

passed by Congress to reinforce by compulsion the Northern army during the American Civil War, when voluntarism had failed, said:—"Men can be had only voluntarily or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription.

The Turning-Point.

"The compulsory draft was the turning point in the great Civil War. It proved to the South and to the world that the Northern States were determined to conquer. Lincoln's belief in his fellow-countrymen was justified. .

"As it was in the Northern States in Lincoln's time, so it is with us to-day. Like them, we fight in the cause of liberty. Voluntarism has failed us as it failed them. And we, like them—unless we confess ourselves degenerate—must tread the path they trod, along which they strode resistlessly to victory.

Voluntarism and the Government Proposals.

"The proposals of the Government do not destroy voluntarism—rather do they stimulate it to nobler effort. If it prove itself worthy, then the need for compulsion ceases. But we must get the men. Australia must play her part in this great struggle. The proposals of the Government ensure this.

The Call to Duty.

"Fellow-citizens, your kinsmen and your Allies across the sea look to you to do your duty. Your comrades in the Australian armies whose glorious valour has covered the name of Australia with undying lustre, call to you to come and stand by their side. Were Australia to fail on October 28th, Democracy and Labor would have failed. But Australia must not fail. In the name of Australian Democracy, I adjure every man and woman in the Commonwealth to vote "YES."

Both Political Parties United.

Considerable surprise was expressed by the Leaders of the Opposition party both in the House of Representatives and Senate and by leading newspapers at Premier Hughes' referendum on conscription instead of direct conscription but all stated publicly that they would give his policy of a referendum their hearty support.

The referendum campaign was launched and Premier Hughes and his conscriptionist followers held meetings in every city, town and village in Australia. The anti-conscriptionists were also busy holding meetings and were enthusiastically received.

The referendum was to be taken on the following question:

The Referendum Question.

"Are you in favor of the Government having, in this grave emergency, the same compulsory powers over citizens in regard to requiring their military service, for the term of the War, outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?"

Conscription Slogan.

The slogans of the conscriptionist party were many, and striking.

"Vote:

"Yes, for Australia.

"No, for the Kaiser,"

was one.

Another was:

"Australia wants Yes.

"The Kaiser wants No."

Still another was:

"Vote:

"Yes, and succor the Anzacs.

"No, and abandon them."

The posters of the anti-conscriptionists were quite as effective. One in particular depicted a woman with woe on her face, condemning her son and the sons of others to die by placing her vote in favor of conscription in the ballot box. In the background, in the shadow, was a caricature of Premier Hughes, with a strong resemblance to His Satanic Majesty. This poster which was widely circulated is said to have had a tremendous effect upon the voting, especially among the women.

Outside Interference.

As the campaign proceeded Premier Hughes' appeals were supplemented by the receipt on the part of the Premier of many telegraphic communications from British statesmen, and high officers in the European armies, including Mr. Bonar Law, Arthur Henderson, M.P., John Hodge, M.P., General Sir Douglas Haig, General Joffre and others, urging the Australian electorate to vote for conscription. These messages were all pretty well in the same tone. The following are quotations from samples received:—

British Statesmen Sent Messages.

To the Premier of Australia from MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P., ex-Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor party, and then a Minister and Labor adviser of the Government, dated Oct. 20th, as follows:—

"We are watching with interest the efforts you are making to assist in supplying the army with more men, which at the present moment is the supreme need of the Empire. . . .

"More men are needed to defend our liberty and to assert national rights—in fact, all that is best in civilization, democracy, and freedom breaks down. In these circumstances I say to the workers of Australia, as I said to the trades unionists of the Mother Country:—Between the issue of compulsion and defeat there can be no room for doubt; we applied compulsion to extend trade unionism, to secure more drastic social re-organization, to improve the health of the people, to secure greater equality in the distribution of wealth; we must not object to use the same means to save not only our nation or Empire but small nations everywhere, from the brutal domination of the