



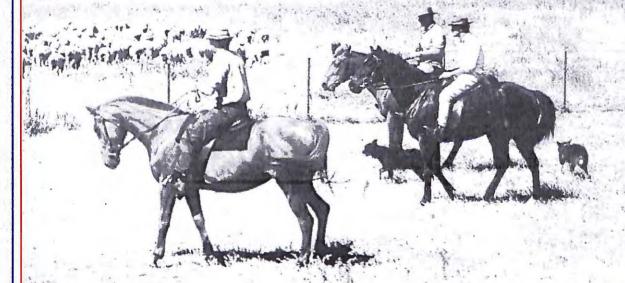


THE CASE
FOR THE MONARCHICAL
SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

CROWN OR REPUBLIC?

BY
SIR DAVID SMITH





- PRINCE CHARLES SPEAKS ON INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND SERVICE
- · NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. EDWARD ROCK
- THE ONLY INTEREST OF MONARCHY RANDALL J. DICKS

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#### STATE ADDRESSES

#### VICTORIA

G.P.O. Box 1052J, Melbourne, Victoria 3000 Telephone (03) 650 9749 Fax (03) 650 9368

#### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley, South Australia 5159

#### NEW SOUTH WALES

Box Q364, Queen Victoria Building, Sydney, NSW 2000

#### TASMANIA

8 View Street, Blackman's Bay, Tasmania 7052 Telephone (002) 29 1239 Fax (002) 29 1177

#### QUEENSLAND

2nd Floor, McConaghy House 460 Anne Street, Brisbane 4000 Telephone (07) 831 5481 Fax (07) 832 2518

The Secretary
P.O. Box 1035, Midland
Western Australia 6056
Telephone/Fax (09) 574 6042

EDITOR - Betty Luks

#### **PUBLISHED BY** THE AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE SOCIETY

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

47 McHarg Road, Happy Valley South Australia 5159 Telephone/Fax (08) 381 3909

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## EDITORIAL

## Recipe for Racial Conflict



THE racially discriminatory Federal Native Title Act has produced inevitable uncertainty in land title. Rather than foster reconciliation, as its backers claimed, it has caused resentment and is likely to result in racial conflict.

Our December/February editorial pointed out that Aborigines currently own around 15% of Australia, and this would have risen to 20% even without Mabo. The average Aborigine, urban and outback, has twelve times as much land as the average non-aborigine. But only 10% of Aborigines will have a chance to claim land under the Mabo decision, so the resentment it fosters will not be white only, and it will do nothing to address the fundamental health, education, housing and alcohol problems of Aborigines.

The area currently held by Aborigines plus the areas now under native title claim amount to a land mass bigger than Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland combined. And we are told by aboriginal groups that there are many claims to come, all funded by the taxpayer. Lawyers and bureaucrats will grow fat for years to come with the Mabo dining car now coupled to the Aboriginal Affairs gravy train.

Federal Opposition environment spokesman, Ian McLachlan, has shown that the Native Title Act discriminates not only on the grounds of race, but also on land title and between States. Native title has mostly been extinguished in Victoria and NSW. However SA, NT and WA have recognized for over 100 years a statutory right for Aborigines to go about their traditional pursuits of hunting and gathering and living on pastoral lease land. These rights will now assist Aborigines in their native title claims. This effectively means

those States which have totally disenfranchised Aborigines will be immune from claim, but those which displayed more concern for the indigenous people will now be more susceptible to claim.

Aborigines will be more likely to mount a successful claim in WA, SA and Queensland than they will in NSW, and certainly in Victoria. Furthermore, WA, SA and NT in particular have granted Aborigines interest in land under various titles, including inalienable freehold --grants which total nearly 15% of Australia. Until now, the area provided by NSW to its Aborigines is, in Mr. McLachlan's words, "no bigger than one decent-sized sheep station".

The area provided by Victorians to their Aborigines is not even statistically measurable, it is so small. Yet nearly one-third of all Aborigines live in NSW and Victoria. These States have recognized native title and appear to indicate they can live with it.

A further complication concerning the Northern Territory has been brought to light by Adelaide historian, Mr. K.T. Borrow, who points out the invalidity of the Federal Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act, 1976. This is because North Australia was, prior to Federation, merely "provisionally" under the Government of SA owing to the Crown's power of revocation of the 1863 Letters Patent. Thus SA was legally in no position to hand over this area to the Federal Government. "No doubt this fifth of the Australian continent will have its fate sealed when one of the 'boat people' raises the question of the title," Mr. Borrow reflects. Or perhaps it might form the seat of an "Aboriginal Nation" under Mabo.

Resentment at majority dispossession is building, even in unlikely quarters. *Advertiser* journalist, Tony

Baker, who describes himself as "the wettest of small-L liberal civil libertarians", smashed liberal taboos by condemning Federal the Government's ban on the Hindmarsh Island (SA) bridge in these terms: "Ngarrindjeri is not a word that springs lightly to the lips. Indeed, until last weekend, it had not sprung to mine at all. Now it has come to be synonymous with the present perversion of race relations in this country. ... It is the secret beliefs of the Ngarrindjeri women which have thwarted the Hindmarsh Island bridge. ... Whoever these women are (no one seems to really know) and whatever their animist beliefs, they have prevailed, without consultation, over a State of 1.4 million. 'Without consultation' is the sticking point. The combination of organized, militant pressure groups and weak-willed governments is eroding two of the fundamentals of Australian society: equality before the law and freedom of speech."

In 1967 Australians voted overwhelmingly in a referendum to end constitutional discrimination against Aborigines and to give the Federal Government power over Aboriginal affairs. They voted that way because as decent Australians they felt that Aborigines were not getting a fair go.

But is it fair that huge tracts of land should be alienated and handed to a minority? Is it acceptable in a supposedly democratic society for a minority to have a veto over the majority? Where will it end? Surely the long-term stability of the Australian nation depends, inter alia, on the equality of all Australians under one legal system. Federal Government violation of the Constitution must cease and the States must regain complete control of their own land. The Native Title Act must be repealed.



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AM not, and never have been, a member of any political party. Somehow party membership didn't seem to me to fit with my responsibilities as a public servant, even though, or maybe because, I spent five years as a Minister's Private Secretary in two Menzies Governments. Now, as a private citizen, I am a member of Australians for Constitutional Monarchy, whose objectives are obvious, and also a member of The Samuel Griffith Society (named after one of our Founding Fathers who became the first Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia), a society whose objectives are to protect all aspects of our Constitution. Today I appear before you in my personal capacity and not as a spokesman for, or representative of, either organization.

Except for the first three years, my working life as a Commonwealth public servant directly involved me in one aspect or another of what we used to call the machinery of government, so I am very conscious of, and genuinely fearful of, the kind of changes to our system of government which are now being proposed by the republicans. They are not in Australia's best interests. Let us be quite clear on the issue which is at stake -- it is not about a distant Monarch and the Royal Family. It is about major and drastic change to the way in which this country has been governed, not just since Federation but for almost 150 years. Also, it is about adopting a system of government which, in world-wide terms, has produced more failures than successes, at least for the ordinary people if not for those in power over them, for the simple truth is that most of the world's monarchies are free and democratic societies and most of the world's republics are not.

The republicans and the media keep asserting that the republic is inevitable, presumably on the basis that if they repeat that catch-cry often enough and loudly enough, people will come to believe it. Thomas Keneally has said that "the referendum would skate it in" if the 55-plus age-group were suddenly to disappear. Well, I have news for him: the over-55's are not going to suddenly disappear. And if he and his fellow-republicans really believe that the republic is inevitable, one has to question their motives in preferring to

divide this country in a long and bitter struggle, rather than allowing nature, as they see it, to take its course. Surely genuine patriots might be expected to put national interest before the selfish gratification of personal ambitions or personal desires?

#### I YIELD TO NO REPUBLICAN IN MY COMMITMENT AND MY LOYALTY TO AUSTRALIA

As a staunch believer in our country's system of government as a constitutional monarchy, I yield to no republican in my commitment and my loyalty to Australia and in my belief in our national identity as a free and sovereign nation. I am proud of, and grateful for, the British institutions which we have inherited -- our parliamentary democracy, our rule of law, our freedom as individuals, our language and our culture. None of that makes me any less a loyal Australian, nor does it make me a lickspittle or a forelock-tugger, and I am certainly not a member of the blue-rinse brigade. I just happen to believe that parliamentary democracy and freedom of the individual require us to be able to discuss issues of public policy on their merits and without resort to personal

We have every reason and every right to be proud of the origins of our Australian heritage, and mere ideological prejudices provide no justification for change. In a democracy such as ours, people are entitled to seek changes to our system of government by peaceful and constitutional means, and if ultimately a majority wishes for change then change must happen. In

similar fashion, those who wish to retain the existing system are also entitled to press their case, without being ridiculed or abused for doing so. Loyalty to Australia is not the sole preserve of the republicans or of the Labor Party.

As for the Labor Party's attitude that it, and it alone, is the guardian of Australia's independence, of our national identity and of our democracy, let us not forget that, in 1975, it was the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party which had its Speaker ask the Queen of Australia to overrule the Australian Governor-General and to prevent our most crucial constitutional crisis from being resolved democratically by the people at a general election for both Houses of the national Parliament. Mr. Speaker was told by Buckingham Palace that the Australian Constitution placed all constitutional matters squarely in the hands of the Governor-General in Canberra. That, surely, put an end to all nonsense about Australia's sovereignty, independence and national identity being centred on London. It also said something about the Labor Party's commitment to real democracy and their respect for the provisions of our Constitution.

I am an indigenous (using that word's true meaning), I repeat, an indigenous Australian whose parents were, in the current politically-correct jargon, of non-English-speaking background, and I resent and reject the view that, in multi-cultural Australia, there is room for every cultural heritage except the one that established the modern nation and laid the foundations of the

society in which we all live today. The British institutions which we inherited and adapted have given us a system of government as a constitutional monarchy which is the envy of so many people from all parts of the

world. That is why they have voted with their feet and have come here in their hundreds of thousands, to establish new lives in this wonderful country of ours.

Those British institutions have enabled this country to become one of the oldest continuous democracies in the world. Only Britain, the United States of America, Canada, Switzerland and Sweden have known longer periods of democratic rule, uninterrupted by dictatorship of the left of right, or by foreign conquest and occupation. It's interesting to note that, of the six oldest continuous democratic nations, four -- Britain, the United States, Canada and Australia -- are of British origin, and four -- Britain, Canada, Sweden and Australia -- are monarchies.

The monarchy is part of our history and a vital element of our cultural heritage. It is also an integral component of our system of government. It is no less Australian just because its story began in England or because we share it with Canada or New Zealand or Papua New Guinea or the other monarwithin countries Commonwealth. The Queen is Head of the Commonwealth to 50 countries and she is also Head of State to 17 of those countries. None of the others countries feel that this sharing in any way diminishes their sovereignty or their independence, and our republicans are being rather perverse, as well as dishonest, to suggest that it diminishes ours. They are not being so much pro-Australian as anti-British, and that is a most unworthy sentiment on which to base a campaign which will divide this country as it has never been divided before.

What are the reasons which the republicans give for wanting to change this country's system of government?

They say that we remain tied to Britain, and that our independence and our nationhood are diminished because of this. That is not true. Australia long ago severed all legal and constitutional ties with Britain and with its



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Government. We have been for a long time an independent and sovereign nation, and the claim that we need to change our constitutional arrangements to become more independent is simply not true. What is more, the republicans who allege it **know** it is untrue! We are seeing yet another campaign based on deception and lies.



Sir John Kerr, Governor-General of Australia, July 1994 to December 1977.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONHOOD DID NOT REQUIRE ANY CHANGE TO THE CONSTITUTION

In 1985 the Hawke-Keating Government set up a Constitutional Commission of three very distinguished constitutional lawyers (Sir Maurice Byers, Professor Enid Campbell and Professor Leslie Zines) and two former heads of government (The Hon. Sir Rupert Hamer and the Hon. E.G. Whitlam). One of the Commission's terms of reference required it to report on the revision of our Constitution to "adequately reflect Australia's status as an independent nation". In its final report, present in 1988, the Commission traced the historical development of our constitutional and legislative independence, and concluded, "It is clear from these events, and recognition by the world-community, that at some time between 1926 and the end of World War II Australia had achieved full independence as a sovereign state of the world. The British Government ceased to have any responsibility in relation to matters coming within the area of responsibility of the Federal

Government and Parliament." As a result, the Commission unanimously found that "the development of Australian nationhood did not require any change to the Australian Constitution".

This, of course, must have been profoundly disappointing to those who still want us to sever our non-existent legal ties to Britain. What they say they want is our so-called constitutional independence, despite all the evidence that we have it already, and have had it in full measure for almost 50 years, and in substantial degrees for much longer. What they really want is some overt anti-British gesture against a nation which has not done one single thing to frustrate or delay any Australian moves along the way to total independence.

We are told that our monarchy is foreign and not Australian. That is not true. Our monarchy is not a British one, it is an Australian one, as a result of legislation passed by the Australian Parliament. The necessary legislation to give the Sovereign the legal title of "Queen of Australia" was introduced into the Australian Parliament by Prime Minister Menzies more than 40 years ago -- The Royal Style and Titles Act 1953. Legend has it that this was done 20 years later by Prime Minister Whitlam, but that is yet another example of the battle against misrepresentation and falsehood which the Coalition Parties have to face.

## THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR NEW CITIZENS CHOOSE AUSTRALIA BECAUSE OF WHAT IT IS

Next, the republicans claim that we must change our ways to meet the needs of those who have joined us as immigrants. We are told that non-British migrants cannot comprehend our system of constitutional monarchy. That is not true. The fact is that most of those who have chosen to come and live in this country, as my family did 66 years ago, came here because, for them, life in their own country had become, or was likely to become, intolerable, and this country offered them some-

thing better. The systems of government which they chose to leave did not offer to them, as citizens, the fundamental freedoms and protections which our system of government offers to its citizens. More to the point, almost all of the countries from which they came were governed by one version or another of the republican form of government, so it's utter nonsense to suggest that their presence in this country should be used as an excuse to turn us into a republic.

There may be a small minority of immigrants who claim an aversion to living under a constitutional monarchy. If so, they need to be reminded that there are already 28 republics within the Commonwealth

that they might have chosen, and that there are more than 100 republics outside the Commonwealth that they might have chosen. Instead, they chose one of the 17 countries within the Commonwealth that have the Queen as their Head of State, and now we are being asked to change our system of government simply because of their presence among us. The Labor Party repudiates the stacking of Party Branches by new-comers and outsiders in order to subvert the wishes of longtime faithful and loyal members; yet it is prepared to tolerate, even encourage, the stacking of the nation.

My own experience of migrant communities tells me that the vast majority of our new citizens choose to come to Australia because of what it is, and not because of what it might become once they get here. They are loyal to our present Constitution. They do not want Australia to adopt the system of government from which they fled, and they resent being used as scapegoats in the republican campaign. We may be hearing the views of certain so-called ethnic community leaders, but we certainly are not hearing the views of those whom they claim to represent and on whose behalf they presume to speak.

We are told that we are part of Asia and that we must reject this country's British cultural inheritance before we can be accepted by our neighbours and identify with them. That is not true. The Asia-Pacific region comprises many different countries with many diverse cultures. There are even wide cultural differences within many of

these individual countries, so with which Asian country and with which Asian culture are we to identify? And the Asian monarchies of Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and Cambodia would surely find it strange that we should contemplate changing our system of government to a republic in order to identify more closely with them.

Only the other day the Governor of

can hardly be based on excessive interference. We frequently refer to the Governor-General as the Queen's representative, and the Constitution contains that description. We also need to remember, however, that, in carrying out his constitutional duties, the Governor-General is not the Sovereign's representative or surrogate, but is in fact discharging responsibilities which our Constitution places fairly and squarely with him and not with the

Sovereign. As Dame Leonie Kramer has put it, the Queen is the symbol of the nature of our constitution arrangements, while the Governor-General is actually our Head of State.

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OUR GOVERNORS-GENERAL

ARE

## RECOGNIZED, RECEIVED AND TREATED AS AUSTRALIA'S HEAD OF STATE

To be sure, at the beginning of our federation in 1901, the Governor-General was in reality a British civil servant. His principle duties and responsibilities were to the British Government, a situation which was understood and accepted by Australian Governments. But after the 1926 Imperial Conference, the Governor-General became the actual Head of State of Australia, with duties and responsibilities to the Australian Government and people, and no longer with any responsibilities to the British Government. From then on, the Governor-General had the same constitutional relationship with Australian Government as the King had with the British Government. And after the 1930 Imperial Conference, the Governor-General was no longer recommended to the Sovereign by the British Prime Minister but by the Australian Prime Minister.

These dramatic changes came about without one word of the Constitution relating to the Governor-General being altered. All that were changed were the practices and conventions followed by the Australian and British Governments in relation to the appointment and the duties of the Governor-General.

Over the past 23 years our Governors-General have made 29 state and official visits to 20 countries, and nearly all of them in Asia or the Asia-Pacific region. Every host country visited officially by Governors-General Sir Paul Hasluck, Sir John Kerr, Sir



by Sir David Smith

Hong Kong, Mr. Christopher Patten, during his visit to Australia for talks with government and business leaders, rejected claims by Australian politicians and republicans that our becoming a republic would cement our links with Asia. As for the suggestion that proximity makes us part of Asia, we need to remember that, with the exception of our far north and its proximity to Indonesia, most parts of Europe are much closer to large areas of Asia than we are to any part of Asia. Unlike us. Europeans can send goods to Asia by rail or truck -- in the case of Turkey, simply by crossing a bridge. Proximity makes us friends and neighbours, not part of the family.

The very notion that our monarchical status is an inhibiting factor in our bilateral diplomatic, strategic or trading relationships with our Asian and Pacific neighbours is as insulting to them as it is offensive to us. That would have to be the ultimate cultural cringe. Our Asian neighbours are rightly proud of their respective cultural inheritances, and would expect us to be proud of ours. Their concern is with how we deal with them, not with how we govern ourselves or the flag we fly.

The republicans say that we should have an Australian carrying out the duties of Australia as our Head of State. The fact is that we do. Former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam has said publicly that the Sovereign's constitutional duties are limited to appointing the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister, so the case for removing her from the system of government

Zelman Cowen, Sir Ninian Stephen and Mr. Bill Hayden, has recognized, received and treated them as Australia's Head of State. Australian Governors-General have even been accorded special courtesies by foreign Heads of State and their governments when travelling abroad privately and unofficially while on leave. It is simply not true to speak of this country's needing to become a republic in order to be properly recognized and accepted by other countries.

So you see, not one of the reasons we have so far been given for wanting to change this country's system of government by removing the Crown from our Constitution has a skerrick of truth in it. Yet this dishonest debate is the

one we are constantly being exhorted to join, for fear of being left behind. Even the word 'debate' itself has been given new meaning. It may now be used when one side has decided what the result will be and the date on which it will be implemented, and the other side is given the alternatives of agreeing without argument or of being abused and accused of refusing to join the so-called 'debate'. That is the kind of debate that people like John Fahey and Nicki Greiner and Rupert Hamer have been urging their fellow Liberals to join.

It took the recent visit by the Prince of Wales to remind us what was really involved, within a democratic system such as ours, in having a debate about our system of government. In an interview with the Editor-in-Chief of The Australian, on his last day in Australia, His Royal Highness said that "there are disadvantages and advantages to a republic, as much as there are in having a monarchy. In the end, there's got to be a debate, I suspect, to help reveal -and perhaps this will help to reveal -some of the hidden advantages and strengths of the current way of doing things". Needless to say, one had to search the text to find the comment about the advantages and the strengths of the present system: somehow it just didn't make the headlines.

Initially we were told that all that the republicans sought was what was described as the 'minimalist' position. This would involve altering our Constitution by substituting 'President'

for 'the Queen' and 'Governor-General', with the powers and duties presently assigned to the Governor-General remaining unchanged in the hands of the President, and the President being elected by Senators and Members of the Federal Parliament. When the opinion polls discovered that, if we were to become a republic, 82% of Australians would expect to be able to elect their President, the Prime Minister flatly declared that Parliament would choose our President or us.



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Even the minimalist proposal constantly brings out of the wood-work all kinds of proposals for far more widespread constitutional change, so that we are left with the inescapable conclusion that the republican push is just a stalking-horse for all sorts of other changes to this country's system of government, and that the search for the republic will simply result in our entire constitutional fabric being slowly unravelled before our eyes.

## POLITICAL INSTABILITY INHERANT IN AN ELECTED HEAD OF STATE

The real effect of the minimalist proposal is not just the removal of the Sovereign, who, as I have already said, plays no part in our daily processes of government. The real effect is that the day-by-day role as Australia's actual Head of State would continue to be carried out at Yarralumla by an Australia, but we would have lost the one protection against politicisation of the office. We would have replaced an appointed Australian as Governor-General with an elected Australian as President. Hardly the world-shattering boost to our international standing or to our national identity that the Prime Minister is claiming for it, but a drastic change in the power structures at the apex of our system of government.

An appointed Governor-General comes to that high office without having to seek it and without having to defeat others to attain it. The knowledge that it is an appointed office acts as a very real restraint on the way in which a Governor-General exercises the

powers and functions of the office. An appointed Governor-General has no political constituency to represent, has no mandate to discharge, and provides no alternative power-base to that of the elected Prime Minister. On the other hand, an elected President comes to office without those restraints, and there are examples all around the world of republics where such an arrangement produces tension, instability, and conflict.

The dangers for political instability inherent in an elected Head of State are well known to the more astute republicans. Some of them have already spoken and written of these problems, and have foreshadowed the need for an Australian republic to develop

complex constitutional safeguards to prevent those problems from arising. Yet they refuse to acknowledge that our present system of government already has the necessary constitutional safeguards built into it. These safeguards are called constitutional monarchy.

A constitutional referendum probably still some five or six years away (assuming one is held at all), and with the proposed change-over day just under seven years away (assuming a referendum receives the necessary state and national majorities), it is the height of impertinence and arrogance for republicans to act as if the referendum had already been held and won, and to ride rough-shod over the feelings of their fellow Australians who disagree with them.

Already some Ministers of the Crown have refused to swear allegiance to the Crown. The Commonwealth Government, and some State Governments, have already moved to change the oath of citizenship and the oath of allegiance by deleting all references to the Queen. Commonwealth Government Bookshops have been directed to stop selling photographs of the Queen to members of the public. The Prime Minister's Department has ordered the removal of photographs of the Queen from its conference rooms and public areas. The Government has instructed the Governor-General not to submit to the Queen any requests from national organizations for permission to add the prefix 'Royal' to their names. That is republicanism by stealth and by

ministerial edits, and represents an assault on our present constitutional arrangements.

As for the media, most of them report the so-called 'debate' as if the referendum had been held and won, presumably on the basis of personal opinions and some dubious opinion polls. Surely no politician and no journalist needs reminding that, if journalists and opinion pollsters were infallible, John Hewson would now be Prime Minister and Tim Fischer would be Deputy Prime Minister. What they do need reminding of is that our Constitution can only be changed after all of the people have spoken at the ballot box, and that the law of the land still permits a 'no' case to be put at a referendum. If they would only consult the research and the writings of Professor Murray Goot, Professor of Politics at Macquarie University, they would discover that the republican confidence in the outcome of a referendum is misplaced; that the polls on which republicans rely for their confidence are

flawed and misleading; that the demographic changes in our population do not favour the republican cause; and that any shift that may have occurred in public sentiment away from the monarchy and towards a republic has been

generated politic ally And is not irreversible. There is nothing inevitable about the republic, even if the editorial writers and news commentators keep telling us that the change is inevitable.

## MEDIA HAVE VESTED INTEREST IN CHANGE

And now we no longer have to guess why the media are so pernicious in their support for the republic. If you thought that it was because of any objective assessment of the merits of the case, you can forget it. In a speech late last year the editor of one of our major daily newspapers explained it. He told his audience that the media favoured a change in our system of government, not because it deserved to be changed, but because the media have a vested interest in change, because change equates to news and news is the lifeblood of the media. The process of change will sell more newspapers! Can you imagine a more miserable and selfserving reason for changing one of the oldest and most enduring Constitutions in the world today?

We all know of the propensity of the Prime Minister to rewrite history to suit his own purposes. At Corowa last year, at a constitutional centenary function, the Prime Minister could not resist more rewriting of history. Mr. Keating described our Constitution 'as a routine piece of 19th-century British imperial legislation" -- which it certainly is not. The Australian colonies, in seeking to federate as a new nation, could have opted for defiant secession from Britain or bloody revolution against Britain, but they had no need to, and they chose, instead, a peaceful, democratic, parliamentary process. That required the British Parliament, at the request of the people of Australia by referendum, and at the request of their colonial parliaments, to pass the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900. Our Constitution was included in Clause 9 Constitution itself was drafted in Australia by our Australian Founding

of that Act, but every word and sentence, every comma and full stop, of the Constitution itself was drafted in Australia by our Australian Founding Fathers, all of whom were specially

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chosen to do just that task. Except for those from Western Australia, they were directly elected in popular elections, with the selected candidates being supported by massive votes. Mr. Keating told his Corowa audience that it was time to reclaim our Constitution for the people and to vest it in the people. These ringing phrases also convey a false impression, for the Constitution which our Australian Founding Fathers drafted was put directly to the people in two separate referenda, something which was not done with the Constitutions of the United States, Canada or New Zealand, and on each occasion it passed with massive majorities.

Written Constitutions such as ours, at least in parliamentary democracies, were meant to be **enduring** documents, not easily changed, yet the republicans say that ours is in urgent need of drastic revision and amendment. With our strange fascination for numbers ending in zeros, we are being told that our

Constitution will reach its use-by date by its one-hundredth birthday, and that when the calendar clocks over to the next century we should scrap everything that has made this nation what it is and start again. The twentieth century, so the argument goes, has been a century of extraordinary change, and our Constitution must change as well. We put our constitutional arrangements in a weird and wonderful context when we look at society's evergrowing list of technological achievements and then lament the fact that the formal structure of our federal system of government has remained substantially unchanged since our Constitution was adopted by the people of Australia at the beginning of federation, 93 short years ago.

The United States, from whom we borrowed so much of our constitutional structure, have no such hang-ups. Their Constitution is 217 years old, yet they were able to celebrate its one-hundredth and its two-hundredth birthdays without deriding it as a horse

and buggy document.\* They were able to resist the temptation to see what they could do to make it relevant again. Their country was able to achieve its super-power status without one constitutional amendment changing its sys-

tem of government or giving more power to the central government. As we approach the one-hundredth birthday of our Constitution, we would do better to reject the notion that it needs to be radically changed or replaced, and instead give it the respect it deserves from us and which the Americans give to theirs.

By its very origins and by its nature, the republican push is clearly not apolitical and it cannot be allowed to succeed by default in some misguided spirit of bipartisanship, no matter how earnestly this is urged on the Coalition. I referred earlier to the urgings of Nick Greiner and John Fahey and Sir Rupert Hamer to their Liberal colleagues to enter the debate or get left behind. Late last year they were joined by New South Wales Treasurer Peter Collins. He told the Liberal Party that the republic was inevitable, that the party must participate in the debate, that it must show leadership on all of the issues involved in constitutional change, and that it must understand

and reflect the aspirations of the electorate. I don't know what sort of crystal ball Peter Collins uses to determine the aspirations of the electorate, but he certainly gave the impression he knows what they are.

He then made another speech which was reported in *The Weekend Australian* 

under the heading 'Lib minister ridicules monarchists'. So much for intelligent debate. That speech was full of statements that were not true. It seems the disease is catching. He told his audience that the retention of a political appeal mechanism in the form of the

British monarchy suggested the ultimate decision-making process for Australians rested with a foreign government, and that 'it would be from the British Government that any monarch receives, and will continue to receive, advice on constitutional issues'. I prefer to believe that Collins was not deliberately lying to his audience, but, if so, the Government and the people of New South Wales have a very serious problem -- a senior Minister of the Crown who is so abysmally ignorant of Australia's present system of government yet urges us to adopt a new one. With that kind of invitation to join the debate, you know you must be right in refusing.

Another fascinating argument for becoming a republic was provided by Mr. Al Grassby last December at the launch of his book, The Australian The former Whitlam Republic. Government Immigration Minister told his audience that the monarchy was responsible for the recession, for the one million Australians who had been thrown on the scrap heap of unemployment, for the business excess of the late 1980's, and even for the exodus from Australia of our top scientists. I ask you, how do you have a serious debate about constitutional change with someone who argues like that?

And just to show that it isn't only politicians who are able to produce weird and wonderful reasons for becoming a republic, the former head of Austrade, Mr. Bill Ferris, has provided yet another reason. He believes that 'a move by Australia to a republic status would present a windfall marketing opportunity to Australian exporters. Getting the international

market's attention is always a challenge, but especially if your image has become outdated, outmoded and possibly harmful to the promotion of your produce and services'. Can you just imagine it: all we need to do to solve our balance of trade problems with the rest of the world is to take the Crown out of our Constitution.



#### THE CASE FOR THE MONARCHICAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

by Sir David Smith

Unfortunately, there are many out in the community who think like Al Grassby and Bill Ferris. Encouraged by Donald Horne, Thomas Keneally, Malcolm Turnbull and Paul Keating, they believe that the constitutional monarchy is the cause of all of our problems, be they domestic or international, and that the coming republic will solve them. We now have our own Australian cargo cult. Those who are responsible for the mess this country is in provide inspiration and leadership by telling us that, if we get rid of the Queen, change the flag, and find a new national identity, all our problems will be solved.

There is much that is wrong with the say this nation has been governed and administered in recent times. Never before have we had so many Royal Commissions and other inquiries into our processes of government and public administration; never before have we had so many public office-holders and other public figures either in prison or facing that prospect; never before have the electors registered their dissatisfaction with the political process by returning so many independent and minor party candidates to Parliament; never before has Australia had so many of its citizens who are hurting because of what has been done to them by their Governments.

#### ONUS IS ON THE REPUBLICANS

And yet, despite our current economic problems -- none of which has ever been attributed to our system of government -- and despite the undoubted economic hardships which many Australians are enduring at the present time, under our present system of government we have produced a

society which is still one of the most comfortable and safest in which to live and to work and to raise one's children. We have much to do to improve our standards of public life, but if there is one thing that we do not need to change it our Constitution and our own Australian brand of constitutional monarchy.

Those of us who believe that our present system of government is still the best one for us and for Australia do not have to justify that choice. The present system justifies itself simply by having been there for so long, by having been so

successful, and by having served the nation so well. An appointed Governor-General, acting under the restraints imposed by our present constitutional arrangements and our present system of government, affords greater protection to our democracy than an elected President could ever do. Our Founding Fathers were, in the words of Greg Craven, Reader in Law at the University of Melbourne, legitimate constitutional heroes -- men who struggled against depressing odds to achieve a remarkable triumph. Their number included three who became Prime Ministers, and 33 who had been, or were at the time, or later became, Premiers. They drafted and crafted a Constitution for a democratic and independent nation, even though they realised that full independence would be some time in coming. Their work must not be lightly put aside.

The onus is on the republican movement to spell out the precise changes to our system of government that they wish us to adopt, and to give us their reasons for those changes. Simply to say that the republic is inevitable is to insult the intelligence of the Australian people. Republicans have an obligation to identify the defects in our present system of government, to show how their proposals will remedy those defects, and, above all, to tell the truth. The only way we can make them do that is to let them know they will not have a bi-partisan walkover under the guise of so-called debate, but that they will face vigorous and concerted opposition from those of us who are proud of what our country has achieved, and who cherish the system of government that made those achievements possible.

## FOR GOD, KING AND COUNTRY

# The Church and War Memorials

by Dr. Rupert Goodman (a former 'Rat of Tobruk')

THERE was a time when the Church was the spiritual centre of the community when wars broke out and people fought for freedom or for 'God, King and Country'. It was argued that the cause was right; it was a just war and churches were packed for services seeking God's blessing for the armed services and for ultimate victory.

After victory was won, memorials abounded to honour the glorious dead and in churches plaques were dedicated to individuals and units, in memory of those who had given their lives on active service. There, for all time, were memorials from Boer War to Vietnam, names long forgotten to the present congregation, but a reminder of the sacrifices of former members of that church. On occasions such as Anzac Day, special services were held and wreaths and red poppies laid at these memorials.

Is this changing? Is the modern church, the modern generation of clergymen, less interested in these memorials, quietly removing them as anti-war propaganda becomes more powerful in the community? Recent events at a church in a northern New South Wales town are a stark reminder of modern thinking about war memorials in churches.

There, a number of townspeople intercepted a truck taking a war memorial from the local church to the tip for disposal! Further enquiries revealed that a new church had been built and that the church authorities 'were of the opinion that the size and design of the memorial were not in keeping with our present modern church'.

Discussions with the church elicited some extraordinary statements. It was argued that there were no longer any relatives in the district and that no one knew the names anyway. In reply it was pointed out that of course there will come a time when no one will personally remember the events of these wars and the members of the congregation concerned but that was not a reason for removing the war memorials. After all, there was no one alive today who knew our Lord, but that is not a reason for demolishing the church!

A letter sent to the senior representative of the church summed up the feelings of the townspeople: "If the churches cannot set an example and on some simple pre-



text discard the heritage of former parishioners, what hope is there for our future society and, for that matter, the Church? We of our generation have a sacred trust to honour and preserve these memorials, to hand them on to future generations. So much is implied in dedication services."

After long discussion the memorials were housed in the town museum and a photo placed in the church! A poem by Len Beresford-Walker may well sum up the attitude of many younger people towards war memorials.

They lie forgotten, those who died
In Europe's war-torn land,
They thought they died to set us free
From Tyranny's cruel hand.
But those they left behind to mourn
Are gone -- and in their place
Has come a selfish and a cold uncaring race
Who think memorials are a waste
Of money better spent,
In making life a feather-bed
For those who never went.
They scoff at medals, proudly worn
And ridicule the brave,
Who for the sake of land and folk
Ended in a soldier's grave.

The guns are silent, peace abounds.
The tyrant now is greed.
They lie forgotten, those who died.
May God forgive their seed.

# POLITICAL CORRECTNESS: INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND SERVICE

(Speech by HRH the Prince of Wales to The Newspaper Society, 4th May 1994)

I HAVE over the last few weeks been reflecting on the kind of speech an audience like yourselves might expect me to make. I have a feeling that over the years, as a result of every kind of publicity, I may have been put into a box marked with something like the label "In Transit", and treated accordingly, although I suspect some people might prefer to see me in a box with the label "Fragile, Handle with Care", or simply "Other Way Up". So, Ladies and Gentlemen, I had been toying with the idea of giving you the benefit of all my unexpurgated views about media affairs -- especially as it is not every day I have the advantage of such a captive audience presumably wondering what on earth I am going to say next. But then I realised that this was a gathering of regional newspaper proprietors and their guests, so I had to go back to the drawing board.

The reason for doing so, and I must make this clear from the beginning, was because I have considerable admiration for the crucial role played by regional newspapers in the life of their local communities, and for the overall quality of your work. Perhaps because the view from London distorts the reality of life outside, I think a fair number of people in Britain may agree with me that the tone of much of what is contained in our national press is becoming more and more damaging to the way in which we all view ourselves as British people, and to our national way of life. As regional newspaper proprietors, editors and members of staff, you invariably work very closely with your local communities. By the very nature of your positions, you are probably able to identify and recognize people's concerns more readily than most. I travel round the country quite a log, leaping out of trains and aeroplanes, usually to find, amongst others, reports from local newspapers who have been forced to stand around in the rain in order to file a report on the latest royal visit! I cannot speak for you, but I have sensed over the last few years a mood of introspection throughout the country. It is hard to put a finger on it and I may, of course, be entirely wrong about this, but it could be associated with that neb-

ulous thing called "morale". I know very well, of course, how many people have gone through very difficult times in recent years. But it is not just that. It seems to me it is hardly surprising that one gets whiffs of this mood in the air when, at the same time, we tend to be subjected day after day to the most allpervading cynicism about almost every aspect of our national life. Nothing ever seems right. There is a persistent current that flows along undermining the integrity and motives of individuals, organizations and institutions. An insidious impression is thereby created that, for instance, the police are corrupt, British justice if flawed, the BBC is moribund, and public servants are time-serving wasters of tax payers' money. I do not subscribe for one moment to the view that we live in the best of all possible worlds. But such impressions based on cynicism and disdain, if you are not careful, can take a surprisingly powerful hold of our subconscious and become the source of corrosive prejudice and destructive divisiveness.

#### OTHERS LEARN FROM THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE

There is no doubt that foreigners too have sensed this mood in the air, and assuredly think we must be crazy not to

take far greater pride in the notable strengths of the British character and in the things which we perform so remarkably well in this country. Whilst there will always be areas where we can learn some useful hints from the ways other people do things, and adapt them to our own local requirements in the UK, there is no doubt that people abroad envy us greatly for the high standards we have achieved in many spheres of our national life. Why else would foreigners want to send their people over to this country to learn from our experience, built up over many years, of attention to detail and to traditions which are based on the highest possible standards? Of course, there is always room for improvement and, of course, there are always exceptions to the rules. But in the fact of an approach to life which appears to seek only to denigrate, to decry, and to destroy, surely it is about time we took pride in the fact we have so many valuable national assets.

If nobody else is going to, then I will! Let us start with the Armed Forces. In view of the fact that I have been associated with them all my life, I dare say you could accuse me of being biased. But, in the absence of perfection in this life, and considering the possibilities,

when compared with the record of some other people's Armed Forces, for confusion, indiscipline and cruelty, we are unbelievably fortunate to have such outstanding military organizations to safeguard British interests one minute and to act as international policemen the next. Considering the intolerable provocation to which the ordinary soldier is frequently subjected on duty -whether in Northern Ireland or in Bosnia -- it is an immense tribute, both to the quality of the discipline and to the indomitable British sense of humour, that he invariably resists provocation and does not run amok. To achieve the standards of performance which we have come to take for granted does not happen by chance, but involves a great deal of effort, a tradition of specific human values attached to each man's unit, and considerable expense.

What about the Police? Again, when compared with other people's police forces, are we not incredibly lucky? Do we not expect too much from then sometimes? Personally, I think they have an impossible task, especially in an era when there is so little respect for any authority whatsoever -- and particularly when you remember that each policeman or woman is drawn from contemporary society as it stands. Again, there is always room for improvement. But the basic, traditional foundations of policing in this country are remarkably decent ones -- especially at a local level. These foundations, surely, have to be nurtured and maintained despite the dictates of fashion and the latest trend. Obviously, our attitude depends on the circumstances in which each of us confronts the police but, on the whole, I should have thought that we ought to take unusual pride in the brave and selfless way that the majority of our policemen and women go about their thankless task unarmed in an increasingly violent environment.

There is no doubt that we have an outstanding reputation for doing many things supremely well in this country—and one of them is a talent for advising our competitors how to organize themselves in certain sphere somewhat better than we have done ourselves! We have an astonishing natural advantage in that we are one of the most inventive nations on earth, and yet we consistently sacrifice that advantage by

# POLITICAL CORRECTNESS: INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND SERVICE

failing to capitalize on our own inventiveness. We do this to the extent that we let people in other countries develop the ideas of our brilliant engineers and scientists, and turn them into world-beating products in the marketplace. The examples which come to my mind are fibre optics, the video recorder, the liquid crystal display, the bio-technology industry which grew out of the basic DNA research done at Cambridge, the magnetron in all those millions of microwave ovens and, believe it or not, the fax machine which, I was intrigued to discover recently, had actually been thought of and demonstrated by a Scotsman in the 19th century. I could quote you ever more examples of this, but I shan't because it will only frustrate us all. And I am glad that at long last this problem is now being recognized and starting to be addressed.

## THIS NATION DEPENDS ON THE SELFLESS, COUNTLESS VOLUNTEERS

But we also lead by our example in more selfless ways. Everywhere I go in the world, people admire the pioneering work Britain has done in the field of palliative care, for example, and are keen to learn from our experience in devising such an effective system for the treatment and care of the terminally ill. Our Macmillan Nurses are second to none, and it fills my heart with swelling pride when I see at first hand what these remarkable people do. And let us not forget that, in many ways, this nation depends on the selfless enthusiasm of countless volunteers, up and down the country -- often unseen and unheard but, nevertheless, frequently the backbone of local

communities and a source of genuine moral strength in our society. I see this in my own local community in Gloucestershire, when the church, or the hospital, or the school, or the old people's home need urgent help. I see it most vividly, perhaps, when carrying out an investiture at Buckingham Palace on behalf of The Queen. There in the space of about an hour and a half, you see a microcosm of the people of these ancient islands filing past to receive their awards. It is only then that you truly appreciate that this nation's success and survival depend upon all these so-called ordinary and extraordinary people playing their part in the continuing drama of our existence. They make their entrance and their exit, but without their individual contribution and, in many cases, their sense of duty or vocation, this country would be nothing. Standing there, shaking their hands, I cannot help but be aware of the continuing march of history: the Army Corporal wounded in Northern Ireland; the courage of the bomb disposal officer or the police constable on the beat; the unique service of a 90 year old headmistress, still working voluntarily; a nurse back from Bosnia where she had seen harrowing sights; a captain of industry, a retired lifeboat coxswain; someone who has worked all her life with handicapped people; a well-known sports personality; a star of stage and screen to be knighted; and the lollipop lady who has been doing her job every day for 40 years.

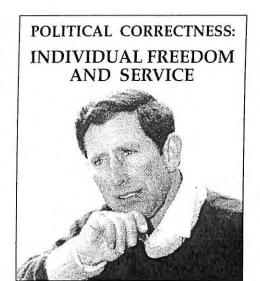
I could quite easily go on for hours, but I just want to say one more thing on this particular subject. One of the greatest strengths of this country has always lain in the way in which our most famous organizations and institutions have evolved the kind of ethos which has made them into a unique form of family enterprise, thereby encouraging a long and loyal service from those who are inordinately proud of the standards and traditions that make each organization what it is. I am thinking of great British institutions like the BBC, even though it does not please everyone all the time, and especially the BBC World Service, which, for sixty years, has been renowned throughout the globe for the remarkable integrity and quality of its broadcasting; the British Council, which for many people abroad has represented the best of

Britain; the Royal Shakespeare Company, whose influence in the field of cultural diplomacy has become second to none; the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, which has established a unique reputation around the world, but now need £90 million in order to meet the challenges of the future; the National Theatre and our great orchestras; not to mention our priceless galleries and museums with their huge and unique collections. All these British institutions have functioned solely on the basis of the quality, the devotion and the pride of their wonderful families of staff. They have done what they have done unbelievably well, often in far from easy circumstances. Whilst we all recognize that such institutions have to adapt to changing conditions, would it not be a tragedy of national proportions if they were somehow to lose their "soul", that character that gives them their unique and precious identities, which marks them out as peculiarly British? If you lose the "soul", what do you actually have left/ And can you replace it? It just seems to me we need to recognize that, on the whole, these are the people who are preserving the kind of values and traditions which will always matter whatever age we live in.

Ladies and Gentlemen, before I depart from the security of this lectern, I want to ask you all a question. What do you think it is that prevents us from making the most of the things we do well in this country -- things which matter because they say so much about the basic spirit of our nation? Is it because of our natural British modesty? Is it because we just take everything for granted, and because the British only really react when there is an obvious crisis?

#### I ARGUED AGAINST THE VIEW THAT VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION AND IN VIDEOS HAD NO PROVED EFFECT ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF OUR CHILDREN

The point I want to make is this. The excellence I have described says something important about us. It reflects, I think, qualities of understanding, tolerance, judgement and good sense which are now everywhere under attack. They seem to be threatened by pressures in our society which not only undermine these values, but also intimidate the people who hold them. It appears to me that a preoccupation with the fashionable theories and trends of the day is threatening to eat



away at the values of our society. There is perhaps an inherent danger from those who love to parade a kind of dogmatic arrogance without listening to the views of ordinary people. All around us we see the evidence, day after day, of the short-lived theories and fashions which can undermine our individuality, undermine our confidence, and take too mechanical or untrusting a view of human nature. The result can be damaging -- sometimes devastatingly so -- to our confidence and the way we behave. Some of you may possibly recall a speech I made nearly six years ago in which I argued against the view, held at the time to be unassailable, that violence on television and in videos had no proved effect on the behaviour of our children. At last, there are signs that this fashion is perhaps changing, and we are now being told something which we always knew in our hearts made sense. Think also of those American child-care theorists of the 1960's like Dr. Spock, and their novel views of how best to bring up children -- or rather, not to bring them up at all. In the end it has been interesting to see those self-proclaimed experts altering their opinions -- but at what cost along the way to those countless families who found themselves the victims of the intimidating fashion of the day?

Nowadays in our society there are many powerful pressure groups. Many do much good. Without them, many just and worthwhile causes would not have such vocal and effective champions. But in arguing their case and fighting their corner they can so easily slip into what has tellingly been called single-issue fanaticism. And when that

is coupled with a prevailing theory -often untested, often unproven, driven by the immediately palatable and by the fashion of the moment -- the result slips from intellectual fanaticism to something even worse. This misnamed fashion for what people call "political correctness" amounts to testing everything, every aspect of life, every aspect of society, against a pre-determined, pre-ordained view, and rejecting it if it does not measure up, so that people feel intimidated and browbeaten, not daring to stand up and disagree, or voice a contrary opinion, for fear of being considered old-fashioned or plain reactionary. And the intimidation is palpable. Any questioning, in a perfectly polite way, of the current fashions usually elicits a vitriolic response -- whether it is a wish to teach people the basic principles of English grammar, and to rescue the idea that there is a vast difference between good and bad English; or suggesting that in certain circumstances it may be necessary and sensible to administer a smack to your child; or even to suggest that music might have been violated to the point that an obsession with atonalism and discordance causes most of our anguished souls to cry out for harmony, for melody, and for sanity.

#### ONLY ALLOWED TO LIVE IN A WORLD WHERE THE SOLE REALITY IS THE FUTURE

But those who question the wisdom of these fashions are invariably accused of being out of touch, eccentric, and wanting "to put the clock back" -- as if we were only allowed to live in a world where the future was the sole reality, and where progress is measured by the extent to which you deny the relevance and lessons of the past. For what it is worth, I happen to be one of those people who believes strongly in the importance of well-tried principles, and of those more familiar things in life, which help to anchor us in the here and now and give meaning and a sense of belonging in a world which can easily become frightening and hostile. That does not mean that I am opposed to what is called the Avant Garde. Far from it. I believe the Avant Garde serves a very important function -- to challenge, to tease, to experiment and to protest. That is the sign of a healthy, and free, society. But when the Avant Garde becomes, to all intents and purposes, the Establishment, then by its very nature it can sometimes become over-bearing, arrogant and destructive.

The fact is, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is not some irrelevant or archaic argument. It concerns us all, and the values and inherited wisdom which many of us cherish. Can we, for example, really believe that we cannot trust our school teachers to treat their pupils with care and sympathy without being misunderstood? Of course, society must take firm steps to prevent abuse, but the error surely comes when the associated dogma actually prevents genuine, normal feelings and actions. Can we really believe the fashionable theorists in the English faculties of our universities who have tried to tear apart many of our wonderful novelists, poets and playwrights because they do not fit their abstruse theories of the day? Or should we believe, instead, the judgement of those millions of people who watched Middlemarch recently on television, and bought or re-read George Eliot's novel, because they recognized it -- not at all surprisingly -- as the wonderful story of human nature as it was then, and still is. I believe that we do not have to accept any of these fashionable distortions, just as we need no

longer accept that people have to live in a brutalised urban landscape where the crucial elements of human scale and craftsmanship have been forgotten. But it does take courage to challenge these fashionable opinions and say that some of those who call themselves experts have got it wrong. If we do not, we shall live forever with the consequences.

## CONSTANT DENIGRATION IS DAMAGING

Ladies and Gentlemen, although I know it may be unfashionable to say so, I just want to emphasize that one of the elements that makes this nation what it is depends, crucially, on those remarkable qualities in the British character, developed over a long period of time, in peace and war, which have manifested themselves in unshakeable standards of public service, of dedication, independence of thought, voluntary effort, of artistic and scientific endeavour, and great good humour. The roots that nurture these qualities are surely worth preserving. But there is also, I believe, a danger that repeated doses of cynicism and constant denigration, if they infect our views of ourselves deeply, could fatally

damage our trust in ourselves and our values, and also damage those various qualities that make us special, and which the rest of the world so admires. That is why I think the work of volunteers within local communities, the unsung heroes of our time, is so important. They preserve and represent so much of what is good in Britain, and so much of what is marvellous about the spirit of this country. Their work deserves to be celebrated. Because you are in touch with people and their real concerns, your newspapers, in my view, fulfil the vital role of helping to reflect the importance of such values by reporting these activities and giving them prominence. I can only pray you will go on doing so. I can think of no better way of explaining why than by reminding you of the very last lines of Middlemarch, which are as true now as they were more than a century ago:

"For the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs."

## THE QUEEN'S PORTRAIT

It is a great mistake for Monarchists to assume that a decision on the future of the Crown will be made only at referendum. Such decisions are already being made - day by day. The republic is advanced by stealth over a long period of time, and it begins with the erosion of the symbols of Monarchy.



The symbols that bind Australians together are gradually being purged from public view. We no longer have "ER" on the postbox, the coat of arms is seldom used anywhere. Photographs of the Queen are no longer available at government Commonwealth Government bookshops, the emblem of the crown has almost completely disappeared, "O.H.M.S." is gone from official stationary, the Oath of Allegiance was dropped, "God Save the Queen" abolished, and now the flag is under attack.

If we wish to defend the values upon which our heritage is based, we must also be prepared to defend the symbols of those values. The Heritage Society is always ready to campaign for the flag and the symbols of Monarchy, and we now include a portrait of the Queen in the range of material avaliable to Members and subscribers.

The Monarchists League in Australia has reproduced the famous portrait of the Queen, wearing the Australian wattle dress, in full colour. This portrait was commissioned by the late James P. Beveridge, O.B.E., for presentation to the Commonwealth of Australia, to commemorate the 1954 Royal Visit of H.M. the Queen and H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, the artist was well-known Australian painter, Sir William Dargie.

We suggest that subscribers take advantage of this opportunity to buy a copy of this magnificent portrait, and display it in your home, your office, your clubrooms, or anywhere appropriate. Many supporters belong to clubs, or know of community halls, municipal offices, etc. where the Queen's portrait does not hang.

Available from
The Australian Heritage Society

P.O. Box 1035, Midland, W.A. 6056 or from our State addresses inside front cover

A3 size (11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 16 1/2) \$30.00 posted. A4 size (11 1/2 x 8 1/4) \$17.50 posted.

## NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

## by Edward Rock

In Australia Christians believe that God is our ultimate court of appeal; they also believe the Queen is His appointed and anointed servant, appointed to act as a bugger against the forces of evil which continually assault the freedom He has given us.

Australians ought also to be aware it has become the tradition of the Monarchy not to exercise any direct initiative in matters of state, relying upon moral and spiritual powers associated with traditional constitutional practices to maintain God's authority in govern-

Hence the ment. Queen, on occasion, assents to the edicts of those who have, by one means or another, obtained the reins of power, even when they act in direct contravention to either the moral or constitutional restraints which originated to guard us against the misuse of power.

There is an important principle inherent in the Queen's exercise of her high office and that is that 'the mills of God grind slowly, and exceedingly small; hence the Queen is expected to

exercise far greater patience than those in political office -- patience that outlasts those who operate irresponsibly, whether in government or in the media. An important question exercising the minds of many of the Queen's loyal subjects today is the degree of relationship between passivity and the exercise of sovereignty.

Early in 1993 I received a letter from a gentleman in his 80's who has never given up the fight against the misuse of power; he was aware of the disillusion-

ment with Monarchical institution among those people who understand the Queen's role to be a buffer against tyranny by the rightful and proper exercise of her sovereignty. He mentioned the Queen's failure to repeal the Australia Act which is now used as an instrument to convince the people of Australia that they have no right of appeal to the Crown. He quoted a stark comment from one of his own friends, "The Queen has to all intents and purposes abdicated." No doubt, were he an Englishman rather than an Australian, he would have question the Queen's failure to question the massive transfer of British sovereignty to a

's failure to question the massive er of British sovereignty to a They are made a

The Queen in her chair of Estate. Members of the Royal Family stand in the gallery behind. On her Majesty's right the Marquess of Salisbury bears the great Sword of State.

bureaucratic monopoly at Brussels. He yearns for the restoration of the spirit of Magna Carta with its commitment by the Monarch to uphold the freedom of his/her subjects. Needless to say, I have encouraged him to maintain his faith that God will defend and protect the Monarchy, and have pointed out that each of us must accept our responsibility in defence of Monarchy, an important part of which is to encourage the Queen to use her *sovereign* powers to maintain the freedom of all her sub-

jects in their respective nations, assuring them of their individual and national sovereignty under a Crown deriving its authority from God, and not from man, as is the alternative now being pursued relentlessly those who see the Crown as an obstacle to their ambitions.

In Australia we have now reached the point where our national sovereignty has been undermined and betrayed by those in favour of international sovereignty and what they call the 'New World Order'. In many vital areas we no longer make our own laws. They are made and imposed by the rati-

> fication conventions originatfrom international power we cannot possibly control and who, by its very nature, rejects the traditions we inherited and thereby expressly undermines the Christian principles and ethics built into our now bypassed Constitution. Hence Australians have lost their national political sovereignty along with their national finansovereignty. Neither the formerlysovereign States of Australia, nor the Nation as a whole, have the capacity to

monetise our physical production obtained from our own natural resources by our own efforts. Without any understanding of the Christian function of money, our courts are dispossessing and evicting innocent people from their homes and property in favour of financial institutions in direct contradiction to the spirit of Magna Carta.

The loss of sovereignty stemming from the Queen to the humblest citizen

is a vital issue. Some Australians are at a loss to understand why our Queen would choose not to exercise the sovereignty invested in the Monarchy, not by direct edict, but by involving both spiritual and constitutional powers vested in the Monarchy, which subjects cannot use, because they are given to the Monarch alone. Any loss of sovereignty by the Queen is our loss also. Sovereignty is built, first and foremost, on imperishable spiritual foundations and is in reality a function of the spiritual strength we inherit from God; as long as the faith of Australians does not fail that sovereignty will be restored. In such restoration loyal Australians ought to encourage the Queen to take a stand which she, presently, seems to accept is not within her power. My friend, in his letter, said, "Today's need is that Elizabeth II should live up to her Coronation Oath and the responsibilities implied in that Oath." Many Australians do pray for the fulfilment of those tremendous promises but we must needs remind ourselves that we too have the responsibility to make our desires known to the Monarch and reinforce our actions by prayers that the Queen will be sustained while exercising her great responsibilities toward us.

In this respect our responsibilities are perhaps far greater than those of the Queen. As a nation we have ceased to give precedence in prayer to upholding the power of God exercised through the Monarchy. The Monarchy, being an hereditary institution, as distinct from a man-appointed one, is a spiritual institution, instituted by God to curb the power of man. Man seeks to nullify God by destroying the hereditary factor. To destroy the hereditary factor man must also destroy the spiritual factor. That is the issue, now dominant in Australia, in the proposal of the Australian government to reject the Cross of Christ contained in the Union Jack, and to institute a man-appointed republican as Head of State.

The main factor which has weakened both our spiritual and constitution position is the role of the Christian Church, especially the Anglican Church which seems to be failing in its duty to uphold the God-given authority of Monarchy against inroads by unregenerate men.

There is no doubt that the framers of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer fully

## NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

by Edward Rock

understood the importance of maintaining unrelenting spiritual warfare to safeguard the Monarchy as the empirical institution ordained by God to defend His people against satanic forces. As a young man I often wondered about the priority given to prayers for the Monarch in the Church of England. Like those who have now dispensed with those prayers, I confused adulation of a person with what was really intended, which intention was the maintenance of the authority of God through the institution of Monarchy. It was important we should always pray for the Monarch, not so much as for another person little different from ourselves, but as one appointed by God for a very special purpose -- the exercise of a sovereignty not subject to any form of coercion, and that the lack of any coercion by the forces of man should remain.

## WHERE IS THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH?

The Church in Australia has failed the Monarchy in this respect. In the Anglican Church The Australian Prayer Book of 1975 specifically elevated prayers for bishops and priests above those for the Monarch. Those appointed by man were given priority of the Defender of the Faith (i.e. the Monarch) appointed by God. There was complete failure to understand the nature of the anointing of the Monarch. The resultant down-grading in this new prayer book to prayers for the Monarchy are, in fact, a denial of true responsibility, and reveal a complete ignorance of spiritual factors involved in national life and in constitutional issues. If the push for a man-instituted and man-controlled republic and the removal of the Christian cross from Australia's flag is successful, I believe the Anglican Church of Australia will be mainly responsible. Diverted from true responsibility this Church has become involved in purely humanist struggles, such as the Movement for the Ordination of Women, which should never be confused with a struggle for gender-justice, but in reality is just

another exercise in the elevation of humanity to challenger the authority of God. The framers of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, involved as they were in one of the most intensive struggles in history to reconcile power exercised by man with the will of God, could see that the integration of the sovereignty of both God and man meets in the Monarchy. Therefore the Monarchy had to be defended with the greatest of all spiritual defences, that is, the prayers of the faithful in order that not only the sovereignty of Monarchy but the sovereignty of ever subject is preserved.

I feel it is my duty to encourage fellow Christians to pray that, when the Monarch speaks from the throne at the opening of parliament, or when designated ministers speak on the Monarch's behalf (Governors-General, State Governors, etc.), the preservation of true national sovereignty, not a sovereignty diluted by conventions or agreements entered into with external powers, either political or financial, should not only be their first priority, but constitute the only successful basis for building lasting relationships with other nations.

Above all, the power of the Monarch is moral and spiritual, and can be expressed in words of truth. Perhaps the reason our Monarch does not speak so today is that she herself no longer believes them. If such truthful words were spoken from the throne at the opening of parliament, those words would be heard where power is truly sovereign -- in the halls of heaven to whom all other powers are subject. Ministers of the Crown could not ignore them without denying their loyalty to God. Such words would rally Christendom in these dark hours and we would know them for an answer to prayers as, "We beseech Thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; and specially Thy servant ELIAZBETH our Queen; that under her we may be Godly and quietly governed: And grant unto her whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under her, 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".



## **FAITH**

by Gertrude Skinner

Faith is a very moving thing.
There's much that it can do.
We need it most in adverse times.
Our strength, it does renew.

We must build up reserves of faith
To keep us firm and strong,
For this is a decaying world,
Where there is so much wrong.

Temptation saps our will to serve, And tries to bring us down, But, while we keep on storing faith, We'll wear the victor's crown.

We gain our knowledge of the truth From God's own holy book. Faith always follows from His words We must not overlook.

His commandments, we must observe,
And make them art of life,
If we're to build a stronger faith
To carry us through strife.

Faith, truly is a gift of God, Bestowed as His reward For our belief in righteousness, And holding to His word.

I hope you will now stop to think
Of all that faith can do.
We need it for a happy life.
It can make our dreams come true!

## HAIL TO AUSTRALIA

by Elizabeth Rankin

Chorus:

Hail to Australia so golden with wattle
Lovely her daughters and stalwart her sons
Freedom to cherish, to honour or perish
There's nought in this wide world to daunt or deter us.
Belovéd our country so virgin and vibrant
And with God's help we will prove right is might;
Health to our Sovereign, strength of the
Commonwealth,
Hail to the continent isle of Australia.

#### Verses:

Towns into cities all growing apace Rising so proudly in this might place Does not it thrill you, excite you to be In this wonderful country of ours?

To build a new country needs blood, sweat and toil;
Our ancestors did this and now we enjoy
Such a freedom there's none for the world to compare
With this wonderful country of ours.

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## SYMON THE BARRISTER

## THE SCHIPPAN MURDER CASE

by Graham Lyons

JOSIAH Symon was a tall, intelligent, ambitious youth of 20 when he arrived in South Australia from Scotland in 1866. Her was articles to his cousin, J.D. Sutherland, a solicitor at Mount Gambier.

In 1970 a brief he had prepared was noticed by Sir Samuel Way, the leader of the S.A. Bar, who was so impressed he arranged for the young man to come to Adelaide and complete his articles in the office of his firm, Way & Brook.

Called to the S.A. Bar in November 1871, Symon entered into partnership with Way on Brook's death in 1872. In 1876 Way became Chief Justice and at age 29, Symon assumed responsibility for one of Adelaide's finest legal practices. Symon was renowned for taking on difficult cases that his more conservative colleagues preferred to leave alone. He was a pioneer in the field of forensic evidence. Success came quickly and by the age of 34 he was recognized as the leader of the Adelaide Bar. The following year, 1881, he was made a Q.C. and was elected to the S.A. Parliament and made Attorney-General.

After the government fell in June of that year, Symon remained in the Legislative Assembly until 1887, when he contested the south-east seat of Victoria and was defeated because of his opposition to protection, and the payment of Members. Despite invitation, he never again returned to the colonial parliament. He also declined elevation to the Supreme Court bench in 1884, and to the offer of a safe Conservative seat in the House of Commons while on a visit to England in 1886.

In 1883 his investments failed and all his savings were swept away. He declared himself bankrupt. Although he had nothing left but his wits, no capital was ever more productive. He made up the leeway and eventually owned mansions in North Adelaide and at Upper Sturt, and one of the state's best vineyards, Auldana.

His fame as a barrister spread and his addresses to the juries were masterpieces of analysis and oratory. When he addressed the Court it was always a telling and attractive narration. One of his contemporaries wrote: "No barrister in S.A. can so well measure the capacity of that diverse institution, the British jury, or so ably marshal his facts to give each of the twelve good men and true just that impression which will best serve the end at which he aims; and it is perhaps a quality of adapting his knowledge of the various expressions of human nature that is most responsible for the wonderful successes Sir Josiah has achieved at the bar."1

Symon successfully defended many prisoners charged with capital offences. His success at obtain acquittals when there was very little evidence for him to go on, led to his becoming somewhat of a public figure. His attention to detail, ability to break down a hostile witness without bullying, and eloquent pleading to the jury made the death penalty redundant for more than a generation.

His famous cases include the AMP Society conspiracy case, Bonney (1889), Schippan (1902), Joseph Vardon (1907) and Gillett (1923).

"Symon had all the necessary physical attributes of an inspiring orator. Over six feet tall, with a spare and muscular frame, he had a broad forehead and a face full of power and character, and he bore himself with dignity. His eyes might gleam like cold steel or glow with merriment as he conveyed the range of emotions in a clear and resonant voice.

Every impression which he conveyed was of purpose -- the man who meant business. It is true the left shoulder drooped a little. That was probably due to the habit of haranguing the Bench with one foot on a chair. The fine frame was crowned by a massive head, the casket in which was enclosed a splendid brain.

Approaching the climax of his speech he was a study of nervous energy. An hundred different chords seemed to be struck at once. Voice and eyes and hands



were in harmony. An inflexion of voice would convey a whole volume of meaning; a glance would challenge contradiction and subdue the most irrepressible injector.2

Symon's most celebrated case was probably the Schippan murder trial, and it provides a classic example of his ability as a defence attorney.

Mary Augusta Schippan, 24, was accused of the murder of her sister Bertha, aged 14, on the night of 1st January 1902, in the family's cottage at Towitta, a remote hamlet in S.A.'s lower north. The parents were staying near Eden Valley, some miles away, at the time.

Mary, who shared a bed with her sister, testified that she awoke around 10 p.m. to find a man lying across her. He jumped up, grabbed her by both arms, pulled her form the bed and pushed her against the sewing machine. A knife clattered to the floor. Her assailant escaped and Mary discovered Bertha dead on the floor, her throat savagely slashed. She alerted her brothers in a nearby cottage.

The day before, Mary's clandestine lover, Gustav Nitschke, who was engaged to another woman, had called, and in the evening they made love on the couch. The Crown Prosecutor alleged that Bertha had discovered the lovers and later threatened to tell their father, whom the girls feared.

The case was sensationalized by the press, and the rivalry between the two Adelaide daily newspapers, *The Advertiser* and *The Register*, was intense. The coronial inquest was held at Towitta and *The Register* used expert horsemen to relay the news to the telegraph station at Angaston. However, *The Advertiser* outdid them by employing "high-speed

cyclists" and a Lewis motor car.

Symon took on the case at a much reduced fee because the family was poor and Mary had worked as a main for an Adelaide friend of his. Mary's striking appearance stimulated public interest in the case. "The surviving daughter, Mary, a tall, well-made and prepossessing girl, is fair-haired and blue-eyed and dresses as tastefully as is possible in bad times."3

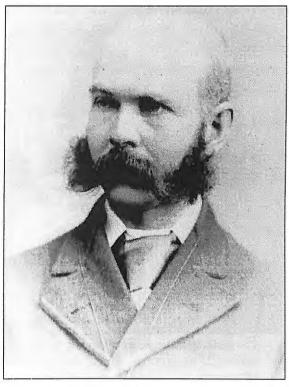
The following extracts are from Symon's five-hour final address to the jury:

"I am here to ask you in the name of British justice and British fair-play to acquit Mary Schippan, the prisoner, of the terrible ad unnatural crime with which she stands charged. I believe you will do so. Her last words when taken in custody after the inquest were, 'Mother, I did not do it.' These are her last words to you, supplemented by her statement in answer to the officer of the Court, 'I am not guilty, sir.' And when you have examined the evidence and considered the cruel persecution and the unjust fashion in which she has practically been held up as a suspected person to a relentless prosecution, then I think you will feel that neither your conscience nor your judgement will enable you to declare that you are satisfied beyond the possibility of a reasonable doubt, that she was guilty of this abominable crime.

You must discard all element of mere prejudice and suspicion, seeking only for absolute proof that will convince your judgements and satisfy your consciences, and if you can not obtain that you ought to bring in a verdict of 'Not Guilty'. This is a painful and extraordinary case. Two sisters, Mary and Bertha Schippan, living on the most affectionate and sisterly terms, kindly to each other, kindly in the home and kindly outside the home, an affectionate relationship unbroken so far as appears by any quarrel or difference of any kind are the two principals concerned in this enquiry. At about 9 o'clock on New Year's night they were peacefully sleeping in one bed, and within little more than an hour the Crown asks you to believe one of them hacked the other to pieces. That is on the fact of it impossible to believe. It is immaterial what you fancy or suspect; the question is whether there is irrevocable proof.

Nothing but innocence and the knowledge of it could have enabled this girl to pass through the fiery ordeal since

January last. This case is, above all, one from which all elements of prejudice should be eliminated. You must still your minds, close the doors of your faculties against the entrance of anything in the nature of prejudice, and if there seems to be anything of this kind seeking entrance to your judgement, so as to disturb the calm and judicial consideration of the



Symon the Barrister

evidence, I hope you will rather lean the other way in favour of the prisoner, if that is necessary, in order that you may do justice. It is so easy for the wish to be father to the thought. It is the fact expressed by the old phrase, 'Give a dog a bad name and you may hang him.' She is surrounded everywhere with an atmosphere of suspicion, and the temptation is to torture or strain every circumstance, in order to justify that suspicion. Once let suspicion rest on a man and we know how readily every word or act, indeed the absence of a word or act, is taken as a circumstance of guilt. Good God, gentlemen, where are we? If the prisoner said something it was evidence of guilt. If she said nothing until asked, if she makes no sign of any kind, it is evidence that her behaviour is only consistent with guilt! Gentlemen, it is monstrous. I ay to you, that whoever was the perpetrator of this hideous murder, in the circumstances, when even the feelings of a strong man were wrecked and racked by what he saw, what could you expect of a gentle girl, as she appears to be, to do when she saw her sister's body for the first time but burst into tears? And yet we are told she was unemotional, and because she was unemotional or showed no more signs of her emotion than by the dropping of precious tears, you are told to find her guilty. I never heard such a proposition in my life.

There is practically no blood -- or, at any rate, not what you would expect to find on this girl had she committed this atrocious crime. It seems to me that that is one thing you have to get over. How was it that amidst those pools of blood, if two girls had been struggling in that horrible embrace, she did not get more blood on her than what I have described to you? It is not for you to say who committed the deed. The issue is not for you that someone else did it.

If there is somebody else -- as I submit to you there is -- there may have to be someone else tried for this crime. Behind all there is a mystery that is unfathomed. The issue is -- 'Are you satisfied that this girl did it?' You have not to investigate the question of alibis and charges against other people. Is it not very likely that those wounds were inflicted by a powerful hand -- a more powerful hand than you would expect from this poor girl in the dock? As the murderer was able to hold the girl at a distance, when the deceased was, as she must

naturally have been, struggling from end to end of the house, and at the same time to slash those wounds, he must have had a powerful hand.

Now the question arises -- What was the motive of the crime? Even the Crown Solicitor admits that it is essential that there should be some motive. That noticeable instance in connection with the man Nitschke was introduced, and the suggestion was made that there was on that account a motive. In all cases of circumstantial evidence it is most important that there must be some motive. If this man had not slipped in they would have tried to find some other motive. We are piecing together all these fragments, and it is most important that there should be found some motive to cement all these loose things together in order to establish guilt. No prosecution would be justified in proceeding upon bare circumstantial evidence, unless there was some strong motive.

They have introduced this creature Nitschke, and in so doing, they introduced what would be a foul blot on any case investigated in a court of justice. I hope there are few like him in South Australia. He fills us with disgust. He has the abandoned cowardice to get into the box, as my learned friend says he did at the inquest, and to betray his sweetheart -- for that is what I call it. He confessed to the seduction of this young girl to whom he was supposed to be honourably paying his addresses in order to

supply the motive that the Crown required -- in order to put the coping stone on her guilt. Was there ever in history such a case? It is a fit culmination to his depravity, but I have much more to suggest to you than that. Rumball asked whether she had had a quarrel with Bertha about her sweetheart. 'Never,' she said. 'We never had a quarrel about our sweethearts.' There is no evidence that Bertha knew anything about the conduct of this person Nitschke. Why did they expose this poor girl, who is more sinned against than sinning? If they could have shown that

Bertha had threatened to tell her father or anything like that I would have forgiven them. It is the one blot on the exemplary conduct of my learned friend's conduct of this case. It was a wanton and gratuitous introduction. I think you will agree that if the misconduct of this scoundrel Nitschke was at the bottom of all this—then Nitschke is the culprit. He wrecked this girl's character and ruined her family.

No man has been found. Is that Mary Schippan's fault? This is not the first time that murders have been committed and the murderer has escaped detection and punishment. History is full of such instances. 'Jack the Ripper' has never been found. There are the Gatton murders; where are the murderers? How easy it was to escape that night! No moon until 10 o'clock.

I have tried to do my duty in the course of justice and for the life of this poor child, the prisoner at the bar. I almost shrink to parting with you -- I almost shrink from saying I have done speaking in fear I have omitted something which I should have urged upon her behalf. On the counsel for the Crown, myself, and his Honour, but upon you, Gentlemen, rest great responsibility

indeed. You are asked to find her guilty of this crime on the testimony of an expert and some hair. I have never known the expression of 'a life hanging upon a hair' to have so strong a meaning in English law as on this occasion. You must scatter the thought of the sins which the poor girl has committed, and remember that she was the victim of one whom I have already sufficiently described. The verdict rests with you. I have put my



The Schippan family

views before you as clearly as I am able. I do not ask you to give them any more regard than they are justly entitled to. It is for you to allow Mary Schippan to live or to tell her that she must die. All human beings are liable to err, but it is better to make a mistake in telling her to live than in condemning her to death. For the mistake of death there is no remedy; from that bourne no traveller returns.

Whatever doubt you have should be solved in favour of the prisoner. It is the proud maxim of English law that it is so. It is for the Crown to prove that the prisoner is guilty. If your conscience hesitates, you should say, 'Not guilty.' It is better that 99 guilty should escape than that one innocent should be condemned. I commit the life and the death of Mary Schippan to your hands, believing that you will turn the eye of pity on her unhappy condition, that you will solve every doubt in her favour, and by pronouncing her not guilty of this atrocious and abominable crime you will do right by her, and carry home with you when you leave the precincts of the Court, the unspeakable satisfaction of a quiet conscience. May the Great Father of us all direct you aright."

The significance of the subsequent acquittal of Mary Schippan was made years later, when on his deathbed her father, Matthias, confessed to a Lutheran priest the murder of his daughter 'and of his horrible deeds'. These probably include the murder of an Afghan cameldriver who was rumoured to be buried in Schipman's lime pit. He had molested the girl, as he had probably done to Mary when she was younger, and perhaps

Bertha had threatened to tell her mother.

Some time after the trial it was revealed that a strapper had seen Matthias Schippan returning on a lathered horse to a cottage near Eden Valley in the early hours of 2nd January.

During the trial Gus Nitschke, who was cleared of suspicion when it was proved he was in Adelaide at the time of the murder, was beaten up by the Schippans and his own father and brothers and later fled to Queensland and changed his name. His fiancée spent the rest of her life in a mental

home. Such was the stigma of the trial and its aftermath that several of the Schippans also moved away and changed their names.

Mary herself, who had concealed her father's guilt out of fear and loyalty, died of tuberculosis at the age of 41. During the trial she had described the murderer as 'clean shaven with an English accent' -- the opposite of her father.

Sir Josiah Symon retired from the Bar in 1923. His legal career had spanned fifty-seven years.

Symon was outspokenly intolerant of those who failed to meet his standards, and they were not safe from his eloquent denunciations even after his death in 1934 at the age of eighty-eight. Sections of his will, deemed 'scandalous, offensive and defamatory to the persons about whom they were written' were omitted from probate by Court order.

- Sir Josiah Henry Symon A Short History by John Thorpe.
- Sir Josiah Symon A Sketch by H. Campbell Jones, I May 1934.
- 3. The Advertiser, Monday, 6th January 1902.

## THE ONLY INTEREST OF MONARCHY

## by Randall J. Dicks

A MODERN prince consort once said, "The only interest of monarchy is to serve." To some royal incumbents, it may seem increasingly that service, like modesty, is its own reward, and perhaps its only reward.1 In the case of the twenty-first Prince of Wales, a multiplicity of good works and a lifetime of dedicated service seem to make no impression on a tabloid press and tabloidized media whose only focus seems to centre on what any reasonable citizen would consider to be his private and personal existence.

Charitable, educational and cultural enterprises are ignored in favour of innuendo and whispers whose appeal is entirely prurient and whose factual basis is nil.

This is not exclusively the fate of monarchy or a particular royal family or of the Prince of Wales. It has happened in recent months to entertainer Michael Jackson, American football star O.J. Simpson and to President Clinton. President and Mrs. Clinton's visions and projects for the future of their country have been sidetracked by politically-motivated investigations into their personal (and pre-White House) financial affairs and accusations of sexual harassment against the President whose merits may be impossible to determine. The Clintons' legal bills have exceeded one million American dollars, and are rapidly mounting; facing the possibility of personal bankruptcy, they have done what no sitting President has ever done, and have appealed to the public for donations to a legal defence fund.

Paul Begala, a media adviser to President Clinton, perceives some personal attacks on the president by the media as being made just for who he is and how he leads his life and the same is doubtless true of some of the negative press reporting of the Prince of Wales, who he is and what he is. People and the press view their leaders these days not just skeptically but cynically, Mr. Begala believes, and this fits in neatly with the concept of the tabloidization of the mainstream press. Some of the most respectable television journalists freely admit that they wear two hats, sometimes being entertainers, sometimes being journalists.

There are people who keep statistics on such things, and the figures support the notion of the tabloidization of the mainstream media; for instance, in a recent survey period, the American television networks devoted four minutes on the story of figure-skater Tonya Harding to every one minute spent on news of President Clinton's proposals for a national health care system. The proportion of time devoted to the legal tribulations of O.J. Simpson as compared to news of any other events in the world in late June and July will be similarly instructive.

At a recent seminar in Washington, D.C. on media coverage of President Clinton, Susan Page of Newsday spoke of the acceleration of the news cycle, due in part to the current technology of news reporting. Analysis tends to squeeze out some of the substance. In some cases, there may be no real substance, but there is nonetheless no lack of analysis and counter-analysis, commentary and interpretation. The news cycle has been speeded up to such an extent that the audience, whether newspaper readers or television viewers or radio listeners, ends up with an abundance of analysis and explanation, but with a lack of basic facts. The fundamentals have been crowded out, says Susan Page, in the headlong compulsion to analyse.

#### THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

Opinion polls play a part in this cycle, telling people what they think rather than giving them something to think about. Walter Lippmann, a pre-electronic journalist and influential newspaper columnist for nearly four decades, said, "The job of the press is

to bring information to light, not to give it its larger meaning or order. If the press strays too far from this task of merely conveying what leaders are saying, it will get in the way of democracy, not advance it."

Two recent cases involving the Prince of Wales illustrate the difficulties, for the consumer, of the current trends of news-for-profit and mainstream tabloidization.

When the Prince of Wales made his speech at Darling Harbour in Sydney last Australia Day, the media around the world carried the news of the "assault" on the heir to the throne by a person firing a starter's pistol. The reporting was almost entirely positive, because of the sang froid the Prince displayed under fire. However, outside Australia, the Prince's actual speech went virtually unnoticed, even though it was the major public statement of the royal visit, and considered of major import.

In the Australian press, the stories on the Prince's speech carried headlines such as "Republic Our Choice, says Prince"; "The Prince and the Republic"; and "Charles Backs Republic Debate". *The Australian* called the speech "the first positive public statement on republicanism by a member of the royal family", which would "buoy the republican movement in the wake of polls showing that support for a republic had slumped".2

The Australian also said that His Royal Highness "gave a decisive royal assent to the republican debate last night in a speech which will become a milestone in our evolution to a republic ... Prince Charles did not endorse the republic -- but he

gave the republican campaigners fresh momentum".

What the Prince of Wales said -- according to the text supplied by his office -- was this:

"Maybe I'm wrong, but I suspect that a feeling of not knowing where we are is fairly widespread in human society today. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that there are those who would wish to see such a rapidly changing world reflected by a change in Australia's institutions. And perhaps they are right. By the very nature of things it is also not surprising that there are differing views -- some people will doubtless prefer the stability of a system that has been reasonably well-tried and tested over the years, while others will see real advantages in doing things differ-

"The point I want to make here, and for everyone to be perfectly clear about, is that this is something which only you -- the Australian people -- can decide. Personally, I happen to think that it is the sign of a mature and self-confident nation to debate those issues and to use the democratic process to re-examine the way in which you want to face the future. Whatever course you ultimately decide upon, I can only say that I will always have an enormous affection for this country."3

This would hardly seem to be an endorsement of the republican movement; it is instead an acknowledgment that there may be merit to arguments on both sides of the question, and that rational discussion of the question is both healthy and a sign of national maturity. As for the words "and perhaps they are right", seized upon so gleefully by the republicans, it is more likely that these words expressed the courteous open-mindedness of a person who does not become involved (much less embroiled) in political questions, rather than anything more significant or partisan.

Lost entirely was the point that the Prince emphasized most strongly, that the decision on monarchy or republic will be left to the people of Australia alone, and will not be a matter for outside interference. The Royal Family will certainly not seek to influence the decision.

The matter came up, naturally, in an extensive interview which the Prince granted to *The Australian* later in his visit. "What I felt was necessary was to emphasize that it was up to Australians and the Australian people generally to decide which way they would like to go in the future, and that having a debate was a perfectly sensible thing to do in the light of changing circumstances or whatever."

## PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR PRINCE'S CANDOUR

Prince Charles made another important point, about the Royal Family's interest in Australia: "We don't own this country; we're not making money out of it or anything like that. We are merely doing what we consider to be, as a family, our duty here by the Australians. All anybody has tried to do is help, encourage and assist. It's not as though you can make money. Then I could understand wanting to hold on to it. But it's not a question of that."4 Not a question of that; the only interest of the Australian monarchy is to serve Australia.

A few months later, as part of the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his investiture as Prince of Wales, Prince Charles was profiled in a two-and-a-half hour television documentary by Jonathan Dimbleby, made over an eighteenmonth period with the Prince's full co-operation.

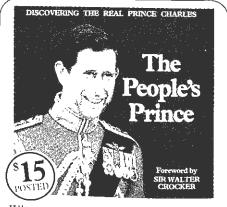
The documentary provoked sensational headlines before it was even broadcast, because Dimbleby at one point asks the Prince about marital fidelity (and the Prince responds that he remained faithful, "until it became irretrievably broken, us both having tried"; nothing more startling or dramatic than that). After the sensationalism came the negativity: "Nose Dive into Media Mayhem", said one American headline. The Prince was lambasted (on both sides of the Atlantic, if not the Pacific) for having reopened old wounds by

reminding "the nation" of his marital problems. Ignored, once more, were the Prince's quiet achievements in so many fields, his work on behalf of young people and the unemployed, his interests in architecture and agriculture, his deep involvement in charitable causes.

The media's all-knowing instant analysis missed the mark, however, as later polls showed that the public appreciated the Prince's candour, and his popularity ratings soared.

It is likely that news-for-profit, trivialization and tabloidization, and negative reporting will continue and even spread; it will get worse before it gets better. But it is just as likely that the Prince of Wales, and his family, will continue to do "what we consider to be, as a family, our duty here by the Australians", and Scots, and Canadians, and New Zealanders, and Jamaicans, and Solomon Islanders ...

- 1. This brings to mind a quotation, which originated with either Marcus Aurelius or Shakespeare: "It is a right royal thing to do good and be abused."
- 2. The Australian, 27 January 1994, lead story by Lenore Taylor.
- 3. Speech by HRH The Prince of Wales, Australia Day Reception, Darling Harbour, Sydney, 26 January 1994.
- 4. *The Australian*, 7 February 1994; interviewed by editor-in-chief, Paul Kelly.



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## TRUE BLUE AUSSIE

I'm a battle weary warrior Who's flown for many years; I've seen sights of pure delights And others that bring tears.

I've flown high on battlefront And I've flown behind the lines; I've been the inspiration To countless Aussie minds.

I've watched heroic effort Of deeds you'd n'er believe; And been used to proudly cover Those whose loved ones grieved.

I remember countless mornings Our Aussie Youth's stood fast; While I've been carefully coupled up To slide right up the mast.

Mine's a fascinating history Steeped in ancient lore; And if the page was endless I'd write volumes, that's for sure.

Yes I'm proud of what I've done And where and why I've been; Remember our Centenary? On every corner seen.

Now I'm told I should retire Make way for younger man; One more modern to inspire My new abode, the can.

## by Chris Eldridge © 2/1/1994

I'm man enough to take it If that's what they decide; I can't forget what I've been through I can't just let it slide.

For I have memories in great store So proudly held within; I'd still live on though pronounced dead Midst all the fuss and din.

I've memories stored you'd not believe I'll give you just a glimpse; Though some are painful to recall And even make me wince.

I felt the paid down deep inside When first the bullet hit. A proud young Aussie's bloodied hand Clenched tight like fighter's mitt.

He lay alone in muddied field While life did surely flow; Then slowly he did pull me out And held me 'ere he go.

I've ne'er forgotten scenes like that And I know I never would; For such young men still fly with me You'd still see them if you could.

So stop next time when you see me Don't treat me like a rag; I'm an Aussie and true blue YOUR PROUD AUSTRALIAN FLAG.



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## ST. FREDERICK OF BETOOTA: FREDERICK HULTON-SAMS, THE FIGHTING PARSON

by Alan Barton

DURING his five-year ministry in the Queensland bush just before World War I, the Reverend Hulton-Sams became a household name to bush people. As all those who knew him are probably dead now, it is important that some details of his life should be recalled lest these be lost to present and future generations of Australians. This task may not be easy as one must needs rely on what others have written. It has been said that his character, at first sight so simple, was in reality elusive and baffling. What we do know is that the Reverend Hulton-Sams did not consider it weak, purposeless or shameful to "confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner, against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end".

During his five-year ministry in the Queensland bush just before World War I, the Reverend Hulton-Sams became a household name to bush people. As all those who knew him are probably dead now, it is important that some details of his life should be recalled lest these be lost to present and future generations of Australians. This task may not be easy as one must needs rely on what others have written. It has been said that his character, at first sight so simple, was in reality elusive and baffling. What we do know is that the Reverend Hulton-Sams did not consider it weak, purposeless or shameful to "confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner, against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end".

By 1908 Hulton-Sams had offered himself to Bishop Dawes for service in the St. Andrews Bush Brotherhood in Queensland. His father, Mr. G.F. Sams at that time was Rector and Rural Dean in Emberton in Buckinghamshire in England. Hulton-Sams was independent, energetic, cheerful and one who sought to avoid the professionalisms of clerical life.

He was educated at Harrow and at Trinity College, Cambridge. This was followed by Leeds Clergy School to prepare for holy orders. He was ordained Deacon in 1905, priested in 1908, and served his first curacy at St.

Paul's, Balsall Heath in the Diocese of Birmingham. He was unique, natural, with a great zeal for righteousness but not the typical Anglican priest.



He lived a Man He died a hero's death The Rev. Hulton Sams

Hulton-Sams is best remembered for his love of boxing. He has been described as not the most skilful of boxers, but his zest, quickness, fighting spirit and sportsmanship made him formidable in the ring. He taught boxing to the youth of the inland towns, taking a boxing team to Charters Towers where he himself won a medal. He must have won others, as he told people that he sent

them to his mother in England. On another occasion he promoted and managed a local boxing tournament with the proceeds going to the Longreach Hospital.

The St. Andrew's Bush Brothers,

with their headquarters in Longreach,

brought a spiritual service to a vast area of western Queensland. In those days they travelled by horseback, sulky or buggy, and sometimes even simply walked. Towns as far afield as Betoota, Bedourie, Jundah and Boulia were visited and Hulton-Sams sometimes jestingly referred to himself as 'St. Frederick of Betoota'. On his travels visiting the bush stations, Sams carried boxing gloves and would spar with

Lewis in his book, Crow on a barbed wire fence, gives part of a chapter to a visit by this fighting parson to the shearing shed where he was working.

anyone willing, even if heavier

than his light frame. Harold

Sams understood the purpose of the Christian religion was to connect our humanity with the Spiritual. Sam's faith was simple and childlike; he was distrustful of what too much education, with its worldly emphasis, could do to people. He was a poet, a mystic, a regular hospital visitor and always loyal and helpful. Even during his holidays in Rockhampton he would visit hospital patients who had come from the west.

Much of his travelling was feats of endurance. On one occasion he was in Jericho and wanted to attend a funeral in Aramac, though the roads were closed after heavy rains. Sams covered the distance on a railway trolley with the help of a friendly railway worker. Sams never did less than his share of work and at the end of the seven hours of toil on trolley handles, his hands were in a frightful state.

When World War I broke out after the German invasion of Belgium, Sams saw it as his duty to return and serve as a soldier in the conflict. He loved and admired much in the British civilization that we in Australia are so grateful for, but are now so close to losing.

In England Hulton-Sams joined the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry and was promoted to Lieutenant. His death near Hooge in Flanders has been described:

"Another brigade had been driven out of their trenches by the Germans with liquid fire. At 2 a.m. on the 30th, it would have to be July 1915, Sam's regiment was hurried up to the line, to a place they hadn't been before, to take part in a counter-attack and regain these lost trenches.

"They were stopped at the edge of Zouave wood. With all other officers killed or wounded, Sams was now in command of C Company. The Germans were attacking them with bombs and liquid fire, but Sams and C Company were still holding on at 10 a.m. the next day.

"Many of the men were wounded and very thirsty; about this time Sams crawled away to see if he could get any water for them. He was hit be a piece of shell in the thigh and side, and probably died instantly. C Company was relieved the next night and his body was buried at the graveyard to the rear of the lighting line at Hooge.

Hulton-Sams received many tributes from Australia. One verse from a poem printed in *The Spectator*, 14th August 1915, and written by G.F.S.

reads:

"Like Thee in life, in death he bore Semblance to Thee, for lo! He died At thrice ten years and three, was sore,

Athirst, and wounded in the side."

Many churches in western Queensland contain memorials to the Reverend Frederick Hulton-Sams. His fiancée in England sent a gift to St. Andrews Church in Longreach. It was the chalice, inlaid with opal, which he had send her from Oueensland.

#### **BIBLIOGAPHY:**

- Frederick Hulton-Sams, the Fighting Parson (impressions of his five years' ministry in the Queensland bush, recorded by some who knew and loved him) [Longreach, Theo F. Garker, printer, November 1915.
- 2. Crow on a barbed wire fence by Harold Lewis [Angus & Robertson, 1973]



## THE ESTONIAN ROYALIST PARTY

I would like to introduce the Estonian Royalist Party.

The Estonian Royalist Party (ERP) was founded in Tartu in 1989 as with the liberation process at the end of the eighties, it became possible to form a group-idea into ERP. ERP, a party that aspires to continuity, justice and safety, has found supporters all over Estonia. Our party realises that at the present moment we possess neither the conditions nor the authority to declare Estonia a kingdom. This would only be possible when our nation had adopted the idea and the parliament, formed on the basis of free elections, has made a decision. In the present state of depression and instability in Estonia, republican institutions are exhausting themselves and the idea of constitutional monarchy is winning more and more supporters. At the last parliamentary elections in Estonia in September 1991, ERP won 7.1 per cent of votes. Now there are eight royalists among 101 members of parliament.

Considering that, at the moment, we have reached certain stability here in Estonia, we can pay more attention to developing our foreign contacts. We do not have our own periodical as until now we thought it essential to spread information through the local widely-spread newspapers

and journals. We have found a lot of interesting material and information in different foreign magazines, including the Monarchist directory 1991 in *Monarchy* which is where we found your address.

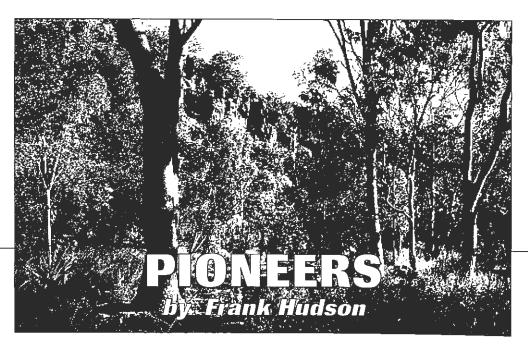
We would be very interested to learn more about the Australian Heritage Society and would be delighted to have a reply from you.

We believe that next century belongs to kingdoms.

KALLE KULBOK, Landmarchall of ERP, Kuningriiklased, Toompea Loss, Tallinn, Estonia.



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 addresses envelope.



We are the old-world people,
Ours were the hearts to dare;
But our youth is spent, and our backs are bent,
And the snow is in our hair.

Back in the early fifties,
Dim through the mists of years,
By the bush-grown strand of a wild strange land
We entered -- the Pioneers.

Our axes rang in the woodlands,
Where the gaudy bush-birds flew,
And we turned the loam of our new-found home,
Where the eucalyptus grew.

Housed in the rough log shanty
Camped in the leaking tent,
From sea to view of the mountains blue,
Where the eager fossickers went.

We wrought with a will unceasing,
We moulded, and fashioned, and planned,
And we fought with the black and we blazed the track,
That ye might inherit the land.

Here are your shops and churches,
Your cities of stucco and smoke;
And the swift trains fly, where the wild cat's cry
O'er the sad bush silence broke.

Take now the fruit of our labour,
Nourish and guard it with care;
For our youth is spent, and our backs are bent,
And the snow is on our hair.



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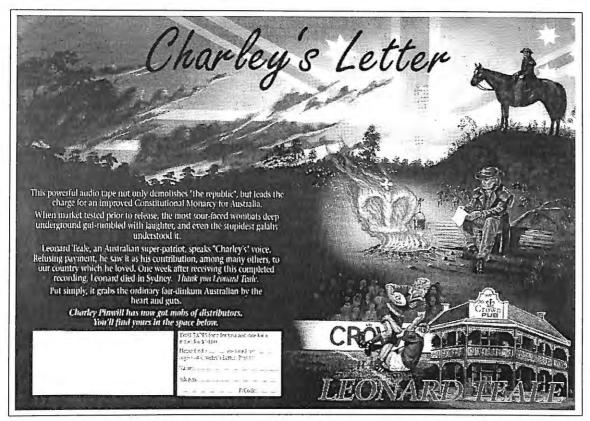
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"Charlie's Letter" is read by Leonard Teale to some mates around a cattle camp-fire. Teale carried a deep and abiding concern for the country he loved, and it's heritage. Having served in the Air Force in World War II, he knew what sacrifices his own mates had made to preserve that heritage.

So deep was Teale's concern for developments in Australia, that in 1992 he recorded a cassette tape, "The Lucky Country Versus the Rest of the World". It was an attempt to shake a generation of privileged Australians out of their complacency before it was too late. The response so overwhelmed Leonard, that he felt obliged to run for the Senate in N.S.W. as an independent at the 1993 election.

Although not elected, Leonard Teale continued to speak out whenever possible. Early in 1994, he received considerable press attention when he refused to supply the Department of Veteran's Affairs with his tax file number to continue receiving a War Service pension. Leonard rea-

soned that a huge campaign in the 1980s had rejected the idea of Australians being reduced to mere numbers, and that privacy was sacrosanct. Besides, although he would survive financially without a pension, many of his ex-serviceman mates might not. Eventually, the Department backed down.

In speaking "Charlie's" voice for this tape, Teale refused payment, simply regarding this as yet another contribution to the preservation of the institutions of a great country. One week after receiving a completed recording of "Charlie's Letter" Leonard Teale died in Sydney.

The Heritage Society salutes the passing of Leonard Teale, and holds his last professional recording - "Charlie's Letter" - in high regard.

Couched in robust language, this tape will have an influence in circles where academic argument has slight impact. According to Charlie, "when market-tested prior to release, the most sour-faced wombats deep underground gut-rumbled with laughter, and even the stupidest galahs got the message.... It grabs the fair-dinkum Aussie right by the guts." Perhaps, in the end, that's how this battle will be won.

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