



# HERITAGE

LINKING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT - FOR THE FUTURE

No. 69 December/February 1993/94

## WELCOME Prince Charles

from Members and supporters of The Australian Heritage Society.



### AFFIRMATION OF LOYALTY

*His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales.*

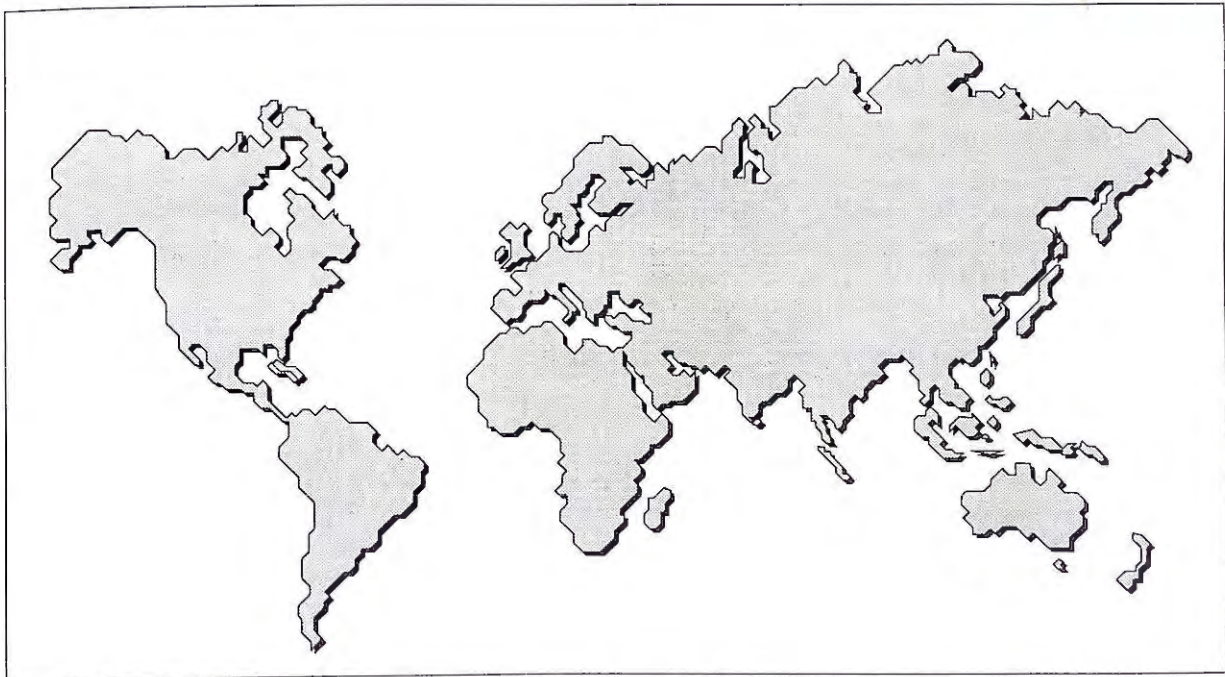
*We re-affirm our loyalty to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Sovereign Queen of Australia, and her heirs and successors. We recognise with abhorrence the organised attempt to undermine our Constitutional Monarchy, and confirm our determination to defend the Crown as the basis of the Australian Constitution, the earthly guarantor of our liberties, and the symbol of our national identity.*

*We also take this opportunity to express our confidence in you as the future King of Australia. We recall with approval your comment during your 1988 Bicentennial address in Sydney on Australia Day that "the true celebration of this nation is in its constitution." Further, we acknowledge your observation in your 1991 Shakespeare lecture that in a changing world a nation's cultural and spiritual roots are vital to preserve its identity, and we are pleased to regard you as a symbolic representative of that heritage.*

**GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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## WHERE WE ARE IN THE WORLD.

*Will abandoning the monarchy bring Australia closer to its Asian friends?*

**PUBLISHED BY THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY**

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No. 69

December/February 1993/94

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## 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, pursuit of goodness and beauty, and unselfish concern for other people - to maintain a love and loyalty for those values.

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

## Wisdom and Madness

OVER recent years we have grown accustomed to the parasitic bureaucracy, utter extravagance and rampant centralism from our national capital. The place is a veritable Mecca, for Marxists, Chardonnay Socialists, 'small l' liberals who reject absolutes, and common or garden power-junkies. Lenin's 'useful idiots' abound! This weird coterie plays daily to the accolades of a sycophantic press.

Modern Canberra would dismay and sadden our forefathers who envisaged a national capital which would provide responsible, intelligent guidance to a Federation of States.

The Mabo issue was born in 1993 and has attracted much comment. The press has focussed on the utterances of the federal government and down-played high calibre commentators like Professor Geoffrey Blainey, Dr. David Mitchell, Professor Mark Cooray and Member for Kalgoorlie, Graeme Campbell.

Professor Blainey points out that around 15% of Australia is currently held by aboriginal groups and trusts and even with no new laws, this will grow to over 20%. It can no longer be said that Aborigines are 'landless in their own land'. The average Aborigine, urban and outback, has about twelve times as much land as the average non-aborigine. If Mr. Keating's Mabo Bill passes, that ratio will be greatly increased.

A big attempt has been made over the last twenty years to be fair to Aborigines. Indeed, few minorities in world history have received such generous benefits. Rather than throw even more money and land at them, the real issues of health, housing and education must be addressed, along with the bureaucratic wastage of 'the aboriginal industry'. The land rights movement has gone far enough. To extend it further will weaken the economy and impede the exports urgently needed to meet the debt crisis. Furthermore, it threatens the unity of the Australian people and the sovereignty of the nation.

Graeme Campbell stresses that the main reason for Australia's current plight is the evasion of personal and national responsibility. Coupled with this has been the growth of a grievance industry based on so-called rights. These rights are pursued using the highest moralistic language, but underlying this is the selfish drive for individual and sectional privilege.

In the Mabo case, the judges emphasised the importance of "contemporary values" of justice and human rights, and yet they disowned judges of 200 years ago who themselves accepted the contemporary values of the time. Our distinguished judges see themselves as the arbiters and spokesmen of the "contemporary values of the Australian people". But in fact they have put themselves above the community, instead of being responsible to it. Surely our elected Parliament, not the non-elected High Court, is the appropriate arbiter of such contemporary values.

Some of the language in the judgements, particularly from Judges Gaudron and Deane, was highly emotive and included the phrase "unutterable shame" in respect of past treatment of Aborigines. By doing this they symbolically separate themselves from that history and absolve themselves of blame. They can see the shame so they are pure; people who contest their version are by implication part of the society and the process they condemn.

Graeme Campbell points out: "It is interesting that this unutterable shame does not prevent the Justices drawing a mammoth salary and associated perks, a salary which would not be possible without the Aboriginal dispossession which so exercises their consciences. The Chief Justice received \$191,550 and the other Justices \$174,122 annually, courtesy of the taxpayer. How much of their salary and perks have the Justices donated to Aborigines?"

This behaviour is typical of the new-class elite, whose members regard themselves as avant-garde crusaders, when really they are well and truly part of the privileged classes.

Professor Cooray is even more forthright: "The words of Sir Anthony Mason demonstrate unbounded intellectual arrogance, coupled with a knowledge and understanding of democracy, constitutional law and legal processes which is myopic. ... The knowledge of law demonstrated in the Murray Islands case would earn one out of ten from me if I were correcting an undergraduate essay."

But we mustn't blame the High Court alone for the Mabo morass. Indeed, the Justices voted 4-3 against applying the judgement to Australia. This

notwithstanding, the federal government, spurred on by the Aboriginal and white-guilt industries and encouraged by the media, seized the decision and applied it anyway. What a wonderful coup with which to delight their United Nations masters in the Year of Indigenous People. But let's not be too hasty in our condemnation of the federal government. Perhaps there was a mainland link overlooked by the Justices. After all, Eddie Mabo spent most of his life in Townsville, Queensland.

As the great Eric Butler stresses, those who don't believe in absolutes are capable of believing anything. The man who jumps over the cliff not only violates the absolute of gravity, he demonstrates its consequences.

In Australia we are witnessing the effects of power-centralisation, the flight from responsibility and the flight from God. At this time, when our Constitution is under constant attack by modern political and bureaucratic dwarfs, it is instructive to rekindle the vision of the giants of Federation. How would they view the progressive erosion of State rights by centralist federal governments and High Courts, in contempt of the will of the people and the drafters of the Federal Commonwealth Constitution?

What would they think of the perversion of the Foreign Affairs clause of Section 51 in order to allow international treaty legislation into Australia, undebated, through the back door, thus overriding both the constitution and legislation of all the States and denying Australians their heritage of British Common Law?

Treason is dealt with under Section 24AA (1) of the Crimes Act, 1914: "A person shall not: (a) do any act or thing with intent: (i) to overthrow the Constitution of the Commonwealth by revolution or sabotage ..."

It is perfectly clear that the Constitution has been sabotaged and that treason has been committed. But charges can only be brought by the Attorney-General, and therein lies the problem. No one would register his disgust at what has occurred more eloquently than a former federal Attorney-General, Sir Josiah Symon, a man of rare intellect, industry and wisdom, who was the chief proponent of States' rights at the Federal Conventions of the 1890's. In this issue of Heritage we begin a series on



# SUCCESSFUL TOUR FOR FUTURE KING OF AUSTRALIA

**C**ONTRARY to the expectations of the republications and the cynics, the Royal Tour of the Prince of Wales was a resounding success. Thousands of loyalists turned out to greet Prince Charles, and were universally impressed by his interest in Australian affairs, and his attitude to *ordinary* Australians. Not even the predictable sniping by the republicans could tarnish the enthusiasm with which the Prince was greeted, and the obvious affection in which he is held in this country.

Even the contemptuous attempt to attack the Prince in Sydney on Australia Day had positive repercussions for Monarchists. As his attacker stumbled forward, the unflinching gaze, and unmistakably kingly demeanor of the Prince was evident to the world. Here is a man fit to be King of Australia.

This attempted attack upon the Prince has other uncomfortable repercussions for the republican cause. Why attack the Prince of Wales? Why not aim the pistol at the Prime Minister or Premier? Because there is a quality about Royalty derived from the institution of monarchy that is central to our idea of nation-hood, and therefore of far greater significance than

mere politicians.

That thought-process alien to most Australians should choose **royalty** to highlight its cause is a backhanded compliment to monarchy that republicans cannot afford to acknowledge. Why attack the Prince? Because he is the Prince of Wales, and because he is not Malcolm Turnbull, Paul Keating, Donald Horne, or some other figure of fleeting and dubious distinction.

## THE PRINCE'S SPEECH

Again the press and republicans have misrepresented royalty by *interpreting* what is said in a way that suits republican motives. To claim that Prince Charles has implied support for a republic is **blatantly dishonest**. His gracious comments acknowledging the debate have been twisted. As Mr Tony Abbott, of Australians for Constitutional Monarchy commented, the ludicrous attempt to enlist royalty in the republican cause is the ultimate in cultural cringe.

What Prince Charles did say could just as easily be interpreted as **support for the monarchy**. He said, of the differing views about the republic, that he wasn't surprised that *some people will doubtless prefer the stability of a system that has been reasonably*

*well tried and tested over the years . . . Exactly!* The dishonest headlines could just as truthfully have read *Charles Supports Crown*.

## HERITAGE SOCIETY ADVERTISEMENT

We are able to retort that we have received an excellent response to Heritage Society's advertisement of dozens of subscriptions to Heritage, orders for **The People's Prince** (published by the Heritage Society) and requests for our recent pledge of loyalty, and supporting literature. We congratulate those of our readers who made donations for the publication of the advertisement *Weekend Australian*, 22/1/94. We happen to know that the advertisement was certainly noticed, and we have sent a copy of it to the Palace, with our felicitations to the Prince of Wales.

## PLEDGE OF LOYALTY

We have included a copy of our pledge of loyalty for readers to send to the Palace, or alternatively, to send to the Governor General to forward to the Prince of Wales. It is deigned to fit in an envelope for those who prefer to send it to Government House in Canberra. **Additional copies** of the pledge are available from our administration in Western Australia at the price of 25¢ each, or 3 for \$1 posted.

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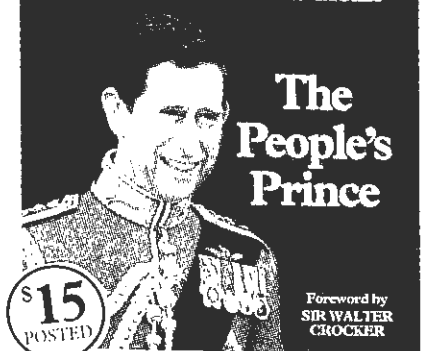
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# THE QUEEN'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE 1993

**F**OUR generations of my family have enjoyed the quiet and solitude of this library. It is still a haven of peace even if my grandchildren do their best over Christmas to make it rather more lively!

Most of the books on the shelves date from my great grandfather's time, and their titles reflect the life and events of those days.

Books are one of the ways in which each generation can communicate its history, values and culture to the next. There are books here about statesmen, explorers, warriors and saints; there are many about war, especially the First World War, which ended seventy-five years ago. Families and loved ones of those who fought in it knew little of the horrors of the trenches, other than from artists' drawings or photographs such as these – often published days or weeks after the event. Nowadays stories and pictures from all over the world can be gathered up and appear in print within hours.

We have indeed become a global village. It is no longer possible to plead ignorance about what is going on in far-off parts of the world. Switch on the radio or television, and the graphic details of distant events are instantly available to us.

Not all the pictures bring gloomy news. This year has seen significant progress made towards solving some of the world's most difficult problems – the Middle East, for instance, the democratic future of South Africa, and, most recently, Northern Ireland.

All too often, though, we find ourselves watching or listening to the sort of news which, as a daily diet, can be almost overwhelming. It makes us yearn for some good news.

If we can look on the bright side, so much the better, but that does not mean we should shield ourselves from the truth, even if it is unwelcome. I believe that we should be aware of events which, in the old days, might have passed us by. But that means facing up to the question of what we can do to use that awareness for the greater good.

The simple answer is, of course, all too little. But there is another answer. It

is that the more we know, the more we feel responsible, and the more we want to help. Those involved in international charity work confirm that modern communications have helped to bring them public support and made them more effective. People are not shunning the added responsibility, but shouldering it.



All of us owe a debt to those volunteers who are out there in the front line, putting our donations to use by looking after the wounded, the hungry and the oppressed.

Much of their work never reaches the headlines or television screens, but their example should inspire us all to do the same. We cannot all follow them the whole way, but we can do something to help within our own community – particularly at Christmas, when those without work, or the company of family or friends, feel especially left out.

I am always moved by those words in St. John's Gospel which we hear on Christmas day – "He was in the world,

and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not". We have only to listen to the news to know the truth of that. But the gospel goes on – "But as many as received him, to them gave he the power to become the sons of God". For all the inhumanity around us, let us be grateful for those who have received him and who go about quietly doing their work and his will without thought of reward or recognition. They know that there is an eternal truth of much greater significance than our own triumphs and tragedies, and it is embodied by the Child in the Manger. That is their message of hope.

We can all try to reflect that message of hope in our own lives, in our actions and in our prayers. If we do, the reflection may light the way for others and help them to read the message too. We live in the global village, but villages are made up of families. We, the peoples of the fifty nations of the Commonwealth – more than a quarter of the world's population – have, as members of one of the largest families, a great responsibility. By working together, we can help the rest of the world become a more humane and happier place.

I am reminded this year of some lines from a Christmas hymn which many of you will know:–

*"Yet in thy dark streets shineth  
The everlasting Light,  
The hopes and fears of all the years  
Are met in thee tonight".*

In Northern Ireland especially, these last years, fear has made the streets dark indeed. Now, we have seen that the light of hope can brighten them. May 1994 bring to those brave people who live there, and go about their lives undaunted, the reward they deserve – peace.

I hope you all enjoy your Christmas. I pray, with you, for a happy and peaceful New Year.

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# GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

from Hon. Murray Nixon, MLC  
Member for Agricultural Region.

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**A**S you may be aware, *God Save the Queen* was an anthem which was spontaneously accepted by supporters of the Crown at a time when it was under attack by a pretender. As the monarchy is currently under attack the following may be of interest.

*God Save the Queen* originated in a patriotic song first publicly performed in London in 1745. The song came to be referred to as the national anthem (of the United Kingdom) from about the beginning of the nineteenth century; it is also the royal anthem in Australia, Canada and New Zealand for official occasions when the Queen or her representative is present.

**B**oth the words and tune are anonymous (Henry Carey is thought to have composed the melody in the early 1700s) and may date back to the seventeenth century. They were first published in the early 1740s in a collection of songs called *Thesaurus Musicus*. In July 1754 the 'Young Pretender' to the British throne, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, grandson of King James II, landed on the west coast of Scotland and in September defeated the army of King George II at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh.

This 'Jacobite' threat evoked patriotic movements in favour of the Hanoverian dynasty, particularly in London, which felt itself threatened by the Jacobite advance. After news of Prestonpans had reached London, Dr Thomas Arne, the composer of *Rule Britannia* and leader of the band at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, arranged *God Save the King* for performance at the theatre by soloists and chorus after the play (Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*) on 28 September. The performance was a tremendous success and was

repeated nightly thereafter. A few days later a setting arranged by Arne's pupil, Charles Burney, was performed at Covent Garden. It was then taken up by other theatres, and soon spread outside London. The custom of greeting the king with the song as he entered a place of public amusement was soon established.

**T**here is no authorised version of the national anthem - the words being a matter of tradition rather than official decree. Attempts made to provide a set of verses different from the original ones include those by Shelley in 1819; by Ebenezer Elliot, the *Corn Law Rhymers* in 1830; by Sir William Watson in 1894; and by James Elroy Flecker in 1915. In the event none of these verses has supplanted those used at the 1745 public performance. Nowadays it is usual on official occasions to sing the first verse only. The words, expressing hopes for the sovereign's long and prosperous reign, are as follows:

*God save our gracious Queen!  
Long live our noble Queen!  
God save the Queen!  
Send her victorious,  
Happy and glorious  
Long to reign over us,  
God save the Queen.*

The other traditional verses, rarely sung nowadays, are:

*O Lord our God arise,  
Scatter her enemies,  
And make them fall;  
Confound their politics,  
Frustrate their knavish tricks,  
On thee our hopes we fix,  
God save us all.*

*Thy choicest gifts in store  
On her be pleased to pour;  
Long may she reign  
May she defend our laws,*

*And ever give us cause,  
To sing with heart and voice,  
God save the Queen.*

European visitors to eighteenth-century Britain seem to have been struck by the popularity of *God Save the King*, and to have realised the social and political advantage of such a patriotic musical symbol.

In 1763 the tune was published in Holland but its British origin was acknowledged. In 1790 a newspaper in Denmark published a poem written for the birthday of Christian VII to be sung to the tune of *God Save the King*. In 1793 a German newspaper provided a set of verses which were adopted by a number of the German States, and the tune became so well known that many soon believed it to be of German origin. Some time later Russia adopted the tune, Russian verses were written for it, and the song remained in use for state occasions until 1833, when a new national anthem was composed.

**I**n Switzerland, the British tune has long been used in both German-speaking and French-speaking parts, as it has in Liechtenstein. At one time Sweden used it for a national song.

*God Save the King* was sung in the American colonies before independence, and use continued to be made of the tune after the creation of the United States of America. The national song, now usually known in the United States as 'America' (*My country, 'tis of thee*) with words written by Dr S F Smith in 1831, is sung to the tune of the British national anthem.

The great many composers who have used the tune, frequently as the basis for sets of variations, include Haydn, Beethoven, Weber and Brahms. ♪

# WHERE WE ARE IN THE WORLD

by Randall J. Dicks

AS A result of arduous brainstorming in an attempt to find some justification for turning Australia into a republic, the Prime Minister of Australia has declared that the country's future lies with Asia, as opposed, perhaps, to a future linked to Britain or Europe, or the nations of Anglo-Saxon heritage, or the Commonwealth.

The thinking and direction of the advocates of the undefined republic are unclear and disunited. They want to sever ties with Britain, whatever those ties may still be, but they have nothing against Britain. They want to abandon the monarchy, though they have nothing against the monarch. They speak of modernity and democracy as if these attributes were incompatible with monarchy, yet modernity and democracy are far less consistent with the present state of affairs in many Asian republics than in any constitutional monarchy today.

The importance of Asia to Australian commerce is undeniable; the Asian market accounts for about 60% of Australia's overall trade. However, abandoning the monarchy will bring Australia no closer to its Asian friends. One republican has said, "The republican debate is a debate on making sense of our location, part of embracing where we are in the world."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one should review, then, just where Australia is in the world; many of her Asian trading partners happen to be monarchies.

Malaysia is a monarchy, and rather an unusual one in that the King (the Yang di-Pertuan Agong) is chosen from the nine rulers of the Malay states, and reigns for five years before another of the rulers takes a turn. Malaysia has been in existence as a nation only since 1963, but its states and their traditional monarchies -- ruled by sultans or rajahs -- are ancient.

Thailand's monarchy is ancient and revered, and it is the only country in Southeast Asia never taken over by a European power. Its king, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, is the longest-reigning monarch in the world today, having succeeded to the throne in 1946. He provides true stability at the top, as the Thai political scene has proven volatile in the last two decades, with frequent military intervention and violence. The monarch has been the only national leader consistently to command universal respect, and though governments have come and

## Will abandoning the monarchy bring Australia closer to its Asian friends?



gone, the Head of State has remained constant. Prime Ministers who lay hands on monarchs should be advised that *lèse majesté* remains a criminal offence in Thailand.

Brunei Darussalam is small in size, but tremendously wealthy. It has had a Sultan since before the introduction of Islam in the 15th century. Journalist Alan Whicker says that the Sultan of Brunei, who celebrated his silver jubilee last year, may be the wealthiest man who has ever lived.<sup>2</sup> Yet the riches of H.M. Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah (which are generously shared with all the people of Brunei, and with charities) are not the point: Brunei's monarchy, which is absolute, works.

King Birendra of Nepal is regarded as semi-divine by some of his subjects and has only recently relaxed his powers. Nepal's tiny

neighbour, the kingdom of Bhutan, has about half the population of Sydney, but it, too, is one of those working monarchies located generally "where we are in the world".

The count of monarchies "where we are in the world" has just gone up, with the rebirth of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the return to the throne of the venerable King Norodom Sihanouk who, years ago, won his country's independence from the French. The earliest Khmer (Cambodian) monarchy was established in the 1st century A.D. A 2,000-year-old tradition of monarchy is "where we are in the world". After years of civil war, invasion and lawless terror, Cambodia, heir to a great and ancient civilization, is seeking to re-enter the community of nations and resume the progress and development derailed more than two decades ago. The country has chosen to begin its new life under the leadership of the remarkable man who, in a life-time of service to his country, has been king, prime minister and simply "head of state", sometimes in exile. Cambodia has tried republics, people's republics, democratic republics and democratic popular republics and now, when starting all over again, has chosen monarchy. Perhaps the new Cambodia -- the Kingdom of Cambodia -- will become an eager trading partner for Australia.

Some of Southeast Asia's former monarchies -- Vietnam, Laos, even Burma -- may very well yearn for the days when they were monarchies, as compared with the oppression of their current governments. China has not been a monarchy since before World War I, but the Bertolucci film about its "Last Emperor" focussed more positive international attention on the People's Republic than it had known for many years, and boosted tourism and investment.

Japan is Australia's largest export partner. Japan is not *only* a monarchy; it has an Emperor. Not *only* does it have an Emperor, he traces his descent from the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-o-mikami, and the first

Emperor of Japan was the perhaps legendary Jimmu (660 B.C.). Australia's biggest trading partner has had 125 emperors so far, and the idea of monarchy does not seem anachronistic or old-fashioned in this country whose gross national product tops A\$3,000,000,000,000.

Other countries of Asia, such as Indonesia, Pakistan and India, are republics but have local rulers who continue to exercise considerable unofficial influence, and

sometimes play important and beneficial roles in the life of the nation, both locally and in national affairs.

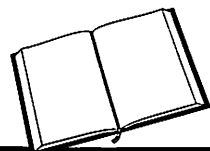
At the time the Prime Minister of Australia visited his Queen at Balmoral Castle in Scotland last September on his way to Dublin, virtually every press account quoted a "recent opinion poll" which purported to show that 62% of Australians favoured a republic. As everyone on earth must be pretty well aware by now, what a poll says is almost completely in the eye of the interpreter. Those interpreters generally have an unmistakable bias, and sometimes have even commissioned the poll. Without questioning for the moment why international wire services and experienced journalists should care to put a particular slant on an opinion poll (although the question does arise), one should keep in mind the old warning about not believing everything you read in the papers.

Ten days after the Prime Minister's stopover to Scotland, wire services were reporting that a new poll by *The Australian*

showed a reversal of the previous figure: "Australians are losing their enthusiasm for a republic with 61% now either opposed to any change from a constitutional monarchy or uncommitted, according to a major poll published today. The poll, taken last weekend amid the wave of nationalism inspired by Sydney's successful bid to host the 2000 Olympics ... showed 44% were against dropping Queen Elizabeth II as head of state ... while only 39% were in favour. Seventeen per cent were uncommitted. An earlier poll showed 46% supporting the republic, 36% opposing the idea, and 18% uncommitted."<sup>3</sup> The key, as always, is the undecided sector. This poll shows what is more accurately an 8-point gain in favour of monarchy, while the earlier, internationally-quoted poll actually showed 46% in favour of a republic, although the wire reports chose to include the undecideds with the republicans. Either side may claim the undecideds, manipulating their percentage points as they will.

While poll results may be confusing, even deliberately so, the task of Australian monarchists is clear and straightforward: those undecided Australians, whatever percent they may amount to out of the total, must be persuaded that Australian constitutional monarchy offers more benefits in terms of unity, stability, continuity and modern democracy than does a vague and undistinguished republic.

1. Thomas Keneally, quoted by Jason Szep, "Australia and Britain may face messy divorce", Reuters wire service report, 16 September, 1993.
2. "Absolute Monarchy", Public Broadcasting System, 4 October, 1993.
3. Reported in the *Baltimore Sun*, 29 September, 1993. On 11 September, 1993, the *Daily Express* reported that a 10-September poll in New Zealand had shown 58% opposed to New Zealand becoming a republic.



## BOOK REVIEW

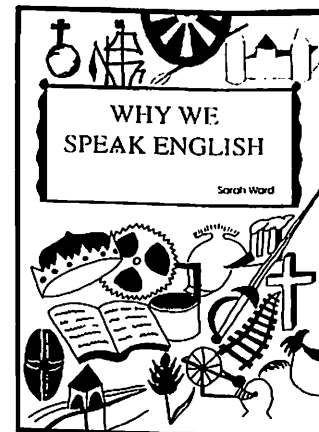
A delightful short history of the English language for students. The main invasions of England are briefly described, showing how each one affected the local inhabitants, and how each one influenced our language and added to its vocabulary. A little gem of cultural significance. Twenty-four pages with coloured illustrations, exercises and activities. Published by Nutshell Products, printed by Academy Printing, Harrisville.

Did you know that Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are named after Norse gods? Or that the word 'mutton' originated from the French 'mouton' (sheep) as far back as 1066? Where do most of our scientific words, such as 'arithmetic', 'hypnosis' and 'gymnastics' come from? Why do 'boat', 'plough' and 'gnash' have seemingly complicated spelling?

The answers to such questions are contained in a fascinating little booklet

entitled *Why We Speak English*. Written by Sarah Ward and recently published for the Language Foundation of Australia, it provides invaluable information about the background and development of the English language we speak today -- from its origins with the Ancient Britons, through the changes wrought by Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Viking and Norman invasions, the attempts at standardization with the invention of the printing press, to the addition of multi-cultural words of today. The final product is a language that is colourful, expressive and steeped in history -- and which is still developing!

*Why We Speak English* is a well-researched, absorbing booklet to read just for pleasure, but it is a **must** for teachers and students of all ages. It should be on every library shelf. Sarah Ward's delightful, simply drawn illustrations add a special charm. A fascinating little booklet -- thoroughly recommended for anyone who loves language.



## SPECIAL OFFER

Available by mail order, either bankcard (phone or mail) or send cheque/money order to:

**\$10** The Language Foundation of Australia,  
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## CONTRIBUTIONS WELCOMED

ARTICLES and other contributions, together with suggestions for suitable material for *HERITAGE*, will be welcomed by the Editor. However, those requiring unused material to be returned, should enclose a stamped and addressed envelope.



# LIBERTIES OF THE MIND

CHARLES LANGBRIDGE MORGAN

Reviewed by G.F. Toben

**C**HARLES Morgan who? That was my response when a good friend of mine handed me a copy of *Liberty of the Mind*.

To my shame, I had not heard of Charles Langbridge Morgan, the English novelist born one hundred years ago, on 22nd January 1894. Nor was his death in London, on 6th February 1958, for me, of any significance. It is therefore, in this centenary year, a delight for me to catch up on a significant thinker's literary output.

Any writer who worries about human nature is inevitably influenced by what is going on around him. That is how self-serving writing opens itself to the generality of human experience, and compassion becomes a guiding principle. Subconscious influences are, with accompanying growth and development, consciously evaluated and expressed in either fictional form or as social commentary.

Morgan does both in his novels. The titles of his works, most of which have been translated into 17 languages, speak for themselves. Consider, for example: *Portrait in a Mirror* (1929), *The Fountain* (1932), *Epitaph on George Moore* (1935), *Sparkenbroke* (1936), *The Flashing Stream* (1938), *The Voyage* (1940), *The Empty Room* (1941), *Ode to France* (1942), *The House of Macmillan* (1943), *Reflections in a Mirror, I* (1944) and *II* (1946), *The Judge's Story* (1947), *The River Line* (1949), *Liberties of the Mind* (1951), *The Challenge to Venus* (1957).

Morgan's productive years thus span one-quarter of a century — from the turmoil of the early 30's, a direct legacy of World War I, into the 1950's Cold War era, the direct aftermath of that horrific six-year fratricidal conflict we call World War II. Having lived through this period of unimaginable chaos and suffering, Charles Morgan crusades against the freedom-destroying evil forces, the forces which restrict the liberties of our mind. Morgan naturally also celebrates the liberties of action as embodied in freedom of speech, worship and parliamentary government.

The book, *Liberties of the Mind*, is a collection of essays. The heading of its introductory chapter reads: **Mind Control**. Who dares to suggest that in our western-styled democracy there is such a

thing as mind control? Charles Morgan does, and his book warns us of the existence of dangerous forces. Morgan hones in on the deeper workings of the forces which sustain superficial ideological battles.



Charles Morgan

For Morgan, the political show trials, conducted by the Soviet Union and its satellite states, illustrate how something can be put into the mind. The outcome of such trials always follows a predictable pattern. The accused confesses to the extraordinary charges levelled against him by the State. Such confessions, however, do not have the ring of truth about them. Yet there are no visible signs which would indicate that physical or chemical force has been used on the accused persons. And still, observers from the non-Communist countries sense that what they are watching in the court of law is not real.

## DRIVING OUT INDIVIDUALITY

The Soviet show trials interest Charles Morgan because of this very fact, that the accused passively confesses his guilt. What factors operate within such a mind that it confesses its own guilt when charged with blatant nonsense allegations? Morgan says it's obvious that whatever is being used to achieve the confessions, it manages to slip past the

inner defences of the accused person's beliefs and convictions of what is right and wrong. Morgan calls this mechanism **switch control**, then later firms this term into **possessive control**. *It is the method, he says, whereby a person is driven out of his individuality and an alien tenant introduced into the house, there to possess him.* Morgan firmly believes that a person can lose his individuality and identity, and thus endeavouring to understand possessive control is **not to be alarmist, but to be awake.**

The physical factors involved in the process of purging and emptying a mind create fear and physical and mental exhaustion. Add to this the use of certain drugs and a victim is overcome by a sense of isolation, by a feeling of helplessness and loneliness. Morgan suggests that when the eyes of a person have become "windows of a seemingly unoccupied room", then this very same person must, in order to become free, use the knife of understanding on his own ropes that bind him. This is easier said than done because, as Morgan admits, our society conditions its citizens to accept a limitation upon their freedoms. There is also the tendency of our mind to surrender its own freedoms, sometimes done unconsciously or willingly, even enthusiastically. After all, a **conditioned mind has no knowledge of its own servitude**. It remains passive and is without self-consciousness.

There is no self-criticism because the mind has closed up. Independent thought is subverted by a guilt complex. The tendency to submit rests on a feeling that it is morally right to swim along with the tide of what is perceived to be correct public opinion. Those not running before the wind nurture a hazy notion that independence of mind is treachery. Little do they realize that only dead fish flow with the stream.

Such thoughts of conformity sap the will-to-independence. Morgan describes this process as a disease which flatters the sufferers into thinking they are quite independent of mind. Unfortunately, he says, the disease attacks the mind's lucidity, integrity and freedom. Its resistance is sapped by the imposition of a collective dogma which cuts the mind off

from imaginative life. The mind fragments, loses its unity and submits, then as today, to fear.

Here Morgan reaches the core of his argument. He maintains that there are **two forces which contribute to a mind's breakdown:**

1. Our increasing sense of communal responsibility;
2. Our newly-developed power over nature.

These two factors produce an extremely violent revolution in thought. The first is the idea of social progress as embodied in Marxism. Democracy is the catch-cry, and one-man-one-vote its enticement. On the one hand the individual is given a sense of importance by being asked to cast a vote. On the other hand the individual surrenders his liberty of thought as he submits to majority opinion. Such submission, Morgan believes, dehumanises and dispirits human relationships. The numbers game matters, not the individual's opinion. Customary relationships disintegrate as **numerical thinking** assumes numerical reality.

#### FAILING TO HONOUR THEIR OBLIGATIONS

The concept of democracy, says Morgan, has become debased because it is not balanced. Self-discipline and self-respect have no home within the concept. Representatives of today's democracies fail to honour their obligations — as trustees of the minorities, as preservers of the constitutional framework. They dishonour their own majority. Their minds are so 'open' that they will not call a lie a lie. The cretinous state of 'numerical thinking' is a state where **"individual judgement becomes a wolfish howling under balconies, and what were once men and women are but a single tongue to lick the hand of the dictator"**.

The liberty of thought is a spiritual reality while life's specialisations are numerical. Financial, economic, scientific and administrative endeavours have their own highly developed forms of language, of symbols. Our age is that of the specialist — and that's disastrous to our liberties of the mind.

Morgan claims that "materialists who wish to restrict the liberties of the mind derive a great part of their strength from the fact that the effect of superficial education among western peoples has been to make them gullible by their terror of being gulled".

Morgan maintains, as does Plato, that liberty of thought is a spiritual reality. He also claims that "materialists who wish to restrict the liberties of the mind derive a great part of their strength from the fact that the effect of superficial education among western peoples has been to make them gullible by their terror of being gulled".



Charles Morgan 1911

The progressive educators delight in denying children access to fairy-tales. Until recently Marxists interpreted the stock of our traditional fairy-tales in the light of economic and sexual exploitation. They also claim that because fairy-tales are not factual, children are being led into deception and fantasy. Such interpretation is, however, quite dishonest, and more. It hides the real reason why materialists wish to deprive the young of fairy-tales: It is the truth contained therein which they fear — truth in the form of a vision of giants, witches, spells and talismans which give warning to our children of the existence of:

- (i) The principle of evil in the world
- (ii) The use and abuse of 'wishes'
- (iii) Imply the power and responsibility of a freely creative imagination
- (iv) The resources of the spirit, the knowledge of its opportunities and perils.

Morgan sees quite clearly how the materialists, by applying Marxist ideology, begin to restrict language use. By introducing jargoned vocabulary, they succeed also in limiting thought. The ultimate aim, of course, is **"to prevent the imagination from flowing outwards and discovering for itself its own self-renewal"**. Charles Morgan's own good fight is principled: not to submit to "the powers of evil which seek to debase the

currency of imagination". Prophetically he exclaims: "It is still not criminal in the west to demonstrate the falsity of premises."

#### THE ROOT OF RELIGION

He claims that Consciousness is antecedent to society, just as Being comes before Consciousness, and Creation before Being. "It is upon this order that the responsibility of the human persons rests." This order is also the root of religion and poetry, of fear and love, of self-consciousness and self-knowledge. In any case, anyone who claims absolute knowledge, attacks the mental and spiritual freedoms which are the breath of reason and faith.

Morgan maintains that it is a right of the human mind to distinguish between good and evil and its power to make journeys in the light of that distinction ... **"Faith and reason are companions on an infinite journey ... no limits, except in our human capacity, to the extension of either."**

Morgan concludes the first chapter of his book by using the journey analogy. If there are two people, one of whom says, "I can go no further", then it is not desertion but courage in the other to go forward alone. He warns us that there are great forces operating in the world which would forbid such a journey and destroy the will to make it. Then, he says, in such a situation, **"The ship is not answering her helm and there is a devil in the wind."**

Morgan continues to discuss liberty of thought in the context of the following headings: **LIBERTY** — not to despair; to build; of teaching; to have roots; to enjoy and accept.

The second part of the book is subtitled **Liberty of Self-Renewal**. Here Morgan discusses Classicism and Romanticism in the context of various liberties: **LIBERTY** — from materialism; to ask questions; to mind one's own business; to communicate; to draw back curtains.

To sum up then: Morgan maintains that freedom of thought manifests itself within our political process in the form of representative government, and in our legal system within the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty. Freedom of thought is best seen in action within an artist because the creative process is the highest form of thought realisation. Charles Morgan would have agreed with the sentiments expressed in the German folk song which celebrates freedom of thought.



# The Proofs of Love

by Anne Bryan McCall

This delightful article first appeared in *The Girls' Own Annual* over seventy years ago.

I want to speak this month about the ideals of Love as they are found in folk-lore and fairy tale, because in these we shall find the answer to a good many of the problems of love that confront us in life.

So many girls seem to expect love to come to them whether they are worthy of it or not, and to remain with them whether they are fully deserving of it or not. It is out of these false expectations that a good many unhappy problems arise. And it is partly in answer to these that I want to call your attention to those fairy stories, of which there are a great many, which deal with the proving and deserving of love.

In practically all the fairy tales or folk stories which deal with love you will find stress laid on one of two kinds of proving. You will find the hero or heroine enduring some test or performing some task before he or she wins the happiness and rewards of love. The tests vary from the most trifling to the most serious, and the tasks vary from the lightest to the heaviest.

If we examine the tests of love set out or symbolised in the great fairy tales, we shall find that a large number of these concern things that are forbidden, things that must not be done; some restriction laid on the hero or heroine by fairies or gods or higher powers. Elsa, in the story of Lohengrin, is forbidden to ask the name of the Swan-Knight; Orpheus, in rescuing Eurydice, is told that he must not look back until the portal of the Infernal Regions is passed; Psyche is warned she must not attempt to see Eros.

If the hero or heroine does not stand the test, calamity follows. Sometimes the warning is given clearly, sometimes only hinted at, but in every case, whether it is understood or not, the results follow, if the hero or heroine fail in the test; if Elsa asks her lover's name, he will be obliged to leave her; if Orpheus turns and looks at Eurydice, she must return to the Infernal Regions; if Psyche insists on looking at Eros, he will be lost to her.

## THE TASKS OF LOVE

Then, besides the tests of love such as these, there are the tasks of love. Everyone who has read fairy tales is familiar with these. They are too many to mention. Again and again we find that, before the satisfying end of the story, there are tasks

in plenty to be performed -- trials of affection and courage and endurance to be made. Not until these are all fulfilled does there follow that ending we have all known and loved so well -- "And they lived happy ever after". Only when the tests are all made, and the tasks are all performed faithfully, only when the hero and heroine are tried and proven, weighed, as it were, in a balance and found not wanting, only then comes the coveted assurance, "And they were married, and lived happy ever after".



## LOVE IS SOMETHING MARVELLOUSLY PRECIOUS

This testing or proving is not a mere chance thing, thought of by one or two or by half-a-dozen tellers of tales; it is insisted on in practically all the love stories that the people of all lands have kept and cherished. It is testified to by countless witnesses. It is repeated, reiterated, insisted on, over and over and over. It is as though humanity in all the long ages had come to know, and to know beyond all doubting, that true love, love worth the having, is not a mere common happening, but is something marvellously precious. It is not to be picked up by anyone, like chance sticks and stones of the highway. It is a jewel beyond all imagination precious which, once it is attained, will make its possessor rich for all time -- rich in happiness, rich in wisdom, rich in truth -- in a word, *rich in love*. It is something, therefore, that must be sought, earned, deserved. *It cannot be had any other way.*

Now, in the fairy tales, just exactly as in real life, you will find people who are either blind to this truth or do not believe it. They persist in believing that love and

the riches of love *can* be had in some other way; and they proceed to try to prove themselves right. But always and inevitably they are proved wrong, and the time they have spent trying to prove that love can be had in any but the one way -- namely, by the deserving of it -- is time lost.

## THE TESTS MAY BE SLIGHT, BUT THEY MEAN MUCH

Let us take an example: I have said that the tests of love in the fairy tale are often very slight. But, however slight they are, you will find their meaning is weighty. Let us take a famous story that has in it an apparently slight test. When the fairy godmother gives Cinderella the privilege of going to the ball, she told her she must not stay after the stroke of twelve. A test and a task all in one, you see; for it would be difficult for Cinderella to leave the ball and all its pleasures just at the height of her happiness. Nevertheless, that is the fairy's requirement. On the third night of the ball Cinderella is so carried away with delight and happiness that she almost forgets -- almost, but not quite. At the last stroke of the clock she flees, and as she hurries away she drops her glass slipper.

The Prince finds the slipper, and then begins his search. He has it proclaimed throughout the land that he will wed her and only her whose foot the glass slipper fits.

You know the rest of the story -- how he goes seeking, seeking, but cannot find anyone whose foot exactly fits the slipper. When he comes to the home of Cinderella, Cinderella is sitting, as at the opening of the story, a poor ash-girl by the hearth, and her haughty step-sisters are preparing for the Prince's visit. They are resolved to wear the slipper, whether or not. They are resolved (if we translate the symbolism into fact) on possessing love and all the rewards of love -- marriage with the Prince, joint rule over his domains, and all the honour and happiness that will come to them through such a possession.

But there is the test of love, you see! It did not seem at first a very serious test -- only the wearing of a slipper. Yes; but you notice that this is no ordinary slipper that can be stretched and accommodated and made to fit. *It is a slipper made of glass.* It will not give as leather would, and if it is forced it will break. It is as though life

were reiterating in this old fairy tale, and in this test of the glass slipper "only the one whom the slipper fits" (who deserves love) can be the Prince's bride (will obtain love).

But the two sisters, like so many people in real life, mean to disregard the great fundamental and fixed truths of life -- *they intend to have things their own way*. (They believe, in other words, that the riches of love *can* be had without meeting the requirements of love -- that is, without fully deserving them, for the Prince had sworn to wed her whom the slipper fits. But Life itself, either in the fairy tales or in our experience of it, is never cheated, and so we can guess what happens next. The Prince sees a few drops of blood, and detects the falseness.

Now comes the second sister. It is as though the teller of the story were insisting on this truth he is trying to teach, by repeating it. He has said once (in the symbol of the first sister), "You cannot have true love without deserving it"; now he repeats it in the incident of the second sister, for she, also, is resolved to cheat life, to avoid and elude the test, and win the riches and rewards of love without deserving them, so she, you recall, cuts off a bit of her toes, in order to make it seem that the slipper fits her, and to make it seem that *she* is fit to be the Prince's bride.

But once again the truth is insisted on -- "Life cannot be cheated. Do not suppose you can have the happiness and rewards of love if you do not deserve them!" So the Prince again sees the drops of blood, and the second sister is dismissed as unworthy to wear the crystal slipper.

#### LOVE DEPENDS ON QUALITIES OF THE SOUL

Then comes the end of the story that we all know. Cinderella is summoned. Surely, the poor ash-girl will not be the Prince's bride! But here, too, notice how true the old tale rings, and how true its symbolism is. It is as though the old teller of the story said in these symbols, "Did you suppose love depends on any of the outward or material things of life -- on dress or station, or poverty or riches? Well, you are quite mistaken. It depends on qualities of the soul, and only on these. It depends on virtue and truth and honour and faithfulness and loveliness."

Then he proceeds to show you this truth in symbols. For Cinderella (the true, the patient, the loving, the one who has stood the test the fairy godmother gave her), Cinderella, ragged and poor, is led in at the command of the Prince, and to the astonishment of her sisters, but not at all to the astonishment of the reader or of the ages! The slipper fits her perfectly. The

tests of love originally required of her she has stood, and this new test or proof is easily established.

Then comes the delightful and inevitable ending -- "So the Prince and Cinderella were married, and lived happy ever after".

You may read this age-old story when you are a child for mere delight in its coloured happening, not understanding its deeper meaning and not needing to, just as a child delights in life itself, without understanding all the deep truths and laws that underlie it. But just as Life itself, as time goes on, reveals itself more and more to the thoughtful mind, unfolding more and more of its beauty and truth, so these old tales, which are really a very part of life, too, reveal themselves more and more the more thoughtful we become, and unfold more and more of their abiding beauty and truth.

This is only one fairy tale that dwells upon the proofs of love. There are many more. And, without exception, they all bear witness to the same truth -- that love which cannot or does not endure the proving and testing of love is not true love at all, but false love, not worth the having.

The stories which dwell on the tasks of love (and their name is legion) all reiterate the same truth. The one who wins the rewards of love, the delights of love, and "lives happy ever after" is the one invariably, inevitably, who performs the tasks of love. It is not false and selfish loving but true loving that is required, not the mere devoted word so easy to speak, but the difficult task (no matter how humble) devotedly performed, not occasional eagerly avowed intention, but the actual daily performance.

#### THE OBLIGATIONS OF LOVE

There will be those, no doubt, who will offer the argument that this seems too much like bargaining for love. They will say that those who love truly are content merely to give, and are happy in that. That is perfectly true. There are individuals who are willing to dismiss all the ancient obligations of love, people who are willing to yield all the old laws, who are willing to devote themselves to those who, on to the very end, remain unworthy of love. There is even, in some cases, a certain generosity in this, if you like. But none of this alters the old law, or changes the old truth to which the fairy tales bear witness. Such a love is *not* a complete and satisfying thing, and never can be. For if we love truly we desire truth and nobility in the beloved as well as for ourselves. The "marriage" which ends all the great love fairy tales is a symbol of the unity, the mutual giving and

taking and honouring to which all true love inevitably leads. You may twist and turn the facts as you choose, but, like the sisters of Cinderella, you will only lose time doing so. You cannot alter these age-old truths. True love will never come, and never remain, save with deserving. And if you will look for the derivation and meaning of that word "deserve" you will find that it means to "serve devotedly". And what is to serve love devotedly but to endure every test of love and perform faithfully every task of love, be it large or small?

#### KEEPING STEP WITH THE OLD TRUTHS

To aim constantly to be worthy of love; to hold it constantly high; to be for ever unwilling to compromise with those one loves, and, above all, with one's self; to replace the cheap avowals of love by the earnest proofs of love -- this is to keep step with the old fairy tales and the old truth in them, and this is to arrive at the old happy ending of united happiness, and there is no other way.

For all the griefs and sorrows and disunities of love come without fail from the compromise of love, from the willingness to hold it cheap; and to allow word to stand for deed. For there is but one true way to love, and that is, whether in large or small matters, day after day, year in year out, to *prove* one's love.

In this connection I recall some lovely lines written by an Italian knight of long ago to his lady, which I want to leave with you:

"Thus grieves she now; but she shall wear  
This love of mine whereof I spoke  
About her body for a cloak,  
And for a garland in her hair  
Even yet; because I mean to *prove*,  
Not to speak only, this my love."

Note the lovely use of the symbol of a cloak. His love is to be something that will enfold and protect her; and that of the garland -- something to crown and honour her. Notice, too, the continued effort implied in the "even yet"; many times he has failed and has given her cause for grief, because his love has been only spoken love, not love proven; but his high resolve is taken, in full knightly spirit; despite all his failures, he is determined that he will succeed, that he will *prove* his love.

Here is the high ideal of true love that men and women of all lands and of all times have delighted to tell about, and have delighted to preserve in fairy tale and folk-lore, and a high and lovely and lasting ideal it is for us to remember, and by the grace of Love to attain to ourselves.



# SYMON THE STATESMAN

by Graham Lyons

**S**IR JOSIAH SYMON (1846-1934) is rarely mentioned when the evolution of the Australian Constitution is discussed. His contribution is minimised in La Nauze's *The Making of the Australian Constitution* and he received even less mention in Garran's *Prosper the Commonwealth*. However, it is apparent from the records that Symon was one of the true 'fathers of the Constitution' and as the most dedicated proponent of equal State rights, he deserves recognition as the founder of the Senate as we know it.

Josiah Symon migrated from Scotland to South Australia in 1866 and began a law career. He became a Q.C. at age 35 and developed a reputation for winning difficult criminal cases. He dominated the Adelaide bar for three decades. "His speeches before the court exhibit a remarkable control of attractive language and his arguments are marshalled so clearly as to illumine the understanding of the most unintelligent jury. Many are the polished, witty and brilliant speeches he has delivered on such occasions. His repartee delights the audience at court and his ingenuity and generalship with obstinate witnesses invariably rebounds to their discomfort and the success of his own case."<sup>1</sup>

In 1881 he entered Parliament and became S.A. Attorney-General. He left State politics in 1887 and dedicated himself to Federation. His sense of Australia's destiny rivalled Barton's, and his nationalism was not contradicted by his insistence on the maintenance of certain State rights. He was Chairman of the Federation League and chaired the judiciary committee of the 1897-98 Australasian Federal Convention.

The questions which interested him most were those major issues which gave the convention trouble: equal representation of the States in the Senate, equality of power between the Senate and the House of Representatives (even over money bills), the solution of deadlocks between the two Houses of the Federal Parliament, and the Murray waters question.

At Federation he was knighted, and it was appropriate that he became a Senator for South Australia, a position he held until 1913. He was Federal Attorney-General in the Reid-McLean government of 1904-05.

Symon was not only a brilliant lawyer, orator and statesman. He was a Presbyterian lay-preacher, noted Shakespearian scholar -- he wrote several books, including *Shakespeare, the Englishman* and *Shakespeare at*

*Home* -- educationalist, generous benefactor of universities, schools and hospitals; innovative farmer and vintner. He owned Auldana Vineyard at Magill and brought out the French champagne-maker, Edmond Mazure, who had a profound influence on Australian sparkling wine-making.

His outstanding library of 10,000 volumes -- including 3,000 of English literature -- was left to the State at his death in 1934.

Josiah Symon was a great Australian, and it is odd that he has not been afforded a major biography. Following is an edited version of his speech on the Constitution of the Senate, at the Australasian Federal Convention in Sydney, 1897.

## AUSTRALASIAN FEDERAL CONVENTION

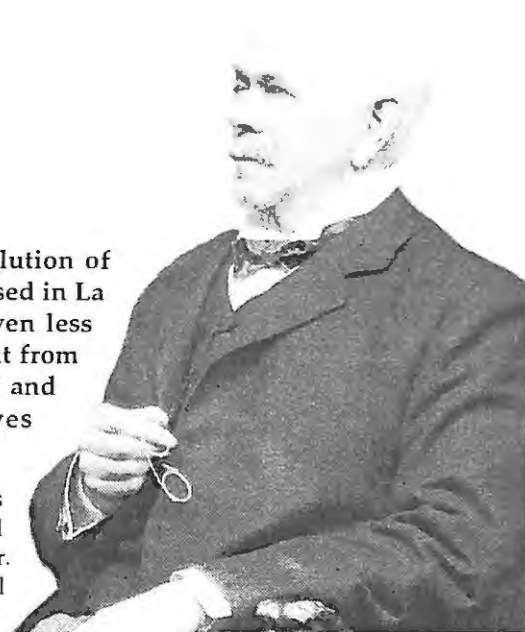
EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY J.H.  
SYMON, Esq., Q.C.,

on the Constitution of the Senate,  
delivered in Sydney, 10th September, 1897.

Mr. Symon (South Australia): I particularly feel that it is desirable that we should lay before the Convention, and before the people of Australia, our views on this subject, because it is the most vital question involved in the constitution which we are about to frame. It lies at the very root of the business on which we are engaged. ... I believe it would be a dangerous, and I think an unfortunate thing if we allowed it to be supposed throughout New South Wales and Victoria that we, in order to secure equal representation in the senate, were simply relying on the force of numbers. It would be disastrous. ... I do not quite agree with my hon. and learned friend, Sir John Downer, that equal representation cannot be defended on logical grounds or on principle.

The Hon. Sir J.W. Downer: I never said that it could not!

The Hon. I.A. Isaacs: It was Mr. Glynn!



Mr. SYMON: I was under the impression that it was Sir John Downer. Mr. Glynn, I know, put it that there was no such thing as political syllogism, or put it in some such shape as that. It appears to me, and upon that I accept the challenge of Mr. Higgins, that equal representation in the senate, if you are establishing a federation, is founded upon a very sound principle. It appears to me that my hon. friend's speech illustrated, gallant as it was, a forlorn hope against the really impregnable fortress of equal representation; but I think it also exhibited rather the ludicrous side of the great task of framing a constitution. He reminded me, in his arguments, of the American clergyman who had the misfortune to take a counterfeit \$20 note. He showed it amongst his friends, and they all commiserated with him and agreed that it was an excellent imitation and that it was very difficult to tell it from a genuine note. This clergyman was afterwards asked by a friend to produce the note to show the wonderful resemblance to the genuine article, and he replied, "Oh, I have passed it." "What!" said his friend, "passed it?" "Yes," he replied, "it was just like this: that note was so well got up that whilst on some days I thought it was bad, on other days I am hanged if I did not think it was good; and on one of the days when I thought it was good I passed it."

Mr. Higgins: Is equal representation to be passed like the forged note?

Mr. SYMON: My hon. friend must sometimes have misgivings about the argument he offers. Yesterday there was not that genuine and emphatic ring about his speech -- although it was filled with chivalry and good nature -- which we remember on the last occasion when the Convention met in Adelaide. I think he has occasional doubt

-- some misgivings as to the validity of his arguments; but there are times when he thinks them absolutely invulnerable, and then he passes them off upon us. For instance, he is carried away by the phrase "one man, one vote", and by what he calls the corollary. Even the Attorney-General of Victoria smiled yesterday when that was trotted out again -- "many men, many votes". That is a very fine antithesis. It was served up to us hot in Adelaide; yesterday there was a slight want of freshness about it.

Mr. Higgins: My words were in answer to the misleading phrase, "One man one vote, therefore one state one vote"!

Mr. SYMON: May I suggest that a truer corollary of one man one vote than that put forward is one woman one vote. I commend that, at any rate, to the consideration of my hon. friend.

The Hon. I.A. Isaacs: Does the hon. gentleman think that will bring about federation?

Mr. SYMON: It may be that is the kind of union my hon. friend had in view in his great speech at the Town Hall the other night. At any rate, possibly we, coming from the more enlightened State of South Australia, may be a little prejudiced as to that form of antithesis, but as the matter is one of highly debatable politics, I will say nothing further about it. My hon. friend interjected with regard to one state one vote. I will ask him, Are the states, in his judgement, to be represented in the federation? Ought the states, as states, to be represented in the federation? I am discriminating between the people and the states, and I ask him: Does he concede that the states, as states, are to be represented in the federation?

Mr. Higgins: Certainly not!

Mr. SYMON: Then he is not a federationist at all. My hon. friend -- and I do not blame him, I do not reproach him for one moment -- is going for a unification.

Mr. Higgins: It is a mere phrase, you know!

Mr. SYMON: It is not a mere phrase -- at least, we do not think it is a mere phrase. We think it is a matter of very serious substance.

Mr. Wise: It obliterates a lot of human nature!

Mr. SYMON: What he is going for is absorption. He is like that celebrated bird, the cassowary, which, it is said,

On the plains of Timbuctoo,

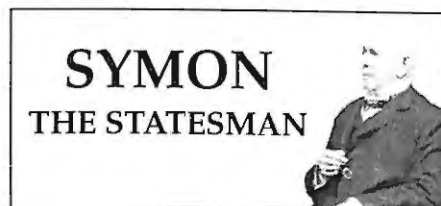
Ate up the missionary,

Body, bones and hymn-book too.

That is the position. He wants the larger states to swallow up the less populous. He wants absorption. Again, I say I do not blame him, for I am free to confess that, if it were possible, I should like to see a unified Australia --

The Hon. S. Fraser: We had that years ago, and we did not like it.

Mr. SYMON: If it were possible, I have no theoretical objection to it. I say that in



order to show I do not reproach or undervalue for one moment the contention of any hon. member or any person throughout the length and breadth of Australia, who believes in unification. All I say is that is not what we are going to do. If we are going to have a federation, and if the states are to be represented, then I say that a man who discriminates between one man one vote and one state one vote, when the states are to be represented, is doing violence to the principles of democracy, which underlie the one proposition as well as the other. Then my hon. friend had a patent way of turning a minority vote into a majority vote, by taking five from the majority, and so converting the minority into a majority of one.

The Hon. E. Barton: With the same success which attended Paddy when he increased the size of his blanket!

Mr. SYMON: I do not know what Paddy did with his blanket.

The Hon. E. Barton: He cut a piece off the top and put it on the bottom.

#### IT IS TO BE A UNION OF PEOPLE AND AN ALLIANCE OF STATES

Mr. SYMON: I thought that a most astute way of getting over the majority, and the effect of it. ... The hon. member dealt with the United States -- the greatest of all federal constitutions -- in a way which I think he will find the very greatest difficulty in justifying, either from constitutional writers in America or from the American public men of any standing who are willing to express an opinion. ... Equal representation in the senate is an essential of true federation, that it is a principle which we cannot ignore, and one which, though it may be departed from,

still underlies the basis of any union of that kind. What we are doing is this: we are framing a "federal" constitution. We have no charge or duty to do anything else. The people of Australia may prefer unification.

An Hon. Member: They do not!

Mr. SYMON: I say they may prefer it. They may prefer a loose confederation. That is not what they have said.

The Hon. S. Fraser: They do not want centralisation!

Mr. SYMON: No, I am sure they do not. But if they want either the one or the other, that is not what they have said in the enabling act, under which they have sent us here, and by the authority of which we sit. We are here to construct a system containing the elements both of unification and of a confederation, if we can. It is to be a union of people and an alliance of states; it is to be federal; it is to be a national government with a federal union; and, in that respect, I wish to say that I do not agree with the proposition that federation is a compromise -- not in the sense in which that expression has been used upon this particular question. I say that either equal or unequal representation is not a subject of compromise.

The Hon. H. Dobson: It is a principle!

Mr. SYMON: Federation is only a compromise in this sense; it is a compromise between unification and confederation; but, once you reach that, then there is no scope for compromise in the principles which underlie the system which you are seeking to establish. Mr. Carruthers, put it perfectly well, only he put it in the alternative. He said, "Is it to be a union of states, or to bind the hearts of the people?" It is to be both -- it is to be a union of states and to bind the hearts of the people. That is the answer to my hon. friend's alternative proposition; and it is in order to secure that result that, if we have two chambers, we must have one chamber in which the hearts of the people -- to use that phrase -- are represented, and another in which the states are represented.

The Hon. J.H. Carruthers: Suppose inevitable conflict occurs, what then?

Mr. SYMON: I do not know exactly what conflict my hon. friend is alluding to, but very probably I will have something to say a little further on as to what I think is in his mind. What I want to do now is to refer Mr. Higgins, especially, to one or two authorities, which should satisfy him as to equal representation being a principle in a federation. The learned editor of the latest edition of "Freeman's History of Federal Government" says: The object both of ancient and modern federation was to



provide that both each state as a whole and each citizen individually should have a voice in the federal assembly.

Mr. Higgins: Who says that?

Mr. SYMON: A most learned gentleman - Mr. Bury. I have no doubt that my hon. friend is aware of that, though he may have forgotten the name.

Mr. Higgins: Can we learn what our federation ought to be from that book?

Mr. SYMON: Where is my hon. friend going to learn what federation is unless he learns it from authorities on the subject? I can understand that he wishes to evolve some kind of federation out of his own inner consciousness.

The Hon. Sir W.A. Zeal: There is no precedent for the view of the hon. member, Mr. Higgins.

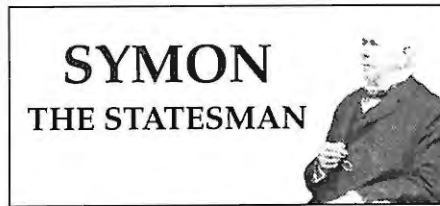
Mr. SYMON: As Sir William Zeal says, there is no precedent for the view of Mr. Higgins.

#### REPRESENTATION MUST BE ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL STATES

Mr. Higgins: And there is no precedent for equal representation with responsible government.

Mr. SYMON: Now my hon. friend is putting his finger on a matter of the greatest importance as though it were a new discovery, but which in Adelaide we threshed out as exhaustively as we could, and Sir Richard Baker, now in the chair, dealt with thoroughly, probably long before Mr. Higgins considered the subject of federation very much. But, at any rate, if you concede -- and I commend this to my hon. friend; I will deal with responsible government at the proper time -- if you concede that in a federation each state as a whole and each citizen individually is to have a voice in the federal assembly, you concede the whole contest -- there is an end of it as a matter of principle, because, as regards citizens, the representation must be according to the number of individual citizens, each having the same power -- one vote. That, of course, is not always achieved, because one individual one vote to be perfectly scientific, ought always to have one value; but you get as near to it as you possibly can. Then, as regards the states, the representation must be according to the number of individual states. That principle of state equality was established centuries before the United States Constitution was ever dreamt of. I do not propose to deal with the matter academically for more than one single moment; but it is a most fascinating and interesting subject to trace the history of the early federations in Greece and their remarkable similarity to the

United States Constitution. Since Mr. Freeman wrote his book -- and this is the only academical quotation with which I shall trouble hon. members; but I do think that we ought to make it clear to the people of the country that there is some foundation for this, and it is from that point of view that I take the liberty of occupying the attention of hon. members with this -- since Mr. Freeman wrote his book, some further discoveries have been made which have thrown a flood of light upon the principle involved in this



question. At page 247 of the latest edition of his work on the history of federal government, there is this footnote: In the Achæan Assembly, each city, great or small - because in those days it was, of course, a federal league, not of districts or of countries, but of cities -- each city, great or small, had one vote.

Mr. Higgins: It was merely a league.

Mr. SYMON: My hon. friend is talking without knowing anything at all about this particular subject. I wish to enlighten him if he will allow me; we are all capable of enlightenment: "In the American Senate, each state, great or small, sends an equal number of senators; but the votes are not taken by the states" -- That is one of the great safeguards of the larger population -- "the two senators of a state may vote on opposite sides of a question like the two members for an English county or borough". And upon this, at page 249, Freeman says:

"Probably no two constitutions, produced at such a distance of time and place from one another, ever presented so close a resemblance to each other as that which exists between the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the Achæan League."

But there is more than that. After the lamented death of Mr. Freeman, further investigation was made, and the learned editor discovered that not only in the Achæan League, but also in the Ætolian League, which was a federal league representing the people in the primary assembly, and representing the states in the senate --

Mr. Higgins: What about the Lycian League?

Mr. SYMON: Perhaps the hon. member will allow me to proceed. I dare say he is

familiar with Greek.

The Hon. J.H. Carruthers: Before the flood.

Mr. SYMON: I am not going so far back as that.

The Hon. A. Deakin: Before the flood of democracy.

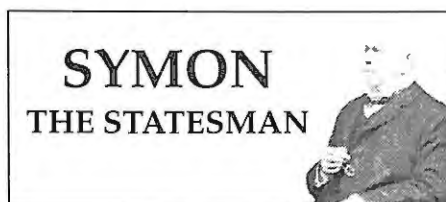
Mr. SYMON: The learned editor says: "This being so, certainly for the Ætolian, and probably for the Achæan Senate, a parallel and contrast may be drawn between the federal assemblies of these old leagues and the federal assembly of modern Switzerland. The object of both the ancient and the modern federations was to provide that each state as a whole, and each citizen individually should have a voice in the federal assembly." The doubt was whether the senators were elected by the assembly in those early days or whether they were elected by the particular states. Since Mr. Freeman's death it has been discovered from an old Greek inscription that they were elected by the particular states just as we propose that our senators should be elected. In the appendix, page 651, we find these words: "We can say definitely in the case of the Ætolian League what could only be put forward tentatively in the case of the Achæan, that the senate consisted of representatives chosen by the states."

The Hon. J.H. Carruthers: What became of those leagues?

Mr. SYMON: What has become of the United States? The United States has gone from small things to great until it has become one of the mightiest nations on the face of the earth under a federation including, as an essential part of its system, equal representation in the senate. What is the use of asking me, as implied in the question, whether these old Greek federations have not, like all things human, passed away? Of course they have. But they had elements of weakness which do not exist in a modern federation such as that of the United States of America. If my hon. friend puts the question to me, then I say to him, "Take the United States, and you have at any rate, a most valuable parallel, and you have the proposition, which I am seeking to establish, that from the earliest federation until the latest federation on true federal principles the states have had representation in what has been called the senate, and they have had equal representation per state. That is all I am contending for. But I want to go one step further. Mr. Higgins gave us the United States in support of equal representation. He would not give us Switzerland. Mr. Glynn has thoroughly disposed of his exception of Switzerland, and, therefore, it is unnecessary that I should travel over that ground. My

hon. friend has shown that Switzerland, so far as equal representation is concerned, is identically on the same footing as the United States of America. But more than that -- and this is the only observation with which I shall pursue the subject -- the senate in Switzerland has what we have abandoned in the senate to be formed under our constitution. It has a voice in the choice of the federal council, which is the governing body in Switzerland. We have not got that. It appears to me that we have reduced our senate under the proposed federation to the barest necessities of the case. Still, I do not pretend to be bound by precedents. I do not pretend that this convention is bound by precedents. We all represent what are really sovereign states -- sovereign states in essence, if not in form -- and we can strike out, if we please, an entirely new line. I thoroughly agree with my hon. friend in that. But it is instructive to have examples of other federations, and to fairly follow them, if we fulfil the federal theory, unless, of course, it can be shown that experience condemns them. Now, I have no slavish devotion to the Constitution of the United States. But what is said of that constitution in which equal representation in the Senate is a conspicuous feature? Mr. Higgins said it was not a success. Did he produce a single authority? Did he produce the considered judgement of a single constitutional thinker or writer to establish such a proposition? To follow such an example, he says, would be taking steps backward. Surely if it were bad in this particular respect we should have some one, some constitutional authority, to say so! On the contrary, we have the United States Constitution, containing this grave blemish, if my hon. friend's view is correct, spoken of by Lord Rosebery as "the matchless Constitution of the United States". We have it spoken of by Freeman, to whom my hon. friend pins his faith, at page 4, in this way: "The other two -- Meaning the other two federations of Switzerland and the United States -- one of them among the least, the other among the greatest, of independent powers, still remain, exhibiting federalism in a perfect, or nearly perfect form, standing, in the old world and in the new, as living examples of the strength and the weakness of the most elaborate of political combinations." And at page 5 he says, again -- and this is the last I shall quote from Freeman; there are scores of other passages, but hon. members would not thank me for reading them now: "The Achæan League, and the United States since the adoption of the present Constitution, are indeed the most perfect developments of the federal principle which the world has ever seen." Surely, sir, that is some authority upon which we can go. Surely that is something which we can tell the people of this country is, at any rate, a fair foundation upon which our claim may

rest. Putting Mr. Freeman aside, let us take what Mr. Justice Story says -- probably one of the greatest constitutional writers who ever lived in the United States or any other country, and an authority whose value will not be questioned. He says: "The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity. Its foundations are solid, its compartments beautiful as well as useful, its arrangements are full of wisdom and order, its defences are impregnable from without; it has been



reared for immortality." If we find a constitutional writer so full in his judgement, and in his heart, of this great federal principle which we are now to some extent following, I think we may very fairly say that it is worthy of our imitation, as far as we can possibly adopt it. ...

Mr. SYMON: ... I do not say for a moment that the vast wealth and splendid progress which we have witnessed in the United States, with its unsurpassed enjoyment of peace and freedom, is due to its constitution, or to its form of government; but with all its defects, that constitution has been no hindrance to national prosperity. Therefore, I ask you, what warrant have you for saying that even if the equal representation of the states is provided for in our constitution it will impede the government, or for one instant, delay the prosperity of the people of Australia when they are united. ... .. I have been in America; I have travelled through it, and I took advantage of the opportunity to communicate with men in political life -- I have never heard an American express condemnation of the principle of equal representation in the Senate, or attribute to that condition of things the evils which afflict America, and which afflict other countries as well, the evils incident to particular forms of civil government. I have been informed on this point, that some of the ablest senators who have ever been members of the United States Senate, have come from the smaller states.

The Right Hon. Sir G. Turner: They would have come all the same had there been no equal representation!

Mr. SYMON: I admit that equal representation does not necessarily bring good men; but my hon. friend's argument I understood to be that equal representation

had a most deteriorating influence -- that you could only get the best men by proportional representation, owing to the opportunities for greater corruption in the smaller states. Perhaps my hon. friend's argument did not go to that length, but that was the tendency of it. I do not wish to dwell on the instances given in support of the opposite view -- that it is of no moment that there are exceptions to the doctrine that the true principle of federation is equality. ...

Mr. SYMON: ... The senate has also to fulfil the functions of an upper house. That I also commend to the people of New South Wales and Victoria, who may properly and naturally take the view if they choose of the hon. members who have addressed us, that this is an upper house in a sense. It is also to be a check, as all upper houses are, upon the representative chamber.

The Hon. S. Fraser: They are both representative!

Mr. Higgins: That is why all the tories go in for it!

Mr. SYMON: If I thought that the use of the expression "upper house" was going to cause such a subdued disturbance, I would not have employed it. I would have called it the second chamber. But, at any rate, if it is to be a second chamber in any sense of the term at all, one would think -- and I merely offer this as a suggestion -- there ought to be some different character about it in some way or other in order to differentiate it from the other chamber, otherwise what on earth is the good of having it?

Mr. Higgins: Just so; what is the good?

Mr. SYMON: There is the advocate again of absorption.

Mr. Higgins: The hon. and learned gentleman is using the most dangerous argument, one which will be used against his view!

Mr. SYMON: I always like my hon. friend to point out my danger; but, as I am reminded from my right, a different character is given to it, because it is representative of state interests; that is the reason for it.

#### SENATORS ARE TO VOTE INDIVIDUALLY AND NOT AS STATES

Mr. SYMON: Yes, it must exercise a revising function, and it is only because of that revising function that there seems to be an argument, and, I admit, a fairly strong argument, in support of something in the nature of a dissolution under certain conditions. I say nothing further about that now; but, at any rate, it is representative of state interests. It is the outward and visible

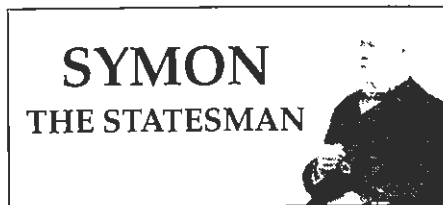
sign of the autonomy of the states; that is what we are going to have unless this Convention breaks up federation by refusing to give it to us. ... We must also remember that the senators are to vote individually and not as states. I think that is an immense safeguard. The six men who come from each state will exercise their individual judgement just as we in this Convention are exercising our individual judgement. ...

The Hon. S. Fraser: The Senators will have to go to their constituencies every three years!

Mr. SYMON: What are we offered instead of it? We are offered proportional representation. I venture to say that that gives away the whole position. It is a bastard and alien method of dealing with this subject. It must be either equal representation or representation as in the lower house according to population in its widest sense.

Mr. SYMON: Let me assure Mr. Carruthers that I have only one political aspiration, and that is for the union of these great colonies of Australia. When the day of its accomplishment comes, I confess I shall walk with a prouder step on the soil which I love. To help to bring about that consummation, I shall concede much; I shall give way upon everything down to the bare essentials of our freedom and existence as a separate state, to which I humbly venture to think that equal representation is essential. I ask my hon. friend to register a like resolve, and I believe he will. As his heart is in the cause, let him remember that any serious check to this movement now must be fraught with the very gravest disaster. Every year, I feel, will put us further apart. Generations

may come and go before we shall be so near to union as we are now. By that time the years will have told their customary tale upon most of us. The marks which are made by the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" may have deepened into fatal wounds. If we are still here, our eyes and our energies may be dim. But the cause will not die. It will live, and it will be accomplished. Others will come after us greater than we -- as these colonies must inevitably be greater than they are now --



perhaps wiser than we, possibly more earnest, and to them will belong the glory and the triumph. But, for myself, I would anticipate that triumph. Let us share the glory of what I conceive to be a godlike task. If we, assembled in this Convention, do our part I have no fear whatever, in spite of all apprehensions, that the people will do theirs. If we say "aye" the voice of the people will respond with a grand "amen" that will roll round the world, and so swiftly and surely will the harvest be reaped and the fruits gathered that the oldest man among us shall see it and rejoice.

Press comments on the Debate: The following extracts from the press of the day indicate the great public interest which the debate in the Federal Convention and the establishment and maintenance of the equal rights of the smaller States in the Senate

aroused:

**THE FEDERAL CONVENTION, April 29, 1897** [*The Melbourne Argus*, April 30, 1897]: "Perhaps the most attractive figure among the South Australians was that of Mr. Symon, leader of the bar in Adelaide. Very tall, with a finely-shaped head, he has a fine rotund voice of very pleasing quality, and is one of the most finished and graceful speakers in Australia. To an incisive legal style he adds a rare touch of humour, and he is as well versed in Artemus Ward and Mark Twain as in Chitty or Roscoe."

**THE COMMONWEALTH BILL** [*Advertiser*, September 11, 1897]: "Mr. Symon spoke splendidly for an hour and a quarter and his eloquent peroration evoked loud cheers in the Convention and hearty applause from the galleries. ... The great speech of the morning, the ablest speech yet delivered, whether in the Convention or in any of the Parliaments, from the view of equal representation, was that of Mr. Symon."

**THE CONVENTION - Equal Representation in the Senate** [*Sydney Evening Herald*, September 13, 1897]: "Mr. Symon's closing passages were inspired by a dignified eloquence and a lofty spirit of patriotism and statesmanship, which brought to a conclusion the finest utterance yet delivered before the present Convention. His voice rose in pitch with the quality of his theme, until it rang out musically in a peroration, which struck the best critics as being a truly noble piece of political eloquence."

1. From *Adelaide and Vicinity*, edited by J.J. Passcoe, 1901.

## \$ IS ANYTHING NEW? \$

Dear Sir,

*Nil Desperandum*

For the following reasons I am unable to send you the cheque for which you have asked: I have been held up, held down, sandbagged and walked upon, sat upon, flattened out and squeezed by the Income Tax, the Super Tax, Tobacco Tax, the Beer Tax, the Spirits Tax, the Motor Tax and by every Society, Organisation and

Have you heard the saying "History repeats itself"? How about this little gem taken from the *Cresco Fertiliser* of 1931. A correspondent claimed to have obtained it in answer to a polite request to a client to settle a long-overdue account.

Club that the inventive mind of man can think of, to extract what I may or may not have in my possession -- from the Red Cross, the Black Cross, the Double Cross and every hospital in town and country. The Government has examined and re-examined, informed, required and commanded so that I don't know where I am or why I am here at all. All that I know is: I am supposed to have an inexhaustible supply of

money for every need, desire or hope of the human race, and because I will not go out and beg, borrow or steal money to give away I am cussed, discussed, boy-cotted, talked to, talked about, lied to, lied about, held up, hung up, rung up, robbed and well near ruined. The only reason why I am clinging to life at all is to see what is going to happen next."

From *The Yankalilla Newsletter* (South Australia), November, 1993.



# THE WISDOM OF G.K. CHESTERTON

from *What's wrong with the world?*

**A** LITTLE while ago certain doctors and other persons permitted by modern law to dictate to their shabbier fellow citizens, sent out an order that all little girls should have their hair cut short. I mean, of course, all little girls whose parents are poor. Many very unhealthy habits are common among rich little girls, but it will be long before any doctors interfere forcibly with them.

Now, the case of this particular interference was this, that the poor are pressed down from above into such stinking and suffocating underworlds of squalor, that poor people must not be allowed to have hair, because in their case it must mean lice in the hair. Therefore the doctors propose to abolish the hair. It never seems to have occurred to them to abolish the lice. The disease is more likely to be found in the hair of the poor people because poor children are forced to crowd together in close rooms under a wholly inefficient system of public instruction, and because in one in forty children there may be offence, and why? Because the poor man is so ground down by the great rents of the great landlords that his wife often has to work as well as he. Therefore one in forty of them is dirty and the working man must allow his little girl's hair, first to be neglected from poverty, next to be poisoned by proximity, and lastly to be

abolished by hygiene. He, perhaps, was proud of his little girl's hair. But he does not count.

It never seems to strike these people that the lesson of lice in the slums is the wrongness of slums, not the wrongness of hair. In truth it is only by eternal institutions like hair that we can test the passing institutions like empires.

I begin with a little girl's hair. That I know is a good thing at any rate. Whatever else is evil, the pride of a good mother in the beauty of her daughter is good. It is one of those adamant tendernesses which are the touchstones of every age and race. If other things are against it, other things must go down. If landlords and laws and sciences are against it, landlords and laws and sciences must go down.

With the red hair of one she-urchin in the gutter I will set fire to all modern civilization. Because a girl should have long hair, she should have clean hair; because she should have clean hair she should not have an unclean home; because she should not have an unclean home, she should have a free and leisured mother; because she should have a free mother, she should not have an usurious landlord; because there should not be an usurious landlord,



there should be a redistribution of property. That little urchin with the red-gold hair, she shall not be lopped and lamed and altered; her hair shall not be shorn like a convict's. No! The winds of the world shall be tempered to that lamb unshorn!

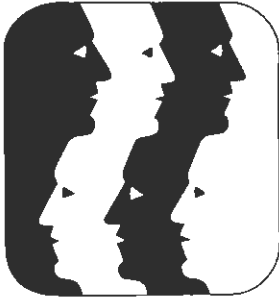
The Gild of St. George Rose Cottage, 17 Hadassah Grove, Liverpool, L17 8XH, U.K.

## OUR COURAGEOUS QUEEN

HAROLD MACMILLAN, former British Prime Minister revealed in his memoirs that while Her Majesty is always gracious, she can be tough and courageous in carrying out her duties Macmillan recalled how, in spite of fears for her safety, she insisted in 1961 on fulfilling an engagement to visit Ghana, Africa, at the time under the oppressive, pro-Communist Nkrumah regime. Mr Macmillan recorded in his diary. "The Queen has been absolutely determined all through. She is grateful for MP's and Press concern about her safety, but she is impatient of the attitude towards her to treat her as a woman, and a film star or mascot. If she were pressed too hard, and if government and people here are determined to restrict her activities (including taking acceptable risks), I think she might be tempted to throw in her hand". The Queen went ahead with the tour of Ghana.



PHOTO: TIM GRAHAM



# ON THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTENDOM BY SENSE-INVERSION (PART II)

by Dr. Geoffrey Dobbs (Bangor, Wales)

CONSIDER the prayer for the Church militant, and for all in authority under the Queen: "that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue". Ironically indeed, this now means to the majority, excluded from the language of Cranmer, that justice should be administered poorly and uncaringly, and to many it seems that the fact follows the words. The word 'disinterested' is following the same course of inversion. As a consequence the very conception of a deeply caring, but impartial, justice, or indeed, any authority, not considering its own interest or opinions but the facts before it, is being lost to the young, and being replaced by a cynical hostility to all authority, which is now confused in meaning with power over others rather than authorship.

Thus it becomes possible so to twist the Gospels as to see Jesus as a partisan: of the poor against the rich, a banner-carrier against an abstraction called social injustice; also a partisan of the Jews against the Roman imperialists -- an anti-colonialist freedom fighter (morally if not physically), a partisan of some and an enemy of other men. The very idea is being lost that when He wept over the coming fate of Jerusalem at Roman hands, and was sad about the burden of wealth upon the rich young man, and denounced the hypocrisy of the scribes, and praised the widow's mite and (in parable) the wealthy good Samaritan, and praised the faith of the centurion, and described the rewards of the meek and the pure in heart, He was dealing with the reality, not opinions or mass-feelings, and was truly indifferent and disinterested in the sense that many people now cannot grasp, because they have no words with which to do it.

RULERS HAVE CONSTANTLY USED LANGUAGE TO SUPPRESS THE PERSONAL, PRIVATE, PARTICULAR AND DISTINCTIVE.

Ever since the remote governance of

people went beyond the personal level and became collective, rulers and their dependants have constantly used the language to suppress the personal, private, particular and distinctive, with which, in general, they could not cope. In recent times the handling of people in bulk can be managed only statistically, that is by treating them as units which, nowadays, can be easily handled by computers. Units, however, are meaningless unless equal and identical in nature, and though this is untrue of any two human beings, it becomes convenient to attribute this property of 'equality' to them and to encourage the cult of 'equality' as an ideal and a political aim.

In reality, equality in this political sense is an active property, not a passive possession. It is something people, in practice, expect and demand of their rulers and of the Law. It is, in fact, related to that true 'indifferent' justice for which we pray, and the inversion from active to passive has caused immense confusion and conflict. The last thing people really want is to be treated as equal, i.e. indistinguishable, units but they want to be treated with 'equity' which is the right word in this connection; and this required the exercise of proper discrimination.

'Proper' (from Latin *proprius* = belonging to oneself or itself, special, peculiar, private) can now mean something like 'prudish'. 'Peculiar' had a similar meaning, so it now means 'odd' or 'queer'. 'Eccentric' (not central) now means somewhat dotty, and 'egregious' (not in the herd) which used to have a meaning of 'distinguished, uncommonly good', is now used to mean 'outstandingly bad'. 'Singular' is going the same way as 'peculiar', and even 'unique' is often used with an adverb, such as 'rather', which destroys its meaning. As for élite and élitist, their inversion into sneer-words is quite recent.

We have an ancient example of the contempt felt by status-holders for the ordinary people when we look at the Greek word *idios* which meant much the same as those words above: private, peculiar, belonging to oneself or itself; and *Idiotes*, a private man, in contrast to a politician or public official and therefore (in the official view) an uneducated ignoramus; so now we

have our word 'idiot', a witless person, and 'idiotic', which is not so far from the 'official' view still taken of the common folk.

'Private' from Latin *privatus*: apart from the State, still means personal, not public. So now we come to a cunning trick of verbal psycho-politics which may be called the technique of the destructive adjective. It has two forms: one in which the adjective concerned is of the essence of the noun to which it is applied; the other in which it is contradictory.

Nouns are less vulnerable than adjectives. The noun 'property' has survived in the sense of that which is one's own, private and proper to oneself. 'Private property' is therefore tautological. But apply it in a bad sense, with the suggestion that private property (or ownership) is bad, but 'public' property is good -- a contradiction in terms which confuses and destroys the word 'property' and one can get away with taking over people's property into control (not ownership) by the Government and its agents.

A DEADLY USE OF THE TECHNIQUE IS TO BE SEEN IN THE PHRASE 'FREE LOVE'.

A deadly use of the technique of the essential adjective is to be seen in the phrase 'free love', now out of date, having done its dirty work. Freedom is of the essence of love, which is related to life, gladly, willingly'. 'Free' is from the Old English *fricon* (= to love), and related to 'friend'. So take 'free' out of 'love' and apply it as an adjective, and then use the combination to mean extra-marital 'sex', and you have deprived 'love' of its essential Christian meaning: God is Love; whose service is perfect freedom. So now we have a generation confused and ignorant about the nature of love, of freedom and of obedience, to whom marriage is a bondage, and promiscuity with its grim consequences is freedom. The language has also been adapted in other ways, such as: 'to have sex with' much as one 'has a game or a meal with'.

The use of the contradictory adjective or epithet for word-twisting or inverting for a power-seeking purpose is even more common than the use of the essential adjective. To a large extent it seems to be the

main method used by advertisers and PR people, though the direct inversion is now hampered by the law. But evasion is usual. If the computer has worked out the cheapest means of producing a shoddy product, the PR people have the job of producing verbiage which suggests that is a 'quality product' designed specially for the wealthy; if it is a food or drink which is a mass of industrial chemicals, then the description 'dew-fresh' (which is meaningless) or the like will be appropriate, and so on. Cream has to be called 'Dairy Cream' if you want genuine cream. But this opens up so large a field, and probably already so well covered, that I dare not enter on it further, except to say that money is the determining factor in all such usages.

Returning to the political use of this method, such as 'public ownership', we had a similar usage in connection with joining the Common Market, when the issue was 'sovereignty'. There would, we were assured, be no loss of sovereignty. There would be an enlarged and greater 'shared' or 'pooled sovereignty' -- which simply confused and destroyed the meaning of the word to the British people at the time.

Recently we have learnt that certain medical men, who have a vocation to save lives by transplant surgery, have found it necessary to change the meaning of the word 'death', to ensure the supply of viable organs. So they have invented the term: 'beating-heart cadaver' which begs the question. Perhaps the limit in the use of Death as a contradictory epithet is to be found in the public use some years ago of the phrase 'Death of God Theology' to describe certain writings which not one in a hundred of the public would have read. All they would grasp was that some theologians think that the Eternal God is dead! i.e. He never existed.

The term 'single-parent family' partakes of the same trick. Though the two world wars left many young widows with children to bring up alone, this phrase was not in general use as a 'normality' until the 1960's and after, and commonly refers to the fragments of a family split by divorce or to the product of 'sex' without intention of forming a family. This contradictory phrase is thus destructive of the spiritual normality of the Christian family, and has done much to achieve its objective.

Another use of a noun as a contradictory adjective is, of course, the term 'woman priest' to avoid the revealing word 'priestess' and to destroy the long-established meaning of 'priest' as referring to a male. Again, it begs the question and confuses the issue.

There is no other example of women's insisting on such a contradictory female-male combination where there is an established

feminine equivalent. Indeed most women would regard it as an insult to their sex. Waitresses would not, I am sure, liked to be called 'woman waiters', dames to be called 'woman knights' and baronesses to be called 'woman barons' (still less 'lady barons'). They would insist on their proper titles. The use of this common technique for destroying meaning by the destructive adjective is fully in line with current commercial and political PR methods; and without it it is unlikely that a campaign for the ordination of women as priestesses could have got anywhere at all.



ON THE CORRUPTION  
OF CHRISTENDOM BY  
SENSE - INVERSION  
(PART II)

It may be argued that this device is used to dissociate the priesthood of women from the pagan or heathen associations of the word 'priestess'; but one has only to look at what is happening in America to see that those associations can be real and not merely verbal. At least let the issue be discussed in plain language without such verbal twists.

The phrase 'industrial action' as applied to strikes or 'go-slows' by workers designed to stop or hinder industrial work is another phrase so ironic as to be absurd. So in industry 'action' equals 'inaction'! One cannot help wondering what humourless union official invented this phrase; or did he have his tongue in his cheek? But when taken over by teachers' unions, with the additional suggestion that schools are factories and education an industry (a feeder-industry for the real thing) it passes comprehension how it could be used, except as a verbal tool to assist that policy.

In another connection the word 'industry' has also been used to wreak havoc on rural life. Farming, and agriculture, have always been a 'culture', a way of life and of mutual collaboration with nature, with the soil, the seasons, the weather, the crops and the animals, until this century, when they have been described as the 'farming' or 'agricultural' industry. Again this is a contradiction in terms since 'industry' was in direct contrast to agriculture, as town is to country.

So now the phrase has become reality, rivalling all the worst characteristics of what I suppose we must now call 'industrial industry': mechanisation, chemicalisation, pollution, factory-farming, all following on the dominance of money, that is bank-credit (or debt) as the ruling preoccupation of the farmer's mind.

NO LIMIT TO THE INVERSION  
OF GOOD WORDS INTO BAD

There is, indeed, no limit to the inversion

of good words into bad. Even the name of good characters in fiction can be so inverted: witness what has happened to 'Uncle Tom', the Christ-like character in Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic anti-slavery novel. Whatever we may think of the mid-nineteenth-century style and sentiments of a book published in 1850, 'Uncle Tom' is one of the established Christian figures of literature, based upon real persons and real incidents. In the story his final martyrdom occurs at the hands of the brutal slave-owner, Simon Legree and his black sycophants, Sambo and Quimbo, who beat him, finally to death, first of all for refusing to beat another slave, in the end for enduring torture and death rather than betraying the whereabouts of fellow-slaves who had escaped.

So now an 'Uncle Tom' is a sneer-word implying its object is a 'Sambo' or 'Quimbo' -- a black sycophant who helps 'whites' to oppress 'blacks' -- although those who use it are really jeering at his Christian character as depicted, which rose above both race and slavery.

The post-war neologism 'racist' -- a viciously abusive hate-pressure word, comparing its victim to the racial abominations of Hitlerite national socialism -- is a powerful fear-weapon constantly directed towards adapting the language to the vulgar and indiscriminate lumping of people by skin-colour into 'black' and 'white'. We are now urged (by fear of being accused of 'racism') not only to abstain from using the word 'black' in any bad sense in words or phrases wholly unconnected with race (e.g. blacklist, blackmail, etc.) but even never to use 'white' in a good sense (e.g. white lie, white witch, etc.). Such attempts to reconstruct the language to suit their purposes is characteristic of totalitarian regimes.

I have but touched on a few of the verbal means whereby our language, Christian from its origin, is being converted into an anti-Christian and largely atheistic language and literature which serves the purposes of human power, and which is incapable of conveying the Christian religion to the majority. There are enormous fields of both crude and subtle policy-perversion which, if dealt with at all, have been expounded from the point of view of the manipulator and rarely from the point of view of the manipulated.

The vast subjects of advertising, of political rhetoric, of clerical preaching, writing and translating, of euphemism, flattery, evasion and confusion by jargon and blinding with science, and more especially, the vast subject of policy determination by numbers (statistics), whether political or financial, are scarcely studied from below, i.e. from the listeners' and readers' aspect, or if



so, in any more systematic way than they are in this short essay. Then, of course, there is the vast subject of the mental effect of the pictorial, non-verbal image. It is desperately important that more of us should understand just how the collective mind is worked upon in order to establish a 'mob-psyche' which is a fearsome thing to oppose.

Among other mass-attitudes which have been induced in most of us during the past decade or so is that which instantly rejects, along with the word 'conspiracy', any suggestion of deliberate anti-Christian design. It is less troublesome to assume that these things just happened, that the language adapted itself to social change and played no part in making that change.

I think, myself, that though conspiracies abound, indeed very few of the mass-manipulations of our lives are not concocted in secret from us; they are of a secondary nature, like pimples on the skin. What is far more important is the underlying policy which is no longer derived, even partially and imperfectly, from the Christian religion. This operates at a deeper and more unconscious level than any conspiracy and the satiric or ironic use of words in order to destroy their inherited goodness has become almost automatic unless brought up into the consciousness.

#### ALL WRONG IS THE PERVERSION OF RIGHT, THAT IS, OF REALITY

It is proverbial that the road to Hell is paved with good intentions; but the word 'good' is here ironised to give us a contradiction resulting in confusion and despair. Not many of us are Satanic enough consciously to admit to ourselves: "I am doing this to promote evil." All wrong is the perversion of right, that is, of reality. It cannot exist of itself. **The modern world is pre-occupied to the point of mania with evil under the pretext of 'fighting' it, rather than seeking out that goodness which it is perverting but which alone can cast it out.**

I have ventured upon this vast subject, of which I have barely touched the fringe of one aspect, in the hope of persuading others, better equipped, to expound more adequately the precise verbal means by which our religion is being perverted to comply with popular non-Christian language. Finally I would stress the point that we must not abandon the English language which was developed by our Christian precursors, as we have it in *The Book of Common Prayer* and the Authorised Version, for that moulded by contemporary ideologies which are literally incapable of expressing the faith of our ancestors. But much more than that is needed. It is high time that Christians who want to hand on the faith committed to them to later generations ceased merely to react to

the perversion of that faith to fit what is now openly called a 'post-Christian' world, and went over to -- not the offensive -- but the affirmative. This must include a most unfashionable return to positive, systematic, didactic preaching, teaching and writing, giving the young (and the old) something solid to get their teeth into, explaining the meanings of Christian language, and the ways in which it has often been corrupted, thus enabling them to view the world from a Christian viewpoint rather than Christianity from a worldly viewpoint as is now habitual.



#### ON THE CORRUPTION OF CHRISTENDOM BY SENSE - INVERSION (PART II)

In the mid-nineteenth century there was a large proportion not only of the 'middle' but of the 'working' class who, though not 'academic', were literate, could write lucid, grammatical English in clear copperplate, who were familiar with the Bible and the Prayer Book in language already centuries old, who could discuss the finer points of a forty-minute sermon with interest, and read lengthy, abstruse articles in such journals as *Sunday at Home* and some of the heavier classic novels in fine print.

Whatever damage may have been done to the last two generations by mal-education, this basic intelligence must surely remain to be drawn out (educated) by a suitable stretching of minds, as indeed, it is being by such complex subjects as, for example, electronics. It is high time also that many of our churches should cease to insult their congregations by the assumption that their mental level is that of the pap exuded over them by the media, and that precise language and hard thinking should be limited to those who are regarded as exceptionally 'brainy'.

During the never-ending disputation which has resulted in the spiritual schism of the Anglican Communion, and the massive *de facto* replacement of *The Book of Common Prayer* by the so-called 'Alternative' Book (in England) and the new Prayer Book of the Church in Wales, it does not seem to have been noticed that the laity (both church-going and otherwise) have been arbitrarily deprived of their centuries-old possession. These new books and liturgies are church and clergy books. *The Book of Common Prayer* was the physical, mental and spiritual, family possession of the laity: a familiar spiritual home and a 'passport' to Anglican worship throughout the world. The new Books are not even published in pocketable form, convenient for taking to church. One collects them, or they are handed out, at the church which owns and uses them. **Why is it that this mainly clerical act of grand larceny**

from the people is never mentioned?

In Wales we have, at any rate, the same service book throughout the Church, whether in Welsh or in English, but the English version is a compromise which is accepted, but will hardly be loved as was *The Book of Common Prayer* (which is still cherished by those who have not been deprived of it). I cannot speak of the Welsh version, but I hope those who can will do so. Neither of these is available as a family prayer book, which makes systematic exposition and study of them almost impossible.

#### IT IS THE YOUNG WHO HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THESE TOOLS OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND UNDERSTANDING

It is not sufficient that continuity with the thought and language of the past should be maintained only by occasional 'traditional' services as an indulgence for the elderly! It is the young who have been deprived of these tools of Christian thought and understanding, and who most desperately need their restoration, with a full and careful exposition at least monthly in the regular Sunday services. *The Book of Common Prayer*, if not already present in the home, is readily and cheaply available, as also is the King James Bible.

There is no growth or real progress which is cut off from the past.

(Source: *Theologia Cambrensis: A Journal of Theology for the Church in Wales*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Lent 1993)



## OUR FLAG IS WORTH DEFENDING

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, PO Box 1718 Midland WA 6056.

**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.



# BOOKS

## THAT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN

# THE VOYAGE

by Charles Morgan  
Reviewed by Nigel Jackson

**I**F Giuseppe di Lampedusa has given us one of the very best narrative accounts of a ball (in *The Leopard*), Fyodor Dostoyevsky must have come close to writing the best extended account of a party in the inspired first section of *The Idiot*. And the climax of Dostoyevsky's tale is the moment when the "saintly fool", Prince Myshkin, asks Nastasya Filippovna (a Mary Magdalene type) to marry him and we understand that such a union would be a brilliant success for both characters as well as the way out from self-inflicted personal catastrophe for the lady. Unfortunately, the negative impulses in Nastasya won; she tossed Prince Myshkin and fruitful life away and (alas) the novel itself never recaptured the intensity and penetration of its opening.

Charles Morgan, already an acclaimed novelist when he began writing *The Voyage* as well as chief drama critic for *The Times* in London, must surely have been familiar with the controversial hero of *The Idiot* and with the enigmatic tradition of "holy fools". In *The Voyage* he appears to have set out, firstly to create his own unique saintly "fool", and secondly to provide a contrast with *The Idiot* by allowing brilliant success to this character's sustained two-year courtship of a beautiful but tempestuous heroine. The result is one of the most beautiful love novels ever composed in English — a work which, at 546 pages in the original 1940 Macmillan edition, is greater and more substantial than any of the love novels of Morgan's master, that other Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenev.

Morgan was a Francophile; his works perhaps initially achieved even greater critical success in France than in the English-speaking world, so that in 1949 he was elected to the Institut de France (an honour earlier bestowed on Kipling). *The Voyage* is the only one of his eleven novels set exclusively in France (mainly in the Charente region and in Paris); and one of its felicities is its profound appreciation of the French people and their culture with its civilized reconciliations of the life of the flesh and the life of the soul. *The Voyage* is set in the years 1883 to 1885 and the national politics of that period form an element of the splendidly

rendered backdrop for the main action.

The hero of the novel is a French vine-grower, Théophile Hazard, nicknamed Barbet. The barbet spaniel is a small dog with a particularly shaggy and curly pelt. Barbet's surname is notably apt as well, however, for (in a Taoist or Platonic mode rather than an ecclesiastical fashion) he is a lover of the divine One; and he lives his whole life as a freely accepted hazard — very much in the spirit of the advice of Jesus that one should not be anxious or worried about tomorrow. If more than ordinary good fortune favours Barbet during *The Voyage*, this (Morgan clearly intimates on several occasions) is because in his humility and acceptances he is better attuned to the infinite than are most people.

## II

The heroine, loved by Barbet, is Thérèse Despreux, illegitimate child of the local Catholic priest, Lancret, and his housekeeper (who died when Thérèse was fourteen). During the main action of *The Voyage* Thérèse is in her early twenties, Barbet in his early thirties.

He can recall observing her at her mother's funeral: she was "long, pale and dark" and "had already entered into her maturity; she was taut and pliant, a birch tree, a knife in the air". When he had raised his eyes from the coffin "he had seen her only" and her "supreme vitality". He had also at once grasped that she was a lost soul. (pp. 11-12)

A local girl remembers that Thérèse was *espigle* (the French word approvingly connotes high spirits as well as mischief and roguery): "Always so full of games and sayings, she could drive us mad! Black hair in a mop and green eyes." Morgan provides us with a couplet from Musset as a summation of the nature of his exquisite heroine:

*Coeur d'ange et de lion, libre oiseau de passage,*

*Espigle enfant ce soir, sainte artiste demain.*

*Heart of angel and lion, free bird of passage,*

*Impish child this evening, tomorrow a*

holy artist. (36)

For Morgan all true artists radiate the sacred to mankind, and Thérèse rapidly makes a brilliant career as a diseuse, a popular singer in the tradition of famous women such as Mistinguette, Josephine Baker, Edith Piaf and Frida Boccaro.

Childhood and youth were painful experiences for Thérèse. At one stage in the novel, after imagining Barbet as her lover and being profoundly affected by this in a positive way, she remembers herself as a virgin and this is the picture that comes: "It was of a girl who, in the face of a world that gave her little affection and not enough to eat, had held her own with intuitive self-reliance, as though she were living in an impregnable fortress to which, as long as she held it, God, who knew her state, would bring supplies." (110) And Thérèse suddenly perceives that all her lovers, to whom she has surrendered her body but not herself, have undermined that fortress.

Much later she says to Barbet: "I see life as a battle. I want to feel that I have won it. I was everyone's drudge when I was a child. 'That girl, Thérèse Despreux, will never come to any good!' I didn't believe them. I liked Thérèse Despreux. And I still want to prove to them that I was right and they were wrong." (371) And later still she tells her lover, Philippe de Courcelet (a good-natured cynic and connoisseur, who is a broker among politicians and yet also a most gracious and civilized man of the world — one of the novel's most brilliantly conceived and created subordinate characters): "I had no heaven-sent vocation for the stage, but I was alive, I had talent, I wasn't going to rot in Roussignac all my life or sell hats in Angoulême. I had to get out — and the stage was my way out. First I put up my own stage in the garden of the 'Cheval Pie'; then I climbed on to it; and after that I invented the heaven-sent vocation. ... I hypnotized myself; you have to, if you're going to the top." (470-471)

In one of her most desperate moments in the novel Thérèse reflects on her struggle: All her nightmares had been of isolation, and she had fought them by her genius to compel the attention of strangers to herself, by the challenge with which she cried her wares, by her boldness, her humour and anger, her refusal to be put down." (333) At the

beginning of the novel her tormented father (blinded by attachment to dogmatism, a little like Graham Greene's 'whisky priest' in *The Power and the Glory*, he cannot find a way to resolve his guilt and at the same time establish an open love-bond with his daughter) has this to say of her: "She's like a tigress. She thinks the world is going to attack her. She knows that I disapprove. ... (of) the life she has been leading in Angoulême. She's shut against me ... she is an insane egoist ... She can talk of general subjects with remarkable intelligence. But in life she's like a bad actress on the stage — she can't listen." (15-16) That, of course, was uttered from a jaundiced viewpoint. Barbet, more sympathetic, describes Thérèse to some habitués of the *Écurie Plence*, a Montmartre nightclub: "While she tells a story it is true ... If anyone offers her an idea ... about her own performance — she becomes angry, as though she were being invaded. ... in any discussion with her the important sentences have to be spoken at intervals of at least a week. ... this everlasting resistance to other people's ideas isn't stupid rebellion. ... It's self-discipline. ... This resistance is the box on which to strike her own match. She has arrogance but never, never complacency ... the work she does is done with blood." (170-171) In this passage Morgan shows how the very disadvantages of her early life are being turned to advantage in her artistic career.

And de Courcelet gives a superlative analysis of her artistic achievement (in the writing of which Morgan paid homage to the famous critical acuity of French intellectuals): "What at root you are proud of is your French country stock and your power to live by your own work. ... Every woman, certainly every actress, has a legend, and she is happy and successful whose legend is ... a projection — of her own nature. ... As an actress, a diseuse, you were entitled to make your own legend. ... An egoist. An individualist, self-reliant, not clinging, contemptuous of patronage, a rebel against the big battalions. A girl who didn't bargain with her sex, who admitted her own pleasure and indulged it, but would cut out her own pleasure and anyone else's for the sake of her job. As an artist, unrelenting and unswerving, never complacent, never satisfied; as a woman, generous, a giver out, a good loser sans rancune — all that, Thérèse, is what you designed, and it was possible — a legend you could hold together — because inside yourself you knew yourself to be — what? — a quietist amid the din." (278-280)

Such a woman is extremely difficult for a man to court, but magnificent if won.

### III

Barbet, I maintain, is one of the great characters of English literature, like Falstaff or Mr. Pickwick. His painstaking creation in

action, in description, in speech and in dialogue is one of Morgan's supreme artistic successes. He is an incarnation of *douce France*; and the whole novel needs to be carefully savoured in order for his luminous significance to be grasped.



Henry Charles Duffin, in what may be the only full-length study of Morgan's œuvre so far published in English, *The Novels and Plays of Charles Morgan* (Bowes & Bowes, London, 1959), compared Barbet to Thomas Hardy's Gabriel Oak in *Far From the Madding Crowd*. This is an excellently judicious comparison. Both characters possessed sterling integrity and demonstrated great patience and long-suffering as they awaited (at times with almost no hope) love-union with their beloveds. However, I think the creation of Barbet to be the subtler as well as the more unusual. As a study of courtship *The Voyage* rivals Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, and every intelligent teenager should be introduced to both novels as invaluable lessons in that vital activity, the precursor of successful marriage.

Barbet's quality of soul is early demonstrated when he quells a riot by his prisoners (he holds several prisoners in a private prison on his farm, having inherited this responsibility from his father). The reaction of several ordinary people in this crisis is one of panic, but Barbet remains calm. Of Thérèse (who is present) we are told: "Her expression was not of fear but of profound interest, as though she were discovering something that at once awed and amused and delighted her. Barbet observed with surprise that her attention was fixed upon his own face." (52)

Barbet, under the urgings of the others, is tempted to wait for reinforcements before confronting the rioters; "but he could not escape the remembrance that, when he was in his mother's kitchen amid the panic of women, he had suddenly, without astonishment, seen himself entering the courtyard alone and had perceived beyond argument that this was necessary and right." (54) Morgan shows us here what it means to have faith (The Voyage is a profoundly Christian work, if we define Christianity as the life of endeavoured emulation of the Jesus of the Gospels): "All that evening, from the moment in which he had begun to make his way towards the priest's house, it had been as if everything he did were part of a designed pattern of which the unity and

value were not in doubt." (55) Barbet acts out the wisdom of the famous injunction "Resist not evil". To most of those watching this non-violence appears to be folly. "It had been clear to him at once that only by confronting his prisoners could he heal their rage or be atoned with them. If he used force against them or allowed others to use it, certainly he took arms against mankind and against himself." (55)

Thus, Barbet is truly armed by faith. "He ceased to fear and, even, to pity the men kicking at the door, feeling of them that they were submitted to the same power and the same mercy that encompassed him; and he saw that what would happen after he had entered the courtyard was not to be asked." (56)

So he enters unarmed; and the prisoners, even though they do at one stage try to pummel him, are disarmed by his innocence. At first they are amazed by his stillness: he is looking over their heads at the watching Thérèse and beholds "at an open window of the dwelling-house, a girl's face, arms and shoulders" which "had the watchful composure of stone". Daunted by this "unnatural acquiescence", the prisoners stand "rooted by the shock of his disregard". When they do rush him, he yields the glow-worms he has just collected in the dark wood for his mother. They were in a box in his pocket which the rioters took to be a pistol. Morgan's artistry is apparent in this passage which shows how the comedy of the situation defuses it: "Open it," they said. "What's inside?" "Nothing, nothing," but they would have him take off the lid, and in the leafy dark of the box there were glow-worms shining.

Heim and Balze released the wrists they held. Autun stood back, opened his mouth and shook.

"The pistol! The pistol!" cried Fontan in delighted mockery. "There is your pistol, Blachère! Stand away! Stand away! The glow-worms will bite you." Old Marcotte began to cackle. Suddenly the whole group quaked. Blachère, enraged, threw down the box. The glow-worms were scattered. Barbet fell on his knees and began to gather them in. When the men had done laughing, they went down beside him on the stones.

"Look," he said, "not one of them is hurt."

Then he sat back on his haunches, like a boy playing marbles, and looked from face to face without surprise.

"No one is hurt," he said. "Look, if they are put down on the cracks between the stones they will run races."

Because the day was over and his imagining worked out, a tune came into his head. As the glow-worms moved on his



fingers, he began to sing it under his breath. Fontan listened and sang with him ... (58-59)

#### IV

And so innocence, naturalness — in association with natural creatures and a natural event — quelled a poisonous commotion.

That laughter of the prisoners prefigures the laughter of Paris and France in the climactic chapters of *The Voyage*, when Barbet has been imprisoned and the government is laughed into releasing him.

Earlier than that, Thérèse had made him the main figure in her songs — a kind of Parisian Mullah Nasruddin: "Half her songs are about him. ... She has set him up as a type — a man who finds himself in the midst of the most ordinary adventures, who does all the day-to-day things that are done by thousands of Frenchmen and who behaves always unexpectedly. He never says or thinks what others would say or think. He is a kind of simpleton whose comments on everything that happens are satire without his knowing it." (230)

Morgan uses this Barbet figure, as well as Barbet himself, to expose the hollowness of much of the "arty" life of modern Europe: "Even in these topical fragments Thérèse jealously preserved his individuality, the plainness, the directness, the absence of spite that was the essence of his own songs, and because the tone of Paris was bitter and uneasy he became a unique legend precisely because his political comment was not.

Her Barbet songs had for a Paris surfeited with shrewdness and intrigue the delight of something fresh, incongruous, holding the challenge of truth in its innocence, and they became a fantastic oracle, to be quoted with the affectionate laughter that abides in nursery tales and endorses the truth in them" (297)

#### V

The love scenes between Thérèse and Barbet, largely created through their many conversations but also supported by the many interactions between them, are extraordinarily beautiful. They reveal that love, rather than sex, is the natural material of literature, and that high love is a communion of souls, even though it expresses itself through the body. Says Barbet to Thérèse on one occasion: "All the senses are lovely and happy and free; it's my fault if I let them shut me into myself; they are not prison-keepers. I can never believe that touch and taste are evil. ... they are warm like the earth, good as a grape." (372)

This echoes the insights of Blake and Nietzsche about the holiness of desire and the precious nature of voluptuousness; and Barbet undoubtedly speaks for Morgan himself.



De Courcelet near the end of the novel sums up the reality of this great love affair: "... an acceptance of it (pleasure) as necessarily good in itself because it is a means of communication and to communicate is to live. ... has always been Thérèse's ... intuition; it gives a special strength to her vitality. ... Barbet ... has a vitality that is recognizably the same in kind with hers. He accepts pleasure as he accepts suffering; he is not damaged by them because they do not come to him from outside life but are parts of it. ... And her sense that her life includes these things and is the more alive because of them gives Thérèse what hitherto I have called her recklessness in pleasure and her courage in disaster. That is why they love each other — not that they live, or are ever likely to live, the same lives, but that they are alive in the same way." (535)

Their love affair is the greatest voyage of the novel and, at the end, they are setting off together into the unknown, with Morgan, through their remarks to each other, refusing to predict their future or give any assurance that they will marry "and live happily ever after". The metaphor of the voyage is the most important in *The Voyage*, as its name attests. These lovers have the capacity to go on voyages. "At last, one day, it becomes necessary, it becomes natural. Then difficulties vanish. You just walk out. ... From one way of living to another." (15) Voyaging involves taking responsibility for one's own life. It is an act of the deep imagination rather than the shallow fancy. Artistic creation is a mode of voyaging. At one stage the lovers talk about du Bellay's famous poem *Heureux qui, comme Ulysse* and Thérèse observes: "It's about coming home again," to which Barbet replies: "That is what all voyages are about." (204)

Barbet's mother, whose death (with the lovers at her bedside) is one of the most moving moments in the novel, says, when he is selling the family farm and preparing to face imprisonment: "Barbet has always talked of voyages, ever since he was a little boy. I thought it was nonsense then, but now I think differently. I shall go on a voyage myself." (433) Later Thérèse rather vainly strives to explain the nature of voyages to de

Courcelet. They are not merely escapes; they involve discovering new worlds: "That's the meaning of a voyage — not to be earth-bound, not to be stage-bound or money-bound, not to be bound by anything." (471)

Morgan seems to have wedded the non-attachment of Buddhism to the frank celebration of love and sexuality that is part of Hinduism, Tantrism and the Old Religion of the Great Goddess — a celebration that is also found in *The Song of Songs*.

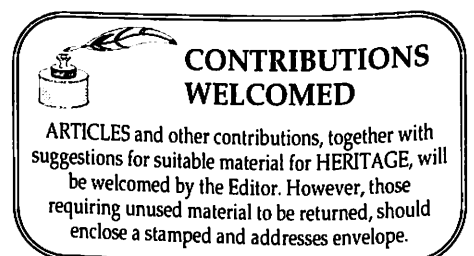
#### VI

Robert Speaight wrote in his autobiography *The Property Basket* of the cruel reevaluation of Morgan's work that took place in literary circles after World War II. And Duffin castigated the gratuitous depreciations that filled many of the obituaries that greeted Morgan's death in 1958. The *Times*, for example, compared Morgan to Graham Greene and slightly mentioned Morgan's view of life so obstinately elevated". It appears that the very goodness of Morgan, both as a man and as a writer, affronted many influential critics; and that perhaps says something about the decadence of our modernist, "internationalist" culture.

In 1967 Macmillan (UK) published the *Selected Letters of Charles Morgan*, edited by Eiluned Lewis, who also contributed a fifty-page memoir; but, since then, there appears to have been silence about Morgan, a silence that is almost uncanny.

Certainly he was not a stylist of genius as was James Joyce; but he is a memorable writer whose world should not be allowed to fall into oblivion. It appears that Macmillan (UK) are doing nothing at all to celebrate the centenary of his birth on 22nd January, 1894. British patriots and, more generally, lovers of European culture need to discover some enterprising publisher who will gradually bring Morgan's whole oeuvre back into print.

In the meantime, his centenary will be celebrated in Melbourne at a private luncheon at Mount Eliza, if nowhere else.



# PRINCE ALBERT LAND *by K.T. Borrow*

*(and some other proposed North Australian Colonies. 1853-76)*

**I**N *HERITAGE* No. 69, 1993, on page 19, it was pointed out that a Petition to the Queen was needed in order to amend the Letters Patent, dated 6th January, 1863, if any changes in relation to North Australia were to be made.

Reference was also made to the other Letters Patent in relation to the three degree strip between the western boundary of Queensland and the Northern Territory. The following article refers to this strip. J.H.G. Cumpston, "Augustus Gregory and the Inland Sea", Canberra, 1972, Chapter X, refers to this also. John Langdon Parsons, "Truth about the Northern Territory - Coloured Labour" (from S.A. Register, 6th December, 1898) points out that the Territory was provisionally annexed to South Australia and would require Asiatic labour. It would be interesting to know what policy on this matter has been adopted by the Republicans of Sydney and Melbourne.

Arthur Mills, in his Colonial Constitutions, London, 1856, pp. 294-5, described the effect of 13 and 14 Vict., c.59, and pointed out that:

"... The only limitation imposed by the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850, on their powers of independent legislation" (concerned) "... Customs Duties. ... The 34th section ... defined the 30th degree of S. latitude as the northern boundary of the Colony of New South Wales; beyond that limit power was reserved by the Act to the Crown to constitute new Colonies in Northern Australia, on petition of the inhabitants in those territories ..." (Emphasis added - Ed.)

It must have been with the above power of the Crown in mind, that Trelawny Saunders, on 26th August, 1853, issued in London, "For Official and Private Information only", his now rare and curious book *The Asiatic Mediterranean, And its Australian Port: The Settlement of Port Flinders, and the Province of Albert in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Practically Proposed*, intended to lead to the establishment of a settlement in North Australia, from London, without consulting those in Australia who desired to rearrange the colonial boundaries. The book's appearance is enhanced by several illustrations, including a frontispiece "First View of the Plains of Promise, Albert River". These seem to be

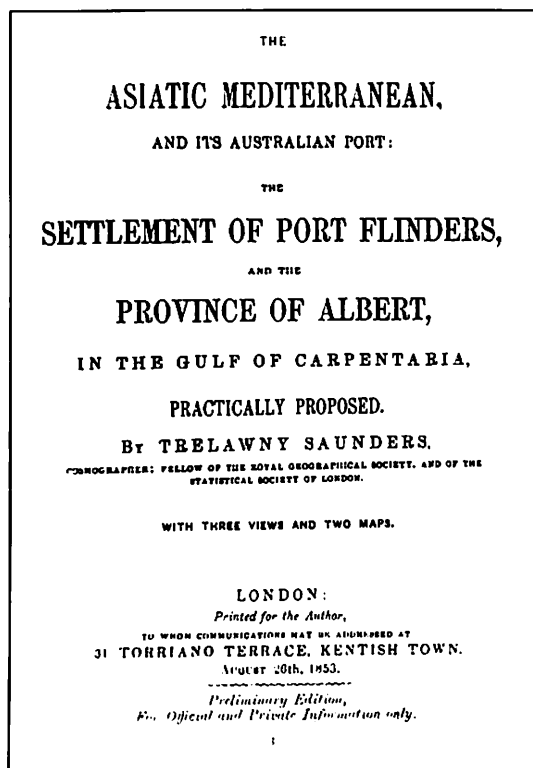
identical with the plates from Lieut. Gore's sketches, reproduced in J. Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*, London, 1846, Vol. II. Stokes, in chapters II-IV, described with enthusiasm his discoveries on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Saunders quotes the former's vision of "tapering spires rising from the many Christian hamlets" which

Colony, and regulate the sale of land. The Draft Bill, hardly the work of a constitutional lawyer, was inspired by the spirit of Lord John Russell's Instructions to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners on 14th January, 1840. However, their advice was not sought, and, though hard to believe, 5 & 6 Vict., c. 36, was not excluded. Wakefield's high price of land was eschewed, though provision was made for the promotion of immigration from a Land Fund. With a few strokes of his pen the author provided:

"That the territory extending from the parallels of 26° south latitude and the meridian of 133° east longitude, to that portion of the north and north-eastern coast of Australia, which lies northward of the said parallel and eastward of the said meridian, together with all ports ..."

should, subject to the approval of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and His Royal Highness Prince Albert, be the PROVINCE OF ALBERT.

While earlier in the field than the South Australians, Saunders was not alone and in the following year, in September, Sir Thomas Mitchell wrote to Sir George Grey of the Colonial Office, forwarding a copy of his *Tropical Australia*, and proposed to develop "Capricornia", and lead to the establishment of a great city at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, (Cecil W. Salier, "Thomas Livingstone Mitchell. Explorer" [in *Journal*



he thought would stud the Plains of Promise.

The author shared Governor Grey's admiration for the hardy Overlander, and prophesied his arrival on the Plains, bringing prosperity like "the rising of the Nile upon the thirsty land of Egypt". In poetic fashion he continued "then does the country bear fruit, and the land give forth her increase — he enters the district silently, noiselessly, unexpectedly — but his influence is soon felt everywhere".

The mundane Land Question presented few difficulties to Saunders, who as a London publisher, no doubt relied on his reading of Parliamentary Papers and emigrants' manuals. An Act of Parliament was to constitute the

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# And suddenly there was rejoicing with the Angel

by Louise F.W. Eichhoff

**T**HE following is a true story. The 5 ft 3 ins mother, the first-born of a musical father who, as the solo boy in her church had sung for Queen Alexandra, had trained his daughter to sing like a choir boy! And that family is noted for its powerful voices.

It wasn't exactly Christmas, except perhaps according to the Old Calendar; but it was snowy and cold enough to be the very Eve itself. It was that part of the night that is beyond night-time, but not yet dawn, the hour when most people are deepest in slumber. In the nursing home nothing could be heard but the regular breathing of every bedded body, as if all the walls were full of sleep and breath going in and out. Only the quarter lights burned in the corridors, for all that was going to happen that night had happened, and now all was still. The orderly had brewed the work-done tea. Slipper-footed, she had taken Sister's tray to the office, and tracked the nurses who came silently out of their shades into the kitchen's brightness for their refreshment.

And suddenly, through the stillness, rang out a woman's pure soprano voice, in that great hymn of rejoicing sung in churches down the centuries on every momentous occasion: "We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord," she sang, pure toned and powerful, like a Covent Garden opera star, flooding the air with sound. She phrased it in an old-fashioned, fourfold chant surging out of her childhood.

Then another woman's voice joined in: "All the earth doth worship Thee, the Father Everlasting."

Amazed, the orderly and the nurses listened: "To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein," exulted the voices; and involuntarily, the tea-drinkers left their cups and crept



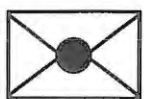
through the dimness, drawn towards the vibrant source. "To Thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.'" The seekers pushed open the door of the Recovery Room. "Heaven and earth are full of the majesty; of Thy glory" poured forth loud and clear, like a light into the darkness.

There within was the Theatre Staff, the wife of a man training for the ministry -- hers was the second voice of the duet. But the great lead gushed

spontaneously from a little woman gazing in rapture at a curled form on her breast, nestling between her arm's crook and her shoulder, fast asleep, at home against his mother's heart and the joyous sound. He had not long finished the worst journey of all, from a heaven of a place where all was perfection, life-giving and preserving, a place of purity, warmth and security, to this cold, unsafe, evil-strewn, death-threatening earth. Caught up in the haven of his mother's arms, restored to the feel of the well-known vibrations and rhythms, he was sleeping his recovery slumber.

For his little mother it was an event of such great wonder and glory as only the outpouring *Te Deum* could express. Here, on her breast, lay no mere physical bundle, but the embodiment of two lives and two loves, hers and her beloved husband's, each given to the other that the other might live, live anew, and never die. Now, in the curve of her arm, lay the words of the marriage service made flesh, two lives for better, for worse, knit together in a way no one could part of man put asunder. Here was her beloved husband's whole self, eternally united with hers in a marvel that no mortal could fashion. Through the generations, as yet unborn, he and she would stay together, inseparable, a union in perpetuity.

So for every mother, bonded by love, there is music in the heart when her baby is born, and Heaven opens, in mighty chorus, praising God and saying: "*In excelsis Deo, gloria, gloria, gloria.*"



TO *The Editor*

## THE THIRD AGE

I have decided to write to you. I am aged seventy-four and almost blind. The money I saved for my old age is disappearing fast. I am a widow and managed alone for many years but the government, or those on whom we depend to run our country, have not done the right thing by the people.

I am living at a retirement village at Berwick. I read about the flag in *Senior Scene*. I would be very disappointed to see Australia become a republic and hope we do not lose our present flag. Robin Northover's poem "Keep the Flag" says it all.

I'm just an ordinary person. I have four children, all working. My son is a hard-working heavy-truck driver, Dubbo to Sydney. All three girls are doing their job and my life is coming to a close. The Third Age it is called -- I'll be happy to go when my time comes.

Agnes Ewers,  
Berwick, Victoria.



### CONTRIBUTIONS WELCOMED

ARTICLES and other contributions, together with suggestions for suitable material for HERITAGE, will be welcomed by the Editor. However, those requiring unused material to be returned, should enclose a stamped and addressed envelope.



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