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**AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF ITS
GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT**

BY

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DIAMOND JUBILEE CONFERENCE - WARRNAMBOOL, 1931



Australian Natives' Association

Its Genesis and History

*Speech made by the Treasurer,
The Honorable James Flume-Cook*

Diamond Jubilee Year

Warrnambool Conference

10th March, 1931



MELBOURNE:

Horticultural Press Pty. Ltd., 78a Victoria St.

Mr. Chief President,—

Brother Members of the Conference,—
and Visitors:

The Passing of Time.

IN all human affairs there comes a time when it is desirable to review past efforts. For the Australian Natives' Association this is such an occasion. Progress is only discernible in retrospect. It is by looking back that we may gather how far we have advanced. In the same way may we again see the hills of difficulty we climbed at the outset; bring back to memory the adjoining valleys of doubt which, upon the feet of hope we dared to tread; and look once more upon that broad highway which, having been reached, we have followed fearlessly until the present day!

This is the Diamond Jubilee Year of our Association. Sixty years ago the far-sighted fathers of this organisation laid the foundations upon which it stands to-day. They builded better than they knew. But what inspired them to the task? What were the forces which prompted the pioneer members to establish such a body? Why did they link together—in an indissoluble union—a Friendly Benefit Society, a Mutual Improvement Association, and a National Political Institution?

The answers to these questions are to be found in the effects which certain historic events had upon the character and conscience of their forbears; events which, mainly connected with what is now the State of Victoria, had a pre-determining influence in the creation of the Association.

The Early Settlers.

The earlier settlers in Victoria were men and women of an independent freedom loving type, who preferred a solitude and unhampered conditions to a congested city and the restraints which attached to the laws and customs of the land from which they came. And, fortunately, they found that in this land of peace and sunshine there was to

be obtained that tranquility and repose, and that marvellous liberty of thought and action of which they had so often dreamed. Thus happily content, they set themselves to work out their own destiny in their own way, under highly favourable conditions. Little by little they made more or less successful efforts to translate their political views into the law of the land. What mattered it to them that Europe was being harried from end to end by the all-conquering Napoleon! If they heard anything at all about it, the news was so old when they received it, that the tales told savoured more of the imagination than of sober reality. The name of Wellington may have been known to some few of them; but who amongst them realised that, in this young General, a military star was arising whose genius was, at Waterloo, to effectively check the career of "the man of destiny!" As a matter of fact, things close at hand loomed up much more largely and received much more attention. The attempted landing of a ship-load of convicts had been sufficient to show the mettle of these early builders of the State. Such an outrage upon their preconceived notions of an Arcadian existence was not to be tolerated for a single moment. These were men of action, as their previous history showed. With a promptitude and decisiveness beyond all praise, the ship was forced to take her unwanted human cargo elsewhere; and never again was it sought to thrust such an indignity upon these resolute upholders of a crime-free country.

The First Thoughts of Federation.

Their peaceful avocations resumed, these self-reliant pioneers turned their attention to local development, and, later, to the matter of obtaining control of their own public affairs. When, after much agitation, Victoria was severed from New South Wales and granted self-government, the event was celebrated in a fashion befitting the occasion. But even at the very moment of severance, and in the height of their pleasure at the independence thus gained, there were many thoughtful men who voiced the view that under different circumstances a re-union must sooner or later be obtained. In short, they were of opinion that although separation was necessary for local progress, Federation, for other purposes, was equally desirable. That is the first fact to be remembered in connection with the birth of the Australian Natives' Association.

The Discovery of Gold.

At a little later stage, another important event was to have a very special effect upon the minds of those who conceived the idea of founding the Organisation as it exists to-day. For years the Government had offered a substantial reward for the discovery of gold. None had been found. Then, like a clap of thunder, there came to men's ears the fact that the long-looked-for precious metal was to be had, and had in plenty. Immediately there set in such a fever of excitement as the world has seldom witnessed. Men went mad with the lust of gold. Businesses, avocations, ambitions, were all thrown aside. The city, once the pride of its citizens, suddenly became deserted; its streets a wilderness; its houses the haunts of spiders, rats, and other vermin. All that had appeared so stable and solid was, in the twinkling of an eye, so to speak, brought to ruin and decay. And the lure of gold had done it all.

But behold a miracle! Almost as suddenly, it seemed, the city that had emptied, filled again. From far across the seas—as if by magic—came tens of thousands of wide-eyed, eager, adventurous men. They, too, had heard of the wondrous goldfields of Victoria; and careless of conditions, reckless of hardships, resolute only to succeed, out they came to make their fortunes! The once deserted city flourished again. It became the mart for men and material “off to the diggings!” Bustle, excitement, and eager activity everywhere reigned supreme. Night and day the racket raged; for, as fast as one set of men were equipped to travel to the fields, another set, feverishly anxious to have their needs supplied and also get away, were jostling them from their places! What a welter of excitement, nervous haste, restlessness, passionate greed, anxiety to succeed, and the utter disregard of everything except the speediest and easiest means to the obtainment of riches! Here was the second mighty factor tending to the establishment of the A.N.A., though there were none as yet that knew it! On went the game, and off went the men! From place to place they swept in the eager desire to become quickly rich. One “rush” (appropriate word!) succeeded another; abatement, there was none! For all those who returned to the city impoverished, broken in health, and disappointed, others, inspired by the latest tales of fresh discoveries, sallied forth upon the high adventure. Town and country alike were smitten with the fever. It lasted for years, and broke out again and again in various forms!

Amidst it all children were born and bred. They began to grow up ere the excitement died away. Then it was that, among the more thoughtful of their fathers, came the desire to correct the inherited tendencies they saw developing in the children. Inbred restlessness must be supplanted by calmer nervous conditions; and to do this successfully the young must be trained to view life in its right perspective. The desire to get rich without effort or endeavor must give place to the study of economics—personal and public. Coarseness bred of rough conditions must be eliminated and the neglect of culture remedied. Those safeguards of the nation which, in the passionate search for gold, had been more or less swept away, must be restored and strengthened; in short, character and capacity must be elevated to their proper places. In contradistinction to the fathers' idea of a fortune made in Australia to be spent in England, Scotland, or Ireland, the children must be educated to a proper regard for the land that bore them; the fires of an Australian patriotism must be lighted!

Birth of the A.N.A.

Such were the high ideals of those clear-eyed men who, unspoiled by the merciless conditions of the times immediately connected with, and following the discovery of gold, looked into the future and planned to set the State in order. Did they succeed? Not altogether! But two things they accomplished which made the others possible. They established the system of free, secular, and compulsory education, much as we have it to-day. That was a momentous and historic achievement! They also succeeded in so impressing their views upon the rising generation that, in April, 1871, there met together an earnest and enthusiastic band of native-born Australians, resolved to put in practice, if they could, the theories that inspired them. To-day, to all but a very few, their names are absolutely unknown! The inspiration was individual; the action corporate; and in the organisation they founded the result of their united endeavors stands boldly revealed—a justification of their optimism and a lasting tribute to their memories.

“Early Phases of the Association.”

But nothing they attempted was immediately achieved. Development and growth were labored and slow. On one crucial occasion it was resolved that, unless a total of 65

members were obtained, the movement should be abandoned. In the light of present-day success some of the early efforts of the Association to find and sustain itself are of peculiar interest, and cannot be passed without notice.

The first resolution concerning conditions of membership read: "That none but natives of Victoria, and over the age of 18 years, shall be eligible as members of the Society."

The word "Society" was shortly afterwards deleted and the word "Association" put in its place. Further, the title formally adopted was: "Victorian Natives' Association."

Thereafter members' views began to broaden, and, almost to the very day a year later, it was unanimously resolved: "That natives of the Australian colonies be admissible as members of the Association."

At the same meeting it was agreed to substitute the word "Australian" for "Victorian," and so came into existence the "Australian Natives' Association."

To present-day members it will be amusing to learn that much time and attention was given to the question of regalia. The first proposal was for "a blue rosette"; but this was scornfully rejected, apparently because it was far too unpretentious for such an august organisation. Out of the welter of ideas one was seized upon with great enthusiasm, and it was joyfully agreed: "That the regalia shall consist of a blue sash with the Australian Coat of Arms emblazoned on the breast." The size of the Coat of Arms was not mentioned, but—doubtless with the object of conferring dignity and distinction—it was determined: "That the regalia sash shall be five inches in width!" !!!

These momentous decisions were followed by much fuss and bother with respect to the consultation of military tailors, calling for tenders, and other details. Nevertheless—for undiscoverable reasons—the project did not materialise, and so it is that, to this day, members are denied the privilege of sporting sashes—of any width—emblazoned with the Australian Coat of Arms!

A matter of much more importance—and still a rule of the Association—was the decision: "That no member of the Association shall introduce a subject bearing upon religion or (make an) allusion calculated to excite sectarian

feelings, and anyone guilty of such conduct shall be fined or suspended by the Chairman then presiding." !!

But what were the solid bases upon which the founders built, and why were they chosen?

Encouragement of Thrift.

In the first place, thrift, because in the careful husbanding of money and its setting aside for use on adverse occasions, lay the corrective to the thriftlessness and "happy-go-lucky" mentality of the "digging days." Moreover, the proper care of savings was intended to furnish a lead to that closer study of personal and political economy which is of the very essence of individual and national success. Herein also it was hoped to find the antidote to gambling; the newer form of fortune seeking, and the most insidious and persistent of the social ills. And to a certain extent the anticipated results have been realised. But not without struggles and heart-burnings was even a modicum of success achieved. In the very centre of the Association there was established a great yearly art union. For a while the significance of this anomaly—this flat contradiction of the precepts of the Association—passed unnoticed. Then came illumination. This travesty must end! The dignity of the Association must be asserted; its original principles maintained; its prestige restored! And earnest men immediately set about the work. From conference to conference they carried the question. They raised the subject in the branches. Year in, year out, they worked. Members began to think about the matter, and, having done so, with the same sturdy resolution that had characterised their forefathers when they prevented certain undesirable immigrants from leaving the ship that brought them, they sternly cut the art union from the Association's calendar.

Thrift and the Association's Funds.

Returning to the matter of thrift, the successes achieved, in relation to the Association's members and funds, have been truly remarkable. Beginning with a few members in 1871, at the end of the first ten years the number had increased to 430, and the funds, from nothing at all, had grown to £1,120. Twenty years later the membership

was 19,000 odd, and the funds had increased to £126,171. To-day, or thirty years after the last quoted figures, the membership totals 36,708, and the funds have reached the magnificent sum of £1,085,000! But gratifying as this record is, it would be incomplete without some reference to the maintenance costs of the Association during the period under notice, and to the utilisation of what are known as "the Surplus Funds."

On the expenditure side, for services rendered to members, and in various payments made to them or their relatives, the Association has paid away a little over two million sterling, or rather more than twice as much as the value of its present assets.

With regard to the "Surplus Funds," some little explanation is required. They are part of the million odd pounds previously mentioned, and they are so called only because they constitute an amount in excess of the sums required to meet the estimated liabilities. The "estimated liabilities" are ascertained by expert actuarial investigation and valuation. The actuarial valuation is made every five years, and is a compulsory provision of the law relating to Friendly Societies. The purpose of these recurring valuations is to discover whether members' contributions and the accumulated funds are adequate to meet the possible calls which each actuarial examination discloses. Very fortunately for the Association, the scale of payments originally adopted was altered in 1885, and, as a result, a surplus has been shown at each valuation since 1903. The first surplus, in 1908, was a little over £4,500. The last was almost £200,000, and the total of them all amounts to £444,196.

How the Surplus Funds Have Been Utilised.

A few words more as to how the surplus funds have been used to advance the Association, and for the benefit of the members, may be of interest.

For the payment of unemployed members' contributions there has been set aside—£7,000.

Towards the payment of soldier members' contributions during the Great War there was expended—£15,000.

To strengthen the Management Fund of the Board of Directors there has been granted—£25,000.

(Of this sum £20,000 is invested, and the income only is available for expenditure.)

To establish the Surplus Reserve Fund there was allocated—£100,000.

(That sum has been invested, and the income is devoted to Branch Management Funds.)

The distribution is so arranged that the smaller Branches get an advantage, for each Branch, no matter what its membership may be, receives a fixed sum of £5 per year, and, in addition, 2/6 a year for each financial member.

To establish "the Endowment Fund" there has been invested—£130,000.

(The revenue from this sum provides an endowment of £10 for all members who reach 65 years of age, or adds £10 to the funeral allowance of every member at death, no matter what his age may be.)

To the Endowment Fund—out of the last surplus, it is proposed to add—£132,000.

(If this proposal be accepted, the amount of the endowment for each member will be doubled.)

The total of the sums mentioned, including the proposed addition to the Endowment Fund, is £409,000, leaving a trifle over £35,000 to be carried forward to the next valuation.

As a last word it may be added: That all the extra benefits which Branches and members now enjoy—through the funds mentioned—are the result of the individual and collective thrift upon which, financially speaking, the Association is based. No member has been called upon to contribute anything additional in order to secure them. They are in the nature of bonuses, and a tangible tribute to the foresight and wisdom of the founders and earlier members of the Association.

Educational Improvement.

The second thing which the originators of the Association sought to do was to improve the Education of its members. In the Friendly Society benefits of the organisation they provided the cement which was to bind them together, and, by means of what was called "Mutual Improve-

ment," they planned to interest and instruct them in other things than sport and recreation. They knew—none better—that where the schoolmaster leaves off is not the end of intellectual advancement. The education of the intelligent never ends. Observation and experience are faithful teachers, and death alone prevents the acquisition of further knowledge.

For the children there had been provided a State school system of education. As far as that system went it was an immense advance on anything previously attempted. But it necessarily had its limitations, and these well-wishers of the coming nation arranged to carry on the instructional work of giving members, in the Branches, frequent opportunities to discuss with their fellows, everything of interest to themselves or to the State. That the plan succeeded is not open to doubt, for, in almost every station of life—profiting by the experience gained in the Branches—members of the Association are to be found in leading positions.

A Great Ideal.

But it was in setting before members a great national objective that the "Fathers of the Association" did their best and noblest work. The Federation of Australia was an ideal which made an abiding appeal. How far that ideal fired the imagination of the members only the initiated or the very observant understand. When dissension seemed imminent on less important matters the Association could always be relied upon to close up its ranks for Federation. For nearly 30 years before its accomplishment the Association fought for it. Before official conventions were called into existence to discuss the project and to devise ways and means for its accomplishment, the Association had held unofficial ones and had put forward its plans. Thirty-four years ago the "Argus," in a leading article, said: "No page in the records of the Australian Natives' Association is more honorable than that which recounts the service done to the cause of Federation. The subject is always prominent at their annual gatherings. The members themselves take their platform training by talking Federation. They are talked at upon the same topic by political visitors, and the scheme of bringing the colonies together, which is now being tried, bears a close resemblance to one which first germinated in the brain of a representative of the A.N.A."

The Melbourne Convention.

To attempt a recital of all the efforts made by the Association to promote the Federation of Australian colonies would serve no useful purpose. But there are three of such outstanding importance as to merit special mention.

In December, 1889—acting on a suggestion from South Australia—the Victorian Board of Directors issued invitations to an Intercolonial Conference to be held in Melbourne during the next month—January, 1890. The sittings took place in the Melbourne Town Hall, and all the colonies were represented except Tasmania. Amongst the Victorian delegates were Mr. (now Sir) Alexander Peacock and Mr. Geo. H. Wise. Sir John Bray, of South Australia, was elected President, and, in the course of his inaugural address, let fall an observation of such percipiency that it is well worthy of repetition. In truly prophetic vein he said: "I am induced to believe that the views of the Australian Natives' Association, and of the people generally, are in advance of those held by the Governments of the different colonies."

The first resolution submitted—and it was carried—affirmed: "That the time has now arrived for the Federation of the Australasian colonies." In other words, though not specifically mentioned, it was clearly intended that New Zealand should be embraced in the Federal scheme.

The second resolution was divided into three parts. It expressed the view that there should be a Governor-General and two Houses of Parliament—that the members of one House should be chosen by the Legislatures of the several colonies; that the members of the other House should be elected by the people; and that, in at least one House, each colony should be represented by an equal number of members."

An amendment was moved upon the third part of the resolution to provide that **both** Houses of the Parliament should be elected by the people. The amendment was lost, and, strange as it may seem to those who know them so well, Messrs Peacock and Wise were among the number who voted against it!

Another matter of interest is to be found in the list of powers and services which, in the third resolution, were suggested for transfer to the Federal Parliament. Amongst the latter, in addition to the Customs, the Post Offices, and

Defence, the Railways of Australia were included. Seen by the light of what has since transpired, and of the present-day knowledge of the need for undivided control in transport, the prescience displayed in that proposal speaks volumes for its sponsors.

At this stage a reference may be made to the comments of the "Argus" newspaper, after the Conference had closed. In a special article it described the proposals put forward as "crude" and "undigested"; and in merciless criticism added: "But who are the people, one naturally asks, who have been foisting these crude ideas and unreasoned notions upon the public? There were many members of Parliament present, but (two excepted) they are unknown beyond the threshold of the Chamber in which they sat, and they are uninfluential and undistinguished. How do such men represent the colonies? or what can be thought of the judgment of men who do not use their opportunities in the Legislative Assemblies, and who seek prominence at a private conference?"

"It is yet too early to prophesy the future of Australia, or to tell what characteristics the British race will develop in these lands. But, without speculating as to what may happen, we certainly question how far the Natives' Association represents the natives at the present time."

Those remarks could scarcely be more severe. It is true that, seven years later, the same newspaper was full of praise for the Association. But, even at that time it was worthy of highest commendation, for, summarising the work of the Conference, it may be said that nine-twelfths of its proposals were afterwards embodied in the Federal Constitution, and that, had the amendment for the election of both Houses of Parliament by the people been accepted, another tenth could be added to the total. That is an astonishing record, the more to be marvelled at by reason of the fact that the suggestions made were ten years in advance of Federation, and well ahead of the Convention which framed the Bill for the Federal Union of Australia.

The Queensland Visit.

The second of the outstanding efforts of the Association to bring about the union of the Australian colonies relates to Queensland. In 1896 a special delegation—consisting of the President and two other members of the

Victorian Board of Directors (the Hon. J. Hume-Cook, the Hon. J. W. Kirton, and the Hon. C. C. Salmon)—visited that colony with a view to stimulating a better interest in the Federal cause. The task was no light one; for owing to a certain amount of labor antipathy consequent upon troubles of a local character, it was difficult to get a hearing in Brisbane. As for Central and Northern Queensland, absolute indifference to Federation was only paralleled by the intense eagerness for the separation of the colony into two or three divisions. This desire was due, so it was alleged, to the improper dominance of Brisbane and the south over all the trading and commercial interests of Queensland as a whole. Despite these disadvantages, however, the delegation made something of a success of the mission; so much so, indeed, that when the Federal Convention met—Queensland being unrepresented—the Central Queensland Separation League wrote through its President—Mr. G. S. Curtis, M.L.A.—asking the Australian Natives' Association "to use its powerful influence to secure representation for Central Queensland." Of course, it was not possible to accede to the request, no matter how powerfully it was supported. But could a greater tribute have been paid to the Association's remarkable position in the Federal arena? Could there be a clearer illustration of the unacknowledged but undoubted leadership of the Association in the Federal field?

The Bendigo Conference of 1898.

But an even more singular and striking incident, two years later, was to prove the powerful hold which the Association had over Federal matters.

After several sessions, the Federal Convention had almost finished its labors. The great principles upon which the acceptance of union by the people was to rest had all been embodied in the Bill. There remained only some matters of detail to be determined. The public press, realising the imminence of the matter, had begun to thunder forth approval or disapproval in accordance with the particular policy of the paper expressing its opinions. Leading politicians had already taken sides. A veritable bedlam of noise and clamor started, the very air seemed vocal with the cries and counter-cries of many tongues. From a drone of opposition, one powerful section of the Victorian press rose to a shriek of disapprobation and warning. Its influence was so great as to have been the means of returning

the whole of Victoria's representatives to the Convention. Was its power to be lightly disregarded? Could its power be successfully challenged? To keep calm and cool amidst the tumult of contending factors and the threats of press attacks would seem to have been almost an impossibility. Yet the seemingly impossible was accomplished! The incident occurred at the Bendigo Annual Conference in 1898, and in itself constituted the third great effort which the Association made towards achieving the Federation of Australia.

The sittings were to commence on Tuesday morning, the 15th day of March. On Monday—in the very midst of the arrival of the delegates from all parts of Victoria—the Directors met in a room in the Shamrock Hotel at Bendigo to consider the latest phases of the Convention Bill, and to frame a recommendation, for or against it, to be submitted to the Conference next day. That was a momentous meeting! It lasted well into the small hours of the morning! Not a point of principle that could call for comment missed discussion. The chances of a better Bill were weighed against the loss of the measure then to be accepted or rejected. Slowly the lingering doubts of members were dispersed; and quietly, and with a full sense of the responsibility resting upon them, the Directors unanimously resolved to support the Bill! The news spread with the rapidity of fire, so that when the Conference met next morning, practically every delegate was in his place to hear the official announcement and to listen to the reasons which had impelled the Directors to make the recommendation. When the Board's representative* rose to speak the silence was absolute! Not a hand moved to welcome him! Was this the presage of hostility, or was this unusual incident due to the tensivity of the situation? The speaker attempted no oratorical opening; no appeal to the sentiment of his audience. On the contrary, he scarcely mentioned its importance, but carefully and thoroughly explained the cardinal provisions of the Bill. As he warmed to the task, little by little his enthusiasm grew. It communicated itself to his hearers. They began to get restive in their seats and wanted to applaud, but dared not do so for fear some point of explanation might be missed! Almost immediately there came the motion: "That the incoming Board of Directors be requested to issue a manifesto embodying the main principles of the Constitutional

*The Hon. J. Hume-Cook

Bill, and to take such other steps as it may deem necessary to further the Federal cause." It was so worded that it might have been moved by "any floor member" there present. Instead of a recommendation from the Board of Directors to the Conference, it took the form of a request from the Conference to the Board of Directors. Before the burst of applause which welcomed the motion had subsided, Mr. W. A. Watt, M.L.A., sprang to his feet to second it. He also refrained from any display of speech, contenting himself with a few complimentary remarks as to the clarity of the mover's exposition of the Bill, and a word or two as to his own profound belief that the time had come "for action." Reporting what followed, the "Argus" said:—"The motion was supported in admirable addresses by several members from town and country, including Mr. Kirton, M.L.A., Mr. Carty Salmon, M.L.A., and Dr. Rinder, and was carried with great enthusiasm, the members rising to their feet and cheering heartily for the Commonwealth Bill."

The Fight for Union.

Hitherto it has generally been asserted that the resolution was arrived at after the fervid speeches at the banquet held that night. Amongst other writers on this subject, Quick and Garran make that mistake. The facts are as they have just been given. What the majority of the speeches at the evening function did was to increase the intensity of feeling in favor of the Bill, and send the delegates back to their branches more steadily resolved than ever to fight for union. True it is that at the banquet an attempt was made to turn the tide the other way. Mr. Isaac Isaacs, a member of the Convention and Attorney-General for Victoria, had very grave doubts about the value of the Bill. He came to Bendigo hoping, apparently, to prevent an acceptance of it at that stage. But the further he proceeded with his speech, the less favorably it was received, and when the late Mr. J. L. Purves loudly interjected: "Are you for the Federal Bill or against it?" it became clearly evident that the patience of the audience was almost exhausted. Mr. Alfred Deakin had arrived late and had scarcely more than time to learn what had happened during the day. He was to follow Mr. Isaacs. Just before he rose to speak an intimate friend* hastily wrote upon a scrap of paper:

*The Hon. J. Hume-Cook.

"The fire is lighted, fan the flame." The handwriting was recognised. With friendly flashing eyes and a nod to the writer of the note, this master orator stood up to deliver a speech which, for matchless eloquence and spirited enthusiasm no A.N.A. gathering had ever heard before. He swept away all doubts and fears; he stormed and vanquished subtle reservations and paltering delays; he inspired afresh and filled with hope the hearts and minds of all supporters of the Federal cause. Closing a really great speech he most appropriately quoted from the poet Gay:—

..... "Our Country's garment,
With hands unfilial we basely rent;
With petty variances our souls are spent—
And ancient kinship underfoot is trod,
Oh, let us rise united, penitent,
And be one people, mighty, serving God!

When he had concluded there was neither need nor room for further utterance; the chief item of the banquet had been consumed; the feast was finished!

What followed all the world knows. Despite the opposition of a great organ of the press, and of all the efforts of all the opposing factions, the members of the Australian Natives' Association everywhere rallied to their side additional support, and the Bill was accepted by an overwhelming majority. Thus the third great step was taken towards the Federation of Australia. The fourth, and last, was accomplished in due season and so was created the Commonwealth of Australia.

OTHER PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

An Extended Policy.

The second phase of the Association's history is intimately connected with the endeavor to influence public policy in matters other than Federation. But not without much travail of spirit did it set about this task. For many years the younger and more radical element amongst the members strove to secure support for a wider and more modern platform of politics. There was ample scope but

little encouragement. Over and over again the leaders found themselves hindered and hampered by the traditions of the past and the conservative resolve not to embrace any political question which was not national in character. As to how "national" was to be interpreted or defined no one seemed to know; and Boards of Directors, acting warily, were loth to support and accept any proposal about which there might be any serious division of opinion. Irked by precedents, annoyed by temporising delays, galled by failures, it was therefore inevitable that sooner or later a supreme challenge must issue. The pent-up opinion of the young progressives was not forever to be denied expression. Youth must and would be served. If there was to be a contest of wits and ability, a fight to a finish, let it be so! Better to die fighting than to live rotting! And so, at Warrnambool in 1894, the issue was joined; the battle opened! Here was a merry play and hearty! At last there was a chance for the statesmen of the future to assert themselves and make vocal their desires. Who amongst them would not join in such a fight? Let the careful members of the Board beware and look to it that they were not worsted. This was no affair of outposts; a skirmish under the rainbow after the shower! This was war, and war in deadly earnest!

The test motion was one submitted by the Brunswick Branch affirming the desirability of taxing land upon its unimproved value. This was a proposal for the adoption of a principle in taxation that could not be ruled out of order on any sectional grounds. It could only be treated on its merits. Quickly realising the situation—and possibly fearing what might follow—the older members of the Board and Conference sought to have the resolution rejected, but every onslaught was fairly met, and as vigorously as it was attacked, so was it defended. The battle raged from the floor to the platform and back again. It grew intenser, fiercer, more contentious still. Interest and excitement shone in every countenance. The very hall itself seemed charged with electricity. At fever heat the motion was put and carried! Standing on the platform whilst the division was being taken, Sir (then Mr.) Alexander Peacock exclaimed to Mr. Wise, "By God! We're beaten!" And beaten they were, and to a greater extent than they knew, for there followed other resolutions, all of them carried, in favor of "One man, one vote," "Womanhood suffrage," and "A minimum wage."

Not content with these victories, an attack was made upon "the seats of the mighty." The Board of Directors must have placed upon it some, at least, of the supporters of the new proposals. Amidst a whirlwind of feeling the elections were conducted. When the results were announced it was seen that once again youth and energy had won; several of the seats were captured. What a debacle! Here, surely, was a veritable Waterloo for the old guard! Of what use to stand up against these phalanxes of youth; this destructive, democratic onslaught? Bring the Conference to an end, and, as best might be, consider quietly how next to proceed.

Rise of the Young Brigade.

The scene changed to Melbourne. Alarmed by the press reports, jealous of the Association's good name, desirous only of its welfare and success, some of the previous leaders and older members resolved to try and "undo the Warrnambool mischief." The resolutions carried there must be rescinded even if the Conference had to be recalled to do it. The Association must not be allowed to go to rack and ruin for lack of wise direction. These former trusted officers would give a lead. So to the Melbourne Branch they went. An opportune meeting was to be held on 11th April, about a fortnight after the Conference had closed. With the consent and assistance of the President and officers of the Branch they "invited all well-wishers of the Association, being members of it, to attend and express their opinions." The night arrived, and to the Albion Hotel, Bourke-street east—the meeting place of the Branch—came the "well-wishers of the Association"—a large gathering. But to the consternation of the conveners, amongst the many "well-wishers" present were quite a number of those who had supported the resolutions at Warrnambool! What effrontery! What execrable taste! Treachery perhaps! No matter! Right was right and must win out.

The debate opened: a severe attack upon the folly and unwisdom of adding to the platform of the Association such highly contentious questions as had met with approbation at Warrnambool. An instant reply was made, effectively countering the opener's arguments. Then to the rescue came another of the "old masters," only to be met by one

more of the young brigade, who cut and thrust at a do-nothing policy. Backwards and forwards moved the matter, but always with a slight advantage to the younger men. At last came the final speakers, one for the newer movement, the mover of the original motion put forward by the Brunswick Branch*, and one—"the big gun, Mr. J. L. Purves"—for the utter annihilation of those who dared to thrust the new obnoxious policy upon a peaceful and prosperous Association. But to the dismay of those who had counted on the heavy artillery to smash the other side, the aim was never true, the shots fell wide, the shrapnel scattered harmlessly aside. Thus it was that when the motion was put, the "old brigade," on its own battle ground, was definitely and finally defeated!

The Loyalty of the "Old Brigade."

But did the vanquished leave the Association to its fate? Not for a moment! With characteristic loyalty they joined the majority, and as ever before, sought by every means in their power to keep the only National Association in Australia well to the fore. As for the victors, they redoubled their efforts. The Labor Party was then but scarcely in evidence. The progressive spirit evinced at Warrnambool made a tremendous appeal to thousands of the younger generation generally. The results to the Association were even more surprising than the most sanguine of the framers of the new policy could have predicted. In the twenty-three years that had passed from the founding of the Association in April, 1871, until March, 1894, the utmost efforts of all concerned had only succeeded in getting together 9,650 members and £56,000 in funds. At the termination of the six years following the figures had nearly doubled, the members numbering 17,843 and the funds totalling £110,993!

But the story is by no means ended. In the same six years in which the Association had made such remarkable strides numerically and financially, other things were happening to bring it kudos and add to its laurels. The taxation of the unimproved values of land was carried into law by the Victorian Government; the franchise was extended; and the principle of a minimum wage was embodied in a Factories Act whose sponsor was Sir Alexander Peacock! No greater justification of the Warrnambool policy could have been found. It was complete!

*The Hon. J. Hume-Cook.

National Defence.

The third series of events with which the Association's records are emblazoned begins with the accomplishment of Federation. Primarily the object of that great and wonderful achievement was to avoid forever the possibility of internecine strife and to unite for the purposes of defence against external foes. Other matters of minor importance—comparatively speaking—there were; but the transcendent desideratum was union in defence of the national heritage. Exposed on every side, sparsely peopled and disunited, guarded only in part by its distance from the rest of the world—though all too near to Japan—Australia—the land of gold—would have been a rich prize for any nation bold enough to take it. Certainly the British flag flew over it, and it might have been extremely dangerous for any foreigner to interfere with that sacred emblem of the British race. Nevertheless, a formidable nation was rising into eminence in Europe. Its Emperor and its people were determined to assert themselves. "They must have their place in the sun." Only children and fools would have disregarded the growing strength and the overweening ambitions of that mighty and methodical people. In Australia, perhaps by reason of its very isolation, the dangerous nature of the situation was only too apparent. The leaders of the A.N.A. were therefore greatly concerned when they saw the years slip past and practically nothing done to realise the vision of a perfected defence with which they had entered into Federation. In the circumstances it was only natural that not for any extended length of time would the Association remain a voiceless unit. Yet it did not act rashly or hastily. Many were the mutterings of discontent, and many the warnings to politicians to proceed before it took action. But all without avail. Tired at last of waiting for that lead which did not come, the Association proceeded to frame an Australian defence policy of its own, and to advocate its adoption by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. Ever mindful of the German menace and the possibility of attack from overseas, it first devoted itself to a constructive naval policy.

An Australian Navy.

Thus it was that early in 1906 the demand was made for "an Australian Navy for the defence of Australian interests, to act, in time of war, in conjunction with the Brit-

ish Navy." To this ideal it immediately devoted its energies and enthusiasm with unabating zeal. Members of the Board of Directors in their public speeches made the policy a positive and a prominent feature of every utterance. Officers of Branches and the rank and file were only too eager to advance the cause. Everybody co-operated to popularise the proposal, and to such an extent was the effort successful that at the end of the first year—in March, 1907—a further step was taken, and the plea set up for "the establishment of the nucleus of an Australian Navy under conditions ensuring enrolment of suitable men, and the supply of vessels and all possible material from within Australia, the Federal force to be prepared to act in time of war in conjunction with the British Navy." Herein was evidence of the Britannic origin of the race! Australia, an island—albeit a continent—would, like her mother—Britain—defend herself at sea, and in her own ships of her own building! Further, and as an earnest of the love and loyalty that had always characterised Australians, "the Federal force must be prepared to act in time of war in conjunction with the British Navy." No self-interest was to be allowed to stand in the way of Empire action. There was to be no selfish holding back of the Australian naval forces under the pretext that they were needed for the defence of Australia. If ever war came, let it be clearly understood—as well it was when come it did—that Australia was entirely one with the Mother Country! Came the year 1909. Almost without warning there shot a bolt from the blue. The British Prime Minister drew attention to the persistent enlargement and growing strength of the German Navy. He was strongly supported by the ex-Prime Minister. Britain, whose policy had been to have a navy equal to that of any three Powers, had, under the pressure of keen competition in naval strength, drifted slowly into a two-Power condition. At the time of the Prime Minister's impressive speech that position was about to be assailed by her most redoubtable rival. What was to be done? The whole British world was in a ferment. It was impossible that such a situation as that disclosed could be allowed to continue. All parts of the Empire were ready to act if only directed what to do. Amid the babel of voices the suggestion was made that Australia should present a Dreadnought to the Mother Country. Such a proposal was anti-pathetic to the Australian Natives' Association; yet, what could it do? Could it stand aside and, in a time of such anxiety and stress,

calmly and doggedly assert and claim support for an Australian Navy? No! Perish the thought of such an untimely attitude! With a courage equal to the occasion the Board of Directors therefore recommended Conference to pass the following motion:—

1. "That in the opinion of this Conference the Parliament and people should unite in offering a Dreadnought to the Imperial Government; and that contingent upon public subscriptions being invited, the sum of £250 be set aside as the Association's contribution towards this object; and

2. "That in affirming the desirability of making the gift mentioned in the foregoing resolution, this Conference emphasises the necessity to proceed immediately with the Australian defence policy."

Oh! what a medley of confused and angry criticism the launching of the motion raised! This was the surrender of the Australian cause, the abandonment of the Association's most cherished ideal. Treachery to the Australian naval policy was here. It must be speedily unmasked and the traitors punished. What! would the Directors seek to belittle the Association before all Australia, and make it the sport of an over-anxious Prime Minister, the creature of an over-anxious press? Away with the motion and the men who proposed it! So raged the Conference hour after hour. The din and uproar was almost unbearable; yet, patiently, and as best they could, the supporters of the proposal strove to show that no departure from the Association policy was contemplated. This was an exceptional matter; the expedient a temporary one. Ah! Pah! The souls were muddied that would in panic even temporarily desert a glorious principle. Let the genuine Australian stand by Australia! In reply, in went the wedge! This was not a time to prate about standing by Australia; the Mother Country had spoken; the call was a call of Empire! Would this favored land do less than Canada or Africa or New Zealand? Surely not. Let the motion put the matter to the test!

Quickly the resolution was submitted. The Conference divided and the tellers were appointed. The result: Carried by 105 votes to 101. A pyrrhic victory truly, and yet withal a double vindication of the patriotism and loyalty of the Association to the call of the blood and to its own cherished ambitions!

Compulsory Military Training.

Meantime, in military matters, the Association had also been making itself felt. Concurrently with the promulgation of the naval policy there had been put forward suggestions for progress in military affairs. The cadet system, naval and military, was to be "encouraged and extended." The citizen forces should be administered "under a system securing full naval and military efficiency without unduly interfering with the other duties of citizenship." Later, realising with regard to the cadets that the best way to advance the scheme was to attach it in some way to the schools, it was demanded "that all male children, physically and mentally fit, should receive adequate military or naval training as part of school education." As for the citizen forces, the growing urgency of the times was such that something more than spasmodic and irregular attempts must be made to secure an adequate and an efficient citizen army. If by any mischance the naval forces were insufficient to ward off an attack, obviously the second line of defence was the citizen forces. The Association, having regard to all the circumstances, therefore strongly declared itself for "a system providing for compulsory military training." This was the most pronounced departure from the traditional British methods that had ever been witnessed; yet, all unknown to these builders of military fitness, events were so turning in Europe that ere long the wisdom of the policy would come to be regarded as a master stroke. Indeed, almost before the sounds of the controversy had subsided a chance pistol shot at Sarajevo and the assassination of an obscure princeling had set the world ablaze in war.

A.N.A. in the Great War.

Australia, quick to recognise her duty, offered a contingent of men the very day after war was declared. Of the army of men who subsequently left Victoria, 5,200 were members of the A.N.A. Those who remained behind, too young or too old or otherwise unfit for service, resolved that nothing should be wanting upon their part to show practical sympathy and support for those who had gone to fight their country's battles. It was at once agreed that the contributions necessary to keep the soldier members financial

should be paid by the Association as a whole. This action ensured to the men on active service—free of cost—every benefit the organisation could confer! Cheerfully, gladly, and without question throughout the whole period of the war the necessary moneys were forthcoming to keep this and other consequential engagements, until, in all, nearly £120,000 represented the total sums expended! Such was the voluntary monetary outlay of the A.N.A. towards the winning of the Great War!

In other directions the Association was not less idle. The desperate nature of the situation in Europe at the beginning of 1916 was so appalling as to raise the gravest doubts as to success. Many there were who feared that victory was now impossible. Amongst members of the Association—as with other bodies—the state of the war was a constant theme of discussion. But never once did they talk of capitulation or surrender! On the contrary, as the position seemed to grow steadily worse, the more they nerved themselves to greater effort, and the more strongly they resolved to “see it through!” As in the ancient days their forefathers had sternly acted in the determination to keep the land free from crime-crossed immigrants; and later, at Eureka, had mightily resisted the wrongs that were there sought to be thrust upon them, so would they, the sons and grandsons of those puissant fathers, resist the detestable Hun even to the point of extinction! “Win the War or Perish” became the slogan of the Association! And, as an indication and an earnest of the resolution that inspired them, it was carried by the Annual Conference of the Association held at Warragul in March, 1916, that: “In the opinion of this Conference the needs of the war can no longer be met by voluntary service. The Association urges the Federal Government to fully utilise the services of every citizen and the resources of the Commonwealth.” Fight on! fight on! was now the motto of the Association. Men, money and material—all, all must be sacrificed rather than that Australia should submit to the German yoke!

At the opening of the War the Federal Prime Minister, Mr. Andrew Fisher, had said that Australia would pledge herself “to the last man and the last shilling.” Well! the testing time had come; the pledge must be honored! Let it be known from end to end of the continent that the A.N.A. was prepared to accept its full share of the responsibility for transforming that pledge into a policy. As it had pre-

viously declared itself for “compulsory military training,” so now it announced itself for “compulsory military service,” the conscription of men, money and material; the resources of the Commonwealth. Once again, and in circumstances of exceptional gravity, the organisation had risen to those superb heights of patriotism which gave it the undeniable right to name itself “a national Association.”

Present Policy of the A.N.A.

The present policy of the Australian Natives' Association is mainly centred round about three great principles:—

1. The maintenance of a White Australia.
2. The “Made in Australia Movement.”
3. The broadening of the Commonwealth Constitution.

More than 40 years ago the Association pronounced itself strongly in favor of a “White Australia.” Remembering past events—such as the refusal to allow the convict ship to land its human freight—and remembering also the constitution of the Australian Natives' Association—a membership absolutely based upon good health—the adoption of this principle might easily have been predicted. Indeed it was only natural that an insistence upon racial purity should follow; and, as succeeding actions were to prove, the demand for a clean, wholesome nation found practical expression in the support the Association gave towards eradicating “Miner's complaint,” and the still more effective work it has done—and is doing—in connection with the “red plague, syphilis.”

Always, therefore, the Association could be relied upon to fight against the introduction of colored people into Australia. And the determining causes were not merely sentimental, but were broad based upon a sturdy resolve not to allow any factors to operate that might react towards race deterioration. The lessons of the world were before them. Nowhere on the earth's surface has the black or colored man improved upon the white man's standard of life and living, but always has he had the opposite effect. The southern States of America offered and still affords a striking example of the utter impossibility of “mixing the colors” with safety or success.

White Australia.

It is thus easy to imagine how the Association, figuratively speaking, sprang to arms when, in 1892, the Premier of Queensland made a sudden volte face with respect to the importation of indentured kanaka labor into that colony. Though Victoria was not affected, and is a very long way from the place where the kanakas were to be employed, it was immediately resolved that "the introduction into any part of the continent of an inferior and servile race, who cannot be permitted to take part in the government of the country, is inconsistent with Australia's existence as a free community, and fraught with danger to the best interests of the people." From every possible platform vigorous protests followed, and not until the first Federal Parliament, by legal enactment, had ensured a White Australia did the agitation cease.

In pursuing the White Australia policy the Association was also not unmindful of the fact that if ever Australia was to become industrially great its chances would be tremendously jeopardised by a lowering of the physical standards. That Australia must eventually be self-contained and self-sustained no one doubted. It was ridiculous to suppose that a continent of such enormous natural resources should for ever continue to be a land of primary production only. Manufactures must come, and the sooner the better; for the earlier that secondary industries could be established, the sooner would Australia be independent of outside supplies. Believing this, the Association took practical steps to encourage industrial enterprise by adding to its platform a "Made in Australia policy." Strangely enough, the comparative success that has been made of the policy was due, in the first place, to the abandonment of the art union previously mentioned, and to the heroic efforts of the Metropolitan Committee of the A.N.A. to fittingly celebrate Australia Day each year without loss of money or prestige.

The Metropolitan Committee.

The story of the Metropolitan Committee is in itself almost like a romance. It began its career about the year 1887, when some few enthusiasts connected with certain of

the branches in the metropolitan area conceived the idea of forming a city organisation consisting of representatives of the Melbourne Branches, to work together for mutual advancement and to extend the influence of the Association generally. According to the legend told, the five or six men who first met together to consider the movement were not even provided with a sheet of paper on which to record their proceedings. Those were the days of tall silk hats and stiff white shirts; and so the difficulty was overcome by one of the worthies jotting down the notes upon his shirt cuff! But, alas! so the story goes, before he had transcribed the rough minutes into an orderly account of what had taken place, his landlady washed the shirt and so expunged an interesting memento of the initiation of the Metropolitan Committee! What a highly popular exhibit that shirt cuff would make to-day could it be shown at an A.N.A. Exhibition! Notwithstanding the loss of the first minutes, in some intangible way the members held together until the following year. Their meetings were held once a month at "Buxton's Rooms," Swanston-street, opposite the Town Hall. By this time the members had grown to 12 or 14. Under elected officers they began to cast about for something to do which would justify the existence of the Committee. Somebody suggested the printing and issuing of a syllabus of the metropolitan branches, to be freely distributed amongst those concerned. But how was this to be done? Said a wiseacre: "Get advertisements to cover the cost!" What a good idea! But who would do it? The Honorary Secretary agreed! Of course, he lost money over the transaction; possibly he expected to do so! No matter! The syllabus—blessed word!—was duly issued, and from that day to this continues to be a useful publication.

As might have been expected, it was very soon found that the Committee could not live and thrive upon a publication which yielded no monetary profit. Again considering what was best to be done came the big idea! Why not celebrate Australia Day—26th January—each year with some huge demonstration? No sooner was the proposal made than it found enthusiastic supporters. There should be held a large sports gathering in the Friendly Societies' grounds beside the Yarra. An imposing programme of events was prepared. On paper the scheme looked like certain success; but lacking money, how was printing and advertising to be done, prizes offered, and the required assistance remunerated? After much consultation it was ascer-

tained that the bank would advance the necessary funds if approved guarantors could be forthcoming. Why, yes, here was the solution of all difficulties. Who would not take a risk to advance the cause of the A.N.A.? Patriotism that was not practical was not patriotism at all! And so they discovered a faithful few who cheerfully visited the banking chamber and signed a "joint and several." Well, hard work and assiduity pulled the proposition through; and so the proper celebration of Foundation Day became the second function of the Metropolitan Committee.

This initial success—though far from brilliant on the financial side—whetted the appetites of the daring spirits of the time. What was there to prevent the annual gathering from being equally successful as a patriotic demonstration and as a revenue raiser? Let an art union be tried? Ah! there was a suggestion with a touch of genius in it! Approved, of course. Again the procession to the bank and the guarantees. But this was the last time. The art union proved an instant success, and, from a rather insignificant body, only able to write its rough minutes on the shirt cuff of a highly respectable member—as the fact proves—the Metropolitan Committee became an organisation with a credit balance at the bank and the right to borrow without personal security. More art unions were held, more money made and expended. The hospitals began to receive donations amounting to hundreds and hundreds of pounds; and many a life governorship passed to men who had slavishly worked—without fee or reward—to achieve the truly surprising results!

But a reaction was about to commence. As previously described, forces were steadily accumulating to remove the art union from the field of the Association's operations. It was not to be tolerated that a great national Association should be the promoter of what, after all, was a cheap form of gambling. Even from amongst those who had previously advocated and supported it condemnation was arising. The art union had to be eliminated, and, eventually, it was so determined.

First Exhibition of Australian Products.

Then it was that the Metropolitan Committee rose to the height of the occasion. With an unmatched courage and resourcefulness, it turned itself to a part of the Association's

platform—"The Made In Australia Policy"—and it resolved to give a practical lead to the movement by giving a great exhibition of Australian productions. How that exhibition succeeded, thanks to the untiring work, the skill and ability of its promoters, is now ancient history. Many others have since followed, all equally well managed and all designed to the advancement of the Association's policy and the development of Industrial Australia. No better work has or could be done. Governments and people alike can never know the extent of their indebtedness to the body which has done as much or more to encourage manufactures and to popularise their products than any other organisation in the Commonwealth.

Of the good results of the policy generally the most satisfactory evidence is available. Australia, nobly playing her great part in the Great War, sent her soldier sons to the front better clothed, better shod, and better equipped than any other fighting men amongst the armies of the Allies! Every part and parcel of their clothing and equipment was "made in Australia" out of Australian material, by Australian workpeople! The long-cherished idea of a self-contained and self-sustained Australia was in a fair way to realisation. By the act of Federation the defence policy of Australia had been taken out of the hands of the States and made a Commonwealth matter. How splendidly the arrangement worked when war broke out needs no recital. By the act of Federation also, tariffs, bounties and other fiscal aids to primary and secondary industries passed to the Commonwealth, and the same standards were consequently applied to all parts of Australia. The results, when war made it impossible to get from abroad the things which erstwhile had been so easily obtained, were more surprising than anyone could have dreamed. The "Made in Australia" policy not only completely stood the test, but it elicited the highest encomiums from many of those who had previously looked with derision upon the possibility of Australia being able to manufacture for herself the things she required. And the happiest amongst those who rejoiced in the skill and resourcefulness of Australian manufacturers and their employees in the magnificent response they made to the unexpected demands made upon them were the members of the Metropolitan Committee of the A.N.A.

Primary Production.

Incidentally it may be added that, side by side with the encouragement given to manufactures, every effort has been made to advance the primary industries. Water conservation, irrigation, afforestation, and the great Murray waters scheme have been consistently and persistently advocated; their merits put forward; and, from every A.N.A. platform, their urgency impressed upon the public mind.

Amendment of the Constitution.

With the third section of the present policy of the Association and the "Made in Australia" movement there would not, at first sight, appear to be any definite connection. Yet, in an extension of the powers of the Commonwealth Parliament much can be done to facilitate trade and commerce and the development of great industrial enterprises. When the Commonwealth of Australia was established it was enacted, in the words of the Constitution, that trade commerce in and between the several States should be "absolutely free." No one dreamed that by various High Court decisions, and the claims of the States to exercise "sovereign powers" there would be that interference with the natural channels of trade which has taken, and may again take, place. If the State of Queensland, for example, can, in the exercise of its "sovereign powers," prevent the transport of meat to New South Wales and Victoria, then obviously those States have an equal right to withhold coal or wheat from Queensland. To prevent so disastrous an interference with the free play of the Federal principle, and to remedy other cognate matters, the Association has pledged itself to an amendment of the Constitution. In a statement of its position in the matter, it sets out its "continued belief in the Federal principle as the basis of union," but asserts that "the powers of the Commonwealth should be enlarged, the sovereign powers of the State defined, and all other powers not definitely vested in the States should be vested in the Commonwealth." It has also expressed the opinion "that the time is ripe for a re-arrangement and increase in the number of States." These principles, taken together, constitute the new Federal policy of the Association, and towards its consummation the members are now bending their energies and efforts.

Some of the Leaders.

But the Association's story has not yet been fully told. It would be incomplete without a reference to some of its leaders. Until this moment the aim has been to chronicle events rather than to do honor to individuals. Nevertheless any setting forth of the Association's affairs would be seriously lacking if it did not include the mention of four at least who have served it well. In the first General Secretary, the late Fed. C. Wainwright, the organisation had an unostentatious, painstaking officer. To his constant watchfulness and care much of its success is due. In him the Association had a zealous administrator, an untiring worker, and a big-hearted Australian.

Another great builder of the Association was the late J. L. Purves, K.C., affectionately called "The Emperor." To its service he devoted himself at a time when, in a sense, its fate was in the balance. By the force of his great personality and patriotism, and at much self-sacrifice, he lifted the organisation into a position of strength and prominence which served it in good stead in the testing time of Federation.

And last, but not least, there are still serving the Association two men who, for nearly half a century, have given unremitting attention to its work and fortunes. They are present to-day, and, as virile in thought and service as ever, they carry on the work begun so many years ago. They need no introduction—and no recommendation—for whilst the Association lasts, the names of Alexander James Peacock and George Henry Wise will ever be connected with its growth and history!

A Look Into the Future.

Such is, in brief, the history of the birth and growth and major movements of the Association. It is a record of great purposes nobly conceived and patiently achieved; of high endeavor consistently and persistently maintained; and of public leadership and service unparalleled in its spirited and disinterested patriotic fervor. As a consequence its work has been unique—incomparable. There is not another organisation like it in the whole wide world. In the circumstances, and before closing, it may be permissible to take a momentary glance into the future. The Australian

