pleasing prospect to most women if they could quarantine their homes against the blighting and often withering conditions that centre in homelife itself, and to which the fence and gateposts are no bar. Politics are in the home—every part of it. In the first place, women are taxed, if they
own property, just as men are. They are taxed for their clothes, their food, for the very water they drink, and down even to the dog they own. In fact, there is not a phase of home life untouched by politics. The locating of a public-house; the restriction or licence of gambling; transportation facilities and immigration as related to domestic service—all have a definite bearing on the home. There is no doubt but this sphere is the one of women's truest interest, and the power of citizenship alone will enable her to protect her domain from the corrupting evils which, if not checked, will ultimately dethrone and uncrown her. The political abuses are felt most keenly in the home, and the women of Australia have an open field and free hand to write the brand of citizenship on every front door in the land. One fairly burns with indignation to see what women could do for their own kind but for their utter selfishness. Thousands of women in Australia have been forced into factory work and other toilsome occupations in order to cope with human needs. In some of the States their condition is awful in the extreme. They are being sweated to the very verge of the grave. The demand for Wage Boards did not come a moment too soon. By these a minimum wage was established and certain hours determined as a day's work. This has been an unspeakable boon to tens of thousands of women who are ever in the grind of factory life, working upon either boots or clothing. Of the business women and girls in New South Wales, one out of every four is a factory hand in one of these occupations.
In Tasmania, the women engaged in the manufacture of clothing work ten hours a day, and women operators of from three to five years' service, up to twenty-six years of age, receive 12s. a week. The women over there at the present moment are utterly consumed in their "anti" attitude towards candidates, and are spending energy enough in trying to keep the other side out to right every wrong and relieve the shocking oppression from which they and their families reap the benefit of cheap labour. (Women citizens who could right such wrongs, who refuse to rescue helpless women from the bondage of slavery and outrage, are unworthy of the power which has been placed in their hands, and should be relegated to the ranks from which they were elevated by the franchise. It is nothing but the unspeakable and criminal selfishness of well-to-do women that makes such a state of affairs possible.)

In the State of New South Wales, with the exception of the rural districts, the families of factory operators average the largest percentage of members of any class. The report of a Commission appointed by that Government to look into the factory conditions has handed in the result of the sittings.

This states that there is an increasing number of women and children entering factory service. In fact the boot industry is the only one employing more men than women and girls. These girls, it must be remembered, are the future mothers of the race. The report sets forth a list of abuses which would shame the average employer into his grave
if he had any sense of decency. There should be a standing force of women inspectors in the factories, if need be, to see to it that the recommendations of the Commission crystallise into law and that the employers carry them out.

In going through the reports of the various religious bodies, and from information gained elsewhere, one is shocked to learn to what an extent downright sweating is carried on by church members in the payment of their preachers. There is, it is true, a small number of outstanding men who are properly paid. But for every one such there are from a dozen to twenty who are so shamefully underpaid that similar legislation to the "Factory Inspection Act" should be passed to protect, especially the country preachers, from the sweating system now in vogue. The overworked and underpaid clergy are a class to which no attention has been given. Sweating is sweating, whether it is practised by one man or by a body of men and women. It is just as criminal for a society of people, organised for Divine worship and seeking the glory of God, to compel a man to spend years in preparation for his work, demand that he don the cloth, keep up a standard appearance and a supply of spiritual power, to say nothing of covering a parish of from ten to five thousand miles, so miserably underpaid as scarcely to be able to secure the starvation needs of mere existence—it is just as criminal, I say, as it is to send a woman or child into the sweat-box of factory life. Strange! while a congregation feast upon the "Bread of Life" from the open hand of the preacher, they are quite content
to feed him upon the husks which swine refuse, and pumpkins which would otherwise rot on the ground. Nothing is expected from a factory owner for the workpeople beyond what the law must beat out of him for their services. He is in business for the express purpose of getting the very most he can out of every man, woman, and child he employs. But for a community to band themselves together in the name of a religion which stands for the brotherhood of man, and engage a preacher at a salary scarcely sufficient to keep soul and body together, is a practice unknown among the pagan peoples.

A minister whom I have seen and heard preach was kept one year on a starvation salary with which he was unable to feed his family. He decided to give up preaching, and later secured work as a navvy hand where a railway was being constructed. By this means he was able to supply the needs of his family and was under no obligation to the community to "keep up appearances." A matter of this sort comes within the scope of woman's work, and until they "speak out in meeting" and put an end to the dishonest system, it will continue to run its unprincipled course.

Then, too, there is the preacher's wife. I would rather be a doormat in the house of a political foe than a minister's wife in Australia.

In the home she is first of all wife, which usually means mother of an abnormally large flock, for which she is housekeeper, charwoman, cook, dressmaker and general factotum, to say nothing of scavenger-at-large for the Church, where she becomes
the receptacle of gossip, scandal and all other deadly moral germs which would corrupt a statue, but from which she cannot flee, because she has no rights which anyone is bound to respect. She is the preacher's wife, the unpaid curate of the Church, and the target of the whole community.

Her home is an inn for all members, open day and night, and meals, especially teas, at all hours. The only difference between a preacher's house and a properly constituted inn is that no profits are derived from a bar: otherwise it is about the same. Just as much, and equally good free service is expected.)

(The first duty of the women of a country parish is to form themselves into a Humane Society—a society for the prevention of cruelty—to preacher's wives—and protect them from the unjust demands made by a heartless body of Christian worshippers who profess to abound in the grace and virtues which they expect will beautify and adorn the life of these home drudges and public burden-bearers. Women are to blame for the hard lot of the preacher's wife.)

There has been a mild suggestion, on the part of a limited number, that women should be made eligible to sit on juries. Miss Goldstein's association strongly advocates such a move; but it will be long before so great an innovation is introduced. One is hardly surprised, for prejudice dies hard.

It is somewhat astonishing that women have not invaded the domestic life of the community as organised into City Councils. This is but housekeeping on a larger scale. As yet there are no
women sitting on municipal boards. Many and many an evil could be remedied by the wise and helpful counsels of women were they but given a place with men in municipal affairs. City Fathers are by no means all-wise. There are a score of questions bearing on the home, in the settlement of which the experience and knowledge of women would be most helpful.

Strange to say, while a woman may hold membership in either House of Government of the Commonwealth, an Act of Local Government excludes them from Town Council chambers—the very place where they are eminently qualified to do splendid and necessary work in a quiet and dignified manner. This will all come when women begin to understand their obligations as citizens.
CHAPTER XXIV

WOMEN AND WAGES

"But now we know that what is best lies hidden
Within the cells of every human brain,
That what to you was once forbidden
No woman now need ask in vain."

KENNETH MACKAY.

Although women in Australia enjoy partial equality with men in relation to citizenship, a sense of justice has never extended so far as to include the same standard for the sexes, either in pay for services or a similar code of laws for men and women.

In the matter of wages numerous arguments are brought forward for and against a scale of pay in each occupation (which should apply, regardless of who did the work, so long as equal efficiency is sustained.)

The degree of logic set forth in various views may or may not be altogether just. (A fact remains; the difference between the pay of men and women in the same employment is out of all keeping with the comparative value of service rendered.)

I have before me the Federal and State reports concerning salaries and wages paid to Government employees. In no case since women have had the vote has there been an increase in their wages, bringing remuneration up to that of men in any department where both sexes are employed. The
Labour Government—and rightly too—has raised the scale for certain classes of work under Government supervision. Occasionally women have received the same amount of increase, but in no instance have the salaries been equalised.

The salaries of women teachers in any of the State schools would have been a disgrace to the Dark Ages. The girls in the East End of London, making women’s blouses at 8d. a piece, are not more sweated than are women teachers throughout the Commonwealth. It is equalled only by the sweating salary doled out in threepenny bits to curates and country preachers. For the latter, however, the State is not responsible: I mention it as a fact by way of comparison.

Some two years ago I was requested by a Literary Society to prepare a paper on the subject of equal pay for men and women for equal standard of effective service.

In order to present official facts, I interviewed the heads of Government Departments upon the subject, and secured the reports upon which my conclusions are now based. Pursuing further investigation I visited more than 100 schools, and also interviewed the managers of the largest mercantile houses in the Southern Hemisphere, to ascertain the comparative efficiency of male and female employees, and learn, if possible, whether any just reason could be given for the difference in remuneration for the same hours and an equal standard of work.

The result of extensive inquiry was a perfect revelation, so much so that I felt compelled to abandon the reading of the paper. The facts I here
present are not set forth as arguments on either one side or the other. They merely describe a situation which may not obtain in other countries, but being facts in Australia, I was unable to carry out a logical argument based upon what had always been my personal point of view.

While travelling over the country by conveyance, far off the railway lines, I met many of those brave and heroic women who pioneer in the waste places of earth so far as population and social advantages are concerned. In one district I found a woman teacher in charge of sixteen children. Up to the time of my visit she had not spoken to a white woman in three months. Two rooms had been built as part of the Government schoolhouse. These she occupied as living quarters. Here, six miles from the nearest farm, her sole companion at night a faithful little yellow dog, the fearless young woman spent months at a time.

As compensation for years of study in qualifying herself to help mould the young mind, she received the niggardly sum of £80 a year and the "rent-free" rooms. Ten years had already been given to bush teaching. The most wearing condition was the silence of the night. Loss of sleep because of this had at times almost driven her to the verge of madness; but she is still toiling on and on.

About ten miles from that place we drove up to a school under the charge of a master. Eighteen bonny boys and girls made up his circle of children. With the same grade certificate held by the young woman, he received £110 per year for his services.

Instruction in sewing is part of the regular
teaching in most public schools. Men are naturally not expected to impart knowledge in this branch of domestic training. A woman sewing teacher was engaged at a salary of £12, bringing the expense of that school up to £122 per year.

In the case of the other school the young woman gave the sewing lessons, for which instruction she was not allowed extra pay.

I suppose the most criminal sweating of women teachers is practised by the Government of Tasmania, where most of them receive about half the amount of salary paid to men for the same class school. There are instances where women are paid even less than half. These figures are official: published by the Government which formed the scale of salaries.

To illustrate: At one school where a woman teacher has an average attendance of 87.9 pupils, she has been compensated to the amount of £75 per year, while a man, teaching in the same class school with a daily average of 80.6 pupils, draws £175 per year. In the larger schools, a man assistant holding IIa certificate draws a salary of £220 per year, while a woman holding the same qualifications gets £120 per year. In fact, there is only one woman in the State who draws that amount.

In 1911 a deputation of women teachers waited upon the Minister for Education and received his sympathetic benediction in the form of a pledge to “do something.” The promise was born a dwarf that could neither grow nor move. It is still embalmed in the frankincense and spices of “sympathy with such a movement”; and governmental sweating continues.
WOMEN AND WAGES

The moss-grown excuses presented by one or two of the departments were so weak that even large and resourceful English could not prop them up. Think of a statesman looking wise and solemn as he delivered himself as follows:

"First: Women adopt a calling only to bridge them over a period of necessary work between the end of schooldays and marriage. It is claimed that every woman fully expects to settle in her own home as the wife of the man of her choice. The idea is ever present with the average girl. She does not enter any form of service with an avowed intention of rising to the heights of a profession or occupation, but takes up such duties as a sort of profitable waiting station, until fate and final destiny shall discover her. Because of this attitude or expectation, as it might be called, she is liable at any time to retire to private life, leaving her place to be filled by newer and younger teachers, wholly destitute of experience. Experience, and that only, is the preparatory highway to a teacher's usefulness. Often she leaves before she has acquired a goodly measure of it herself, and an empty place must be filled by someone who has even less of the valuable asset; all of which greatly deprecates the value of women teachers."

Thus spoke the male oracle.

Be this as it may, his views voice a widespread belief, and the argument must be met by facts before woman's claim to equal pay will be established.

From figures to hand it appears that the entire question of wages hinges upon the real economic value of woman in the industrial world. The claim is made that the physical construction of women, especially relating to inability to endure continued nerve strain, must, of necessity, depreciate her value as an employee.
Men who are engaged in the management of enterprises where large numbers of both sexes are employed point out the great expenditure entailed by the absence of women on sick-leave. In most places wages continue up to a certain period. This is a dead loss to a firm, to which must be added the further expense of paying a substitute.

As there are probably more men and women employed in the Postal Department of the Commonwealth than elsewhere, it seemed to me that it would be a fair source of reckoning from which to compile statistics and gain information. I therefore applied to the Postmaster-General, and am indebted to his department for information from the Commissioner's report, which I have permission to make use of for purposes of publication. I shall not quote at undue length, but the information is of great value, and should be read by all who are interested in the question of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

In the report showing the amount of time granted to telephone attendants in the central exchanges during two years, it was recorded that while the average leave for male employees was 5.9 days per annum, that of females was 12.5—or more than double.

It was urged, after this report was given in, that heads of branches must exercise a greater vigilance in the granting of sick leave to make sure there was no unwarranted leakage in the attendance of employees. In the last report the Commissioner remarks:

"It is with regret that I have to record the fact that since the publication of a previous report no diminution
appears to have taken place in the number and frequency of absences from duty; indeed, so far as female telephone attendants are concerned, the conditions as to excessive sick leave have been intensified.

"Returns were compiled last year (1910) with the view of ascertaining to what extent the sick leave provisions under public service regulations had been availed of by officers, and also as to the financial burden involved in the granting of salary concessions during absence of officers through illness. Complete returns were obtained from all Commonwealth departments covering the calendar years 1907 and 1908. Seeing that the Postmaster-General's Department embraces the greater portion of employees, it is sufficient for purposes of analysis and comparison to deal with this department. The number of officers employed in the Postmaster-General's Department at January 1907, 1908 and 1909 was respectively 10,300, 10,898, and 11,854. During the two years covered by the returns, sick leave was granted to 6,833 officers, or an average of 3,416 officers per annum, and the periods of absences through illness for the two years aggregated 4,774 months, or an average of 2,387 months per year. The amount of salaries paid to officers during absences through illness on full, half, or one-third pay totalled £44,516, or an average of £22,258 per annum. Keeping in view the natural increase of staff, the statistics supplied for the years under notice present a remarkable uniformity, and indicate that the conditions as to the extent of sick leave granted do not vary materially from year to year. From these figures the following striking facts may be gathered. In each year 31 per cent., or nearly one-third, of the permanent officers of the Postmaster-General's Department are absent from duty for long or short periods through illness, and the department thus loses the services of an equivalent 198 officers throughout the whole of each year. Further, the amount expended annually by the department in salaries, for which no return is rendered in services owing to absence on sick leave, is over £22,000. The average absence of each employee of the department is six and a half days per annum, and if there be
added three weeks' recreation leave and two weeks made up of public holidays, it is found that, taking into account every officer of the department, the average period of actual service per annum for each employee is forty-six weeks. This factor is worthy of consideration in comparing public service rates of pay with those obtaining elsewhere.

"The particulars furnished regarding sick leave during the period under review enable accurate comparisons to be drawn as to the relative efficiency of male and female employment, and incidentally open up the question as to the economic soundness of a principle frequently enunciated that equal pay should be granted irrespective of sex distinctions. It is extremely doubtful whether, in the generality of cases, equal service is rendered by female employees to that obtained from the sterner sex, even where the circumstances of employment agree, as constitutional and physical differences between the sexes must always, to a greater or lesser degree, incline the balance in favour of the male worker, and render him the more efficient officer from the standpoint of work value. This is amply demonstrated by an analysis of the returns of sick leave, and it may be mentioned that the experience of the Commonwealth in this respect is not by any means unique, as other enterprises employing large bodies of women have arrived at similar results and conclusions. Dealing with female officers in the Postmaster-General's department, it is found that 43 per cent. of the total number employed are granted leave through illness as against 29 per cent. of male officers; while the average absence per annum of male officers, taking the total number employed, is 5.9 days as against 12.5 days per annum in the case of females. Even where the conditions of employment are identically the same, and the period of life approximates, it is found that the efficiency of female labour is seriously decreased by absences from duty through sickness. Taking the six States, and comparing postmasters and postmistresses, it appears that the percentage of postmasters absent is 17 per cent., as against 28 per cent. of postmistresses, the average duration of sick leave being thirty-two days
for postmasters and forty-four days for postmistresses. In the case of telephonists similar conditions prevail as to abnormal sick leave of females as against males, and it must be borne in mind that while male telephonists are required to perform night duty at regular intervals, females are free from this duty. Despite this advantage, an analysis of the sick leave returns show that only 28 per cent. of male telephonists are absent from duty by reason of illness, as against 46 per cent. of females, while the average duration of sick leave per annum is for males, seventeen days, and for females, twenty-eight days. Taking the whole of the staff of telephonists, not merely those actually absent through illness, the average duration of absence per annum on account of sickness is for males 4.7 days and for females 11.9 days.

"In Western Australia the amount of sick leave granted female telephonists is unduly excessive, and clearly points to the necessity for investigation with a view to more economic management. No fewer than 82 per cent. of the female telephonists in this State absent themselves each year through illness, while the average duration of sickness is twenty-four days. This large proportion of the telephone staff is, therefore, only available for active service during 42½ weeks each year, taking into account periods of recreation leave, while 14 out of every 100 officers are utilised solely to provide relief for female telephonists absent on recreation and sick leave. In Victoria, though the percentage of absentees on the female telephonist staff is only one-half that of Western Australia, the duration of absence is much greater, and 39 out of every 100 females render only forty weeks' service during the year, performing no duty during the remaining ten weeks."

As these figures are gathered purely as a guiding basis for future methods of employment in the department, they may be accepted as fact, free from the prejudice of personal opinion or interests, and must certainly enter into the final analysis as to what is fair and honest compensation for the
work of business women and girls when measured by what men are paid.

This information led me to investigate the question further in other branches of women’s occupation. I visited personally the large establishments where hundreds of men and women, girls and youths, are employed, and wrote to others on the question under consideration.

Most of the managers divided the female assistants into two classes: those belonging to the many who must work as a matter of necessity, and the girls who have had the usual schooling up to fourteen with a year or so at a finishing college, but for whom there is no home occupation. The house is overstocked with surplus females. Means are equal to the provision of a good home, where the daughters who could be spared from household duties would have free board and lodging if they earned enough to clothe themselves. They enter the ranks of breadwinners and compel those to whom the struggle is really one for bread to compete with them under such widely different circumstances. (It is the girls who are not in the hard grind for bread, but who want to earn dress or pin-money, who keep the wage of the toiler down, and sometimes crowd her to the wall.)

Managers regard this class as most unreliable; so much so that they never employ them when others are available. They take much less interest in their occupations than do those to whom employment is a matter of bread. In regard to sick leave, a far larger percentage of this type of girl was absent than of the necessitous workers. So perplexing was
the situation in one business house that three detectives were employed to look up the absentees. This was continued until they could be classified. During the skating season, girls frequently sent word in the morning to say they were too ill to come to business. This complicated management greatly. The vacancies had to be filled in some way. Whole departments were reorganised in order to get a saleswoman who could be spared from one place who had some knowledge of goods at another counter.

The detectives searched to the root of things, and found that from 50 to 75 per cent. of the absent girls were at home quietly preparing frocks for skating or other amusements, and drawing sick-leave pay for their gaiety. This led to docking wages for every hour girls were away from business. One manager prepared the rate of sick leave for male and female employees for a given week. This record was taken from the book, at random, while I sat in the office. The percentage of employees was one-third men, and two-thirds women, and the absences were as follows:

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These facts constitute a real difficulty in the adoption of a rate of wage to girls generally. It would appear that in justice to the individual worker who is honest, sincere and genuine, some
method should be devised for just compensation to those who render efficient service.

Remuneration to shop and factory girls is criminally low. A girl who must wholly depend upon it for a livelihood cannot live a decent life. Much of the evil into which young girls fall is due to the cruelly low price paid for their services. Australia may be, and probably is, the working man’s paradise, but it is far from a celestial condition for working and business girls. Domestic service is the only well paid occupation for women and girls.
CHAPTER XXV

THE GIRLS OF AUSTRALIA

"I cannot tell where the path may lead
Just entered by your feet:
But if a right your fresh young heart I read,
It will be pure and sweet."

KENNETH MACKAY.

The real Australian girl has not yet arrived. The country is too young. It will be long before she fully evolves. The constant flow of immigrants to these shores will create, for a time at least, a very cosmopolitan sort of girl. Hundreds of new arrivals land weekly. They are of many callings—some of no calling at all—numerous in class, varied in type and to a great extent wholly foreign to these parts, even when of the British race. The new-comers will, in the course of time, intermarry, and this introduction of an outside element, although of the same stock, will long retard the production of a purely Australian girl.

But for all that we see tokens that there is a new brand of girl in the process of evolution. Up to the present state of development description is difficult. Speaking generally, they are really delightful creatures. Their charms are so refreshing, one hesitates to sound a note of criticism, because it is fully understood that they have been trained by parents reared in remote parts who have failed to grasp the new situation.

261
It is certain, however, that from some future generation real Australian girls will make their bow to the world, native products of this "Sunny South Land," rich in the fullness of their heritage.

Free, independent, and unconventional, the younger generation of girls stands "next of kin" to their neighbour maidens across the Atlantic—American girls. The chief differences are those which would naturally arise from surroundings, climate, and methods of training.

The girls known as those of leisure, which is but a term, are, by usage, called "Society girls." They aim to be leaders of fashion, but in reality merely ape styles created elsewhere, intended for other latitudes, but adopted bodily by a certain set in this zone. Some of them have the bad taste to follow extremes, and make themselves both vulgar and ridiculous. They will not hesitate a moment to hang a cartwheel hat on the left ear and carry it to and fro, heedless of the discomfort of others. The hobble-skirt girl—an outward sign of a hobbled mind—flourished until the next importation of vulgarity arrived and was eagerly seized upon as a further display of the lack of originality.

Taken as a whole, the girls are rather free from extremes in any direction. There is a lot of sound common sense about them. Possessing this in a goodly degree, it is surprising that they have never applied it to originating dress suited to the climate and setting of the country.

There is also an utter absence of original social usages that would develop Australian characteristics in home life. There is abounding scope for girls to
TYPE OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY GIRL—NATIVE BORN.
THE GIRLS OF AUSTRALIA

distinguish themselves by cutting loose from the customs which enslave women in other countries. They could create for themselves a purely local atmosphere of life in matters of dress, conventionalism, and all customs pertaining to the home; for they are the freest girls in the world! So free that they, beyond all others, could leave a mark upon the age in which they live. They could for ever abolish some of the demoralising old-time, old-world usages, and establish new ones more in keeping with the spirit of freedom and progress in a country where they enjoy the advantages of citizenship at twenty-one years of age.

Not only so, but they could put down the appalling commercial spirit which obtains concerning most sacred matters. These have assumed a positively debasing aspect which should find no place where an effort is being made to evolve a new social order on democratic lines. The world’s greatest reforms must be brought about by girls, and Australia is the natural starting-point.

There is, however, no move in such a direction. Girls tread the same old disgustingly false and unreal social highway of past, decayed and buried generations, growing, if possible, more commercial, more selfish, and rejecting all sense of great responsibility.

To illustrate: take, for instance, weddings as carried out in fashionable circles, and, indeed, down through the whole social scale. The practices are coarse and commercial in the extreme. Think of giving the utmost publicity—the more the better—to an event which every instinct of true girlhood
must hold as both solemn and sacred. This inner joy of a sweet young girl’s life is gazed upon by the thoughtless and vulgar who are, neither by tie nor sentiment, in any way connected with the occasion—just curious! Analyse, if you will, a wedding assembly. See a bride slowly moving up the aisle, all necks craned and every eye fixed upon her dress, to see the length of the train, the kind of lace in the veil, hand or machine-made, the cut and fit of the bodice, and then speculate as to what firm turned it out, as well as make secret estimates of the probable cost. The rude staring, comments and general attitude of the crowds are beyond the power of words to express, against which every self-respecting girl should openly revolt.

Then, too, weddings are indecently commercial in regard to presents. There was a time when a love-token, a bit of needlework, a book, any small gift expressive of goodwill was sufficient and met every expectation. But now, people almost demand that the public shall donate largely to housekeeping equipment for the young couple. To come empty-handed to a wedding means to be written large in the family books with an outstanding, significant stroke of designation. Many guests are invited with the gift prospect in view; there is no possible doubt about that. I once heard a man of means say, when the invitations to his daughter’s wedding were being discussed, “Oh, well, I’ve lived in these parts for fifty years, and have been giving wedding presents all along. This is the last time I shall have a chance to get them back. We will invite everybody—yes, everybody.”
Everybody was invited. Individuals with whom the women of the family would scorn to associate, and—they came. Of course they brought presents. These were displayed, as they always are at such a function (I have been to scores of them), in a room set apart for the time being for that purpose. To watch the callers inspect the gifts is one of the most disgusting features of the whole exhibition. The cards attached to the merchandise were handled, turned over, read, and re-read. A sly look or nudge to the nearest neighbour that is well understood, is the silent and withering opinion of certain articles from certain persons. The crowd passes on, and the details of the whole affair form a matter of gossip until another event thrusts itself upon public attention.

There is still another feature of weddings which has a decidedly moral bearing. It is an understood thing that gifts are to be ticketed and placed on view. This publicity keeps up the value standard by affording an opportunity of comparing the donation of Mr. and Mrs. Smith with that of Mr. and Mrs. Brown. No one likes to be outdone by a neighbour. Such is the spirit of the age. It follows that numbers of people who are not in a position to afford expensive presents must get them, even if they go in debt in order to measure up to others. This is often the case, especially in small communities, where people live so close to each other as to make all private life and business a matter of common knowledge.

The same thing holds true concerning a “new dress for the wedding.” In families of small means,
among highly respectable and cultured people, where all expense must be carefully planned in order to make two ends meet, it is of real concern to figure out how a new dress may be managed. It is surprising to learn how little moral conscience really good people have in meeting a social emergency.

By skimping with the household allowance, a woman manages to get the material for a gown. This is handed over to the dressmaker with the understanding that the bill for making is to be met in small weekly payments. Dressmakers have told me that they have had to wait eighteen months and longer before these accounts were paid. Even then, the financial obligation has been met by the payment of half a crown or so a week, until the amount was covered. An overworked dressmaker is compelled to "give time," or not do the work.

If a bride took each present and sat an hour with it to consider the conditions under which it became her property, knowing in many cases how great was the difficulty to pay for it and the real heartaches often endured before the gift landed, so well labelled and looking so grand, helping to swell the printed list in the social column, what possible pleasure could a self-respecting girl get out of her wedding presents? These things are known to every bride, and if she has a conscience at all, they must weave themselves into a sad memory when she recalls her wedding-day.) Yes, the modern wedding has a truly immoral aspect which Australian girls could thoroughly reform. In the Old World there is very little hope of ever uprooting usages
which "always have been." Conservatism is far too great. In Australia, the girls stand at the very beginning of things. What a wonder they do not utterly sweep away forms that prevent progress along the lines that lead to the highest ideal! What a power they would become! They are so full of energy, so resourceful and possess the genius of organisation to a wonderful degree. If they but took firm hold of that abounding force, possibility, they would soon teach the world of girls what may be done in the way of making history.

In Australia there is, of course, the usual percentage of girls who are next to brainless—the Teddy bear style. They detest study, loathe housework, disregard the comforts and rights of others, and are completely absorbed in their looks, dress, and self—a blight in the social fabric. They are snobs to the bone and into the marrow, and would rather be knocked down by Lady Brown than have their lives saved by contaminating contact with the cook. To be a doormat in the house of a duchess would be a privilege for which the yielding up of life itself would be a small price. Their Alpha and Omega of all hope and desire is to be arrayed in purple and fine linen and press their way through the portals of Government House, where the line of social demarcation appears in their own handwriting in The Book—the one and only Book. Finally, when the goal is reached, behold them in the motley herd fighting their way to the tea-table like a hungry strike mob charging a pork-shop. This picture is not overdrawn. I have seen the well arranged, generously given entertainments at Government
House made the scandal of the social world by the disastrous wreckage of apparel in the rush, clamour, and push for afternoon tea or supper at a ball. Ladies have gone to the cloak-room with yards of debris rent asunder from their moorings in the general struggle for an ice or glass of champagne, still munching the last remains of some rich viand —snatched with eager hand from the table groaning under the weight of good things.

In the midst of all this many a girl rests assured that she has "come into her own." This type, however, is not in sufficient numbers to constitute a class or exert an influence which will leave a mark.

There is, of course, the ever-present wail of the housewife abroad in the land over the difficulties of domestic help. Were it not for the readiness with which Australian girls step into any department of household work, home life would be almost unbearable, and thousands of families would be driven, as they are in America, to take up quarters in hotels. The girls are fond of open-air sports, golf, tennis, and, in fact, anything that keeps them out-of-doors. They give much time to these pleasures, but when their services are required in the home, they willingly trip off to the kitchen and prepare a good wholesome meal, for they excel in the art of both plain and fancy cooking, to which much attention is given at home and also at the public schools.

When it comes to sewing, they are more than up to the usual mark, and are really clever with needle and scissors. This is not so much because of training as of a rich supply of common sense. They
abound in application in the ready use of the hands.

It cannot be said that they are of studious habits. Every phase of life draws them away from that seclusion necessary to do serious reading, or pursue a given course of study. The winter evenings, many of which are spent in the house, are usually given up to music. They excel in song, and are more or less skilled in a variety of instruments. Chatty evenings are a delightful feature of home life. Individual experiences and amusements of the day are related with great merriment. They are jolly and sociable in the home, and it is time to separate for the night before they are aware the evening has passed. Therefore, a course of study is not often systematically carried on in the home, as is common amongst American girls.

A deep interest among the girls centres around all sorts of movements which have for their objects the idea of "help for others." Not necessarily institutions that are established with this end in view, but more especially by way of helping other girls in a manner which makes it possible for them to help themselves. Girls have developed a marvellous genius of organisation. This is not a gift which belongs to a given class: it is general, pronounced even among small children. In both public and private schools the scholars plan and carry out all sorts of entertainments, get up sales of work, and manage the details entirely alone. The scholars of a girls' school arranged, conducted, and rehearsed a concert without assistance from any quarter, and
netted £300 by the effort. Little girls do the most clever things to raise money for objects in which they are interested, unaided by outside suggestions. I have known a society of little girls to arrange a garden fête and handkerchief sale at which they realised £9. In this respect they have displayed marked executive ability, with results which reflect great credit upon their splendid spirit of service. They are not selfish, whatever their shortcomings may be, and most of all, they fully realise that it is girls' day—girls have "come into their own." Someone has said that the greatest discovery of the nineteenth century was, "Woman had discovered herself." In this new century it is certain that the girls in Australia have set out upon a voyage of self-discovery. As yet they are so great a surprise to themselves that they are half dazed before what new light has revealed. They have leaped the bounds that hedged in their mothers and grandmothers, and find before them such stretches of possibilities that, were it not that they are well poised mentally, they would lose their bearings in the new situations and doubtless become a positive danger to the community, and outlaws to system and order. Great credit is due to them that they have not carried the dare spirit beyond recognised limits, for it cannot be said that reins of parental control are usually gripped with a hard and heavy hand.

They have landed in the open with a dash quite fine enough to turn the head of many girls, but, as a whole, they are steady and reliable. Slowly, very slowly, they are growing to the responsibilities
THE GIRLS OF AUSTRALIA

which every girl should assume as an obligation she owes society.

College girls and other young ladies have banded themselves together in a Guild of Service. Their efforts centre in large cities like Sydney and Adelaide, in both of which places they are very strong, and a great work is being carried on by these girls. The objects of the society are many, but they give much energy to raising a Trust Fund. This is kept on hand to aid girls of gentle birth who have fallen upon evil days, such as the death of a parent, the loss of property, and the many experiences that could throw a girl upon the world or her own resources unprepared to meet the emergency. In order to raise funds to be used for the training of such girls in preparation for some occupation that will enable them to earn a living, they determined to hold a great exhibition in the Sydney Town Hall. This proved to be the most successful undertaking ever arranged by girls in the Southern Hemisphere. In addition to securing large sums for their work, they demonstrated to an interested public what occupations were suitable and profitable for the class of girls they desired to help.

A detailed account of this unique effort would read like a romance, for the great enterprise was originated, organised, and conducted by girls. If I remember correctly, men or youths were in no way connected with the affair, and certainly not in the management. It was purely a girls' undertaking for girls. Large sums of money were handled inside the building by the sale of work done on the
spot. The proceeds of the tea-room, and the sale of a daily paper, written and printed by girls on the premises, reached a substantial figure. But quite aside from this, in five days they took £1,200 at the door as entrance fees. This has enabled them to assist, by loan, some sixteen girls, who are now in training for the responsibilities which have been suddenly and mercilessly thrust upon them. Although a promise is not exacted for the return of the money advanced, it is regarded as a loan, and each girl makes it her business to return it when she begins to earn a salary, glad to place it again where some needy one like herself may have the advantages which have been such a boon to her. The names of those receiving help are unknown to all save the committee of girls who act as a commission of investigation into the cases under consideration. The sweet spirit of service in the society is one of the characteristics of girls. They are always ready to help. An old Scotch lady said, in response to the inquiry, "Who are these girls?" "Girls are the reserve force of the Lord, and the Lord has called His forces out." In Australia they are certainly out and doing.

There is a steady development of character, a visible moving toward the more serious side of life, an increasing realisation of the opportunities, and a growing consciousness that it means responsibility increased manifold. Girls are studying themselves. Woman's greatest study is herself, and the earlier that thought fastens itself upon the girl-mind the better. They may reach any heights to which they aspire. It is more true here
than elsewhere that "They only cease to rise who cease to climb."

To have come in close contact with such joyous, fun-loving, yet tender, sympathetic, inspiring young spirits has been one of my compensations for a strenuous life of many hardships of travel in most remote regions wherever girls are found. The world will hear much of them in years to come. They will outgrow their faults. These will vanish in the mellow years of mature womanhood. They are not of the form which mars character or dwarfs soul, but merely those common to a transition period which reconstructs the sphere of woman. Already an arrest of thought is upon them. They will make history. It will not read like that of the women of Sparta, but better still, it will be read in the moulding of national life. Without any glimmering of an idea that their hands are at this moment opening the gates of morning through which bursts the glory of a new dawn, revealing the splendid promise of a future usefulness for their kind, they press forward to a mission such as has never been appointed to girls of any other age or clime.
CHAPTER XXVI

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

"I would that each of you could understand
How much the future of this unshaped land
Lies in the hollow of your youthful hand."

KENNETH MACKAY.

It is impossible to make a general statement about the education of girls in Australia. The matter so largely depends on the point of view of parents, especially the father who must pay the bills. Public schools up to a certain standard are free. A silly idea prevails in some quarters that to take advantage of this splendid process of development appears to be accepting charity, and indicates a niggardly spirit in sending children to free schools. It is the supreme duty of the State to prepare children for intelligent citizenship. That these schools should be open and free to all is a matter which does not require discussion. As all property-holders contribute by taxation to the upkeep of the system, there can be no ground upon which to make the charge of trying to "get something for nothing," which is so often heard in regard to well-to-do people whose children are pupils at public schools.

In most of the State schools a girl is required to attend until she is fourteen years of age. Later movements depend wholly on circumstances. If the services of girls are required in the home, or
EDUCATION OF GIRLS

if they must become breadwinners among the great masses, their school education ceases at that age. Energetic girls sometimes take up a special course of home-study, but this is not usual, for few of them have any ambition to excel in scholarship.

If girls expect to remain at home and help in household duties, unless some kind of study is continued, fourteen years of age is far too soon to abandon mental training. In these days of scientific knowledge in domestic arts, a trained mind is a great aid in the proper and systematic plans of housekeeping, and no girl can possibly have well-developed mental powers at that age.

The education of the daughters of workpeople is far below par. Even when not hard pressed by circumstances they usually leave school as soon as possible.

Parents assume that it is bad for a girl's brain, or that the nervous system will break down, if studies are continued. "No, no," men often exclaim; "it's no use. Girls are not built for it; not enough brain power." As it falls to the lot of most girls—and this is their natural place—to become home-makers, mothers and wives, men affirm that too much education will, in some mysterious, indescribable manner, unfit and forever disqualify them for these important relations of life. The statement is made without the slightest suggestion of any grounds for an argument.

All forms of education, especially those in vogue under up-to-date systems, are certain to produce enlarged intelligence and develop keener thinking and reasoning ability. It is difficult to see how
this will militate against the performance of duties involved in directing a well conducted home. Men wave the matter to one side with a conclusive sweep of the hand and merely say, "It's a bad thing for a girl to have too much schooling!"

I met an Australian Member of Parliament in the train on one occasion while engaged in conversation with a public school inspector on this very subject. The M.P. piped in with the decisive declaration, "Yes, yes, it's a pity to over-educate girls."

As I knew he was helping to make laws to regulate land settlement, railways, immigration, water schemes, and incidentally, those under which women and children must live, and not only live, but by which they must govern their lives—his reason for these freely expressed conclusions was a matter of interest; I therefore resolved myself into an interrogation point, two yards in length, and confronted him with a volley of questions from which he could not escape until he reached his destination.

Calmly announcing the fact, "Men hate women who think," he continued to discharge a cargo of the microbe of words, for he was touched with the germs of eloquence, by remarking, "A woman with brains is an abomination to mankind. Men," said he, "can do the thinking for their women. We have to think all day, when we come home at night we want our wives to look pretty and be ready to entertain and amuse us."

(Imagine keeping women in a brainless, unthinking state in order that they may measure
down to the mental capacity necessary to entertain their menfolk!)

Numbers of men are of the same opinion, for be it remembered that women are citizens in Australia chiefly because men made their citizenship an issue by which party politicians achieved certain ends.

There is nothing in life that can compare with the delights of thinking. To grasp an idea and travel with it through a long process of evolution; to live with it, cherish it, compelling unfoldment that reveals hidden treasures, to run along with it, although the chase ends in mental chaos where one lands in the solitudes and waste places of thought, is joy unbounded. The journey often leads over some hitherto untrodden way which reveals food for the brain, enlargement for the soul, and inspiration for the battle of life. Yet, in order to remain for ever the toys and playthings of men, girls must give up the supreme pleasure of being able to think, lest in so doing they will disqualify themselves as true companions for men. And—that man is still helping to make laws!

Many men in the best walks of life hold these views in a somewhat modified form. They are wise enough to refrain from expressing them, but their daughters will never be touched with the blight of brain fatigue or by too much education.

To the men who say that under higher education women grow restless we must give answer that such is probably the case. It seems but a reasonable result if education for girls means a growth toward higher ideals, and we all believe it does. If this
be true, certainly there is every reason for restlessness. The only question is: is it better for girls to stagnate amid present low standards or grow restless in their reaching out for higher ideals? That is the point to be settled before one can conclude to what extent a wholesome unrest is an advantage. It is such a material age that the ideal is always, or usually, in the background. Australia, in common with other countries, is increasingly "earthy." As the future mothers come to think of rearing children to live in an "earthy" atmosphere which eats out ideals as the cankerworm pursues its deadly course, no wonder they grow restless and long to become a factor in creating a brighter land of promise. Generally speaking, I should say that educated girls would grow restless, very much so, in their wide and comprehensive view of life. It will be a long and hard struggle with generations of girls before their ideals crystallise and take the form of ideal children in an ideal world. The aim is high.

There is, however, a happy medium, and, to my mind, the Australian girls have not reached that desired point. This is a rapidly moving civilisation. It must bring about a changed attitude on the subject of education for girls. As everyone knows, marriage is on the decrease among both sexes of all classes. Formerly girls expected to "come out" socially as soon after schooldays as possible. A short time, at most, of that life and they lapsed into the appointed place of girldom. They expected to marry. Parents counted on their doing so. They married young and settled down to the responsibilities of wedded life, with more or less satisfac-
tion to themselves and happiness to others. That was the usual thing in other days. For a variety of reasons girls are not marrying as they once did, and, therefore, the future for the girl assumes an entirely different aspect in which the question of education, to meet present-day requirements, demands serious consideration.

Most families boast several girls. Even in households where help is not kept there is no occupation for a standing army of girls who are only consumers and in no practical way producers. A girl of normal mind and strong of body must find some outlet for that surplus energy which is far from consumed by the discharge of social obligations, or the performance of domestic duties.

Then the question arises with the girls, "What can we do? We are tired of home life and have nothing with which to fill in the time." Well may the question repeat itself over and over again. Girls cannot go into the world and meet with success unless they are fully prepared along some given line to enter into competition with the most efficient in that occupation. Boys would not expect to do so and why should girls? The girls of Australia will have to meet these new conditions. It becomes the duty of parents to see that their daughters do not go to the wall in the hard and fierce struggle which is pressing them into service beyond the limits of the home, demanding better preparation for every walk of life. Girls must be properly qualified to meet the coming changes. No matter whether parents like it or not change is here and they will do well to consider, "What shall we do with our
girls? How shall we educate them that they may get the most out of life and make the greatest use of their time?"

For life, after all, is merely getting the most out of it for what we put into it.

The Australian girls will have to give some of their sporting time to more serious consideration of what they are going to do with themselves. Having decided, they must enter upon preparation for the chosen calling with the splendid and robust energy that stamps all their undertakings. The future of the girls of Australia is assured if they wake up and grip the situation.

They are not ignorant and unlearned. They are far from dull. But they have never taken a serious view of life, unless it may be those who have had to enter the grind early and compete in the struggle for bread.
CHAPTER XXVII

THE BUSINESS GIRL

"For at last I saw my pathway lay
   Where men and women bend beneath life's yoke,
   If so be I might help to bear the stroke
   That falls upon the backs of such as they—
   If so be I might make a heart glad
   That now for aught I know is lone and sad."

KENNETH MACKAY.

As the population of Australia is composed very largely of well-to-do working people—but workers, nevertheless—it must follow that vast numbers of young women are engaged in business. Most girls positively refuse to take up domestic service as a calling, although it offers more than double the money to be earned in factories. The lack of domestic help is so keenly felt that the arrival of every ship from England is closely watched by hundreds of housewives, in the hope that maids may be obtained from among the immigrants. The number is so small that it has made no appreciable difference in the ceaseless demand. In one office 284 applications were lodged, and thirty-nine positions were filled.

There is a growing contempt for housework. The reasons for this have been so frequently discussed that it is sufficient merely to state the fact and mention that the chief objections are the length
of hours, confinement to the house in the evening, and the universal custom that all domestics who wish to spend any time with a young man must go into the street in order to have the pleasure of his company. There they huddle in secluded corners, go to parks or parade the public highway. This also applies when maids are engaged to be married to decent young men.

It would be folly to attempt to separate the sexes. Girls will go where they can enjoy the society of men of their own station. To turn them into the street or park, where they are exposed to the form of temptation which frequently leads to their ruin is positively criminal. How any woman with a daughter, or even a conscience, can send another mother's daughter into the face of ruin as coolly as she would turn a cat or stray dog away from her door, is one of the forms of barbarism which even the democracy of a new country has failed to stamp out.

Until these conditions are changed and girls are allowed the mere decencies to which all human beings are entitled, it is hopeless to expect self-respecting girls to take up housework. It is my conviction that new methods in this regard would secure to each home the efficient service of well trained girls. However, it is a world-wide problem and the position, in the main, is the same in Australia as elsewhere.

As most of the girls who are forced to work prefer the factory to other occupation, the question arises, "How shall we bridge over the two years between school age and the factory age of
sixteen?" It has been the custom to grant permits to children of necessitous families. This has been abused beyond all calculation. A Commission investigating the conditions has recommended that the permit system be done away with and hours of work reduced to forty-four per week; that married women should not be employed unless living apart from their husbands; that the sexes be separated while at work and dismissed from the factory at different hours.

Contemplated legislation will make it impossible for girls under sixteen to enter the factory unless it can be shown that they are unable to secure employment in domestic service. This turning aside from housework and the wholesale sweeping of thousands of girls into the factories, is alarming from every standpoint. The hours are long, and after close confinement all day at heavy work, the workers are not inclined to remain indoors during the warm evenings. This prevents any possible advance in self-improvement by way of reading, sewing, or acquiring skill in the arts of housekeeping—the most serious of all aspects.

The wisdom of the Commission is to be commended in urging in the strongest terms possible that the school age should be moved up from fourteen to sixteen years of age, at least for girls, and part of the time spent in the study and practice of domestic economy.

Men, of any and all ages, are more and more going on the land. This multiplies the drift of women and girls towards the factory. The last four years' increase of women operators amounts
to 4.84 per cent., and that of girls to nearly 8 per cent.

In the State of Victoria, 54 per cent. of the girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty are breadwinners, chiefly in shops and factories. They are the future "mothers of men," and what preparation are they making to become efficient mothers and wives? The school system should be rearranged with special view to the proper education of working girls who must cut themselves off from further chance of preparation for the supreme occupation of home-makers, by reducing the number of book-lessons and increasing the time given to practical instruction. In most of the schools cooking is taught, or supposed to be taught, to the girl pupils; but at present there are not enough teachers of domestic science to visit more than one-third of the schools in the Commonwealth. The most vital question in relation to factory and shop girls is a complete change in the system of education which they are now receiving. The State which recognises this will confer a lasting boon upon the whole race by meeting the situation with new methods.

Shop and factory girls work under conditions which usually keep the firm employing them within the bounds of the law. Merely that: no latitude or longitude in favour of the girls. Many of them come from the suburbs, which means from twenty to forty minutes in train or tram; the former by preference, because of the reduced fares and special service for workpeople. As a rule, girls have a cold lunch. In some shops facilities are provided for
MISS MAY MOORE,
One of Australia's most Artistic Photographers.
THE BUSINESS GIRL

making tea. A tea fund is raised by the collection of a penny or two a week from each girl; this furnishes milk, sugar, and tea for all who contribute. The workroom, for the time being, is converted into a tearoom, where the girls indulge in more or less mild gossip and chatter. By the time lunch is over and the tea things cleared away the moment has arrived when they must rush to work again without so much as a breath of fresh air, free from the toil and grind. Some establishments are more generous to their employees than others, and provide the girls with a room which is used exclusively for lunch-hour purposes.

The young ladies of Perth belonging to a political association decided to open a rest-room and lounge for business girls where they could bring their lunch and have hot tea, which is supplied to them at 1d. a pot. That is, the girls come in and a pot of tea is placed on the table. It may be for one girl or for four. They have all they wish, and when passing out each pays a penny. This not only makes it self-supporting, but does away with anything that could be called charity. The girls are very independent, and never suffer patronage in any form—a trait greatly to be admired.

The room is provided with daily papers, magazines, writing-materials, and all conveniences which contribute to a real rest-hour have been arranged. Some of the girls bring books, others needlework, and I have seen them passing an hour with cards. It fills a greatly felt need, and much credit is due to the girls of Perth for their efforts.
There is one feature among shop-girls that is quite unworthy of the many good qualities most of them possess. A larger degree of "class distinction" is found within their ranks than that which exists between those sections of society termed "classes and masses." It can be described only by illustration. We will take three business houses in a great city, in the drapery lines. Smith is known to carry the highest class goods in the glove line. Jones makes a speciality of hats, while at Brown's dress-making is the department in which that particular establishment gives unqualified satisfaction. The customers who always buy the best article are attracted to these reliable places, and are known as regular purchasers for gloves at Smith's, hats at Jones's, and for costumes they never fail to go to Brown. But there are large shops where all-round serviceable goods are on sale at medium prices. These places depend on the great middle class for patronage, and stock for such purchasers. No one would suppose that a shop-girl, or a set of shop-girls, would take their social status from the class of people, the social rank, of the customers dealing with the houses where they are employed. Yet such is the case. The Smith, Jones, and Brown girls really look down upon the girls employed by firms which attract the masses, and there is a real line drawn between them. In dances, clubs, and, in fact, any meeting ground of common interest, they keep strictly to their sets.

This seemed to me so incredible that I resolved to learn the situation first hand by giving a social evening to the shop-girls in one of the large cities.
THE BUSINESS GIRL

In order to make all arrangements, I went at noon-hour to a well-known resort of the girls to propose the matter and take a note as to what form of entertainment would be most acceptable to them. Going quietly to one of the tables which chanced to be made up of Smith-Jones girls, I suggested the plan. Without a moment's hesitation one of the girls—a bright young miss she was—chirped up and said, "Is it for the Jones-Smith-Brown girls? You know, we never mix socially with the girls from other shops."

This same spirit exists, in a more intensified manner, down through the various industrial occupations. In the coal regions there is the greatest possible distinction socially between the different branches of mining, among those actually engaged in getting the coal out of the ground. It almost amounts to drawing a line between the daughters of men who work with a pick and those who wield a shovel. There is but one common meeting ground among all classes of labouring girls and women. That is in the political arena. There they are massed in a solid body shoulder to shoulder, and are such a tower of strength that whenever met they must be reckoned with in planning political success on either side.

The morals of the industrial population are a matter of vital moment. There is certainly a measure of immorality among girls, and there are also numbers of girl-mothers unmarried; but these conditions have obtained from the time of primitive man to the present moment. Australia in general, and Melbourne in particular, has no constitutional
or legal monopoly on all that is vile in human nature.

Someone has agitated, with force and energy which would do credit to a better cause, that a curfew should be rung to keep girls off the streets. The very suggestion is a disgrace to a free and progressive country where women and girls are supposed to be equal with men and boys. Aside from being wrong in principle and undemocratic in spirit, street education is of untold value to both boys and girls under normal and civilised conditions. Streets are places where instructive events take place which could never happen at home. Boys and girls must be taught that the streets are a common ground upon which the entire population meets on a level, and that upon this common ground each is entitled to the utmost courtesy and consideration from the other.

In possessing the freedom of the city girls, as well as boys, gain most useful information. They come to know humanity as it is: no other place affords a similar opportunity for study. The fullness of life may be seen only on the pavement and footpaths. There all classes, occupations, nations, cults, creeds, and conditions wend their way. Happiness and misery, poverty and wealth, health and disease in the streets teach girls in a very special way that they are a part of life. Here they will learn a new love; not that which is born by the study of a mighty past, but one springing up in response to the "call of the street." They will see what help they can give to others, what service they can be in a world which is broader to them,
because street experience alone teaches how they may help repair the injuries a defective social order has inflicted. A curfew to keep girls off the streets in this year of grace is simply monstrous. For ages women have devoted their energy to fitting girls for the world; preparing them for life. In Australia women are citizens, and it becomes their duty not only to fit their girls for the world, but to use their citizenship in making the world a safe place for girls. To make the streets as clean in atmosphere as the home. To invoke the law, not to consign girls to the heat and discomfort of small houses after toilsome days in factory and shop, but to make the streets decent and morally clean places for girls; places where they may receive a phase of profitable education which could not be obtained elsewhere. This is a feature of experience in store for the girls of the near future.

But to return to other lines of instruction for business girls as well as others. The matter of dress is one upon which all are sadly in need of further education. Broadly speaking, I should say that the vanity of dress is the besetting sin of girls. Often brainless and vulgar ones set the pace which is considered “smart.” Each attempts to follow the class immediately above her. Where ambition looms large there is no hesitation in making and moulding after the foremost ranks. Of course every girl has a perfect right to dress as she pleases, no matter how absurd the style or how ridiculous she appears. There is no reason why a business girl should not look as neat and stylish as any other girl; but
it is a mark of great weakness and lack of stability of character when girls who really are obliged to work follow the example of those who have no greater responsibility in life than to make their frocks in the latest cut and their hats with the broadest brim.

Occupation as typist is most popular among business girls. After a course of shorthand and construction they become most proficient. Several have carried off the competition prize for speed at the machine, and also at taking down from dictation. A bright, clever girl who opens an office of her own, finds the profession most remunerative by taking in piecework or going out for emergency work. Salaries are low because of the surplus supply, but special work pays well.

Girls are only beginning to enter professions. Medical science has attracted more than any other calling. In some States, women are debarred from the legal profession. Victoria has three or four fully qualified solicitors, the first but recently appearing before the City Court as instructing counsel. In that State there is also a young woman in full practice as veterinary surgeon. A woman doctor from the Melbourne University has lately been sent by the Government as officer-in-charge of the experiment station to be established in Queensland for the extermination of the prickly pear.

Prejudice in the matter of girls and professions is still rampant, but as a desire increases to qualify by higher education, their right to practise will gradually become more generally recognised. Strange to say, although women have the vote, a large
THE BUSINESS GIRL

majority of men are decidedly of the opinion that girls should be restrained from what constitutes really scientific advancement. But for all that, the business girl must come more fully into her own under the steady evolution of this new social order.
CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FUTURE OF AUSTRALIA

"That Thou wilt set the standard of our race
On planes where merit is the only test;
Where every man dare look Thee in the face,
And every woman honours what is best."

KENNETH MACKAY.

There are many features of present development which form a solid foundation upon which the future of the country may securely rest. The capital cities, save one, are all well protected and advantageously situated with properly equipped shipping facilities to meet present commercial demands. Sydney enjoys the monopoly in harbour beauty, which is now world-famed and justly so, for it is a spot of most entrancing scenery. This acme of all panoramic sunlit glory must be a surprise to the visitor who is most familiar with the many descriptions, which, after all, no pen has fully set forth.

It is impossible to compare it with other harbours, for latitude and longitude produce such varied features that each has a glory all its own. Suffice to say that Nature must have fashioned this spot with no mean or niggardly hand, in a special mould, as compensation for the striking lack of scenic features in many parts of the island.

The streets of all of the capital cities are more
SYDNEY HARBOUR: OCEAN LINERS AT CIRCULAR QUAY.
or less alike. But that is true of all great cities. Australia, however, offers scope for characteristic architecture, but nothing striking has yet been originated. Views of the streets of Sydney, Adelaide, or Melbourne vary so little that one familiar with each city might well feel puzzled in trying to locate certain streets when viewing them in printed form.

Collins Street, Melbourne, and George Street, Sydney, present scenes of great numbers of people constantly going to and fro; while in the quiet and less populated city of Adelaide fewer are seen upon the streets. The general structure of the cities conveys a surprising sameness in city planning and building.

The Post Office of Sydney is a solid piece of work which looks as if it stood upon the rock of ages and had been built for all time. This applies to the University buildings and public institutions. Whatever criticism may be passed upon the style of architecture, certain it is that they are well built and possess no disfiguring feature, although they may lack originality.

The unbounded prosperity of Australia, sustained by reason of the sunshine and rain coming alike to the "just and the unjust," the good and the bad, might well claim the attention of every student of the country. Evidences of it appear in all directions and fairly leap at one from every source.

Good rains, heavy crops, large increase of flocks and herds, a constant output of gold, growing exports, building of public facilities, and enlarged development of transport and traffic, are all included in this general term of national prosperity.
Yes, the spell of the enthralling word—Prosperity—is full upon the land, and is seen in the comfortable homes of the people. The absence of downright poverty to the extent known elsewhere is one of the striking features of life throughout the Commonwealth. The cool, calm, almost unconscious manner in which this condition is accepted by the average person, or the boastful proclamation of the fact by others who almost claim the credit of having produced it, is amusing to the onlooker. Lengthy details are out of the question, but a few figures may be helpful as an illustration of how favoured are these people, and how great a future lies before them when the island becomes peopled from shore to shore.

Take, for instance, the manufacturing industry of New South Wales.

"The return shows that the number of establishments in operation in 1911 was 5,043, an increase of 220 over last year. The total number of persons employed was 108,777, including 82,258 males and 26,519 females. The increase was 6,839 males and 2,192 females. Of the females, 18,798 work in clothing or textile factories.

"The total amount paid in wages during the year was £10,044,494, or £1,353,108 more than in 1910, the increase being 15 per cent. Males received £8,916,753, or an average of £108 8s. 6d. each; and females £1,127,741, or an average of £42 10s. 6d. The corresponding averages for 1910 were £102 9s. 6d. for males; and £37 2s. 8d. for females. The value of plant and machinery used was £12,521,072, or £942,452 more than in 1911. The land and buildings used in connection with the factories were valued at £8,028,226, or £919,834 more than in 1910."

In the northern and semi-tropical State of Queensland a most vigorous development of works
COLLINS STREET MELBOURNE

Photograph by Sears, Melbourne.
carried on by the Government is taking place, as is shown by the report issued in 1912, which states:

"The length of the State railways has been increased by 400 miles during the year, and there are 1,600 miles under construction by the day labour system, to cost six millions. The railway revenue for the preceding eleven months was over two and three-quarter millions, showing a profit of nearly £60,000, after allowing for working expenses and interest. Land settlement is proceeding apace. The revenue for the current financial year has been the highest in our history. The progress of cultivation is satisfactory, and the pastoral prospects are good. Large additional meatworks and wharfage accommodation are projected, to meet the increasing wants. There is a great and profitable activity visible in mining, especially in copper, the high price for which is causing the re-working of mines previously abandoned as unremunerative. The Treasurer regards the financial conditions as satisfactory, and confidently predicts a surplus on this year's transactions, this being the eighth surplus in succession. Splendid rains make the outlook for the next financial year most encouraging."

If settlement but kept pace with this onward-moving force, the future would probably rival the up-building of the United States.

In the Budget Speech, when the Fisher Government came into power, in 1911, it was stated that the total revenue for the closed year was £18,000,000. It was an expressed belief that 1912 would reach the £20,000,000 mark.

It must be pointed out that neither political party is entitled to the credit of the situation, which was due, first, to natural and climatic conditions, and next, to gradual development, the result of many years of progressive plans and policies. But the latter figured in only a small way when com-
pared with the rich gifts of soil, rain and sunshine bestowed by the lavish hand of Nature. The Treasurer of the incoming Ministry was in the happy position of having at his command some six million pounds more for expenditure than the largest sum available to any one of his predecessors.

Four million pounds was to be absorbed in the carrying out of the National Defence Scheme. The policy seems a sound one, as the entire amount will be paid out of revenue. In carefully reviewing the Budget there were no evident points at which financial leakage could occur, but there was what Mr. Fisher termed—when charged with a serious defect in policy—an "inadvertent omission" of anything suggesting an Immigration Policy.

The first excuse the Prime Minister is credited with giving was the absence of a High Commissioner in London to represent the entire Commonwealth. This office was well filled by a man who is said to "advertise Australia even while asleep." Time passed, but the policy was not forthcoming, and the new excuse that there were not suitable quarters in London in which to conduct so great a scheme, was the last resort as a possible explanation of the deficient Budget.

There is no shadow of doubt but the Labour Government, as the exponent of unionism, is against immigration. The cry is, "There should be no further importations of workers until provision is made for the people already here."

Reports of Commissions appointed to go thoroughly into the labour market of demand and supply prove that there is not an employable man,
woman, or child who could not obtain occupation at a living wage if he or she is competent.

Until the end of time there will be a larger or smaller number of unemployed in Australia as well as elsewhere. There are idle journalists because they do not know how to write, just as there are unemployed in every craft because they are inefficient in the business or trade which, by preference, they seek to follow. This is often the case with good, honest men and women, who choose work for which they are wholly unqualified. But for one competent to do the thing he understands, and who will stick to his job, abundant employment may be found.

A second argument of the unthinking is that the new-comer will displace the present worker. It does not require great mental strain to figure out that every worker who lands here is not merely a producer; he is a consumer. If it chances to be a man with a goodly brood, he is a very large consumer of the products of other workmen.

If a thousand immigrants landed in Australia next week, they would very soon give employment to another thousand, and so the consumption would outrun the production of the average family.

Australia is the largest importer, in proportion to its population, of any country in the world: £65,000,000 annually. Consider what that means! Goods are imported because they are cheap, and cheap foreign goods, or even English goods, mean slave labour and sweating prices, pure and simple. Let me repeat, that Australia, according to its population, is the largest consumer of sweated
slave labour in the world. I say slave, because, if workers are obliged to submit to sweating wages in order to keep on earth—that is slavery.

It is the production of overworked and under-paid toilers which finds largest consumption in Australia from abroad.

Wage Boards in Australia protect the worker. At the first suggestion of under-pay, recourse is had to these tribunals; yet those very same toilers are the large consumers of goods produced under conditions so awful as to make description impossible. Distance, with the unthinking, seems to alter cases. In regard to Australian manufactured goods, everyone is interested to know under what conditions they are produced; but when they come rolling in, reeking with almost the life-blood of other workers—well, that is another thing.

To illustrate the point under consideration. In the city of Lithgow union men refused to handle the output from these works. "Why?" Because the manager was guilty of the crime of allowing skilful non-union men to earn bread. But, make a note of this fact, the unionists unhesitatingly handled imported iron, produced by the worst sweating system known to human depravity.

To stand for a non-sweating system in Australia and benefit by the degrading conditions of workers in other lands, is a disloyalty to principle that one is not looking for, in face of this just and mighty outcry against sweating.

The only perfectly honest course to pursue is to take a stand against the products of the foreign
KING WILLIAM STREET, ADELAIDE.
sweater with as much energy as that displayed in putting down the evil in Australia. That, and that alone, represents true unionism.

It follows then, that the entire future of Australia depends upon an effective immigration policy, fostered and pushed forward by the Federal Government as well as by those of the States, in order that the Commonwealth may live out its principles of democracy, and become self-supporting.

During the ten years which terminated in 1911, the Commonwealth Year Book states the gain in population to have reached only about half a million. The localities in which an increase is recorded are those following an immigration policy, more or less progressive.

Every new country of the world is, at the outset, confronted with the question of people. The natural problem, then, is, in what manner and by what inducements may those who wish to better their conditions be landed on these shores?

Australia is the rightful heir to a heritage into which no other country has entered. Experience of all older nations has, like a protecting mantle, enfolded her. The mistakes of legislation, false and decaying social orders, defective systems of industrial and commercial regulations, inoperative constitutions, and all other experimental enactments, which have been put to the test, proving their strength or their weakness, are like an open book before the people of Australia. Results are written upon every phase of national life where they have been in operation. Truly, those who run may read.

America had to learn the lessons for herself in
the costly school of experience. Blunders and unsuccessful experiments will long constitute a menace to future generations which will have to make good those mistakes.

Here, if wisdom prevailed, there need be no brain-wrecking study upon questions of how to undo what the men of to-day are hammering out. There need be no old-world problems to solve, no wholesale human destruction before the lifeboats of just laws are launched. No, Australia may be the Land of Promise for the people, if men, not consumed with self-interest, personal gain, and unholy ambitions, become the law-makers for the future of this great land.
CHAPTER XXIX

REMINISCENCES OF MY FIRST VISIT TO AUSTRALIA

"Here’s to Australia! In which land
   No ruthless war has stained the soil;
Where plenty waits for every man
   With energy, and brain, and toil.

"Here’s to Australia! May she be
   A monument of truth and worth;
By purest laws, and noblest aims,
   The freest land upon the earth."

ANON.

The most delightful memory of a visitor to Australia
must ever centre around the home life of the people.
With my journal, which includes a daily record of
my first visit to this country open before me, I fully
realise the extent of hospitality which has been
lavished upon me in the course of thousands of
miles of travel, in the days when facilities for getting
about were often limited to horse-power, frequently
without the luxury of a conveyance. Universal
kindness was extended in all directions, from Govern-
ment Houses to the canvas tents of the goldfields,
silver and tin mines, as well as the workman’s cottage
of the timber camp. In hundreds of homes have I
been made a welcome guest where the best that
warm hearts could offer was none too good. Fully
conscious of the generous spirit in which all classes
have taken me into the bosom of the family, I take
this opportunity of acknowledging my debt of
gratitude to the public at large for the strength of its support in the great and worthy causes which I have officially represented; also to individuals who have made my work easier and life happier in the fullness of enriched friendships.

Aside from my profession (literary work), in my numerous trips around the world, I have always officially represented some great moral movement to which I have been glad to give honorary service, and lend a helping hand as time and opportunity afforded.

Twenty-two years ago I was sent around the world, the first young woman to make such a tour as the accredited representative of any enterprise. In addition to the work connected with my profession, I represented the National Women’s Temperance Union of the United States. There was no World’s Union at that time. It was my hope to establish it in the various countries I should visit in the interests of the magazine. I represented the organisation for twelve years, during which time I visited about fifty countries, from Alaska to the Cape of Good Hope, and from Iceland to Ceylon, including the Islands of the Sea. My work for the Women’s Christian Temperance Union was entirely self-supporting. I had the pleasure of rendering this most abundant service for the Cause without ever asking or receiving a penny in compensation, or any contribution to my travelling expenses from the Society I represented. All work undertaken in the interests of philanthropic or moral reforms has been done quite aside from my profession, and it is most gratifying to be able to record the fact that
MISS ACKERMANN AT THE TIME OF HER FIRST VISIT TO AUSTRALIA.
I have never drawn a farthing from the treasury of any such an organisation. This is, to me, the greatest joy of my strenuous activities.

A young woman had never yet spoken in public throughout the Australian Colonies, and the attitude of many toward so great an innovation as a young person loose and at large in the world, was more or less hostile, for it was something of a shock to conservative ideas. Women were not yet citizens. Ministers often refused to open their churches to a woman, and as for the pulpit!—the profanity of the unhallowed tread of woman in the holy of holies, which the ages had decreed were the exclusive rights of men, was out of the question. One minister sent a post card, saying: "I will have nothing to do with a female wandering star of no matter what magnitude." From time to time, I received similar expressions of encouragement, calculated to cheer and inspire a young woman alone in a strange land.

Hostility to my work was in no sense personal any more than was the hospitality which I received. Any woman, young or old, speaking in public, would have been "despised and rejected" by one class and as heartily welcomed by another. It was but a phase in a country in which women were not even "persons."

In the course of planning a line of travel through the Western colony, now the State of Western Australia, I received a letter from a leading Christian worker, advising me not to come, as the community was not prepared for so wide a departure from usages as that of a woman appearing upon
the public platform. It is easy to understand how this letter, to one of any purpose, might be interpreted as "a special call." I, therefore, wrote to the good man, saying that his letter was a Divine call to visit the colony, and I would arrive bag and baggage on a given steamer.

Imagine my surprise in reaching the port of Albany to find that my correspondent, who was a Member of Parliament, had journeyed some hundreds of miles to meet me, bringing with him a free pass over the railway and personally conducting me to the capital!

It was the custom for both passengers and train to rest all night at a small station and proceed the next day. This brought us to Perth in the middle of the afternoon.

A coffee-palace was in the course of construction, and it had been planned that I should lay the corner-stone. A band of music, and hundreds of citizens met the train and escorted me to the scene of my introduction to the public.

Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Mayor, Members of Parliament, and representatives of all manner of Friendly Societies. I was then and there made an Honorary Life Member of everything possessing a name by which to call itself. The corner-stone, which was to be "duly put in place," had been inscribed with my name, and the date upon which I went through the arduous manual labour of declaring it "well and truly laid." It was also draped, in honour of my nationality, with an American flag. Amid tremendous cheering I received the trowel, made of native materials and decorated
THE GENERATION OF WOMEN SET TO WORK FOR THE W.C.T.U. DURING MISS ACKERMANN'S FIRST VISIT TO AUSTRALIA.
with an immense white bow, with which I performed the ceremony, and without any protest from the Labour Union or causing a strike as a non-unionist, I accomplished my first work in the building line in Australia.

Grave doubts were entertained on the part of certain individuals as to the probability of the public supporting meetings, by way of attendance, at which a woman was the speaker. With much fear and greater trembling the Town Hall was secured and announcements made, purely as an experiment. "If attendance warranted," the meetings would continue.

It was a firm belief with me that the people would come out in large numbers, merely as a matter of natural curiosity. Under the then existing circumstances any woman would probably have attracted great crowds, especially as the spirit of opposition on the part of individuals, and as strong a determination of the speaker to obtain a hearing as a matter of principle, had been fully discussed.

The hall seated 1,500, but 2,000 was the regulated limit. At the first meeting the place was packed. It was thought well to risk another night and yet another, until three weeks had passed. I spoke nightly to overflowing audiences for twenty-one successive nights, beside two day meetings on Sundays. Special trains were put on between the port and the capital and also to inland towns, giving an opportunity to outside residents to reach Perth, and return late at night.

It was a source of gratification, eighteen years
later, to return to that city and meet at the civic reception kindly tendered by the Mayor and City Council, old friends who had progressed with the spirit of the times, as was evinced in the fact of the City Fathers thus taking public notice of a woman.

At the request of a committee of citizens, I gave a course of lectures on six consecutive nights, upon the great and moving events in remote countries, including social, religious, industrial and economic questions. Although an admission was charged, hundreds were turned away nightly, and the police ordered the doors to be closed half-an-hour before the time announced for the lectures.

"The world does move!"

Journeying over the colonies in those days had not reached the point of convenience enjoyed by the travelling public to-day. But the rough places were smoothed by the human touches of sympathy, great support in my public work, and every possible aid given by officials and departments in my professional pursuits.

After speaking in several hundred places, where local branches of the Women's Christian Temperance Union were organised, I called the first Inter-Colonial Convention of Women held in Australia, in order to found the National Women's Christian Union of Australasia. The meetings were held in Melbourne, and I was elected president of Australasia, an office which I was able to hold for only a sufficient length of time to see my work well-rooted and grounded in the colonies. In addition to organising branches in each colony and founding
"FATHER" LUCAS, OF SYDNEY.
a national body, over 20,000 pledges were signed at the public meetings, and numbers of men and women were initiated into the I.O.G.T.

The public work reached its climax at the second Convention of the National Union held in Sydney, over which I presided as Australasian President, for ten days.

The delegates came from all the colonies, and the day and evening sessions were attended by the general public. On the Sunday during which the Convention was sitting, thirty-two delegates, women, of course, occupied pulpits, speaking upon the aims and objects of the work which had brought the women from regions so remote as to necessitate thousands of miles of travel.

As I was to leave Australia and continue my course over the world, a farewell was arranged at the close of the Convention to be held in the Sydney Town Hall. Arrangements were of a most complete character. During my visits to Sydney, the oldest temperance workers in New South Wales, fondly known as "Mother and Father Lucas," extended hospitality to me. It was a real home, a place where I was "mothered" by the kind heart of this now sainted woman, and adopted as a sister by the young people of the family.

"Father" Lucas did me the honour to escort me to my farewell in an open carriage, drawn by four white horses. Six bands of music and three thousand citizens, about half of whom were women, formed a sort of guard-of-honour and marched behind the carriage. It was a wonderful sight. As so great an ovation had never before been given to
a woman, the event naturally created great interest and unbounded enthusiasm.

Volumes of sound issued from the bands and thousands of spectators lined the streets, cheering and waving handkerchiefs as the carriage came in sight. The demonstration waxed louder and louder, until we reached the Town Hall, where "Father" Lucas made way for me through a mass of humanity which filled the hall to overflow, and applauded and cheered while the bands played.

My name and face had become familiar to school children through numerous addresses given at both public and private institutions of learning. Not to be outdone by the "grown-ups," the children were given an opportunity to farewell me the next afternoon in the same building.

Miss Lucas, head mistress of the largest District School in New South Wales, undertook the drilling of 5,000 children, who were to do me honour before I left. It is doubtful if a body of children have ever been so well trained in so brief a period, as this army of robust, vigorous boys and girls, representing the future of this country. So great was the energy put into the drill, that Miss Lucas broke down under the strain of nightly rehearsals.

The children were so arranged at intervals as to fall into line as the main body passed each rendezvous. We drove along with the procession, and it was a sight never to be forgotten. The splendid vigour of the shouting hundreds! How they yelled at every glimpse of the carriage! How glad they were to have a chance to scream!—they love it!
MY FIRST VISIT TO AUSTRALIA

On they marched. A volume of force in action, and sound in motion. Boys made up small bands, and the manner in which they beat the drums, blew upon the wind instruments, indicated that the enjoyment of the occasion was by no means one-sided.

The hall reached, they marched to their places in an orderly fashion. The music continued from the band, while the excited children whispered or called out: "Here she is! See her? Throw them now!" and similar exclamations, after which the "throwing" took place, in the form of single flowers from the many, and bouquets from others. What a sight! Energy enough to make and build a nation, was gathered within those four walls on that memorable afternoon. The perfume of the flowers from those children entered my life, and I have carried the fragrance in the form of increasing love for the joyous enthusiasm of childhood.

Such was the public recognition of free service rendered in the cause of a common humanity. These scenes repeat themselves again and again when I recall the hospitality of private individuals and the encouragement of the moral-loving public of Australasia.

Having set Women's Christian Temperance Union branches to work in many parts of the world, I left the organised forces to carry on their own usefulness, and turned my attention to work among girls, which includes my official connection with that new army of girls, originally founded by the Bishop of London and known as the Girls’ Guild of Service.
In a visit to the Southern Hemisphere, eighteen years after I first landed on those shores, I succeeded in setting a second generation to work in many centres of different States. There were already two Centres, one in Sydney, and the other in Adelaide. Hundreds of girls were rallied to the movement, and have now become a great and living force in all affairs connected with girl life.

The love, tenderness, sympathy and hospitality of the people of Australia will come in future years like a "Benediction," following the unceasing toil of a life-interest in those things which endure while the "Ages of Eternity roll."
INDEX

A
ABORIGINES, Benedictine mission to, 116 et seq.; characteristics of, 117–8
Adelaide, strike of cadets at, 170
Anarchists' Association, meeting of, 132–4
"Anti" spirit in politics, 154
Architecture, non-characteristic type of, 293
Art in Australia, lack of, 41; no encouragement for native, 41–3
Australian "type" not yet fixed, 37–8

B
Backblocks, life in, 59 et seq.; lack of nurses in, 61; motherhood in, 63; mission work in, 135 et seq.; life in, 138 et seq.
Barton, Mr. E., 145
Benedictine Mission, 115
Betting, prevalence of, 49 et seq.
Birds, songless, 39
Birth-rate, decline of, 94
"Black Boy" tree, 9
Blue Mountains, 6
Boys, and compulsory military training, 99
Brentano, Prof., 97
Brisbane, strike riots at, Mr. Fisher and, 161; causes of, 175; Government attitude to strikers, 188–9
Bush-fire, description of, 12

C
Cadets' strike at Adelaide, 170
Canberra, 34 (see also Capital City)
Capital and labour, positions of, 166, 184
Capital City, site of, 28; discussion of, 29–30; plans for, 30–1; development of, 31–4
Card-playing, prevalence of, among women, 51
Cattle as a national asset, 18
Children, training of, 87–8; temperament of, 88; education of, 90; work as fruit pickers, 91–2; as rabbit catchers, 93
Child-workers, 91
Christian Science, progress of, 127
Church, the, and politics, 109–111; responsibilities of, 110
Churches, and maternity nurses for the backblocks, 65
Church-going, decrease of, 102
Churchwomen and citizenship, 224
City councils, women and, 247
Clannishness of families, 71
Climate, 9
Collins Street, Melbourne, 293
Commonwealth Constitution and women's franchise, 215
Commonwealth offices in London, 26
Commonwealth Parliament, work of, 145; payment of
members of, 147; democratic composition of, 149

girls as, 243, 282; Commission of Inquiry into conditions of, 283; conditions of life of, 284

Family cliannishness, 71
Family life, 76 et seq.
Federal Constitution, 145
Federal elections, women voters and, 213, 222
Federal Government, composition of, 146; cost of, 146-7; and Interstate Labour Conference, 155, 162; and Trade Unionism, 186; unrepresentative position of, 222
Federal Parliament, scene in, 222
Federation, legislation under, 145
Female workers and sick leave, 254-9
Fisher, Hon. Andrew, and Brisbane Riots, 161; and hours of labour, 163; on labour question, 189; Parliamentary reforms of, 199; and Immigration policy, 296
Flood, horrors of, 11
Flora, distinctive character of, 14
Flower "excursions," 15
Flowering trees, 9
Flowers, delight of people in, 15
Forrest, Sir John, water scheme
Bill of, 20; and women's franchise, 211
Franchise, neglect of the, 149; women and the, 208-10; how given to women in Western Australia, 211
Froude on Australia, 3
Fruit-picking, children and, 91

D
Dam in New South Wales, 22
Deakin, Mr., and Government circular on Unionism, 187
Dean of Newcastle on gambling, 49
De Kontski in Australia, 40
Divorce Laws, inequalities of, 234; women and reform of, 237
Doctors, women as, 290
Domestic science, lack of teachers of, 284
Domestic servants, scarcity of, 87, 268, 281; betterment of, 282
Domestic service as well-paid employment, 260
Drought, terrors of, 10
Dry season, 12
Dudley, Lady, and nurses for the backblocks, 61

B
Edinburgh, Duke of, visit of, 39
Education, 90; for girls, conditions of, 274 et seq.
Eight-hour celebration, 163
Eight-hour movement, triumph of, 182
Elections for Commonwealth Parliament, unrepresentative results of, 149; status of candidates at, 194
Employers' Association, action at Brisbane of, 177-8
Excitement, demand for, 46-7

F
Factory workers, women and
INDEX

G
Gambling, prevalence of, 49 et seq.
George Street, Sydney, 293
Gilbert, Mr. Webb, 43
Gilruth, Dr., and administration of Northern Territory, 27
Gippsland, trees of, 8
Girl, evolution of Australian, 261; education of, 274 et seq.
Girls, lack of legal protection for, 230
Gold, as a national resource, 18
"Gold fever," 18, 20
Goldfields, gambling at, 54
"Gold-rush," a, 20
Goldstein, Miss Vida, 240
Government employees and wages, 249
Government House, Society and, 267-8
Guild of Service, 271

H
Hatters' strike, 168
High Commissioner, the, 296
High Court and Labour Conference, 160, 189
Hobart, Interstate Labour Conference at, 155
Holder, Sir F., death of, 202
Home life, 70 et seq.
Horse-racing, betting and, 51-3
Housework, contempt of girls for, 281
Husband as head of the house, 77

I
Iceland, Women's Political League of, 3
Illegitimacy, laws relating to, 227-9
Immigration, limitation of, 19
Immigration policy, Federal Government and, 296
Imports, 297; value of, 4
Industrial courts, 166
Infants, care of, 95
International Council of Women, 3
Inter-Colonial Convention of Women at Melbourne, 306; at Sydney, 307
Interstate Labour Conference, enormous power of, 154 et seq.
Irrigation in Western Australia, 21

J
Jenolan Caves, 7
Johnson, the pugilist, reception of, 58

K
Kalgoorlie, and Transcontinental Railway, 24
Kangaroo Paw, the, 14

L
Labour and Capital, position of, 166, 184
Labour and Unionism, 167
Labour party and Commonwealth Government, 149; and Western Australian Government, 150; and Interstate Conference, 157-9; defeat in South Australia of, 179; and appointment of judges, 189; methods and men, 192; Parliamentary "reforms" of, 198
Land, population and, 16
Launceston, theatre strike at, 172
Leasehold, question of, in Northern Territory, 28
INDEX

Legal status of women, 226
Legislative Councils, membership of, 148
Liberal Party, lack of method in, 151; methods of, 193
Lucas, "Father," 307
Lucas, Miss, 308
Lucerne, wonderful crops of, 17
Lyceum Theatre, Sydney, Methodist work in, 122

M
Mace, the, removed from Commonwealth Parliament, 198
Malthus, "Principles of Population," 97
Marriage, decrease of, 95
Marriage question, women and, 237
Melbourne, Anarchists’ Association in, 132–4; Inter-Colonial Conference of Women at, 209; Collins Street, 293; Inter-Colonial Convention of Women at, 306
Melbourne Cup Day, 52
Melbourne University, woman doctor of, 290
Methodist Mission, 122
Military Defence, Act of Universal Training for, 99
Mine Employees Association and Tasmanian strike, 168
Ministry, the, position of, 113
Mission work in backblocks, 135 et seq.
Mitchell, Nellie (Melba), 40
"Monday Musicals," 39
Morals of industrial workers, 287
Motherhood, in the backblocks, 63; scientific question of, 97–8
Mothers, overworking of, 86

"Mothers’ schools," 96
Municipal Councils, women excluded from membership of, 248
Municipal government, lack of suitable candidates for, 195
Music, love of, in Australia, 38–40; in the family, 74

N
National Anthem of Australia, 40
National Defence scheme, 296
National Women’s Temperance Union, 302
"Never-Never," the, 10; women in, 59
New Norcia Mission, 116 et seq.; girls’ college of, 121
New South Wales and capital city, 29; and State lottery, 57; State Labour Conference of, and industrial matters, 163; scene in Parliament of, 204; women factory workers in, 244; prosperity of manufactures in, 294
"No Man’s Land," 10
Northern Territory, problem of, 26; development and administration of, 27
Nurses, lack of, in backblocks, 61

O
O’Connor, Mr. E. J., water-supply scheme of, for mines in Western Australia, 21
Orchestra strike, 170
Originality, lack of, in Australia, 2

P
Paddy’s Market, Sydney, musical festivals in, 40
INDEX

Parents and children, 73; anomalous laws relative to, 231
Parliament, “scenes” in, 201 et seq.
Payment of members of Parliament, 147; disadvantages of, 196
Perth, great reservoir near, 21
Chamber of Commerce of, and gambling, 56; shop-girls' club at, 285; early visit to, 304
Pigeon-flying and betting, 55
Pioneers, disadvantages of, 19; hardships of, 60; heroism of women, 60
Politicians, status of, 191 et seq.
Politics as a trade, 196
Population, sparseness of, 16; in cities, 17; no distinct Australian type, 37; increase of, 299
Postal Department of Commonwealth, women workers in, 254–8
Postal voting, abolition of, 150
Preachers, inadequate payment of, 245
Preachers' strike, 169
 Preferential voting, compulsory, in Western Australia, 151
Presbyterians, and shortage of ministers, 113
Prison accommodation, disgraceful condition for women of, 234
Prosperity, and politics, 224; evidences of, 293

Q
Queensland, Government works in, 295
Quick, Sir John, 200

R
Rabbit-catching, children and, 93
Railways, transcontinental, 23; progress of, 22; change of gauge and military movement on, 23
Rainfall, uncertainty of, 10
Rainy season, recuperative effects of, 13
Religious life, 101 et seq., 124 et seq.
Revenue figures, 295
Revival services, popularity of, 124
Rinking, popularity of, 47
Rivers, scarcity of, 10

S
Sabbath, as day of pleasure; 104–6
Salvado, Father, 116, 118–20
Sand, plant life in the, 14
Savings banks, average deposits in, 81
School age for girls, 282
Schreiner, Mrs. Olive, 36
"Self-Realisation," sanctum of, 126
Shaw, Miss, on Australia, 3
Sheep as a national asset, 18
Shop-girls, conditions of life of, 284–7
Sick-leave of male and female postal workers compared, 254–7; in commercial houses, 258–9
Six-hour labour movement, 162
Socialist Church, and Sunday school, 127
Socialistic legislation, 2, 4
"Society girls," 262
"Soul of Australia" not yet
discovered artistically, 41; in the backblocks, 59
South Australia, defeat of Labour Party in, 179; and women's franchise, 214; results of Labour defeat in, 197
Spiritualism, progress of, 125
State Constitutions and Federation, 148
Stevenson, Rev. P., 123
 Strikes and their causes, 165 et seq.
Summer, aspect of country in, 12
Sunday school, interest in, 106; Socialist, 127
Sweating, churches and, 245; encouragement of foreign, 297-8; of women teachers, 251-2
Sydney, musical festivals in, 40; betting in, 51; Labour conference at, 157; eight-hour celebration at, 162; George Street, 293; Post Office at, 293; Inter-Colonial Convention of Women at, 307; harbour, 292; town hall, Convention meetings at, 307; town hall, Guild of Service exhibition at, 271

T
Tasmania, strike in, 168; women workers in, 244
Taylor, Rev. G. W., 123
Telephone girls and sick leave, 256-7
Temperament of people, 46
Temperance and the Church, 110
Theatre, sensationalism in the, 48
"The Commonwealth of Australia," by Bernard R. Wise, 51

Times, The, and Australia, 3
Torres, Bishop, 120, 122
Totalisator, Commission of Inquiry into working of the, 51, 98; women and, 52-3
Trade Unionism, tyranny of, 167 et seq.; 185
Trade Unions and Interstate Labour Conference, 155; expenditure of, 180; membership and benefits of, 181; and eight-hour movement, 182; Government contracts and, 187-8; and foreign sweating, 298
Trades Hall and unnecessary strikes, 179; and mandate to Government, 187
Tram-workers' strike at Brisbane, 175
Transcontinental Railway, 23; building of, 24; methods of work on, 25
Trees, giant, 8; flowering, 9
Typists, girls as, 290

U
Unemployment, 297

V
Victoria, and school holidays, 91; and Interstate Labour Conference, 161; and women's franchise, 212; and illegitimacy, 228; girl breadwinners in, 284; women solicitors in, 290

W
Wage Boards, 298
Wages and women, 249 et seq.
Water question, 10; and the mines, 20
INDEX

Water supply in Western Australia, 21; in New South Wales, 22
Watson, the Hon. J. C., 200
Wedding customs, 283
Western Australia, gold rush in, 20; water supply scheme in, 21; non-representative Government of, 150; compulsory preferential voting in, 151; slump of Liberalism in, 197; women and elections in, 222-3; and the women's franchise, 211
Wharfmen's strike, 172
Wheat, cultivation of, 17
Whippet racing, 55
Wise, Bernard R., on betting, 51
Women, as gamblers, 52; courage of, in backblocks, 61; as mothers, 86; and the franchise, 207 et seq.; political position of, 207, 218-21, 240, 242; their legal status, 226; and municipal councils, 247-8
Women electors, classes of, 218
Women factory inspectors, need for, 245
Women teachers, low salaries of, 250
Women's Christian Temperance Union and the franchise, 208-9
Women's suffrage, views on, 217
Wooden "fruits," 10
Wool, value of exports of, 19
Working-class, thrift of, 81
Working men and church-going, 102, 107, 112
Working women as electors, 221

Y
Yass-Canberra, 30
"Yellow Peril," the, 23
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