

INDEX

- adult suffrage, 31–2, 35, 103, 129
Afghan War, Second, 39
After the War—What?, 156, 159–60
Age, 1, 59–60, 64, 70, 72, 75, 88–91
alcoholism, 26, 141–2, 144, 161, 235
Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE), 63, 99–100
anti-communism, 150–1, 160–1, 230
Anti-Corn Law League, 52
anti-Liberalism, 55, 62, 94
anti-Semitism, 38, 161–2
Archer, John, 38
Argus, 44
Asquith, Margot, 113
atheism, 126, 157, 166 n.
Australia First movement, 14, 151, 158, 162
Australian Shearers' Union (ASU), 26, 41, 58–9
Australian Labor Party (ALP), 1–3, 9, 13, 39, 43, 174, 206; New South Wales branch, 2, 28, 169, 173–5; in political fiction, 230–2, 235–6; Walsh and, 163
Australian Women's Guild of Empire, 151
Australian Workers' Union (AWU), 41, 235, 236
Aveling, Dr Edward, 103, 112

Ballarat Reform League, 197–8
Barry, Michael Maltman, 65, 103, 108–10, 200–1

Bayst, W. A., 90, 93–4
Bax, Ernest Belfort, 64
Beeby, George, 2, 175, 205
Bennet, David, 58, 60
betrayal, 3–5, 10, 14; Champion and, 69, 73; Burns and, 115; Grayson and, 122–3, 134, 139; language of, 198, 203; in political fiction, 212, 215–17, 222, 224, 226, 229, 233–4, 239; Trenwith and, 81, 94; Walsh and, 151
'Betrayed!', 161
Black, George, 28
Blackburn, Maurice, 206, 232
'blackbirding', 42
blacklegs, 37, 59, 214, 223; *see also* strikes
Blatchford, Robert, 25, 124, 136, 141–2
Bloody Sunday (1887), 104
Bondfield, Margaret, 34
Boote, H. E., 43
Bright, John, 131
Britishness, 154, 157
British Socialist Party (BSP), 139
Broadhurst, Henry, 74, 200–1
Bromley, F. H., 60
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward, 202–3
Burgess, Joseph, 73, 115, 140, 168, 200
Burns, John, 9, 12, 13, 25; activism, 104–5; background, 100–1; and Champion, 50, 58, 61, 63, 66,

- 77, 86, 144, 168, 197, 199;
and Hardie, 106–9; political
career, 105–16; and SDF,
102–4; and Trenwith, 96–7; and
unemployment, 133
- Burns, Martha (Pattie), 102, 168
bush unions, 25
- Campbell-Bannerman, Henry, 112,
130
- Campbell, William, 55–6, 62
- Carboni, Raffaello, 197–9
- Carrington, William, 113
- cartoons, 32, 114, 189, 204
- Catholic Action, 232
- Catholicism, 2–3, 162, 231, 234; *see also* Christianity
- caucus, 2, 28, 174
- Central Council for Women
(Victorian Labor Party), 35
- Champion, H. H. (Henry Hyde), 9,
12, 13, 93, 95–6, 200–1, 211–12;
background, 50–1; and Burns, 99,
104, 109–10, 115, 118–19; later
life, 72–6; maritime strike, 55–64,
69–71; *The Root of the Matter*,
68–9; Tory gold affair, 64–7;
- Chartism, 51, 190, 191–7, 201, 203,
214–18,
- Christianity, 31, 102, 157, 159; *see also* Catholicism; religious faith
- Chesterton, G. K., 116
- Churchill, Winston, 9, 134
- citizenship, 24, 42, 158, 199
- Clarion* (journal), 25
- class traitor, 11, 95, 100, 115, 135,
217, 226
- Clause Four, 20; *see also* socialism
- colonial exploitation, 36–43; *see also*
imperialism
- colonial parties, 19, 27
- Colne Valley Labour League (CVLL),
123, 128, 139, 143
- Colne Valley Socialist League (CVSL),
122, 139
- communism, 12, 152, 161, 165; *see also* Walsh, Adela Pankhurst
- Communist Party of Australia (CPA),
150, 161, 232
- Communist Party of Great Britain
(CPGB), 126, 223–4, 237, 239
conscription, 9, 36, 169, 206–7
constitution, party, 19–20, 139
- Conservative Party, 3, 4, 65, 103, 110,
115, 137–8, 201, 221–2; *see also*
Tory Party
- Cook, Joseph, 28, 43, 204, 205
craft unions, 26
- Crooks, Will, 129, 134
- cultural materialism, 238
- culture, 39, 238
- Curran, Pete, 23, 129, 134, 141
- Cwmardy*, 223–5
- Deakin, Alfred, 81, 88
- De Brassier: A Democratic Romance*,
14, 54–5, 215–19; *see also* Jones,
Ernest
- decolonisation, 39
- delegates, 24, 28
- Delahaye, Victor, 100
- demagogue, 217
- democracy, 20, 24–5, 215
- Depression, 236
- de-radicalisation, 116, 236
- Diehl, Guida, 155
- direct labour representation, 26, 30,
33, 51, 53, 100, 103, 105, 117
- discipline, 4, 22, 23, 26, 94, 132, 143
- domestic feminism, 152, 154, 158,
160, 163–4
- duchessing, 9, 13, 93, 96, 113, 119,
143–4, 151, 170, 175–6, 228, 237
- Duffy Gavan, T., 131
- elections, 10, 25, 72–3, 103, 107, 127–
32, 137–8, 215, 221, 227, 235–6
- ethical socialism, 128
- empire, 37–8, 154, 155, 159, 162
- employers, 26
- Engels, Frederick, 52
- England For All*, 38
- Englishness, 154, 156–7
- Ernest Maltravers*, 202–3

- eugenics, 43, 162; *see also* Walsh, Adela Pankhurst
Eureka stockade, 197–9
- Fabian Society, 19, 38, 75, 112, 126
Fame is the Spur, 170–1, 226–30; *see also* Spring, Howard
- familialism, 31, 39; *see also* marriage
- fascism, 13, 152, 165, 223; *see also* Walsh, Adela Pankhurst
- Federation, 31, 35, 89–90, 94
- female rats, 149
- feminism, 154–5, 164
- feudalism, 30, 68, 155–6, 164
- First World War, 36, 163, 223, 228
- Fitzgerald, John, 62, 64, 76
- Fleming, J. W. ‘Chummy’, 86
- foreign labour, 38, 41–2
- Forrest, Sir John, 40
- Fowler, J. M., 205
- free trade, 38, 129
- Fusion Party, 40, 43–4
- Gang of Four, 3
- Gladstone, Herbert, 113
- Glasier, John Bruce, 33, 127, 143
- Glasier, Katherine Bruce, 33
- Golconda* trilogy, 234–7; *see also* Palmer, Vance
- Goldstein, Vida, 35, 75, 150
- Goldstein, Elsie Belle (Bella), 75
- Graham, Robert Cunninghame, 64, 104–9
- Grayson, Albert Victor, 9, 12, 13, 23–5; background, 122–3; Colne Valley election, 128–31; disappearance of, 144–5, 168; duchessing and, 143–4; rumours about, 141–2; and unemployed issue, 133–7
- Grayson, Ruth Nightingale, 144, 168–9
- Gregory, Maundy, 144–5
- groups, construction of, 7–9, 10, 18–19, 22, 27
- Hancock, John, 60, 86, 88
- Hardie, James Keir, 20, 25, 38, 66, 74, 201, 227–8; Burns and, 106–9, 115, 117; 127; Grayson and, 130, 136, 140, 143
- Hardy, Frank, 230–4; *see also* *Power Without Glory*
- Henderson, Arthur, 126, 134, 139
- Higgins, Henry Bourne, 89–90
- Hobson, Sam, 126, 131, 143
- Hobson, J. A., 37
- Holman, Ada, 13, 169; background, 172–3, *Memoirs of a Premier's Wife*, 177, 180, 182, 184–5; ‘The Premier’s Wife’, 177, 179–82, 184; *Sport of the Gods*, 177–9, 182–4
- Holman, William Arthur, 2, 9, 13, 169, 172–6
- honour, 30–1, 93, 149, 217–18; and whiteness, 39, 45
- household franchise, 219
- Hudson, R. W., 103
- Hughes, William Morris (Billy), 1, 2, 9, 151, 175, 206–7, 233
- Hyndman, H. M., 37–8, 50, 55, 71, 99, 102, 104, 115, 136, 199–200
- ideology, 31, 39.
- Imperial Federation, 65
- imperialism, 37, 74; *see also* colonial exploitation
- Independent Labour Party (ILP), 10, 13, 22–3, 25, 33, 37, 56, 170, 171, 199; Burns and, 99, 106, 109–12, 117; Champion and, 73–4; closure of, 19–20; Grayson and, 124, 126–9, 135, 139
- Indigenous Australians, 35, 39, 41
- independence, 23, 107, 113, 118, 123–4, 128, 137, 222
- individualism, 8, 96, 175
- Industrial Democracy*, 24
- Industrial Peace Association (IPA), 151
- industrialisation, fear of, 155, 158, 160, 164
- internationalism, 38, 102, 126

- Johnson, Francis, 137–8
 Jones, Ernest, 52–5, 214–19
 Jones, Lewis, 222–5, 229; *see also*
 Cwmardy, We Live
 Jowett, Fred, 134, 136
 Joynson-Hicks, W., 142
 Judas, 91, 119 n. 2, 121 n. 42, 162, 221
Justice, 37, 96
- Kidson, George, 113
 Kingsley, Charles, 31, 231
- Labour Alliance, 124, 126–8, 140, 143
 Labour Electoral Association (LEC),
 66
 labour press, 25, 33, 35, 37, 40–3, 53,
 73, 77, 81–2, 136, 150, 163, 174,
 205
 Labour Party (Great Britain), 3, 9, 10,
 13, 119; fiction, 224, 227, 230, 237;
 formation of, 21–2, 25; Grayson
 and, 124, 129–30, 132, 140–1;
 women, 33–5
 Labour Representation Committee
 (LRC), 21, 107
 Lane, William, 39
 Lawrence, Susan, 34
 Lawson, Henry, 204
 leadership, 2–3, 9, 14, 21; betrayal by,
 224; Blatchford and, 25; Burns's
 conflict with, 106–7; Chartist, 52;
 Grayson and, 124, 127, 139, 143;
 intellectual leaders, 54–5, 62, 70–
 1, 217, 239; social origins of, 201,
 227; Tory view of, 74; Trenwith
 and, 89, 94–6
 Legislative Assembly (Vic.), 29, 85
 Liberal Party (Australia), 10–11, 82, 96
 Liberal Party (Great Britain), Burns
 and, 100, 107, 110, 112–13, 117;
 Champion and, 52, 66; Hardie
 and, 74; Labour Party and, 3,
 22, 25, 126–7, 131, 133, 138, 140,
 Ragged Trousered Philanthropists,
 221–2
 Lib-Labs, 12, 20, 65, 127, 132–4, 199,
 201
- Lloyd George, David, 112
 Local Government Board, 100, 112,
 133, 134
 lockouts, 6, 84–5, 222
 London County Council (LCC), 100,
 105, 117, 199
 London dock strike (1889), 51, 64,
 66, 70, 104, 117
 'lone hand', 32
 'Lost Leader', 4
Loyalties, 14, 237–41; *see also*
 Williams, Raymond
 Lyon, Arthur, 116
- MacDonald–Gladstone pact (1903),
 66, 127
 MacDonald, James Ramsay;
 betrayal, 3–4, 25, 169, 222, 229;
 and Grayson, 124, 127, 129–31,
 135, 142–3; imperialism, 37
 MacDonald, Margaret, 33
 Maloney, Dr, 86, 88
 Mann, Tom, 35, 58, 61, 63, 104,
 109–11, 128
 maritime strike, 26, 72, 115
 Marine Officers' Association, 58
 marriage, 172; *see also* familialism
 Marx, Eleanor, 103
 Marx, Karl, 8, 37, 58, 102, 126, 157,
 201, 224
 Marxism, 102, 166 n. 24, 223, 237–8
 masculinities, 12, 30–2, 92–4, 96, 194,
 218; and whiteness, 39
 maternal feminism, *see* domestic
 feminism
Memoirs of a Premier's Wife, 184–6;
 see also Holman, Ada
 Menzies, Robert, 206
 miscegenation, 36; fear of, 43, 162
 modernity, 163–4
 moral degeneracy, fear of, 41–2, 155,
 158, 160
 Morley, John, 112
 Morris, William, 102
 muscular Christianity, 31
- nationalism, 38, 233

- nationalisation, 103, 127
 National Administrative Council (NAC), 20, 137–8
 National Democratic League (NDL), 112
 National Executive Committee (NEC), 9, 21, 23, 129, 138
 National Party, 2, 175
 new unionism, 25, 31, 58
 New Labour, 3
 New Left, 238
 New Woman, 155, 163,
Nineteenth Century (journal), 51
 Noonan, Robert, *see* Tressell, Robert
 non-conformism, 126
Notes to the People, 54
- O'Brien, James Bronterre, 54
 O'Connell, Daniel, 193–4, 197
 O'Connor, Feargus, 53, 193–4, 216
Onlooker, 118
 'Otherness', 157
 Outtrim, A. R., 93
- pacifism, 159, 161, 228
 Palmer, Vance, 234–7; *see also*
Golconda
 Palmer, Nettie, 234
 Pankhurst family, 13, 149–50, 152, 164
 parliamentary representation, 28–30
 Parliamentary Labour Party (Great Britain), 9, 123, 129, 132–3, 136, 142
 Parliamentary Labour Party (Victoria), 19, 21–3, 87, 91, 95
 Parnell, Charles, 65
 patriarchy, 31
 patriotism, 9, 37, 42, 159
 People's Charter, 51–2
 pledges, *see* solidarity pledges
 poems, 4, 32, 92, 118, 138, 158, 163, 196, 205–6
 political citizenship, 191–201
 political fiction, 210–14
 Political Labour Council (PLC), 35–6
Power Without Glory, 230–4; *see also*
 Hardy, Frank
- 'Premier's Wife', 177–82, 184; *see also*
 Holman, Ada
 Prendergast, George, 86
 'Problem of Parliament', 137; *see also*
 Grayson, Victor
 Progressive Political League (PPL), 82
 prostitution, 193–4; links with
 capitalism, 156–7, 164
 protection, 37, 69, 74
- racial anxiety, 160
 racialisation, 36–7
 racist discourse, 36–8, 43, 164; *see also*
White Australia policy
Ragged Trousered Philanthropists,
 219–22; *see also* Tressell, Robert
 rat, 1, 3, 8–10, 11, 91, 99, 117–18,
 123, 141, 151, 190, 196–7; history
 of, 202–7, 226, 233
 rats, dead, 3
 ratting, 2, 81, 117, 123, 203; *see also*
 renegade
 Realist Writers' Movement, 230
 renegade, 2, 91, 197, 201, 207, 208 n.
 27, 221, 233; *see also* rat
 Reform Acts (1832, 1867), 51
 Reform League, 54
 religious faith, 164; *see also*
 Catholicism; Christianity
 representative democracy, 24–5,
 29–30
 respectable masculinity, 32, 39, 123,
 140–1
 Reynolds, G. W. M., 216
Root of the Matter, The, 211–12; *see also*
 Champion, H. H.
 Rose, F. H., 130
 Russell, Sir Charles, 104
 Russell, Lord John, 191
 Russia, 161
- Saklatvala, Shapurji, 39
 scientific socialism, 211
 Scott, Sir Walter, 213
 Scottish Labour Party (SLP), 66
 Second World War, 149, 152, 162–3,
 223, 229–30, 239

- sexual division of labour, 32, 152, 155, 164
- Shaw, George Bernard, 100, 108, 201
- Single Tax League, 173
- slavery, 159; language of, 32; 'White Slavery', 42
- Snowden, Ethel Annakin, 169
- Snowden, Philip, 3, 127, 141, 143–4, 169–70, 222, 226, 228–9
- social change, 7–8, 103, 107, 116–17, 155, 239
- Social Democratic Federation (SDF), 10, 19, 20, 37; Burns and, 100, 103, 112, 115, 117, 199; Champion and, 55, 64–5, 77; Grayson and, 126, 131; platform of, 103
- Social Democratic Party (SDP), 124, 136, 141
- Social Darwinism, 43
- socialism, 23, 39; Burns and, 104; Champion and, 67–8; Grayson and, 124–6, 128; in political fiction, 219, 221, 222, 230, 233–4, 239
- Socialist Alliance, 103; Walsh and, 155, 160–1, 165
- Socialist League, 38, 173
- solidarity, 2, 5–6, 7–9, 18–19, 22, 107, 123, 132, 149; in political fiction, 222–3, 228–9, 236
- solidarity pledges, 2, 9, 27–9, 35, 87, 91, 95, 107
- songs, 32, 158, 214
- South African War, 38, 95, 220
- sovereignty, 24
- Spanish Civil War, 223, 228
- spies, 191, 197–8, 218
- splits and schisms, 2–3, 11, 18–19, 22, 136
- Sport of the Gods*, 177–80, 182–4; *see also* Holman, Ada
- strikes, 6, 58–9, 103, 113, 115; strike-breaking, 204; *see also* London dock strike; maritime strike
- structural closure, 19
- Spence, W. G., 25
- Spring, Howard, 226, *see also* *Fame is the Spur*
- suffrage, 140, 150, 154
- suffrage feminism, 150, 157
- suffragette movement, 149–50
- Sun*, 75
- Summary of the Principles of Socialism*, 102
- Summerbell, Tom, 134
- Syme, David, 88; *see also* *Age Sybil, or The Two Nations*, 157
- symbolic closure, 30
- syndicalism, 126
- Taff Vale decision, 129
- Taylor, G. R. S., 137
- Theodore, E. G., 235–6
- Thomas, Jimmy, 3, 222, 229
- Thorne, Will, 136
- Tillett, Ben, 66, 90, 110–11
- Tocsin*, 72, 77, 87–95, 205
- Tory gold scandal, 55–6, 66, 74, 103
- Tory Party, 3, 4, 55, 65, 103, 110, 115, 137–8, 201, 221–2; *see also* Conservative Party
- Tory Socialism, 37, 75
- trade unions, 23, 41; Burns and, 102–3, 110–12; Champion and, 58–9, 63–4, 70; Grayson and, 126–8, 132; in political fiction, 214, 227; Trades Hall Council (Melbourne), 56, 58, 72, 82, 95, 200; Trenwith and, 81–5
- Trades Union Congress (TUC), 21, 25
- Trade Union Group, 132
- Trafalgar Square demonstration, 50, 86, 104
- Trenwith, W. A., 9, 12, 13, 28, 205; background, 82; Burns and, 76–7, 118–19; Champion and, 60–1; financial problems of, 86; THC and, 86; VOB and, 81–5
- Tressell, Robert, 213, 219
- trust, 5–7, 15 n.19, 83–5, 118, 139; identity-based trust, 7; normative trust, 29, 117, 124, 217; predictive trust, 29, 118, 123

Turner, Ben, 130
 types of betrayal, 9

ultra-nationalism, 151
 unemployment, 6, 103, 115, 133–5, 235
 United Front, 223
 United Labour Party (ULP), 82, 88
 United Liberal and Labour Party (ULLP), 35, 82
 United States of America, 38, 61–2

values, 157–8
 Victorian Operative Bootmakers' Union (VOBU), 81–2
 Victorian Socialist League (VSL), 75
 Victorian Socialist Party (VSP), 150

Wade, Gregory, 40
 Walsh, Adela Pankhurst, 9, 12, 14, 149–67; and anti-capitalism, 156, 158, 160, 163; antipathy to USA, 161; and Australia First, 151; background, 149–50; and socialism, 149–50; and ultra-nationalism, 151

Walsh, Tom, 150
 Walter, William, 129
 war, 6, 159; language of, 32
We Live, 223–5; *see also* Jones, Lewis
 Webb, Beatrice, 29, 106, 112
 Webb, Sydney, 25
 White Australia policy, 37, 44–5, 162; *see also* racist discourse
 white man's code, 39–43, 45
 Williams, Jack, 99, 104
 Williams, Raymond, 5, 14, 213
 Williams, Sylvester, 38
 Wilson, Havelock, J., 106
 Women's Labour League (WLL), 33–4
 Women's Political Association (WPA), 35
 Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), 150, 154
 Women's Suffrage Bill, 132
 Women's Suffrage League (WSL), 35
 Workman's Unemployed Bill, 34

xenophobia, 37