The Australian Heritage Society

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

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

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

“Our heritage today is the fragments gleamed from past ages; the heritage of tomorrow - good or bad - will be determined by your actions today.”

SIR RAPHAEL CILENTO
First Patron of The Australian Heritage Society

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**What's in a name?**

IN HIS OPENING SPEECH at the Constitutional Convention, Mr. Malcolm Turnbull, delegate for the Australian Republican Movement declared, "A republic will affirm that this is Australia, a nation not defined by race, religion, colour or cultural background." Former Labor Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, used similar words when promoting multiculturalism.

If race, religion, colour or cultural background do not bring people together in the formation, development and stable continuity of a nation, what does? The corrupt politics of the modern world?

Mr. Turnbull, referring to the 1998 bicentenary celebrations, complained Australia denied its nationhood by "importing members of the British royal family for the 'star turns'', insisting Australians are not British. It is timely to remind people, such as merchant banker Malcolm Turnbull, that the majority of Australians are British. As descendants of the Scots, Irish, Welsh and English they all share a common heritage and common roots - roots which can be summed up in the descriptive term, British.

Anyone who has travelled throughout the British Isles knows that you just do not call a Scotsman an Englishman or a Welshman a Scots, etc., but it is acceptable to speak of either national group and/or all as British.

This very ancient term is traced back to the early Phoenicians who mined and colonized the British Isles around 2700 BC claims L.A. Waddell in his book, The Phoenician Origins of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons. The ruling tribe was known as the Brahs or Brits. Barati was the sea-tutelary goddess of the Baral tribes and was known in Britain as Britannia.

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The Ancient Briton Chronicles record that Britain was first systematically colonized by King Brutus, the Trojan, and his tribe about 1103 BC.

Mr. Turnbull believes "our nationhood" is defined by our commitment to those uniquely Australian political values of freedom, tolerance and a fair go. Those values of freedom, tolerance and a fair go are values that have come down through our British-Christian heritage and are not uniquely Australian. Of course we have come to express those values in our own way. We are not the same as the English, the Scots nor the Irish or Welsh; we are Australians. We have a different admixture of genes. Our soils, climate and great southern land impact upon us, influence us and shape us. As Sir David Smith, a first generation Australian of migrant parents, once said, "We are not a branch of an oak tree; we are of the gum tree." The spirit of the land has had its influence upon us.

Away with the likes of the Turnbulls, Keatings and Teagues, who would deny our British Queen, the Commonwealth Constitution and the system of government built up, tried and tested over the centuries!

To Mr. Neville Bonner, former Senator for Queensland, Jagera Tribal Elder and fellow Australian, and Mr. George Myle, Torres Strait Islander and fellow Australian - both delegates to the Constitutional Convention - the Australian Heritage Society offers a sincere thank you for reminding us of the priceless heritage we are in danger of losing by default.

**Thank you Maureen**

Due to ill health, our wonderfully competent, thoroughly reliable and intensely loyal administrator, Mrs Maureen Burton has been forced to withdraw from all her responsibilities with the Australian Heritage Society. Those who work behind the scenes know just how much Maureen has given of herself over many years to the Australian Heritage Society.

Thank you Maureen, you epitomised the spirit of service we seek to cultivate - we will miss you terribly!
In our short history as a nation, Australia has distinguished herself remarkably in a military sense. In an imperfect world, struggle and battle have been unavoidable, but if we are unable to turn to truth in peace, those Australians who laid down their lives in service are not getting full recompense for their sacrifice.

Australians vividly remember Tobruk, Milne Bay, Kapyong and Long Tan. Every ANZAC Day we cherish Gallipoli, our first big action in World War I. In that 1914-1918 war Australia had a distinguished record over a wide area. Our Light Horse played an important role against the Turks in the Middle East with their famous charge to capture the wells of Beersheba. They gave important support to both the British Army under Allenby and Lawrence’s Arab Army.

However, not all may remember that in the trench campaign in France and Flanders Australia was represented by five famous divisions in many great battles there.

The Battle of Second Villers-Bretonneux was one of the more famous and vital of these and the remarkable night counter-attack by our 13th and 15th Brigades finally halted a German offensive.

Against the wisdom of Bismark, Germany was engaged in a two-front war — in the west against France, Britain and their allies, and in the east, Russia. With the USA recently a combatant, American troops were starting to arrive in France.

It has been suggested that Germany came close to winning the war in 1918. All involved were war-weary. The German tactic of sending Lenin back across Germany in a sealed train certainly seemed to bring an immediate benefit.

With Russia now under Bolshevik control, a ceasefire or armistice was arranged between Russia and Germany. This allowed General Ludendorff to bring back thirty-five divisions and 1,000 heavy guns from the east to the Western Front. With these fresh troops he planned to attack the right flank of the British Army, separate it from its French allies, then roll it back to the sea and destroy it.

This great German offensive, code-named “Michael”, was one of the two most dangerous episodes during that war. Commencing at dawn on 12 March 1918, under a bombardment from 4,000 guns and with new-troop infiltration tactics incorporating automatic weapons, the German forces broke the British 5th Army. Then, about a week later, the German Army made an advance of nearly 40 miles until temporarily held on the outskirts of the French town of Villers-Bretonneux, near Amiens with its vital rail junctions.

During this period the famous German ace Baron Manfred von Richthofen was killed and his plane brought down by Australian Lewis gunners near Vaux-sur-Somme on 21 April 1918.

The battle known as Second Villers-Bretonneux probably began about 6 a.m. on 24 April 1918. Villers-Bretonneux was defended by the British 8th Division. This was a good division but it had lost half its infantry in the March offensive. This loss had been made good by partly-trained boys from depots in Britain.

The Germans used four divisions for their attack, No. 228, No. 243, 4th Guard and 77 Reserve Division. These were supported by 13 of their new tanks. The town was captured. British tanks were used to counter-attack, resulting in history’s first tank duel. The enemy tanks were forced to retire and several were captured, one of which can be seen today in the Brisbane Museum.

Villers-Bretonneux gave the Germans observation of Amiens. They first made a probe to the south-west, followed by a stronger attack to the north-east towards Hill 104, which gave a better view of Amiens, but was held by our Australian 54th Battalion of the 5th Division.

The 54th Battalion thus had an enemy front to their east and south, and suffered a severe bombardment. They received support from elements of the British Rifle Brigade which had been overrun earlier, and if they had failed to hold their ground, the following counter-attack may not have been able to take place.

Who knows how slender a thread events in history hang by? The German Army was certainly on a wave and much despair may have been present in the Allied forces. My father, Lieutenant J. I. Barton, 54th Battalion, recalled in his diary how, as the Australians marched up to the front line through the near-deserted French villages, the soldiers would pause to sharpen their bayonets on the village grindstones.

It was vital to stop the enemy advance. An immediate counter-attack, bypassing Villers-Bretonneux was planned.
Brigadier-General Pompey Elliott and our 15th Brigade of the 5th Division would counter-attack to the north, and Brigadier-General William Glasgow and our 13th Brigade of the 4th Division would do the same on the south, joining and resealing the front line to the east of the town.

This counter-attack was originally planned to take place in daylight which would, no doubt, have been a disaster. Glasgow firmly favoured a night attack which, with the element of surprise, would have some chance of success.

That night was desirably dark, the moon mostly covered by clouds. The British artillery which had played a heroic part in defending Villers-Bretonneux opened fire on the town at 10 p.m. on 24 April and five minutes later the German guns replied. At 10.10 p.m., the word for the infantry to advance was given.

"By 4 a.m. on 25 April, which was the third ANZAC anniversary, the two Australian brigades had established a new front line sufficiently far advanced to force the enemy to withdraw from Villers-Bretonneux if he was still able. It was left to British units of their 8th Division to clear the town.

The casualties of the battle tell how hard-fought the action was — 13th Brigade, 1009; 15th Brigade, 455; total Australian casualties 2,473.

On the German side their 77th Reserve Division lost nearly 3,000 men; the 4th Guard Division 2,000; the 228th probably 1,500; and the 243rd Division, under 500.

British casualties were also heavy. However, it did end the German offensive on that front; the tide of war was to roll back the other way and in November the war would be over.

Villers-Bretonneux still remembers Australia with affection to this day. Their school daily flies our national flag and many streets and buildings have Australian names.

Meanwhile on Hill 104, in a magnificent cemetery, many Australians rest, some headstones bearing the simple "Known unto God".

Lest we forget.

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B.H. Liddell Hart: History of the First World War
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Photos courtesy of the Australian War Memorial

The lonely pine surveyed the scene,
Of lifeless bodies and broken dreams.
It shivered in the cold night air.
That lonely pine saw such despair.

Three generations of British sons,
Facing fear and Turkish guns.
No shelter shield or other trees;
Only God and the lone pine sees.

Nine beaches at Gallipoli,
Where men fought to keep us free;
Do not forget the Allies there
Teach history that's true and fair.

The Bible says, He'll make wars cease;
A promise He will give us peace.
Look the truth is ever near;
In history books and records here

God keep us safe and free from war
Like that pine, a symbol pure.
Give us hope from fear to see
Your great and glorious victory.
BEFORE I begin, I would like to pay my respects to my Aboriginal brothers and sisters on whose land I am standing to make this delivery. I am pleased to stand before you today to represent the people of the Torres Strait on this very important and historic occasion of discussion with other fellow Australians the future of the Constitution of our country, Australia.

My homeland, the Torres Strait, the Coral Sea islands of Australia, is the only part of Australia that is geographically bordering on a foreign country. Despite the many threats of illegal entry and health risk — as the Prime Minister recognised publicly on his visit to the Torres Strait in 1997 — we Islanders are standing firm in our commitment to the country’s unity and wellbeing and are forever on the alert in our national responsibility as the front door keepers of Australia’s far northern gateway.

The Torres Strait Island region, homeland to Australia’s second minority group of indigenous people, is located in the waterways which separate the southern coast of Papua in Papua New Guinea from the northernmost tip of North Queensland and Cape York Peninsula area. It consists of 150 islands, islets, that are continually washed by ‘Kuliss’, the westerly flow of currents from the Pacific Ocean via the Coral Sea, and alternately by ‘Guat’, the easterly flow of currents sourced from the Indian Ocean via the Arafura Sea.

Torres Strait Islanders are proud Australians who volunteered in response to the call for the defence of Australia in World War II when the enemy’s invasion of Australia’s north became threateningly imminent. From a total population of 3,000 give or take, 800 of our community’s able-bodied men replaced their traditional Lava Lavas, their fish spears and harpoons with army khaki uniforms and 303 rifles to form the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion, the pride of every Ailan man even to this day. As expressed in Ailan Tok by the men: “For the king, the flag and the country” we swore on oath to fight and die.

Whilst Torres Strait island society, like others, is subject to change over the years and may not be today the exact replica of what it was in 1860, it still cherishes Ailan Kostoms which are directly derived from the original society those many years ago.

The arrival at Darnley, or Erub, Island in 1871 by the first Christian missionaries of the London Missionary Society had a profound influence over customs, tradition and society in the Torres Strait, the most notable being the ‘Coming of the Light’ — the establishment of Christianity throughout the Torres Strait region. The Queen became the head of our church and central to the religious, cultural and civic traditions of the people of the Torres Strait. To this day, this remains at the centre of our cultural life on the Torres Strait.

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elected president would need to act with regard to an electorate or political power base. A head of state who is above politics can represent everyone.

The process of change would be expensive, disruptive and unsettled if it is a process which pursues changes for the sake of change. I believe the current system of government has served this nation well since Federation. We know it. We understand it and it meets the needs of my people. We are not afraid of change, provided we can see an advantage to the people.

TED MACK
on today's politicians

[Whilst Mr. Ted Mack is in favour of a republic, his comments on the standing of politicians within the communities are worth recording. Compare his statement with the “Intelligence from the American Colonies” as it appeared in the London Gazette, Friday, 19 August 1768.]

IN the real world, contrary to the Prime Minister’s and Mr Keating’s plea to protect our parliamentary democracy, Australians view their governments and bureaucracies with disillusionment and even contempt. As Bob Ellicott, a former Attorney-General, stated in 1991.

**Political parties and the institutions they run are becoming increasingly irrelevant and unresponsive to the needs of the country and to the silent majority of Australians who have long supported them.**

He goes on to say that almost every difficult question needing resolution has become a seemingly impenetrable barrier.

Education, health, mining, urban sprawl, airports, rural support, immigration, et cetera have raised questions which are either too difficult or too politically charged for our politicians to resolve. Indeed, Australia is like a great Gulliver tied down by 1,000 Lilliputians. Ravaging business tycoons, takeover merchants, union leaders, special interests, remote bureaucracies, complex regulations, indecisive and sometimes inept and even corrupt and lying politicians and many others have combined in an unwitting conspiracy to tie down the body and debilitate it.

Ordinary people have been forced to listen in embarrassed silence while government ministers obviously attempt to con them that basically everything is in good shape and that the fault for any deficiency lies elsewhere.

[Extract from speech to the Constitutional Convention, 2 February 1998]

NEVILLE BONNER


And then, 150 years ago, you were given self-government. You established your own parliaments and your own governments. And a century ago you agreed among yourselves to establish your federation. And then slowly you began to change. You began to do what the British had told you to do before self-government – you began to accept that my people had rights; that they were entitled to respect; that we were God’s children too.

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, you did not ask my people if you could come here. You did not ask my people if you could occupy our land. You did not ask my people if you could stop them from living our traditional lives.

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Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, you did not ask my people if you could come here. You did not ask my people if you could occupy our land. You did not ask my people if you could stop them from living our traditional lives. You did not ask my people if we would wish to live under your laws, under your government and in your federation. I speak today, as I said, with a sad heart.

We have come to accept your laws. We have come to accept your Constitution. We have come to accept the present system. We believed you when you said that a democracy must have checks and balances. We believed you when you said that not all positions in society should be put out for election. We believed you when you said that the Westminster system ensures that the government is accountable to the people. We believed you when you taught us that integral to the Westminster system is a head of state who is above politics. We believed you when you said that it was not important that the Crown has greater powers and that what was important was that the Crown denies those powers to the politicians. I was one of them. We believed you when you said it is now our country too and that we should be fully involved in deciding its future.

You have taught us all this. You have taught us to accept the way in which the country is governed. You told us that this is the most democratic system, a system which is equal to that in Canada and in New Zealand. We believed you. We accept all this and now the educated, articulate Australian is no longer your preserve alone. We, too, can be educated and articulate, respected Australians.

My heart is heavy today – not for me, fellow Australians, God has been kind to me. I have seen my 76 years in this country. I am not a rich man, but I am proud to say that I have had the great joy of having five sons, three white step-children and 28 grandchildren. But my heart is heavy. I worry for my children and for my grandchildren. I worry that what has proved to be a stable society, which now recognises my people as equals, is about to be replaced.

How dare you? I repeat: How dare you! You told my people that your system was best. We have come to accept that. We have come to believe that. The dispossessed, despised adapted to your system. Now you say that we were wrong and that we were wrong to
believe you. Suddenly you are saying that what brought the country together, made it independent, ensured its defence, saw it through peace and war, and saw it through depression and prosperity, must all go.

I cannot see the need for change. I cannot see how it will resolve the question of land and access to land that troubles us. I cannot see how it will ensure that indigenous people have access to the same opportunities that other Australians enjoy. Fellow Australians, what is most hurtful is that after all we have learned together, after subjugating us and then freeing us, once again you are telling us that you know better. How dare you? How dare you!

Australians, especially a section of the young. This is our dilemma today. I do not think that Australia will leap into the 21st century, its batteries recharged, if it becomes a republic. This is astrology posing as logic.

I do not believe that Australia will become more united if it becomes a formal republic. The danger is that it will become less united, because many of the foremost republicans are intent on replacing the flag, which is now the chief symbol of national unity.

A nationwide referendum on whether Australia should become a republic will not be a debate confined to the fine print of specific constitutional changes. The debate will become enmeshed with wider questions of who we are and what we believe in. Therefore, it will invoke the flag.

I do not accept yet another republican argument that Australia's trade with Asia will increase substantially if Australia becomes a republic. I am suspicious of arguments that Australia should turn itself inside out to conform to the views of outsiders or to snatch at imaginary gains. It was only a few years ago that we were told emphatically, by the highest authority, that Australia had to become a republic so that it could share in the ever-increasing, everlasting prosperity of east Asia. Imagine our feelings today, had the people of Australia accepted that advice! A self-respecting nation must be guided largely by its own needs, its own traditions and its own principles. This is a matter for Australia to decide.

In real terms, we do not share a head of state with other countries. Rather, we share a powerful tradition and some of the royal symbolism. This symbolism gives pain or unease to many Australians, especially a section of the young. This is our dilemma today. What gives pain or unease to many of the young brings assurance to many of the old. I hoped that this Convention might find a compromise in symbolism, but no compromise seems possible.

The phrase 'the head of state' so far has dominated this Convention. The phrase that has dominated this debate is largely camouflage. It does not appear in the Constitution. The Governor-General in nearly all respects is Australia's head of state and there would be merit in a simple act of parliament proclaiming that he is the head of state within a constitutional monarchy. Then so much of the debate we have heard in the last eight days could be seen in proportion. I am sure a decision on a republican model will emerge, but I am unlikely to prefer it to the present system.

VICTORIA MANETTA
Australians for Constitutional Monarchy

As a serving officer in the Australian Army I consider myself privileged to serve the Crown. As an elected delegate of the people of South Australia I am proud to defend it in this place.

I listened with great interest to Mr. Peter Costello's speech on the second day of the Convention. I was intrigued by his objection to the hereditary nature of the monarchy — it was inconsistent with what he thought was a growing conviction amongst Australians that all public office-holders in Australia should be chosen by merit, a conviction that, with time, would render the monarchy less and less believable.

But what does he mean by merit? How, for example, can it be said that ministers and parliamentarians hold office by merit? With all due respect to those present, who really believes these days that parliament is composed of the best and fairest in their fields that the nation has to offer or that they have all been put there by the people for that reason? Being an MP is one of the few jobs left in this country which requires neither qualifications nor previous experience. The vast majority of them, it must be said, owe their positions less to merit than to the backroom machinations of the party machine. To insist otherwise bruises against reality.

The monarchy, on the other hand, supplies a succession of individuals who have been specifically trained for the job and who gain a lifetime's experience in it. That is the reality. What is more, and at the risk of being cynical, they are guaranteed wealth and privilege for themselves and their families provided they do not abuse this power and they would have no natural political support to rely on if they did. Those incentives are as real as you can get. When nothing can tempt our monarchs to the abuse of power, how can you say that they do not merit their office, that they are not the best suited persons for the job of formally appointing or dismissing the Governor-General?

(WHEN) I began to look at the history of flags, I suddenly realised a few simple facts. These are the facts: a national flag is not necessarily an up-to-date information sheet to be altered every 100 years as the nation itself changes. By this test, many of the world's oldest flags are hopelessly out of date. I am not impressed by the republicans' argument that our flag is tainted. They say it is tainted because it carries relics or remnants of the flag of another nation, yet about four-tenths of the flag of the United States, a noble flag, consists of the British red ensign that flew in North America two centuries ago. Should we therefore tell the United States to design a new flag?

On the basis of the existing evidence I am not persuaded that Australia will be a worthier country if it takes the last step and becomes a republic in every sense of the word. The question of the republic is not the number one challenge facing the nation today. I am not persuaded by the argument that Australia will at last be independent if it becomes a republic.

In the Second World War, an independent Australia was at one time one of the three main nations fighting against Hitler. It is slightly strange that people who lived in countries under conquest in the Second World War come to Australia and say, "It is about time we became independent."

I do not think that Australia will leap into the 21st century, its batteries recharged, if it becomes a republic. This is astrology posing as logic.
AS constitutions go, our Constitution has delivered one of the oldest continuous federated democracies in the world. It has allowed a great modernisation and transformation of this nation, including the very style of government, within its overarching parameters. It is not a document of dead history; it is a document of living, evolving tradition facilitating and underpinning a modern, vibrant political democracy. Against our Constitution we have ranged several options, and I am against those. As Rob Borbidge has stated, they are, in shorthand terms: the mini-model, the McGarvie model; the midi-model – the ARM model and some variations emerging with regard to that, a president elected by a two-thirds majority of the federal houses of parliament and now perhaps removed by a simple majority of the lower house, the House of Representatives; and the maxi-model – a popularly elected president with mainly ceremonial duties involving, quite frankly, huge changes to our political system. Others have dwelt on the McGarvie mini-model and on the maxi-model.

I want to bring this Convention’s attention to the midi-model. I turn to the Hansard of November 1975. It is, for example, very true to point out that, had the midi-model applied on 11 November 1975, the Prime Minister of the day could have been summoned to Yarralumla at noon to be dismissed by the Governor-General. Soon after, he could have returned to the House of Representatives to force through the vote to dismiss in turn the Governor-General. All of this could have been done by 3 o’clock on that particular day, before the passing of supply by the other chamber and before the issue of writs for an election. Under this scenario, we could have no Prime Minister, no Governor-General, no supply and no properly issued writs for the conduct of an election.
The entire Voyage, if it is to include an expedition to Terra Australis, will undoubtedly take some years.

Plymouth: Much secrecy surrounds the preparation for departure from England of His Majesty's Bark, Endeavour.

Endeavour, under its Commander, Lt James Cook, is awaiting fair winds to begin the long Voyage to the Pacific Ocean island of Tahiti to observe, for the Royal Society, the Transit of the planet Venus across the face of the Sun.

In view of extensive preparations being undertaken, your correspondent asks whether this scientific study is the only purpose of the Voyage of the Endeavour?

We have received certain information to the contrary, but this is denied by the Lords of the Admiralty and by Lt. Cook himself.

The information we have acquired is that Lt Cook, a gentleman of great experience and ability in surveying, is in receipt of additional sealed orders which are not to be opened until he leaves Tahiti after the conclusion of the scientific observations.

We have reason to believe these orders are for a Voyage of Discovery, and will carry Endeavour to lands far distant in the South Pacific, and even to that vast continent which is said to be quite as big as Europe and Asia together, and which is now marked on the maps as Terra Australis.

Such orders would no doubt contain instructions to Lt Cook to take for His Majesty possession of such uninhabited countries as may be found, and to set up proper marks as first discoverers and possessors.

They would also command him to observe the number and disposition of the natives, if any, and to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them.

Discussions have long been pursued by men of knowledge concerning the existence of this mysterious continent. Some say there must be an equivalent amount of land in the Northern Hemisphere that is unaccounted for, to balance the earth.

It is no secret that the noted hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple, who was originally the Royal Society's choice for Commander of the Endeavour, before the Lords of the Admiralty insisted on Lt Cook, has given to Mr. Joseph Banks a secret document he discovered while on expeditions in Madras. This is believed to contain the statement of Capt. Luis Vaez de Torres that he sailed between two great land masses in the far South more than one century and a half since.

Further evidence is that Endeavour will carry among her stores every chart and scrap of evidence relative to the Pacific Ocean and to Terra Australis. If your correspondent is correct in surmising the ultimate destination of Endeavour, the task will indeed be one of great endurance; but it could solve the puzzle that has been debated since men first started making their maps.

Lt Cook has achieved considerable renown as a map-maker since he first saw service in His Majesty's Navy in the dangerous task of surveying the St. Lawrence River in the North American Colonies during the recent War with the French.

In this arduous employment he was continually liable to attack, not only from the French shore batteries, but also from marauding Indians. His charts of the river from Quebec to the Heights of Abraham, when General Sir James Wolfe put the French to flight.

With this experience and his meritorious scientific observations of the solar eclipse, two years since, there could be none other so well fitted to take command of such an expedition to the South as Lt. Cook.

Lt Cook is a tall, impressive man with an agreeable modesty. His conversation is lively and intelligent, and in spite of his air of austerity he is well-liked and respected by his men.

He has been commended to the Admiralty as a genius, well qualified for great undertakings.

12 HM Marines assigned to protect crew from savages.

In his fortieth year, Lt Cook received his commission on the 26th May and the following day went on board the Endeavour, hoisted the pendant, and took charge of his ship, which then lay at anchor in the basin of Deptford yard.

He brought Endeavour to Plymouth only last week.

Endeavour is a three-masted Whiby collier, chosen after much deliberation by the Lords of the Admiralty. In the manner of all coal-boats, she is exceptionally strongly built with ample space for storage of stores.

Much in alterations and repairs has been done to her, and the Admiralty must be commended for spending with generosity.

Endeavour has light armament consisting of twelve swivel and ten carriage guns, and will carry twelve of His Majesty's marines to protect the ship's complement from attack by savages.

The ship's company has been chosen most carefully. It includes Lt Zachary Hicks, First Lieutenant, who is an experienced...
It is proposed to replenish supplies with fish at sea, and fruit and animal life at various landfalls. The entire Voyage, if it is to include an expedition to Terra Australis, will undoubtedly take some years. We are confident that all Englishmen will join with us in wishing Lt Cook and his men Favourable Winds and Good Fortune.

TRIUMPH FOR DECENCY
Ladies’ bodices will close at the front
Respectable gentry will approve the latest innovation in ladies’ dress — although we can expect some time to elapse before the new style in attire is generally worn. The style is for a closed bodice, hooped and laced with an edge to edge closure down the front, and is more tolerable than the open bodice with its widespread decolletage, which is still so much in favour with certain ladies of this land. We can only remind our Readers of the question asked in Gentleman’s Magazine in 1753, when the open bodice found favour with erstwhile frivolous feminine natures: “As to the fashion of going naked-shouldered and open-breasted, in the name of Decency how could it get footing among the ladies of England?” Decency, as it will, has won. Undoubtedly ladies in the first circles will be on decency’s side. The peruke-makers, who three years since presented a petition to HIS MAJESTY complaining of the growing custom of gentlemen wearing their own hair and employing foreigners to dress it, are believed to be conforming to the custom they reprograded.

The plans of HIS MAJESTY’S BARK Endeavour as fitted at Deptford in July 1760.

It would seem that wigs will now pass out of general use excepting in the Professional Classes.

INTELLIGENCE FROM THE AMERICAN COLONIES
Authentic Intelligence is received that Several of HIS MAJESTY’S Vessels of War are to be stationed in Boston Harbour in the American Colonies in the Autumn. The same Reliable Authority, states that disturbances are breaking out in the American Colonies, and two Regiments have been transferred to Boston to deal with Rioting.

Discontent and melancholy is spreading rapidly among the Colonists, especially the men of Massachusetts, who are denying the authority of HIS MAJESTY’S Parliament to tax the Colonies. The Tax on tea, glass and paper imported to the Colonies was introduced by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend Esquire, in August last year, before his lamentable demise one month later. The Chancellor hoped to raise £40,000 a year in so doing.

The introduction of the Tax was much deprecated by certain Honourable Members of Parliament, who felt it could lead to the loss of the American Colonies. Your correspondent feels there is cause to shew concern. The American Colonies are growing in wealth and population, which already numbers as far as can be ascertained two millions and a half people. If we lose the American Colonies, we lose much.

Our Readers will remember that only two years since, Parliament found it of great necessity to repeal the Stamp Act, which was imposed on the Colonies in order to defray in part the cost of protecting the Colonists against the Indians and the French.

Those Colonists who shouted then “No taxation without representation” will shout again about the Tax on tea. They will say they have greater cause, for this time there has been no claim for taxing them in order to protect them.

Resolutions against the Act have already been passed by many Colonial assemblies. Whilst there may be vast disagreement with these acts of insurgency, perhaps it would be better to yield to the pressures of the Colonists than see the American Colonies removed entirely from the British Empire.

Whether or not others will see the situation in this light and repeal the Act permitting this Taxation before all is lost, only time will shew.

[Extract from London Gazette, 1768]
The woman who won World War II

BY JOHN CLIFFORD

It is generally agreed that the Battle of Britain, during which the immortal “few” flying the legendary Spitfires, broke the back of Goering’s massive Luftwaffe, was one of the most decisive battles of the Second World War. German pilots admitted later that it was the extra speed of the British planes, powered by their Rolls Royce Merlin engines, which defeated their assault. But it is now hardly recalled that if it had not been for the efforts of a wealthy, fiercely patriotic and slightly eccentric woman, the Rolls Royce merlin engines and the spitfires would never have been developed.

When told that Lady Houston, Dame of The British Empire, was the woman who, it can be claimed, was primarily responsible for winning the Battle of Britain, and even for winning the Second World War, the overwhelming majority of people will respond incredulously, “Lady Houston? I have never heard of her.” Air power and radar were the two major factors in the conduct of the Second World War. The British were pre-eminent in the development of both air power and its counter, radar. It is now known that while eating carrots can assist eyesight by providing Vitamin A, it is not true that eating large quantities of carrots makes night flying possible. This story was widely disseminated by British psycho-political warfare experts to mask the fact that it was the relatively unknown development of radar which was assisting the British flyers.

Who, then, was Lady Houston and how did she play such a vital role in developing British airpower? Lady Houston was one of those larger-than-life characters who sometimes appear in history. Probably the first to assume the role of Britannia in British history was Boadicea. But as even Winston Churchill had to admit, Lady Houston would have outmatched Boadicea. She certainly terrified the politicians and other public figures, including the newspaper barons of her day. She was not only a woman of incredible energy and courage, but controlled a fortune which she was determined to use in every possible way to advance all things British.

A vital friendship

It was Lady Houston’s close friendship with the Scottish Lord Sempell, one of the pioneers of British aviation, which resulted in a magnificent financial contribution making it possible for Britain to participate in the famous Schneider Cup. This Cup was the supreme test for aircraft designers and the makers of aircraft engines. While the French, the Italians and the Germans were making every effort to compete, the British socialist government was lukewarm. Sections of the British press campaigned in favour of government support. The Sunday Express wrote on 22 June 1930 that “The Air Ministry intends leaving the task for defending the Schneider Trophy to private enterprise. If they carry out their intention, then Great Britain will inevitably lose the world’s emblem of air supremacy. No private individual or company possesses the resources required by such severe competition. The result would be a great misfortune for the nation.”

Great Britain had won the competition for the second time in succession when Flight Lieutenant R.D. Waghorn of the RAF had attained a speed of 231 m.p.h. Another victory in 1931 would ensure that the trophy remained with Great Britain for all time. The socialist government refused to move to offer support. A wave of indignation swept the country. Veteran flyers of the First World War made it clear that they were seething with rage and humiliation. Was there anyone who was prepared to step into the breach? Was there a patriot who had sufficient money and was prepared to give it? Lord Sempell provided the answer. He went to see Lady Houston and outlined the situation. Would she be prepared to put up the money? The answer came like a shot. “Yes!” Lady Houston immediately wrote the necessary cheque and then promptly mounted a blistering public attack upon Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. Lady Houston’s generosity and her scathing words lifted the morale of the nation. The fact that it was a woman who had stepped forward to uphold the nation’s honour and prestige and had shamed the Prime Minister and his government did more to damage the standing of the Labour Party than any other event of the time.

Events moved quickly once Lady Houston had guaranteed the necessary finance. There was little time left in which to produce the necessary machine. The Rolls Royce organisation produced the latest, fastest and most secret plane of the time. This marked a major step forward in the design and science of aircraft. The expected French and Italian chal-
lenders withdrew about twelve days before the contest. Enormous crowds, both on the beaches and on boats, watched as three new speed records were set. The woman who had made it possible, Lady Houston, watched the tests from her yacht. Those participating on a sunny September day in 1931 were paving the way for the development of the Spitfire which was to save Britain a decade later. Lady Houston was termed “The Fairy Godmother of the RAF” right up until the day of her death on 22 December 1936. All aircraft of the RAF who flew over her Byron Cottage in Hampshire, or over her yacht, Liberty, dipped to salute the woman who was responsible for setting the RAF on the road to its epic achievements of the Second World War.

The Lady Houston Vision

In his Foreword to the biography of Lady Houston, The Lady Houston Vision, by British author and journalist, J. Wentworth Day, published in 1958, Lord Sempell, one of the few British politicians whom Lady Houston respected, wrote:

“The history of any country is guided by the determination of outstanding individuals and it often occurs that the admirers of these great few are quite unaware that history is being made. This is sometimes due to their stupidity or even jealousy and the full picture cannot be assessed until the passage of time has shown all events in their true perspective.

“The role of women in history is usually to influence men, but occasionally there have been women who, through their advance in thought, directly influenced events. This book tells the story of such a woman, who would have been outstanding in any age. It has been written by someone who worked with her for many years and knew her well, as did the writer of these words.

“We in Britain have often been fortunate in leading the world through our inventive genius and in the field of aeronautics this was essentially true. But this bud of invention could never have flowered to the full without the perception and understanding of another form of genius, which is given to few women. Lady Houston possessed this genius in full. ... Only in participation in races of this kind (the Schneider Trophy) could be achieved the development of the plane which ultimately changed the course of the war. Lady Houston had the vision to see that our defection from the race would have far-reaching and disastrous results, far beyond those that appeared on the surface. Through her timely financial generosity, the Rolls Royce merlin engine was able to be developed for the machine which ultimately won this great race for Britain and later was to become the famous Spitfire fighter. She cannot have foreseen the full and stupendous result of her intervention, but she had sufficient faith in her judgement of the future to back it to the full. All the Free World is her debtor today.

“That gallant Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Lord Tedder, remarked ... that there should be three monuments on the Cliffs of Dover to commemorate the Battle of Britain, which saved our country from occupation and her freedom from extinction, of which one undoubtedly should be Lady Houston.”

The early background of the seventh daughter of Thomas Radmall of Camberwell, London, is not well documented. But it is certain that she was an attractive girl of tremendous vitality and roguish charm. She told Wentworth Day, whom she engaged as a political journalist in 1932, before plunging into an incredible political campaign designed to rid the country of what she saw as the “treacherous” Nationalist government headed by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald that she was “pure Cockney”, describing herself in language which in today’s world would have resulted in a summons to appear before a race relations board. “I’m pure English — none of your Irish, Scots or Welsh mixtures.
and no damn foreign blood. We were Sussex yeomen before we became Cockneys — Saxons from Radness in the Downs. before William the Conqueror came over to mess the place up.” It appears that Lucy Radmall had little or no formal education except that obtained from a governess. In later life she was scathing about “over education” which destroyed wisdom.

Life in Paris

“Poppy” Radmall, as she became known, became a chorus girl, attracting the interest of a wealthy businessman, Fred Gretton. It appeared to be a genuine love affair with Gretton taking the girl to live with him in Paris. There was only one problem: Gretton was already married! Poppy Radmall destroyed wisdom. She was scathing about “over education” which destroyed wisdom.

Eventually Poppy Radmall married Lord Houston, who had made a fortune in shipping. By all accounts he was a hard but a fair man. It was not long before Houston, like many other men, was eating out of her hand. She had also demonstrated her sound business judgement when she persuaded Houston to sell his shipping line at the top of the shipping boom. In this way he doubled his fortune. Houston was persuaded to change his will, leaving his enormous fortune to his wife. It was estimated at the time that Lady Houston was the wealthiest woman in the world.

The experiences of the First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the election of the Ramsay MacDonald socialist government in the United Kingdom, and the establishment of a coalition government, had a type of electrifying effect on an ageing Lady Houston. She used every type of tactic to persuade Stanley Baldwin that he should break company with the “traitor” Ramsay MacDonald. She was opposed to all forms of internationalism, including the League of Nations and thought Free Trade was of the Devil. She constantly warned of the danger of another world war and urged that British defences be built up. A devoted Royalist, she was a close friend of Edward VIII, the Duke of Windsor, and said he had every right to marry the woman he loved. She made every effort to persuade Edward VIII not to abdicate. She wrote to Queen Mary imploring her to use her influence to persuade her son not to abdicate. She attempted to make use of the media. As on other issues, Lady Houston sometimes made outlandish claims. She claimed that the Soviet Union was a “hidden hand” attempting to get rid of Edward. She had been deeply affected by the brutal killing of the Russian Czar and his family. Along with large numbers of the British people, Lady Houston eventually developed a deep loathing of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin.

Time for a damned long sleep

The funeral of Lady Houston on 4 January 1937 drew an enormous crowd of people from all walks of life. There were the rich and the famous, and there were also the poor who had been the recipients of Lady Houston’s many gifts. One feature of her life was the large bag stuffed with notes which she always carried, often stopping to help someone she saw in trouble. She had a deep feeling for all ex-service men and women. She was eighty years of age when she quietly said to her attendant who had told her it was time for her to go to sleep, “Yes, my dear. It’s time for me to sleep — and a damned long sleep it is going to be!”

Fortunately the woman who had feared another world war and the loss of her beloved British Empire, was lying in her simple coffin when the hounds of war were unleashed in September 1939. But her spirit reached out from the grave as in the skies above London the famous Spitfires engaged in their epic duel.

Is it too much to express the hope that people of British stock will produce yet another Lady Houston to offer inspiration and faith concerning the future?
GAME OF THE NAME

Tax collecting led to the invention of surnames, or nicknames, so people ensured they didn't pay twice. But Ken Bull asks, do we still display the qualities that earned our forebears their moniker?

IF YOU MEET A MR. PETTIGREW, scrutinise his feet. When you're introduced to a Ms Cameron, discreetly admire her nose. Mr. Blythe (and Bligh) should possess a cheery disposition; Hendy should be courteous and Hardy brave. Pelly may be a little bald and Shailer may have an ungainly walk.

Many surnames originated as descriptive nicknames — and if enough dominant genes have passed from the forebear, perhaps the original characteristic is apparent. So take a closer look at friends and colleagues (do this surreptitiously!) and you may find that Cruicksbank and Fulljames possess interesting legs while Twist needs to see a chiropractor.

European surnames have four origins: one's locality, occupation, first (or Christian) name, or nickname. Arguably, nicknames are the most interesting. In mediaeval times, jokes were home-grown, and it seems that, as in our own school days, an appropriate nickname stuck.

Proudfoot, for example, would have been a person of fine bearing, having a proud walk or gait — a quality not shared by Trotter or by Shaller, who shuffled along. The original Turnbull possessed such strength (either physically or metaphorically) that he could 'turn a ball'. Whereas the original Cameron had a crooked nose, Campbell had a crooked mouth, and Drinkwater was most likely an alcoholic.

Mediaeval villages had no mass media and the inhabitants were not socially mobile. Human nature, however, was constant. These factors meant that each village created nicknames on basic themes and many sobriquets encapsulate similar ideas such as height, weight, race of complexion. Francis was someone of French origin; Haldane was half-Dane. Grant, Lang, Longman and Pike were tall, and Leng was the even taller. Short, Small and Smalies would not have been selected for the basketball team had there been one. Purcell was a nickname for the 'little porker', while Metcalf was a similar unflattering nickname for the young 'meat call'. A more adult form of describing persons overweight was applied to Biggs, Gross and Kippe.

Present-day distinguished surnames such as Pope, King, Prince, Duke and Kaiser derive not from service or occupation but were nicknames given to persons who either took themselves seriously or had acted that part in a holy day (holiday) play. Certainly surnames like Saul, Lazarus and Moses come from nicknames given to the actor of the part in some religious play.

THE USE OF NICKNAMES

Many nicknames described physical or moral qualities. The original Swift and Lightfoot were reasonably quick, but they were not in the same class as Sherwin who could 'shear the wind'. Sleeman was clever, Pratt was cunning and Smart was both brisk and prompt. Goddall, like Goodfellow, was a 'good soul', a decent person; Truman was a 'true man', someone who could be trusted, and Faithfull was exactly that.

But why, apart from a burgeoning population, did we need surnames anyway?

England was one of the first European countries to have surnames. Before 1066 Anglo-Saxons took great care to ensure that children received a unique 'handle', with many names built on themes of bright, strong, hard, brave and so on. Not surprisingly these unique names were lengthy and descriptive (although not exactly of the old Two-Dogs variety). The incoming Norman conquerors changed things profoundly with their tax system, which started with the Domesday Book census of 1086.

The French-Norman feudal and tax systems were highly structured. The proletariat, however, could ill afford to pay taxes twice — so the taxman had to determine who had paid and who hadn't. As an aide de memoire, the collector applied descriptive nicknames as they deemed appropriate. A Norman tax collector would remember by their occupations the persons Carpenter, Chandler and Mercer (all French descriptive words), and similarly would remember people with prominent features, such as Pettigrew who had remarkably large feet (pied de grue — feet like a crane); and the unfortunate Fulljames who had folle jambres, silly legs. (There were no knee reconstructions in the Middle Ages.) The taxman also gave us the surnames Russell, Ross, Rouseau and Rouse — all villagers with red hair — and Blunt or Blundell, who were blond. Obviously Petty was small and Le Grand was large. Bullivant was a good child, a bon enfant, whereas Follett was young and foolish. Curtis was courteous, but obviously the profane Pardew had exclaimed "By God!" at the thought of paying tax.

Surrounded by English villagers who spoke no French, these taxmen no doubt enjoyed their jokes — and they could be either flattering or derogatory in assigning names — Beale (from belle), for example, was considered a fine looking man whereas Yidler had the face of a wolf. Humour, however, is a two-edged sword; employing visual imagery, the peasants gave tax collectors the nickname of Catchpole — the officer whose job it was to catch hens (pouets) to satisfy the King's taxes.

In England it took less than a century for surnames to catch on. The concept soon spread to other countries. Many 20th-century surnames are Irish/Scottish Gaelic in origin, such as Cameron and Campbell of the slightly bent facial features. Moran and Mor should be large men; Donovan had dark brown hair; Boyd had yellow hair and Fairfax had beautiful locks. Fairbairn had been a beautiful child.
Sometimes Gaelic nicknames referred to the forebear. McCurtin's father had a hunched back; the fathers of McLroy and McGuire had red and brown hair respectively — and they may have been comparatively fortunate, as hair refused to grow on the head of McMullan's ancestor.

Like the French, the Scots were capable of assigning nicknames of subjective comment. McCleod's father was considered an unattractive man; Sullivan was an evil-eyed Irishman and Kennedy meant 'ugly head'.

WHITLAM, HAWKE AND PEACOCK

It must also be remembered that nicknames arose in rural times, and for this reason animal allegories are common. Whitlam was the white lamb, the innocent one; Hawke was rapacious and had a keen eye; Peacock was vain or flashy. (One can only ponder on the strength of the genetic link!) Hogg and Grice shared porcine characteristics; Bull and Farr, bovine. Lavarch, from the French, meant "the cow". Other obvious animal names are Hind, Deer, Hart, Rowe and Roe, while Kyte, Bird, Pye, Herron, Finch, Wren and Nightingale each had something in common with the relevant bird. We know that Crane possessed long thin legs or big feet; Fox and Todd had the attributes of a fox, and poor Weatherhead had a head which resembled that of a sheep (wether). From some lost French joke, Lutterell had qualities of a young otter; Brock was badger-like (which were known for their smell), and Fitch a ferret.

Surnames have existed for a millennium and have attained a permanency unrelated to their original meanings. But consider for a moment the hypothetical situation where surnames were still being created. We could look ahead and see, in another millennium, our progeny seated at a space interchange with friends bearing surnames Quadcam, Bungy, Turbo and Divinyls — and we could picture them on their way to their first job interview, with the staid old bank manager, Mr. Reefer!

(Source: The Australian Way, Qantas in-flight magazine, July 1996)
MANY AUSTRALIANS have viewed the film The Last Emperor, which tells something of the life-story of the last Manchu emperor, Pu-Yi. This tragic figure was born in 1906, became emperor in 1908, was deposed in favour of a republic in 1911-1912, was expelled from the imperial palace of the Forbidden City in 1924, became a puppet ruler of Manchuria under the domination of Japan, was captured after World War II by the communists and brainwashed in a prison camp, after which he lived as a humble gardener and political nobody in Peking, subservient to the corrupt dictatorship of the now largely discredited Mao Tse-Tung.

A major figure in the film is the emperor's British tutor, Reginald Johnston, played sympathetically and with great dignity by Peter O'Toole. Johnston, born in 1874, spent over thirty years in China, mainly as a British civil official; he was imperial tutor from 1919 to 1924, during which time he became very close to the emperor and was entrusted by him with several major tasks and responsibilities. After returning to Britain Johnston published, four years before his death in 1938, an account of his experiences, Twilight in the Forbidden City. Pu-Yi's interrogator is shown in the film reading the 1934 Gollanz edition of this romantically titled work. It was republished by Oxford University Press in 1985.

A perceptive viewer of The Last Emperor can hardly fail to note that, more than being a tragic biography, it is a chronicle of the terrible disaster which befall China in the Twentieth Century. The critical first step to that disaster was the imposition upon the Chinese people of the republic in 1912. Before then, as the film graphically showed, they had a profound and exquisite culture, based on a sacred imperial throne of several thousand years' antiquity; afterwards they had chaos, uglinesses of dress and industrial products from Europe, disunity, corruption and finally one of the most atrocious tyrannies in history. Retention of the monarchy might not only have prevented that trail of catastrophes, but rendered impossible (because unnecessary) the Japanese expansion and war of the 1940's.

Supporters of an Australian republic, most of whom appear to be as shallow as the media propaganda to which they have fallen prey, should be asked to consider carefully what kind of disasters may be brought to Australia if the dignity and unifying stability of our monarchy is overthrown.

More importantly, Johnston's book deserves the closest study by monarchists; and its relevance to our present constitutional crisis should be communicated to our fellow-citizens as widely and comprehensively as possible.

Johnston shows clearly that Western "parliamentary democracy" was not suited to the Chinese people and was forced upon them. (Page references are to the 1993 paperback reprint of the Oxford edition.)

No sooner had the first of China's parliaments been opened than their incongruity with the existing state of the country's political development began to be apparent. (131)

Very few Chinese, after Yuan Shih-k'ai's time (1916), dared to say openly, what they frequently said in private, that republicanism was a failure. Many of them realised the main obstacles to its success, one of which was that about ninety per cent of the Chinese people were illiterate, and that no attempt to make the masses take an intelligent interest in politics could be other than farcical. Graham Wallace estimated that in no county in England did the number of persons really active in politics amount to more than ten per cent of the electorate (Human Nature in Politics, Constable 1908). ... political power under any conceivable parliamentary system in China must almost inevitably pass into the hands of professional politicians, of whom only a small proportion are likely to be disinterested patriots honestly seeking the good of their country and people. (132)

Johnston saw many parallels between European codes of chivalry and the Confucian ideals for a "superior man".

Another equally grave obstacle is that the family-system in China is so organized that the individual finds it practically impossible to release himself from the social bonds which compel him to put the interests of his family before those of the State. Under the monarchic system he could do so to some extent, because loyalty to the sovereign was a cornerstone of Confucian ethics: so much so that writers like Ch'en Tu-Hsui (already referred to as a leader of the Chinese Communist party) have insisted that Confucianism was incompatible with republicanism and that there would always be attempts to restore the monarchy so long as Confucianism was respected. (132)

Of his period of tutorship Johnston wrote (263) that none of the parliaments which had come into being since 1912 had been truly representative of the people and that there was no prospect of such a parliament being elected. He later presents a critique by a man loyal to the monarchy.

Although Ku Hung-ming, who received his foreign education in Scotland, had many foreign friends, he was no lover of Western foreigners in general and his dislike of them increased after the revolution (of 1912), which he attributed to western influences. He resented the introduction into China of democratic ideals of a type that were alien to the Chinese spirit. "This religion of the worship of the mob," he wrote, "imported from Great Britain and America into China, which has brought on this revolution and the present nightmare of a republic in China" was now threatening to destroy the most valuable asset of civilization of the world today — the real Chinese spirit. And he added that this mob-worship, if not soon put down, would "destroy not only the civilization of Europe but all civilization in the world." There are Europeans who have thought so too. (346)

Johnston pointed out that the socialist Dr Sun Yat-sen (foolishly idolised in the West as the father of modern China) did not understand the Chinese or their culture, of which "he was neither part nor product", since he had been edu.
cated in Honolulu and Hong Kong and plotted in London and New York. (461) He then made another important reference to the contrasting traditionalism of Ku Hungming, as published in the Peking North China Standard of 22 March 1922:

I predicted that the republic in China would be a failure. Why? Because, I said, the man who succeeds in becoming the supreme head of the government must possess transcendent moral qualities to touch the imagination and command the respect of the whole nation... My loyalty is not merely a loyalty to the imperial house... (but also) a loyalty to the religion of China, to the cause of the civilisation of the Chinese race... The religion of China is the religion of the Law of the Gentleman and the great code... Honor and Duty (Ming fen ta yi)... the moral basis of the social order in China, rests upon... Filial Piety and Loyalty (Chung Hsiao). (465-466)

Reginald Johnston stressed that the Chinese people were much better off under the Manchu emperors, despite the corruption of the imperial staff in the Forbidden City and the bigoted conservatism of many of the princes.

One of the best authorities on Chinese civilisation, writing when the monarchy was still in existence, described China as "the greatest republic the world has ever seen". (H.A. Giles, The Civilisation of China, 1911). If we do not insist on too narrow or rigid a definition of the word, that is true. China was far more of a republic under the monarchy than it has ever been since...

If it is true to say that there was no demand among the people of China for a republican government in the Western sense of the term (there has been no "parliament" in China since 1924 and no one seems to show any anxiety for a renewal of the experiment which ended so ignominiously), it is equally true to say that though there was discontent with the feebleness of the government there was no widespread "hate" of the Manchus. (90)

The Chinese were fooled into sweeping away the monarchy by "skillfully manipulated propaganda" (91). Earlier, in his book The Middle Kingdom (1883), Dr. Wells Williams had shown how the Emperor occupied a felicitous national role comparable to that of the Crown in British countries:

Nothing in Chinese politics is more worthy of notice than the unbounded reverence for the emperor, while each man resists unjust taxation, and joins in killing or driving away oppressive officials. (92)

**Johnston commented:**

Perhaps the reverence... was rather for the Throne than for the person of the emperor, of whose character and personality no ordinary subject knew anything. Yet the emperor as Tien Tzu — Son of Heaven — was accepted, taken for granted, like the forces of nature, and he was regarded from afar with something like religious awe. (92).

In 1900 in These from the Land of Sinica Sir Robert Hart had written: "Liberty, real tangible liberty, they all enjoy." Two years later H.A. Giles commented in China and the Chinese: "Everyone who has lived in China, and has kept his eyes open, must have noticed what a large measure of personal freedom is enjoyed by even the meanest subject of the Son of Heaven." And after quoting these observations Johnston added:

Before the revolution, indeed, foreign visitors and travellers were constantly struck by the fact that the Chinese had more individual liberty — were less interfered with by Government — than any other people in the world... It would be difficult to point to an epoch of Chinese history in which the people have been less free than they are today. (92-93)

Johnston provides very many examples of republican misrule throughout his book, which I will itemize and (where necessary) comment upon.

- "In 1917 a commission sat to draw up a permanent constitution for the Chinese republic. They never completed their task." (105)
- "The republic failed to honour its obligations under the "Articles of Favourable Treatment" promised in 1911-1912 to the imperial house in return for the abdication. The promised subsidy was at no time paid in full, and when... the Articles became a "scrap of paper" towards the end of 1924, many millions of dollars were owing to the emperor by the republic." (117)
- "Confiscation of worldly goods is one of the first steps usually taken in republican China against those who have been beaten in the game of politics or of war." (144)

- "The parliamentary problem in China became an insoluble one. ... It was... China's parliaments which for several years did more than anything else to paralyse the administrative organism." (161-162)

- On 9 September 1919 the North China Daily Mail wrote: "The record of the republic has been anything but a happy one, and today we find North and South at daggers drawn. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that republicanism in China has been tried and found wanting." (255)

- The republican defrauded the emperor and his royal house of enormous sums of money. Johnston provided the following details:

The total amount acknowledged to be due to the imperial family from the republic in respect of treasures brought to the Forbidden City from the Mukden and Jehol palaces amounted to more than 3.5 million dollars (mex.) = $351,147 sterling.

I have the authority of the palace authorities for the statement that not a dollar of this sum was ever paid. In other words, after having formally acknowledged in writing that the treasures in question were the private property of the imperial family and would remain its property until it had received the full amount of their estimated value, the republican government has ignored its own written word and has confiscated the entire collection.

Johnston also discussed "the huge accumulation of works of art and other treasures stored in those palaces of the Forbidden City which had remained in the occupation of the imperial family" and wrote: "I have never heard a lower estimate than ten million pounds Sterling" of their value. They were effectively confiscated in 1924; they were removed to various destinations in central China in 1933. "That some of them, at least, will never again be seen in China," concluded Johnston, "is a painful probability." (302) Australian republicans should be asked how any proposed model of a republic will lead to adequately TRUSTWORTHY government!

- Republican meanness went even further. "Practically all the emperor's wedding gifts, and those of the empress, were subsequently seized by the group of soldiers and politicians who, in
November 1924, made themselves masters of Peking ... it can hardly be seriously argued that the wedding gifts freely given to the emperor after he had ceased to be the ruler of China were also the rightful property of the Chinese nation." (316)

* The North China Daily News in 1924 commented: "As the failure of the republican regime, or what pretends to that name in China, becomes more glaringly conspicuous, men's minds are turning more and more to the idea of monarchy as the only refuge from the intolerable anarchy which everywhere prevails." (365) An Australian republic could well lead to Australian anarchy.

* The republic was at times careless about the preservation of cultural treasures. Johnston tells how two loyalists, Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Chen-yu, "had been instrumental in saving from destruction a mass of extremely valuable unpublished historical material relating to the earliest days of the Manchu monarchy, which the republican authorities had been on the point of destroying or selling as waste paper." (367)

* There are powerful aesthetic reasons for being suspicious of republican proposals, despite the fact that so many artists (and "artists") in Australia are supporting a republic. Johnston described the celebration of the emperor's birthday as follows:

Among those who participated were men who had attained high office under the monarchy but had declined to accept employment under the republic. Some of them travelled from distant provinces at least once a year to have the honour of paying their respects to the sovereign to whom they were still loyal. They wore the costume of the rank they had held under the empire -- a costume which, together with the old nine-grade "mandarin" system, had been abolished by a republic careess of the beauty which it was sacrificing to the new god of modernisation.

Johnston supported his assessment with a telling quotation from J.O.P. Bland's China, Japan and Korea:

For a little while, these men who call themselves republicans may be content to see earth's most beautiful song without words, the Temple of Heaven, abandoned to sordid uses or neglect; they may see fit to wear frock-coats and top hats, instead of the most dignified and decorative garments ever devised by man; but surely, before long, they — or others in their place — will be compelled to restore the ancient faith, the ancient ways. (204)

A monarch, an emperor, a pharaoh appears to act as a focus point for the national soul in a way that elected republican presidents rarely, if ever, can.

The Greek city-states failed because they had no ultimate mystical point of unity.

* The republic also showed much less consideration for the last descendant of the Ming dynasty than had the Manchu emperors; the marquise of Extended Grace traditionally visited the tombs of his forebears under the empire and ensured they were properly maintained. Johnston commented:

Neither at that time (1912) nor later was any interest taken by the republican authorities in the fortunes of the living members of the Ming house. Nor has anything been done to show respect and courtesy to the marquis of Extended Grace or even to extricate him from his dire poverty. His title of dignity, moreover, is no longer recognised by the republic. (352)

* Of the decade 1925-1934 Johnston commented: "Civil wars became more frequent, more brutal, more disastrous to China and the Chinese people than they had before, and they have continued almost without intermission up to the present day. (382)

* In November 1924 the emperor was presented without warning with an "amended version" of the Articles of Favourable Treatment by representatives of the "Christian general", Feng Yu-hsiang. This arbitrary and illegal behaviour was widely condemned. Johnston wrote: "Their unilateral cancellation by an act of brute force, and by virtue of a presidential mandate extorted by an illegal cabinet from a president who was not a free agent cannot be defended." (402) And on 8 November 1924 the Peking and Tientsin Times called the act "one of the most unsavoury chapters in the whole chequered history of the so-called Chinese republic." (405)

* An appalling event occurred between 3 and 11 July 1928, namely the devastation and violation of the imperial tombs, the Tung Lin, to the east of Peking. By the fourth of the Articles of Favourable Treatment the republic had sworn to guard and maintain this site. However, the republic reneged on this too.

The emperor waited for a word of sympathy or regret from the national government of China, which had twice given solemn undertakings to afford adequate protection to the imperial tombs. He waited in vain. Not a sign of sorrow or compunction came either from the all-powerful Kuomintang or from the government in Nanking. This was something he could never overlook. He had never ceased to hope that China would recover her sanity and that all would be well. But now that hope was dead. (464-465)

* A monarch, an emperor, a pharaoh appears to act as a focus point for the national soul in a way that elected republican presidents rarely, if ever, can. Johnston commented:

The Greek city-states, as Mr John Buchan has said, "failed because they had no ultimate mystical point of unity". China, since the collapse of the monarchy, seems to be failing for much the same reason. (463)

* The terrible damage to China's cultural treasures wrought under Mao Tse-Tung was presaged by destruction under the republic earlier. Johnston noted:

It will hardly be believed that in the fourth year of the Republic the Peking authorities applied whitewash to the old marble steps and terraces of the Alter of Heaven. This was an example of the vandalism then rampant in China, the pulling down and defacing of ancient monuments and the perpetration of a hundred architectural abominations in the once beautiful city of Peking. It is to be feared that these and other protests by western lovers of Chinese art have hitherto met with only a languid response from republican China. (465)

* Dishonest anti-monarchist propaganda emanated from the republic, as during the November 1924 eviction of the emperor. Johnston summed it up: "It was not part of their scheme to permit the people of China to learn that their dethroned emperor had shown himself to be magnanimous and patriotic." (472) Thus the republican dream corroded and putrefied.
The “Republic” was established amidst the rejoicings of many who have since found cause for tears. Of the ardent republicans of early days, some have quietly disappeared. Many have retired, more or less broken-hearted, into private life. There were numerous illustrations of the well-known saying that revolutions devour their own children. Many have died violent deaths by assassination or in civil war. Only two or three have come scathless in body and in reputation through the chances and changes of twenty turbulent years. (110)

And many simplistic Christians rued their support for a republic, just as many of them in Australia today are unwisely inviting such a fate upon themselves. Johnston recorded the belated recognitions of his time and place:

As to public opinion, there is no doubt that at this time the people of many parts of China were thoroughly disillusioned with the republic, which had promised so many good things and had brought them (by 1919) so little but misery. The European newspapers in China provided much evidence to this effect, in the form of reports from their correspondents in the interior. Most of these correspondents were missionaries who at the time of the revolution had almost unanimously given a hearty welcome to the foreign legations, that armies fought one another under the walls of the capital in defiance of presidential mandates, and in ruthless disregard of the welfare of the people, that presidents themselves were set up by one clique and pulled down by another. Yet they observed that amid all the familiar scenes of turmoil, disruption, banditry, famine and civil war, the plots and stratagems of parliamentarians and wily politicians, the truculence of military adventurers and the antics of hot-headed students, there was one little stronghold in the midst of the capital which seemed to maintain itself as a haunt of ancient peace, one fragment of Chinese soil which preserved at least the outward appearance of stability and dignity, one virgin fortress in which the manners and rituals of a vanished past still formed part of the daily routine. That home of stately decorum and tranquillity was surrounded by battlemented walls and imposing gateways that symbolised the spirit of Old China. It seemed as though that spirit had found its last refuge in the still mysterious halls and palaces of the tea nei — “The Great Within” (The Forbidden City). (168-169)

Empires and monarchies are by no means necessarily more costly on the public purse than republics or “democracies”. Poulteney Bigelow, in Prussian Memories (New York, 1915) wrote: “We Americans hold that government by the public purse than republics or “democracies”. Poulteney Bigelow, in Prussian Memories (New York, 1915) wrote: “We Americans hold that government by the people means liberty and justice. This is not necessarily true. Democracy gives us ten thousand bosses, each one more costly than a single average monarchof Europe. England is nominally a monarchy. Yet in London the American can find more home rule and common law justice than in New York or Chicago.” Commenting on this, Johnston added: “In the case of China, the people not only possessed greater liberty …, but also were better governed under the old imperial system, even in its days of decay, than under the constantly shifting forms of “republican” government that have supplanted it. (134) He provided two striking examples of past imperial benevolence and “extended grace”.

In 1713 the great emperor Sheng Tsu (K’ang Hsi) gave in this throne-hall a great banquet to celebrate his sixtieth birthday. His guests were more than nineteen hundred old men, all chosen from the ranks of the common people.

In imitation of this precedent, the emperor Kao Tsung (Ch’ien-Lung) on the occasion of his Jubilee (the fiftieth anniversary of his succession) gave a similar banquet to almost four thousand old men, each of whom also received an imperial present of a jade-topped juvi. This took place in 1785. (207)

Some of those who clamour for or “go over” to republicanism may do so for motives of personal gain. Commenting on the Articles of Favourable Treatment, Johnston wrote:

But why did the court give way and agree to a compromise which included the abdication of the emperor, when there was still at least a possibility that the revolutionaries might be defeated? … The real explanation is that the compromise accorded with the wishes and designs of Yuan Shih-k’ai who had become master of the situation. (101)

Later a different context still appealed to self-interest, so that on 19 March 1921 the Peking and Tientsin Times could advise that the anticipated monarchist movement would probably fail, because “saving or restoring the republic has become too lucrative an operation to be readily abandoned by the militarists and others seeking a short road to fortune”. (266)

How could such a great nation have made such an error? Johnston lays the main blame on the empress-dowager T‘zu-Hsi who frustrated the “Hundred Days of Reform” of the young emperor Kuang-Hsu and cruelly imprisoned him from 1989 until his death in 1908. He comments: “The allies, when they were drawing up the terms of peace in 1901, made a disastrous mistake in failing to insist upon the elimination of the empress-dowager from active politics and upon the reinstatement of the emperor.” (64) Thus the great reform scheme of the emperor’s chief adviser, K’ang Yu-wei, came to naught; reaction triumphed which made revolution possible.

Was there a “hidden hand” behind these tragic events? Johnston hardly considers the possibility. His other chief villains are the over-ambitious Yuan Shih-k’ai and the imperial household department, known as the nei uu Fu. But Anthony Gittens, who edited and brought up to date Nesta Webster’s famous study World Revolution for the 1971 Britons Publishing Company edition, suggest otherwise.
Gittens contributed a new 20-page chapter entitled "The Chinese Revolution". In it, he provided the following shocking information:

- Dr Sun Yat-sen was much influenced by bolsheviks, was a freemason and was a member of a secret society named the Kop Twang. (327)

- A Jewish bolshevik agent named Morris Cohen (and known in China as Cohen Moi-Sha) became aide-de-camp to Dr Sun Yat-sen. Cohen arranged a meeting between his master and the Jewish Commissar Joffe, the head of a Soviet mission to China. Later Soviet "military instructors" were brought in to help Dr Sun Yat-sen's army. (328)

- Another Jewish bolshevik agent, Michael Grusenberg (alias Jacob Borodin) is said to have chosen Chiang Kai-Shek, who was a mason of the 33rd degree, to succeed Dr Sun Yat-sen. Grusenberg and his Jewish wife established hundreds of communist cells and groups in southern China in the 1920's. (329)

- A raid on the Soviet embassy in Peking, organised by Manchurian warlord Marshal Chang Tso-Lin in 1927, provided extensive evidence of Soviet plans to bolshevize China. (The later Japanese takeover of Manchuria was an attempt to halt the spread of communism in the Chinese area.) (329)

- The Soviet delegation, which arrived in Peking in 1924, was led by the Soviet general B.K. Galen (alias Blucher) who was really a Jew by the name of Chesin but in the best circles called himself Gallent. The intrigues and bribery by which the surrender was finally obtained was organised on the Chinese side by a Jewish timber magnate, Samuel Skideski. No sooner was the (Chinese Eastern) railway in Soviet hands than the President of the Board of Railway Control in Moscow, who was a Jew, M.D. Lashewitz, appointed three other Jews as Commissars over the Chinese Eastern Railway: J.A. Gekker, Kosalowsky and Snamensky." (330)

- In 1926 Galen became Chief Military Adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek and Grusenberg became his Chief Political Adviser. (330)

- Cantonese Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, whom Johnston mentions as a revolutionary agitator in China, was born in Trinidad in 1878, where he went under the name of E. Bernard Acham. (330)

- A Jew named Ignatz Trebitsch, with an amazing record of communist agitation in several communities, posed as a Buddhist abbot in China between 1926 and 1930. "The following year, the "Abbot" was found wandering in the town of Tsitsitar in Manchukuo in possession of large sums of money and in touch with all the local Bolshevik agents." (331-332)

Gittens summed up his thoughts on the whole matter as follows:

It is hard to believe that such men move thousands of miles across the world of their own volition. Throughout the whole history of Bolshevism we see the same sort of mysterious characters that come out of obscurity into the full limelight of revolution as if the same guiding hand is moving them according to a well conceived plan. ... It is no wonder that the simple Chinese were no match for the masterly revolutionary technique of such agents as have been briefly described here. The full resources of the world revolutionary movement were concentrated upon the Bolshevist rotting of China. Agents came from America, Switzerland, England and Russia. (331, 332)

Putting Johnston and Gittens together, it very much looks as though the Chinese empire was destroyed from without, using the transition to a republic as a Trojan Horse.

Is an analogous fate being visited upon Australia? Is this whole push for a republic the biggest confidence trick devised in our short history? If so, can we learn from the Chinese disaster in time to frustrate the knaves? Perhaps, if we can, we can then one day help the Chinese to re-establish their imperial tradition with its spiritual and moral basis in the teachings of Lao-Tze and Confucius.

1. (A slightly S-shaped decorative ornament, a symbol of good luck).

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The Australian National Anthem

There are three verses to the Australian National Anthem but only the first and third verses are sung.

The second verse is:

When gallant Cook from Albion sailed
To trace wide oceans o'er,
True British courage bore him on
Till he landed on our shore.
Then here he raised Old England's flag
The standard of the brave.
With all her faults, we love her still;
Britannia rules the waves.
In joyful strains then let us sing,
"Advance Australia Fair"
He took me on my first muster when I went out west - I guess to assess my abilities and advise the boss. He was called by different names — Stan, Staney, Old Stan — but all were said with a softened tone for he was much respected and even loved, especially by the kids.

Pushing eighty but sure in his movements, with faded blue-grey eyes (the left almost sightless and closed from squinting in the glare), a fair complexion battered by a lifetime's exposure to heat and dust, and ravaged by fierce drinking bouts, he still rode tall on the old bay mare, never daunted by a sixteen-hour stint in the saddle.

It was quite a challenge to measure up in his eyes, keep up with him and come out smiling when he admonished you with, "D-doe-don't swear, girl."

As we approached the scrubby paddock and I received my orders I asked, "How will I know where you are?" He replied, "W-well, girl, you'll see me dawgs an' I'll be about h-ha-half a kilometre away." He was right. I saw his dogs ranging along on their own, six of them scouting the scrub for sheep, finding them and turning them into the gathering point.

Apparently I passed the test that day for we became the constant factor in a changing team of ringers during the next couple of years. Oversleeping was impossible. Regardless of alarms, Stan would drift along the homestead verandah at 3 a.m. asking, "You awake, girl?"

Bleary-eyed, I produced 4 a.m. breakfast for the mustering team. The first to appear was Stan, in his grey flannel and once-white shirt, heavy leather belt gathering stockman's dungarees so they looked like a frilled-neck lizard before falling into folds about his bandy legs. He was wide-awake and ready to tackle his regular breakfast of cold meat and raw onions. A keen trencherman I was, even at that hour, but watching the consumption of this long-time drover's fare was hard. Breakfast finished, the old felt hat that had never been shaped but merely collapsed after watering dogs and swotting sheep's rumps, was clapped on his head and we departed for the stockyards to saddle our horses.

There was never much talk as we rode out in the piccaninny dawn except for the occasional comment about tracks or wind that would affect the muster. Entering the paddock we would split up and in wheel formation disappear into the scrub, to meet again at dinner camp. Here, with girths loosened and quarts on the fire, we selected the best shade, fewest gydea stones and best back rest, seeking a respite from the saddle. "Y-yer sit 'here, girl, the h-han-hants won't bother yer then," Stan would say.

The muster complete, the long drive to the yards commenced. Now my education really began with the master-drover as tutor. No directions were given; one learnt to see by observation what was needed, with occasional emphasis added by such pearls as: "It's not the distance but the pace that kills" and "Keep all the mob movin' all the time, girl, and don't let any of 'em gallop any of the time."

As the mob started to string, the lead disappearing in the scrub, I asked if he wanted me to hold the lead until the tail joined them. "Only the h-ham-hamateurs 'ave to be able to see all the mob. You and me, girl, we can let 'em string through the scrub without losin' them."

Still standing nine feet tall from that accolade, I made final arrangements for an overseas trip. Departure day arrived with much excitement, but some reluctant good-byes had to be made. Coming to Stan, he handed me a large paper parcel and, in some confusion, pointing his claw-like old fingers at me, said, "Well, girl, you're off to H-Heng-Hengland. We'll miss yer, but you have a good time now, and take this 'ere rug with yer; you'll feel the cold there, girl, after this heat."

"Oh Stan, oh hell! What can I say?" "D-doe-don't swear, girl."
It is a sad reflection on the teaching of history in our schools that most adults, if asked what they know of King Alfred the Great would reply that "He burnt the cakes", whilst most children would not know even that. Few there are who would be able to say that Alfred was a man of extraordinary ability, who saved civilization in England and laid the foundations of the English state, and that his achievements in Government, Law, Military affairs and Philosophy would be remarkable in any age, let alone the age in which he lived and reigned!

The problems faced by Alfred when he came to the throne were many but may be placed under four headings:

1. Defeating the Danish invaders and repelling Danish raids
2. Reforming the Government
3. Reforming the Law
4. Restoring Education.

These were not problems which could be dealt with one at a time. He could not reform government and the law without creating a literate administration, and he could not create a literate administration whilst Danish raids destroyed the centres of learning.

The defence of the realm lay with the fyrd, local levies of farmers and labourers led by their thegn, with perhaps a few mercenaries. The fyrd served the customary ninety days and then went home to gather in the harvest, the signal for the Danes to strike. Alfred took the novel step of dividing the fyrd into two. Half the men stayed at home, whilst the others served; after ninety days they changed round. This gave England a permanent defence force. Although the fyrd were at half strength this was actually an advantage in training them. It was this new army which defeated the Danes at Eddington (Ethandune) and drove them back step by step. Alfred also built a chain of fortified burh along the south coast. The Danes could not leave a fortified position in their rear, neither could they waste themselves in trying to storm it.

Alfred determined to defeat the Danes before they landed. The ship fyrd, like the fyrd, was made up of part-timers — fishermen who put to sea in their own boats. They were no match for the Danish longships so Alfred commenced the building of war-ships and the training of sailors. His policy was successful. With the first nine ships ready, and he himself at the helm of the flagship, he trapped a Danish invasion force off the coast of Devon, preventing its escape. England's pre-eminence on the sea began with that victory, and the institution of the Navy as the first Royal service — the Senior Service.

Alfred himself translated Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* and wrote a preface to it which remains one of the classics of Anglo-Saxon literature. He also translated Pope Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* and Augustine's *Soliloquies*, writing prefaces for them. He imported other works from France and established a "Scola" to translate them. Why this concern with learning, when dangers threatened from every side? Alfred answered that question in his preface to the *Soliloquies*: Great literature "illuminates the eyes of the mind". Alfred was concerned for the future and knew that the kingdom must have an educated class. He was also very much concerned about the present. *Ealdormen, thegns* and judges were told bluntly that if they did not learn to read and write they must lay down their offices! For those who found this art too difficult but who were wise in years, Alfred allowed that they might remain in office but that their sons must read to them every day!

Probably Alfred's greatest triumph was the conversion of the Danish King Guthrum and thirty of his *Eorls*. As a result he signed a treaty with Guthrum granting him lordship of what is now East Anglia, Lincolnshire and parts of Yorkshire — the *Danelaw*. To understand what this meant we must rid our minds of current notions of colonization. The creation of the *Danelaw* did not mean that the English population was displaced by armadas of Danes! Indeed Viking *Eorls* had no desire to plough and sow and reap themselves: far from the native population being 'driven out', they would not be allowed to leave! What it meant was that Guthrum and his *Eorls* enjoyed the rents and taxes of the area; they became the new warrior chiefs, with, in return, the responsibility of defending their domain. Alfred therefore had created a shield along his eastern flank, leaving him free to see to the land and sea defences of the South Coast.

Alfred was loved by England. His soldiers saw him in the van of the battle; his sailors at their oars saw him at the helm leading the squadron in the attack. The *Ealdormen* and *thegns* knew that he was a strict but just master. The peasants and artisans soon found that they would receive justice from his justicars, who now knew and could read the law they were implementing. Scholars realized that they had a man who appreciated and took part in their labours, but most of all everyone realized that Alfred stood for the freedom of England, the survival of the English way of life, and the enrichment of English culture. He was one of our greatest kings. He lived and died, England's Darling.
Standing still, but constant re-invigoration of culture. And survival means not
the warmth of your people, your vivid culture, and the magnificence of your
mountains.

I hope that on this second visit I can
draw some attention to the breadth
and vitality of British links with
Swaziland. These are deep and
strong, going back to the Methodist
missionaries who came here in 1844.
They have been fortified in both
peacetime and war. But most impor-
tant, they continue to bring mutual
benefits and to provide mutual sup-
port as we move forward towards the
new millennium together.

Maybe that is because we understand
each other well. In some respects.

I see particular similarities
between the Swazis and the Scots.
Similar mountainous terrain has
produced fiercely independent
peoples, and proud cultures and
equally proud traditions.

A nation which loses its culture
has lost its soul

And talking of traditions, we in Britain,
like you, value tradition highly, but
recognise — albeit reluctantly some-
times — the need for considered
change. In my view a nation which
loses its culture and its tradition has
lost its soul. Indeed the survival of
civilised values, as we have inherited
them from our forebears, depends on a
large extent on the survival of a
nation’s sense of itself, of its tradition-
al culture. And survival means not
standing still, but constant re-invigo-
ration. Tradition is a living thing, but to
be so, it has to be made contemporary
in each generation. That is always the
great challenge we face.

In Britain recently, I remarked that the
mere mention of tradition and tradi-
tional values sometimes sends
normally intelligent people into parox-
ysms of rage and indignation. Things
are perhaps better here: as I under-
stand it, virtually all Swazi, whatever
their political views, share an under-
standing of the importance of
preserving your culture and your
great traditional ceremonies.

Some people in Africa suffer because
they have lost their sense of identity;
they no longer know who they are or
what makes them a nation. (They
have become lost in a kind of interna-
tional miasma.) Swazis seem to have
no such problem. It must, in part, be
this unity and strength of culture
which has enabled Swazis peacefully
to develop over the years a modern
system of government and a relatively
prosperous economy. This is a
tremendous achievement, to which I
pay tribute.

But we all need to find a way of keep-
ning up with the times, to compete
successfully for trade and investment,
and better to reflect and achieve our
aspirations as a nation. Your
Majesty’s great father, King Sobhuza,
put it well back in 1960 when he
remarked: “I think it is not meant for
any people to say ‘because I have
always followed this particular tradi-
tion, I will follow it indefinitely, even if
it is misleading us.’ It is good to be
able to change according to the situa-
tion and, if you find something good,
adapt yourself to that.” Your Majesty,
I know, agrees, whilst knowing better
than most what a challenge these
words present.

Since I was last in the region in
1987, there have been dramatic changes
for the better in South Africa, but also
important ones, if I may say so, here in
Swaziland. In the last five years you
have wisely, with the advice of various
commissions consulting all your peo-
ple, brought in a number of political
and economic reforms, including direct
elections, through a secret ballot, to
Parliament, but also an increased inter-
est in attracting overseas investment.

I well know how difficult it is to
listen impartially to a whole
range of differing views.

Last year Your Majesty brought the
nation together to set up a
Constitutional Review Commission. I
was encouraged to hear that this
mechanism will provide for democratic
change in Swaziland reflecting the
will of the Swazi people. Not the least
of the Commission’s jobs, I am sure,
will be to ensure that everybody has a
say, no matter what his political per-
suasion. Not an easy task — I well
know how difficult it is to listen impar-
tially to a whole range of differing
views. But a vital one.

Britain’s close interest in this process
is a measure of our commitment to
Swaziland and of the closeness of our
relationship. We wish you well, and
look forward to the birth of a new
democratic constitution to take this
country forward into the new century.

Finally, Your Majesty, I was delighted to
be asked to convey to you an invitation
to come back to Britain as a guest of
Looking forward to that visit to my
country, may I thank you for a most
memorable time in yours. Your wel-
come and that of your people has been
heart-warming. In the meantime, I wish
you every success in all your undertak-
ings to improve further the well-being
and prosperity of your people.
The intellectuals and the Masses
by Anthony Cooney

One of the most nauseating things about our elites who call for an almost obsequious attitude by Australians to their Asian neighbours, is the arrogant attitude of those same elites to ordinary Australians. Such arrogance by elites is, however, not something new as the English writer, John Carey, demonstrates in The Intellectuals and the Masses.

The concept of the masses, as the ordinary people were referred to, came about with the huge increase in Europe’s population during the Nineteenth Century. This demographic phenomenon with its accompanying cultural changes was a concern of many intellectuals in the early part of this century.

The attitudes of the intellectuals varied from disdain and contempt to suggestions of genocide. These intellectuals included many of the greatest thinkers and writers of the time. They included D.H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, H.G. Wells and Wyndham Lewis. Even left-wing intellectuals such as G.B. Shaw and George Orwell were repelled by the dirt and smell of the manual workers.

The introduction of universal compulsory education further displeased the intellectuals, as did the emergence of a new class of white-collar workers and the suburbs in which they lived.

The elites frowned on popular culture, including mass circulation newspapers, radio, cinemas and even tinned food. It seems that whatever the common people liked the intellectuals despised.

Surprisingly, many of the intellectuals had a positive, even idealised, view of the peasant. The life of the peasant is seen as simpler, more in tune with the natural environment and spiritually superior to the life of a factory or office worker. Some, such as D.H. Lawrence, went overseas in search of a people unspoiled by modern life but tended to be disappointed in what they found.

There were exceptions to the arrogant elitism of the intellectuals. Conan Doyle was more egalitarian and supported education for the common people. Another author, Arnold Bennett, actually designed his novels to 'narrow the abyss' between the intellectual and the common man.

There are suggestions of genocide in the writings of a number of the elite. John Carey sees in this the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche who believed that 'the great majority of men have no right to exist'. D.H. Lawrence seemed to have a hatred of mankind and he once praised the inventors of poison gas. A common theme in the novels of H.G. Wells was the extermination of much of the human race.

Perhaps it's not surprising that Adolf Hitler gets a mention in Carey's book. A number of intellectuals, the Englishman, Wyndham Lewis, and the Norwegian writer, Knut Hamsun, for instance, were open supporters of Hitler.

Moreover, Hitler in many ways mirrored the ideas of the elite. He studied the works of great thinkers and writers such as Nietzsche, Defoe, Goethe and Carlyle. He was passionate about the great classical composers and famous painters, and advocated state subsidies for the arts.

Hitler shared the intellectual’s disdain for modern mass culture. He disliked much about the middle classes, despite drawing most of his support from them. He had more respect for manual workers and virtually idealised the peasant. Whilst he tended to hold the masses in contempt, especially the Russians, he did hold out some hope for the German masses.

Are the matters discussed by Carey things of the past and of historical interest only? Apparently not.

The problem of rapid population growth that worried people like Ortega y Gasset and H.G. Wells is of even more concern today.

The elitism of intellectuals has tended to reappear. Carey sees this in modern philosophical ideas like 'post-structuralism' or 'deconstruction' with its rejection of popular culture and a tendency to use language unintelligible to the average person.

The book certainly contains food for thought. Nevertheless the matters it discusses should be looked at in a broad perspective. Throughout history there have been elites of some sort. Virtually all societies have had some sort of social hierarchy with those at the bottom often being treated with contempt.

Despite their elitism the intellectuals described by John Carey never did any physical harm to anyone. D.H. Lawrence did not resort to the actual use of poison gas. Despite the violence in his books, H.G. Wells did not wipe out thousands of people in real life. The genocide alluded to by the intellectuals was a metaphorical or, at worst, an hypothetical act.

Unfortunately massacres and genocide have occurred many times since the start of recorded history. The Russian masses despised by Hitler committed some terrible atrocities while wearing the uniform of Stalin’s army.

The intellectuals’ fears about popular culture such as newspapers, cinemas and, more recently, television, may have been overstated. Nevertheless they have to a certain extent been realised. The mass media has often exploited its ability to manipulate public opinions and attitudes.

Similarly, education for the masses has not lived up to its expectations. Even after more than a century of universal education we still have problems with literacy. The attempt to shove education down the throats of children in a regimented, bureaucratic and authoritarian environment has probably put many off learning for life.

These last paragraphs may seem to be supporting the intellectuals against John Carey. Carey himself seems at times a little ambiguous. Nevertheless he has given us quite a stimulating book, and one that reminds us that history is not just about people and events, but also about people and ideas.
search for the exact word. When so much 'poetry' appears to have been
thrown off insolently in an idle ten minutes, it is a relief to read the work of a
writer who has sweated blood. The pay-off is in beauty and truth.

Where nearly everything is felicitous it is hardly necessary to pick out examples, but I might say how much I enjoyed the evocation of a railway halt, in nearly every way unlike the Edward Thomas poem to which it alludes (reminding me of a wait of some hours many years ago in a frozen little junction somewhere near Widnes) yet like it in sharp observation and intense nostalgia. Or a boyhood book remembered from its frontispiece as embodying a lost world and a lost social class quite other than the one to which the boy belonged.

A theme that interests me very much is the humble working-man's glorification of, and response to, the Creation — even in the course of grinding physical labour, such as the setting of the cobbles of which the Dock Road, Garston is made.

This timeless theme of human bondage merges into the theme of time itself, and eternity, crystallised in Rosary and the title poem, Bread in the Wilderness. The title itself is one that seems to this reviewer to embrace all the separate themes of the book, referring as it does to the bread of the Mass and also to the manna bestowed upon the Israelites by a merciful and bountiful God, and my only regret is that I am asked for a review and not a detailed study. I shall have to be content to draw attention to the section of the poem that celebrates the taking of the bread — which contrives to be both ecstatic and clear-headed at the same time. It has always seemed to me that Dylan Thomas' This Bread I Break represents one end of the spectrum of understanding of this matter — any bread on any occasion and I may break it myself without a priest. The classical Anglican, middle position is exemplified in George Herbert's marvellous Love bade me welcome. Mr. Cooney gives us (not just as statement but as lived experience) the Catholic end of the same spectrum; and it must surely be even more moving to a reader who occupies one of the other positions than it is to one who shares this one. What continues to be baffling is that each would be claimed to be an account of the Real Presence — over which there has been such an unnecessary falling-out.

The last poem in the collection seems to me to show considerable daring, linking the boy Jesus' experience of the world He had created with the poet's own boyhood experience. Part mountain landscape and part garden rockery imagined as mountain landscape, it also connects by association with Eden and the first Adam. It means to this reviewer to embrace all the separate themes of the book, referring as it does to the bread of the Mass and also to the manna bestowed upon the Israelites by a merciful and bountiful God, and my only regret is that I am asked for a review and not a detailed study. I shall have to be content to draw attention to the section of the poem that celebrates the taking of the bread — which contrives to be both ecstatic and clear-headed at the same time. It has always seemed to me that Dylan Thomas' This Bread I Break represents one end of the spectrum of understanding of this matter — any bread on any occasion and I may break it myself without a priest. The classical Anglican, middle position is exemplified in George Herbert's marvellous Love bade me welcome. Mr. Cooney gives us (not just as statement but as lived experience) the Catholic end of the same spectrum; and it must surely be even more moving to a reader who occupies one of the other positions than it is to one who shares this one. What continues to be baffling is that each would be claimed to be an account of the Real Presence — over which there has been such an unnecessary falling-out.

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It was, I think, sufficiently demonstrated by G.K. Chesterton (and not only in his book, Orthodoxy) that orthodox Christianity and sanity are the same thing, and that its opposite is (or should I say its alternatives are?) to be identified with insanity.

I was reminded of this while mulling over Alan D. Armstrong’s recent book, To restrain the red horse, in which is presented a clear analysis of what we habitually call “monetary orthodoxy” and “orthodox economics” — especially the device known as “fractional reserve banking”. This is the extraordinary privilege allowed to banks to create money out of nothing by lending at interest to borrowers up to a limit set centrally, which is a multiple of the total money held by a bank for depositors. In other words, the deposits banks hold are a fraction (and a small fraction at that) of what they lend. Or, to put it still more plainly, most of the money they lend they do not possess and it doesn’t even exist.

And this is what we call orthodox banking practice.

Another thing shown by Chesterton about genuine orthodoxy is that, far from being dull or “unoriginal”, it is the framework within which romance, gaiety, adventure and originality can flourish. One can test this for oneself by reference to innumerable human activities. If, for example, one sees an established batsman get himself out, as a tail-ender would, with a wild swing at a ball just missing his off stump, one does not say, “Oh, how original!” One says, “What did the silly fool do that for?” If a batsman bides his time and uses his whole range of orthodox strokes — as well as some improvised out of the elements of his orthodox skill — to build an innings, we say, “Well played! Lovely shot!”

Yet this is the position the banks are in. They are ever willing to lend (at interest, and with something real — such as your house — as security) what they do not possess. You must take proper precautions. I haven’t got a rope, and I will gladly lend it to you,” I should (and so would you) think him utterly mad.

At the same time we know that they are best pleased if most of us think — and teach our children — that banks look after our money for us and lend some of it to people who need to borrow, thus keeping it in circulation until we have need to withdraw it. If that is what they want us to believe then that is obviously what orthodox banking practice would be like. Since the reality is not like that, current practice should never be described as “orthodox”.

I have a suggestion to make. It is a small one, but it might be of some small use. It is that anyone who is anxious to bring about a change should always make a point of attacking banking practice for its unorthodoxy and pressing for a return to orthodoxy even though that would mean turning back the clock several centuries. That is, no bank should be allowed to issue as loans what it does not hold as deposits.

Otherwise we should do well to ponder some other words by Chesterton: “...we may say that the most characteristic current philosophies have not only a touch of mania, but a touch of suicidal mania.”

Editor’s note: Extract from page 5 of War Cycles, Peace Cycles by R.K. Hoskins — “Since the earliest times there have been banks and bankers. The type of bank which was approved operated simply to bring a person with money together with a person who needed money and together they became partners in a Joint Venture business enterprise. For this service banks charged fees. The other kind of bank, which was disapproved, operated on the Babylonian principle of lending 10 and collecting 11. The one was necessary, natural, and orderly; the other unnatural and disorderly. The reasons the disorderly “interest system” has been forbidden to faithful Christians are obvious. If you borrow 10 and are forced to pay back 11, sooner or later the usurer will take your property.

We constantly receive many complimentary letters on the improved look of our magazine and report that subscriptions have increased as a result. Your valuable feedback is greatly appreciated.

Editor
Deane Phillips, Royal Automobile Association (RAA) contractor at the northern farming town of Booleroo Centre for twenty years, says most of his breakdown calls are for new cars not old ones.

"With an old car the farmer can shove a screwdriver here or there and get it going," he says, "but with the new cars they're too scared to check the oil."

Deane says that a lot of motorists don't readily trust him near their new cars. "They think that if one tinkers with the engine one will blow up the car's computer. I've had them threatening to sue me if I cause any damage. What they don't realise is that the RAA keeps country contractors up-to-date with the latest manuals and known faults and how to fix them. Without the RAA's back-up we would be stuck, no doubt about it."

Deane says it's often a challenge to find a way to get the car going without doing any damage to the engine management system. "Usually the breakdown is not caused by the failure of the engine management system but a wiring or connection fault. It may be a simple thing, but I have to locate it without causing any more problems."

Deane's family has been involved with the RAA for fifty years. His father, Cecil, started as an RAA contractor in 1948. The garage was once a blacksmith's shop and housed the town's power generators.

Today Booleroo Centre has a population of about 300 living in the shadow of two monumental grain silos. The town is off the beaten track but Deane says more and more people are taking alternative routes north and a lot of people go through Booleroo Centre on the way to Hawker instead of using the main highway through Quorn. "However, the road conditions around here are sometimes appalling and I often get calls from motorists with shredded tyres. They blame me for the roads ruining their new tyres," he says. "Hey, I'm not even on the council."

Deane says that city motorists are more tolerant of waiting times. "If I take ten minutes to get to a breakdown, a local will have a shot at me and ask me where I've been. City motorists look surprised and say they didn't expect me so soon."

Deane's main road service calls are for tyres and batteries. "Then there are calls from motorists who run out of fuel. They always blame the fuel gauge but I think they just get caught trying to make the fuel last until the next garage."

Dean has had a number of calls where motorists have blamed garages for filling their tanks with diesel instead of petrol. He says there is no way that the garages are to blame. "Farmers leave their mobile fuel tanks for their tractors in the paddocks and motorists see the fuel tank and pump diesel into their tank and then get onto the road and grind to a halt."

Dean is on call 24 hours. "One never seems to get night calls at a reasonable time. They are always after one o'clock in the morning." Recently at two o'clock one Sunday morning Deane was called by a woman whose car had broken down at Tarcowie, 23 km from Booleroo Centre. He found the car with the bonnet up and the key in the ignition, but no sign of the woman. He got in the car to try to start it when she suddenly appeared out of the dark with a blue heeler and bailed him up, thinking he was trying to steal the car. He calmed her down but had the blue heeler barking at his heels the whole time he was working on the car.

Dean is not only on call for the RAA. He is also a volunteer with the fire service and the emergency service. His wife Eileen covers in the garage office when he's out on call — it could be a car breakdown, a search and rescue, storm damage or flooding, or a fire.
Democratisation and Political Reform in Nineteenth Century Britain

Roger Hughes

Australian democracy is largely derived from that of our mother country, Britain.

The evolution of British democracy could be seen as starting with the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215. Nevertheless, complete democracy did not arrive until the early years of this Century. Most of the important reforms leading up to this occurred in the Nineteenth Century.

Back in the 1830s the right to vote (or franchise) was extremely limited. Of a total adult population of seven million in England and Wales, only 435,000 could vote. Only 234 out of 658 members of Parliament were elected democratically, the rest being picked by the owners of pocket and rotten boroughs. The notorious seat of Old Sarum represented seven inhabitants while Manchester, with 182,000 people, was not represented at all. There was agitation for reform from a wide cross-section of the nation including labourers, artisans, businessmen and even some country gentlemen.

A government under the Whig, Lord Grey, introduced a Reform Bill in 1831, but this was rejected by the House of Lords. Reform was again attempted in 1832. When King William IV threatened to create new peers favourable to reform, the House of Lords capitulated and the First Reform Bill was passed.

The reforms were not radical and only increased the franchise by about 50%. The vast majority of people still could not vote. Nevertheless, many pocket and rotten boroughs were abolished and some of the better-off commoners began to have some effect in politics. The reforms appear to have increased the influence of the Whigs.

Dissatisfaction was still evident and this led to the establishment of the Chartist Movement. This was largely a working-class movement and pressed for a People's Charter, or electoral bill of rights. The programme called for universal suffrage, secret ballots, annual elections and other reforms. Petitions were presented to Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848 but these were largely unsuccessful and the movement tended to fade shortly afterwards.

A more successful group was the Anti-Corn Law League. It was a largely middle-class movement but did have some working-class support. Its influence was indirect but it proved to be a forerunner of the modern lobby group. The Corn Laws were eventually repealed in 1846.

There were attempts at further reform within Parliament. Lord John Russell introduced Reform Bills in 1852, 1854 and 1860. Although the proposed reforms were not very radical they failed to make it through Parliament.

Further attempts at reform in 1866 also failed. At about the same time, however, a group known as the Reform League was pressing for change and held a number of marches and demonstrations. These unfortunately were often associated with riots. It is possible that the violence had an influence on the attitude of politicians towards reform. At any rate another Reform Bill was passed under a Conservative government in 1867.

The Second Reform Bill was a step towards simplification and uniformity, and towards broadening the suffrage qualifications. It introduced the principle that the voter could hold his right to vote regardless of his economic standing. The increase in those enfranchised was probably about one million, or an 82% increase on those previously enfranchised. Universal suffrage had still not been achieved but the way towards this had been opened.

The majority of British adults were still not on the electoral roll so further changes were still needed. In 1872 the Ballot Act abolished open voting. The effects of this were particularly noticeable in Ireland where the country landlords had been in the practice of bringing their tenants in droves to polls. Secret voting reduced the power of the landlord and contributed to the success of the Irish Home Rule Party.

The Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 meant that any candidate could run for a seat provided he represented a cause for which subscriptions could be raised. Meanwhile the political groupings were beginning to look like modern political parties. In 1887 the Conservatives formed a National
Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, and in 1870 Disraeli established a Conservative Central Office. Two years later he laid down the general principles of Conservative policy and started the first great party machine.

In 1877 Joseph Chamberlain initiated the National Liberal Federation to determine the attitude of the Liberal Party outside Parliament to the questions of the day.

Further reform came in 1884 with the Franchise Act. This assimilated the country franchise with that of the towns and extended franchise provisions to Ireland. The country electorate almost tripled and led to the creation of elected county councils in 1888 which took over the administrative power from justices of the peace. In 1885 a Registration Act extended the borough system to the counties and further defined the duties of the overseers. Registration was still very technical and complicated. Being struck off the register was a much simpler matter.

Nevertheless, even as late as 1911 only 29.7% of the total adult population and 63.3% of the adult male population were registered to vote.

The largest sector excluded from the franchise were women and their exclusion seems to have aroused the greatest controversy in the years prior to 1914. Other groups excluded were domestic servants resident with their employers, sons living with their parents and soldiers living in barracks.

In 1911 the power of the House of Lords was considerably reduced. From that time any financial measure passed by the House of Commons becomes law after one month even if vetoed by the Lords. The Lords retained a suspensive veto for other legislation but this would not apply to legislation given three successive approvals in their successive sessions of the Commons.

The important measure of payment for members of Parliament meant that politicians could be drawn from a wider cross-section of society. This was particularly helpful to the Labour Party which had only two members in the Commons in 1901 but fifty in 1906.

Thus by 1914 there had been much reform but the majority of the adults in Britain did not vote. Further reform was to await until 1918 and the Representation of the People Act. Even then some women were not enfranchised until 1928. Britain then had universal adult franchise.

Along with political reform there were other changes which helped the movement to democracy. Perhaps the most important was education, for without a literate population important political issues could not be widely canvassed and discussed.

The Education Act was passed in 1870 although compulsory schooling did not begin until a decade later. In the 1840's the literacy rate for men had been about 67% and the rate for women even lower. By the turn of the Century both sexes had literacy rates of about 97%.

Along with rising levels of literacy were a growing number of newspapers, magazines and other publications through which political ideas could be discussed and disseminated.

The development of democracy in Britain had been slow and gradual. A number of times the monarch had intervened to ensure that reform was introduced. The development was, however, generally peaceful and has resulted in one of the world's most stable and enduring democracies.


Editor's note: British Corn Law prohibited the import of wheat below a fixed price. 'Peterloo' massacre occurred in Manchester in 1819 where eleven people were killed when troops dispersed demonstrators seeking parliamentary reform and repeal of Corn Laws. In 1822 new Corn Laws reduced the price at which wheat could be imported into Britain. The Corn Laws were repealed at a time when the Irish potato crop failed again and famine was widespread.
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