

# HERITAGE

LINKING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT — FOR THE FUTURE

JUNE - AUGUST 1992

No. 64



## THE PEOPLE'S PRINCE IN PRAISE OF ALICE



**Front Cover:** Prince of Wales and Family, 1991

Prince Charles enjoys a relaxing moment with Princess Diana,  
Prince William and Prince Henry (standing)

(Camera Press, Austral-International)

## **in this issue**

- 2. Myths and Legends - The Stuff of History**  
*Sir David Smith*
- 5. The People's Prince**
- 6. Quartet for Eric**  
*Nigel Jackson*
- 10. In Praise of Alice**  
*Elizabeth Dixon*
- 12. A Doubtful Alternative**  
*Randall J. Dicks*
- 13. The Debate on Australia's National Flag**  
*Dr. Rupert Goodman*
- 16. Burma Star, M.C.**
- 17. Australia's Link with the Forgotten Army**  
*Ian McPherson*
- 17. Book Review**  
*Dawn Thompson*
- 22. Storms Again: Homage to J.R.R. Tolkien**  
*Nigel Jackson*
- 23. Postscript: Pétain : Patriot or Traitor**  
*Nigel Jackson*
- 24. S.T. Gill and his Audiences**

# HERITAGE

JUNE - AUGUST 1992

No. 64

## "THERE BUT FOR THE GRACE OF GOD"

While a society which still terms itself basically Christian is entitled to expect those in high places, particularly the Monarch or the heir to the Throne, to maintain in their own lives, the highest of standards, is it entitled to point the finger at members of the Royal Family when the society itself is progressively departing from those same values? There are too many Pharisaical, judgemental people about who overlook (conveniently) that old truism "*There but for the Grace of God go I.*"

Why should it be said that the Monarchy is at risk because of some defect in the personal lives of representatives of that institution? Because some marriages break down is surely no argument in favour of abolishing the institution of marriage. There are many crooks in police forces, but this is no argument in favour of abolishing police forces when the great majority are honest people genuinely trying to serve the public.

In the Republican *versus* Monarchy debate the central feature of the Monarchical system must be stressed: the system divides power and provides some check against temporary politicians. What is being highlighted at present is the completely immoral role of sections of the mass media. The campaign against the Royal Family has for some years been headed by the Murdoch press.

The Melbourne *Herald Sun* of 9 June 1992, quotes Lord St. John of Fawsley, a leading authority on the Monarchy, who comments concerning the present 'royal crisis' leading to a Republic: "The whole matter casts a shadow over our parliamentary and constitutional system. I take the view you cannot have a free society unless you have some sort of interior moral restraints which are freely accepted and freely imposed. If you get a situation where people feel that they can repeat stories, the press can sensationalise them ... without any sense of responsibility whatever, that offers a threat to our whole society."

In attempting to assess the book by Andrew Morton, so vigorously publicised by the Murdoch media, it might be recalled that it was the Murdoch media which serialised the fake *Hitler Diaries*.

Whatever the truth about the state of the Charles-Diana marriage, one thing is certain: Andrew Morton has made a lot of money out of it. An initial print run of 300,000 of *Diana: Her True Story* (\$36 each) plus a lucrative serial deal with London's *Sunday Times* worth \$620,000, to be split between author and publisher, should ensure that Andrew Morton, at the age of 38, never has to work again.

Lady Colin Campbell, whose biography, *Diana in Private*, was published in April of last year, is quoted as follows in *The Age* of 9th June: "There's nothing in this book which isn't in mine. ... Suicide attempts? That's bull. Pure balderdash and hogwash. I know because I checked them out! They are absolutely non-existent. On every date she was supposed to be killing herself, she was always doing something else."

Clearly both Charles and Diana, in their different ways, have a deep sense of duty. Would a call from the "common people", asking them not to desert them at this time perhaps be worthwhile? Several have already sent letters of support to Charles. This type of activity should be encouraged and multiplied. And letters should also be sent to Diana. Who knows where such activities might lead?



## THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

The Australian Heritage Society was launched in Melbourne on 18th September, 1971 at an Australian League of Rights Seminar. It was clear that Australia's heritage is under increasing attack from all sides; spiritual, cultural, political and constitutional. A permanent body was required to ensure that young Australians were not cut off from their true heritage and the Heritage Society assumed that role in a number of ways.

The Australian Heritage Society welcomes people of all ages to join in its programme for the regeneration of the spirit of Australia. To value the great spiritual realities that we have come to know and respect through our heritage, the virtues of patriotism, of integrity and love of truth, the pursuit of goodness and beauty, and unselfish concern for other people - to maintain a love and loyalty for those values.

Young Australians have a very real challenge before them. The Australian Heritage Society, with your support, can give them the necessary lead in building a better Australia.

"Our heritage today is the fragments gleaned from past ages; the heritage of tomorrow - good or bad - will be determined by our actions today."

SIR RAPHAEL CILENTO

First Patron of the Australian Heritage Society

PRINCIPAL ADDRESS  
BOX 7409, CLOISTERS SQUARE,  
PERTH, 6000.

STATE ADDRESSES  
G.P.O. Box 1052J, Melbourne, Victoria, 3001  
47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley, South Australia, 5159  
Box Q364, Queen Victoria Building, Sydney, NSW, 2000  
2nd floor, McConaghy House,  
460 Ann Street, Brisbane, Queensland, 4000  
C/- Anglo Saxon Keltic Society,  
PO Box 187, Sandy Bay, Tasmania, 7005  
Box 7409, Cloisters Square, Perth, Western Australia, 6000

HERITAGE  
THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF  
THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

EDITOR - Betty Luks  
ASSISTANT EDITOR - Murray Jorgenson

EDITORIAL ADDRESS  
47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley, South Australia, 5159  
(Tel. 08 381-3909)

PUBLISHED BY  
THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY  
PO BOX 7409, CLOISTERS SQUARE, PERTH, 6000

Contributions are invited for publication in "HERITAGE". Articles should be accompanied by suitable photographs, and a stamped addressed envelope for return if unsuitable. All reasonable care will be taken of material forwarded; however, the Editor cannot accept responsibility for loss, damage or non-return of material.

The views expressed in articles appearing in "HERITAGE" are those of their authors and are not necessarily the view of The Australian Heritage Society.



# MYTHS AND LEGENDS - THE STUFF OF HISTORY (OR 1975 REVISITED)

by Sir David Smith

The Canberra & District Historical Society's Fourth Nan Phillips Memorial Lecture  
given by Sir David Smith at Parliament House, Canberra, on 17th October 1991

I did not know Nan Phillips, but I have friends and colleagues, at Government House and at the Australian National University, who did, and through talking to them I have come to know a little of what she did for the Canberra & District Historical Society, and what she came to mean to its members. So I feel greatly honoured to have been asked to give the fourth of the lectures which the Society has established and named in her memory.

For more than 21 years Nan Phillips gave great encouragement to the Society, for it was her vision that it should take its place among the older historical societies of the States. Her interest and support encouraged early editors of the Society's journal, the *Canberra Historical Journal*, so that today it is a respected publication with a wide circulation. She was also much admired by her *Australian Dictionary of Biography* colleagues for her contributions to that great project.<sup>1</sup> One of her special interests was the development of historical research,<sup>2</sup> particularly as it affects the biographer. Another was the history of the national capital.<sup>3</sup>

It is therefore in the spirit of Nan Phillips' interests and her efforts that I have chosen my topic for this evening's lecture. Let me immediately enter a caveat, lest the title of my lecture should arouse expectations bound to be unfulfilled. My treatment of my subject will be mainly historical, although I note that the emeritus political correspondent for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, the distinguished journalist Peter Bowers, wrote immediately after the announcement of the death of Sir John Kerr, "It is still too early for history's judgement -- that needs to be written by men and women who were not alive on that day."<sup>4</sup>

History requires objective detachment and, as I said at the time of Sir John's death, it requires to be written by those "who were not personally affected by the events or their consequences, and who can do as historians down the ages have done, and look objectively and dispassionately at the events and the circumstances -- the behaviour, the conditions, the attitudes of all of the participants in that event".<sup>5</sup>

Mind you, not everyone who writes long after an event, and who has available accurate contemporary accounts, will necessarily produce a fair account, for, in addition to careless or inadequate research, we may be dealing with poetic licence or simple error on the one hand, or bias, prejudice or even malice on the other.

Examples of some of these traits may be found in the films *Breaker Morant* and *Gallipoli*, where, despite the existence of accurate contemporary records, historical truth seems to have

become a casualty.<sup>6</sup> As Gerard Henderson wrote in *The Sydney Morning Herald* just before Anzac Day this year, "Without doubt, the most powerful and lasting images of Australians at war are depicted in the films ..." Yet, as he points out, these images are manifestly incorrect. In the case of Morant, says Henderson, all that would be necessary to correct the prevailing myth would be to refer to his (Morant's) entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)*<sup>7</sup> or to Charles Bean's official history of World War I.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the portrayal of the Battle of the Nek in the film *Gallipoli* bears little resemblance to the account in Bean's war history. Yet in both cases, according to Henderson, "the fiction ... has effectively supplanted the historical reality".<sup>10</sup>

We do not yet have *ADB* entries for Sir John Kerr, Gough Whitlam or Malcolm Fraser, and we still await a definitive account of the events of 1975. So what are the prospects of a balanced interpretation by someone not alive on that day, as Peter Bowers has foretold? Most importantly, what primary and secondary sources would such a person refer to?



Edward Gough Whitlam  
Prime Minister, 1972-1975

The most obvious sources are participants or eye-witnesses. Sir John Kerr<sup>11</sup> and Gough Whitlam<sup>12</sup> have recorded their accounts, so I shall let them speak for themselves. But what of their contemporaries? How accurate their knowledge? How accurate their memories? How accurate their understanding? On the basis of three examples which I recorded only this year, it would seem that the answer to my three questions is often "Not very". Each example involved an experienced Parliamentarian who had held office as a Labor Government Minister. I shall not mention names, for my purpose is merely to make my point, and not to point the finger.



CAR FLAG STICKERS  
4 striking messages



Set of 4 ..... 3.50  
Set of 20 .... 10.00

My first example concerns the former Minister who greeted the recent formation of the Australian Republican Movement with the comment to the effect that, come the Republic, there would be no more Supply crises. He had obviously forgotten that the United States Congress had at first refused to pass President George Bush's Appropriation Bill last year and federal government ground to a halt, and that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan had dismissed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, also last year, and had ordered an early election.

---

**A Governor-General requires ministerial advice  
to dissolve Parliament and to issue writs for an election.  
That was the whole point and purpose  
of the 1975 dismissal.**

---

My second example concerns a former Minister who wrote, at the time of Sir John Kerr's death, that he couldn't understand why Sir John, in 1975, in insisting on calling an election, hadn't allowed Gough Whitlam to go into that election as Prime Minister. After many years in Parliament as a Minister and member of the Federal Executive Council, he still didn't know that a Governor-General requires ministerial advice to dissolve Parliament and to issue writs for an election. That was the whole point and purpose of the 1975 dismissal, yet here was an experienced parliamentarian directly affected by it who had never cottoned on to just why it had happened.

My third example concerns another former Minister who, along with his fellow Ministers, was photographed at Government House, Canberra, in 1973, with The Queen, just after she had presided over a meeting of the Federal Executive Council. The photograph was reproduced, with names underneath, in the Australian Labor Party's centenary history published earlier this year.<sup>13</sup> As I understand what followed, the National Library of Australia was preparing a copy of the photograph recently for a display, when one of the staff noticed an error. The official standing at one end of the back row of Ministers was identified as the Official Secretary to the Governor-General, but it certainly was not me. It was, in fact, my successor as Secretary to the Federal Executive Council, and the National Library started telephoning to try to identify him. They eventually got on to me, and I was able to tell them who it was, but before that they tried Gough Whitlam. He could tell them that it was not me, but he didn't know who it was. Next they tried one of his Ministers -- one with a reputation for a long memory. "Yes," he said, "that's a young David Smith." And then, no doubt to give some verisimilitude to his assertion, he added, "I can remember him pushing his way into the photograph." As I have said, it was not me, nor had my colleague pushed himself into the photograph: he watched, as I did, while the Ministers took their places, and then quietly stood at one end of the back row. So much for accurate recall.

Each of these incidents reminds me of an old family adage which is often repeated in our household: 'It's not the things you don't know that get you into trouble -- it's the things you think you know wot ain't so.'

Well, if future historians can't rely on the memories, or the utterances, of old men, where else do they turn for their basic information? If there is one thing which my time this year at the Australian National University has taught me, it is the extent to

which students and scholars rely on the contemporary media for much of their information -- on the newspapers and journals, and on the television and radio transcripts. My experience over 37 years as a public servant working alongside Government and Parliament has taught me that these sources can be as unreliable as old men's memories.

Derek Parker's book, *The Courtesans*,<sup>14</sup> about the Parliamentary Press Gallery, should be compulsory reading for all contemporary historians. Parker deals mainly with journalists who write the way they do because of inherent bias and prejudice, and a jaundiced view of their role. But there are also many, sad to say, who write the way they do because they lack the ability to do any better.

The late Philip Graham, former publisher of *Newsweek* and *The Washington Post*, once said that good journalism should aim to be "the first rough draft of history".<sup>15</sup> Sam Lipski, writing in *The Bulletin* earlier this year, and to whom I am indebted for that quotation, added the comment that "it is not a bad aim and ... in the aftermath of Sir John Kerr's death, it has some local relevance".<sup>16</sup> He went on to list some of the doyens of the Canberra Press Gallery, all of whom had vivid recollections of the events of 11th November 1975, who had witnessed and reported on what had happened in politics since then, and who had been allowed to grow old in their craft, and he compared them with their uninformed and inaccurate juniors, many of whom are today burned out as reporters or promoted to desk jobs by their mid-30's.<sup>17</sup>



*Malcolm Fraser*  
Prime Minister, 1975-1983

Let me again give some examples from my own experience of what an inexperienced or incompetent journalist can do with the truth. I am regularly described as "the man who announced Gough Whitlam's sacking in 1975". Having put up with the inaccuracy for so many years, I finally decided to take up the issue when, shortly after I had retired late last year, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation used the description in a totally unrelated story about the tabling in Parliament of my final annual report as Official Secretary to the Governor-General. I wrote a polite letter to the A.B.C., pointing out that the description was inaccurate and untrue, as what I had announced in 1975 was not the sacking of a Prime Minister, but the Governor-General's proclamation dissolving both Houses of Parliament.

I received an equally polite reply, conceding only that their description of what I had done verged on over-simplification and did not convey precisely my role in the events of 1975. What was clearly untrue, wrong, false, inaccurate, call it what you will, was considered by the National Broadcaster to be only 'verging on over-simplification' or 'lacking in precision',<sup>18</sup> thus giving new meaning to those words as well. After another letter I received an assurance that the inaccurate description would not be repeated, though the A.B.C.'s parting shot was that its News executives were a little surprised at my view on the wording about which I had complained. So much for truth and accuracy.<sup>19</sup>

But this little game of pitting Gough Whitlam and David Smith against each other sixteen years on, for the sake of a story, is not confined to radio and television.

Earlier this year the chairman of the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs issued a press release announcing that his committee proposed to conduct "a vigorous review of the efficacy and fairness of the Australian Honours System as part of its inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Australian Women".<sup>20</sup> Both in that press release, and in subsequent contributions to newspapers,<sup>21</sup> the chairman went on to prejudge the issues to be examined by his committee and to indicate the conclusions which he expected his committee to reach. As I have had some professional interest in the Australian Honours System, as well as still having a citizen's interest in the fair and impartial operation of Parliamentary committees, I wrote letters to the editors in which I suggested that the chairman might have waited for his committee to hear the evidence before he drew his committee's conclusions for it.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time as the chairman announced his committee's inquiry, he announced that the committee would also hold a public seminar on the subject, and in due course I enrolled and paid my seminar fee. One person who agreed to be a keynote speaker at that seminar was Gough Whitlam who, as the initiator of the Australian Honours System, still retains a great interest in the way in which the system operates.

Shortly afterwards, one of our daily newspapers ran a comprehensive article on the honours system, the forthcoming seminar, and the Whitlam participation. But the journalist couldn't resist putting a sting in the tail and foreshadowing a Gough Whitlam/David Smith confrontation. My gentle rebuke of the Parliamentary Committee chairman for pre-empting the evidence was described as "a heated response" and "one of the most virulent attacks". My mild-mannered words became an "accusation from Sir David [that] has spurred Gough Whitlam into action". And rounding off the article was the inference that Whitlam would be siding with the chairman against the chairman's "virulent attacker".<sup>23</sup>

The actual event, on the day, proved to be quite different. In his speech to the seminar, not only did Gough Whitlam reject the chairman's original press release, and all of its implications, as I had done earlier, he defended the administration of the Australian Honours System throughout the period for which I had had administrative responsibility for it, and, in doing so, quoted, with acknowledgement and with approval, from a speech which I had made on the subject some two and one half years earlier.<sup>24</sup>

No doubt the journalist had thought she had a good story, on the basis of misleading advice given to her at the time by someone on the staff of the Parliamentary Committee. What surprised me was that, after the event, and having heard Gough

Whitlam's speech to the seminar, she would not acknowledge, at least not to me, that the reality had proved to be quite different from what her story had led its readers to expect. What a deadly combination for those who would study past events on the basis of contemporary press reports -- misleading advice given to the journalist, coupled with misleading use of language by the journalist.

Well, so much for contemporary examples of flawed journalism. Let me go back now to November 1975 and look at what the future historian might find in the contemporary accounts of those days.

Academics and politicians have devoted much time and effort to documenting and analysing the causes and consequences of our 1975 constitutional troubles. In the first ten years alone, as far as I am aware, at least 15 books and 71 articles were written on the subject, and there may be many more which I have not yet tracked down. This is neither the time nor the place to attempt an analysis either of the events or of the writings which they generated -- that task is yet to come. As I do not meet the Peter Bowers' qualification of not being alive on that day, I am disqualified from writing an historical judgement, but there are political and constitutional judgements to be made, and some problems to be tackled. As I have said, much was written in the first ten years, and some of it scholarly, but the problems which sprang from the blocking of supply became too difficult for our politicians to deal with, and new political imperatives emerged to take their place.

As two distinguished constitutional lawyers from the University of Melbourne, Professor Colin Howard and Professor Cheryl Saunders, wrote only two years after the event: "Not one of the public figures espousing the doctrines and tactics which prevailed in 1975 has offered comment on the problems which lie ahead as a result. Still less have their talents been made available to assist in the anticipation and solution of those problems. It has been said many times already that the losing side in 1975 has remained unduly preoccupied with its grievances ever since. Perhaps so. It can with equal justice be said that the winning side has with similar obsessiveness averted its gaze from the consequences of its own actions, except for an occasional shrill essay in self-justification. Neither attitude assists in any way towards the solution of fundamental problems whose confrontation cannot be postponed indefinitely."<sup>25</sup>

---

---

**The average Australian ... is given the gospel  
according to the media.**

---

---

Though much more has been written about the events of 1975 since those words were written in 1977, none of it seems to have been directed at the resulting problems for our system of government or towards their solution. In the meantime, the average Australian, not overly devoted to reading books on politics or learned journals dealing with constitutional law, is given the gospel according to the media.

Our young people choosing to study Australian politics at school or university, and having no memory or personal knowledge of 1975, have fared little better. In the interests of knowledge and understanding, I have been prepared to talk to secondary and tertiary students about 1975, and I have been very concerned to

[Contd. on Page 18]

---

# The People's Prince

---

If the latest sensational example of Royal Family harassment is to be believed, Prince Charles is a cold, uncaring husband who shuns the company of his wife Princess Diana, and who has turned his back on his responsibilities as a husband and father.

Running through the current comments on a media-created "Royal Crisis" are references to Prince Charles' allegedly 'eccentric' beliefs and behaviour, with question marks about his qualifications to ever become King.

But while his position and Protocol prevent him from directly answering his critics, Prince Charles has made his views known on a variety of important subjects in a number of public addresses over the past decade. Generally ignored by the media, or politely sneered at as evidence of the Prince's 'way-out views' on education, architecture, philosophy, conservation, world affairs and other issues, these addresses, written by the Prince himself, reveal a man of tremendous depth and intellectual substance.

For the first time Prince Charles' carefully prepared views are being presented to a wider public audience. Published by Veritas Publishing Company on behalf of the Australian Heritage Society, *The People's Prince* is a selection of major addresses by His Royal Highness Prince Charles. Sir Walter Crocker, one of Australia's most distinguished Ambassadors, and former Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia, has written a hard-hitting foreword to a book which is certain to enjoy a large audience throughout the English-speaking world.

What emerges from a study of this collection of addresses is a most cultured and literate man, one with a deep concern about the fundamental importance of the traditional value system undergirding Western Christian Civilization.

In the complicated and often tense world of the present-day British Royal Family, symbolising not only the nation's heritage, but seeking to strengthen bridges between people, it is not enough to be a detached ceremonial figure. Prince Charles' visits with people from all walks of life allow him to meet them in their own surroundings where they can also come to know him as someone who shows concern for and interest in them as individuals, and encouraging them in a host of ways.

How many politicians could offer the following philosophical comment, "I am one of those who do not believe, as the scientific rationalists seem to, that human consciousness is the product merely of brain processes, or that the cosmos is a huge machine to be examined, experimented with and manipulated by man for his own all-knowing purposes. There is more to mankind, in my view, than a mere mechanical object functioning in a mechanistic world, which has evolved from the clockwork universe of Newton to the computer models now deemed to possess artificial intelligence."

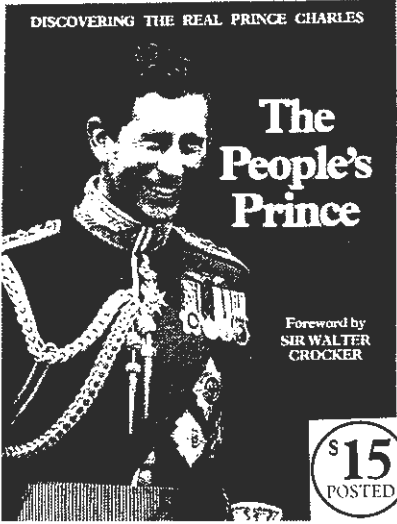
The Prince articulates the views of that vast majority of people who do not like the ugliness of what passes for modern art and architecture, who are disturbed by the results of social engineering -- termed education -- but who find it difficult to be heard.

The Australian Heritage Society has seen fit to offer a collection of the Prince's addresses in order that the general public of the English-speaking world might be able to assess realistically

the views of one of the most important public figures of this century. Anyone wishing to discover the real Prince of Wales will find him in this collection of his major addresses.

*The People's Prince* is available from the Heritage State addresses, given on page 1, or ask at capital city bookstores. [\$15 posted, from all League of Rights bookshops]

*A collection of major addresses*



**Discover the real Prince Charles!**

WHAT emerges from a study of Prince Charles' speeches is a most cultured and literate man with a deep concern about what is happening to Western Civilisation. Dispels the current media hype about the man behind the alleged "Royal Crisis". A publishing first.



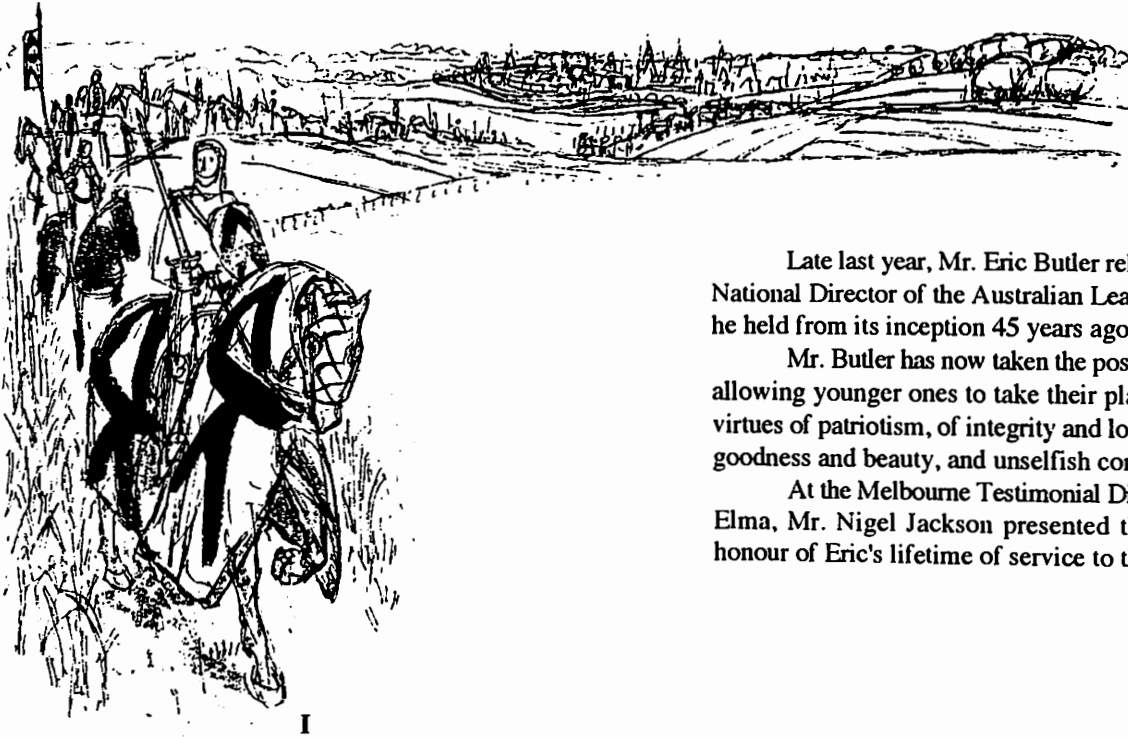
**HERITAGE SOCIETY  
FLAG CAMPAIGN**

**Ring 0055 25009**  
**For further details**

# QUARTET FOR ERIC

**Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,  
Renowned for their deeds as far from home, -  
For Christian service and true chivalry .....**

Shakespeare, *Richard II*



Late last year, Mr. Eric Butler relinquished the position of National Director of the Australian League of Rights, a position he held from its inception 45 years ago.

Mr. Butler has now taken the position of National Adviser, allowing younger ones to take their place in the defence of the virtues of patriotism, of integrity and love of truth, the pursuit of goodness and beauty, and unselfish concern for other people.

At the Melbourne Testimonial Dinner to Eric and his wife, Elma, Mr. Nigel Jackson presented the following Quartet in honour of Eric's lifetime of service to this nation.

I  
The secret of this people and this land  
Is a hidden pool near Binfield House  
In Edward Seven's days. You traversed fifty yards  
Of wily marsh and the mean claws of blackberries,  
Clambered across the rotten boughs of decayed  
Beeches and found it, not twenty yards across,  
Forgotten, still and filled with those great fish -  
Carp, or perhaps they were tench or bream - gliding  
In magisterial peace deep under water to become  
Shadows in the dark murk on the other side.  
You were a boy, fourteen, with fishing-rod and dreams.  
You forgot your grass hollow at the other pool  
(Lake, rather!) and the bread-and-cheese, the copies  
Of *Chums* and the *Union Jack*; and you felt the merciless  
Joy as Her sword pierced your trembling heart.  
As a man you would be a voice crying freedom  
to the world.

For me, as a smaller boy, there was the old laburnum  
By the side of the stocky mansion in Woodcrest Road,  
With its delicate green bark and dripping chandeliers  
Of golden-yellow blossoms hanging casually,  
Where I climbed to find peace and my hidden self,  
Far from the cruelties of vulgar lads.

And the garden  
Sloped up with a blessing of daisies to the two  
Vast yews, those great churchwardens green and dark,  
From one of which the swing was dropped to propel  
Body and soul and kicking legs into English blue.  
Beyond was a small copse into which Alan Quatermain  
And I would disappear to stalk wildebeeste and boks,  
Or search for the Swallows and Amazons, or watch Mole  
And Ratty chattering by on a rambling afternoon.

The pride of Britain could be measured out in stamps,  
Their art, geography and royal heads.  
The Temple of the Tooth in far Ceylon adjoined  
Its dignity to George the Sixth in prussian blue.  
On the same page were Trincomalee, Adam's Peak,  
Colombo Harbour and a river scene in brown  
And green. Close by, the Cyprus page presented  
Salamis with broken pillars of some ancient fane,  
Peristeroni Church, Kolossi Castle  
And a map of Aphrodite's island with her naked  
Grace united to the monarch's honest gaze.  
From Gambia an elephant aroused the air.  
Gibraltar showed a Moorish Castle, chaste  
And square, on sloping crimson hillside in a frame  
Of violet-gray, Europa Point and Elliott's



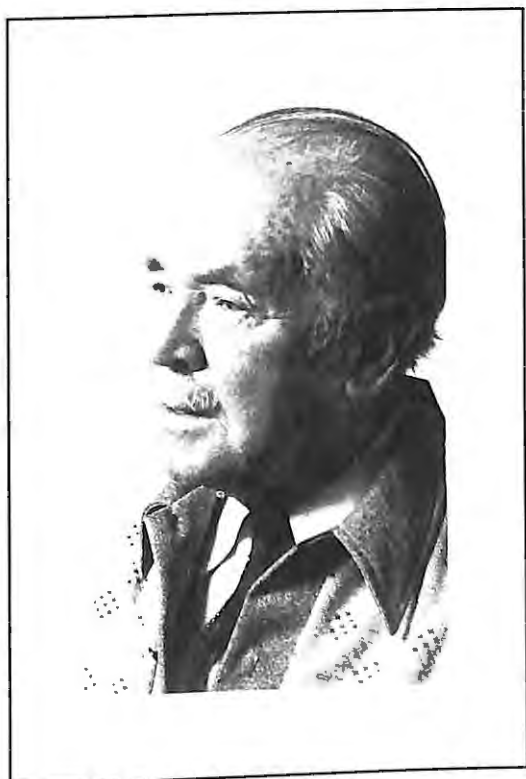
By coming back to Parliament with nonchalance -  
 For Captain Ramsay was the peerless statesman  
 Of his day. Domville and Mosley back him up  
 With jests of cabin boys and Brixton bugs.  
 There is also Douglas Reed, quaffing the gay  
 Claret with his arm upon the svelte form  
 Of an Austrian lady friend, as he narrates  
 His travels, interviews, escapes and pranks,  
 While Ivor Benson checks his turbulence  
 With clipped additions and an agile accuracy.  
 John Tyndall's oratory adorns the board;  
 Then Clifford Douglas beams like a tipsy panda  
 As he tells of a yacht he made too good for Whitehall;  
 And Edmund Burke speaks of that unbought grace  
 Which lightens Britain's green and pleasant ways;  
 And countless other patriots join in the talk.

And if that Pope had seen them in his town,  
 That deep-browed, dark-robed, thoughtful man of Rome,  
 He would have surely said to those around,  
 Raising a hand to summon due suspense  
 From faces pained or puzzled or alert,  
 And pausing calmly to select his words:  
 "They are not angels, those, but Britons!"

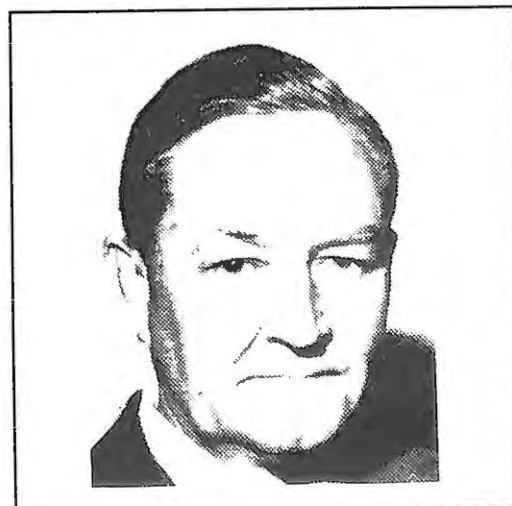
*Nigel Jackson  
 April 28th, 1992.*



*Of Nesta Webster (British historian at the age of 22)  
 As she tells the truth of France.*



*There is also Douglas Reed  
 (Times correspondent between the two world wars)*



*While Ivor Benson checks his turbulence*

---

# IN PRAISE OF ALICE *by Elizabeth Dixon*

---

Her Great Grandparents grew hay for the mail coach horses and her Grand father was at one time a mail coach driver. Her Father was, in her words, "one of the finest men I have known". When he died one family friend comforted the family with "Few people leave this world with as much love and respect as your Father had."

She remembers the stories of her ancestors who were honest humble hard-working people who, she reminisces, "had the greatest gift of all bestowed on them and that was to show respect, love and compassion to their fellow-man."

As children, she and her brothers and sisters learnt of the hardships the early pioneers of Kingston (South Australia) had to endure, their family was one of the first two in the district. The family home was built in 1878. Her father cleared his lands with an axe and a grubber.



*The family home was built in 1878*

Although often short of food themselves during the depression, she says there was always enough to spare for the passing 'swagman' who may have walked hundreds of miles in search of work. She remembers, in particular, one who was extremely grateful for the small amount of money her Father gave him to send to his mother in Adelaide.

Alice has given twelve years of service to her community through the St. John's Ambulance Society, having done both public duties and competition work. She successfully represented her state -- with two other members -- in the Australian Championships in Sydney 1982. She has seen the boys she has trained as St John cadets win Corps competitions for four successive years and in 1990, the South Australian titles.

Alice Page loves the Australian Flag and when the anti-flag forces started to materialize, she entered the battle to save it. She says she has a dream for the future:

it is to see **our** Flag proudly flown by our schools; to see it respected the way a nation's flag should be, and to see legislation passed in Federal and State Parliaments protecting it from the whims of temporary power-hungry politicians; to see Australia become, once again, the great country it used to be. Her aim is to place a copy of the audio tape *Voice of the Australian Flag* into every school and radio station in South Australia and to encourage others to do the same in their own states.

To date Alice has placed a tape in over 150 schools and 13 radio stations within South Australia; she has worked ceaselessly to help set up a branch of the National Flag Association and last but not least, she has found the author of the poem *Keep the Flag* (by Robin Northover) which we published in *Heritage* No. 63.

We 'dips our lid' to you, Alice! You are an example and an inspiration to all loyal Australians. Mrs. Page has received many letters from the general public, among which were the following:

Dear Mrs. Page,

Terry Carroll, *Post* editor-in-chief, has passed your letter of 14th May on to me.

I have been hearing a lot about the 'Keep the Flag' poem lately. It seems to be cropping up everywhere. I understand that it was read out at Anzac Day services all over the country, which made me feel very honoured.

However, poets -- if I may include myself in that illustrious company -- do enjoy a bit of recognition, and seeing my creation appearing with someone else's name appended to it gets a bit tiresome after a while.

I have enclosed a full copy of the poem. This is the way it was written and the way it is intended to be. I have no objections to anyone using it, publishing it, broadcasting it or even setting it to music and singing it -- poems are meant to be read, after all - - but I would like to be acknowledged as the author. I have no objection to your using the poem (I'm very flattered, actually) and all I ask is that you use the correct version and stick my name on the bottom.

(Please don't think I'm being overly fussy about the words. If you read the two versions out loud you will understand that the original version makes better sense and scans properly.)

All the best to you in your endeavours; and if I may be of any further help, please let me know.

Yours faithfully,

Robin J. Northover, PO Box 13, Kilmore 3764.  
(18th May, 1992)



**HERITAGE SOCIETY  
FLAG CAMPAIGN**

**Ring 0055 25009 for further details**



The Australian Heritage Society invites you to join a campaign of protest against Prime Minister Keating's outrageous proposal to change Australia's flag. Generations of Australians have risked their lives under this flag, defending a free, independent Australia. It is dangerous nonsense to suggest that Australian independence can be advanced by rejecting our heritage. The flag is a symbol of Australia's unique system of government — the constitutional monarchy, itself a barrier to the internationalist dream of a new world order. No changes should be made to the flag, the Constitution, or the Australian Monarchy WITHOUT CONSULTING THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE through a referendum.

**HELP RETAIN THE AUSTRALIAN FLAG! WHAT YOU CAN DO:**

- ★ Write, phone or fax your Member of Parliament. Stress that you will never vote for anyone proposing to change the flag. Where do they stand?
- ★ Contact the Australian Heritage Society to take part in a nationwide

**CAMPAIGN TO PROTECT THE AUSTRALIAN FLAG.**  
Detach below, and send to: Australian Heritage Society, Flag Campaign,

**TO:** The Australian Heritage Society, I wish to (please tick):

- Take part in this campaign. Please send further details.
- Buy a copy of "The Voice of the Australian Flag" audiotape — \$6.
- Receive the February, 1992 edition of the quarterly journal "Heritage", featuring Prince Charles' great Shakespearean address on the importance of our cultural roots — \$5 posted.
- Subscribe to "Heritage" journal — \$20 per annum.
- Make a donation to this campaign to save our Flag.

I enclose \$ .....  
Name: .....  
Address: .....  
Postcode: .....

The Australian Heritage Society is a division of the Australian League of Rights, a non-party, non-sectarian, non-profit service organisation. The Heritage Society was formed in Melbourne in 1971, as a permanent body to defend Australia's spiritual, cultural, political and constitutional heritage "Linking the past with the present — for the future".

- VICTORIA** THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY  
G.P.O. Box 1052 J, Melbourne, Vic. 3001  
Telephone (03) 650 9749 Fax (03) 650 9368
- W.A.** HERITAGE BOOK MAILING SERVICE  
P.O. Box 1035, Midland, W.Aust 6056  
Telephone (09) 574 6042. (09) 574 6260  
Fax (09) 574 6042
- N.S.W.** HERITAGE BOOK SERVICES  
P.O. Box 93, Boronia Park, N.S.W. 2111  
Telephone (02) 817 1776
- S.A.** HERITAGE BOOKSHOP  
2nd Floor Princes Building,  
24 Waymouth Street, Adelaide, S.A. 5000  
Telephone (08) 231 3801
- QLD.** THE CONSERVATIVE BOOKSHOP  
2nd Floor, McConaghy House,  
460 Ann Street, Brisbane, Qld 4000  
Telephone (07) 831 5481 Fax (07) 832 2518

Dear Mrs. Page,

Please excuse the poor letter quality of my ailing typewriter. I watched the 7.30 Report on the ABC tonight and was interested to hear about your efforts to save the Australian flag. I am only 15 years of age but nevertheless agree that we should keep the present flag. You may be interested to know that at my school, I and a friend noticed that we have a large flagpole in a prominent area of the Senior School, but that it never had a flag flying on it. We enquired as to why, with the headmaster, and now my friend can be seen raising the flag every morning. I have just recently placed an order for a life-sized Australian flag that will hang on my wall at boarding school until I find a flagpole that would suit it.

Could you please send me the details of how to go about getting one of your 'Save the flag' kits, e.g. how much it would cost, etc. I realize that you must be flooded with letters at the moment, but am still anxious to hear from you.

My sincerest thanks for your time and effort on behalf of the whole country.

Yours faithfully,  
M.R.



Alice Page

You are an example and an inspiration

In a subsequent letter, this young schoolboy wrote:

You may be interested to know that under normal circumstances, my parents would not have been able to send me to boarding school, but I won a scholarship that covers some costs, and the government pays for some, the rest being made up by my parents. ... One of our teachers wants the flag changed, so my friend and I are currently debating the issue with him. We feel we are making good headway!

---

# A DOUBTFUL ALTERNATIVE

*by Randall J. Dicks*

---

Last April, post offices across the United States offered post card "official ballots" to the public. There were no age or citizenship requirements to cast these ballots, not even a limit as to how many times one could vote. On one side, two proposed postage stamp designs were shown: "A" and "B", featuring a "young and lean" and "older and not so lean" Elvis Presley. Whichever design garners the most votes will be used for the first stamp in a new American music series, to be issued by the United States Postal Service in 1993.

This balloting is a clever merchandising ploy by the U.S. Postal Service, which has become increasingly aware of profits to be made by non-traditional sales to philatelists and the public: stamps which will never be put to their intended use, T-shirts, coffee mugs, coin banks, and even Teddy bears in postal uniform.

The Postal Service received hundreds of thousands of ballots daily. A wire service report queried, not altogether facetiously, whether Elvis might receive more votes than the President in this election year. Certainly the Elvis ballot has been received with more interest and enthusiasm than the long series of presidential primary elections in state after state. The primaries, for the most part, have generated only disinterest, disillusionment, and dismissal of "politics as usual".

Discontent with the candidates and the process seemed to increase with each succeeding poll. A typical poll in Pennsylvania, shortly before that state's primary election, showed that incumbent President George Bush and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the preferred candidates, but 65% of the Democrats surveyed and 49.3% of the Republicans wished that someone else were running. A state legislator explained, "This 'anybody else' is a yearning the folks have for a knight on a white horse. I don't think that candidate exists."<sup>1</sup>

The hope for a political *deus ex machina* explains the interest in the candidacy of "wild card" billionaire Ross Perot, characterized as "rich, outspoken, and messianic", but probably not the white knight in question. Support for this candidate is more accurately a rejection of the others; in another poll, 41% of respondents gave as the most important reason for their support of Perot not his leadership qualities or stands on issues, but that they did not like the other candidates.<sup>2</sup>

Voters, parties, politicians, and media in the United States of America, the quintessential republic, have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on this presidential election campaign thus far, and it will not end until November. Despite all the cash, fanfare, and limelight, the voters are presented with lacklustre choices: a man whose character and judgement have been repeatedly called into question, a lightweight incumbent with no clear-cut direction,

other than whichever way the political wind blows, and a self-made billionaire who dismisses the matter of national health care by saying that he has no trouble paying *his* medical bills. Many commentators have predicted all year that voter turnout in November may be the lowest ever.

All this brings to mind the remark of a royal prince a few years ago, that witnessing the American presidential election process had made him a born-again monarchist. It is curious indeed that some Australians would like to have a republic of their own, when the republican bandwagon seems to be more of a sinking ship. Monarchy works in Australia, as it has for 200 years, and there is no pressing need to change it. A republic seems to offer the most doubtful alternative to the present viable, functioning system.

It is almost more fashionable these days to be considering the reverse, abandoning ineffective republics in favour of monarchies. *Why is it that there is so much admiration for King Juan Carlos of Spain in all the countries of Eastern Europe, and in Latin America, as well?* It was the King who engineered the transformation of Spain from a semi-fascist dictatorship into the modern, democratic, prosperous state which this year is hosting the world at the Olympic Games in Barcelona and the Seville World's Fair.

*Why is it that Brazilians will vote in 1993 on whether their country should be a parliamentary republic, a presidential republic, or a constitutional monarchy?* Brazilians look on their imperial days under the Braganzas as a golden age, whereas the succession of republican dictatorships since 1889 has provided only a decade of stable government in total. Brazilian monarchists see a restored monarchy as offering what the republic has never been able to provide: unity, stability, continuity -- and democracy.

*Why is it that there is a renaissance of support for monarchy in Ethiopia?* Ethiopia had 225 emperors until the monarchy was replaced in 1975 by a brutal, Marxist military dictatorship, which has ruined the nation's economy, slaughtered or starved countless numbers of its people, and devastated the ancient land's cultural and religious life. Since the fall of the Mengistu régime (President Mengistu retreated in tears to a farm which he had the foresight to provide for himself in Zimbabwe), a monarchist party, *Mao-Anbessa* ("Lion of Judah") has made rapid strides both in Ethiopia and among émigrés, in support of a constitutional monarchy. Emperor Amha Selassie, who has been living in exile in Britain and the USA, intends to return to Ethiopia, to offer his services in rebuilding the country.

*Why is the Royal Family so popular in Bulgaria, whose monarchy was ended in a rigged plebiscite in 1946?* Because King  
(Contd. on page 15)



---

# THE DEBATE ON AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL FLAG



An Exposure of False Arguments



HERE TODAY  
HERE TO STAY!

by *Dr. Rupert Goodman*,  
President of the Australian Flag Association of Queensland

---

It is time for Australians to look carefully at the propaganda circulated by those aiming to change our National Flag. Arguments are put forward to confuse people with illogical reasons, half-truths, misrepresentations, historical inaccuracies and even outright lies. This article thoroughly examines the main false arguments and the answers should put to rest permanently all these spurious claims. No valid case has emerged for changing our Flag, Australia's chief national symbol recognized and honoured by our nation for the whole of the 20th century to date.

**(1) When overseas nobody recognizes our Flag**

This is a reflection on the ignorance of most people concerning flags of other nations. How many travellers know the flags of Spain or Portugal, Brazil or Egypt, the Philippines or Vietnam, Switzerland or Norway or Malaysia? International recognition is not a major criterion in creating flags -- else all you would need is a piece of cloth with the word 'Australia' on it, e.g., and even then some would confuse it with Austria! Australia's Flag is now well known across the world through trade, tourism, sporting achievements, wars, relief aid, international co-operation in many fields and much more. National Flags emerge from the ethos of the country and reflect its history, heritage and traditions. Our own Flag clearly is well known and respected throughout the world after exposure in war and peace for almost a century. Why start all over again?

**(2) Canada changed its Flag in 1965 - why not follow their example?**

Canadians did not change their flag -- it was done for them by the Pearson Government for purely political reasons. No referendum, not even a public competition, was held. There was no national poll suggesting a majority wanted a change. The Pearson Government adopted a new flag to appease the French, a powerful minority which had remained in Canada despite the British victory at Quebec in 1759. The presence of the Union Jack in the Canadian Red Ensign was an anathema to them and in the 1960's they threatened to withdraw from the Canadian Confederation. The Pearson Government was aided and abetted by the National Broadcasting Service which conducted a 'softening-up' campaign, with children being asked to design a new flag -- frequent allusions being made that the Union Jack in the Red Ensign was "not our Flag". The new Flag still did not solve the French problem, Canadians remaining deeply divided. The resultant bitterness is hardly an example Australia should copy.

Putting a gum leaf or kangaroo on our Flag completely lacks historical significance and traditions.

**(3) The Flag should be changed in line with our national colours of green and gold**

To start with, the Hawke Government made a major gaffe in proclaiming green and gold, first as our sporting colours, then as our national colours. In heraldry it is an established tradition that a country's national colours be taken from the livery colours of its official Coat of Arms. For many years, therefore, Australia adopted the blue and gold colours of the wreath in their Coat of Arms as being our own country's proper national colours. Indeed when the Whitlam Government established the Order of Australia in 1975 the colours for the insignia were appropriately blue and gold, and they have remained so. Thus national colours are not necessarily related to the colours of one's National Flag and vice versa. Having committed one error with our national colours, why compound that error by adding the Flag to the list? Besides, there is nothing distinctive about green and gold -- most African countries use them.

**(4) The Australian Flag is indistinguishable from New Zealand's**

Anyone who can't tell the difference between a cluster of white stars together with a separate single large white star as against simply four prominent red stars is plainly in need of an eye test! There is good reason for the two countries to otherwise have much in common -- in history and tradition, in language and literature, in peace and war. New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales until 1840 but was still represented at the Conferences between the States to establish Federation and came very close to joining the Australian Commonwealth in 1901. Since then the two countries have nevertheless been closely linked by such mutual interests as ANZAC, ANZUK, ANZUS, ANZAAS, etc. In any case, much more look-alike type flags abound around the world. Indonesia and Monaco actually have identical designs (red over white)! Fly it upside down and you have Poland's flag (white over red)! Hungary and Italy both have red, white and green stripes. Just as a thought, you could always ask the New Zealanders to change their own Flag -- but they don't seem to have any identity problem over there!

**(5) The population has changed since 1901**

A change in the population mixture is not a valid reason,

in itself, for changing the Flag. The National Flag represents the continuity of the nation -- each generation, including new arrivals, pledging loyalty to their country. The flags of well-established and enduring nations date a long way back in time very often, though quite certainly their populations have changed. For instance, take the Flags of Denmark (1625), U.S.A. (1777), France (1794), Great Britain (1801), and Sweden (1906) -- they have made no such change for that reason. Added to this misleading statement is the claim that migrants don't relate to our present Flag! This is an improper slur on many migrants, especially those who have been with us for several decades or so, and who consider themselves as loyal and patriotic Australians and who do understand and honour the Flag. In any case, it is hardly the role of migrants to say, "We don't like your Flag." They have a solemn obligation to honour and respect the chief national symbol of the country which accepted and welcomed them. No flag reflects all the cultures of virtually every society today -- as America illustrates with its National Flag of Stars and Stripes.

**(6) We never had an official Flag until 1953**

Nonsense! In the first year of Federation the Commonwealth Government called for designs for an Australian National Flag of our own by the most democratic method -- an open public competition (*Commonwealth Gazette*, 29 April, 1901). It resulted in over 32,800 entries and seven competent judges were appointed. The design with a Union Jack, a Federation Star and the Southern Cross was selected. A Blue Ensign of this design was raised over the Exhibition Building in Melbourne by the wife of our first Governor-General (Lord Hopetoun) on 3rd September, 1901. Copies of the approved design were published in the *Commonwealth Gazette* (20 February, 1903) as the Flag of the Commonwealth of Australia. Since then it has flown on all historic occasions. It flew over the first Federal Parliament in Melbourne, and over the first Federal Parliament House in Canberra (1927). It was taken into battle in World Wars I and II. The Flags Act (1953) was, said Prime Minister Menzies, "largely a formal measure which puts into legislative form what has become the established practice in Australia". It clarified the distinction between the Blue and Red Ensigns. Not many countries have, in fact, an Act of Parliament proclaiming their National Flag. We've had an official Flag *of our own* since 1901.

**(7) Judges of the 1901 Competition were not Australian**

In desperation the "change-the-flag" lobby alleges everything wrong with the 1901 competition: judges were not Australian; the rules were loaded in favour of the Blue Ensign chosen; the criteria were irrelevant; the Flag was foisted upon us by the British. None of these claims stands up to honest scrutiny, and they demonstrate the lengths to which these people will go. The seven judges were all eminent Australians who had lived in the country for many years. Of course some were not born in Australia, but neither were many other prominent persons like Sir Henry Parkes, Sir Samuel Griffith, Henry Higgins and many members of the first Parliament. They were certainly not imported for the purpose! They included a heraldry and design adviser, navigation experts, a single member of parliament and a journalist from the *Melbourne Herald*. The first Parliament handled this issue with surprising openness. It asked all Australians to submit

entries. All entries were put on public display. The judges were free to set up their own criteria, and there was no pressure at all from the Parliament or from Great Britain. The winning design was submitted to the Admiralty to ensure it was easily recognizable and did not clash with the flag of any other nation. A "Flag of our own" absolutely!

We Australians designed it and we Australians selected it -- in the first year of our nationhood. So much for the lies about the competition!

**(8) Five different Flags have flown over Australia - why not another one?**

This is deliberate confusion. Whatever flags flew in the 19th century are not part of the argument -- in any case it was the Union Flag, with subsequent addition, without altering the design of the Union Jack. What is properly central to the argument is that the Blue Ensign selected and approved in 1901 has been Australia's only official national flag for the whole of the 20th century.

**(9) Banjo Paterson supported the Southern Cross Flag**

Another misrepresentation! His poem *Our Own Flag* was written in 1900 before Federation and the Flag competition. He then became a keen supporter of the flag chosen. We quote:

*"And the Flag was a Jack with the stars displayed,  
A Flag that is new to me,  
But I saw it fly in a bloody fight,  
When the raider "Emden" turned in flight,  
And crashed on the Cocos lee."*

**(10) Existing flag implies Australia is a colony of Great Britain**

The Union Jack is the target of the republicans and others who would try to change the Flag. They miss or don't care about the essential unity of the whole design, show an abysmal ignorance of the rules of heraldry and indicate little knowledge or appreciation of history. The historical fact cannot be ignored that the vast majority of the people who did settle, pioneer and develop this country came from Britain. Every aspect of our social, cultural, lingual, constitutional, legal and religious life had its roots in the United Kingdom. It is therefore only right and proper that our National Flag should reflect these origins by the presence in it of the Union Jack. Our Westminster system of government has come down to us from as far back as Simon de Montfort's First Parliament (also the first parliament in the world) of 1265 A.D. So also we gained our heritage of the common law, trial by jury (of our peers), natural justice and the like -- dating back to Magna Carta in 1215 A.D. Truly we have received a goodly heritage from Great Britain and all Australians should be honoured and proud, accordingly, to have the Union Jack shown in our own Flag. To remove this important symbol would be akin to tearing out valuable pages in one's history book. Hawaii, a State of the USA and never a British colony, proudly flies the Union Jack in the dominant quarter of its flag. When we look at our society with its social order, freedom of the individual, religious liberty, open electoral system, no pressure from military factions, we are indeed "*the lucky country*". This has given us one of the most

stable and peaceful countries in the world -- no riots, rebellions, revolutions; a record no republic can match! We should be thankful we were founded by the British.

Another version of this argument is that we have "somebody else's flag" in our own. Singapore has the flag of Indonesia in its own -- but nobody suggests it is therefore a colony. Micronesia's flag is the same as that of some other nearby Pacific lands. There is no case against our unique Flag.

.....

So much for the worn-out yet ever repeated arguments attempting to change our Flag. This deceptive campaign must be seen in its wider perspective of transforming Australia into an Asian socialist republic -- preceded by removing all the symbols associated with our British heritage. A nation engaged in tearing down the symbols of its heritage is a nation engaged in destroying itself through vandalism. If we wish to preserve our nation's heritage for ourselves and future generations, we must say to our leaders "**Hands off Our Flag**". Our existing Australian National Flag is a symbol of Australia's national identity, as valid now as it was in 1901. It was the symbol of our national identity at Gallipoli, on the Kokoda Trail, at Commonwealth Games and many other events all this century.



**KEEP OUR TRUE FLAG!!**

(Australian National Flag Association of Queensland (Inc.),  
GPO Box 172, Brisbane Qld. 4001)

[Contd. from page 12, A Doubtful Alternative]

*monarchy was ended in a rigged plebiscite in 1946?* Because King Simeon II has never ceased to consider himself King of the Bulgarians, with all the responsibilities which that entails. Through more than four decades of exile, the King has maintained close contacts with Bulgaria and Bulgarians, assisting and advising whenever possible. Few former presidents continue to feel such responsibility after leaving office. The kings and heirs to the thrones of Bulgaria, Roumania, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece have all made successful careers in their own right, but continue to hold themselves at the service of their countries.

*Why is it that there is such wide respect for the Royal Family in Romania, whose monarchy was abolished by the Communists in 1947?* Because King Michael has never lost touch with his country and countrymen. Because his eldest daughter, Princess Margarita, has given up a successful career to help rebuild clinics and hospitals through the Foundation which bears her name, with no political involvement or connections whatsoever. Because the King's other daughters have led truck convoys of desperately-needed supplies into Roumania, and have been working to raise funds for further humanitarian relief.

At a banquet in honour of the Queen's Ruby Jubilee held by the Monarchist League of Canada in Toronto in March, King Michael, the guest of honour, spoke convincingly and sincerely about monarchy, saying that the monarch is not only head of state

but head of the nation, and pointed out that the monarchies of today are mature democracies in the forefront of technological progress. He mentioned renewed interest in the monarch as the incarnation of national unity, the head of the national family, and the representative of national tradition and culture. He said that the constitutional monarchy of Canada combines tradition with progress, which is equally true of Australia's constitutional monarchy.

His Majesty explained on that occasion that Roumania became a modern independent state under its monarchy, and the Constitution of 1923 established a progressive political system. In order for Roumania to be reintegrated into the family of free nations, King Michael believes there must be real change in the direction of democracy. Roumania's first King, Carol I, was able to forge reconciliation and order out of political chaos, and monarchy at this point would offer Romania the advantages of legitimacy, historical continuity (for a republic would always be associated with the Communists and Ceausescu), and the stability of having a head of state who is above partisan politics. The King drew attention to the Spanish example, "through Monarchy to democracy" under the leadership of King Juan Carlos.

A return to monarchy in Roumania, the King says, would provide the needed total break with the structures and mentality of the past forty years, and would offer "unity, not division". To much applause, King Michael said his country deserves better than second-best. Monarchy could restore hope to the young Majesty admits, for no country has suffered more; but the crown alone can provide a unifying figure, a national symbol independent of political forces.<sup>3</sup>

Australia has a monarchy which works well; an estimable Queen and an intelligent, able heir; an ancient tradition which smoothly keeps pace with the needs and advances of the late 20th century. Does Australia need a ferociously expensive, crashingly boring presidential campaign like the affliction of "USA '92", or a patchwork system starring a figurehead president unknown outside Canberra? As King Michael said of Roumania on that chilly night in Toronto, Australia deserves better than second best.

1. Pittsburgh Post Gazette, April 21, 1992.

2. Newsweek, April 27, 1992.

3. Address by H.M. King Michael I of Roumania, Monarchist League of Canada Grand Ruby Jubilee Banquet, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 28th, 1992.



**HERITAGE SOCIETY  
FLAG CAMPAIGN**

**Ring 0055 25009 for further details**

---

---

# BURMA STAR, M.C.

---

---

Each V-J Anniversary, Lt. Duncan Campbell Menzies M.C. is remembered in a wreath-laying ceremony, by Burma Star Association members in South Australia.

Lt. Menzies made provision for the following letter to be sent to his parents should he be killed or missing in action. A South Australian Rhodes Scholar, Lt. Menzies enlisted in 1939, while in the United Kingdom.



*Memorial in honour of Lt. Duncan Campbell Menzies M.C.  
Prospect, South Australia*

My Dear Mother and Father,

If you receive this letter at all it will mean that I have been killed or am missing in Burma. I am at present at Baroda with Mr. and Mrs. Hay. If all goes well we'll be back in India in two or three months. If not you'll receive this letter, I'm leaving it with Mr. and Mrs. Hay of Baroda, to whom I've told all I can.

You may weep that I've voluntarily undertaken this dangerous job, but it seems to me that God has wanted me to. I volunteered for a P.T. course, was pre-

vented from going on it, and was sent on a Camer course instead. So I went to Saugor and by an extraordinary coincidence met Major Bernard Fergusson. He is of our regiment and was with the battalion in Tobruk. He's a cousin of the Earl of Glasgow and is an absolutely first-rate man. He resigned a job in Delhi of Lt. Col. to command one of these columns. When I met him he said he'd wanted to see me but couldn't see how he could, everything being wrapped in secrecy. He wanted an Adjutant and thought I'd be the man for the job. So all these coincidences seemed to

be the pointers of God, showing me that He wanted me to do this job. If I don't survive it, you will know that I'm doing what I think is my duty and what God wills. What He wills, it is not for man to question.

Don't be sad that I've gone. I know you cherished me and had great hopes for me but it is better to live well than to live long. War is a time of broken hearts and defeated hopes, and none of us can claim to be exempted from them. If we are, it is the will of God. If we are not, it is still His will. I know you would prefer me to do what I know to be my duty than to shirk my responsibilities, let others face danger, and thus save my paltry skin.

I would have loved, more dearly than I can tell to have seen you once more, to have kissed you again, to have held your hands and to have looked into your eyes. It is nearly four years since I was home, but I still cherish, above all things, my love for you and your love for me. These things are above death for they belong to the soul.

I think of Ross, poor lad. He has not had any breaks, but I'm sure he's got the good in him. I pray that he'll survive the war and look after you, as I've been unable to do. Jean and Ellen are better off in the world, and I don't think they'll miss me so much as they don't need me so much, but I think of them too.

But above all, my dear Mother, and you my dear Father, I think of you. It is with tears in my eyes that I'm writing, for you 'buildded' so much on me. But I'm only a part of your noble selves; don't let my loss upset you. Be sure that I loved you dearly to the end. But higher than love of anyone lies the call of duty, and the need to do the will of God. I pray that God will be with you, will watch over you and give you peace.

Like Solomon I am not to be given to see the fulfilment of my hopes, to see the temple of peace I am striving to build. But it is only through the sacrifice of so many like me that the temple can be built. I know we will win the war, and save the best in life. Even though I do not see it, I know that it will be, and therefore, as a helper towards the end, I die in peace.

Goodbye my dear parents.

May God be with you.

I have always loved you and I love you still.

Your son,  
*Campbell.*

## (KOHIMAH EPITAPH)

When you go home  
Think of us and say,  
"We gave our tomorrow  
That you may have your to-day."



## ***Pétain : Patriot or Traitor***

[To be inserted between pages 16 and 17 of *Heritage*, No. 63, March-May 1992 edition.]

Huddleston considered that the two greatest errors of the Allies during the war were these: firstly, failing to offer Germany reasonable conditions for surrender (at Casablanca in January 1943 Churchill and Roosevelt demanded "unconditional surrender" and may thus have prolonged the war by a year), and secondly, failing to invade through the Balkans to prevent the Sovietization of much of central Europe. "Even on France, completely at the mercy of Germany, unconditional surrender had not been imposed: nor had Germany tried and hanged French politicians and military leaders." (170) Pétain was now personally urged by Huddleston to issue a manifesto on behalf of France. It would support civilization, culture, pity, the human personality, national independence, territorial integrity, political liberty, financial freedom, equitable access to raw materials for the nations, social justice and the restoration of moral values. Pétain agreed, as did his advisers, Lucien Romier, Dr. Ménétrel, M and René Benjamin; but the project was effectively stymied by Laval, "who was now virtually in supreme power". (170-173) However, Huddleston did obtain an important interview with Laval. He recorded that Laval's case was more complex than the post-Liberation "assassination" of Laval suggested ("assassination" was Laval's word before he died and was probably a fair one). "The Director of his own cabinet, Jean Jardin ... was notoriously in sympathy with the Resistance, and lent it much practical assistance. Laval did not complain. Nor was there any question of disloyalty on the part of Jardin." (173-174) Huddleston urged upon Laval his conviction that "unless France was to stand condemned as an accomplice of Germany, it was time to dissociate herself plainly from Hitler and to tell the world that she remained steadfast to her ideals." (174) Laval found the proposal unrealistic, although, being tolerant of contradiction, he listened with remarkable patience. Huddleston concluded that Laval "was blind to the importance of the moral status of France", but conceded that "by obstructive tactics, by discussions, by day-by-day negotiations, he spared France many miseries." (174)

Huddleston also felt that Laval, as well as Pétain, deserved credit for lessening the havoc wrought upon the Jews in France. Jewish leaders of France, such as Léon Blum, were held as 'prisoners of honour' and were even allowed to get married while in captivity." Despite all this, Huddleston felt that a point had been reached at which it was more important to save the soul of France than to save individuals. Laval was impervious to this approach, believing that he could bring the feud between France and Germany to a permanent end. "He cast himself in the role of lightning conductor. He was a sort of half-way house between a Gauleiter or a Quisling and the Marshal. The Germans in general were well disposed towards him, and he believed that by *finesse* he could render service to France." (146) However, Huddleston regarded his job as "impossible". (177)

In mid-1943 the alliance that was to dominate France after the Liberation was coming into existence. "Stalin was quite ready to play the De Gaulle card, and De Gaulle was quite ready to be so played." (181) This co-operation with the Communists led to the usual disastrous results. In Algiers the bolshevik determination to 'liquidate' all antagonism in any way openly declared itself. The most curious aspect of the Algerian Committee, or its London branch, was the presence of men who were notorious for their association with Big Business, with Banking, with Trusts, and also the members of a party which called itself Christian." (182) The vindictive doctrines and revolutionary decrees of the Communists were to be applied retroactively, instituting penalties quite unknown to the French code.

After the landings in Africa it was decided in a Council of Ministers that in future the signature of Pétain was no longer necessary on state documents. Laval's would be sufficient. "Pétain had become a mere figurehead." (185) Then a plan to convene Parliament in defiance of the Germans and to re-authorise Pétain or appoint his successor was leaked. Von Ribbentrop wrote a terrible letter to the Marshal, in whom the men about Hitler saw their real enemy and the most stubborn of Resistants. This letter was proof of Pétain's anti-German policy. "Far from being 'humiliating' for the Marshal, as it was intended to be, and as the judges of the Marshal illogically

maintained it to be ..., (it) is actually the best testimonial to his patriotism that could have been written." (209-210) By mid-November 1943 the Germans now commanded brutally and without discussion. "But is it not something?" argued Huddleston. "Is it not much, is it not almost unbelievable, that the Marshal should have staved off the inevitable moment for more than three years, and that he should have preserved France until the last few months of the occupation?" (210) Then, with the end in sight, Pétain went on "a missionary tour" of France to proclaim the good news of imminent freedom. In spring 1944 he made a successful visit to Paris. Enthusiastic crowds "clustered around him" and "made his passage in their midst a continuous exhibition of thankfulness and veneration." (219) He addressed an immense gathering from the Hotel de Ville, saying: "I am come in unhappy circumstances to relieve the miseries that press upon Paris. ... I hope I can soon come again without being obliged to give notice to my guardians." (219) He dared to speak this under the occupation; according to Huddleston, it was "a bold deed that was acclaimed by the whole of Paris -- and by the whole of France." (219)

Hitler had ordered the destruction of Paris and the French Communists hoped to triumph on its smoking ruins. However, the great city was saved by sensible actions of the masses, De Gaulle and his staff, the provisional governor of Paris and the more responsible members of the Resistance, the president of the Municipal Council, the Swedish consul and the German commander, General Von Cholitz, "the best type of German, who considered it his duty ... to disobey orders on humanitarian grounds" and who "behaved with remarkable discretion", proposing a plan of withdrawal to Eisenhower that would prevent a Communist takeover. "The heroes of the barricade ... took a small revenge. They stripped naked all women who were suspected of having consorted with the Germans during the four years of occupation, painted Nazi signs on their naked bodies, cut off their hair, and paraded them through the streets of Paris." (223) Huddleston's justified contempt of this outrageous mobbery is clear.

De Gaulle's behaviour was unimpressive. "A little time before, the Archbishop of Paris had received Pétain at Notre Dame."

So De Gaulle declined to go to Notre Dame. By contrast, "Maurice Thorez, the leader of the Communists, was recalled from Moscow, an amnesty pronounced for his conviction as a deserter, and a place found for him at the side of De Gaulle as vice-president of the Council of Government." (223) Pétain made arrangements for an official handing over of authority to De Gaulle in the presence of Taittinger (virtually Mayor of Paris) and General Brécard, the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour; but De Gaulle vetoed the project. "The union of De Gaulle and Pétain would have symbolized the union of the French, and much bloodshed and many unjust imprisonments have been avoided." President Lebrun should have made the decision. The Gaullist creed held that Pétain was a usurper and that the armistice had been unnecessary and a betrayal of France. "That contention cannot be upheld by anyone who is acquainted with the facts. It served for propaganda purposes during the occupation, but it should have been instantly dropped at the Liberation." (224) It would be interesting to know how France had been so unfortunately divided and by whom.

The Germans then kidnapped Pétain to prevent any reconciliation between the two French leaders. On August 19, 1944 he was dragged off to Belfort and then taken to Signaringen on the Danube, until the advance of the Allies procured his release. Huddleston referred to "the irrefutable testimony of the Swiss minister, Stucki, who has written a book in which he not only faithfully records precisely what happened, but testifies to the dignity of Pétain in the most trying circumstances of deportation." Huddleston added: "It is strange that the legend of the Marshal voluntarily leaving the country, which he had sworn never to desert, still persists in face of the well-established truth." (226) It is not strange, of course, to those of us in 1992 who have observed the immense campaign by powerful interests to suppress so many works of revisionist history concerning World War II.

Pétain's confidence in the righteousness of his own actions was shown by his immediate return to France. Then followed some exceptionally base pseudo-legal proceedings. Pétain "was impeached before a special Tribunal composed largely of partisans, a Tribunal which could have

no legal existence, a Tribunal utterly unknown to the Constitution (the only existing Constitution was that of the Third Republic, under which the Head of State did not have to account for his actions, did not come within the jurisdiction of any ordinary court, and could only be tried before the Senate -- the Senate of 1939). After a hasty and mock trial in which he

very properly refused to recognize his judges, he was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment." The Marshal spent the rest of his life as one of the oldest prisoners in history in the harsh fortress on the Ile d'Yeu, dying in his ninety-sixth year. (226) One day a great French writer will perhaps make a noble drama out of this monstrous miscarriage of justice.

*(To be continued)*



*Marshal Pétain with Pierre Laval*

*Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain*

---

# AUSTRALIA'S LINKS WITH THE FORGOTTEN ARMY

---

by Ian McPherson

World War II found nationals of many countries in lands strange to their homeland.

Stories have been told: of Dunkirk, The Battle of Britain and the Rats of Tobruk. All these would immediately conjure up pictures of Australians in dreadful conditions, nearly as bad as Anzac Cove and if you talk of the Kakoda Trail or Singapore, you would think of jungle conditions with Australian servicemen fighting heroically against the Japanese, with the outcome, in many cases, horrific and tragic.

Now, if we go a little west of Singapore you would find many Australian sailors serving in Indian waters and you would find many young Aussies flying in the R.A.F. squadrons.

Does the Arakan mean much to you? Perhaps not, but many of these flyers found themselves on airfields there, fighting for their lives, not only against the Japanese who in 1941 appeared to be invincible, but with medical problems of malaria, dysentery and other exotic maladies.

The Japanese cleared the Allied Forces out of Burma in record time: not a matter for much cheer, but eventually the Japanese advance into India was halted at Kohima and Imphal after some of the most bloody fighting of the war. History records such matters well. In July '45 alone 11,500 Japanese were killed or captured; ninety-six allied troops were killed.

It was in the period 1941-45 (the longest war) that the forces there were to become known as 'The Forgotten Army' because the North African and European theatres were given priority for all sorts of equipment. As the forces of Supremo Lord Louis Mountbatten and Bill Slim began to take shape, they were reorganized to take into consideration the findings of Orde Wingate's long-range penetration groups known as 'Chindits'. Orde Windgate had the idea of long-range penetration groups going in behind Japanese lines and so 'The Chindits' were formed.

The first expedition crossed the Chindwin on the night of 13th February '43. This meant that troops had to carry their total belongings plus their immediate requirement of ammunition etc., on their backs. In most cases the advancing troops had no conventional lines of communication but relied on supply drops. We were the XIV Army.

The drop areas had to be cleared from virgin jungle very quickly, so the size was kept to a minimum. Unless the drops were very accurate the Japanese were the recipients -- and we went hungry and short of supplies. Some of the best flyers, usually flying dakotas, were Australians. Not all made it back to base, as was revealed when Rangoon was retaken and allied POW's released.

Adelaide had one of its sons make the ultimate sacrifice when, as a Chindit, originally with the Black Watch, he was taken by the Japanese, shaved, dressed in Japanese uniform and, when the counter attack went in, he was shot in the stomach and left to die. (Other reports say he was tied to a tree and bayoneted.)

The idea of having a Burma Star Association was the brainchild of Lord Louis Mountbatten, Commander, South East Asia Command, who was responsible for the conduct of the war in Burma. The actual battle commander was Bill Slim, later Field Marshal Viscount Slim and subsequently Governor-General of Australia. He commanded 'The Forgotten Army'. Eventually Burma was retaken and on 15th August, 1945, the Japanese surrendered unconditionally. The Burma Star Association has branches all over the world and in spite of passing years, the world membership is still some 18,000.

*We, a handful, will remember those who lie in foreign soil.  
May they and those who have passed on since, rest in peace.*

## BOOK REVIEW -- *100 Great Australians* by Robert Macklin

In his introduction, Macklin contends that the essential character of society is most dramatically expressed by the lives of those men and women who rise to prominence within it, and that a book of this kind is larger than the sum of its individual parts in that it pictures Australia's human character as it has evolved over 200 years. He presents us with a wonderful cross-section of the "greats" in our short history as a nation, and those chosen subjects are certainly a varied lot. They range from the earliest days of the colony, with explorers such as Bass and Flinders, Blaxland, Wentworth, Hume and Stuart to our former Prime Minister Mr. Hawke. In between there is a galaxy of personalities in the fields of the arts, dance, music, literature, opera, commerce, invention and, of course, sport. We have Bradman and Betty Cuthbert, John Landy and Haydon Bunton, Evonne Cawley and Greg Chappell to name but a few. Then there are the media moguls, and greats in fields of industry, cattlemen, aviators, churchmen and bushrangers.

Each character is accorded some two pages, enough to sketch in his background, period, and the highlights of his career and achievements, his character and impact on society. Most contain a picture of the subject in black and white. Those of the sports men and women in action are particularly evocative. The dry facts are presented by the author in a chatty and entertaining way, which includes little comments and sidelights that enhance his descriptions. Most of the little biographies end with a pithy summarising sentence.

In his research, Macklin found fascinating the repeated discovery of facts that we were never taught in school. He was quite intrigued to learn that the explorer Blaxland actually established the wine industry in the infant colony, and that MacArthur, famed as the founder of our wool industry, really had little interest in wool.

When reading Macklin's descriptions of contemporaries, I sometime felt that I saw that person in a different light, and also there were some people whom I felt ought to have been included: I missed June Bronhill and Captain Bligh. But choices must be made in such a selection and I found it a most informative and entertaining book -- easy to pick up for a short read, but inclined to tempt one on to another and yet another of the fascinating characters that go to make up the mosaic of our national life.

First published by Currey, O'Neil Ross Pty Ltd in 1983, this hardcover is available from booksellers for \$17.99 and would be a very welcome gift for almost any age range. [Dawn Thompson]

[Continued from Page 4, Myths & Legends - The Stuff of History]

learn of the selective teachings to which they have been subjected in many cases. Their teachers and lecturers, when directing them to primary sources, have often been very selective and have left their students in ignorance of the existence of ideologically inconvenient material.

Underlying the 'convenient' version of events, which is the one that many would best remember, were two principal dogmas -- that the Governor-General and the Senate had acted improperly, or illegally, or both. To set the scene for these impressions, everything associated with their actions had to be presented in some evil light.

The campaign began with Malcolm Fraser's early arrival at Government House on that fateful day, before, and not after, Gough Whitlam, as the Governor-General had intended. That was due to a simple error by someone on Fraser's staff, but was presented as the beginning of the Vice-Regal conspiracy.

It was alleged that Fraser was closeted in a room at Government House with the blinds drawn. Not so: he waited with me in a room next to the State Entrance, a room which at that time was used as a waiting room for visitors who had arrived early, and the blinds were not drawn.

Much was made of an allegation that Fraser's car was hidden round the back, out of sight. It was not. His car dropped him off at the State Entrance, and then drove around to one of the three 'front of house' parking areas used by visitors. The driver chose the one which suited him best -- the one which gave him the clearest view of the State Entrance, so he could see when to drive forward to pick up his passenger, and also the one which provided the best shade from overhanging trees on a warm November day. Unfortunately, that put the car on the inside curve of that part of the main drive which leads to the Private Entrance.

It is one of the traditional courtesies extended to a Prime Minister at Government House that he comes and goes via the Private Entrance, so called because it is used by the Governor-General and his family, rather than by the State Entrance, which is used by all other callers on the Governor-General. The duty Aide-de-Camp for that day had been told to expect the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, and their estimated time of arrival, but nothing more. He knew from experience that the Prime Minister's convoy, i.e. the Prime Minister's car and the police security car which follows it, always travelled very fast, even within the grounds of Government House. He could see that Fraser's car, having arrived out of sequence, was now parked where it posed, at best, an inconvenience, and at worst, a serious hazard, to the Prime Minister's car as it swept around the bend.

The Aide-de-Camp used his own judgement, made a decision in the interests of safety, and asked the driver to move his car to the parking area outside the Official Secretary's office, and right next to the State Entrance, but on the other side of it. The car was not hidden around the back, but was in fact even closer to the front of the building and to the State Entrance than it had been. The Aide-de-Camp did not consult either the Governor-General or the Official Secretary, nor did he need to: the three Aides-de-Camp are responsible for the smooth and efficient arrival and departure of all visitors to Government House, and are constantly directing vehicles in the interests of safety and convenience. The first that either the Governor-General or I knew of what had happened to Fraser's car was when we read the press reports next day alleging some devious conspiracy to conceal it.

PAGE 18 - HERITAGE - June-August 1992

It was a measure of the man that Sir John refused me permission then to correct that story. The Aide-de-Camp had acted properly and in good faith, and Sir John would allow nothing to be done or said which suggested otherwise, even by implication.

The next pair of myths grew out of my reading of the Governor-General's proclamation from the steps of Parliament House. First it was alleged that I had come through a back entrance and via the kitchens; next that I had been spirited in through a side entrance. Both cannot be right, and in fact neither is right. I came, as is traditional, by the front entrance. Far from arriving inconspicuously, as if on some furtive mission, I drove up to the front steps in a big, black Government House car, clearly identified as such by the traditional crowns where number plates would normally be. I was met by a Senate officer and escorted into Parliament House via Kings Hall, all in accordance with normal practice and tradition.

The second allegation was that my reading of the proclamation was an unnecessary provocation on the part of the Governor-General. Not true. The practice of reading the Governor-General's proclamation dissolving the House of Representatives, or the House of Representatives and the Senate in the case of a double dissolution, was begun in 1963. When dissolution takes place, and the Governor-General subsequently, and usually on the same day, issues writs for the holding of ensuing elections, it is necessary that the people be aware that the proclamation has been issued and published, that members of the Parliament and its officials know at what time dissolution occurred, and that the order of the events of the day be able to be clearly established.

In 1963 the Attorney-General of the day gave advice that a public reading of the proclamation from the steps of Parliament House by the Governor-General's Official Secretary, in the presence of the Clerks of the Chamber or Chambers being dissolved, would meet all of these requirements, and so the practice was begun. The first public proclamation reading in 1963 was followed by similar public readings in 1966, 1969, 1972 and 1974, before we came to the 1975 reading, and there have so far been seven more since then. My first reading was in 1974, when Sir Paul Hasluck dissolved both Houses of the Parliament on the advice of Prime Minister Whitlam. In furtherance of the 1975 mythology, what was correct in 1974 was branded incorrect in 1975: that which had become necessary and routine on five occasions over 12 years was suddenly denounced as unnecessary and provocative on the sixth occasion.

So far I have dealt only with minor events which preceded the main game: each was not greatly significant by itself, yet together they helped establish an atmosphere designed to taint the public's perceptions of what was to follow. They suggested an aura of irregularity or impropriety emanating from Government House, which the critics then sought to transfer to the major events of the day.

The original attack, of course, had been on the Senate's refusal to pass the Government's budget. The Government's view was that the Constitution and its associated conventions vested control over the supply of money to the Government in the lower house, and that the actions of the upper house in threatening to block that supply of money were a gross violation of the roles of the respective Houses of the Parliament in relation to the appropriation of moneys.<sup>26</sup>

This view of the respective roles of the Houses of Parlia-



ment had not always been the view of those who were now in Government, and particularly of their leaders. Back in 1967, Senator Lionel Murphy, then Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, had this to say about the upper house and money bills: "There is no tradition, as has been suggested, that the Senate will not use its constitutional powers, whenever it considers it necessary or desirable to do so, in the public interest. There are no limitations on the Senate in the use of its constitutional powers except the limits self-imposed by discretion and reason. There is no tradition in the Australian Labor Party that we will not oppose in the Senate any tax or money Bill, or what might be described as a financial measure."<sup>27</sup>

In 1970, the then Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam, had this to say: "The Prime Minister's assertion that the rejection of this measure does not affect the Commonwealth has no substance in logic or fact. ... The Labor Party believes that the crisis which would be caused by such a rejection should lead to a long-term solution. Any Government which is defeated by the Parliament on a major taxation Bill should resign. ... This Bill will be defeated in another place. The Government should then resign."<sup>28</sup>

---

---

**Senator Murphy tabled a list of 169 occasions when Labor Oppositions had attempted to do, unsuccessfully, what the Liberal/National Party Opposition succeeded in doing in 1975.**

---

---

When that same Bill reached the Senate, this is what Senator Lionel Murphy, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, had to say: "For what we conceive to be simple but adequate reasons, the Opposition will oppose these measures. In doing this the Opposition is pursuing a tradition which is well established, but in view of some doubt recently cast on it in this chamber, perhaps I should restate the position. The Senate is entitled and expected to exercise resolutely but with discretion its powers to refuse concurrence to any financial measure, including a tax Bill. There are no limitations on the Senate in the use of its constitutional powers, except the limitations imposed by discretion and reason. The Australian Labor Party has acted consistently in accordance with the tradition that we will oppose in the Senate any tax or money Bill or other financial measure whenever necessary to carry out our principles and policies. The Opposition has done this over the years, and in order to illustrate the tradition which has been established, with the concurrence of honourable senators I shall incorporate in *Hansard* at the end of my speech a list of the measures of an economic or financial nature, including taxation and appropriation Bills, which have been opposed by this Opposition in whole or in part by a vote in the Senate since 1950."<sup>29</sup> At the end of his speech Senator Murphy tabled a list of 169 occasions when Labor Oppositions had attempted to do, unsuccessfully, what the Liberal/National Party Opposition succeeded in doing in 1975.

Two months later, on 25th August 1970, the Labor Opposition launched its 170th attempt since 1950. On that occasion Gough Whitlam had this to say: "Let me make it clear at the outset that our opposition to this Budget is no mere formality. We intend to press our opposition by all available means on all related measures in both Houses. If the motion is defeated, we will vote

against the Bills here and in the Senate. Our purpose is to destroy this Budget and to destroy the Government which has sponsored it."<sup>30</sup> As Jack Kane, one-time Federal Secretary of the Australian Democratic Labor Party and former D.L.P. Senator for New South Wales, wrote in 1988: "There is no difference whatsoever between what Whitlam proposed in August 1970 and what Malcolm Fraser did in November 1975, except that Whitlam failed -- the Budget being carried by a bare majority of twenty-four to twenty-two. Senator Murphy, for Whitlam, sought the votes of the D.L.P. Senators, unsuccessfully. That is the only reason why Whitlam did not defeat the 1970 Budget in the Senate and thus fulfil his declared aim to destroy the Gorton Government."<sup>31</sup>

---

---

**Students studying Australian politics at university are still taught that the Senate's actions in 1975 were unprecedented and improper.**

---

---

So much for the Senate's actions in 1975 being a gross violation of its role. Of course, we are all accustomed to politicians who have one view when in Opposition and a different view when in Government. But I don't recall a single reminder from the media to the community, during 1975 or since, of the views held and expressed by Whitlam and Murphy in 1967 and 1970. What is even worse, as I have already mentioned, students studying Australian politics at university are still taught that the Senate's actions in 1975 were unprecedented, and improper, but they are not told that what it did then was so clearly and forcefully, and repeatedly, enunciated by Lionel Murphy and reinforced by Gough Whitlam, years earlier, and attempted on so many previous occasions by their side of politics.

I can imagine some of you thinking that it is not really surprising to find politicians changing their views as they move from one side of Parliament to the other. Well, let us see if we can find higher authority to dispel the myth that the blocking of supply by the Senate, under the present provisions of the Constitution, is the violation of its role that it was claimed to be during the debates of October and November 1975. On 30th September 1975 the High Court handed down its judgement in *Victoria v the Commonwealth*.<sup>32</sup> Four of the learned judges expressed opinions which supported the view that, except for the constitutional limitation on the power of the Senate to initiate or amend a money Bill, the Senate was equal with the House of Representatives as a part of the Parliament, and could reject any proposed law, even one which it could not amend. The judges who expressed these opinions were Sir Garfield Barwick, the then Chief Justice; Sir Harry Gibbs and Sir Anthony Mason, who each, in turn, became Chief Justice; and Sir Ninian Stephen, who later became Governor-General.

It is true that Commonwealth Law Reports are not widely read, but the relevant parts of these judgements were incorporated in *Hansard* on 30th October 1975.<sup>33</sup> And yet many adult Australians still believe, and many young Australians are still taught, that the Senate, in blocking supply, violated its role and exceeded its authority.

The next major myth which was developed at the time had two stages. The first stage was that the Governor-General could act constitutionally only on the advice of his Ministers, or more

particularly at the time, on the advice of his Prime Minister, and then only in accordance with that advice. The second stage, once the phrase 'reserve powers' began to gain currency, said that the reserve powers of the Crown had long since lapsed into desuetude. The politicians and the commentators forgot, if they ever knew, that Lord Casey, as Governor-General, as recently as 19th December 1967, had exercised the reserve powers following the disappearance of Prime Minister Harold Holt. Without ministerial advice, for there was no-one legally could give it, the Governor-General revoked Holt's appointment as Prime Minister, in accordance with Section 64 of the Constitution, exactly as Sir John Kerr did with Whitlam's appointment, and chose John McEwan to be the next Prime Minister, exactly as Sir John Kerr did with Fraser's appointment.

Notwithstanding the fact that Whitlam was constantly reminding the Governor-General, both privately and publicly, that he could act constitutionally only on the advice of his Prime Minister, the existence of the reserve powers would have been, or should have been, well known in Labor circles. One of the most definitive and scholarly works on the subject, entitled *The King and His Dominion Governors*, had been written in 1936 by H.V. Evatt,<sup>34</sup> then a Justice of the High Court, later to become a member of the House of Representatives and Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party. Evatt believed that the reserve powers exercisable by The Queen or by her representative in a Commonwealth country needed to be more precisely defined, and that the principles upon which they would be exercised should be settled and stated as clearly as possible, but today, 51 years later, nothing has been done, though the matter was considered by the Constitutional Commission which reported on 30th June 1988.<sup>35</sup>

---

---

### **The reserve powers of the Crown do exist and are exercisable by a Governor-General**

---

---

In his 1936 introduction to the first edition of Evatt's book, K.H. Bailey (then Professor of Law at the University of Melbourne, and later simultaneously Secretary to the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department and Solicitor-General of the Commonwealth) wrote: "One of the distinctive features of the British constitution, as has often been remarked, is the combination of the democratic principle that all political authority comes from the people, and hence that the will of the people must prevail, with the maintenance of a monarchy armed with legal powers to dismiss ministers drawn from among the people's elected representatives, and even to dissolve the elected legislature itself. In normal times the very existence of these powers can simply be ignored. In times of crisis, however, it immediately becomes of vital importance to know what they are and how they will be exercised. ... A constitution in an emergency period has need of emergency powers, not over-rigidly defined. But the risks of undefined elasticity are also great. They are great even in the United Kingdom, but they are greater still in the Dominions. The importance in this regard of the new conventions regulating the appointment of the King's representative in a Dominion can scarcely be over-emphasized. Any exercise of reserve powers by the Crown must inevitably involve the King, or his Dominion representative, in the assumption of very heavy personal responsibility, to his advisers, to Parliament, and to the people. It

will inevitably entail unpopularity in some quarters."<sup>36</sup>

How right he was. But whether they remain undefined and unregulated or not, the reserve powers of the Crown do exist and are exercisable by a Governor-General. And lest 1936 be too far back in time for the modern-day politician or the modern-day political journalist, let us come forward and look at the 1951 double dissolution which Prime Minister Menzies recommended to Governor-General Sir William McKell.

On that occasion the Governor-General did in fact accept the advice of the Prime Minister, supported by the opinions of the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, that the Senate's failure to pass a Bill which had twice been passed by the House of Representatives satisfied the requirements of Section 57 of the Constitution and allowed the Prime Minister to recommend a double dissolution. Significantly, nowhere in the documents submitted to the Governor-General was there reference to any obligation or supposed obligation on his part to accept ministerial advice. On the contrary, the Prime Minister advised the Governor-General that he was entitled to satisfy himself and to make up his own mind on the matters submitted to him.<sup>37</sup>

Interestingly enough, and specially so in the light of the Labor view in 1975, the Labor view in 1951 was that the Governor-General should not accept the Prime Minister's advice, that he should seek independent legal advice, and that he should seek it from the Chief Justice of Australia, Sir John Latham.<sup>38</sup>

This 1951 view held by the Labor Party that the Governor-General should consult the Chief Justice brings me to what was probably one of the biggest canards put about after 11th November 1975 -- the views expressed by so many politicians, academics and journalists that Sir John Kerr, in consulting the Chief Justice, and Sir Garfield Barwick, in responding to that request, had acted improperly and unconstitutionally, and almost without precedent.<sup>39</sup>

May I interpolate here that, in describing this as one of the biggest canards of 1975, I am of course reserving the label of the biggest canard of all for the assertion that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the dismissal or in events leading to it. Such an assertion is totally untrue, no evidence in support of it has ever been produced, and there is no evidence that even those who spread the story ever believed it themselves. I therefore propose not to dignify it by making any further reference to it.

Well, back to the question of advice from the Chief Justice. The attacks, when they came, were twofold, and sought to discredit both the Governor-General and the Chief Justice. Once again, as in the case of the blocking of supply by the Senate, there is considerable anecdotal evidence that many adults believe, and many students were taught, that they acted improperly, unconstitutionally and without precedent.

In fact we know of at least three Chief Justices who have given advice to Governors-General on the exercise of their Vice-Regal powers. They were Sir Samuel Griffith, Sir Owen Dixon and Sir Garfield Barwick. They gave their advice, when it was asked for, to no fewer than seven, or one-third, of our twenty-one Governors-General since Federation. They were Lord Northcote, Lord Dudley, Lord Denman, Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson, Lord Casey, Sir Paul Hasluck and Sir John Kerr. The research into these consultations was done by Dr Don Markwell, formerly an Australian Rhodes Scholar, Visiting Fellow in Politics at the University of Western Australia and Junior Dean at Trinity College, Oxford, and currently Fellow and Tutor in Politics at Merton College, Oxford.<sup>40</sup>

Markwell also concludes that at least one other Chief Justice, Sir John Latham, and four Justices of the High Court, Sir Edmund Barton, Sir Keith Aickin, Richard O'Connor and Dr. H.V. Evatt, would have agreed with the proposition that such consultation was permissible. There are also many examples of State Governors consulting a Chief Justice, but I need not go into details here. The myth that "Only one Governor-General, Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson, had consulted with a Chief Justice ..."<sup>41</sup> has been finally laid to rest.

The final myth or legend which I want to deal with on this occasion is the one which presented Sir John Kerr in retirement as an exile and as a recluse. He had asked The Queen that he might be allowed to retire early, and he stepped down in December 1977, in order that a successor might set about healing the national wounds. He had withstood the public protests and demonstrations of 1976, and had had a further year, 1977, virtually free of such annoyances. He had asserted his right, as was his duty, to go about his public engagements throughout Australia without let or hindrance, and the overwhelming majority of his fellow Australians continued to welcome him warmly. Nevertheless, he felt that the fairest thing he could do for his successor would be to remove himself from the local scene for a few years. Living, and travelling, in the United Kingdom and Europe was no exile for Sir John, and those who attended his memorial service in Sydney earlier this year will have heard one of his more recent friends, a young Australian scholar at Oxford, speak of his time in England.<sup>42</sup> This was Don Markwell, to whom I have already referred.

Markwell's friendship with Sir John began in 1982 when he was one of a group of Australian students who invited Kerr to speak at an Australian dinner in Oxford. Of their first meeting Markwell said: "... we were pretty nervous about entertaining so great a figure. But all went well. There was immediate warmth between us, all reserve vanished, and an enduring friendship began."<sup>43</sup> Some nine years later, at the memorial service, Markwell was able to say: "The man I knew was a man who enjoyed life - a serious-minded man, certainly, with a strong sense of duty, and a man of industry and achievement; but one whose seriousness was balanced by a buoyant sense of humour and of fun; a man who rejoiced in the joy of life. He was no exile, no embittered recluse."<sup>44</sup>

To be the personal representative of his Sovereign and to be de facto Head of State of his country was the high point in Sir John's career, but, if history is to deal with him accurately and fairly, he deserves to be remembered for more than that. In the words of Sir Anthony Mason, Chief Justice of Australia, who also spoke at the memorial service, "John Kerr's record of achievement speaks for itself. Behind the record was a distinguished lawyer with wide-ranging interests in law reform, politics, administration and public and international affairs. His vision of the law extended well beyond the preoccupation of a technical, professional lawyer. He was conscious of the intricacy of the relationship between law, government and society. These are all values which modern legal education seeks to foster in future generations of Australian lawyers."<sup>45</sup>

Back in May 1976, Geoffrey Sawer, Emeritus Professor of Law at the Australian National University, in the course of reviewing two books on the fall of the Whitlam Government, and commenting on a third which had been published earlier, noted that all three books, which had been written within a few months of the event, predicted that the actions of the Senate were likely

to produce lasting instability in Federal politics.<sup>46</sup> I only hope that any future historian who refers to those and to other writings penned early in 1976 will also look at later writings. In the fifteen years that have elapsed -- not a long time in the course of history -- perspectives have already mellowed, even for those who were themselves close observers of the constitutional crisis and its participants.

Writing immediately after Sir John Kerr's death, Peter Bowers, political correspondent for *The Sydney Morning Herald* in 1975, had this to say about the event: "November 11, 1975, changed the way a lot of Australians thought about politics but did it really change our lives? I think not. And perhaps that is the real, the reassuring lesson of that day."<sup>47</sup>

The next day, Michelle Grattan, political correspondent for *The Age* in 1975, and still today, had this to say about the man: "However, the historians will probably be kinder to Sir John than the contemporary commentators, for two reasons. Time will produce cooler assessments, that will take greater note of his dilemma and be less swayed by Whitlam's case. And the apparent absence of enduring harm will count in Kerr's favour."<sup>48</sup>

I don't think that either of these distinguished journalists could have written those words fifteen years ago. That they felt able to write them today tells us something about the passage of time. It also tells us something about the stuff of history.

1. See D.I. McDonald's introduction to 'The Inaugural Nan Phillips Memorial Lecture', in the *Canberra Historical Journal*, September 1986.
2. *The Canberra Times*, 5th October, 1985, 'Long-Serving secretary honoured by lecture series'.
3. *The Canberra Times*, 28th April, 1986, 'Mrs Nan Phillips, historian'; and D.I. McDonald, 'Nan Phillips: an appreciation', in the *Canberra Historical Journal*, September, 1984.
4. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26th March, 1991, Peter Bowers, 'The day that tore us in two'.
5. Interview by Television Channel 9 at Melbourne Airport on 26th March, 1991.
6. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23rd April, 1991, Gerard Henderson, 'Gallipoli -- don't blame the Brits for a true blue disaster'.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne), Vol. 10, pp. 581-2.
9. C.E.W. Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* (Angus & Robertson, Sydney).
10. Henderson, *loc. cit.*
11. Sir John Kerr, *Matters for Judgement - An Autobiography* (Macmillan, Sydney, 1978).
12. Gough Whitlam, *The Truth of the Matter* (Allen Lane, Ringwood, 1979).
13. Ross McMullin, *The Light on the Hill: The Australian Labor Party, 1891-1991* (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1991).
14. Derek Parker, *The Courtesans - The Press Gallery in the Hawke Era* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1991).
15. *The Bulletin*, 9th April, 1991, Sam Lipski, 'A draught of history'.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Letter dated 25th October, 1990 from the Acting Director - Radio, Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
19. Letter dated 17th January, 1991, from the General Manager, Information Programmes - Radio, Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
20. Press Release dated 10th April, 1991 by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs.

21. *The Canberra Times*, 20th April, 1991, letter to the Editor, 'Alter formula to reflect life'; and *The Sunday Age*, 21st April, 1991, contributed article, 'Time to ensure women's work is recognised'.
22. *The Canberra Times*, 23rd April, 1991, letter to the Editor, 'Perhaps he could wait for the evidence'; and *The Sunday Age*, 28th April, 1991, letter to the Editor, 'Awards: Inquiry result a foregone conclusion'.
23. *The Financial Review*, 4th June, 1991, Sue Neales, 'Tarnished society mirror in need of some polish'.
24. Speech at the Order of Australia Association's annual dinner in the Great Hall, Parliament House, Canberra, on 28 January, 1989.
25. Colin Howard & Cheryl Saunders, 'The Blocking of the Budget and Dismissal of the Government', in Gareth Evans (ed.), *Labor and the Constitution 1972-1975*, (Heinemann, Melbourne, 1977), p. 287.
26. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. H. of R. 97, p. 2199
27. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. S. 34, p. 1495.
28. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. H. of R. 68, pp. 3495-6.
29. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. S. 44, p. 2647.
30. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. H. of R. 69, p. 463.
31. Jack Kane, *Exploding the Myths - The Political Memoirs of Jack Kane* (Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1989), p. 192.
32. (1975) 134 CLR 81.
33. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. H. of R. 97, pp. 2701-2.
34. H.V. Evatt, *The King and His Dominion Governors - A Study of the Reserve Powers of the Crown in Great Britain and the Dominions* (Frank Cass and Company Limited, London, 1936, second edition 1967). The other detailed and definitive study of the reserve powers is by the Canadian Senator and constitutional authority, E.A. Forsey, *The Royal Power of Dissolution of Parliament in the British Commonwealth* (Toronto, 1943).
35. *Final Report of the Constitutional Commission 1988* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988).
36. Evatt, *op. cit.*, K.H. Bailey, Introduction to the First Edition, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.
37. Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1957, No. 6: Documents relating to the 1951 Dissolution.
38. Evatt, *op. cit.*, Zelman Cowen, Introduction to the Second Edition, pp. xxiv-xxvii.
39. It was acknowledged by some writers that there was one precedent, that of Governor-General Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson (later Lord Novar) seeking advice from Chief Justice Sir Samuel Griffith, but that was done with the permission of the Prime Minister Joseph Cook, and for that and other reasons was seen as permissible and exceptional. See Geoffrey Sawer, *Federation Under Strain - Australia 1972-1975* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1977), p. 157.
40. Don Markwell, 'On Advice from the Chief Justice' in *Quadrant*, July 1985, pp. 38-42. See also Markwell, letters to the Editor, *Quadrant*, October 1985, p. 5, and *Quadrant*, April 1986, p. 5, for additional material.
41. Whitlam, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
42. Don Markwell, 'Sir John Kerr: A Reflection'; words spoken at the memorial service in St. James's Church, Sydney, on 6th April, 1991.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Sir Anthony Mason; words spoken at the memorial service held in St. James Church, Sydney, on 6th April, 1991.
46. *The Canberra Times*, 20th May, 1976, Geoffrey Sawer, 'A pair of political thrillers on the fall of the Whitlam Government'. The books reviewed were: Laurie Oakes, *Crash Through or Crash: The Unmaking of Gough* (Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1976); and Clem Lloyd and Andrew Clark, *Kerr's King Hit*, (Cassell Australia, 1976).
47. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26th March, 1991, Peter Bowers,

'The day that tore us in two'.

48. *The Age*, 27th March, 1991, Michelle Grattan, 'Rage fades in the dying of the light'.

[Permission to publish : Social Credit School of Studies, 3 Beresford Drive, Samford 4520, Queensland.]

## STORMS AGAIN HOMAGE TO J.R.R. TOLKIEN

Clouds and a grey silence lightly hanging  
 In the little valley as we walk among dense  
 Clusters of reeds and sunset whitens the west.  
 Could be the Shire, I think, or a low glen  
 On the edge of Rohan as danger presses around.  
  
 And sure enough a spare old man  
 Comes striding along the path with flapping pants  
 And a frown that buzzes like an irate hive  
 Of dislodged bees. Catching my rude stare,  
 He checks his pace and screws up his eyes  
 To make a lightning study of my soul.  
  
 Not fully pausing, he nods testily and goes;  
 But at least a thousand thoughts spring up  
 In my mind -- fears, follies, faith appraised  
 And grudgingly approved. You'll do, perhaps!  
 Incompetent, but possibly inspired!  
  
 The red ring on his finger -- flames rustling  
 In dry grass menacingly. I know him!  
 Yes, it's him! As though a gigantic bird  
 Had flown suddenly across my brow at night.  
 Tomorrow, as I shave, he'll glare at me.

*Birds Paddock*, January 3, 1992

Nigel Jackson



## POSTSCRIPT

It is interesting to note that Huddleston's defence of Pétain is supported by Alistair Horne in *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916* which was published by Macmillan (UK) in 1962 and republished by Penguin in 1987.

Horne served with the R.C.A.F. and the R.A.F. in Canada in 1943 and ended his war career as a Captain in the Coldstream Guards in the Middle East. He later read English Literature at Cambridge and played international ice hockey. Horne speaks fluent French and German, was German correspondent for the conservative *Daily Telegraph* for three years and has written over ten books.

Horne recounted how Pétain came from a peasant family in the Pas-de-Calais. "His choice of the army (for a career) seems to have been inspired by the anecdotes of a nonagenarian great-uncle who had been a veteran of the Grand Army (of Napoleon)." (148) An unambitious man, he was already preparing for his retirement when World War I broke out.

Pétain soon distinguished himself. "In the abortive Artois offensive of May 1915, the attack by Pétain's Corps at Vimy Ridge was so well prepared that for a moment it seemed as if the whole German front might collapse." (150) Pétain learned with amazing rapidity and adaptability for a sixty year-old. He strongly resisted the fashionable doctrine of de Grandmaison and taught that "fire-power killed". Superior weaponry "might do terrible things to any *attaque a outrance* unsupported by heavy weapons". Thus his promotion had lagged. (20)

Some of his favourite sayings were these four: "The offensive is the fire which advances; the defensive the fire which stops." "Cannon conquers, infantry occupies." "One does not fight with men against *matériel*." "Audacity is the art of knowing how not to be too audacious." (151-152)

Early in his career Pétain had developed a contempt for the Third Republic. "Not entirely unrelated to this dislike of show and publicity was Pétain's chronic contempt for all forms of intrigue, and especially for politics and politicians ... to Poincaré he once remarked acidly that 'nobody was better placed than the President himself to be aware that France was neither led nor governed.'" (147)

Knowledge of personal details of a great man's life often acts as an antidote to the poisons spread about by left-wing slanderers. Brian Crozier, for example, in his biography of General Franco (published by Eyre and Spottiswoode in 1967) told of how the young military officer wooed a fifteen year-old beauty with determination and imagination, finally winning over her parents five years later -- a campaign utterly out of character with the "fascist monster" image applied to him.

Horne reported the dramatic manner in which Pétain learned of his critical appointment to defend Verdun on February 24th, 1916. The news reached his staff at 10 p.m., but he could not be found. "His staff-captain, Serrigny, drove from Noailles to Paris and found the elderly bachelor at the Hotel Terminus of the Gare du Nord -- in bed with a lady, at 3 a.m. Pétain had to report to Joffre at Chantilly at 8 a.m. A scene like Drake and the bowls. Wearing the scantiest of clothing, the General, impassive, decisive, tells Serrigny he must find a bed in the hotel. In the morning they will journey together to the GQG. Meanwhile the night

imposes its own duties. To these Pétain now returns." (146)

Another striking personal fact concerns Pétain's marriage. "As a major, Pétain had been rejected by the father of the woman he wanted to marry on the grounds that he seemed to lack prospects of advancement. She married another, was widowed by the war, and eventually married Pétain -- now a Marshal of France -- in 1920." (346) His wife was devoted to him and eventually moved into prison with him in his last months to look after him.

During his first week in command of the defence of Verdun, Pétain was ill with double pneumonia. "He directed the battle, shaking with fever, from his sickbed. With astonishing rapidity the sick man gathered the threads of the battle into his hands. Order began to replace chaos." (157)

Paul Valéry, the poet, in his eulogy welcoming the Marshal to the *Académie Française*, referred to the Battle of Verdun as a form "of single combat ... where you were the champion of France face to face with the Crown Prince ... it was the virility of two peoples that was at stake." (238) André François-Poncet, on his election to the seat in the *Académie* left vacant by the Marshal's death, said of Pétain courageously in 1953: "From his whole personality emanated an air of sovereignty." (147)

One of the great secrets of his success was the devotion he justly inspired in the ordinary French soldiers. "For all Pétain's coldness to his near-equals, the reputation he enjoyed with the *poilus* was legendary, and unique among French commanders. He was the paternal figure, the leader who really cared for his men, who suffered what they suffered." (152) It was soon known that when the infantry quailed under German shells, Pétain would appear in the front line.

"He enhanced his magnetic influence over rank-and-file by frequent surprise visits to the front, presenting medals in person immediately after an attack, inquiring about the wounded. ... He was reputed to have a remarkable instinct for knowing whom to praise and whom to blame." (153)

Soldiers can always pick the genuine from the phoney. Pierrefeu commented after Pétain's appointment to the Supreme Command later in the war: "Never did Pétain cease to be himself in the presence of the troops. ... He spoke as man to men, dominating them with his prestige, without trying to put himself on a lower level, as do those who form a false picture of the people." (154)

Horne stressed that Pétain sometimes had to bear responsibility for the questionable decisions of others. "It was the tragic irony of Fate that, because of the terms of reference to which Castelnau had committed him in advance, this uniquely humanitarian general would be called upon to subject the men under his command to what was shortly to become the most inhuman conflict of the whole war." (154) After the failure to retake Douaumont on May 23rd, 1916, "Pétain assumed full responsibility for the debacle, and the fact that his account of the battle contains no single breath of reproach for Nivelle or Mangan reveals a magnanimity rare among the *ex post facto* writings of war leaders." (237)

One of the greatest achievements of Pétain's career is still inadequately known. This was his quelling of the mutinies of May-June 1917 in the French Army. These involved one half of the whole army, fifty-four divisions, and Horne found the details still veiled in "exceptional mystery and secrecy". He reported how "Men on leave waved red flags and sang revolutionary songs. ... Regiments elected councils to speak for them, ominously like

the soviets that had already seized power in the Russian army, and set off to Paris *en masse*." Pétain was the only man capable of restoring order. The politicians were forced to humbly recall him. "He never made a greater contribution to France. ... he always regarded his role in the Mutinies as the most anxious task of his life." He became known popularly as "the Army's doctor". (322-324)

Horne made clear that Pétain as a military leader was not without his faults. "He had none of the broad strategic grasp of Foch or de Castelnau. ... When, in 1918, the hour approached for the final offensive blow to end the war, Pétain, genius of the defence, was clearly no longer the man to execute it." (226, 325) In the two decades between the world wars Pétain was "the principal arbiter of French military thought" and under his aegis the ill-fated Maginot Line was developed. De Gaulle, who had been an early disciple of Pétain and had applied to join his 33rd Regiment after leaving St. Cyr Military College, had the foresight in the thirties to grasp the coming importance of the tank and became a rebel against one who himself had been a rebel a generation earlier.

A tragic note was struck by Horne when he dealt with Pétain's role in World War II, after he had yet again been recognised by the politicians as the only man who could save France. "In vain the Marshal believed that France's conquerors, being themselves soldiers, would grant her an honourable peace. Pressed by Hitler to total, dishonourable collaboration, he resisted, but had little to resist with. ... Never was he completely Laval's or Hitler's man. Derided, misguided, isolated, and betrayed, he stayed on at his invidious post. "If we leave France now, we shall never find her again," he said repeatedly. Above all he stayed in the apparently genuine belief that somehow he alone stood for the safety of the millions of his beloved soldiers captive in Germany. ... Though fettered, his honour remained intact, accompanied by a certain tragic nobility; fifty French hostages are to be shot, eighty-six year-old Pétain offers himself in their stead as a single hostage." (344-345)

Horne confirmed that it was the Nazis who spirited Pétain away to Germany and that he alone of the key Vichy survivors insisted on returning to France to face trial. "At the beginning of the trial he made a simple, dignified statement to the French people over the head of the Court, which he insisted had no power to try the Chief of State." (345) He wore the very simplest uniform of a Marshal, with only the *Médaille Militaire*.

He was not allowed the clemency he had shown to the 1917 mutineers. "As its last witness, the defence produced a general blinded at Verdun, who admonished the court prophetically: 'Take care that one day ... this man's blood and alleged disgrace do not recoil on the whole of France, on us, and on our children.'" (346) But the man who had forbidden the erection of any statues of himself during his lifetime was confined in his late eighties and early nineties to the Île de Yeu, off the Vendé coast, "during which time he never uttered one word of recrimination." (346)

In the 1960's ex-Lieutenant Kleber Dupuy (a much decorated French hero of World War I) led the movement for the rehabilitation of the dead Marshal, a measure adamantly opposed by De Gaulle, under whose edict he had been so unjustly arrested, tried and sentenced. Thus, concluded Horne, "the reburial of Pétain at Verdun has still not been permitted." (347)

This is a standing dishonour to France; but one day Pétain will be recognized as a much greater Frenchman than was De Gaulle.

It is interesting to note that the noble Roumanian patriot, Prince Michel Sturdza, in his *The Suicide of Europe* (Western Islands, USA, 1968), stressed that Pétain was a chief spokesman in the thirties for the anti-communist side of French politics. By contrast, Professor Carroll Quigley, a self-confessed collaborator with the conspiratorial internationalists, has a mean-minded set of sneering comments about Pétain in *Tragedy and Hope*. The truth about the Marshal is not at all to the taste of such persons!

NOTE: It should be observed that a biography of Pétain exists in French. This is *Pétain, Gloire et Sacrifice* by Jacques le Groignec (336 pages), which may be ordered from Ogmios, BP 42-05, 75221 Paris Cedex 05, France. Probable cost would be 200 francs plus postage. Pétain's own book, *Le Bataille de Verdun* is also available from the same source.

As for Laval, it should be noted that there is an important defence of him in *The Forced War* by David Hoggan (Institute for Historical Review, USA, 1989). In Chapter 9 (page 210) Hoggan wrote: "Pierre Laval was one of the most realistic French statesmen of all time. ... His execution in 1945, when the Communist tide was running high in France, was the worst of the many judicial crimes of that era."

Nigel Jackson

## S.T. GILL AND HIS AUDIENCES

S.T. Gill is one of Australia's most significant artists -- he depicted the unexplored lands of South Australia; documented life on the Victorian gold-fields; and recorded the bustle of life in nineteenth-century Australian cities.

During the 41 years he spent in Australia, between 1839 and the time of his death in Melbourne in 1880, Gill produced thousands of prints, paintings and drawings. For the first time, an attempt is being made to assemble and publish all known work by S.T. Gill held in public and private collections in Australia and abroad. Supported by the Australian Research Council, the three-volume publication *S.T. Gill and his audiences* will contain a fully illustrated catalogue raisonné of Gill's work.

The S.T. Gill project is now in its final stages and the author and head of the project, Dr. Sasha Grishin, seeks to contact people who may privately own Gill's work, or who may know of Gill's work held in private collections. Ownership details will be kept strictly confidential.

The author may be contacted C/- Department of Art History, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, ACT, 2601.



## KEEP THE FLAG

by *Robin Northover*

Our flag bears the stars that blaze at night  
in our southern sky of blue,  
and a little old flag in the corner  
that's part of our heritage, too.

It's for the English, the Scots and the Irish  
who were sent to the ends of the earth,  
the rogues and the schemers, the doers and dreamers  
who gave modern Australia birth.

And you, who are shouting to change it,  
you don't seem to understand,  
it's the flag of our law and our language,  
not the flag of a faraway land.

(Though plenty of people will tell you,  
that when Europe was plunged into night,  
that little old flag in the corner  
was their symbol of freedom, and light.)

It doesn't mean we owe allegiance  
to a forgotten imperial dream.  
We've the stars to show where we're going,  
and the old flag to show where we've been.