

Title:

**The Chrysalid Crown:
An un-national history of the Crown in Australia
1808 – 1986**

Candidate:

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**“As the great scroll of history unfolds many complicated incidents occur
which it is difficult to introduce effectively into the pattern of the
likes and dislikes of the epoch in which we live.”**

*Winston Churchill, addressing the House of Commons
on whether the regnal numbering of Queen Elizabeth
should be different in Scotland and in England, 15 April 1953*

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INTRODUCTION 1999 And All That

Early in the evening of Saturday 6 November 1999 the results of the Australia-wide referendum held that day were becoming clear. The referendum sought the electors' approval to remove the Crown from the federal constitution. It was quickly apparent in the count that a majority had voted 'no' to the proposal, in each state and nationally.¹ The referendum thus joined the long list of 'failed' constitutional referenda in Australia.

The main protagonists each acknowledged the results in their own way. The 'Yes' team's Malcolm Turnbull of the Australian Republican Movement tearfully told television viewers "Whatever else he [John Howard] achieves, history will remember him for only one thing. He was the Prime Minister who broke a nation's heart".² Kerry Jones of the 'No' camp, Australians for Constitutional Monarchy, said "In Australia, there's nothing wrong about being passionate about something and going out and fighting for it. And that's what I've done."³ How had Australia's great *fin-de-siècle* republic show reached such a surprising and unexpected denouement?

Media commentary in the days after the referendum ascribed its failure to several issues, mainly disunity among republicans, a focus on constitutional changes rather than monarchy *per se*, and the roles played (or allegedly played) by Prime Minister John Howard.⁴ Over the next few years several more-considered explanations were provided

¹ A proposal to amend the constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia requires a referendum that wins a 'double majority', that is, an overall majority of the votes cast, and a majority of the six states. A referendum that achieves an overall majority of votes cast, but wins in less than four states, or vice versa, will fail.

² Tony Stephens, 'The day democracy rained on sunny boy's parade', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: page 9

³ Anthony Dennis, 'Mrs Jones might have a thing going on, and on ...', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: page 9

⁴ Examples (all dated 8 November 1999, unless otherwise noted): (editorials) 'referendum reflects a split society' *The Australian*; 'A failure of leadership' *Sydney Morning Herald*; 'A Vote of Confidence' *The Daily Telegraph*, 'The republic vision will endure' *The Age*; (opinion pieces) Michelle Grattan, 'Wiser heads will rule broken hearts' *Sydney Morning Herald*; Mike Secombe, 'Beazley: we will deliver a republic' *Sydney Morning Herald*; Louise Dodson, 'The referendum is over, but long live the republic' *Australian Financial Review*; Paul Kelly, 'New class divide rooted in distrust' *The Australian*; Mike Steketee, 'One Queen, two nations' *The Australian*; Brendan Nicholson, 'Beazley outlines plan for a new vote' *The Age*; Christopher Pearson, 'Plenty of red faces in this royal blue' *Australian Financial Review*; Paul Keating, 'Crisis of confidence looms', *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 23; Linda Doherty and Nadia Jamal, 'I played it by the book, says Howard', *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 7; David Marr, 'Constitution badly needs a grease and oil

in conference papers and memoirs, mainly by those involved in the No campaign. Their explanations focused on ‘failures’ in the republican campaign: the No case had won because republicans were disunited and their campaign was riddled by partisan divisions, republicans relied too much on celebrities and politicians, they ignored public views in smaller states, and republican leaders appeared elitist and denounced their opponents as unpatriotic.⁵ One Yes campaigner opined that, had his proposals been accepted, the monarchists would have had to defend the monarchy rather than ‘tell fibs’.⁶ By the end of the decade, a trickle of explanations were still appearing in books and media articles, although now usually from Yes campaigners but not so dissimilar in their explanations: republican disunity, confused constitutional confusion about who was the head of state, John Howard’s failure to provide bipartisan support, and disreputable tactics by the monarchists were identified as reasons for failure.⁷ They focused on campaign strategies and tactics, and personalities.

Another conspicuous theme running through the initial explanations were the claims that, although the majority of votes were cast against the proposal, the majority of voters supported removing the Queen: “Most Australians are republican in their disposition. They accept the inevitability of our eventual split with the British Crown...” wrote one commentator.⁸ Claims of such support ranged from generalizations such as ‘many’ or ‘most’ or ‘a majority’ to enumerated proportions such

change’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 14; Simon Marr, ‘Go, ma’am or you’ll be pushed’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 12, Frank Cassidy, ‘Reigning on parade’, *The Canberra Times*, 1 January 2000; Hugh McKay, ‘Why battlers gave it their kiss of death’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 7; Linda Doherty, ‘Labor, Liberals vow to try again’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 10; Stephanie Peatling, ‘Victoria’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 10; Andrew Robb, ‘Spare us the recriminations’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 23; Phillip McCarthy, ‘We’re odd in US, but only for 5 seconds’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 12; Craig Skehan and Michael Millett, ‘Asia links cursed by vote, Thai press says’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 12

⁵ Sir David Smith, ‘The Referendum: A Post-Mortem’, *Proceedings Samuel Griffith Society*, Vol. 12, November 2000; David Smith, *Head of State: The Governor-General, the Monarchy, the Republic and the Dismissal*, Macleay Press, Sydney 2005; Michael Kirby, [The Australian Republican referendum of 1999 - ten lessons](#), Address to the Faculty of Law, University of Birmingham, 3 March 2000, accessed 9 September 2012; Hon Justice Lloyd Waddy, ‘Memories of a Monarchist – now a Trappist Judge’, *Proceedings Samuel Griffith Society*, Vol. 14, 2002

⁶ Bob Carr, *Thoughtlines: reflections of a Public Man*, Viking, Camberwell 2002: page 258

⁷ Paul Kelly, *The March of the Patriots: the Struggle for Modern Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2009; Greg Barnes, [Malcolm Turnbull, me and the lost republic](#), *Crikey*, 25 August 2008, accessed 9 September 2012

⁸ Hugh Mackay, ‘Why battlers gave it their kiss of death’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: page 7

as 75% or 91% of electors supporting a republic.⁹ The main characteristic of these explanations is claims or inferences asserting that a majority had been tricked into voting against their true feelings, and blindness to any sense of the complex histories of either the Crown or republicanism in Australia. They also hint at the effects of emotions and cultural values, things altogether more nebulous than strategies and laws.

The Problem of the Crown

The central question for this thesis is whether history can provide an understanding of the cultural and political forces that shaped this result, and in particular whether a focus on the mutability and divisibility of the crown can provide insights into such an understanding.

Before outlining my approach to this question, the problem of the crown in Australian historiography must be addressed. The crown in Australia is divisible, that is, it was ‘sub-divided’ from the British Crown in 1931, a certitude only accepted by the Australian Federal Parliament in 1942 (backdated to 1939), and by 1999 had its own independent existence.¹⁰ Australian historians largely perceive the divisibility of the crown (if they ever think about it) as an arcane, technical issue only of interest to constitutional scholars.¹¹ Historians in Australia largely ignore crown divisibility, especially those working within nationalist or nation-centred historiographical traditions, as a potential prism for exploring the 1999 referendum.

⁹ For 75% see ‘A Failure of Leadership’ (editorial), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: page 22, for 91% see Andrew Robb, ‘Spare us the recriminations’, *Sydney Morning Herald*: page 23

¹⁰ Australia did not formally ratify the Statute of Westminster until 1942, backdated to 1939. The usual explanation in Australian historiography for this sequence is an initial fear by conservative parties of weakening ties with Britain followed by a Labor Party wartime assertion of Australian independence – see for examples David Day 1988: pages 345-346, 357; Stuart Macintyre 1999: page 189; John Hirst 2008: pages 159-160. A variation on this interpretation can be found in Chris Clark, ‘The Statute of Westminster and the murder in HMAS Australia in 1942’, *Australian Defence Force Journal*, No 179, 2009: pages 18-29, http://www.adfjournal.adc.edu.au/UserFiles/issues/179%202009%20Jul_Aug.pdf accessed 29 January 2017. However, as is argued in Chapter 6 of this thesis, the sequence can also be explained by a fear of loosening the ties binding the Australian states to the Australian federation, in particular Western Australia, and potentially at least partial dissolution of the federation.

¹¹ Examples of such constitutional scholarship include Sir Zelman Cowan, ‘The Crown and its Representative in the Commonwealth’, *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, Vol 18, 1992: pages 303-311; and Leslie Zines, *Constitutional Change in the Commonwealth: the Commonwealth lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge on 8, 15 and 22 November 1988*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991

A number of assumptions inform this problem. The principal assumption is that the creation of the dominions through the division of the British Crown in 1931 was an imperial project, not a dominion national interest, and it therefore has no real place in the history of the dominions, other than as a fleeting reference or footnote.¹² Dominion histories are typically national histories of the struggle for independence from an overbearing and exploitative Britain, and so divisibility has no history in the dominions and is not part of dominion historiographies. It follows from this assumption that 'higher level' constitutional issues are only of interest to as a minor storyline in a teleology of wresting political and economic power from Britain by democratizing settler societies. Dominion crowns have limited, and when it comes to divisibility, no real local cultural and social contexts worth historical study. One consequence is the separation of constitutional monarchy from 'history', rendering it unimportant or abstruse in a country like Australia.

The problem is tackled in this study by making the crown the organizing principle, to directly engage with cultural and social representations of the crown in settler societies and old dominions, and by-pass national historiographies and teleologies. Stuart Ward evaluated such a paradigm of "thwarted" nationalism as powerfully influential in Australian historiography, an evaluation confirmed in Chapter 1.¹³ Bypassing such a paradigm will allow different histories to be written that will help explain the results of 1999, and the broader transition from Empire to Commonwealth and the imagining and institution of new crowns in the Sixteen Realms.

Eighteen Commonwealth republics were created between 1950 and 1992 (three-quarters in the fifteen years between 1960 and 1976). None were created before or since, and

¹² this is not to say that divisibility has never been referred to in treatises on evolving dominion self-governance written in Britain (as distinct from historiographies of national self-determination written in the former dominions). For some notable examples see Sir Ivor Jennings and CM Young, *Constitutional Laws of the Commonwealth, being a 2nd edition of Constitutional Laws of the British Empire*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1952; Sir Ivor Jennings and HW Tambiah, *The Dominion of Ceylon: The development of its laws and constitution*, Stevens & Sons, London 1952; AB Keith, *The Dominions as Sovereign States: Their constitutions and governments*, Macmillan & Co., London 1938; AB Keith, *The King and the Imperial Crown: The powers and duties of His Majesty*, Longmans Green & Co, London 1936

¹³ Stuart Ward, *Discordant Communities: Australia, Britain and the EEC, 1956-1963*, doctoral thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney 1998: pages 5-14 for discussion of this paradigm

only three were authorised by popular referenda. However, since the Mauritian Crown was abolished by a simple parliamentary vote in 1992, every proposal to abolish a Commonwealth crown, directly or indirectly, has been submitted to a referendum, and all have failed (Australia 1999, Tuvalu 2008, St Vincent & The Grenadines 2009, British Crown in Scotland 2014)¹⁴. There are cultural factors that can explain this continuing allegiance to realmic crowns that nationalist historiographies do not take into account, but which the cultural and social aspects of the crown's divisibility can explain. There is nothing inevitable about the abolition (or retention) of a Commonwealth crown. The question arises of whether the abolition of Commonwealth crowns and their replacement by Commonwealth republics was a mid-twentieth century phenomenon associated with a particular phase of the post-war decolonization process that has now been superseded by a phenomenon of actively adapting Commonwealth crowns to local cultures? Are these adaptations *new* cultural and social expressions of crown divisibility, or are they *continuations of older forms* in the popular 'naturalization' of the crown in each realm? In this thesis, Australia may serve as an analogue for other Commonwealth realms.

There are several main influences in my thinking about this problem. Firstly, 'British World' historiography, in particular the work of JGA Pocock and Neville Meaney, which has challenged the orthodox nationalist historiography of 'Australian History' by drawing attention to larger or more comprehensive emotional and intellectual frameworks for exploring and comprehending historical patterns in Australia's British history.¹⁵ Their influence, and Stuart Ward's idea of 'abandonment', is particularly evident in Chapter 6.

¹⁴ Scotland is included in this list because, although independence supporters stated they wanted to retain the Queen as Queen of Scotland, the logic of their claim means the Crown worn by the Queen in Scotland would have been a Scottish Crown, not the British Crown. Whether by emulating the divisibility that led to separate dominion crowns, or perhaps by being 'un-united' from the union into which the old Scottish Crown had entered in 1707, a new Scottish Crown would have been institutionally separate from the British Crown, each a new body corporate despite both ensigning the one body natural. This is implicit in the epigraph on page 4 of this thesis. A somewhat similar argument was alluded to by AB Keith in 1936 when he wrote "The Irish Free State claims the right to attain republican status, and therefore is not interested in asserting her right to be regarded a separate kingdom, though by history such a right seems to be certainly strong": AB Keith 1936: pages 438-439

¹⁵ JGA Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *New Zealand Historical Journal*, No 8, 1974: pages 3-21; JGA Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown

Another influence has been Miles Taylor's approaches to current histories of monarchy and empire, which he contends are ignoring the monarchs, exaggerating ceremonial at expense of 'the real' (such as opportunities to expand the royal prerogative in colonies), and confusing loyalty and deference.¹⁶ Taylor nominated three areas in 2014 in which research needs to be focused. These are putting the British Crown into a wider European context rather than 'reading backwards' current Commonwealth relationships (monarchs in several realms with several crowns are not uncommon), putting monarchs back into history (get beyond the official language, titillation, derision etc., to what the actual kings and queens actually said and did, and seeing the differences between women and men in these roles), and seeing loyalty and revolution on a 'spectrum of rhetoric', or monarchy as a space where negotiation happens, rather than being a choice between one or the other.

Also influential has been *The Court Historian*, journal of the Society for Court Studies, and its ideas of royal and vice-regal courts as systems and networks of influence, and paying close attention to a 'sense of place' in material forms of royal power and influence in architecture, landscapes and patronage of the arts. Finally, the philosophical arguments in *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment*, a collection of essays with a strong emphasis on the dynamic and continually changing character of monarchies, has been influential.¹⁷

Subject', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 87, No. 2, April 1982: pages 311-336; Neville Meaney, *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia*, Heinemann Educational Australia, Port Melbourne 1989; Neville Meaney, 'British and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 116, April 2001: pages 76-90; Neville Meaney, 'In History's Page: Identity and Myth', in Schreuder & Ward, 2008: pages 363-388; Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Ideal*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South 2001; James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2010

¹⁶ Miles Taylor, 'The British Royal Family and the Colonial Empire: From the Georgians to Prince George', keynote address, Crowns and Colonies Conference, University of Sydney, 11 June 2014, author's notes from address.

¹⁷ Hans Blom, John Christian Laursen and Luisa Simonutti (eds), *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment: Liberty, Patriotism and the Common Good*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto Buffalo and London 2007

Methodology

In exploring this problem and the question I have used a ‘mixed method’ from three sources. The first is the ‘slice approach’, the second is using the crown as the organising principle, and the third is drawing upon landscapes, in the broadest sense, as historical records.

The principal characteristic of the slice approach, as applied in this study, is taking a ‘slice’ or particular period of time for study, with each slice representing a moment of cultural interaction that provides insights into a dynamic situation.¹⁸ Each slice is intended to reveal the awareness of people at that moment of their pasts and presents, and of possible futures that may yet be realised. Techniques include a close reading of a limited range of documents, a critical use of ‘non-elite’ records such as popular media, images and landscapes, and placing people in specific social, geographical and cultural contexts. Critically, the selection of slices is not made according to any notion of representivity, but rather of moments that, through their internal diversity and conflict, can reveal the exercise of crowned power, and of resistance to or assistance with shaping that power, at a particular place and time. A slice, therefore, is not selected as a prelude to a period or event better-known from a present-day vantage point, of which people at that time could have no concept, but is to be understood as far as possible on its own terms. The long historical tempo of the thesis inherently means there can be long chronological gaps between slices. This is addressed in the thesis by a single-page segue between each chapter titled ‘Metamorphosis’, containing a justification for the

¹⁸ The slice approach was developed between 1979 and 1981 by The Push Collective over a number of meetings and symposia. The collective development of the slice approach can be traced in several issues of the Collective’s journal, *The Push From The Bush: A Bulletin of Social History Devoted to the Year of Grace 1838*, notably Alan Atkinson, ‘Settlement from Below’, No 3, May 1979, pages 64-69; Elizabeth Morrison ‘1838 Conference Report’, No 6, May 1980, pages 64-67; Marian Aveling ‘Editorial’, No 9, July 1981, pages i-vi; and Atkinson & Aveling, ‘Editorial’, No 10, September 1981, pages i-iii. The Collective’s work resulted in Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling (eds), *Australians: A Historical Library*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Sydney 1987, Volume 2 ‘Australians 1838’

choice of each slice as a revealing moment of change in crowned history, and providing a narrative link between slices.

The slice approach has attracted limited critical commentary, and that which it has generally suggests it challenges orthodox historians and historiographies.¹⁹ Geoffrey Bolton wrote in 1988 that it “...favour[ed] ‘history from below’ ... perhaps also an effectively nationalist approach”, whereas Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark took a different view in 2003 arguing that it broke with the familiar landmarks of narrative history and suspended conventions that carried the reader towards predetermined conclusions.²⁰ It was an approach, they suggested, focused on probabilities and uncertainties, possibly subversive but also possibly tempering iconoclastic tendencies. For this study, the slice approach helps to locate deeper patterns and continuities, and to envisage an organisational principle in the crown rather than orthodox ‘Australian History’.

Making the crown the organising principle draws attention to ideas, representations and agents of the Crown, both supportive and oppositional. The synonymy of crown, dynasty, empire and nation can be questioned by making space for imaginings of crown and state as both separate and entangled entities. There is an inherent assumption in this approach that the Crown is ‘fictive’, it is an idea or concept, and it is those ideas and their representations and agents and the interactions between them that are the actual object of inquiry.²¹ Adopting a concrete definition of the ‘crown’ has, therefore, been resisted for this study.

¹⁹ Kay Daniels, ‘Slicing the Past’, in Susan Janson and Stuart Macintyre (eds), *Australian Historical Studies Making the Bicentenary*, Vol 23, No 91, October 1988: pages 130-140 offers some contemporary critical commentary, but like several essays in this volume, appears somewhat coloured by personal animus about the authors under discussion.

²⁰ J Holland Rose, AP Newton and EA Benians (eds), *Australia, Edited by Ernest Scott, A Reissue of Volume VII, Part I of the Cambridge History of the British Empire, with a new introduction by GC Bolton*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988: ‘New Introduction’, page xx; Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2003: pages 116-117

²¹ Quentin Skinner, ‘The state as a person “by fiction”: acquisition of a concept’, paper given at a symposium ‘Fictions of the State’, School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry, University of Sydney, 6th September 2012; Quentin Skinner, ‘Hobbes and the purely artificial person of the state’, *Journal of Political Philosophy*, No 7, 1999, pages 1 - 29

Landscapes, within which I include build forms and architectural styles, have a critical place in understanding the pasts in Australia. They have been shaped by human agency for millennia, and those serial shapings have reflected not only physical factors such as changing climates but also cultural factors, such as the spread of the colonial frontier and spatial evolution of new societies in its wake. Along with the slice approach and the crown as organising principle, reading landscapes provides a capacity to interrogate the 'open air archive' for evidence of an evolving crown.

There is, perhaps as a sub-set of 'landscape', an attempt to move beyond the geographical focus of 'Australian History', overwhelmingly written from points of view within the south east of the continent projected uncritically over the whole continent. In order to move outside this 'south-eastern' historiographical construct, this study emphasizes, or at least attempts to provide parity with, events and interpretations in regions beyond the south-eastern triangle.

The thesis focuses on the evolving civic personality, communal identities and popular representations of the Crown in the cultural and social life of Australia, and how its representations and agents in Australia have changed over time. It shows there is a pattern of periodic re-imaginings of the idea of the crown. The federation referenda of 1898, 1899 and 1900 gave popular assent to an Australian constitution in which the British Crown was the foundational institution. The 1999 referendum gave popular assent to and authorized the 'new' Australian crown(s) as successors to the British Crown in Australia.²² In this light, the 1999 referendum result is not a 'failure' but an affirmation of the Crown's mutability and dynamism and its capacity as a 'space where negotiation happens'.

Sources

This project could not have been contemplated without the impact of two advances in accessing primary sources since 1999. The first is the release of records now available for research from the early to mid 1980s, or roughly to the end of the period covered by

²² For a historiographical perspective on the legitimacy of treating the 1999 referendum as an outcome supportive of the crown, see Chapter 1 'Popular assent': pages 54-55

the thesis. This has occurred at the same as the increasing digitisation of archives and their availability online, since 2001, has freed remote historians from having to physically travel to distant archives. The capacity to request the digitisation of specific records (since 2007, for a fee), and then make them publicly available online, has provided a research flexibility and a capacity for primary sources to be instantly checked against historians' interpretations previously undreamt.

The second source that has become exponentially easier to access is the digitisation and public accessibility of historical newspapers on a national scale. The launch of the online database aggregator Trove by the National Library of Australia in 2009 has been transformative in facilitating the searching of printed materials on a scale that was simply unimaginable less than a decade ago. Trove is currently accessed by over 70,000 people every day, a figure that only hints at the impact it is having on historical research and writing.

Chapter outlines

Each of the six chapters (except the first) is a selection of 'slices' covering the periods 1808-1810, 1867-1869, 1915-1918, 1931-1935 and 1973-1986. Chapter One is an introduction to writing on the Crown in Australia through three thematic discussions that contextualise historians' writings, or absence of writings, at the intersection of 'Crown' and 'Australia'.

Chapter Two is the first slice of 'history' proper. The establishment of the Colony of New South Wales in 1788 marked the beginning of the British invasion and colonization of Terra Australis and the South Seas. As the colonists landed in Sydney Cove, an invisible cargo of English law and British cultures fell from their backs and fused with the new land. One element of that culture was the common law of precedents, customs and traditions, including the royal prerogatives of their Crown. The settlers were heirs to, and practitioners of, centuries of these cultural mores, which they adapted and continued in the colony. They did not immerse themselves in Indigenous cultures and became subjects of Indigenous sovereigns. Instead, they invented a new country that, between 1808 and 1810, was convulsed by a military

usurpation in which the Crown was contested and re-imagined. This slice explores this foundational period through the story of the theft of the Great Seal of New South Wales.

In Chapter Three, a defining international event that influenced the Australias (as the Pacific colonies were referred to) during the 1860s was the American Civil War. The fear of kingless anarchy, a fear deep within the Briton imaginary since the seventeenth century, was acutely experienced in the Australias through the widely reported fratricidal violence of the civil war. Responses in the settler colonies focused on preserving their British autonomy. A potent mix of Canadian confederation, proposals for seating cadet crowns, Anglo-German flamboyance, and the first colonial tour by a member of the royal family (a handsome, sporting, charismatic young bachelor), produced a moment in the Australias in which it seemed an emigrant king would reign in a confident new kingdom of Britons in the south. However, one violent act scuttled the new kingdom and shocked the settler imagination into demanding the sanctuary of a single sovereign and a united empire. This slice is explored through a seditious pamphlet championing Prince Alfred as king of an independent kingdom in eastern Australia.

Chapter Four is set in the terrible times of the Great War when the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was transformed, casting aside its 'recent' European and German dynasticism for a 'return' to mystical roots in symbolically ancient Windsor Castle. The dominions were active agents in this transformation, not passive recipients, and the fraught, often vicious, public debates that shaped the old/new British Crown reveal multiple ideas of what Britishness meant as a nationality, as a political reality, as a transcendent idealism that intersected with imaginings of modernity and the place of tradition, honour and esotericism in the coming post-war order. This slice is explored through the mass abolition of German place-names in South Australia.

Chapter Five is set in the decade of the 1930s, during the Great Depression and the division of the British Crown amongst the dominions creating six new, independent realms. All of these crowns sat on the head of one British king cleansed of German lineage. An early test of the independence of these crowns came in the 1930s with a

popular movement in Western Australia for separating from Australia and creating an independent dominion within the Empire. Secession, and the responses to it, reveal competing views of loyalty, sovereignty and nationality and an antagonistic 'Westral Briton' localist culture with clear expressions in popular forms, all legible in actual and metaphoric imaginings of the Crown. But whether that crown was British, Australian or something else remained obscured. This slice is explored through the popular movement for secession and the rise and fall of the Dominion League of Western Australia.

Chapter Six is framed by over 40 official visits by members of the royal family between the 1960s and 1980s. Unease in the 1960s over Britain's intentions to join Europe and perceptions of abandoning the dominions produced a nebulous nationalistic response. The election of the Whitlam Labor federal government in 1972 inaugurated an explicit phase in 'Australianising' the Crown, an Australianising that paradoxically ended with the further subdivision of the Crown by the creation of another six new crowns, one in each of the States. This slice is explored through the often troubled and manipulated establishment of the chivalric Order of Australia, set in the uniquely 'government town' of Canberra.

The questions explored, the approaches for undertaking those explorations, the range of records traversed and increasing research interest in the subject have allowed me to produce a thesis that will complement the work of some historians and contest that of others. I am not aware of any other current researcher who has asked the same questions or taken the same approaches. I am confident the thesis will offer a significant contribution to a growing field of historical research into the Crown in Australia and other Commonwealth realms.²³

²³ For example, see the range of speakers and papers at 'Crowns and Colonies: Monarchies and Colonial Empires' conference, University of Sydney, 9-13 June 2014 (and subsequent book, Robert Aldrich and Cindy McCreery (eds), *Crowns and Colonies: European Monarchs and Overseas Empires*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Manchester 2016), *Royals on Tour: the Politics and Pageantry of Royal Visits*, conference, University of Sydney 11-12 June 2015; the range of speakers and papers at the 'Constitutional Monarchy in the Commonwealth Realms: Opportunities in Common' conference, 21-23 May 2015, Parliament House, Wellington (New Zealand); the range of speakers and papers at 'The Crown in Canada: Present Realities and Future Possibilities' conference, The Senate, Ottawa, June 2010 (and subsequent book, Jennifer Smith and D Michael Jackson (eds), *The Evolving Canadian Crown*, McGill-Queen's University

Chapter 1 | WRITING ABOUT THE CROWN A historiographical review

The chapter begins with a claim that “despite the centrality of the Monarchy to any history of Australia, there is a yawning gap in the historiography”²⁴. At a glance, writing in recent years has focused on republican or non-monarchist writings, and Mark McKenna has compiled several bibliographies that support this observation of a ‘yawning gap’.²⁵ Searches of two nationally significant library catalogues support such an observation.²⁶ The volume of ‘monarchist’ writing has apparently been at cottage-craft levels relative to the industrial scale output of ‘republican’ writing since the 1960s, roughly dividing into 70% ‘republican’ oriented and 30% ‘monarchist’. Such a statistic would clearly support an observation of a ‘yawning gap’. This suggests a comparatively meagre history of writing about the Crown in Australia. However, is this meagreness a historiographical construct rather than a historical description?

A dynasty is a sequence of genealogically connected rulers, often descended from a common ancestor. The history of a state may be constructed as a chronology of

Press, Montreal & Kingston 2010); the journal (commenced 1999) and conferences of the Society for Court Studies, established in London in 1995 with branches in the USA (1998) and Germany (2015), with a good summary of current issues by Clarissa Campbell Orr, ‘Popular History, Court Studies and Courtier Diaries’, *The Court Historian*, Vol 17, No 1, June 2012: pages 1-16, and similar work by affiliated organisations, mainly in France, Germany, Italy and Spain.

²⁴ Mark McKenna, ‘Monarchy: From Reverence to Indifference’, in Deryck M Schreuder & Stuart Ward (eds), *Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series: Australia’s Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008: 264

²⁵ Mark McKenna, *The Captive Republic: A history of republicanism in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1996: ‘Select Bibliography’ *passim*, pages 312-324 (36 journal articles and 28 books with obviously Australian republican titles, although a larger republican theme is evident throughout the bibliography); Mark McKenna and Wayne Hudson, *Australian Republicanism: A Reader*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2003 (seven publications listed as ‘constitutional monarchist tracts’, and 18 ‘republican tracts’, 13 ‘on the history of republicanism and Anglo-Australian relations’, and 22 on ‘constitutional and cultural aspects of the recent debate on the republic’. Of these 60 publications, 72% were republican-oriented, 16% not ostensibly aligned (usually official referendum materials), and 12% monarchist-oriented); McKenna, ‘Monarchy: From reverence to indifference’, 2008: pages 286-287 and n5 (a bibliography of “the most crucial work” in Australia on ‘monarchist’ history identified 11 publications)

²⁶ National Library of Australia catalogue, online search 7 June 2016 (returned 76 titles under the title search ‘Republicanism - Australia’, and 404 titles using the same term in a subject search, compared to 53 titles under ‘Monarchy – Australia’ and 191 titles as a subject search). University of Sydney’s Fisher Library catalogue, online searches, 5 April 2012 and 4 December 2015 returned 89 titles under the subject search ‘Republicanism - Australia’, and 18 titles using the same term in a keyword search, compared to 2 titles under ‘Monarchy – Australia’ and 23 titles as a key word search (although 13 of these titles are official referendum materials or republican in orientation). The differences in overall quantities are explained by the National Library being a legal deposit institution.

successive rulers and dynasties. Seventeenth-century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes described dynastic government, or ‘monarchie’, as “Artificiall Eternity, which men call the Right of Succession”, without which societies would sink into conflict and civil war.²⁷

Irish-American anthropologist and political scientist Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* positioned the nation and nation state as the successor to the ‘dynastic realm’.²⁸ He conceptualized the dynastic realm as a vertical political structure, headed by a sovereign who derived authority from a relationship with the divine. Such realms were focused on the centre, with royal sovereignty imperceptibly shading into neighbouring sovereignties. Borders were porous, indistinct and of little importance because the paramount relationship was between sovereign and subject. One way in which this realmic structure was evident was a single sovereign’s rule over polyglot, heterogeneous and often territorially discontinuous populations.

Realmic states expanded and contracted through warfare and, just as importantly, sexual politics, or inter-dynastic marriages. Anderson attributed general principles of verticality, centrality, allegiance and dynasticism to realmic states, as well as a temporal status of antiqueness and pre-modernity. He described the House of Hapsburg as the paradigmatic realmic dynasty, evident in the house motto of *Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube* (Let others make war; you, fortunate Austria, marry).

Anderson engages with a number of historical interlocutors, including the Austromarxist politician and lawyer Otto Bauer. Bauer, writing in *fin-de-siecle* Vienna well before Anderson on the evolving relationships between national or ethnic groups under the Hapsburg Crown, offered a different understanding of the realmic state and its potential.²⁹ Anderson and Bauer each set out an explanation, shaped by their own

²⁷ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the matter, forme and power of a common-wealth ecclesiasticall and civill*, Andrew Crooke, London 1651, reprint Penguin Books, London 2012: 247

²⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, revised edition, Verso, London & New York, 1991: 19-20, 196 and n21, n22.

²⁹ Otto Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, translator Joseph O’Donnell, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2000, originally published as *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*,

understandings of historical materialism, of monarchical dynasties as historical actors. But whereas Anderson positions the general concept of a dynastic state as the predecessor that inevitably gives way to the nation state, Bauer was charting a potential future for the Hapsburg dynasty in the hope of heading-off the transformation of their single dynastic realm into multiple, mutually antagonistic, unstable nation states in the middle of Europe. Dynastic government was not the central element in either of their writings, but they each attribute to it a capacity for transformation, and agency as a facilitator of new forms of the state.

Bauer's understanding of the structure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the early twentieth century is similar to Anderson's dynastic realm, but Bauer sought to accommodate that structure with ideas of national or ethnic communities. Such 'communities of character', as he called them, spoke a common language, but could be geographically fragmented and entangled, such as the German and Czech populations in Bohemia. Bauer developed and advocated the Personal Principle as a way of gathering the geographically scattered members of the same nation (or ethnicity) by organising them, not in territorial bodies, but in associations or corporations of persons. He disaggregated nation from territory and conceptualised each nation as a non-territorial corporation. He theorized that in the future each person would nominate their national association, and would live according to the laws made by that association's legislative and administrative bodies, under the aegis of a ritual federal crown that provided a unifying element across all the nations within a borderless dynastic state, and a federal government to manage inter-association affairs and external relations.

For Anderson, the dynastic state was bound to fall before the rise of nationalism and the territorially-bounded nation state (which he characterized as a horizontal structure of equal citizens and an equal spread of sovereignty over every square centimetre within the state's borders). For Bauer, however, the Austro-Hungarian realm in 1907 (when he was writing) appeared a long way from any sort of fall. Anderson argued that monarchies in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a tendency to try

Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung Ionaz Brand, Vienna 1907; revised version Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Vienna 1924

and avert their fall by adopting an ‘official nationalism’, in which the dynasty consciously aligned with a form of national identification that merged nation and dynasty. Inevitably, however, dynastic official nationalism could only defer, not defeat, the triumph of vernacular nationalism in the form of the ‘imagined community’ of a nation. The nation, or ‘limited sovereign community’, was imagined in the sense that all of its members could personally know only a tiny fraction of their co-citizens, but they could all imagine in their minds a common identity as co-nationals, ‘limited’ in that it had definite, precise physical boundaries, and ‘sovereign’ because it was ‘free’ of any divinely-ordained dynastic realm.³⁰ Anderson does not pursue whether subjects could similarly imagine themselves as co-members of a dynastic realm, ‘reciprocal, localised and multi-communal’.

This imagining was, for Anderson, fundamentally evoked and facilitated through the standardization and adoption of a single national language, and the spread of print media such as newspapers and literature using the national language. The importance of communications in evoking national sentiment and feeling was also important to Bauer’s Personal Principle. He argued that printing presses, postal systems, the telegraph, railways and steamships combined to negate the need for a ‘common area of habitation’ as a necessary condition for the existence of a nation. From the transformative power of the printing press came cheap, mass produced and easily distributed forms characteristic of these two ideas: the nation state’s national maps and dictionaries, and the realmic state’s royal portraits.

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, 1991: pages 5-6 and n9

Figure 1.1 | Anderson's and Bauer's concepts expressed in popular print forms



1911 map of 'races' in the Kingdom of Bohemia, showing separate, proto-national states (Anderson) or territorially disaggregated national associations (Bauer)³¹



Austria (L) and Hungary (R)

Imperial portraits on postage stamps, the Emperor-King Karl I & IV (1916-1918): doomed dynast (Anderson) or potential federal king (Bauer)³²

Anderson argues that the subjects of the old multi-ethnic empires transferred their allegiance from dynastic crowns to national movements and eventually to independent nation states. Imperial dynasties responded by attempting a process he termed naturalization, a conscious, self-protective policy to preserve dynastic interests that emanated from the state as part of a realm's official nationalism. The Hapsburgs, Anderson would argue, responded to new national sentiments in their German-speaking subjects by increasingly and actively portraying their dynasty as German, rather than as Imperial or universal.

Bauer attributed to the Hapsburgs a capacity to be flexible and continually adapting to the changing relationships within and between national groups within their realms.³³ This capacity had been demonstrated in the 1867 Compromise to separate the Austrian and Hungarian realms as distinct states, but sharing a single dynasty. Bauer, in the preface to the 1924 edition of his work, attributes the fall of the Hapsburgs in 1918 to the dynasty becoming unable to comprehend its changing dynastic environment and being unable to rapidly evolve, especially under pressure from external factors in the last

³¹ William R Shepherd, 'Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary', *The Historical Atlas*, Henry Holt & Co., New York 1911

³² (Left) <http://www.catawiki.com>, (Right) <http://www.stamp-collecting-world.com> both accessed 2nd May 2013. ["Upon ascending to the Austrian throne in 1916, Charles the First was asked what he was to do as his country's new emperor. With a perspicuity uncommon in a hereditary monarch, he answered "What should I do? I think the best thing is to order a stamp with my face on it": in Jefferey Kaster & Sina Najafu (eds), *The Book of Stamps*, Cabinet Books, New York 2008: page 10]

³³ Otto Bauer 1907/1924: pages 331, 357

year of World War One.³⁴ The dynasty had passively allowed itself to be portrayed as German, especially by German-speaking bureaucrats and urban bourgeoisie in Vienna (rather than actively ‘naturalizing’ itself as German, as Anderson would contend) that, in a multi-ethnic realm, undermined its universality.

Bauer was initially writing at a time when the demise of the Hapsburg dynasty seemed a far-distant event and he sought a means of accommodating both vertical realms and horizontal nations. He was concerned dynastic federalism could become an instrument for a dynasty to retain a hold over states who only appeared to have some common interests because of the accumulation of dynastic marriages, but his concerns about conflict between communities should the dynasty collapse were greater.

Anderson’s construct of worried sovereigns trying to naturalize their dynasties seems to assume an *a priori* knowledge on their part of impending realmic catastrophes in 1918 or 1945. He summarily dismissed Bauer’s ideas as “The characteristic mindset of a well-known type of left wing European intellectual [who, in his] pride, internationalist and aristocratic ingredients are rather evenly mixed”, casting him as one of the practitioners of ‘*burgsozialismus*’ that he claimed illustrated the ideological and pragmatic affinities between dynasts and social democrats.³⁵ Bauer died forty five years before Anderson’s arguments were published, so could never have personally rebutted such criticisms.

Historians in Australia have approached royal dynasticism in more lateral ways. Stuart Ward applied Anderson’s idea that nations, before they could be imagined as ‘limited sovereign communities’ had first to become ‘imaginable’, to the question of how Australian nationalism became ‘ideologically detached’ from British origins in the later twentieth century.³⁶ Bauer had addressed this point in regard to the nationalities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire with his concepts of a ‘community of character’ that

³⁴ Otto Bauer 1907/1924: pages 5-6

³⁵ Benedict Anderson 1983/1991: pages 107, 108-109, and n59. Usually translated as ‘court socialists’ although ‘castle socialists’ is a more literal translation, suggesting an analogy with the pejorative Irish term ‘Castle Catholics’, meaning Irish Catholics allegedly assimilated into the pro-British establishment and administration based in Dublin Castle.

³⁶ Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace, the demise of the imperial ideal*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South 2001: pages 4-5

emerges from a 'community of fate', in which the fate of earlier generations determines the character of subsequent generations. One of the elements in a community of fate was a common language, and a 'community of language' was necessary for community of character to form.³⁷

Neville Meaney developed somewhat analogous concepts of the 'community of interest', or an instinctive sense of shared interests expressed in politics and public policies, and the 'community of culture', or the sharing of a common culture among all British and British-descended societies.³⁸ He argued that, because of the geographical distances between Britain and Australia, and the diverging economic interests of the two countries, these two communities could not remain one. Bauer, however, argued that a community of character arises out of the accumulation of past actions and is subject to continual transformation. This is reflected in language so that, for instance, Spanish-speaking Iberians and Spanish-speaking Americans have become different communities of character although they share a community of fate. Their shared language was not enough to constitute a single nation, but their disjoined territories were not enough to prevent them being a nation. Modern communications could maintain a linguistic community and provide a basis for a nation, but cannot alone produce a nation. Other interests such as geographical, religious, political or economic factors can act to prevent, in Meaney's terms, a community of culture from being synonymous with a community of interest.³⁹ Bauer's argument for the continuing mutability of these communities, however, suggests that studies of the tensions between interests and culture needs to be clearly located in specific times and places.

Geographical location, especially locations in which resident communities hold anxieties about their neighbours, can account for differences in the expressions of common or national identities. Meaney cites Britain's need for Asian allies and sensitivities to the feelings of Indians in its Raj making it unsympathetic to Australia's White Australia

³⁷ Otto Bauer 1907/1924: 115

³⁸ Neville Meaney, 'British and Australian Identity: The problem of nationalism in Australian history and historiography', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 116, April 2001: page 85

³⁹ Neville Meaney, 'Debate: the Problem of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Australian History', *History Australia*, Vol. 12, No 2, August 2015: pages 224, 230

Policy as an example of conflicting ‘communities of interest’ between Australia and Britain, despite a common ‘community of culture’.⁴⁰ That conflict could be subsumed by feelings of ‘British race patriotism’ in Australia so that differences could be managed within the ‘community of culture’. But, over time disharmonies were exacerbated. Britain’s preoccupation with the balance of power in Europe made it indifferent to the Pacific defence and foreign relations interests of Australia, and this came to a head in the 1960s with the British applications to join, and eventual accession to, the European Economic Community in 1972. This, says Ward, “fatally undermined the persisting assumptions about organic Anglo-Australian unity” as the two communities of interest diverged irrevocably beyond any common sentiments or ‘community of culture’ or, in Bauer’s terms, a ‘community of character’.⁴¹

One factor that could prevent a ‘community of language’ from becoming a ‘community of character’, argued Bauer, was differences in descent such as in Latin America where mixed descent from settlers and indigenous peoples meant that cultural mores arose that were sufficiently different from Spain to inhibit, despite a common language, the maintenance of a common culture. Anderson came at similar point from a different direction, arguing that royal dynasties practiced polygyny and polyandry as an essential element in integrating their diverse realms: “In fact, royal lineages often derive their prestige, aside from an aura of divinity, from, shall we say, miscegenation.”⁴² These inter-group relationships, he says, were signs of a dynasty’s ‘superordinate status’, and claimed that there has not been an ‘English’ dynasty ruling in London since at least the eleventh century. Whereas Bauer argues for intermarriage as a sign of a community of fate eventually fracturing into different cultures that remain conscious of ancestral lineages, Anderson depicts them as a symbol of the dynastic realm’s structural incapacity to become truly naturalized. What can be revealed by applying these ideas to a British community of culture?

⁴⁰ Neville Meaney 2001: page 85

⁴¹ Stuart Ward, 2001: page 10

⁴² Benedict Anderson, 1991: pages 20-21, and n23, n24, n25

British race patriotism is defined by Ward as “the idea that all British peoples, despite their particular regional problems and perspectives, ultimately comprised a single indissoluble community through the ties of blood, language, history and culture.”⁴³ Meaney argues that within the British Isles the idea of Britishness had to compete with deeply-rooted local identities (such as Scottishness or Cornishness) and hierarchical allegiances. British Australia, by contrast, lacked any such pre-modern traditions or identities, and so Britishness as a national ideal grew in more fertile soil than in Britain itself. Thus, in Australia the Crown became a symbol of an idealized historic British race rather than the head of a hereditary class system.

Figure 1.2 | Meaney’s communities depicted in popular printed forms of communication



Community of Culture: the blood-red map of imperial British race patriotism, 1898⁴⁴



Community of Interest: the pure-white map of nativist White Australia, 1913⁴⁵

This aggregation of the ‘British Crown’ and British race patriotism in Australia is consistent with Anderson’s vertical, centred dynastic structure and an imperial crown attempting to naturalise itself. His idea of a ‘miscegenated’ crown (in this case, Anglo-German) being inherently unable to be naturalized (see Chapter 4) argues against the possibility of naturalizing the British Crown in Australia. But Bauer implicitly disaggregates the ideas of crown and nation, so that one Hapsburg sovereign can be simultaneously Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and King of Croatia, with attributions of the dynasty’s civic personality separately naturalised, as shown in figure 1 and as Anderson would argue, in each of those realms. Similarly, the British Crown historically claimed simultaneous sovereignties in, for instance, the 1790s over England, Scotland, France, Hanover, Ireland, British North America and New South Wales.

⁴³ Stuart Ward, 2001: page 2

⁴⁴ ‘Post stamps and postal history of Canada’, *Wikipedia*, accessed 3 May 2013

⁴⁵ ‘Australia 1913 stamp kangaroo map’, *Wikipedia*, accessed 3 May 2013

Aggregating the ideas of dynasty and race, or crown and nation, and so inextricably linking the British Crown and Britishness, forecloses any potential for neo-British crownlets to evolve and naturalize in British settler societies. Meaney argues that “British-settled Australia had little in the way of pre-modern traditions to limit ... the growth of nationalism” compared to the old tangled networks of local loyalties and social allegiances in Britain⁴⁶. Unfortunately, this discourages consideration of the sort of multiple dynastic civic identities, either within Australia (in, for instance, loyalties to ‘pre-modern’ bodies such as the States) or across the wider British world, as depicted in Figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3 | Meaney and Ward’s ideas of British communities in popular print form



Separate community imaginings beginning to emerge, before being detached from their British origins (Ward) or the symbol of a singular British race patriotism (Meaney)⁴⁷

Historians in Australia have favoured an Andersonian nationalist construction of monarchy and dynasty rather than a Bauerist political conception of non-territorial dynastic federalism.⁴⁸

These approaches to dynasticism, retrospective and prospective, hypothesized by Anderson and Bauer, Meaney and Ward in differing ways, take several forms in Australian historiography. These forms include a persistent post-1960s claim that the Crown has lost its civic personality or identity in Australia, an insistent assumption within a long nationalist tradition of historical writing that the dynasty in Australia can only be inherently British, a more recent claim that the nation’s sovereignty and indigenous cultures are impugned by the term ‘Crown Land’, and limited writing on the divisibility of the Crown and on popular assent for the Crown.

⁴⁶ Neville Meaney 2001: page 81

⁴⁷ Left to right: www.ebay.com, www.lomography.com, www.telegraph.co.uk, www.dynastyauctions.net all accessed 3 May 2013.

⁴⁸ There is no evidence in Australian historiography of any awareness of Bauer’s writing, perhaps because the first complete English-language version of his work only appeared in 2000 – see footnote 6

I | Civic personality

Public intellectuals and historians have argued for some years that the Crown has lost its civic personality or identity in Australia, and that this happened during and since the 1960s as Britain was moving to join the EEC.⁴⁹ A genealogy of this idea can be traced from its earliest utterances by public intellectuals Geoffrey Dutton in 1963 and 1965 and Donald Horne in 1966 in which they claimed that young people no longer cared about the monarchy, which was now in its ‘extreme decrepitude’. Dutton’s 1977 collection of essays, published during the Queen’s silver jubilee celebrations, included further claims of public indifference to the crown and a claim that the words ‘loyalty’ and ‘British’ had lost their ‘magic’. This was further developed in 1989 when Meaney argued that royal visits were now just glamorous celebrity tours and the Crown was just the surviving symbol of British imperial traditions and British race patriotism that was being replaced by Australianist alternatives.⁵⁰

Australian historian John Hirst made these ideas more explicit in 1991 when he wrote

The Queen in Australia has lost her civic personality. Consider the situation 30 or 40 years ago. The government was carried on in the Queen’s name. Our national anthem was a prayer for her well-being. Children pledged allegiance to her at school. Whenever toasts were drunk – at public and private occasions – the first toast was to the Queen. All this has gone and no alternative focus of civic loyalty and allegiance has replaced it. Conservatives, who understand the importance of ritual, symbols and habit, will be the last to say that these changes are of no consequence. ... Certainly there is little prospect of the Queen regaining her civic status.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Dutton, ‘British Subjects’, *Nation* 6th April 1963; Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country*, Sun Books, Melbourne 1964: pages 105-108; Donald Horne, ‘Republican Australia’, in Geoffrey Dutton (ed), *Australia and the Monarchy*, Sun Books, Melbourne 1966: page 96; Geoffrey Dutton, *Republican Australia?*, Sun Books, Melbourne 1977: page vi; Neville Meaney, *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia*, Heinemann Educational Australia, Port Melbourne 1989: page 435; John Hirst, ‘The Conservative Case for a Republic’, *Quadrant*, September 1991: page 9-11; Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Ideal*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South 2001: pages 2-4; Mark McKenna, *Australian Republicanism: A Reader*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2003: pages 273-274; Mark McKenna, *This Country: A Reconciled Republic?*, UNSW Press, UNSW 2004: page 100; Mark McKenna, ‘Crown’, in Melissa Harper and Richard White, *Symbols of Australia: Uncovering the stories behind the myths*, UNSW Press and National Museum of Australia Press, Sydney and Canberra 2010: page 37; James Curran & Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire*, Cambridge University Press/Monash University National Centre for Australian Studies, Port Melbourne 2011: pages 15-16.

⁵⁰ Neville Meaney 1989: page 435

⁵¹ John Hirst, ‘The Conservative Case for an Australian Republic’, *Quadrant*, September 1991: pages 9-11

The then-leader of the Australian Republican Movement, Malcolm Turnbull, echoed these ideas in 1993 when he argued the Queen had become a ‘symbol without substance’.⁵² The Queen’s ‘civic death’, he argued, was illustrated by Hirst’s examples and his own list of removed royal portraits from inner-city Sydney municipal council chambers, changes to the oath taken by Federal ministers, and the Federal government’s end to endorsing applications from community organizations for using the ‘Royal’ honorific in their names.⁵³

Ward broadened this ‘lost civic identity’ in 2001 to include the ‘myth of Anglo-Australian community’ that had become irrelevant as the rhetoric of mutual affection between the two countries declined. McKenna wrote in 2003 that Britain and the Queen had long faded as civic reference points, and the next year “The Crown may be finished as a civic ideal.”⁵⁴ He modified this in 2010 from vanished to still vanishing: “it is in retreat ... a symbol which no longer possesses the civic personality it once did”.⁵⁵ He extended the list of civic identifiers to include post box insignia, military decorations, bank note portraits and royal honorifics, emphasized by analogy with faded tawdriness: “In the twenty-first century, the Australian crown appears much like a Tinseltown film set after the last take; a town that, from a distance, still glows, still appears magnificent, but on closer inspection is deserted”.⁵⁶

However, the idea of a post-monarchical void has not been without its critics. Curran and Ward quote the British High Commissioner to Australia who in 1970 stated that the absence of a resident monarch “may have provided the Australians with the form of Monarchy which best suits their special qualities and situation”.⁵⁷ To an outside observer, there was no void, rather an evolving Australianist conception of monarchy.

⁵² Malcolm Turnbull, *The Reluctant Republic*, William Heinemann Australia, Port Melbourne 1993: pages 7-9

⁵³ Malcolm Turnbull 1993: pages 252-253

⁵⁴ Mark McKenna, *This Country: A Reconciled Republic?*, UNSW Press, UNSW 2004: page 100

⁵⁵ Mark McKenna, ‘Crown’, in Melissa Harper and Richard White, *Symbols of Australia: Uncovering the stories behind the myths*, UNSW Press and National Museum of Australia Press, Sydney and Canberra 2010: page 37

⁵⁶ Mark McKenna 2010: page 37

⁵⁷ “‘The Monarchy in Australia’, paragraph 7, British High Commissioner CH Johnston to Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 19 May 1970: UKNA: FCO 24/715 C28.3450, cited in James Curran and Stuart Ward, 2011: pages 85-86. See also footnote 751

Curran and Ward also dispute an argument that declining loyalty to the Crown allowed national identities to develop in the old dominions, and instead attribute the metaphor of a void to a common sentiment in all the old dominions from the 1960s onwards as a response to their abandonment by Britain when it sought European Community membership.⁵⁸

The arguments for a loss of dynastic civic personality, or a post-monarchical void that after nearly fifty years remains unfilled, provide a discrete historiographical strand in which the Crown in Australia is positioned as dead or dying. They provide a convincing description of an extensive range of civic identifiers now apparently deprived of any monarchical forms, but is a case convincingly established that the Crown has lost its civic identity, or are these simply descriptions of a changing monarchical identity?

Anderson's contention that dynasties will seek, unsuccessfully, to naturalize themselves in the face of rising nationalist sentiments would seem to support these claims. After all, they have all been made within the period Curran and Ward nominate as the time of a 'new nationalism', between the 1960s and 1980s, when Australians grappled with abandonment by Britain and a consequent 'post-imperial predicament'. The dynasty, Britishness and the British government, while occasionally denominated separately in the 1960s and 1970s, were by the 1990s presented as one. An effect of 'voidism' was to obscure these distinctions. The universal character of the Crown was subsumed within a notion of the universality of British race patriotism, and once that notion was argued to have collapsed the universality of the Crown was assumed to have collapsed with it.

But, to make use of Bauer's ideas, the civic loss is the loss of a crown to which has been attributed both a 'racial' Britishness and a denial of meaningful localised expression, just as the Viennese political classes attributed a racial Germanness to the Hapsburgs that undermined their dynastic universalism. Could it be argued, counter to Meaney, that multiple State and indigenous community identities continue to be powerful civic and cultural constructs in Australia that indicate a successful attempt at the naturalization in

⁵⁸ James Curran and Stuart Ward, 2011: pages 16-19

Australia (or parts of it) of the dynasty? Multiple dynastic civic identifiers, such as the surmounting of all State and Territory police badges by a crown, are evident as symbols that distinguish them from and challenge the idea of a monolithic and pervasive ‘Australian’ community of culture, an idea that is further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

II | Nationalism

The nationalist view of the monarchy in Australia was encapsulated by Malcolm Turnbull when he wrote in 1993 that the monarchy in Australia is offensive and alien, an affront to democratic values and the last fetter of colonialism, and any claim that the Crown is an Australian institution is a ‘big lie’.⁵⁹ However, nationalist historians have rarely been so explicit in either identifying the Crown in Australian history writing or attributing to it malign influences. Instead, their tendency has been to simply ignore the monarchy as if it does not exist, has never existed, and has no right to exist in Australia.

Genealogies and critiques of nationalist history writing in Australia characterize such writing as the story of an unfolding and essentialist continental nationalism locked into an inherently antagonistic relationship with sentimental attachments to Britain or the British Empire.⁶⁰ This is a defining characteristic of nationalist ‘Australian history’ and it leaves little room for the Crown. Meaney identified four Australian historiographical schools, each of which contained Australian history within an essentially nationalist framework: conservative imperialists, best represented by historian Sir Ernest Scott’s *A Short History of Australia*⁶¹, liberal imperialists represented by Sir Keith Hancock’s *Australia*⁶², liberal humanists, otherwise known as the Melbourne School,⁶³ and the radical nationalists.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Malcolm Turnbull 1993: pages 5, 70, 213

⁶⁰ Stuart Ward 2001: pages 2-8; James Curran and Stuart Ward 2011: pages 4-21; Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (eds), *Cultural History in Australia*, UNSW Press, UNSW 2003; Anne Curthoys, ‘Does Australian History Have a Future?’ *Australian Historical Studies*, No. 118, 2002: pages 140-152

⁶¹ Sir Ernest Scott, *A Short History of Australia*, Oxford University Press, London 1916, reprints 1918, 1920, 1928, 1929, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1947, 1950 and 1964.

⁶² Sir W Keith Hancock, *Australia*, Ernest Benn, London 1930, first Australian edition Ernest Benn, London 1945, reprint Jacaranda Press, Brisbane 1961

⁶³ Examples include Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History*, Sun Books, Melbourne 1966 (reprints and revisions in 1968, 1974, 1977, 1982, 1983, 2001); *Triumph of the Nomads: A History of Ancient Australia*, Macmillan, South Melbourne 1975 (reprints and revisions 1975, 1982, 1983, 1984); Geoffrey Serle, *From Deserts the Prophets Come: The Creative Spirit in Australia 1788-1972*,

Scott wrote that royal visits and aristocratic viceroys were a continuing reminder of the mystical role of the Crown as a sort of royal glue that held both the Empire and the Australian federation together. He positioned any opposition to the Crown as an act of betrayal: when the Great War broke out, he wrote, German politicians predicted that Australia would rebel against Britain and declare itself a republic. Instead, Australians had flocked to the colours.⁶⁵ Hancock wrote in 1930 that racial pride was stronger than love of country, an idea captured in one of his chapter titles of 'independent Australian Britons'.⁶⁶ The continent was peopled by a collection of self-governing, British, State-based communities, a short-hand version of the Empire. Despite surviving 'provincial sentiments' promoted by the 'conservative classes', the policies of White Australia and trade protectionism encouraged a nationalism that would succeed the 'temporary stage' of federalism and was undermining the 'old fashioned ramparts' of the States.⁶⁷ The Crown, rarely specifically mentioned in these writings, was conflated with ideas of the British race and the British Empire, the symbolic guarantor of cultural and racial identity and imperial security, and indeed the Austral Briton's historic title to the continent. In Scott and Hancock can be seen Meaney's community of culture (race patriotism) easily conflated with his community of interest (strategic and racial security). Their nationalism is that of the modernising Austral-Briton.

Heinemann, Melbourne 1973; John La Nauze, *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1972; Frank K Crowley, *A New History of Australia*, Heinemann, Melbourne 1974; Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 5 1942-1988 The Middle Way*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne 1990; Geoffrey Bolton and Wayne Hudson (eds), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards 1997

⁶⁴ examples include Brian Fitzpatrick, *British Empire in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1941, revised and abridged edition *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History 1834-1939*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1949, 2nd edition Macmillan of Australia, South Melbourne 1969; Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1954; illustrated edition Currey O'Neil Ross Pty Ltd, South Yarra 1983; Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1958, 2nd edition 1965, 1966, new illustrated edition 1978; 'Australian Legend Revisited', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, No 71, October 1978: pages 171-190

⁶⁵ Sir Ernest Scott 1916. Scott provides no source for his statement on German views

⁶⁶ Sir W Keith Hancock 1930/1961: Chapter III 'Independent Australian Britons', *passim*.

⁶⁷ Sir W Keith Hancock 1930/1961: pages 58-59, 103-104

The Melbourne School of Professor Max Crawford proved to be far more historiographically influential.⁶⁸ Geoffrey Serle perhaps most succinctly directly addressed questions about the Crown when he argued the Crown is one of the institutions of British law and parliamentary government transplanted to Australia, but shorn of a conservative aristocracy and a State church.⁶⁹ Serle was aiming to bring culture into the work of Australian historians and develop a theory of ‘cultural growth’.⁷⁰ In his brief treatment of the Crown it gradually but inevitably fades away to just a residue, a stain on the historiography of Australian culture.

The Melbourne School also influenced the radical nationalists, and Brian Fitzpatrick’s economic history of Australia was the first to expound a view central to radical nationalism of resentment of the British ruling classes’ superior attitudes to Australians and the Empire’s exploitation of its resources and people. The Crown receives no mention, but the English aristocracy was invoked as a metaphor for grasping British imperialism in both its Whitehall and colonial formations. The invisibility of the Crown and derision of aristocracy (usually encapsulated in the term ‘bunyip aristocracy’) in a book that was, as Blainey noted in his introduction to the 1969 edition, very influential with later nationalist historians, set a template from which future nationalists rarely strayed.⁷¹

Opposition to the metaphoric bunyip aristocracy was claimed to be characteristic of independent democratic masculine self-sufficient Australians. Russel Ward’s *Australian Legend* imagines the ‘typical Australian’ as a fiercely independent person who hates officiousness and authority⁷². For the convicts, Irish-born and ‘lower class’ immigrants their increasingly ‘Australian’ ethos could seem to others disloyal, a sentiment that

⁶⁸ for some treatments of this influence, see RM Crawford, *‘A Bit of a Rebel’: The Life and Work of George Arnold Wood*, Sydney University Press, Sydney 1975; Stuart Macintyre and Julian Thomas, *The Discovery of Australian History 1890-1939*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South 1995; Frank Bongiorno, ‘Comment: Australia, Nationalism and Transnationalism’, *History Australia*, Vol 10, No 3, December 2013: pages 78-79

⁶⁹ Geoffrey Serle 1973: pages 19, 89, 180

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Serle 1973: pages: 1-2

⁷¹ Geoffrey Blainey, ‘Foreword’ in Fitzpatrick 1969: pages vii-x.

⁷² Russel Ward 1958: page 2

weakened attachment to the Crown and empire.⁷³ This ‘national mystique’, derived in part from convict pastoral workers, stood in contrast to the imperial patriotism of their social superiors, an imperiousness that, echoing Serle, was gradually becoming irrelevant and powerless as the twentieth century progressed.

The radical nationalists and liberal humanists assembled an Australian history in which, by the end of the 1950s, there was an explicit binary opposition between old world Britishness and a unique and essential new world Australianness. Their construct positioned independent, egalitarian Australians against the contrived and colonial-minded bunyip aristocrats. The Crown is rarely mentioned, but implicitly forms one element among many shaping the un-Australian bunyip class and its unconscious imperialist ideology. The Crown is subsumed within an idea of a desiccating imperial sentiment, linking the idea of inevitability with ideas of the decay and eventual passing of the Empire and its Crown.

A new representation of the Crown’s civic personality seemed possible when, in 1962, the first volume of Manning Clark’s six-volume *A History of Australia* appeared, covering the period from before 1788 to 1822.⁷⁴ The Crown made its first appearance in Volume I, on the shores of Sydney Harbour in January 1788 in the form of toasts drunk to Their Majesties and the Prince of Wales, the raising of flags, firing of salutes, reading of commissions, administering of oaths of loyalty and the swearing-in of Captain Arthur Phillip as its first vice-regal representative. Within days, the first vice-regal residence, the Governor’s portable canvas house, was erected beside Sydney Cove.⁷⁵ As the beachhead was established and the invasion of Cadigal land began, royal authority was ritually and actually planted in new soil, its identity obvious and, in Phillip’s naval uniforms and portable house, comparatively splendid. It would be at the heart of Australian history or, as Clark expressed it, the beginning of civilization.⁷⁶

⁷³ Russel Ward 1958: pages 52-53

⁷⁴ Charles H Manning Clark, *A History of Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, Vol I 1966 to Vol VI 1987; CHM Clark, *A Short History of Australia*, Penguin, Ringwood 1963 1969, 1980, 1981, 1983, revised and illustrated edition Penguin, Ringwood 1986, 1987.

⁷⁵ Charles H Manning Clark 1962: pages 86-89.

⁷⁶ Charles H Manning Clark 1962: The opening sentence to his six volumes reads “Civilization did not begin in Australia until the last quarter of the eighteenth century”: Volume I, page 3

In Clark's often vivid writing over the next 25 years, the Crown's civic identity evolved from the heart of the new civilization planted in Australia in 1788 to a hundred years later being the bearer of vulgar and divisive forces (exposed by Prince Alfred's tour in 1867-68), and to, after another century, an "alien god" that beguiled with meaningless gifts (such as the honours conferred on Sir Robert Menzies).⁷⁷ The Royal Family was identified separately from British interests but, despite that, it was foreign and deceptively alluring, it did not belong in Australia, and Australians were destined to remove it. While Clark probably agreed with the nationalists that the Crown was not part of the unfolding new nation, this did not lead him to render it invisible. Instead, he depicted the Crown and its agents playing an active role in Australia's history, a role full of changing and multiple meanings that was tragically attractive but increasingly alien as an 'Australian' national identity matured. The Crown's civic personality as presented by Clark was not entirely new, but it was for the first time clearly explicated and the possibilities for its historical study made clear.

Beyond the nationalist or nation-centred writing, Peter Spearritt and later Jane Connors treat the Crown and civic loyalty, through the prism of the 1954 royal tour, as worthy of serious historical study, but in the midst of the republican debates of the 1990s their work seemed to be treated as elegiac.⁷⁸ Connors identified three reasons for historians' neglect of what she called 'popular royalism': Australian history has been largely a nationalist project, its dismissal as a 'female interest' (i.e. not serious), and social history's focus on 'history from below'.⁷⁹

The civic identity of the Crown, as constructed in Australian historiography by the early 1980s, was an identity of quaintness, contrivance, anachronism and decline. Australian historians cast the Crown as of little relevance in a period of rapid change. The limited responses by historians to the vice-regal dismissal of the Federal government in 1975,

⁷⁷ Charles H Manning Clark 1962, Volume VI (1987): pages 495-496

⁷⁸ Peter Spearritt, 'Royal Progress: the Queen and Her Australian Subjects', in John Arnold *et al* (eds), *Out of Empire: the British Dominion of Australia*, Mandarin, Port Melbourne 1993: pages 211-240; Jane Connors, 'The 1954 Royal Tour of Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol 25, No 100, 1993: pages 371-382

⁷⁹ Jane Connors 1993: pages 380-381

despite prime minister Whitlam's invocation of George III's tyranny and his forlorn appeal to centuries of British constitutional conventions on exercising the royal prerogative, revealed that liberal humanism, like the old imperialisms and radical nationalisms, had limited ability to provide historical nourishment to the 'new nationalism' identified by Curran and Ward. The Crown had been bought out of the closet by Clark, but nationalist historians of all schools failed to respond in any meaningful way because they had already marginalized it as irrelevant and fading way.

Nationalist writing constructs a community of interest in which the common interest is resistance by true Australians to British economic interests in Australia. To not resist is a sign of a non-Australian, a bunyip aristocrat or bourgeois Anglophile. The overriding sense of economic determinism in these works avoids any real attention to the shared values of a British community of culture. Such values find some expression in Meaney's 'imperialist' historians who reinforce the aggregation of Britishness and the Crown as a racially patriotic dynasty. This sort of Andersonian naturalization of the dynasty must, according to Anderson's logic, ultimately fail. The liberal nationalist historians maintained a similar aggregation, but only as part of a *lumpen* 'other' that inherently seeks to suppress Australian interests, economic or cultural. Nationalist history writing of all varieties has been very influential in Australia, and effectively positioned a (British) community of culture and an (Australian) community of interest as mutually antagonistic. From a Bauerist perspective it could be argued that a British community of culture that includes Australia will fracture if there are diverging economic interests, which will in turn facilitate the development of a new local culture apparently evident in the work of historians of folklore such as Russel Ward. However, the essential aggregating of this new culture with a definite territory (continental Australia) can only be achieved, contrary to Bauer, by ignoring alternate territorial identities such as State-based loyalties. There is a logic to the 'void' of the previous discussion arising from this nationalist historiography that effectively forecloses consideration of alternative histories of the Crown in Australia. The Clarkian story of the Crown seems to some extent to escape this, but ultimately his teleology of the Crown as civilizational, then degenerate

and finally alien simply reinforces the exclusivity of the nationalist community of interest.⁸⁰

III | Crown Land

One function of State governments in Australia is their control of publicly-owned land within their borders. The rhetorical symbol for this land is 'Crown Land'. Cultural nationalists have only paid attention to Crown Land as a symbol of stolen sovereignty and British imperialism. Political scientist James Warden argued in 1994 that the nominal sovereignty of the Crown over public land is an active privileging of conquest over traditional indigenous ownership and a lingering assertion of *terra nullius*.⁸¹ McKenna similarly argued in 2004 that the term Crown Land speaks directly to the historical experience of Aboriginal people as the gradual dispossession of Aboriginal Australia occurred under the imprimatur of the Crown.⁸² Aboriginal sovereignty was usurped by the sovereignty of the crown. Sociologist James Arvanitakis took a slightly different approach in 2011 when he argued the monarchy itself was the colonizer, although it is the settlers that are now very protective of their land ownership.⁸³ Crown Land is thus positioned as a metonym for invasion and theft.

Whether Australia was invaded or settled in 1788 remains a vexed and partisan binary in Australian history. Historian Anne McGrath points to the controversy as a 'powerful signifier of political agendas'⁸⁴. Historian Henry Reynolds offered a different perspective when he argued in 1987 that the British brought with them to Australia, in

⁸⁰ for some debate on teleology and nationalist historiography, see Christopher Waters, 'Nationalism, Britishness and Australian History', *History Australia*, Vol 10, No 3, 2013: pages 12-22; Neville Meaney, 'The Problem of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Australian History: A Reply to Marilyn Lake and Christopher Waters', *History Australia*, Vol 12, No 2, August 2015: pages 209-231; Christopher Waters, 'A Reply to Neville Meaney', *History Australia*, Vol 12, No 2, August 2015: pages 232-237

⁸¹ James Warden, 'Mr Boston's Pig and Mr Keating's Republic, in David Headon, James Warden and Bill Gammage (eds), *Crown or Country: The traditions of Australian republicanism*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards 1994: page 188

⁸² Mark McKenna, 2004: page 8

⁸³ James Arvanitakis, *Is Crown Land Indigenous Land?*, Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University, 25 March 2011, http://www.uws.edu.au/ics/news_and_media/blog/250311_2 accessed 13 December 2015

⁸⁴ Ann McGrath (ed), *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1995

their invisible baggage, the revolutionary concept, for Australia, of private property.⁸⁵ By inference they also brought the equally revolutionary idea, for Australia, of Crown Land, an idea that necessarily pre-dated the creation of private property in that land.⁸⁶ Revolutionary, not only for the claim to one sovereignty over the whole continent in place of multiple indigenous sovereignties, but also for the claim to absolute ownership of all the land and resources in the continent in a single abstract idea represented by the label Crown Land. Reynolds argued that the settler-pastoralists, who in violently taking the land and repudiating the claims by the Crown's agents such as various governors and religious philanthropists, imposed and spread a revolution, rather than an invasion, across the countryside, and in doing so created revolutionary colonial landscapes.

Thus, while the Crown's agents argued that Aboriginal people were British subjects and they and their properties were protected by the law, the landed revolutionaries argued and acted-out their Lockean views that, as traditional Aboriginal uses of the land appeared nomadic and unbounded, they did not own the land and so it was the settlers to expropriate. In this light, the Mabo decision in 1992 was both a counter-revolutionary overturning of the doctrine of *terra nullius*, and a confirmation that the common law, an element of the invisible baggage inherited from England, could and did recognize continuing Indigenous ownership in property pre-dating 1788.⁸⁷ Crown Land can read as a sign of the Crown's fiduciary obligations to ensure native title rights are not and cannot be arbitrarily extinguished, especially by settler representatives.

⁸⁵ Henry Reynolds, *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1987: page 190

⁸⁶ Crown Land came into existence on 7 February 1788, the first grant of land from the Crown to a private owner was in April 1791: NSW State Records, *Short Guide 8 – Land Grants 1788-1856*, State Records, Sydney: <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/State-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/short-guide-8/appendices#IndexestoRegistersof> accessed 19th October 2012

⁸⁷ 'Mabo' is a short-hand expression for the case of *Mabo v. Queensland (No 2)* in which the High Court of Australia found in 1992 that the doctrine of *terra nullius* ('empty land') did not apply, either at the time of colonisation or after an 1889 court ruling that applied the doctrine, and instead that customary Indigenous law was recognised by English common law, as it adapted to colonial conditions over the years, to the extent that the Indigenous laws were not later modified by subsequent acts of the sovereign. An example of such a modification is a grant of freehold land from the Crown that extinguished the native land title over that parcel of land. For the case, see http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/cth/high_ct/175clr1.html and <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/cth/HCA/1992/23.html> , both accessed 23 January 2017

Such a reading undermines the arguments in radical nationalist historiography for any ‘essential’ connection between the legendary bush Australians and the ‘naturalness’ of the environments that supposedly shaped them. The settlers were not agents of the Crown (as the radical nationalists would agree), but instead agents of a liberal revolution that appropriated Aboriginal land and property brutally and wilfully. Their legendary antipathy to authority was simply a rejection of successive attempts by the Crown’s agents (such as the magistracy) to prevent, or even ameliorate, their revolutionary theft of indigenous estates. The ‘Australian’ landscapes so glowingly depicted by radical nationalist-favoured artists of the Heidelberg school are really a visual record of the violent success of that revolution. In this light, a painting such as Streeton’s *The purple noon’s transparent might*, featured in the illustrated edition of Vance Palmer’s *Legend*, takes on a different meaning.⁸⁸



Figure 1.4 |

The purple noon’s transparent might, Arthur Streeton, 1896

Landscape of national essence, or record of the failure of the Crown’s agents?

The picturesque landscape and its romantic depiction is a product, not of the Crown, but of a contrived silence about the British Crown’s failure to protect its Aboriginal subjects and their estates from the depredations of its colonial subjects. The pastoral families were much criticised by public intellectuals for their Britishry and obsequious behaviours before vice-regal officials and royal visits.⁸⁹ They can be repositioned, not as

⁸⁸ Vance Palmer, 1954/1983: page 150 and Plate II. It is not clear whether Palmer had selected the images used in the illustrated edition (he died in 1959).

⁸⁹ for example, Max Harris, ‘Monarchy and the Australian Character’, in Geoffrey Dutton 1966: pages 110-114

‘natural’ loyalists displaying their social alignments and class interests, but as guilt-addled proprietors seeking to mask their disloyal origins through flattery and imitation. The bunyip aristocracy and the Crown, in such a *schema*, are not the analogues assumed by the radical nationalists.

McGrath argues too that under the impetus of colonisation the people now known as Aborigines began to share a common past, as well as different local pasts, in each colony or State.⁹⁰ The story of dispossession is today lived with by all, and is handed on to succeeding generations. This leads to the development by the ‘colonising class’ of a series of national mythologies just as Aboriginal peoples have developed counter-mythologies of the ‘colonial takeover’. Australian history thus involves both conflict and collaboration during a prolonged period of invention and legend-making by indigenous and settler groups. This helps explain a deep sense of injustice and a strong sense of common historical experience by all Indigenous peoples for whom regaining pride in identity is closely tied up with reclaiming the past and present.

McGrath argues that Aboriginal peoples did not, through contact with the settlers, start to ‘think white’. Instead they incorporated the aspects of the white world they came into contact with into their own cultural frameworks. One example is the Captain Cook mythology, in which the first white man to appear in an Aboriginal realm is called Captain Cook, and becomes an archetypal character attributed the values of chaos and law-breaking. So is there an archetype or civic personality attributed to the Crown?

McGrath writes “Australia’s history is still ‘colonial’ because Aborigines continue to be colonized and because the country is still subservient to an imperial power without, at the time of writing [c1994], its own head of State. Aborigines and non-Aborigines alike remain subjects of the British Crown.”⁹¹ This is a statement that could have come straight from any Australian nationalist historian of the twentieth-century, and stands out for being completely untouched by her otherwise poststructuralist critique.

⁹⁰ Ann McGrath, 1995.

⁹¹ Anne McGrath 1995: page xxix

However, this point of view does not lead to a necessary rejection of the Crown by all Aboriginal people. McKenna quotes Ngalia activist Kado Muir's explanation for Aboriginal people voting No in the 1999 referendum because they have "unfinished business with the Crown".⁹² Historian Maria Nugent's current research suggests just one aspect of that unfinished business, and an approach to understanding how and why Indigenous peoples incorporated aspects of the white world into their own cultural frameworks.⁹³ She goes beyond the moment of contact, to effectively escape the nationalist paradigm and explain a process of adapting to and manipulating colonization, of 'thinking black' about the Crown.

Nugent explores a widespread oral claim in eastern Australia that Aboriginal reserves were Crown Lands that Queen Victoria personally granted or deeded to Aboriginal peoples in compensation or recognition of their original loss, but for which the written title deeds have been lost.⁹⁴ After considering a very limited historiography that positions such claims as a political strategy to engage vicereignty in Aboriginal affairs, she argues that they are better understood as intellectual efforts to come to terms with colonial conditions and the experience and remembrance of dispossession. They are a 'narrative of grievance', in which Queen Victoria functions as a powerful foundational figure in Aboriginal historical remembrance, one archetype in a genre that conveys the ways Aboriginal people have made sense of the colonial encounter. Unlike Captain Cook, the Queen is a symbol through which rights to particular lands are articulated that attests Aboriginal ideas about monarchical authority and their own position in relation to the Crown.⁹⁵ The revocation of many Aboriginal reserves in the mid-twentieth century was explained in Aboriginal oral testimonies as local white people's unlawfulness and meanness that contrasted with the Queen's recognition of their (Aboriginal peoples) lawful rights to the land. In a deeper reading of these testimonies,

⁹² Mark McKenna, 2004: page 78

⁹³ Maria Nugent, 'The queen gave us the land': Aboriginal people, Queen Victoria and historical remembrance', *History Australia*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2012: pages 182-200

⁹⁴ An example is recorded in the listing for 'Burra Bee Dee Mission and Forky Mountain' on the NSW State Heritage Register, Item #1688, listed 4 June 2004 (on the eve of the Queen's Birthday holiday) <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5054965>

⁹⁵ Nugent cites discussions of Aboriginal ideas about monarchical authority in writings by Heather Goodall and Bain Attwood – see her footnotes 6, 14, 29, which further confirm the presence of the Crown in Indigenous historiography.

Aboriginal people position themselves as the truly loyal subjects against the undermining and disloyal settlers.⁹⁶ For Aboriginal peoples the Queen plays a contrasting role to Captain Cook, seemingly quaint but with far deeper resonances in imagining a royal civic personality.

Lawyers have tried to locate the ‘missing title deeds’ to prove these claims but have found the archival cupboard bare, and Henry Reynolds has pronounced that such deeds do not, and never have, existed. Nugent explores the ‘complex terrain’ between oral traditions and archives, and the concept of absences in the archive.⁹⁷ The importance of claiming land gifted directly by the Queen and her personal authority legitimated and even compensated for the missing documents. Thus, Nugent argues, whether the legal title deeds exist is not the key issue, instead understanding the ways in which Aboriginal peoples have discursively created these ‘documents’ by evoking their loss sustains claims to lost territories, and the Queen and royal authority are key elements in these evocations.

Visual arts provide another medium for representing Aboriginal views of history, and perhaps an understanding that paradoxically conflates Crown Land as dispossession and royalty as protection. The painting *Makarrki – King Alfred’s Country* (figure 1.5) was painted in 2008 by seven Aboriginal women who describe the picture as follows:

We have painted one of the most important places on Bentinck Island. This is where King Alfred was born. This is his country. King Alfred was Sally's big brother and he was also Netta's father. He was famous as strong warrior and leader, he was feared by other tribes. This place is special to all seven of us. We all have close connection to this country. That is why we picked it as painting for us to do together.⁹⁸

King Alfred was a senior Kaiadilt law man in the 1940s on Bentinck Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. ‘King Alfred’s Country’ is a typical eponym that renders into English

⁹⁶ Nugent makes the relevant historiographical observation that twentieth century anthropologists generally avoided these stories because of their own nationalist views of the anachronism of the Victorian era, and of the Crown as the epitome of all that modernism sought to leave behind.

⁹⁷ Nugent acknowledges the work of Anjali Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India*, Duke University Press, Durham 2009

⁹⁸ Queensland Art Gallery | Gallery of Modern Art, http://www.qagoma.qld.gov.au/exhibitions/past/2010/21st_Century/artists/celeste_boursier_mougenot accessed 17th March 2013

the Kaiadilt toponym ‘Makarrki’. The women’s description of King Alfred as ‘a strong warrior and leader, feared by other tribes’, seem like kingly attributes as does the locating of him within genealogical (dynastic) networks. The Kaiadilt people were forcibly removed from their island (Crown Land) in 1947/48, only being allowed to return in 1986. The painting documents the women’s memories and stories of King Alfred and his eponymous place that they can once again tangibly inhabit.

Figure 1.5 | Makarrki – King Alfred’s Country, Bentinck Island Artists, 2008⁹⁹



Kaiadilt representation of a dual crown as local landscape? Photo: Mohamed Hassan Mokak, 8 August 2012

The idea of a crown provides a complex synecdoche that connects the land and the kingly elder, explaining both the criminality of the Kaiadilt expulsion and the restorative justice of their return. The crown is conceptualised as a duality: as both the nationalists’ appropriator of Aboriginal sovereignty and as the native source of justice for its return. One way that that duality is inscribed in the landscape is represented in the painting, standing in strong contrast to the stolen colonial landscape of *The purple noon’s transparent might*.

The designation of Crown Land in nationalist historiography is another representation of historical British oppression of innate Australianness. Cultural historians such as Reynolds and Nugent provide a much richer and more nuanced understanding of Crown Land as a revolutionary process that can be evoked through claims to royal largesse to compensate for original loss. The community of culture evoked by

⁹⁹ Bentinck Island Artists, *Makarrki – King Alfred’s Country*, Queensland Art Gallery collection, synthetic polymer paint on linen, 2m x 6m, purchased 2009 <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/australia/brush-history>, accessed 31st October 2012

Reynolds, McGrath and Nugent is a culture that fuses indigeneity and Britishness (itself a fusion of cultures). The community of interest, however, is really several communities and interests: of Indigenous people with remembered and restored links to land, of Indigenous people with recalled but still-broken connections to land, of settlers with economic and possessive claims to the same land, all experienced through an emotional *genius loci*. In Andersonian terms, the community of culture is miscegenated, incapable of being naturalized as shown by the attempts of each of the interests to naturalize their relationships as exclusive to the place. A Bauerist approach, however, would position the community of culture, or character, as the merging of different communities of fate, constantly in the processes of forming and reforming new communities of culture.

Significantly this dynamic community of culture is disaggregated from an exclusive territorial space. All the communities of interests have claims to territories, but these claims are only partially realized, and then only through the agency of the Crown. Just as significantly, the Crown has multiple and paradoxical agency as instigator of revolutionary land tenures, as the source of restorative justice in land, as an analogue for articulating older traditional forms of communal land holding, and as a 'virtual record' that symbolically gives voice to archival absences. This is a complex royal archetype of revolutionary law giver *and* keeper of traditions standing in opposition to nationalist pioneers who are now cast as disloyal local reactionaries. Crown Land is pregnant with meanings and unfinished business, with a deeply tenacious and miscegenated royal *and* indigenous civic identity. New South Wales Labor Opposition Leader Bob Carr's 1993 Australia Day proposal to 'remove anachronistic references to the Crown' from the statute books by renaming Crown Land as public land stands, in such a context, as a form of historical denialism and privileging of settler interests.¹⁰⁰

IV | Divisibility

The divisibility of the crown, or dividing a single crown into one or more new crowns, can mean the division of a crown as an institution, or the division of a dynasty into cadet branches, or both. The Statute of Westminster in 1931 formally divided the

¹⁰⁰ Bob Carr, 'Australia Day address 1993: Here in a Good Place', in Bob Carr, *Thoughtlines: Reflections of a Public Man*, Viking, Camberwell 2002: page 220

British Crown into seven new crowns, one in each dominion and one in the United Kingdom. Discussion of divisibility in Australia has tended to be the domain of arcane legal scholarship. However, some historians have considered its political and cultural dimensions.

HV Evatt's 1936 study of the implications of the evolution of the Empire into a 'political democracy under the Crown' argued the written codification of the Crown's prerogatives or reserve powers was essential as the constitutional structures of the Commonwealth were rapidly changing in the wake of the Statute of Westminster. He traces the idea of divisibility back to dominion representation at the Versailles Conference in 1919, several court cases, and a scholarly article published in 1904.¹⁰¹

British historian Vernon Bogdanor dates the first real expression of the theory of divisibility to the 1940s and dominion reactions to the outbreak of World War Two.¹⁰² The King of Great Britain and the King of Australia were at war with Germany while the King of Canada and the King of South Africa were still considering it and the King of Eire remained neutral. All these kings were the same person, George VI, but the old imperial crown had effectively been divided into several independent crowns and realms.

Historian WJ Hudson argued that negotiations were conducted at Imperial conferences in highly arcane and tedious discussions that were diverting for constitutional lawyers but incomprehensible to most other people.¹⁰³ Constitutional lawyers, obsessed with legalisms and blind to the desuetude of the doctrine of the unity of the Crown, assisted in maintaining this ambiguity through arcane discussions and continually insisting that further reform and clarity was needed. Australian politicians, however, worried that further discussion would raise old sectarian issues from the Great War conscription referenda and Irish republicanism, issues that had made loyalty to Britain a test for

¹⁰¹ Herbert Evatt, 1936: page 210, n1 citing his own earlier journal article *The British Dominions as Mandatories*; page 302, n1 citing a 1904 opinion and two court cases in 1908 and 1920.

¹⁰² Vernon Bogdanor, *The Monarchy and the Constitution*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1995

¹⁰³ WJ Hudson and Martin Sharp, *Australian Independence: Colony to Reluctant Kingdom*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1988

political orthodoxy. They also worried that the success of the 1933 referendum in Western Australia to secede from the Australian Commonwealth raised difficult constitutional issues that were best avoided by appealing to a sense of common allegiance and Britishness. This “made it all the easier for Australian governments to deceive their electorates”, argues Hudson, by avoiding public discussions and avoiding the whole idea of the King of Australia and an independent Australian kingdom.¹⁰⁴

Canada and Australia both evolved as federal realms, with their own possibilities for the further division of the crown. Canadian historian Ged Martin cites Lord Bury’s argument in 1865 that cadet crowns might be the best means of maintaining a fair balance between central and provincial or state rights in newly-separated and federated colonies, as this was the system that was already working well in the former Portuguese colony, and now federal empire, of Brazil.¹⁰⁵ Hudson argues that Australia’s federal structure muted the impact of independence in 1931, especially as State governments consciously wanted to retain their direct links with London as a counter to centralising tendencies from Canberra. Knowledge of the sovereign’s real constitutional status as Australia’s own king or queen was, argued Hudson, sequestered in the political classes, aided by abstruse and self-indulgent legal obscurantism. However, says Hudson, after 1931 the Commonwealth “comprised a collection of kingdoms with the same person as king (what is called in dynastic terms a personal union)”.¹⁰⁶

While Hudson wrote on the Commonwealth, constitutional scholar Anne Twomey argued that the States in Australia remained self-governing dependencies of the British Crown until the passing of the Australia Act in 1986. Federal authorities had claimed that only they had the right to advise the Queen on State matters, but the States and the British authorities insisted otherwise. These issues were eventually overcome by negotiations between the British, Federal and State governments, with rarely any public engagement, echoing Hudson’s descriptions of the monopolization of these issues by the political-legal classes. Twomey concluded the Crown has evolved rapidly in

¹⁰⁴ WJ Hudson and Martin Sharp 1988: page 5

¹⁰⁵ Ged Martin, *Bunyip Aristocracy: The New South Wales constitution debate of 1853 and hereditary institutions in the British colonies*, Croom Helm, Sydney London and Dover NH 1986: page 174

¹⁰⁶ WJ Hudson and MP Sharp 1988: page 6

Australia to meet the requirements of a federal system, with a capacity to both divide and unite. “One can be sure that the Crown will continue to transform itself to blend in with the changing times. It is truly a chameleon Crown.”¹⁰⁷

Dividing the institutional crown (the body corporate) was one thing, dividing the dynastic crown (the body natural) was another. The principle of the ‘unity of the sovereign’ was a Statute of Westminster provision requiring all the dominions to agree to any change to the rules of succession. This, argues Bogdanor, was so that the Commonwealth realms would not become a merely fortuitous aggregation of kingdoms held together by a personal union under the Queen.¹⁰⁸ Hudson takes a contrary position, arguing that the 1926 convention meant the Commonwealth did, in fact, become a collection of separate kingdoms in a personal union. “The fact is”, he says, “that Australia became an independent State on 11 December 1931. Dependence after that was all in the Australian mind”¹⁰⁹.

The concept of a cadet branch of the Windsor dynasty being established in Australia or any other Commonwealth realm would mean abandoning the principle of the unity of the sovereign. Many proposals were made for establishing cadet branches in the dominions, but says Martin they were always “bleakly received” in the Colonial Office.¹¹⁰ It was opposition in the Colonial Office, not in the colonies, that made Whitehall the graveyard of cadet crowns. Historian Alan Atkinson retained a sense of the principle when he proposed in 1993 that a cadet Windsor sovereign could be shared between Australia and New Zealand as a prelude to federation between the two realms.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Anne Twomey *The Chameleon Crown: The Queen and Her Australian Governors*, The Federation Press, Annandale 2006: page 272

¹⁰⁸ This had been the case under the Hanoverians, and the differing rules of succession in Britain and Hanover eventually resulted in the dissolution of the personal union in 1837 when Princess Victoria acceded to the British Crown, but was denied the Hanoverian Crown because female succession was not recognized in that kingdom.

¹⁰⁹ WJ Hudson and Martin Sharp 1988: page 7

¹¹⁰ Ged Martin 1986: page 180

¹¹¹ Alan Atkinson, *The Middle-Headed Republic*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1993: pages 128-129.

However, the unity of the sovereign was reinforced in an unexpected way when Commonwealth leaders considered how to accommodate a republican India within the Commonwealth. Bogdanor describes the invention of the title 'Head of the Commonwealth' as the compromise that allowed for realms and republican states to be equal members of the Commonwealth without each having to incorporate the Crown into their national constitutions and domestic law. India's desire to remain in the Commonwealth had forced this development, allowing the Commonwealth to evolve into a multi-racial community. Historian Frank Bongiorno assessed the role of Evatt, Australia's Minister for External Affairs, in this evolution.¹¹² Evatt argued that India ought to retain the Crown in its independence constitution in order to remain in the Commonwealth, and Bongiorno argues that his failure to persuade Indian leaders was a result of trying to impose the type of dynastic relationship that had evolved between 1926 and the 1940 on the very different context of postwar decolonization in Asia. Evatt, once a leading legal theorizer of the evolving structures of Commonwealth realms had, as Bauer argued regarding the Hapsburgs (or their advisors), stopped comprehending the rapidly changing nature of external forces in post-world war times.

Historians in Australia who have considered the divisibility of the Crown, such as Evatt, Hudson, Atkinson and Bongiorno, have done so in largely reactive and disconnected ways compared to the legal scholars who have worked within a specific field of constitutional law. Australian politicians and jurists played a significant role in developing the practices of divisibility at imperial conferences, but this remains largely unexplored in Australian historiography.

The issue of divisibility was also evident, says Bogdanor, in the development of separate citizenships in Britain and each dominion after 1947 that undermined the idea of a common Commonwealth citizenship defined through allegiance to the one sovereign.¹¹³ Dominion citizens would owe allegiance only to their dominion Crown. The concept of a single Crown uniting the Commonwealth was being replaced by a concept of several

¹¹² Frank Bongiorno, 'Commonwealthmen and Republicans: Dr HV Evatt, the Monarchy and India', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 46, No. 1, 2000: pages 33-50

¹¹³ Bogdanor attributes this commencing with the *Canadian Citizenship Act 1946*, which came into effect on 1 January 1947 and was generally known as the '1947 Act'

crowns linked by the person of the sovereign. Hudson identified this uneven transition when he argued

Whereas the Irish in 1930 were claiming that the Irish were only British in the sense that they were citizens of a State which happened to give allegiance to a United Kingdom monarch, the Australians [...] focused, not on the bond between dominion and king, but on ‘the individual relationship of the citizen to the King.’¹¹⁴

Bogdanor suggests Ireland’s role in imagining the Commonwealth was by exception rather than participation, but the Irish Free State, influenced by Griffith’s writings on dual monarchy, played a key role in developing the concept of the divisibility of the Crown.¹¹⁵ Ireland’s first native-born governor-general, Tim Healy, was installed in Dublin in 1922 and within eight years the next native-born governor-general, Sir Isaac Isaacs, was being seated in Canberra.¹¹⁶ The Irish delegates to the Imperial Conference in 1926 were instrumental in imagining the Crown as divisible, a view articulated by some Irish historians.¹¹⁷ It is ironic that on the cusp of this change, the Irish government declared Eire a republic and withdrew from the Commonwealth. Bogdanor quotes a British minister in 1949 stating that whereas India wanted to change the Commonwealth in order to remain in it as a republic, Ireland decided to become a republic in order to leave the Commonwealth¹¹⁸.

Within a discussion of cadency there are, in a specifically Australian context, echoes of Anderson’s claim of shared interests between dynasts and social democrats (such as Evatt’s advocacy of Indian vicerealty), and potentially a rebuttal of Bogdanor’s marginalisation of the Irish. Turnbull stated in 1993 “only colonies continue to borrow the monarchies of other lands”, and argued that in Australia ‘the Crown’ has meant

¹¹⁴ WJ Hudson and MP Sharp 1988: pages 4 and x

¹¹⁵ Bogdanor 1995: pages 247-249

¹¹⁶ Bogdanor argues that Healey’s appointment was regarded at the time as an exception, and that it was only Isaac’s appointment that created a “genuine precedent”: Bogdanor 1995: page 247; the Irish example has similarly been dismissed in Australia in favour of an Australianist exceptionalism, see for example John Waugh, ‘An Australian in the Palace of the King-Emperor: James Scullin, George V and the Appointment of the first Australian-born Governor-General’, *Federal Law Review*, Vol 39, 2011

¹¹⁷ The Earl of Longford and Thomas P O’Neill, *Eamon de Valera*, Hutchinson, London 1970: page 274; Ewan Morris, *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin and Portland, 2005: pages 174-175

¹¹⁸ Bogdanor 1995: page 255

‘Britain’.¹¹⁹ However, far from a deferential colonial borrowing, the idea of crown divisibility is historically complex and contributed to the development of new communities and new realms. Divisibility allowed a ‘British’ community of fate to evolve into separate and distinct communities of culture in which the divided Crown has been naturalized to varying degrees, contrary to Whitehall’s reticence.

V | Popular assent

There is a very small literature regarding the legitimacy of treating the 1999 referendum outcome as supportive of the Crown. James Warden argued in 1994

Australia is unique in having a constitution of nearly one hundred years of age, to which the voters – the citizenry – actually consented. ... The rare opportunity which the debate over the republic offers is to put the new constitution of the Federal Republic of Australia to the people for adoption ... Liberal constitutional theorists should respond with delight at such a moment of real historical assent.¹²⁰

Warden’s pre-referendum ebullience was not evident in post-referendum discussion, such as the 2002 analysis by psephologists Malcolm Mackerras and William Maley. They concluded that “the monarchical status quo is ... an option which, even if not supported itself by a majority, can garner enough support to defeat any alternative.”¹²¹

Historian Philip Murphy argued in 2013 “While the Queen’s senior advisers were aware that it would be unwise to regard the result [1999] as a vote of confidence for the monarchy, the fact remained that this was widely *perceived* as a victory for the Palace.” (emphasis in original).¹²² Most recently political scientist Luke Mansillo, based upon his analysis of public opinion polling between 1967 and 2013, dispenses with circumspection when he states “This recovery, in both total support and strength [since 1999], must be seen as a victory for the Palace”, and further “the recovery [since 1999] is not modest but a significant departure from the late 1990s low to a more resilient level closer to its historical trend between 1967 and 1990”.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Malcolm Turnbull 1993: pages 4, 6

¹²⁰ James Warden 1994: pages 189-190

¹²¹ Malcolm Mackerras and William Maley, ‘1999 Republic Referendum Results: Some Reflections’, in John Warhurst and Malcolm Mackerras (eds), *Constitutional Politics: The Republic referendum and the Future*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia 2002: page 111

¹²² Philip Murphy, *Monarchy & The End of Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013: page 105

¹²³ Luke Mansillo ‘Loyal to the Crown: shifting public opinion towards the monarchy in Australia’,

Prior to the referendum one of the leading republican campaigners accepted the supportive outcomes of the colonial referenda leading to federation as legitimating the Commonwealth (as a crowned federation), and enthusiastically forecast the coming referendum would also be ‘a moment of real historical assent’.¹²⁴ The logic of his argument stands even though the referendum result was contrary to his expectations. A decade-and-a-half later analyses are focused on perceptions of and reasons for the outcome as a victory for the Crown. It is implicit in this discussion that once the result is accepted as a legitimate royal win, Warden’s ‘real assent’ can be read as the assent of the people for the Australian Crown(s) as successors to the British Crown.

Australian Journal of Political Science, 2016: pages 2 and 14

¹²⁴ It is salient to note that the voluntary referenda of 1898, 1899 and 1900 attracted an average 46.8% voter turnout, the voluntary constitutional convention election of 1998 a 45.3% turnout, and the compulsory referendum of 1999 a 95.1% voter turnout: figures from George Williams, ‘The People’s Convention?’, *Alternative Law Journal*, Vol 23, No 1, February 1998: pages 1-5; Australian Electoral Commission, 1999 Referendum http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/referendums/1999_Referendum_Reports_Statistics/1999.htm

Metamorphosis

Twenty years after its founding, New South Wales was, between 1808 and 1810, convulsed by division and conflict as a military usurpation overthrew the governor, William Bligh Esquire, and the Crown he represented was contested and re-imagined during a tempestuous military régime. This was an extreme situation, like earlier civil wars referenced by both usurpers and loyalists in framing their positions, and in which every settler was forced to take a side. There were no neutral positions, and there were several possible outcomes.

Other dynamic situations or ‘slices’ through which the exercise of crowned power might have been in this time revealed include the interregnum of 1792-1795 between the administrations of Governor Phillip and Governor Hunter, the historiographical debates over convictism, the abortive mainly Irish convict uprising in 1804, the frontier conflicts between British and Indigenous groups between 1795 and 1816, the growth of missionary activities, the Bigge Royal Commission inquiring into Governor Macquarie’s administration conducted between 1819 and 1821 or the colonial celebrations of George IV’s accession in 1820.

However, the usurpation of 1808-1810, by its repressive and re-ordering character, has been chosen as the ‘slice’ likely to best reveal the workings of crowned power because both the sources and degrees of authority of that power were openly contested. The theft and misuse of the Great Seal of New South Wales by the military usurpers, with the insistence by the imprisoned vice-regal representative that these were illegal and immoral acts, and the diverging positions taken by settler communities all lead to the earliest ‘naturalising’ of the Crown in a South Seas settler colony. It also led to entrenching of ideas of crowned constitutionalism as the bulwark against militaristic or otherwise authoritarian claims to governance. This provides the prism through which this slice is explored.

Chapter 2 | SO BRAVE ETRURIA GREW **The theft of the Great Seal of New South Wales, 1808-1810**

Allegiance to the crown in Australia has been described as a means of connecting contemporary Australians with enlightened and noble historical traditions, with a mystical past.¹²⁵ The Crown itself has been positioned as fulfilling a need to symbolise the foundations of the nation-state by something beyond itself, something broadly accepted and emotionally rich in symbols.¹²⁶ But, symbolic associations with the Crown conveying ideals of dignity, honour, sanctity and fidelity can also be contrasted with perceptions of unpretentiousness, coarseness and provincial-mindedness in a colonial society, opening a space for satire and derision of crowned associations.¹²⁷

Such emotional imaginaries point to a body of stories, legends and myths with deeply foundational meanings, a *mythos*, at the heart of contemporary Australia and common to most of its constituent communities. This shared mythos can be found in seemingly banal documents such as the Australian constitution, with the shakespearean language of its covering clauses and preamble connecting Australians to an ancient past through a profound appeal to a mythological language of belonging, a sort of Dreaming. Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies has been said to have understood the Crown as “an element of the spirit, a spiritual and emotional conception”.¹²⁸ If a crowned mythos does exist, where could such a royal civic sanctity have come from in colonial and federal Australia? Where should we look for its history?

The historian J.G.A. Pocock, who first made the plea for a ‘New British History’ in the 1970s, described the period from 1660 to the 1830s as a ‘long eighteenth century’, in which the sixty-year reign of George III was a period of profound change in the

¹²⁵ Mark McKenna, *This Country: A Reconciled Republic*, UNSW Press, UNSW 2004: pages 98-101

¹²⁶ Judith Brett, quoted in Mark McKenna 2004: page 100

¹²⁷ James Curran and Stewart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2010: page 218

¹²⁸ quoted in Mark McKenna 2004: page 100

monarchy and of transition to the modern period.¹²⁹ He describes the kingdom as a ‘multiple monarchy’ ruling in various jurisdictions or realms in Europe and North America, and permeated by vivid memories of the civil wars of the 1640s. These memories positioned the alternative to the Crown not as a republic but as the collapse of government, civil war and regicide. The American rebellion was an episode in the civil war that ended (in the Thirteen Colonies) when the Americans abandoned the Crown and converted a theatre of civil war into war between sovereign bodies. It is remarkable, then, that in 1788, just five years after the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, Pocock’s multiple monarchy had extended its rule to a vast new realm in New South Wales.

The archaeologist and antiquary Sir Hilary Jenkinson made a number of detailed studies of one of the essential artefacts of any realm, its Great Seal. He always maintained such seals were functional artefacts for documenting royal authority, but lacked any mystical or sacred qualities.¹³⁰ However, the Great Seal of New South Wales, as will become clear in this chapter, was attributed just such qualities, qualities which were explicated in official and public discourses during an especially troubled time in the history of the new realm when the military forcibly overthrew vice-regal authority and governed the colony between 1808 and 1810. Military usurpers and settler loyalists both invoked the sacredness of the king to justify their actions, and the loyalists extended that sacredness to the deputy king or governor. The Great Seal was the worldly relic of that royal and vice-regal sacredness in the colony, and its disputed custodianship provides a key to understanding the mythos of royal civic sanctity.

The Great Seal was stolen and used by the usurpers but remained a contested symbol of authority throughout the usurpation. The story of what happened to the Great Seal allows Pocock’s argument to extend to the British South Seas, and the usurpation in New South Wales to be contextualised within the final years of the long eighteenth

¹²⁹ J.G.A. Pocock, ‘Monarchy in the Name of Britain: The Case of George III’, in Hans Blom et al (eds), *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment: Liberty, Patriotism and the Common Good*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2007, pages 286 and 301. See also ‘British History: A Plea for a New Subject’, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 47, No 4, December 1975: pages 601-621

¹³⁰ Hilary Jenkinson, ‘What happened to the Great Seal of James II?’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XXIII, Nos 1-2, Jan-April 1943: page 5

century, and the development of settler societies after 1783. The sacred imaginary of the Crown in Australia long precedes the constitution making of the 1890s and the Menzian imperial-nationalism of the mid-twentieth century.

So, what is a Great Seal? The *Great Seal of the Realm* forms the tangible expression, in a sigillographic form, of authenticating and expressing the decisions and decrees of a sovereign authority, whether by the sovereign herself or by agents acting in her name.¹³¹ The existence of multiple seals for the same sovereign, or *Great Seals Deputed*, arose from a single sovereign administering more than one jurisdiction, and were made for a 'deputy king' (such as a viceroy or governor) to use for administering a territory in the sovereign's name. The terminology for this divisibility of the Great Seal refers to the Great Seal of the Realm as being for 'general purposes' with a Great Seal Deputed being for 'particular purposes'.¹³² The 'general purposes' are the intangible supreme authority of sovereignty and prerogative vested in one person or office (rather than in a particular territory), and exercised in her name, and which will be the same in any place subject to the same sovereign. Typically, the 'general' authority is depicted on the reverse of a two-sided seal by either a portrait of the sovereign or the royal coat of arms. The 'particular purposes' are so much of that intangible authority that is deputed or delegated to and exercised only within one jurisdiction, such as a palatinate or colony, rather than uniformly across every realm subject to the same sovereign. Typically, the 'particular' authority is depicted on the obverse (or front) of a two-sided seal by an allusive landscape of that realm. A Great Seal functions as the 'signature' of a body politic, whether in its general or particular capacities, and is *the* emblem of sovereignty.¹³³

¹³¹ Swan 1977: page 15. In this thesis the pronouns 'her' and 'she' refer to each and every gender unless the context indicates otherwise

¹³² Swan 1977: page 27.

¹³³ Hilary Jenkinson, *Guide to Seals in the Public Record Office*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London 1968, page 3. The word 'seal' can refer to either an impression attached to a document, or the matrix or mould from which it is made. It usually takes the form of a wax and resin (or similarly malleable material) disk into the surface of which has been impressed certain symbolic designs, patterns and inscriptions (on one or both sides), and that has been attached in some way to a document. It is usually large, hence the term 'great seal'. When the seal is fixed to a document, the document is said to 'pass' the seal. Typical uses of a Great Seal are to authenticate proclamations, writs, appointments, summonses, land grants, and documents freeing convicts.

British Great Seals representing divisible sovereign authority are found in medieval France and Ireland, and evident in North America from 1606 with the first Great Seal Deputed for the English colony of Virginia showing the royal arms (of ‘general purpose’) on the reverse, and on the obverse a portrait of James I. Over time, the obverse came to depict the sovereign receiving from a kneeling American Indian a sheaf of tobacco leaves, and the motto *En Dat Virginia Quartum* (Behold Virginia the Fourth Realm - Great Britain, Ireland and France being the other three realms). This remained the design until Virginia’s declaration of independence in 1776.¹³⁴ The design of the Great Seal for New South Wales followed the same pattern. The ceremony performed on the shores of Sydney Cove in February 1788 appointing Arthur Phillip as Governor of the new colony included reading aloud the King’s Commission, made under the Great Seal of Great Britain, which appointed him Governor and authorised him, as Governor, to keep and use a public seal for “all things whatsoever that shall pass the Great Seal of our said territory”.¹³⁵ It was an old ritual with long antecedents.

Phillip, at this time, did not possess the seal, which was to be delivered to him in due course. Until he received a public seal, he used his own private (or privy) seal in its place. The use of such privy seals was characteristic of new colonies.¹³⁶ Phillip’s seal displayed a shield showing three camels heads on a diagonal band.¹³⁷ These are the arms he inherited from his father who he believed to descend from several generations of German burghers. The first seal for authenticating official documents and vice-regal actions in New South Wales thus displayed the emblems of an aspiring Anglo-German emigrant family.

¹³⁴ Peter Walne, ‘The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 66, No 1, January 1958, pages 3-21; Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, pages 335-339; the term ‘American Indian’ is used in this chapter, see Clyde Tucker *et al*, A Statistical Analysis of the CPD Supplement on Race and Ethnic Origin, Bureau of Labour Statistics and Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C., May 1995, Table 4, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2/gen/96arc/ivatuck.pdf>, accessed 12 April 2015.

¹³⁵ ‘Phillip’s Commission’, 2 April 1787, in *Historical Records of New South Wales* (HRNSW), Vol 1, Part 2, Government Printing Office, Sydney 1892, pages 61–67

¹³⁶ Conrad Swan, York Herald of Arms, *Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1977, pages 33, 114–115, 171–173

¹³⁷ Richard d’Apice, ‘Heraldry of the Governors of New South Wales: Captain Arthur Phillip (1738-1814)’, *Heraldry News, Journal of The Australian Heraldry Society*, No 67, December 2014, pages 3-21

The preparation of a public seal to use in place of Phillip's privy seal was taking place in London while the colonists consolidated their beachhead on the Cadigal land around Sydney Cove and began pushing the new colonial frontier across the surrounding Cumberland Plain. The Cadigal people around Sydney Cove observed Phillip's induction, and he in turn observed them adorning their bodies and objects with patterns in red and white ochre excavated from their country. He sent some of this clay to his patron Sir Joseph Banks, who in turn had Wedgwood's pottery in Staffordshire fashion the clay into a series of 'medallions', or disks bearing an embossed scene of

Hope encouraging Art and Labour under the influence of Peace, to pursue the employments necessary to give security and happiness to an infant colony.¹³⁸

The pottery consciously imitated the popular revival styles of the eighteenth-century fascination with ancient Roman and Greek ruins and art. To emphasize the classical allusions, Wedgwood named his pottery Etruria. Some of the medallions arrived in Sydney in 1790, from where their raw clay material had come and was now returned fashioned into a form that depicted human bodies rather than adorned them, but as with the adorned bodies, represented a particular imagining of cultural values. The 'Sydney Cove Medallions', as they became known, were an early product of the new civilization in Sydney Cove, a fusion of Cadigal ritual material (the clay or *dabuwa*), Roman mythology and British industrial technologies under the imprimatur of vice-regal patronage.¹³⁹

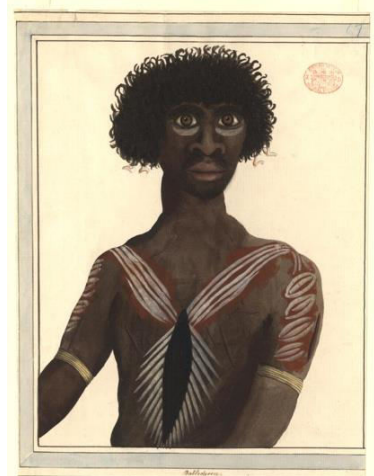
¹³⁸ Five of the medallions are held in the State Library of NSW collections, with a catalogue record here <http://www.acmssearch.sl.nsw.gov.au/search/itemDetailPaged.cgi?itemID=446730> , accessed 13 November 2015

¹³⁹ 'dabuwa' was the word for this white clay in the Cadigal language: see Jakelin Troy, *The Sydney Language*, Australian Dictionaries Project/Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra 1993

Figure 2.1 | *Dabuwa* or white clay provided a material for cultural fusion



Medallion
obverse
(left)



Balooderry
(right)

Wedgwood's Sydney Cove Medallion in white clay, in which the figure of Hope receives Art, Labour and Peace in the new colony, and Balooderry, a Cadigal man, painted in the white and red ochre.

Images: left State Library NSW,

<http://www.acmssearch.sl.nsw.gov.au/search/itemDetailPaged.cgi?itemID=446730> accessed 13 November 2013;

right: Natural History Museum, London,

<http://www.nhm.ac.uk/nature-online/art-nature-imaging/collections/first-fleet/art-collection/collections.dsml?lastDisp=gall&stype=colls&coll=watling&beginIndex=435&> , accessed 13 November 2013

The Great Seal of New South Wales finally arrived in Sydney on the convict transport *Gorgon* on 21 September 1791, nearly five years after Phillip's proclamation of the colony.¹⁴⁰ The description of the allusory landscape and motto on the obverse of the seal reveal the imagined particular purposes of the colony, and an adaptation of the Etruscan ideal depicted by Wedgwood:

Convicts landed at Botany Bay; their fetters taken off and received by Industry sitting on a bale of goods with her attributes, the distaff, bee-hive, pick-axe, and spade, pointing to oxen ploughing, the rising habitations, and a church on a hill at a distance, with a fort for their defence. Motto: Sic fortis Etruria crevit; with this inscription around the circumference: Sigillum Nov. Cam. Aust.¹⁴¹

The reverse of the seal depicted the royal arms and supporters of general purpose within an encircling representation of the Order of the Garter and surmounted by an imperial Crown, with the royal motto, and around the circumference the king's titles.

¹⁴⁰ The sequence of decisions for making the seal are recorded in 'Device for Seal', Court of St James's, 21 May 1790; 'Warrant for Seal', Court of St James's, 21 January 1791; 'Device for Seal', Court of St James's, 4 August 1790; Governor Phillip to Lord Grenville, Sydney, 5 November 1791, *HRNSW*, Vol. 1, Pt 2, pages 340, 431, 389, 532.

¹⁴¹ 'Device for Seal' 1790, op. cit., 'Sigillum Nov. Cam. Aust.' is an abbreviation of the Latin phrase Sigillum Nova Cambria Australis (Seal of New South Wales)

The motto *Sic fortis Etruria crevit* is taken from Virgil's *Georgics*, extolling the virtues of rural life and industry supposedly practiced by the ancient Etruscans and from which Rome and its empire had grown.¹⁴² The motto is usually translated as 'So, I suppose, brave Etruria grew', or 'So, this is how Etruria grew'. Simon Schama has commented on Virgil's description of the beehive, one of Industry's attributes, as the paragon of social and political virtue, located within depictions of antique landscapes that were an allegory for the humanistic landscapes showing diligent labour, placid livestock, bounteous orchards and fields, politically and visually overseen by the fathers of the city state on the hilltop.¹⁴³

The depiction of imaginary landscapes on seals has long antecedents, and between the accession of George III and the end of the Napoleonic wars, at least twenty new colonial Great Seals Deputed were made, with that for New South Wales falling roughly in the middle of this period.¹⁴⁴ All bear Classical influences in their mottoes and designs, and many depict Arcadian townscapes with a church on a hill.¹⁴⁵ The sigillographic representations of such landscapes on the colonial seals of the period, complete with Virgillian motto, is typical and perhaps best realised in the seal for New South Wales. The allusions to Etruscans and the redemption of criminals, however, are unique to New South Wales.

The divisibility of the royal sovereignty, tangibly expressed in multiple Great Seals Deputed already in existence in the British Isles, North America and the Indies, extended to the South Seas with the arrival of the Great Seal of New South Wales. When the tangible representation of the 'particular purposes' of the Crown in New

¹⁴² W.A. Gullick, *The New South Wales Coat of Arms with Notes on the Earlier Seals*, Government Printer, Sydney 1907: pages 31–35

¹⁴³ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, Fontana Press, London 1996: pages 528–529

¹⁴⁴ Bruce Baskerville, 'And So Brave Etruria Grew: Dividing the Crown in Early Colonial New South Wales 1808–1810', in Robert Aldrich and Cindy McCreery (eds), *Crowns and Colonies:*

European Monarchies and Overseas Empires, Manchester University Press, Manchester (forthcoming)

¹⁴⁵ This group includes the seals of Georgia (1754), Quebec (1763), East Florida (1764), West Florida (1764), Island of St John (later Prince Edward Island)(1769), New Brunswick (1784), Cape Breton Island (1785), New South Wales (1790), Upper Canada (1792), Lower Canada (1793), Grenada (1795), Bahamas (1821), Van Diemen's Land (1824?), and Newfoundland (1827)

South Wales in the form of the Great Seal came into use, the territory of New South Wales became a separate realm. The deputed sovereign authority, exercised by the deputy king, contained the nascent power to do as a king did.

I | The Twentieth Day of Landing

By 1808 the 26 January was annually celebrated as the ‘Day of Landing’.¹⁴⁶ In that year it marked the 20th anniversary of Phillip’s planting of the old crown in a new colony. When James Matra, an American loyalist on Cook’s *Endeavour* voyage and protégé of Sir Joseph Banks, made a proposal in 1783 to Lord Sydney for establishing a colony in New South Wales, he argued that convicts could be reformed through transportation, partly by giving each a small piece of land to cultivate. “Treat them like men” he argued.¹⁴⁷ The obverse design on the seal reflected this reforming and emancipatory ideal.¹⁴⁸

The royal arms on the reverse of the seal illustrated the natural king’s dynastic claims to the crowns of England, France, Hanover, Scotland and Ireland. They are the arms of the King in each of his realms, and their placement on the seal authorizes the ideal of rural and industrial reform of convicts as the purpose of the Crown in the colony. This seal was still in use in 1808 and remained in use until 1817.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Alan Atkinson, ‘The British Whigs and the Rum Rebellion’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 66, Pt 2, September 1980: page 86

¹⁴⁷ Matra Proposal, dated 23rd August 1783, *HRNSW*, Vol 1, Part 2: 7. Matra’s biography is accessible at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/matra-james-mario-maria-13084>, accessed 6 November 2015

¹⁴⁸ Gullick, WA, *Origin of Australian Arms*, Government Printer?, Sydney 1914: pages 16-19

¹⁴⁹ Note 97 ‘A New Seal’, *HRNSW*, Series I, Vol. IX: page 872. The first seal matrix was returned to London to be destroyed, as there can only be one seal in existence at a time, see Macquarie to Bathurst, 12th December 1817, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Series I, Vol. IX: page 718

Figure 2.2 | A wax representation of the Great Seal (1791-1817)



Attached to a land grant document from Governor Phillip to ex-convict Edward Varndell, dated 22 February 1792.¹⁵⁰ The obverse displays Industry receiving convicts while their fetters are removed, although the background landscape is obscured from erosion of the wax. The reverse shows the royal arms. Source: State Library NSW, <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=446878>, accessed 4 October 2013

In August 1806 Captain William Bligh RN disembarked in Sydney Cove to take office as the fourth governor of New South Wales. He immediately made his mark felt by providing public assistance to the settlers in the Hawkesbury district who had just survived their fourth devastating flood with great losses to their crops and stock, and by banning the use of rum and other spirits in bartering in favour of cash transactions using copper coins and promissory notes.¹⁵¹ Since 1788 the principal means of trade within the colony had been through barter due to a shortage of cash, with rum being the main medium of exchange. The importing of rum was largely controlled by a small group of merchants and military officers.

The arrival of Bligh was warmly welcomed by the settlers in the County of Cumberland (the rural hinterland of Sydney), and small business keepers in Sydney and Parramatta, but viewed with some suspicion by vested interests in the local military force, the New

¹⁵⁰ Varndell's Farm was a twelve hectare grant of land at The Ponds, in the Field of Mars district, in the County of Cumberland. Once the geometric grid of the cadastre was overlaid in this area, this piece of land was described as Portion 161, Parish of Field of Mars. See Geoff Canon, *The First Titleholders of Land in the County of Cumberland*, Part 1, NSW Department of Urban Affairs & Planning, Green Hills 1997: 201

¹⁵¹ 'Government and General Order', 14th February 1807, Government House Sydney, also 1st November 1806, 'Proclamation', 3rd January 1807 and Bligh to Windham, 31st October 1807, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 253, 198, 238, 362

South Wales Corps, and the larger landholders. This was confirmed by the first meeting between Bligh and the colony's wealthiest man, and former Corps officer, John Macarthur. They met in the garden of Government House Parramatta at a dinner hosted by retiring Governor King, and almost immediately quarrelled when Macarthur began pressing his claims for a large grant of land.¹⁵² It was a bad omen for their future.

Relations deteriorated rapidly between the two parties. Bligh championed the small settlers and shopkeepers, while Macarthur was the leading figure among the emerging gentry and military officers.¹⁵³ In the absence of any sort of political assembly, their conflicts were fought out in the local courts. By the summer of 1808 the political atmosphere was poisonous, focused on disputes over town lots near Government House Sydney. After a series of complex legal manoeuvres between Macarthur and Bligh, Macarthur was arrested and detained in the County Jail in Sydney. On the evening of 26 January, the day before Macarthur's scheduled trial, a detachment of the Corps under Major Johnston and Lieutenant Bell marched from the Military Barracks along Bridge Street to Government House Sydney. They brushed aside the only opposition from Bligh's daughter, Mary Putnam, who tried to bar their entrance, and occupied the house and gardens.

Bligh and his servants tried to hide or draw the usurpers away from the State papers and the Great Seal, and it took the soldiers two hours to finally locate the Governor. Bligh was eventually found upstairs to a small room where he had concealed some papers and destroyed others, planning to escape out the window and get to the Hawkesbury once he had done so. Macarthur immediately established and chaired a committee that interrogated all public officials to determine their allegiance, and demanded the State papers. Bligh angrily protested:

I denied their Authority in any proceeding not authorized by myself, as to my King and Country only would I be answerable for any act of mine in this colony. At this time my Papers, Books and Private Instructions ... were ordered to be

¹⁵² Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, Vol. I, Oxford University Press, 1998: page 282

¹⁵³ Alan Atkinson, *The Position of John Macarthur and His Family in New South Wales before 1842*, MA Thesis, unpub., University of Sydney 1971: pages 11-40

examined, and with the Great Seal of the Colony were ordered to be taken away.¹⁵⁴

When Bligh objected to the seizure of the Great Seal, the usurper Nicholas Bayly bluntly responded, “They could now command it; it was needless for me to make any opposition.”¹⁵⁵

By the evening of the Day of Landing, Bligh was detained, Major Johnston had assumed the title of Lieutenant Governor, Macarthur was Secretary to the Colony, and the military had taken possession of the Great Seal. Bligh asserted that a jubilant Macarthur crowed on the night of the overthrow that “Never was a revolution so completely affected, and with so much order and regularity”.¹⁵⁶ The authority of the Crown that had been deputed in 1787, for purposes of a New Etruria built on convict redemption, had been usurped. Bligh would cast this as an attempt to overthrow the settlement of 1688 and replace the essentially British ‘mixed constitution’ with foreign republican institutions and anarchy.

These events were variously described as a rebellion, a mutiny or an insurrection, although the usual description at the time was a usurpation (according to its opponents, who styled themselves loyalists) or the overthrow of a tyrant (according to its supporters, who styled themselves as ‘manly’).

Bligh was imprisoned in Government House Sydney until February 1809, when he pretended to bow to the usurper’s demands to return to England. Just before sailing, he demanded the return of the Great Seal and his State papers, but the usurper authorities ignored his demand and failed to discern any plan he may have had to try and reclaim his authority from another location within the colony.¹⁵⁷ Instead he sailed for Hobart Town, where he remained exiled onboard *HMS Porpoise* in the Derwent Estuary until

¹⁵⁴ Bligh to Castlereagh, 31 August 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 624

¹⁵⁵ Bligh to Castlereagh, 30 June 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 660–661.

¹⁵⁶ Bligh to Castlereagh, 30 April 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 623

¹⁵⁷ Bligh to Paterson, 28 January 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VII: page 11

the restoration in 1810, issuing orders and proclamations countermanding those of the usurper administration in Sydney.¹⁵⁸

The usurpation ended when Major Lachlan Macquarie and the 73rd Regiment arrived in the colony at the end of 1809, and officially on New Years Day 1810 when he restored the absent Bligh to office for 24 hours, and then assumed the office of Governor himself and revoked all the acts of the usurpers. The overthrow of Bligh and the usurpation of vice-regal authority over two years brought about fundamental changes in the cultural, social and political environments in the colony that would shape the Crown in Australia for the next two centuries.

II | The Usurper Régime

Macarthur and the New South Wales Corps had quickly and effectively overwhelmed and captured the principal representations of the Crown in New South Wales, the Great Seal and the Governor. They held the body corporate and the body natural, and immediately began to project the overthrow within a tradition of rightful resistance to tyranny. They had seized and placed Bligh under house arrest, stolen the Great Seal and carried it off to their headquarters in the Military Barracks, declared martial law, and freed Macarthur from the County Gaol. Macarthur was carried by a drunken mob through the town, and effigies of Bligh were burnt.

Imaginings of the coup in the public domain reflect this tradition. Some Sydney innkeepers, perhaps excited by Macarthur's rapid issuing of new liquor licenses, displayed the new order by badging their inns with revolutionary signs. One sign showed Major Johnston driving a sword through a snake and receiving a cap of liberty from a female figure and the inscription "The ever memorable 26th of January 1808", another a harp without a crown, another was inscribed "Success to Major George Johnston. May he live forever! Our deliverer and the suppressor of tyrants". One publican offered a more ambiguous depiction of Charles II hiding in an oak tree with

¹⁵⁸ Bligh to Castlereagh, 31 August 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW* Vol. VI: pages 711–712

the inscription “The ever memorable 26th Jan’y 1808”.¹⁵⁹ The signs evoke American and Cromwellian ideas of a British revolutionary past, violent but constitutional.¹⁶⁰

The usurper’s positioning of themselves as tyrannicides was a deliberate strategy to legitimize the overthrow and the seizure of the seal. It positioned them within a ‘tradition’ of violent but constitutional *coups d’état* in English history of nobility and gentry overthrowing tyrannical kings.

The usurpers issued a brief manifesto on the first day of their new regime from the Corps’ headquarters in the Military Barracks. After thanking ‘the whole body of people’ for their ‘manly, firm and orderly conduct’, they went on:

In future no man shall have just cause to complain of violence, injustice or oppression; no free man shall be taken and imprisoned, or deprived of his house, land, or liberty, but by the law; justice shall be impartially administered, without regard to or respect of persons; and every man shall enjoy the fruits of his industry in security.¹⁶¹

The sentence ‘no free man shall be taken and imprisoned, or deprived of his house, land, or liberty’ is a literal translation of the twenty-ninth clause of Magna Carta.¹⁶² Such baronial allusions allowed Macarthur and his allies to imagine themselves as nobles, with the Corps their knightly enforcers, and to regard their actions as preserving the legitimate (and contained) authority of the Crown.¹⁶³ The usurpers claimed they were rescuing the colony from a tyrannical governor under the influence of nefarious convict advisors.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Bligh to Castlereagh, 30th June 1808, Government House Sydney, HRNSW, Vol. VI: page 670

¹⁶⁰ Atkinson 1980: page 84 and n71, n72. Atkinson refers to Macarthur in 1824 comparing his actions in 1808 with those of Cromwell

¹⁶¹ ‘Proclamation’, Head-quarters, 27 January 1808, HRNSW, Vol. VI: pages 453–4.

¹⁶² FM Bladen, ‘Introduction’, HRNSW, Vol. VI: pages lxi–ii.

¹⁶³ Alan Atkinson, ‘Jeremy Bentham and the Rum Rebellion’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 64, Part 1, June 1978: page 83.

¹⁶⁴ Anne-Maree Whitaker (ed.) *Distracted Settlement: New South Wales after Bligh from the Journal of Lieutenant James Finucane 1808–1810*, Miegunyah Press, Carlton 1998: page 54 (reproducing Finucane’s diary entry for 28th July 1808)

The constant references to the usurpers as ‘manly’ contrasted with their depiction of Bligh as a coward.¹⁶⁵ When Bligh was finally found, he was accused of hiding under a bed in what Johnston said “was a situation too disgraceful to be mentioned”.¹⁶⁶ Cowardice, not protection of the royal artefacts, was their explicit depiction of Bligh. One of the arresting officers, Sergeant Whittle, had cartoons vilifying Bligh distributed around Sydney, some especially for display in shop and inn windows, and may have organised the revolutionary inn signs.¹⁶⁷

Figure 2.3 | The Arrest of Governor William Bligh



The cartoon of Bligh’s arrest that was claimed to be displayed in Whittle’s house after the Day of Landing.

The bed suggests the ‘disgraceful situation’ alluded to by Johnston, but the window also hints at the alternate future Johnson and the Corps may have experienced had Bligh escaped to the Hawkesbury.

Source: National Library of Australia nla.obj-135690858

The usurpers’ ‘program’ can be deduced from its actions as supporting an orderly administration in favour of the wealth-producing classes (including the large-scale granting of land), orderly control of the convict and expirée population by the military, antipathy to convicts being rehabilitated into society, and ‘manliness’, or at least Augustan ideals of martial courage, virtue, honour, reason and autonomy, all wrapped up in allusions to noble barons and chivalric supporters necessarily containing the excesses of royal authority deputed.

¹⁶⁵ Isabel Karremann, ‘Augustan Manliness and its Anxieties: Shaftesbury and Swift’, in Stefan Horlacher (ed.), *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2011, Chapter 7 *passim*.

¹⁶⁶ Johnston to Castlereagh, 11 April 1808, Headquarters Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 580.

¹⁶⁷ Atkinson 1978, op. cit.: page 85. See also *Proceedings of a Court-Martial held at Chelsea Hospital ...* Sherwood, Neely & Jones, London 1811, facsimile edition John Ritchie (ed), *A Charge of Mutiny*, National Library of Australia, Canberra 1988, pages 114-116, 367-371, 394, 402, 405, for witness accounts of Whittle’s involvement with revolutionary cartoons, inn signs and effigy burning on Church Hill, and possibly desecrating the grave of Bligh’s recently-deceased son-in-law, and his denials of the accounts.

The usurper administration had three distinct phases. The first lasted for six months under the command of Major Johnstone, with Macarthur as his Colonial Secretary (26 January 1808 to 30 July 1808); the second for nearly six months under the command of Colonel Foveaux (31 July 1808 to 8 January 1809); and the third for twelve months under Lt Col Patterson, although Foveaux held the reins of power during this phase as well (9 January 1809 to 31 December 1809). Each of these men used the title of Lieutenant Governor. There was some confusion at the time of the overthrow as to who could use this title and Johnston, quoting from the purloined Letters Patent establishing the colony on the process to be followed in the death or absence of a governor, and in order to avoid “the slightest suspicion that a single measure I have adopted respecting Governor Bligh has originated in a desire of possessing myself of his authority, or from any other than the pure motive of promoting the honor of His Majesty’s service”, decided to style himself Lieutenant Governor.¹⁶⁸

The usurper administrations implemented a number of elements of its program. After the interrogations of civil officials, a new usurper magistracy was planted in the country districts that policed the activities of the small settlers and commoners with enthusiasm. Lieutenant Bell, who had lead the march upon Government House with Johnston, was appointed magistrate in the loyalist Hawkesbury district to which Bligh had hoped to flee and reclaim his authority.

Foveaux established a new wholesale market in Sydney for agricultural produce, especially foodstuffs. The prices of staples were published every week in the *Gazette*, and the magistrates continued the practice of holding a weekly assize court at which the price of bread was determined. A notable feature of the usurper administration was the immediate and dramatic drop in the price of bread from 10d a loaf to 5d, which remained stable until flooding in the Hawkesbury in late 1809 forced the usurper magistrates to agree to a sudden increase to 1 shilling.¹⁶⁹ Other staples such as beef, mutton, and pork were also controlled and prices only rose in the final months of the usurper regime. Another usurper innovation was the establishment of a regulated postal

¹⁶⁸ Johnston to Castlereagh, 11th April 1808, Headquarters Sydney, *HRNSW* Vol. VI: pages 582-582

¹⁶⁹ Database of market prices July 1807 to March 1810, compiled by author.

system with the appointment in April 1809 of Isaac Nichols as official postmaster. Nichols was an ex-convict but had good links with the usurpers through his marriage to the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Johnston's convict mistress. As postmaster he sorted all outgoing mails and received all incoming mails.¹⁷⁰ These two strategic innovations alone allowed the military to manage the food supply in the town and control incoming and outgoing communications.

Figure 2.4 | Keystone from Isaac Nicol's Post Office



Nicol's 'cypher' on the building that soon became the new usurper-controlled post office, engraved within a heraldic shield shape that projects an image of 'protection'.

The building was demolished in 1889, and this keystone was retained as a memento of quaint 'bygone days'.

Source: State Library of NSW, call no XR 8

While the usurpers did not refer to the Great Seal in their words or images, the use of the seal was necessary despite any antipathy to its allusions. A critical use to which it was put was sealing land grant documents, which proliferated during the usurpation. Some 27,500 hectares were granted during 1809, forming 34 percent of all land granted since 1788 and the largest alienation of Crown land up to that time.¹⁷¹ Bligh warned against this when he issued a proclamation from Hobart Town stating “That *I only* am

¹⁷⁰ See Arthur McMartin, 'Nichols, Isaac (1770–1819)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nichols-isaac-2507/text3385>, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed 9 November 2015; and G. F. J. Bergman, 'Johnston, Esther (1767–1846)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/johnston-esther-2276/text2923>, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed 9 November 2015.

¹⁷¹ 'Bligh to Castlereagh, Enclosure, 12 November 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 808 note.

empowered to keep and use the public seal for sealing all things whatsoever that shall pass the Great Seal of the territory”.¹⁷² The usurpers ignored him.

The usurpers moved to consolidate the population in outlying districts, such as Norfolk Island. The Home authorities were prevaricating between closing Norfolk Island and keeping it open when Foveaux returned to Sydney from London in 1807 with instructions for Bligh to maintain the Norfolk settlements. However, in August 1808 he commissioned the *City of Edinburgh* to remove half the population to Hobart.¹⁷³ The majority of the Islanders did not want to leave, some of them having spent 20 years establishing their farms and families, and they had no great love for Foveaux who had been Commandant on the island between 1800 and 1804.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, 224 settlers and all their possessions and livestock were removed from the Island, arriving in Hobart on 2 October 1808.

Atkinson suggests that Sergeant Whittle, patron of the derisory cartoonists, was a ‘deist radical’ who sympathised with the French Revolution. Deism was influential among leaders of the American and French revolutions, and had its English followers.¹⁷⁵ Deists believed that the existence of a God could be determined by reason and observation of the natural world, and rejected organized religious institutions, religious ritual and supernatural events such as miracles. Macarthur’s committee suspended the chaplain and the usurpers ignored the church. They used St Philip’s Anglican Church on Church Hill, near the Military Barracks, for public meetings in the early phases of the usurpation (although they never re-named it a ‘temple of reason’).¹⁷⁶ The church was a curious combination of Georgian-styled nave (hall) with an attached Gothick battlemented clock and bell tower that could be seen over most of Sydney, designed for Governor

¹⁷² ‘Proclamation’, 29 April 1809, The Derwent, New South Wales, *HRNSW*, Vol. VII: page 109.

¹⁷³ Foveaux to Cooke, 21st October 1808, Sydney Port Jackson, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 784

¹⁷⁴ Hoare, *Norfolk Island: A Revised and Enlarged History 1774-1998*, Central Queensland University Press, Rockhampton 2003: Chapter 1 *passim*; Britts, MG, *The Commandants: the tyrants who ruled Norfolk Island*, KAPAK Publishing, Norfolk Island 1980: pages 48-58

¹⁷⁵ Ellen Wilson and Peter Reill (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, Facts on File, New York 2009, pages 146-148

¹⁷⁶ During the French Revolution, many churches were re-named ‘Temples of Reason’ and dedicated to an atheist ‘Cult of Reason’. In 1794 Robespierre suppressed the atheists in favour of his Deist ‘Cult of the Supreme Being’

King in 1800. The Reverend Marsden was an old enemy of Macarthur, but away in England during the usurpation and, with the chaplain suspended, no church services were held.¹⁷⁷ The Reverend Knopwood in Van Diemen's Land was perceived to be sympathetic to the usurpers, and in 1809 he was accused of "employing his altar against the throne" in a letter published in both the *Asiatic Mirror* in Calcutta and the *Madras Courier*, signed 'Clericus'.¹⁷⁸

The usurpers included the large landholders and larger merchants (later called Exclusives or Pure Merinos) who had mainly, although not entirely, arrived as free men, along with their military supporters in the New South Wales Corps. The loyalists, on the other hand, were more disparate, consisting mainly of former convicts (sometimes called emancipists or expirees) and free migrants in the country districts of the Cumberland Plain, as well as mid-level public officials.¹⁷⁹ They had a very different view of the usurpation.

III | England Expects Every Man Will Do His Duty

While the usurpers referred to Magna Carta and implemented some military strategies, the loyalists sought inspiration in the Bill of Rights of 1688 and a different 'tradition'. A welcome address to Bligh in 1806 was signed by 244 'loyal people, settlers, landholders, cultivators and other principal inhabitants' who looked to Bligh for

such means as may be for the salvation, honor and interest of the colony [...]

By restoring freedom of trade.

By permitting commodities to be bought and sold at a fair open market by all the inhabitants.

By preventing that painful monopoly and extortion heretofore practiced.

By protecting the merchant and the trader in their properties, and the people in general in their rights, privileges, liberties and professions, as by law established.

By suffering the laws of the realm to take their due course in matters of property without control.

¹⁷⁷ AT Yarwood, *Marsden of Parramatta*, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst 1986, page 39

¹⁷⁸ letter to the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror* (Calcutta), published in the *Madras Courier* 29 May 1809, signed 'Clericus', in *HRNSW* Vol. VII, page 207.

¹⁷⁹ The terms 'Exclusives', 'Pure Merinos', 'Emancipists' and 'Expirees' really came into popular use just after the Restoration: Amanda Laugesen (ed.), *Convict Words: Language in Early Colonial Australia*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne 2002. 'Pure Merino' was a reference to the pastoral elite and their flocks that included a strain of Spanish merino sheep descended from a flock kept by George III.

That justice may be administered by the Courts authorized by His Majesty, according to the known law of the land.

By causing payment to be made in such money or Government orders as will pass current in the purchase of every article of merchandize without drawback or discount.¹⁸⁰

The address included phrases and concepts that recalled the Bill, as did the layout of the address. This was the closest to a formal manifesto articulated by the loyalists. A further address just before the overthrow, with 833 signatures petitioned Bligh to allow free trade within the colony and between other colonies (presumably India), and for trial by jury.¹⁸¹

After the overthrow, publishing such addresses became dangerous, and Bligh and the loyalists turned to invoking the imagery of the French Revolution to describe the usurpers, citing their ‘very Robesperian [sic] manner’ and ‘true spirit of Jacobinical equality’.¹⁸² Local tavern songwriters emulated this in ‘pipes’, such as *A New Song ... on the Rebellion*, written sometime in late 1808.¹⁸³ Some of its more notable lines are:

The voice of rebellion resounds o’er the Plain.
The Anarchist Junto have pulled down the banner
Which Monarchical Government sought but in vain
To hold as the rallying Standard of honor,
 The Diadem’s here fled
 From off the Kings head
His Royal appointment by force they depose,
 But the time it draws nigh
 When magnanimous Bligh
Will triumph with honour and prostrate his foes.

And further on:

And the New Gallic School in its stead have erected,
John Bull’s would-be pupil, how dare he to frown
His French education was too long neglected.
 That Turnip head tool
 Jack Boddice’s fool.

¹⁸⁰ Hawkesbury Settlers’ Address, Hawkesbury, 22 September 1806, *NRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 191.

¹⁸¹ ‘Settlers’ Address to Governor Bligh’, New South Wales, 1 January 1808, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 410.

¹⁸² Bligh to Castlereagh, 30 April 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 623; Gore to Castlereagh, 27 March 1808, Cells Sydney Jail, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 558–9.

¹⁸³ George Mackaness (ed.), *A New Song, Made in New South Wales on the Rebellion, by Lawrence Davoren*, Edited with an *Essay on Historical Detection, Notes and Commentary*, Australian Historical Monographs, Review Publications, Dubbo 1979. A ‘pipe’ was a form of popular song-writing, usually accompanied by a pipe or wind instrument.

And:

A clown in his gait, and a fool in his Face,
The Carmagnol Mayor
Has here got an heir.

‘Off the kings head’, ‘Gallic school’: some of the allusions seem obvious; other less-so. John Bull’s would be pupil and his neglected French education is an allusion to Foveaux’s French ancestry and the French revolution; Turnip Head refers to Johnston, Jack Boddice to Macarthur; the *Carmagnole* was a popular song and dance during the French revolution, and is an allusion to the first revolutionary Mayor of Paris, Jean Bailey, a principal in the execution of Louis XVI who was later guillotined himself, and thus a play on the name of Nicholas Bayly, the usurper who gloated to Bligh over the theft of the Great Seal. The song writer noted of Bailey that “His hopeful namesake has been no less active in putting down monarchy here, being a Principal in the Rebellion now existing”. And while there were no appointments with Madame Guillotine at the Barracks in Sydney, the association of the usurpers with violent revolution and the destruction of royal authority was commonly made over the Cumberland Plain in such ‘pipes’. It was out in the County of Cumberland, especially in the Hawkesbury district, that the settlers formed the resistance to the usurpation.¹⁸⁴ The pages of the county history were being written by the loyalists and songsters with a story of fealty to a viceroy who would vanish the Frenchy usurpers and restore the Crown and vice-regal authority.

Under the governments of Bligh and his predecessor King, the Hawkesbury settlers had a role in the governance of their district through their control of the local Commons trusts. Regardless of their penal status, a residential connection to a local common made each settler a commoner and eligible to select or be a trustee. As commoners they also supported their local magistrates, who in turn formed an informal body of vice-regal advisors. It was this informal ‘privy council’ of magistrates who were brought

¹⁸⁴ Bruce Baskerville, “‘Ready at All Times, at the Risk of Our Lives and Property’: The Hawkesbury Resistance to the Usurpation known as the Rum Rebellion”, paper presented to Hawkesbury Historical Society 26 January 2008, available <https://historymatrix.wordpress.com/2013/08/06/ready-at-all-times-the-hawkesbury-resistance-to-the-rum-rebels/>

before Macarthur on the Day of Landing, interrogated and then dismissed from office.¹⁸⁵

Bligh had his own substantial country estate in the Hawkesbury near Nelson Common (now Pitt Town) named 'Blighton'. It was operated as a model farm, intended to demonstrate to the settlers new methods of agriculture to help improve their farming practices. Bligh possibly intended the estate to be the country seat to which he would retire at the end of his vice-regal term.¹⁸⁶ Bligh's Overseer, expiree Andrew Thompson, wrote in 1807 of Bligh's "...wisdom and attention to farming and improvement, which the Sovereign was pleased to practice at Home ... as an example to all others..."¹⁸⁷. It was a practical contribution to supporting the local settlers, and a *cause célèbre* for the usurpers, who claimed the farm was evidence of Bligh's corruption as he used public resources, such as convicts and the progeny of Crown livestock for his private gain¹⁸⁸. For the settlers it stood as a symbol of their resistance, a model of orderly, productive husbandry in the community, in stark contrast to the illegality and repression that now emanated from Government House.

The loyalists were not persuaded by baronial allusions, derisory cartoons and iniquitous inn signs in Sydney. They rejected assertions of Bligh's cowardice, and countered by recalling the great kings who had survived by hiding, such as Charles II hiding in an oak tree in Boscobel Wood, and Alfred hiding in the marshes around the Isle of Athelney.¹⁸⁹ The Royal Oak and Egbert's Stone were not history but contemporary politics in the County of Cumberland.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ The interrogations of the magistrates are at 'Examinations of Officers after the Arrest of Governor Bligh', 26th January 1808, and their dismissal at 'Government and General Orders', Head-quarters, 27th January 1808, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 435-453

¹⁸⁶ Banks to Mrs Bligh, 24th December 1808, Soho Square, *HRNSW* Vol. VI: page 816 and footnote

¹⁸⁷ Thompson to Bligh, 26th March 1807, Hawkesbury, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 263

¹⁸⁸ Brian Fletcher, 'The Hawkesbury Settlers and the Rum Rebellion', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 54, Pt 3, 1968: page 220

¹⁸⁹ FM Bladen 1898, op. cit.: pages lxx–lxxvii.

¹⁹⁰ The 'Royal Oak' is the particular tree in which Charles hid; Egbert's Stone is the site on which Alfred gathered his Anglo-Saxon forces to defeat the 'Great Heathen Army' of the Vikings.

In the absence or loss of a Great Seal alternatives had to be invented by the loyalists. For Bligh, secretly issuing letters to the small settlers as well as proclamations and directives directly counter to those of the usurper regime in Sydney, his own privy seal provided the obvious instrument to authenticate documents.

The loyalists also created their own symbols, the most notable being the Trafalgar Flag made in the Hawkesbury by the Bowman family.¹⁹¹ John Bowman was a free settler, trustee of Richmond Hill Common, and was severely harassed by the usurpers.¹⁹² The flag shows a red-edged white shield with the entwined rose, shamrock and thistle of England, Ireland and Scotland, supported by a kangaroo and emu, with two motto ribbons: the upper reading 'Unity', and the lower Nelson's signal at Trafalgar 'England Expects Every Man Will Do His Duty'. On one level, the flag celebrates Nelson's victory. The news had reached New South Wales in April 1806, six months after the battle, and four months before Bligh's arrival¹⁹³. Bligh had served under Nelson at the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 when he flew Nelson's 'engage the enemy more closely' signal and later earned Nelson's personal praise for the victory.¹⁹⁴ In the context of the usurpation, the flag's message from the loyalists is one of Nelsonian resistance to foreign tyranny.

Nelson was a naval hero and true patriot who fought for his king and country, unlike the usurpers who had overthrown the duly appointed governor for their own personal ends. Unity amongst the settlers was vital if they were to resist the usurpers, as it was their duty to do. The intertwined floral emblems suggest the mixing of nationalities among the settlers, and placed upon a shield in Hanoverian red and white further suggests that this diversity gave them strength, just as the recent 1801 union of England,

¹⁹¹ Bruce Baskerville and Stephen M Szabo, 'Australia's First?: The History of The Bowman Flag Reconsidered', *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Vexillology*, Sydney 2015 (forthcoming).

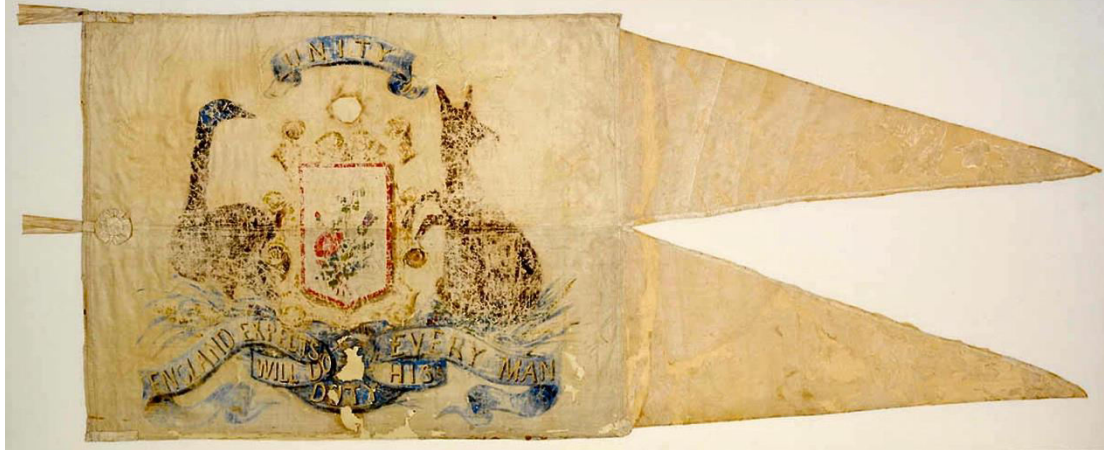
¹⁹² Elizabeth Bowman, *John and Honor Bowman of Richmond, New South Wales, and their Family*, Archer Press, Singleton 1999

¹⁹³ 'Death of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson', *Sydney Gazette*, 3rd August 1806: 2; 'Sydney Gazette', *Sydney Gazette*, 24 August 1806: page 4 (this is the first local publication of Nelson's 'England expects' signal, although the imported London papers may have already contained the story); J. Huxley, 'Going Into Battle for Nelson', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 October 2005: page 11

¹⁹⁴ A. G. L. Shaw, 'Bligh, William (1754–1817)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bligh-william-1797/text2037>, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 13 November 2015.

Scotland and Ireland had created a newer, greater Britain that Nelson had defended while the King's Hanoverian realms were occupied by the French. The kangaroo and emu supporters, their heads turned warily over their shoulders in troubled times, indicate the new country into which the settlers were putting their roots, and were ready to defend. The flag could invoke the loyalty of the new 'Etruscan Britons' to resist the usurpers, its imagery patriotic without being obviously subversive.¹⁹⁵

Figure 2.5 | The Trafalgar (or Bowman) Flag



Emblem of the loyalists in the County of Cumberland. Source: State Library NSW, <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=446335>, accessed 4 October 2013

Another form of resistance to the usurpers, symbolic in its application but with real consequences, was refusal by the loyalists to acknowledge the legitimacy of the usurper courts and magistrates. In March 1808, Provost-Marshal Gore, whose office Nicholas Bayly had usurped, was tried for perjury. His response to the charge was an emphatic “I will not plead; I deny your jurisdiction”. The rebel magistrates sentenced him to be transported for seven years to Coal River, to which Gore responded: “You have conferred on me the greatest Honor you are capable of conferring, the only Honor I could receive from such Men. Loyalty and Treason could not unite”.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, a charge against the loyalist settler George Sutter of seditious libel was met with Sutter declaring “I deny the legality of this Court; you may do with myself as you please”, for

¹⁹⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, second edition, Yale University Press, New Haven 2005, pages 17–18, explores the links between the concept of a Briton and the 1801 Act of Union.

¹⁹⁶ R. v. Gore, Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Grimes AJA, 21st March 1808, *Decisions of the Superior Courts of NSW, 1788-1899*, <http://www.law.mq.edu.au/sensw/html/CoupagainstBligh.htm>, accessed 25th January 2013

which he was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment and a fine of one shilling.¹⁹⁷ A similar case of seditious libel against loyalist officials John Palmer and Charles Hook was met with a similar refusal to plea, and they were fined £50 and imprisoned for three months.¹⁹⁸ In refusing the usurper's authority the loyalists followed Bligh's denial of their authority on the night of the overthrow.

When the *Sydney Gazette* began publication in 1803, edited by convict George Howe (under vice-regal direction), its masthead featured a locally made woodblock print inspired by the Great Seal. It contained all the details of the sigillographic landscape except the convicts being freed. Now emancipated, the convicts were depicted in the role of ploughmen driving the oxen.¹⁹⁹ The surrounding motto was paraphrased in English as 'Thus We Hope To Prosper' (also alluding to the Etruscan medallions). Although this woodblock had worn out within fifteen months and was replaced by a royal arms metal block from India, it was the first device created in the colony depicting a symbolic local identity, and the visual transformation of the convicts in fetters to autonomous farmers in the Etruscan ideal was becoming reality.²⁰⁰ The Great Seal had also inspired the first emblem of local identity in Van Diemen's Land, where the Reverend Knopwood slightly revised the motto to 'Sic fortis Hobartia crevit' and Lieutenant Governor Collins apparently included it in his privy seal.²⁰¹

Bligh was not the passive recipient of the settlers' adoration, at least in the usurpers' eyes. By the spring of 1808 Foveaux was complaining that Bligh

...was exerting every means in his power to inflame the minds of the settlers by sending emissaries among them, who promised in his name that in the event of

¹⁹⁷ R. v. Suttor, Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, Kemp AJA, 8th December 1808, *Decisions of the Superior Courts of NSW*.

¹⁹⁸ R. v. Palmer, R. v. Hook, Bench of Magistrates, 18th March 1809, *Decisions of the Superior Courts of NSW*.

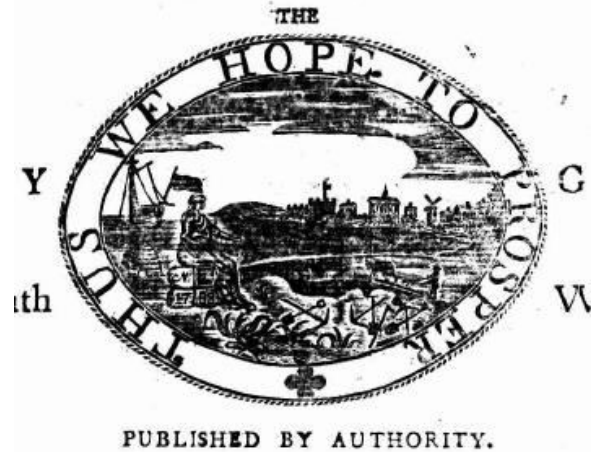
¹⁹⁹ Gwenda Robb, *George Howe: Australia's First Publisher*, Arcadia/Australian Scholarly Publishing, Kew 2003, page 51

²⁰⁰ The identity of the woodblock carver has been ascribed to various convict artisans, but the point for this chapter is that it was authorised by then-Governor King as suitable for the colony's first newspaper: Robb 2003: page 51; *Thus We Hope To Prosper: The Colonial Pacific 1770–1901*, Auction catalogue, Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Melbourne 2014, item 16, pages 22–23; Roger Butler, *Printed: Images in Colonial Australia 1801–1901*, Exhibition Catalogue, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra 2007; pages 91–92.

²⁰¹ Diary of Reverend Robert Knopwood, Hobart-Town, inside front cover, c.1805, eprints.utas.edu.au/11149/1/rs_12_Robert_Knopwood_Diaries.pdf, accessed 26 January 2015; William Applegate Gullick, *The New South Wales Coat of Arms, with notes on its earlier seals*, Government Printer, Sydney 1907

his restoration to the Government he would make them rich and happy. I thought it my duty to inform him that if he persevered ... I would send him to England ... [and] remove him from Government House and be obliged to impose additional restraint on his person.²⁰²

Figure 2.6 | The *Sydney Gazette* 'seal' in masthead, 1803-1804



The imagined and hoped for transformation in the New Etruria. Source *Sydney Gazette* 5 March 1803

Foveaux tried several times to move Bligh to Government House Parramatta, but he consistently refused to budge.²⁰³ The botanist George Caley visited Bligh in October 1808, and described the repressive atmosphere inside Government House Sydney:

Meeting him [Bligh] in the hall, expressing as he went into the parlor, “You see how they have served me; they might have well as done the same to the King of England.” Having shut the door, he desired me to sit down in a corner of the room, where I perceived the sentinels could not see me. He began his discourse (which was mostly whispered) by wishing me to write to you [Banks]. ... I conceived [this] of but little use, for I was strongly persuaded by my own mind that the letters would be intercepted [as both ships in the harbour were under Macarthur’s control].”²⁰⁴

When the Norfolk Island settlers arrived in Hobart Town, Lieutenant Governor Collins reported to Foveaux that the voyage had been longer than expected, provisions were running low, and “Several of the settlers complaining, some that their property had been plundered on the voyage, others that it was not forthcoming”.²⁰⁵ Collins directed the

²⁰² Foveaux to Cooke, 21st October 1808, Sydney Port Jackson, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 783-784.

²⁰³ Foveaux to Paterson, 27th October 1808, Sydney Port Jackson, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 786; Bligh to Castlereagh, 28th October 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 789

²⁰⁴ Caley to Banks, 28th October 1808, Parramatta, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 795-799

²⁰⁵ Collins to Foveaux, 23rd October 1808, Hobart Town, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 785 and footnote

usurper magistrates in Hobart to investigate, and their report seems unsurprising: while much property had gone missing, they were unable to fix responsibility on any individual. Bligh wrote later that same month “Concerning the poor settlers of Norfolk Island” that the evacuation had not been approved by him, and the *City of Edinburgh* was “...the infamous ship which sold and distributed her liquors to McArthur and his emissaries at the time of the insurrection”.²⁰⁶

The refusal to recognise the jurisdiction of the usurper courts, the refusal to attend musters, the objections to removing the Norfolk Islanders, the adoption of the Trafalgar Flag and other emblems, and continued allegiance to Bligh, were all forms of passive resistance employed by the loyalist settlers. The usurpers had the military might, the landed wealth and the instruments of State, which the settlers sought to subvert through civil disobedience. Under Bligh’s vice-regal aegis they invoked the ‘traditions’ of 1688 and extended them to all the small settlers, free and ex-convict, women and men. The promise of convict redemption in the Great Seal, the particular purpose of their new realm, was imagined through their actions and emblems. To resist the usurpers was the emotional affect of that imagining, and it became the new ‘tradition’ of the emancipated, their duty as commoners and as Britons in New South Wales.

IV | The Restoration

Over the two years of the usurpation there were various fallings-out between the usurpers, and their collective aims, never very cohesive apart from hatred of Bligh, shifted and changed over time. The loyalists had enunciated a set of ideals of sorts when they welcomed Bligh to the colony in 1806, but during the usurpation they gradually withdrew into a sullen silence once they were publicly ridiculed, ejected from public offices, had their properties appropriated, and saw their leaders humiliated in the courts and transported to the convict station at Coal River.²⁰⁷ Ideological alignments can be discerned in the public statements, official actions and popular responses of the two camps, although what their ‘manifestos’ show is not two opposing ideologies of royalist

²⁰⁶ Bligh to Castlereagh, 28th October 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 788 also Bligh to Castlereagh, 30th April 1808, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol VI: page 675

²⁰⁷ Bruce Baskerville 2008

versus revolutionary, but two claims to legitimate authority derived from two understandings, neither particularly historically nor ideologically coherent, of royal authority deputed in New South Wales.

The usurpers had issued their brief manifesto on the first day of their new regime to position themselves within an ‘ancient’ tradition of Magna Carta and tyrannicide.²⁰⁸ Alan Atkinson argues that Macarthur also conceived a political reform plan informed by Jeremy Bentham’s 1803 anti-transportation pamphlet *A Plea For The Constitution*.²⁰⁹ Bentham’s pamphlet was an argument against convict transportation in favour of cheaper, more rational criminal rehabilitation at home, arguments the usurpers such as Macarthur favoured. They regarded transportation conducive to tyrannical rule because the royal authority deputed to the governor was untrammelled by any judicial or legislative power.

The usurpers position was further articulated in an address to Johnston in March 1808 signed by 210 ‘free inhabitants in general’, stating that while they had due respect for the governor’s position, they regarded addresses for free trade and trial by jury as attempts to deceive the unwary. They admired Johnston’s ‘manly conduct’, but they did not stand for subverting the law:

We do not revolt against our King and Government but against those who have subverted the power delegated to them by our most revered sovereign [...] and we trust our conduct will continue such as may long entitle us to Great Britain’s fostering breast, and such as will tend to prolong for ages a mutual interest and union with her, to the honour of those and their posterity who have fortunately now stepped forward to the suppression of tyranny.²¹⁰

These ideological statements were all issued early in the usurpation, during Macarthur’s colonial secretaryship. Atkinson has argued that the usurpation involved working out certain political principals, and that this took a form then understood as ‘revolution’.²¹¹ This invoked an understanding of revolution as being, to some extent, constitutional when rebelling against an unresponsive tyrant. At such a time, the nobility had to take

²⁰⁸ FM Bladen 1898: pages lxi - lxii

²⁰⁹ Alan Atkinson 1978: pages 2, 7–8. Bentham had originally intended to name the pamphlet *The True Bastille*.

²¹⁰ ‘Address to Major Johnston’, Sydney, 8th March 1808, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 534-535

²¹¹ Alan Atkinson 1980: page 74

control to ensure that rights and liberties would emerge intact. This had happened in the Glorious Revolution in 1688 but failed to happen in the American colonies in 1776. The usurpers regarded their actions as legitimate actions aimed at preserving limits on the authority of the Crown in the new realm as they were in the old, with that limitation to be provided by a ‘manly’ baronial class.²¹²

By the end of 1809 the usurpation had dragged on for two years. The initial excitement had long dissipated and been replaced, for the loyalist settlers on the Cumberland Plain and elsewhere, by sullen acceptance punctuated by acts of civil disobedience, and managing their farms as best they could. They, like Bligh, knew that eventually relief would arrive from England and, like Bligh, they firmly believed that the lawful vice-regal order would be restored.

On 28 December 1809 Macquarie and his 73rd Highland Regiment sailed into Sydney Harbour. The Regiment disembarked on 31 December, and on the following New Years’ Day Macquarie issued the proclamations and orders by which he took control of the colony.²¹³ There was no resistance from the Corps or Paterson’s administration. Macquarie reported that on his arrival he had “...found the colony in a state of perfect tranquillity, but in a great degree of anxiety for the long expected arrival of a new Governor.”²¹⁴ Macquarie did observe, however, that the public stores were empty and food in short supply as a result of flooding, public buildings needed repair, medical staff were needed, and more shipping was needed. Reports of Dharug resistance to the settlers on the Cumberland Plain had also risen in the wake of the floods.²¹⁵ The usurper military administration was not as orderly as it seemed.

Within the first week of his government, Macquarie undid all that could be undone of the usurper administration: all public appointments were declared invalid, and the

²¹² Alan Atkinson 1980: pages 82-82

²¹³ ‘Proclamation’, General Orders, 1st January 1810, Government House Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VII: pages 252-254.

²¹⁴ Macquarie to Castlereagh, 8th March 1810, Sydney New South Wales, *HRNSW*, Vol. VII: page 303

²¹⁵ *Incidents between Aboriginal people in NSW and the British colonizers 1792-1809*, NSW Board of Studies, Sydney 2013, <http://k6.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/wps/portal/go/hsic/background-sheets/british-colonisers-1792-1809> , accessed 15 November 2015

former magistrates and officials were restored to their offices, all land grants and leases were declared null and void, all trials and investigations were declared invalid, the Coal River transportees were released, all official papers and records, including the Great Seal, were ordered to be returned to Government House within one week, all grants and leases to soldiers were revoked, and the Corps was recalled to Britain.²¹⁶

Bligh did not hear of Macquarie's arrival for some days, and it took him nearly three weeks to get back to Sydney. He landed in Sydney Cove in the afternoon of 17 January 1810 "...to the great satisfaction of the people, expressed by their cheering..." he later wrote to Castlereagh.²¹⁷ Bligh spent the next few months in Sydney, gathering evidence for the trials of the usurpers in England, finally leaving on 12 May.

The constitutional justifications and explanations of the usurpers would have to be explained in London, not Sydney. Although attempts had been made to articulate their arguments in New South Wales, little was heard of them once the excitement of the overthrow dissipated.

V | Union, Tranquillity and Harmony

This chapter shows that the sacred imaginary of the Crown in Australia long precedes the constitution making of the 1890s and the nationalism of the twentieth century. Bligh had described his arrest as a "daring outrage depriving me of my Government, where my person was sacred...".²¹⁸ Three months after the overthrow the shocked loyalists were still coming to terms with what had happened. The loyalist official, John Jamieson, wrote to Bligh:

The late presumptuous and unprecedented act against your person, which ought to have been deemed as sacred as His Majesty's, was by none more disapproved of than myself.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ *Incidents* 2013, and 'Proclamation', *The Sydney Gazette*, 7 January 1810: page 1

²¹⁷ Bligh to Castlereagh, 9 March 1810, Sydney New South Wales, *HRNSW*, Vol. VII: page 309

²¹⁸ Bligh to Castlereagh, Government House Sydney, 30 April 1808, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 624

²¹⁹ Jamieson to Bligh, 28 April 1808, Parramatta, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 606

But the usurpers also invoked the king's sacredness when Johnston, in explaining his actions, claimed as justification "how little [Bligh] regarded the honor of the sacred personage whom he represented".²²⁰

Usurpers and loyalists both invoked the sacredness of the king to justify their actions, but the attribution of that sacredness by the loyalists to the deputy king questions Jenkinson's claim that Great Seals lack any mystical qualities.²²¹ The seal had to be applied by properly deputed authority, and the sanctity of the body politic in both the king and the deputy king meant that an inhering sacredness was essential to the authenticity of actually using the seal. Application by anyone else, without the proper deputising, reduced it to a blob of wax. Despite the usurpers' pretence of exercising deputed royal authority, Bligh's objections and Macquarie's revocations reveal that artifice. Royal authority in New South Wales during the usurpation appeared to be usurped, but actually lay dormant, waiting to be restored by a properly authorised and sanctified deputy.

Sanctity resided not in the physical body of the natural man, William Bligh or George of Hanover, but in the corporate body of the Governor of New South Wales and the King of Great Britain & Ireland. All seemed to agree on the sanctity of the king's person, but the loyalists went a step further and extended that sanctity to his deputy king, a sanctity enhanced during the usurpation by both king and deputy king being bodily absent.

When Phillip applied his (German-design) privy seal and later the Great Seal to a document, he did so as an agent of the king and within this agency he was also simultaneously Arthur Phillip the natural man and Governor Phillip RN, the fictive embodiment of the new realm.²²² The seal that he fixed to documents was, symbolically, both his personal (natural) and his corporate (politic) signature. The (Cornish) privy seal Bligh used in the absence of the Great Seal conveyed his personal and corporate authority in the same way. That authority was represented in the Great Seal and the

²²⁰ Johnston to Castlereagh, 11 April 1808, Headquarters Sydney, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: page 580-582

²²¹ Hilary Jenkinson 1943: page 5

²²² Quentin Skinner, 'Hobbes and the Purely Artificial Person of the State', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 7, No 1, 1999: pages 1–29.

privy seals, and it was enforced by a sacred imaginary of the Crown. Neither Whittle's Deism and derisory cartoons nor Macarthur's business-like utilitarianism succeeded in challenging that 'traditional' crowned sacredness.

Gore described Macarthur as a private settler who had dared to erect the standard of rebellion, and the 'steady adherents of the Crown' as being everyone else from the Governor to the industrious mechanic and humble housekeeper.²²³ The floral emblems on the loyalist's standard did not include the lilies of France or the white horse of Hanover. They appeared on versions of the royal arms in the colony that had been appropriated to the usurper cause, especially the Great Seal. The 'Britishness', or perhaps 'Briton-ness', imagined by the loyalist settlers was what they experienced in their own communities everyday and was also well-known to Bligh.²²⁴ It was an identity imagined through the blended symbols of the three kingdoms in the British Isles with those of New South Wales. They did not try to articulate the dynastic claims of the Crown to many realms that the usurper regime had co-opted to support their claims to legitimacy. The Crown, out on the Cumberland plains, was Anglo and Celtic and vice-regal, subtly Hanoverian, and emphatically not French.²²⁵

The Classical styling of the Government Houses in Sydney and Parramatta, and of the Military Barracks, projected Enlightenment rationality, especially in the form of orderly military administration. However, making Government House Sydney a vice-regal jail (a sort of facsimile of the *Tour du Temple* in Paris where Louis XVI had been imprisoned) made that rationality appear to the loyalist settlers as revolutionary and verging on regicidal. The usurpers use of the Georgian style St Phillip's Church for tumultuous public meetings reinforced this appearance. Bligh had proposed to erect a vault for vice-regal burials in the churchyard, and the implied desecration of Putland's grave in the

²²³ Gore to Castlereagh, 27 March 1808, Cells Sydney Jail, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI: pages 551, 561

²²⁴ Colley 2005: pages 17–18: the word 'Briton' during the eighteenth century had popular resonance as a self-definition, alongside regional identities and a common Protestantism, of dissimilarity with those beyond their shores, especially the French, and is used in such a sense in this chapter

²²⁵ The Trafalgar Flag's white shield with a red border could be read as a subtle reference to the white horse on a red field that represented Hanover in the Royal arms. Hanover, during this period, was occupied and governed by Napoleonic forces

planned vault further emphasized the analogy with the sacking of royal tombs during the French Revolution.²²⁶

Figure 2.7 | Government House, Sydney Cove and St Philips, Church Hill in 1809



Classical architectural styling should have helped the usurpers project their intended rational, orderly image of a new society, but the Gothic church tower (the first example of its type in the colony) points to the loyalist fears of civil disturbance and military subjugation. Source: watercolours by John Lewin, State Library of NSW

<http://archival-classic.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=447948>

Bligh was very clear that he, and only he, was the representative of the King. As such only he could support the settler's independence as loyal subjects, free from military subjugation and revolutionary excess. It sounded like the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The usurpers rejected the loyalists characterization of them as Jacobin terrorists, claiming instead to free the respectable inhabitants from vice-regal tyranny, a freedom that could only come by maintaining a 'mutual interest and union' with Britain. Invoking the Magna Carta was an attempt to cloak their usurpation with historical verisimilitude.

The disaggregation of a body politic and a body natural was possible in a colonial state. Governors in their assemblies in Virginia and Maryland both proclaimed Charles II king in 1649, suggesting that one element of particular deputed authority is the right to proclaim a king in that realm. General authority can proclaim a sovereign simultaneously in every realm subject to that sovereign. However, within a particular realm such a

²²⁶ Bligh to Castlereagh, Government House Sydney, 30 June 1808, *HRNSW*, Vol VI: page 662; *Proceedings of a Court-Martial* 1811: page 116

general proclamation can be countered if a deputy sovereign proclaims a different body as sovereign in that realm.²²⁷

Neither Virginian nor Marylander governors sought in 1649 to proclaim Charles II king in Britain, only in their particular realms. By contrast, the New South Wales Corps claimed to exercise the general authority of the sovereign by removing the particular authority of the governor. Pocock says the Americans and later the Irish claimed their assemblies existed under the Crown but not the Parliament, claims that could not be sustained by the eighteenth century.²²⁸ The usurpation, seen through the prism of the Great Seal Deputed, was unsustainable for a similar reason. Deputed, particular authority relied upon being deputed directly from the sovereign-in-council (the ministry), not royal prerogative. After 1810 deputed royal authority also needed support from the settlers' representatives to be successfully exercised. It laid a conceptual framework for the 'king in parliament (UK)' and a 'king in parliament (NSW)' to become increasingly separate bodies politic, even while the body natural of the sovereign remained singular.

The dual bodies of the deputy king are a site in which a new realm can be imagined. To paraphrase Ernst Kantorowicz, the usurpation was the moment in which the deputy king's two bodies, his body natural and his body politic, became disaggregated.²²⁹

Bligh never surrendered his claims to the Great Seal. The usurpers made use of it to authenticate documents such as land grants, but Bligh persistently claimed they had never been duly authorised to use the seal, and Macquarie revoked every decision passed under the seal. The usurpers' 'authentications' were really forged signatures, ironic in a convict society. The impress of the Great Seal could not authorize usurped authority.

²²⁷ Hobbes argued that a sovereign could be either a single man (a monarch) or a more than one man (an assembly), and also that every man was obliged to obey a public official once he had heard his commission read and had seen the attached 'publique seal': Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* [1651], Penguin Classics, London 1985, pages 239, 321.

²²⁸ Pocock 2007, op. cit.: page 295.

²²⁹ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1957; Bernhard Jussen, 'The King's Two Bodies Today', *Representations*, Vol. 106, No 1, Spring 2009: pages 102–117.

The usurpers and the loyalists each invoked a version of British (or more specifically English) history to support their position. In doing so they evoked two different pasts and two different futures. The usurpers invoked the possibility of an enduring union with Britain in which New South Wales would one day be represented in the royal arms as another realm under the one king. The fate of Virginia as the fourth realm, however, suggests that this ideal was already unlikely. The loyalists positioned New South Wales as a child of 1688, economically liberal, with royal authority locally contained. Inherent in that authority was a potential to evolve from deputed to general authority, as demonstrated in Virginia and Maryland. The royal arms on the reverse of the seal could be replaced by those of an autonomous 'Briton' realm of New South Wales, ensigned by its own Crown.²³⁰

However, the usurpation was not a replication of the American rebellion or the Glorious Revolution, even less of Runnymede. It might be contextualized within a tradition of constitutional revolution with a wider Briton world, a final echo of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.²³¹ However, while the connections were more rhetorical than lineal, they all fed into imagining pasts and futures for the Crown in New South Wales.

The arrival of Macquarie, his assumption of the vice-regal office and his revocation of every single act of the usurper administrations appeared to restore the old order. When Macquarie restored the royal authority deputed in 1810, he explicitly conducted a public ritual of reclaiming the Great Seal and displaying its return in the centre of the Military Barracks in Sydney, the very heart of the usurper administration, to legitimate his rule and establish the dominance of vice-regal over military authority in the colony.²³² Bligh had been imprisoned in the Barracks in 1809 for some weeks until he 'agreed' to leave the colony. Foveaux warned him on 30 January that he would be detained in the barracks until he agreed, a date noted by Bligh as the anniversary of 'the martyrdom of

²³⁰ Colley 2005, *op. cit.*, pages 17–18

²³¹ The Wars of the Three Kingdoms is a recent term for the complex series of interconnected civil conflicts across England, Scotland and Ireland, mainly during the mid-seventeenth century.

²³² [no title], *Sydney Gazette*, 7 January 1810, pages 2–3.

King Charles'.²³³ Macquarie's public restoration of the Great Seal in the Barracks echoed the ceremony at the Banqueting House in London in 1660, when Charles II was symbolically restored to the throne in the same place Charles I had been executed in 1649.²³⁴ The symbolism would have been apparent to all colonists, loyal and usurper.

By the time of the Restoration two years of the usurper regime had been endured. There could have been a vicious counter-revolution, and may well have been had Bligh still been in Sydney. However, Macquarie brought with him a policy of reconciliation. In a proclamation issued on New Years' Day 1810, he stated he was

...compelled publicly to announce His Majesty's high displeasure and disapprobation of the mutinous and outrageous conduct displayed in the forcible and unwarrantable removal of his late representative, William Bligh Esquire²³⁵

But, in another proclamation three days later he was conciliatory, emphasizing

...the necessity of forbearance, and the importance of that union, tranquillity, and harmony in the present crisis so essential to the welfare of the colony, and which the Governor has so much at heart ...²³⁶

Wrongs would be righted, vice-regal authority would be restored, but there would be no general retaliation and purging of the usurpers as happened under the royal restoration in 1660.²³⁷

In an instance of Macquarie's 'tranquillity policy', he formally re-named the Old Parade, site of the usurper new markets and from where the Corps had marched in 1808, Charlotte Square, and renamed High Street, which ran through the Old Parade and connected Sydney Cove and the usurpers headquarters at the Military Barracks, where Bligh had been imprisoned to force his departure, George Street.²³⁸ Both names explicitly commemorated King George and Queen Charlotte, and were a symbolic

²³³ Bligh to Castlereagh, HM Ship Porpoise in the Derwent, 10 June 1808, *HRNSW*, Vol. VII, page 172. The 30 January 1809 was the 160th anniversary of the execution of Charles I, and presumably it was no coincidence that the warning was issued to Bligh on this date.

²³⁴ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/indepth/2005/09/15/the-banqueting-hous/>, accessed 14 August 2016

²³⁵ 'Proclamation', Government House Sydney, 1 January 1810, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI, pages 252-253

²³⁶ 'Proclamation', Government House Sydney, 4 January 1810, *HRNSW*, Vol. VI, pages 258-259

²³⁷ Geoffrey Robertson, *The Tyrannicide Brief: The Story of the Man who sent Charles I to the Scaffold*, Chatto & Windus, London 2005: Part III Restoration *passim*.

²³⁸ 'Government & General Orders' and 'Plan', *Sydney Gazette*, 6 October 1810, pages 1-2

removal of the veils covering the royal portraits in Government House.²³⁹ Macquarie used such regionyms to efface the landmarks in the usurper landscape, to erase memories of the usurpation from the town, to impose a royal imaginary of an orderly, hierarchical society in place of the chaotic, conflicted times of the usurpation.²⁴⁰

The final phase of the usurpation was fought out in a court-martial in London, not in Sydney. The military judges found Johnston guilty of mutiny, and sentenced him to being cashiered, or ritually humiliated and dismissed from the army.²⁴¹ The Prince Regent reluctantly accepted the lenient sentence and ordered it to be read to every British regiment.²⁴² The official notice was published in the *Sydney Gazette*, but with a barbed royal comment that

...in passing a Sentence so inadequate to the Enormity of the Crime ... no Circumstances whatever can be received by His Royal Highness in *full* Extension of an Assumption of Power, so subversive of every Principle of good Order and Discipline.²⁴³

The Prince Regent's anger, like that of Bligh, was dissipated by Macquarie's tranquillity policy, effectively a step in the evolution from deputed to general royal authority in the new realm. The effects of Macquarie's reconciling perhaps worked so well that today the usurpation has been consigned to a footnote and treated as a curiosity.²⁴⁴ Macquarie's restoration of vice-regal authority and reclamation of the Great Seal was

²³⁹ Bligh had placed a veil over the royal portraits in Government House Sydney during his detention so they could not 'see' the usurpation: Joy Hughes and Rosemary Annable, 'Royal Bounty: George III's gifts to Governors of New South Wales', *Australiana*, May 2013, page 14; see also Bligh to Castlereagh, 10 June 1809, *HRNSW*, Vol VII, page 173

²⁴⁰ Sydney City Council re-named Charlotte Place as Grosvenor Street, and Church Hill as Grosvenor Square in 1889. The re-naming was controversial and rejected by local residents who continued to use the old names. The whole Church Hill quarter of Sydney is today a palimpsest landscape where the current toponyms reflect nationalistic 1890s moves to hide and obscure the 'convict stain': see for one example 'Fugitive Notes', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 April 1889, page 7

²⁴¹ Most historians have regarded the sentence as lenient, but there is a counter-argument in James Harrison Dunk, *Madness, Self-Destruction and Rebellion: Sydney 1809*, Histories Past History's Future, Postgraduate Conference, Department of History, University of Sydney, 28 November 2014

²⁴² *Proceedings of a Court-Martial* [1811] 1988, op. cit., pages 408-409

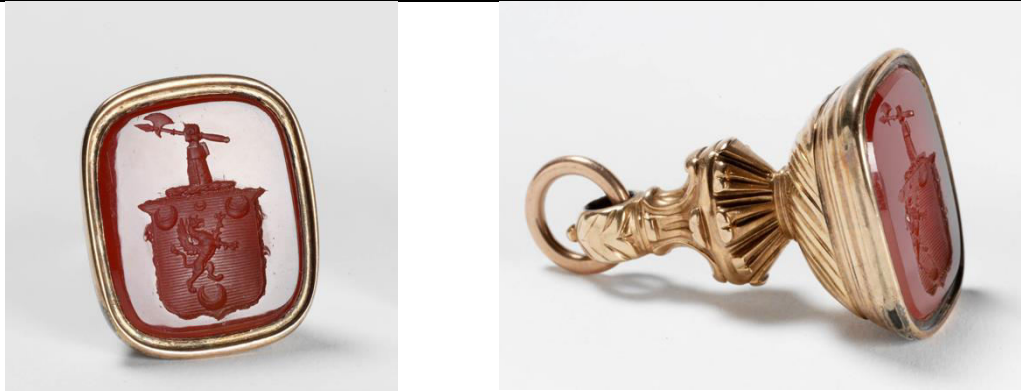
²⁴³ 'General Order', *Sydney Gazette*, 25 January 1812, page 1

²⁴⁴ The few more serious studies are: HV Evatt, *Rum Rebellion: A Study of the Overthrow of Governor Bligh by John Macarthur and the New South Wales Corps*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1938; Alan Atkinson, 'Jeremy Bentham and the Rum Rebellion', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 64, Pt 1, June 1978: pages 1-13; Alan Atkinson, 'The British Whigs and the Rum Rebellion', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 66, Pt 2, September 1980: pages 73-90; Ross Fitzgerald and Mark Hearn, *Bligh, Macarthur and the Rum Rebellion*, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst 1988; Anne-Maree Whitaker (ed), *Distracted Settlement: New South Wales after Bligh from the Journal of Lieutenant James Finucane 1808-1810*, Miegunyah Press, Carlton 1998; Michael Duffy, *Man of Honour: John Macarthur*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney 2003.

made possible by his tranquillity policy. It instituted a form of communal forgetting in which the Crown, in both its general and particular authorities, was a ‘natural’ agent of healing, imagined as the ‘traditional’ role of the sovereign in reconciling differences by overcoming the anarchy of a society with no king.

A new body politic was established in the South Seas in 1788, a New Etruria. Henry Reynolds says that by conquest a sovereign takes possession of a realm, but not the property of its inhabitants.²⁴⁵ This allows a proposition that sovereignty in the Cadigal realm, but not ownership of property, was transferred in 1788 by conquest, and the Cadigal symbols of sovereign authority were supplanted by those of King George III in his capacity as body corporate. The emblems of his deputed sovereign authority were visualized in the mixed-media Wedgwood medallions in 1790, and represented in Phillip’s privy seal between 1788 and 1792, in the Great Seal from 1792, and in Bligh’s privy seal between 1808 and 1809 when the Great Seal was temporarily reduced to an imitation of real authority.

Figure 2.8 | Bligh’s privy seal



A griffin between three crescent moons on a blue field, the legitimate symbols of an old Cornish family, and of royal authority deputed during 1808 and 1809. The motto 'Finem Respice' means 'consider the end'. Source: State Library of NSW, <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=446270>, accessed 15 November 2015

The Trafalgar Flag in its design represented the heraldic marshalling of the several sovereignties of England, Scotland, Ireland, Hanover and New South Wales. It is a direct confrontation, and replacement of, the stolen Great Seal Deputed. Can it be said to mark the moment in which the settlers under vice-regal patronage symbolically

²⁴⁵ Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, Penguin, Ringwood 1987, pages 36-38

succeeded the ‘conquest’ regime to which the usurpers were claiming to be the rightful heirs?²⁴⁶ Does it symbolize a transfer of sovereign authority by succession from the conquerers to the settlers, emblemized through the reinstated royal authority deputed, that can be understood as a popularly imagined vice-regal crownlet? Was the transfer the means by which the settlers (unwittingly) assumed in 1810 responsibility for the consequences of the conquest of 1788? In the redemption metaphor of the Great Seal Deputed, the settlers had ultimately emancipated themselves through the ‘Etrurian’ society they were building, their resistance to the usurpers and their loyalty to their deputy-king. They also assumed responsibility for the contest over ownership of the landed property of the Cadigal and other Indigenous peoples in New South Wales. Aboriginal peoples resisted the conquerors’ appropriation of their property as best they could, but the morality of the conquest of their sovereign realms remained a moot point, not unlike the Roman conquest of ancient Etruria.

The idealised reformatory Etruscan-Briton landscape of the Great Seal crowned by a church on a hill and supported with the Royal Arms was, by 1810, portraying a real place. So Brave Etruria Grew.

²⁴⁶ Part of the 1992 Mabo ruling, 180 years later, purported, in rejecting the doctrine of *terra nullius*, to assimilate the rules of a ‘settled’ colony with those of a ‘conquered’ colony to ensure the continuity of communal and individual Indigenous property rights “to bring the law into conformity with Australian history” (see 1992 175 CLR 1, paragraphs 21, 35, 60–63, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/cth/high_ct/175clr1.html , accessed 23 January 2017)

Metamorphosis

Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, visited the British settler colonies in the South Pacific over 1867-68. The visit attracted huge crowds and public displays of loyalty and affection, but also provoked some violent protests, none more so than an attempted assassination of the Prince. The extreme reactions by colonial politicians, especially in New South Wales, opened up questions about loyalty and allegiance and aired many strongly-held convictions and sentiments about the Crown in cities and towns across the colonies.

By 1867 it had been six decades since the usurpation. Evangelical anti-transportation campaigners had imaginatively obscured the overthrow as a parody of the convict era, derisively re-named the ‘rum rebellion’, and cast as typical of a degenerate convict society. It seemed to have few lessons for the new free settlers other than embarrassment. Manhood suffrage made the now self-governing colonies paradigms of democratic innovation from the early 1850s onwards, and the exercise of crowned power could be explored through ‘slices’ such as the gold rushes of the 1850s and the Eureka Stockade of 1854, struggles over the franchise and the extension of self-governance, consolidation of the colonial states, rapid migration, or pastoral expansion and its brutal incorporation of Aboriginal communities – all staples of Australian nationalist historiography, or the evolution of the vice-regal office from chief executive to mainly ceremonial head.

However, the attempted assassination in 1868 of the Prince came at a time when possibilities for establishing a cadet crown in the colonies with Alfred as King of Australia were the subject of widespread public debate. A pamphlet championing the cause provides a prism through which to understand the settler’s competing views about crown authority and fears of a kingless future, and to understand the subsequent political responses to the assassination attempt, and the ways in which the new Victorian empire was established in the colonist’s hearts at the cost of an independent kingdom.

Chapter 3 | AN EMIGRANT KING Musing on a new kingdom in the South, 1861-1868

The summer of 1867-1868 was marked by great excitement across the British Empire as the Queen's son progressed through his mother's loyal realms. Great crowds massed, city streets were decorated, lavish civic receptions were held, and a trail of princely place names were left behind to mark the royal tour. Today this remarkable event, if it makes it into the pages of an Australian history book, generally does so for only one reason, the attempted assassination of Prince Alfred at Clontarf, on Sydney's Middle Harbour one fine summer's-end morning.

Australian historians have barely noticed the tour, those that have tend to concentrate on the assassination attempt. Brian McKinley concluded his 1970 book on the tour (still the only book on the topic) noting that Alfred was the last Anglo-German prince, who embodied the closer union of two Teutonic peoples that had its brief flowering in his person. He received, in Australia, "the fullest outpourings of a nation that was only just beginning to sense its own strength."²⁴⁷ McKinley's analysis of the tour, however, has been overshadowed by that of Manning Clark.²⁴⁸

Clark located the tour firmly within a context of Protestant *versus* Catholic antagonism.²⁴⁹ The assassination attempt by Henry O'Farrell "whose eyes wore the signs of a man who had suffered much ... a sorry victim of brooding over the wrongs of Ireland" was conceived "to avenge the crimes of the Anglo-Saxons against the Irish people".²⁵⁰ The popular fervour of the 'indignation meetings' presented liberal politician Henry Parkes with "a great temptation" to stir the sectarian pot, exploiting the hysteria of the assassination attempt by pushing the Treason Felony Act through the parliament to which "only the Irish and Catholics withheld their approval and affection".²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ Brian McKinley, *The First Royal Tour 1867-1868*, Rigby Limited, Adelaide 1970: page 193

²⁴⁸ Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia, Volume IV: The Earth Abideth For Ever, 1851-1888*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1978

²⁴⁹ Manning Clark 1978: page 253

²⁵⁰ Manning Clark 1978: pages 254-255

²⁵¹ Manning Clark 1978: pages 256, 259. For more on Parkes' sectarianism, see for example A. W. Martin, 'Parkes, Sir Henry (1815-1896)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/parkes-sir-henry-4366/text7099>, published first in hardcopy 1974, accessed online 22 July 2016; John N. Molony, 'The Australian hierarchy and the Holy

Clark dismissed Prince Alfred as “just another prodigal second son, who was using the colonies as a locale in which to squander his inheritance” devoted to the ‘horizontal refreshments’ of brothels and bar rooms.²⁵² He painted a vivid picture of the Prince as a louche rake carelessly drinking and fornicating his way through a derivative society mired in conflict between English and Irish. The attempted assassin may have been mentally unsound, but that was explicable by his oppression, which was ruthlessly exploited by demagogic politicians for their own ends. Clark’s picture influenced subsequent treatment by historians of the tour, establishing an orthodox story of the visit as little more than an irrational and bigoted anti-Irish backlash against a failed royal assassination.²⁵³

The Clarkian view has been contested by Cindy McCreery, who explores the idea of Prince Alfred as a transnational prince, arguing that the royal visit demanded displays of loyalty to the throne and asserting the Britishness of the Prince and the colonists, although they were neither wholly British nor even wholly English-speaking.²⁵⁴ Alfred’s peripatetic shipboard life allowed him to share the experience of colonial migration, to feel at home in the masculine world of socialising and travelling bachelorhood outside of the domestic sphere. McCreery refers to Alfred variously as the prince or the duke or

See, 1840–1880’, *Historical Studies*, Vol 13 No 50, 1968, pages 177-194; W. G. McMinn, ‘Sir Henry Parkes as a Federalist’, *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, Vol 12, No 47, 1966: pages 405-416; Dan O’Donnell, ‘Sectarian differences and the inclusion of history in the curriculum of NSW public schools’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 54, No 3, September 1968: pages 283-298; Bede Nairn, ‘The political Mastery of Sir Henry Parkes: NSW politics 1871-1891’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 53, No 1, March 1967: pages 1-5

²⁵² Manning Clark 1978: page 254

²⁵³ for recent examples, see *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry for the Prince, which labels him ‘royal visitor and assassination target’, gives his occupation as ‘assassination target’, and concludes “His visits stimulated imperialist sentiment in Australia but the accompanying incidents aggravated sectarian tensions.”: H. J. Gibbney, ‘Edinburgh, Duke of (1844–1900)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/edinburgh-duke-of-3467/text5303>, accessed 17 January 2013; The *Dictionary of Sydney* entry is titled ‘Assassination attempt on Prince Alfred 1868’, and says the events that followed the assassination attempt at Clontarf included an outpouring of prejudice and racism towards Catholics and Irish. A sparse biographical timeline for the Prince gives his occupation as ‘visitor’: http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/assassination_attempt_on_prince_alfred_1868?zoom_highlight=prince+alfred, accessed 17th January 2013

²⁵⁴ McCreery, Cindy, ‘A British Prince and a Transnational Life: Alfred Duke of Edinburgh’s visit to Australia, 1867-68’, in Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott (eds), *Transnational Ties: Australian lives in the world*, ANU E-Press, Canberra 2008: no page numbers

by his name, as a sailor and an immigrant, indicating the ambiguities around his identity and the Crown.²⁵⁵

The co-existence of Irish, German, Scottish, English, Chinese and other communities does not necessarily imply tolerance, but these different groups all used the visit to “advertise their contributions to colonial Australia [and] to profess their loyalty to the British Crown. Ironically, Alfred’s attempted assassination greatly enhanced the opportunities for displays of loyalty, and led to an out pouring of extravagant assertions of submission and devotion.”²⁵⁶ Alfred was variously Anglo-German, Scottish, British, a ‘Sailor Prince’ and a colonist, multiple identities that appeared not to perturb the colonists because it reflected their own experiences. The official journal of the tour noted that loyal addresses were “not confined to citizens of English extraction. The American, German, Hungarian and Chinese residents, as well as the Jews, separately expressed their detestation of the [assassination] that had been attempted”.²⁵⁷ The Chinese address stated they were “fully appreciating [of] the liberty we possess” under the British Crown to observe their own cultural and religious practices.²⁵⁸ The Prince had received a similar loyal address from the Muslim Malays in Cape Town.²⁵⁹ In Sydney, Dr JD Lang had presented the Chinese address on behalf of the Chinese leaders, and “One of the members of the deputation, who is married to an English wife, by whom he has an interesting family of five children, had taken his little boy along with him at his own request, and Dr. Lang took the liberty to direct His Excellency’s attention to the little fellow, as an interesting specimen of the union of the two great empires of Great-Britain and China.”²⁶⁰ Society in the Australias, like the dynasty, had a capacity for both miscegenation and divisibility. Just as a New South Waler might be born with English and Chinese parentage, and a prince with English and Coburger, so a new crown might be conceived from Briton and colonial imaginings.

²⁵⁵ Cindy McCreery 2008: footnote 2

²⁵⁶ Cindy McCreery 2008: ‘Conclusion’.

²⁵⁷ Rev. John Milner and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of HMS Galatea, Captain HRH The Duke of Edinburgh KG, in 1867-1868*, WH Allen & Co., London 1869: page 430

²⁵⁸ John Milner 1869: pages 428-429

²⁵⁹ John Milner 1869: pages 70

²⁶⁰ ‘Address of the Chinese Residents of Sydney’, *The Mercury*, 4th April 1868: 3.

McCreery's focus on the Prince as an avatar of the multiple identities experienced in both the Crown and colonial society frees Alfred from the Clarkian monodimensional attribution of 'assassination target' and allows us to ask new questions about (in Anderson's terms, a miscegenated) Crown and its subjects.²⁶¹

Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Ulster, Earl of Kent, Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, Duke in Saxony, was the second son and fourth child of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, born 15 October 1844 in Windsor Castle. In 1858, at the age of 14, he entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman on HMS *Euryalus*. Two years later he made his first official visit within the Empire when he landed at Cape Town. He rose through naval ranks to the command of HMS *Galatea* in 1866, one of the Royal Navy's new steam and sail powered frigates, just before his 22 birthday.

In 1864 Alfred's sister-in-law, Alexandra Princess of Wales, gave birth to her first child, and after that he gradually moved from second-in-line to the throne down the line of succession. In 1865 he was formally recognized as heir to his father's brother in the Duchy of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, and took the title Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha and Duke in Saxony. In the Queen's Birthday honours for 1866 he was created Duke of Edinburgh and Earl of Ulster and Kent, and his alma mater, the University of Edinburgh, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

²⁶¹ Cindy McCreery 2008: 'National Ties' and footnote 58; also footnote 34 citing KS Inglis's *The Australian Colonists: an exploration of social history 1788-1870*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1971: 94-97

Figure 3.1 | Prince Alfred in 1867 and 1868 wearing his Royal Navy uniform.



A printed 'carte-de-visite' that was sold to the public as a souvenir of the visit.

Photographer HS Sadd, publisher JW Pearson & Co., Melbourne. National Library of Australia collection: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic/an9281419>



The decorations are the pale blue sash of a Knight of the Southern Cross (Brazil) and the badges of a Knight of the Thistle (upper, Scotland) and Knight of the Tower & Sword (lower, Braganza dynasty). Emperor Maximilian of Mexico was a Knight Grand Cross of both the Southern Cross and the Tower & Sword.

Portrait by Montague Scott, sketches taken in Government House Sydney, with photographs of the uniform and decorations given to Scott for the painting. This probably accounts for the sash being incorrectly shown from left shoulder to right hip. The portrait now hangs in Sydney Town Hall.²⁶²

²⁶² Margaret Betteridge, *Sydney Town Hall: The Building and its Collection*, City of Sydney, Sydney 2008: page 120

Early in 1867 HMS *Galatea*, under the young Prince's command, set sail from Plymouth, arriving in Rio de Janeiro on 15 July. There the Prince was enthusiastically received by the Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II as a guest for nearly a month of parties and receptions, and invested as a Knight of the Imperial Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil's highest honour.²⁶³

It was then on to Tristan da Cunha where the islanders renamed their only town as Edinburgh of the Seven Seas, in honour of the Duke, then Cape Town, where he spent several weeks travelling the Cape coast. HMS *Galatea* then sailed across the Indian Ocean, by-passing Mauritius and Perth where the Prince had been expected, arriving at Adelaide on 30 October 1867. He then spent six months in 'the Australias'.²⁶⁴ He returned twice more for informal visits between January and April 1869, including Western Australia and New Zealand, and again between September 1870 and February 1871 to New Zealand, New South Wales and Victoria (where he attended the Melbourne Cup).

On the eve of the Prince's first visit a pamphlet, or 26-page booklet, was published in both Sydney and Melbourne with the provocative title *A Proposal for the Confederation of the Australian Colonies with Prince Alfred Duke of Edinburgh as King of Australia*.²⁶⁵ The author's pen-name was 'A Colonist'. There are no other details in the pamphlet to indicate its authorship or origins, and there is only a tiny literature that makes any reference to *A Proposal*. McKinley first referred to the idea in 1970, although was apparently unaware of the pamphlet, writing that the *South Australian Advertiser* had advanced "a proposition which was as astounding as it was unprecedented" in calling for the establishment of an Australian nation with Prince Alfred as sovereign. While "the scheme was not taken up elsewhere ... [it] served to indicate the wide emotional currents which the Prince's visit

²⁶³ John Milner 1869: pages 20-21

²⁶⁴ A term used at the time for the five self-governing colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and Queensland

²⁶⁵ A Colonist, *A Proposal for the Confederation of the Australian Colonies with Prince Alfred Duke of Edinburgh as King of Australia*, J.J. Moore, Sydney/George Robertson, Melbourne 1867, Mitchell Library DSM/042/P11

had unleashed”.²⁶⁶ Philip Pike in his 1986 study of official royal tours of Australia repeated this same view.²⁶⁷

McKenna has noted the existence of *A Proposal* but states that the most significant event of the tour was the assassination attempt.²⁶⁸ In 2012 Jim Davidson briefly explored the issue of a cadet crown in Australia.²⁶⁹ After noting that the Brazilian example “had no direct effect on thinking about the British Empire”, he cites *A Proposal* which, although he says was “less eccentric than might be thought”, and while grappling with apprehensions about a British military withdrawal from the colonies in the immediate post-American Civil War context, “half the document is a diatribe against the very idea of a republic.” While the proposal to make Alfred King of Australia seemed “an elegant solution”, it had little influence because the responses to the assassination attempt had “smothered it in conventional loyalism”.²⁷⁰ McCreery has noted that “at least some of the colonists considered him suitable monarch material”, as in 1863 Victorian Premier John O’Shanassy had proposed that Alfred become King of Australia.²⁷¹ The historiographical references to *A Proposal* or the idea of a King Alfred are limited.

What could have prompted the writing of such a proposal? Was there some remembrance of the usurpation seventy years earlier, or perhaps a yearning for the stability of a royal presence as settler self-government rapidly and noisily evolved in colonial parliaments, or maybe an answer lies elsewhere within the British or English-speaking (or even Germanophone) world?

I | The spectre of kingless anarchy across the sea

Prince Alfred’s visit came at a time of great change, especially across the Pacific in the Americas. In Latin America, Brazil was establishing itself as the pre-eminent imperial

²⁶⁶ Brian McKinlay 1970: pages 37, 40

²⁶⁷ Philip W Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia: The official royal tours of Australia from 1867 to 1986*, Royalty Publishing, Adelaide 1986: page 3

²⁶⁸ Mark McKenna, ‘Monarchy: From Reverence to Indifference’, in Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward (eds). *Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series: Australia’s Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009: page 269.

²⁶⁹ Jim Davison, ‘The Lost Option: An Australian monarchy’, *Griffith Review*, No 36, 2012: page 57

²⁷⁰ Jim Davidson 2012

²⁷¹ Cindy McCreery 2008

state on the continent and Mexico was adapting to its own new imperial (Hapsburg) regime, while in North America the British colonies were moving towards confederation under the British Crown. Overshadowing these events was a vicious civil war in the United States. All of these events, especially the American Civil War, had their resonances in the Australias.

Almost from its outbreak the American Civil War threatened conflict between Britain and the United States, although Britain was officially neutral.²⁷² The settler colonies were all intensely interested and alarmed that expansion of the civil war to Great Britain would involve American attacks on strategic sites around the Empire. Fears that Britain and the Royal Navy, being 20,000 kilometres and several weeks away, would not be able to prevent American naval bombardments of coastal ports and harbour towns in the Australias were strongly voiced in colonial newspapers such as the *Newcastle Chronicle*.²⁷³ It was aggravated by rumours and planning for the withdrawal of British land forces from the Australias, although Downing Street argued that the Royal Navy was a better alternative for colonial defence. The first war scare arose in 1862 when a British shipyard built and launched a Confederate warship, CSS *Alabama*. In 1863 tensions again rose when the United States threatened to license privateers to attack British shipping, and Russian naval ships began making visits to United States ports, interpreted in colonial capitals as St Petersburg's support for Washington.

In early 1865 the CSS *Shenandoah* sailed into the ostensibly neutral port of Melbourne. The United States consul in the city tried to prevent refueling, recruitment of crews and other assistance being provided. The Victorian Government took a non-interventionist role after deciding this was an Imperial rather than a colonial issue. The colonial governments' hands-off approach seems to be have been a response to widespread popular support in the city for the ship and the 'gallant, down-trodden south fighting for its freedom'.²⁷⁴ The *Shenandoah*, much to the anger of the Consul, sailed out of

²⁷² Dan O'Donnell, 'The 'Shenandoah Affair' and Anglo-Colonial Relations with the United States, 1864-1872', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 57, Part 3, September 1971: 213-241

²⁷³ Newcastle was described in the official journal of the tour as "the capital of the district, an episcopal city and a free sea-port town, the second port in the colony", see John Milner 1869: page 401

²⁷⁴ Dan O'Donnell 1971: pages 224-225

Melbourne unimpeded, with fresh supplies and additional crewmen and continued to attack United States shipping for another year.

The end of the civil war did not reduce the fears of war as the Americans then sought settlement of a log of claims, known as the 'Alabama claims', from Britain for allowing British and colonial ports to refuel and assist Confederate shipping. British garrisons had been withdrawn from the Australias in 1869, and Britain finally agreed in 1870 to arbitration on the Alabama claims, but not before a long series of Fenian Raids had begun into Canada from the United States, and the United States had made a claim to annex the whole of Canada in settlement of the Alabama claims.²⁷⁵ Unsurprisingly the Canadians resisted this, and there were concerns in Sydney and Melbourne of a new war. An arbitrated settlement of the Alabama claims was finally reached in 1872, but relations between Washington and London remained sour for some years.

Away from the civil conflict in the United States, the Brazilian and Mexican imperial dynasties had been established as cadet branches of the Braganza and Hapsburg dynasties respectively. The Portuguese royal family, temporarily exiled in colonial Brazil during the Napoleonic occupation of Portugal, had raised that colony to a kingdom, and upon returning to Portugal left a family branch to reign over Brazil as an independent empire from 1822.²⁷⁶ The Hapsburg Archduke Maximilian accepted the revived crown of Mexico in 1864 after a plebiscite sponsored by Napoleon III. Maximilian's wife, Charlotte, a first cousin of both Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, became the Empress Carlotta. Such events, and the activities of cadet royals such as the Brazilian emperor Dom Pedro II were well reported in the Sydney press.²⁷⁷ In 1862 Prince Alfred was offered the crown of Greece after receiving 95 per cent of the votes in Greece's first national referendum. He declined the invitation and it was later accepted by his Danish

²⁷⁵ Dan O'Donnell 1971: footnote 103

²⁷⁶ Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821*, Routledge, New York and London 2001

²⁷⁷ 'The Brazilians', *Sydney Gazette*, 19 July 1822: 2; 'The Rio de Janeiro Courier', *Sydney Gazette*, 13 February 1823: 3; 'Colonization of the Falkland Islands by Convicts ... Malta of the Pacific', *The Australian*, 14 November 1840: page 3; 'Catholicism in Brazil', *South Australian Register*, 20 April 1851: page 3; 'Metropolitan Gossip', *The Empire*, 26 August 1862: page 2; 'Our Relations with Brazil', *Brisbane Courier*, 27 September 1864: page 4; 'Intercolonial News', *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth), 27 August 1866: page 3. This an indicative, not exhaustive, listing of such press reports.

brother-in-law.²⁷⁸ The British royal family, despite many offers, remained aloof from this planting of new crowns in Europe and the Americas, but it should not come as a surprise that similar proposals were made in the British colonies around this time, and later.

Prince Alfred's tour of the Australias was the first by a British royal, but not the first royal tour in the colonies. Rohan Howitt has written of a number of visits to Sydney by Maori chiefs and chiefly retainers, and their reception at Government House, between 1793 and 1840.²⁷⁹ In mid-1866 His Royal Highness Prince Louis d'Orléans, Duc de Bourbon and Prince de Condé arrived in Sydney on an extensive tour of India and East Asia.²⁸⁰ Prince Louis was a grandson of Louise Phillippe the last Bourbon king of France who had abdicated in 1848, a first cousin (at the time of his visit) of Leopold II King of Belgium, of Carlotta Empress of Mexico, and of Isabella, heiress to the Brazilian Crown, as well as a nephew of the Duc de Nemours, a candidate for the Greek Crown in 1826 and the Belgian Crown in 1831, and the Duc de Montpensier, putative King of Ecuador in 1846.²⁸¹ Prince Louis was well versed in the intricacies of establishing cadet crowns in the new world.

Since the 1848 revolution in France had ended the Second Restoration of the Bourbons, Prince Louis had been raised in exile in England, moving in British court circles and attending Royal High School in Edinburgh at about the same time as the Prince of Wales where both had been taught classical history by renowned German classicist and anglophile Dr Leonhard Schmitz.²⁸² Prince Louis and Prince Alfred were the same age

²⁷⁸ 'A Sketch of the Life of His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert', *The Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth), 22 January 1868: 3 (reprinted from the *Ballarat Star*)

²⁷⁹ Rohan Howitt, *Poibakena: Maori Chiefs on Tour in New South Wales, 1793-1840*, unpublished paper, Royals On Tour Conference, Department of History, School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry, Sydney University, 12 June 2015

²⁸⁰ Paul Gingeot, *Un Voyage en Australie: extrait du correspondant*, Charles Douniol Libraire-Éditeur, Paris 1867. Gingeot was Prince Louis' personal physician who accompanied him on the journey.

²⁸¹ Jiri Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession: Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe*, Barnes & Noble, New York 2002, Chapters 13-15 *passim*; and María Luisa Fernanda de Bourbon, <http://www.abc.es/espana/20150517/abci-hija-fernando-escuador-201505161513.html>, accessed 30 November 2015 (in Spanish)

²⁸² Ivan Barko, 'le petit Condé: The death in Sydney in 1866 of Australia's first royal visitor', *Explorations – Journal of French-Australian Connections*, No 35, December 2003: pages 26-32; and John Murray, *A History of the Royal High School*, Royal High School, Edinburgh 1997, pages 50, 53

and knew each other, although Alfred's naval and sporting interests differed from Louis' tastes in arts and science, the latter especially attracting him to the Australia's new world of botany and botanical arts.²⁸³ He was received at Government House Sydney several times, and visited the Blue Mountains, the Botanic Gardens and Sydney University, all of which he praised. He was received by the senior Catholic hierarch, Bishop Eloi of the French mission to Oceania (the Archbishop of Sydney being in Rome at the time), and all the local Catholic clergy and religious, and his travels and thoughts were extensively reported in Sydney's popular press. Prince Louis found Sydney "the spectacle of a new England ... that excites the interest and causes admiration" and very much to his liking.²⁸⁴ Then, he suddenly died at his hotel on Church Hill, Sydney on Queen Victoria's birthday, 24 May 1866.²⁸⁵

Prince Louis' funeral was held in Sydney's St Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, with over 20,000 people lining the streets and following the cortège through the city. Governor Sir John Young and Premier James Martin were pall bearers, and other official mourners included the consuls of Brazil, Belgium and the Netherlands. The royal standard at Government House, and flags everywhere, were hoisted to half mast, and the funeral rituals were lengthy and elaborate, including the Prince's heart being displayed in a silver box on a velvet pall.²⁸⁶ "The mourning colour of the vestments, and the solemn strain of the Gregorian chant seemed to inspire [the mourners] with awe and respect for religion which touched the inmost feelings of the soul" reported the press.²⁸⁷ Marie Ramsland argues that servility, genuflection, knee bending and lack of any 'radical republicanism' were typical of Australian press reporting on royalty, even non-British royalty, at the time.²⁸⁸ Her nationalist analysis, however, obscures the deep fears in a colonial society beset by internal changes and intensely aware of the kingless anarchy evident in war-torn America and the attractive counter-currents then being experienced

²⁸³ Barko 2003: pages 26-32

²⁸⁴ Gingeot 1867: page 46

²⁸⁵ Death Certificate 628/1866, Louis d'Orleans, registered 31 May 1866 at Sydney, cause of death typhoid fever. Louis' cousin, Princess Leopoldina of Brazil, died of the same cause in 1871

²⁸⁶ 'Death of His Royal Highness the Prince de Conde', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 16 June 1866, pages 8-9

²⁸⁷ 'Funeral of His Late Royal Highness Prince de Conde', *Freeman's Journal*, 2 June 1866: pages 345-246

²⁸⁸ Marie Ramsland, 'Impressions of a young French gentleman's 1866 visit to the Australia Colonies', *Australian Studies*, No 2, 2010: pages 4-5

as cadet crowns were established across the European *imperium* promising peace, stability and continuity.

II | The Coming Australian Monarchy

So, how did the colonists in the Australias respond to these currents from across the Pacific, and how did Prince Alfred's royal progress provide a voice for those sentiments? A Colonist's *Proposal* proves a route into exploring these questions.

HMS *Galatea* sailed into Sydney Harbour on 21 January 1868, almost 60 years to the day after Bligh's overthrow. "Many thousands" of Sydneysiders and country folk, and "hundreds of boats" welcomed the arrival despite rain and cold wind,²⁸⁹ and a continuous stream of people stood from South Head to William Street waving flags and the "elegant Blue Ensigns of the colony loyally cantoned with the Union Jack".²⁹⁰ "Many hundreds of the principal residents" attended the levee at Government House on the Monday afternoon, and by Tuesday extra trains had to be run for the "many thousands pouring into the city from the country".²⁹¹ The Prince stayed either onboard *Galatea* or at Government House Sydney with the new Governor Lord Belmore and Lady Belmore, and extensively toured the country districts in the colony.

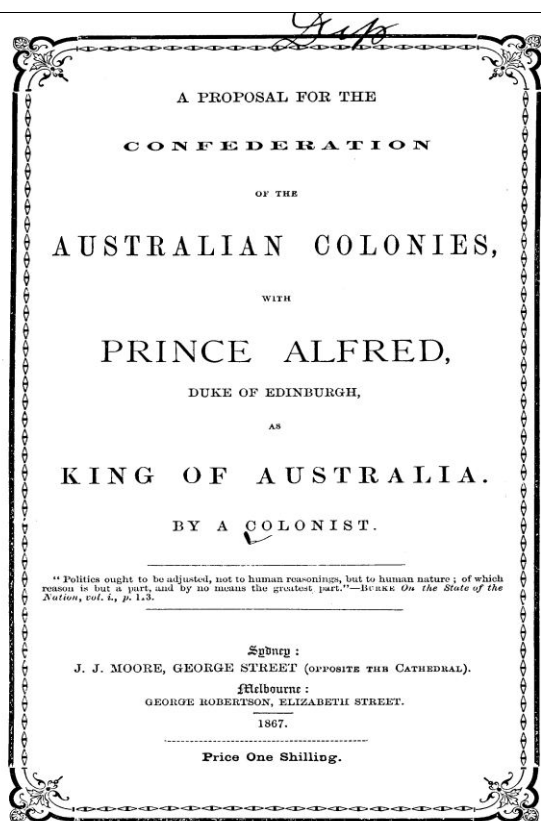
A Colonist's proposal begins with four main premises: separation from England was inevitable, the five colonies ("the Australias") are disunited, constitutional arrangements needed to be worked out for the future, and this was the best time to discuss this as Britain was at peace. This leads A Colonist to his proposal: establish a confederation of the five colonies as an independent kingdom, and offer the crown to Prince Alfred.

²⁸⁹ 'Arrival of HRH Duke of Edinburgh', *The Empire*, 22 January 1868: page 4

²⁹⁰ 'The Streets Yesterday', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 January 1868: page 4

²⁹¹ 'The Duke of Edinburgh in New South Wales', 'Presentation of Addresses to His Royal Highness, and Levee at Government House', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1868: page 5.

Figure 3.2 | The proposal for a cadet king



The cover of the pamphlet, with dual publication details and price (equivalent to about \$10 today).

The aspirational quote from Edmund Burke, emphasizing a role for morality or experience as well as reason in politics, was originally penned on the eve of the crisis in the American colonies, and hints at the 'traditionalist' leanings of the anonymous author.²⁹²

State Library of Victoria, Call Number 1277638 <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/177991>

Despite the emphasis on confederation in *A Proposal* and, as this chapter will show, a fairly broad discussion of the idea in the press in the later 1860s, the literature on the history of federation and federalism in Australia is notably silent on the visit and confederation. Helen Irving's cultural history of the Australian constitution focuses on the making of the constitution through the various conventions of the 1890s, but apart from a brief reference to an 1867 inter-colonial agreement on ocean mail subsidies, there is no other reference to this period, and no index references to confederation or cadency although there are seven references to republicanism and five to republicans.²⁹³ The *Centenary Companion*, a reference volume with separate essays on the federation

²⁹² On Burke and tradition, see for example, JGA Pocock 'Burke and the Ancient Constitution – a Problem in the History of Ideas', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 3, No 2, June 1960, pages 125-143, Ralph Harrington 'Burke and revolution: reform, revolution and constitutional conservatism in the thought of Edmund Burke', www.artificialhorizon.org, 2005.

²⁹³ Helen Irving, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, Cambridge University Press, Oakleigh 1997, revised edition 1999a.

movement in each colony and an encyclopaedia-style section with entries for the main actors and events in the federation movement contains a brief reference to the 1867 inter-colonial postal conference but no references in either the essays or the dictionary entries to Prince Alfred, royalty, the crown, confederation or separationism, although there are lengthy encyclopaedia entries on ‘republicanism’ and ‘Britain’.²⁹⁴ *Federation: A Guide to the Records* produced by the National Archives in 1998 has no clear reference to any of the ideas in *A Proposal*.²⁹⁵

A Colonist set out the main advantages of this new kingdom. The first was that absenteeism would be checked, by which he meant that the ‘best families’ would no longer need to go to Britain to enjoy honours and society. The conferring of honours such as knighthoods did not extend to colonial subjects at this time. A Colonist foresaw that a King of Australia would establish an order or orders of chivalry that would be of the same rank and quality as those awarded in Britain, as Dom Pedro had done in Brazil. This would allow the leaders and high achievers in the Australias to be suitably recognized in Australia, with these same wealthy families retaining their capital in the Australias and investing in trades and industries here.

The second advantage was that ‘a society’ would be formed that would ‘refine the population’. This refinement would come from the ways that the ‘best families’, now permanently seated in Australia and suitably titled, would invest some of their wealth and their social capital in patronage of literature, arts and sciences. The king would set the tone for this patronage and philanthropy, and the best families would follow his example. Presumably, this would be shown through the patronage of schools, academies, colleges and universities; artists, galleries and exhibitions; and religious institutions.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Helen Irving (ed), *The Centenary Companion to Australian History*, Cambridge University Press, Oakleigh 1999b

²⁹⁵ *Federation: A Guide to the Records*, Australian Archives, Canberra 1998, see especially Part 1 ‘Precursors to Federation 1840s-1880s’, *passim*

²⁹⁶ An understanding of such patronage can be gained from the speeches in Sir Arthur Helps (ed), *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, with an introduction giving some outlines of his character*, John Murray, London 1862. Suitable subjects for royal patronage included literary funds, art exhibitions, fine arts, sciences, statistics, medicine, theology, missionising, mechanics and arts institutes, schools for the poor, national education, public housing schemes, agricultural improvement and

A third related advantage was the impetus to trade and encouragement of labour. The accumulation of wealth made possible by retaining the 'best families' and a royal household would stimulate the demand for grand houses, designer furnishings and other luxuries. Qualified and skilled artisans and artists, and their apprentices, would be required, such as architects, cabinet makers, carriage builders and so on. As with the arts, science and literature, these trades "would flourish under the patronage of riches and refinements" here in the Australias, rather than having to be imported.²⁹⁷

The fourth advantage was strategic in nature. *A Proposal* and the royal visit came about just over a year after the end of the American Civil War. The war had been widely reported in the local press, occasional Confederate refugees landed in Australian ports, and there had been demonstrations of public sorrow at Lincoln's assassination.²⁹⁸ A large part of the *Proposal* is devoted to describing the horrors and destruction that fratricidal war had spread across America, and the need to avoid any such wars in the Australias. A Colonist further argued that, as powerful as Britain was, it would be impossible for her to defend the Australias from a foreign power. He was perhaps thinking of Russia and the supposed Russian plans to attack British shipping and harbour fortifications in Melbourne, Sydney and Hobart if Britain sided with the southern rebels.²⁹⁹ Or perhaps he was thinking of the United States, now victorious in civil war, reasserting its Monroe Doctrine and re-commencing its march westwards across the Pacific.³⁰⁰

regimental colours. Queen Victoria commissioned this book, and she presented a signed copy to the University of Sydney (now held in the Fisher Library Rare Books collection, RB 590.3/4). The official journal of Prince Alfred's tour includes an inventory of such institutions in each colony, including its public buildings (architecture), fine arts, manufactures, labour market (wages), prices of provisions for the labouring classes, government (including the press) and religion (including theological colleges and training): see John Milner 1869.

²⁹⁷ *A Proposal*: page 5

²⁹⁸ Dan O'Donnell 1971: pages 213-241; headstone of James Pettigru Lesesne, A Battalion, State Cadets, South Carolina Volunteers, Confederate States of America, died 1892 in Sydney, buried Rookwood Cemetery, Church of England Section RRR, row 16, grave number 767.

²⁹⁹ Look Out, 'The Bogatyr', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1863: page 8; Fairplay, 'The Russians Are Coming!', *The Argus*, 27 December 1864: page 7, Dan O'Connell 1971.

³⁰⁰ see for instance Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America*, Hill and Wang, New York 2011, especially Chapter 4 'Civil Wars' and Chapter 5 'Control', *passim*.

A Colonist further elaborated that a confederated Australia would not be an aggressive power. However, the colonies presently linked directly and separately to London rather to each other, and if that link was broken during a war, the colonies would diverge in their responses. Expensive colonial standing armies might be developed, some colonies may be occupied by hostile European or American powers, others might assert their independence. Britain had now achieved all it wanted in building an empire, and would not want to jeopardize this with war. “Why”, A Colonist rhetorically asks, “should we risk our future on the fortunes of war?”³⁰¹

The fifth advantage played to sentiment: Britain would always render Australia affectionate assistance because of the dynastic connection between the two royal houses. At this point A Colonist addressed the question “Would Britain assent to our separation?” “Yes”, he confidently asserted, if separation was undertaken in the way set out in the proposal. The British Government had already stated that if the newly confederated Canada wanted separation, it would be conceded.³⁰² Further, he wrote, it was no secret that Canada, having achieved its confederation, now wanted to offer its crown to Prince Alfred and declare itself a kingdom equal in status to Britain.

A Colonist then addressed a fundamental question he thought people would ask. “If we are to be ruled by a king will our liberties be curtailed and our rights restrained?”³⁰³ “No”, he replied, “they will actually be promoted. We already have manhood suffrage and religious equality. Power is already in the hands of the people. The crown and mitre are and will remain distinct. Our broad suffrage is competent to resolve any dispute. The king will rule our government, our government will be the exponent of our parliament, our parliament is the elect of the people. All our concerns are safeguarded by the Public Will.”³⁰⁴

He elaborated a little further on this point. Under a constitutional monarchy, he argued, a monarch exercises less authority than a president in a republic. If unpopular measures

³⁰¹ *A Proposal*: page 9

³⁰² *A Proposal*: page 8

³⁰³ *A Proposal*: page 9

³⁰⁴ *A Proposal*: page 10

are proposed, or administrative errors committed, the executive is censured while the personal esteem surrounding the sovereign remains unimpaired. A monarchy is a permanent and hereditary office, so it is not subject to interference by opponents or expectant successors. It is not connected to any party, so can preside over the councils of state with impartiality, and thereby retain popular respect and veneration. It can execute without bias the public policies of elected leaders. As a hereditary sovereign, a monarch cannot be molested by the ambitious. This, therefore, “allows the people to settle down to their practical pursuits.”³⁰⁵ The alternatives to constitutional monarchy, he argued, were a republic (but look at the despotism of France or the civil war and instability of the United States), or an elective monarchy (but look at the internal conflicts between the elector-nobles that had allowed the dismemberment of the Polish kingdom).³⁰⁶

The final part of *A Proposal* draws these discussions together. The present governments in the Australias were of a temporary (i.e. colonial) nature, argues A Colonist. There are material benefits from a permanent constitutional monarchy under Prince Alfred. The mutual advantage of the colonists hung on a union or confederation. If that was not resolved, then each colony would eventually separate from Britain as a separate state. That would lead to civil conflict by the sword between them, as Australians are “... just as subject to the same weaknesses and passions as other nations.”³⁰⁷

A Colonist acknowledged there were many difficulties to achieving confederation, but he argued those difficulties form the strongest arguments in its favour. He sketched out the proposed arrangements: the royal court could sit alternately in the several Government Houses in the Australias, to ensure the associated honours and commerce were equitably distributed. The parliament could also sit in alternate constituencies to overcome local jealousies. Court and parliament would be peripatetic rather than fixed in one location. Public expenditure would be reduced as five governors would be replaced by one king, and five colonial assemblies by one federal parliament. The better

³⁰⁵ *A Proposal*: page 10

³⁰⁶ *A Proposal*: pages 11-21

³⁰⁷ *A Proposal*: page 23

families and their wealth would be retained in the Australias. One united or federated government would overcome tariffs, smuggling, border disputes and conflicts that lead to war. “One court and one government are only possible by offering our states as one kingdom to Prince Alfred.”³⁰⁸ A Colonist concludes with a rallying call. The time to act was now, “it is our decision, and if our legislators are equal to the occasion”, Australia would be the first nation on earth to bring peace and good will among men.³⁰⁹

So what happened to *A Proposal*? The ideas it represented were clearly matters for public discussion at the time. The pamphlet was advertised for sale in the Melbourne and Sydney newspapers throughout July 1867, at first at the publisher’s and then at “all booksellers”, under the heading “The Coming of Prince Alfred”.³¹⁰ The Whiggish *Empire* newspaper also provided a review noting that, although the pamphlet had been issued by a ‘respectable publishing establishment’, it contained certain deficiencies.³¹¹ Why had this idea arisen, it asked, and who gave the author any authority in this matter? The Prince’s only achievements to date had been “those of the ball-room”. Turning to the question of the author’s identity, the writer suggested retiring governor Sir John Young may have received instructions from London “to sound the public on the subject” but decided that the “pretentious, slipshod, unscholarly and illogical” nature of the pamphlet dispelled that idea.

The *Empire* reviewer’s criticisms, apart from ‘diction’, were that no case was established as to why federation was important now, or where the capital would be. A Colonist took it for granted that federation was immediately necessary, and that a republic was the worst form of government. The idea of a nomadic monarchy, the *Empire* writer conceded, was a way around the problem of designating a capital, but history had shown this to be impractical when John Balliol, King of the Scots between 1292 and 1296 had to travel yearly to London until his ‘national garb’ (a kilt) and the condition of the roads caused him such suffering that he abdicated and, noted the writer, Prince Alfred “is also

³⁰⁸ *A Proposal*: pages 24-25

³⁰⁹ *A Proposal*: page 26

³¹⁰ Advertisements in *Sydney Morning Herald* 11 July, 13 July, 18 July 1867, *Empire* 11 July, 13 July, 18 July 1867, *Argus* 27 July 1867.

³¹¹ Anon, ‘Prince Alfred as King of Australia’, *Empire*, 18 July 1867: page 5

partial to the kilt”. Similar results could arise here if the ‘Royal Duke of Scotia’ attempted to make a continuous round of his royal possessions “including Riverina” (where argument had recently raged between separation from New South Wales fostered by Reverend JD Lang, and union with Victoria apparently influenced by Victorian politician John O’Shanassy³¹²). On the disadvantages of republicanism, the writer conceded that A Colonist “does, indeed, attempt to advance some show or argument”. The writer advised A Colonist that the Prince “must naturally have a deep regard for the rights of legitimacy”, and as he was studying Australian history he would be shocked at the “utter disregard of one who may be presumed to have left numerous descendants” who might later “appear as an Australian Perkin Warbeck or Lambert Samuel” (medieval pretenders to the English Crown) and make a legitimate claim to an Australian Crown: “We allude, of course, to the amiable and lamented King Bungaree”.

³¹² G.L. Buxton, *The Riverina 1861-1891: An Australian Regional Study*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1967: pages 119, 149-150. Lang had supported the separation of both Port Phillip (Victoria) and Moreton Bay (Queensland) from New South Wales: D. W. A. Baker, 'Lang, John Dunmore (1799–1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lang-john-dunmore-2326/text2953>, accessed 18 July 2013.

Figure 3.3 | 'Bungaree, King of the Aborigines of New South Wales' (b1775 - d1830)



Bungaree was the first Indigenous person to circumnavigate Australia, firstly with Matthew Flinders in 1798 and again with Phillip Parker King in 1817, a maritime service respected in a society largely composed of emigrants, willing and unwilling, experienced in long sea voyages and reliant on naval protection.

The attributes of royalty are artfully composed in this image, especially the 'king plate' on his chest, and the castle-like Fort Macquarie in the background on Bennelong Point (Tubonghule) in Sydney Cove. The hat-tip, however, is gentlemanly or naval rather than royal. King plates were awarded by colonial governors to the people they perceived to be leaders in Aboriginal realms, and were usually engraved with heraldic designs.

Bungaree and his wife Cora Gooseberry (Matora) were the first recipients of king plates in 1815, his inscribed 'Bungaree, King of the Blacks' with the Great Seal of New South Wales supported by a kangaroo and emu; hers inscribed 'Gooseberry, Queen of Sydney to South Head' with a coronet supported by two fish.³¹³

Hand coloured lithographic print, attributed to Augustus Earle 1826, State Library of NSW, http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/events/exhibitions/2012/macquarie/10_aboriginal/image02.html

³¹³ Jakelin Troy, *King Plates: A History of Aboriginal Gorgets*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra 1993: pages 6-18, 38-45. For the colonists, the plates were a sign of honour and a recognition (or attribution) of community leadership. For the Aboriginal people, the plates sometimes recognised an eminent leader and were understood as signifying an entrée into colonial society, for others they symbolised British overlordship and evoked resentment. See also Chris Healy, *Forgetting Aborigines*, UNSW Press, Sydney 2008: pages 138-168

The *Empire* reviewer's use of sarcasm and ridicule, his rather loose interpretations of Scottish history and condescension towards things Scottish, his very selective use of extracts from *A Proposal*, the quality of his own 'diction', and the casual racism inherent in the reference to Bungaree, is typical of the derisory rhetoric of the time.³¹⁴ It is tempting today to read the reference to Bungaree and his descendants as a recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty, but it is simply the projection of European modes of governance and royalty upon a known, historical Aboriginal person as a rhetorical device to further ridicule *A Proposal*. The *Empire* published no letters from the public in response to the review.

The South Australian newspapers ran editorials in November 1867 on the matter.³¹⁵ "There has at various times been considerable speculation as to whether any chance exists of the various Australian colonies being united into one dominion under the royal sway of Prince Alfred" wrote an editor. He argued that surely the sovereignty of the 'Dominion of Australia' was at least equal to that of Greece "which was some time ago offered to our Sailor Prince" and superior to the "uneasy and precarious crown of Mexico" occupied by Maximilian. There is no question that if the Australias were federated as the Canadas have, everyone would welcome the rule of 'our Sailor Prince'. Federation has been discussed for some time, but was likely to remain a distant event unless some 'extraordinary inducement' takes men's minds, one grand central idea. Australians are not naturally republicans, opined the editor, and given self-government they are 'monarchical to the backbone'. Victoria's reign has been a perpetual guarantee against tyranny, and Australians would rejoice in federation under 'our illustrious visitor'.

However, cautioned the editor, "separation from European Society" would be an immense drawback for the Prince. Steam navigation, and soon the telegraph, were reducing the distance, but the absence of personal and social interchanges "is poorly recompensed by messages". Nevertheless, he wrote, the Anglo-Saxon race was destined

³¹⁴ including spelling mistakes such as 'pretentious', and errors such as Samuel instead of Simnel

³¹⁵ Editorial, *South Australian Advertiser*, Monday 4 November 1867: page 2; 'The Prince and the Australias', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, Saturday 9 November 1867: page 4. The same item is printed as an editorial in the *Advertiser*, and then as a feature in the *Chronicle*.

to people at least three quarters of the globe: the parent stock in the United Kingdom, its “outgrowth, despite recent animosities and jealousies”, in the United States, and now the “third empire” in the hitherto almost unpeopled Australias. It is simply a question of time before Downing Street is cast aside. But, “there is a palpable difference between loyalty and officialism” wrote the editor, “the loving attachment to the Crown and Royal Family overpower all merely official drawbacks”. Federation under Prince Alfred would be “perfect harmony”, and petty differences “would be absorbed in the realization of one grand project”. The editor concluded on an idealistic note: “This may only be a dream; but there are many such dreamers, and our remarks are nothing more than the reflex of the thoughts of no small portion of this community.”

When Alfred arrived in Queensland, the public adulation was always contrasted with the jeering of the premier accompanying him. One Queensland paper, perhaps seeking to level the field, reprinted a Victorian column that discerned a certain lack of gravitas in the young Prince. Although he had been subjected to numerous and endless official functions everywhere he had been, and although a friendly and well received young man, he was only mortal. His Victorian hosts failed to understand when “many of those eyes [watching him] might be witching eyes to whose influence he is by no means indifferent ... harsh judgments passed upon his occasionally undignified escapes from public propriety to back-room refreshments and cigars would be un just”.³¹⁶

More to the point, his travelling companions lacked an experienced mentor. “If it was intended by this visit to create among the colonists an ardent desire to have a Royal Court established in their midst, the choice of courtiers was, to say the least of it, unfortunate.” The Prince had not impressed with his capacity as a ruler: he lacked kingly punctuality, and his demeanour lacked dignity. “If a resident King Alfred in Australia would not be acceptable, as far as Victorian opinion goes”, his companions were even less suitable models for colonial youth, and if they were to be the noblemen of the court, from where were the noblewomen to be found? “If the simple-minded Australian colonists were intended to be converted into eager lovers of aristocracy, the

³¹⁶ ‘Prince Alfred’s View to Victoria’, *Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser*, 21 January 1868: page 4. The article is acknowledged as originally published in Melbourne’s *Australasian*.

wrong men were sent to inoculate them.” The Victorians expressed a certain wariness about the whole idea, with another inter-colonial editorial remarking that “some of the moderate class of politicians in Victoria are reviving the question of federation ... though they are not prepared ‘To fly from petty tyrants to a throne’ they are nevertheless quite ready to see the colonies united under a general government, like that which has been established in Canada.”³¹⁷

A rather more effusive tone emanated from Sydney, encapsulated in a long love poem penned by Zachary Barry, Irish Evangelical minister and amateur poet, published in Sydney on St Valentine’s Day.³¹⁸ A few verses are sufficient to grasp Barry’s portrayal of an idealized female Australia drawing the royal beau into a passionate marriage:

A Maid, my Prince, with blushing cheek,
With face as young, as frank as thine,
I please the day of Valentine,
And leap-year’s privilege to speak.

I wrestle down my maiden fears:-
For was not thine the first advance?
And eyes need scarcely guard their glance
That braved our summers eighty years.

I hold it not unmaidenly
That thus I link thy name to mine,
And that these festive hours combine
With fondest dreams of times to be.

For evermore in hottest fight,
Where evil falls before the brave;
Where all the noblest banners wave,
I chose thee, Prince, my peerless knight.

But Sydney was not Zachary Barry’s alone. The liberal *Empire* took a more measured tone, discerning three ‘political’ views on the visit.

Those whose predilections are strongly aristocratical will doubtless see in the visit a harbinger of the coming Australian monarchy and titular nobility ... Rabid

³¹⁷ Editorial ‘Federation of the Colonies’, *South Australian Register*, Wednesday 19 February 1868: page 2

³¹⁸ Zachary Barry, ‘The Lady Australia to Her Prince on Valentine’s Day, 1868’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Friday 14 February 1868: page 2

democrats, who profess to despise even nominal distinctions, will see in the visit nothing more than the natural curiosity of a young man of means and leisure ... Those who care little for mere forms or theories of government, provided property be protected and justice impartially administered, will see in the visit the natural desire of the British government to cultivate intimate and friendly relations with these distant portions of the empire ... In the views of the latter class we entirely coincide. We have no sympathy for those whose admiration of monarchy is extended only to its worst features, and who fancy they can see in the surroundings of a court a field for the profitable exercise of flunkeyism and subserviency ... provided they can secure a real live king of their own – with a Botany Bay aristocracy as a *sine qua non* – of course. Neither do we participate in the views of those more attracted by the shadow than the substance of democracy, and who ... would hail with acclamation the recognition of these colonies as an independent republic ... we doubt not that the British Government will cheerfully grant the first general and respectful request on our part for recognition as an independent state; and we believe that in the matter of the nominal form of government, whether republican or monarchical, we will be left to our own choice. ... Should our experiment [in colonial democracy] prove a success, then will it suggest to the British Government and people a sure means of making Ireland a faithful and devoted member of the great British family, presenting to the world the spectacle of a nation emerging from feudalism and tyranny becoming the parent of democratic republics and herself enjoying the widest extent of political liberty and equality under a monarchical form of government.³¹⁹

The popular *Illustrated Sydney News* editor rhetorically asked

What influence this visit may have on the future of the Australian colonies it is at present impossible to say, but certain it is that the event is not without significance ... Some even hint that the establishment of a kingdom with a junior branch of the Guelph family as our Royal family, has some connection with the cruise of the Galatea.³²⁰

Away from the idea of King Alfred being covered in the press reportage, one of the features of the street decorations during the visit were the wide variety of transparencies, or illuminated screens attached to building facades that attracted admiring colonists. The subjects featured a wide variety of portraits, heraldic devices, allegorical scenes and patterns. In Melbourne, four transparencies were devoted to the coming kingdom. One showed the Prince surrounded by admiring sailors and Aborigines hailing him as 'King of Australia', another showed an allegorical female Victoria offering the Prince a crown with the caption 'Welcome Thou Royal Prince | Thy love to us evince | Accept this crown', another showed allegorical figures for each of the colonies placing the

³¹⁹ Editorial, *Empire*, 3 February 1868: page 2

³²⁰ 'The Prince's Visit', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 22 February 1868: page 6

crown of 'Federal Union' on Alfred's head, and other showed a nymph poised mid-air ready to settle a crown on the Prince's head signifying her willingness to provide him a throne on this side of the world.³²¹ Melbourne's transparencies were about presenting a vision of the future, while the transparencies in Sydney, equally dazzling and sumptuous, celebrated the progress of the 'mother city'.³²² Compositions included a large transparency showing Australia with an emu and kangaroo being introduced by Britannia to the Prince between the coats of arms of Edinburgh and New South Wales, although none were obviously supporting the King Alfred project as in Melbourne³²³.

The departure of the Prince from Adelaide, where the largest transparency had depicted the Prince being welcomed by an Aboriginal chief who was introducing him to his clan, prompted some reflection in that city.³²⁴ An editorial opined

Looking at the political aspect of this visit — for it may have one — it is difficult to see that any useful purpose has been served by it. We remember at the time the Crown of Greece was offered to Prince Alfred, it was remarked by the English Press that it would be more satisfactory and serviceable to the English nation if he were to become monarch of some of England's noble colonies rather than King of a foreign people. ... It is possible enough, therefore, that had these colonies been bent, like the children of Israel of old, upon asking for a king, and Prince Alfred not invincibly opposed to a southern seat of empire, the world might have witnessed in these days the astounding spectacle of a second British monarchy. ... But, this phantasmagoria of a King and a Court apart, it is not easy to see that the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh has had any further result.³²⁵

Adelaide's 'phantasmagoria' was enhanced by a spectacular evening *fackelzug* (torch-light parade) through the city centre to a huge reception and *liedertafel* at Government House.³²⁶ Not to be outdone, German colonists in Melbourne, Ballarat, Sydney and other places also staged *fackelzüge*.

³²¹ Anita Callaway, 'Lighting Up The Town; or, How We Made a Spectacle of Ourselves', in *Visual Ephemera: Theatrical Art in Nineteenth-Century Australia*, UNSW Press, UNSW 2000: page 38

³²² Anita Callaway 2000: pages 45, 50

³²³ 'The Prince's Visit', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 22 February 1868: page 7

³²⁴ Anita Callaway 2000: page 39

³²⁵ 'The Upshot of the Ducal Visit', *South Australian Register*, 23 January 1868: page 3, 'reprinted from the *Australasian* of January 11'. A phantasmagoria is (a) a shifting series of real or imaginary figures as seen in a dream, or (b) an optical device for rapidly varying the size of images on a screen (OED). The writer is alluding to the idea of a daydream or fantasy

³²⁶ 'The Royal Fackelzug', *South Australian Register*, 22 November 1867: page 3; 'The Royal Visit | The Royal Fackelzug', *Adelaide Observer*, 9 November 1867: page 4; 'Prinz Alfred in Adelaide', *Süd Australische Zeitung*, 6 November 1867: page 1. These are representative examples of extensive reporting.

The view from Britain seems rather more circumspect. A *Pall Mall Gazette* article, reporting on the royal visit, and reprinted in the Hobart papers, reads “The really adroit Royal flatterer is the *parvenu* who is not sure of his position and wants to found a dynasty”.³²⁷ There were reports in the Melbourne press that the Prince was being considered for appointment as the next Viceroy of India.³²⁸ There was also unfolding, ominous news from Mexico: the press reported Maximilian’s abdication, then his capture by republicans, the descent of the Empress into madness, and by late 1867 Maximilian’s execution by firing squad in his final redoubt at Querétaro near Mexico City.³²⁹ Queen Victoria had abandoned her official birthday trooping of the colours and grand ball in London, and every court in Europe went “into mourning on account of this catastrophe”.³³⁰ Cadet crowns appeared to have their limits.

³²⁷ ‘From the Pall Mall Gazette, Jan 15th’, *The Mercury*, Tuesday 31 March 1868: page 3

³²⁸ ‘India and The East’, *The Argus*, Tuesday 14 April 1868: page 5

³²⁹ the earliest speculative report in Australia of Maximilian’s execution was in the *South Australian Register*, ‘Latest Telegrams’, 28 August 1867: page 2; the first editorial was in the *Bendigo Advertiser* 10 August 1862: page 2 (which called for Mexico’s annexation by the United States), and the first confirmed report with details was in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, ‘The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian’, 5 September 1867: page 5. The *Süd Australische Zeitung* of 21 August 1867: page 3, argued that the recklessness of Napoleon III and American intolerance of monarchy were to blame, while *The Queenslander* of 5 October 1867: page 9 opined that Maximilian had brought about his own downfall; the *Braidwood Independent* of 11 September 1867: page 6 wrote in its obituary “Mexico is stained with the blood of the dethroned emperor ... we of Europe, whatever country we may belong to, will have some regrets for one who has thus fallen. It has always seemed strange that a prince so highly placed ... mix[ed] himself up in the quarrels of a mongrel race, who can never be loyal to him, and whom he can never esteem ... He had been led to believe that the great majority of the people, weary of republican government and anxious to restore the institutions of their fathers without again submitting themselves to the crown of Spain, would welcome an Emperor from the most exalted family of the Old World ... The end has been unfortunate, but the spirit which animated his conduct will not the less be admired.”

³³⁰ ‘Mexico. Execution of the Emperor Maximilian’, *Empire*, 14 September 1867: page 3.

III | A Dream Shattered at Clontarf

Figure 3.4 | The attempted assassination of the Prince Alfred at Clontarf



The Prince lies wounded, surrounded by shocked onlookers, while the failed assassin O'Farrell is set upon by the angry crowd.
12 March 1868

sketch by Samuel Calvert, in a style reminiscent of Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' (1770) and other History Paintings.

Source: National Library of Australia <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136065850/view>

All these editorials and analyses of *A Proposal*, all the dreams, transparencies, fackelzugs and talk of kings and kingdoms in the Antipodes, apparently undeterred by the widely-reported fate of Maximilian (or Alfred's widely-known heirship in Saxe-Coburg), came to an abrupt end on 12 March 1868 with the attempted assassination of the Prince at Clontarf. The event was a charity picnic raising funds for a sailor's home, attended by the leading members of Sydney society and politics.³³¹ The legislators that A Colonist hoped would be equal to the occasion instead far exceeded the emotions revealed by the royal visit in their intense responses to the assassination attempt. Suddenly, talk of 'King Alfred of Australia' assumed seditious overtones.

³³¹ 'The Sailor's Home Picnic – Attempt to Assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh', *Empire*, 13 March 1868: page 2 provides a fairly comprehensive report. McKenna claims that "if not for the efforts of the republican John Dunmore Lang and other official guests, O'Farrell would have been dismembered" by the enraged guests (Mark McKenna 2009: 269). However, press reports of the incident make no mention of Dr Lang: see for example 'Testimonial to Mr Vial', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 April 1868: page 7; 'The Wounding of Mr Thorne', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 March 1868: page 7; 'An Account by an Eye-witness', *Empire*, 13 March 1868: page 2, which states that O'Farrell "but for the energetic action of the police, and some seamen, would have been killed on the spot"; a similar point is made in 'Wochenbericht mes Neu-Süd-Wales - Von unserem Sydneyer Correspondenten', *Süd Australische Zeitung*, 25 March 1868: page 7

The New South Wales Legislative Assembly sitting on the 12th March was immediately adjourned when news of the assassination attempt reached the speaker.³³² The next day the Assembly reconvened in a highly emotional atmosphere. The first order of business was to reaffirm the loyalty of the colony and the colonists. Premier James Martin began

For many years past this has been regarded as one of the most loyal colonies under the Crown of Great Britain (Cheers) ... We have at all times been proud of the position we occupied in that respect, and fond of congratulating one another upon our loyalty (Hear, hear). We have shewn in a hundred different ways that we are loyal subjects of the Crown. We have given evidence of this not merely by lip service, but by substantial deeds (Hear, hear) ... We have that deep-felt loyalty for the person of the Sovereign which it is the privilege of British subjects, wherever they are located, to express on all fitting occasions (Cheers). Notwithstanding the deplorable action of yesterday, I think I am still entitled to say that we are as loyal today as ever (Prolonged cheering from both sides of the House).³³³

Martin eventually moved an address from the Assembly to the Prince, expressing their horror and indignation at the assassination attempt, and the grief and sympathy of ‘all classes’ in the colony. “We renew our expression of our devoted attachment to our Gracious Queen and Royal Family”. The Assembly members debated the address, mostly with speeches that echoed and occasionally outdid that of Martin, before the address was unanimously adopted, after which the members walked up to Government House where the Prince was recuperating, and presented their address to Lord Belmore.

As well as reaffirming their loyalty to the British Crown, the members also turned their attention to the assassin, O’Farrell. William Macleay was perhaps the most vituperative: “He trusted, if it should turn out that this was part of a Fenian plot, steps would be taken by the Government to exterminate the miscreants (Cheers from both sides). He believed there was no other way of proceeding against a secret association of assassins than by exterminating them (cheers) – by hunting them down – (cheers) – by exterminating them as they would exterminate venomous reptiles (renewed applause).”³³⁴ Colonial Secretary Henry Parkes was even more abusive in his attempts to link Catholics and Fenianism, but went too far even for Macleay who accused him of

³³² ‘Legislative Assembly, Thursday 12th March’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Friday 13 March 1868: page 2

³³³ ‘Legislative Assembly, Friday 13th March’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 14 March 1868: page 3

³³⁴ ‘Legislative Assembly, Friday 13th March’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 14 March 1868: page 3

“Brummagem loyalty” (fake or shoddy), and of from being “as anti-monarchical as any Fenian ... and more disloyal than the Irish Catholics they abuse” to “subscribing to the Divine right of kings” to make quick political capital for himself.³³⁵ Both the Catholic community and its friends rebuffed Parkes wherever possible.

The parliamentary sentiments of loyalty and anger mirrored those in the general community. An ‘Indignation Meeting’ was held at the Pavilion in Hyde Park, attended by over 17,000 people (about 30% of the city’s population). No clergymen were permitted to speak, as this was a meeting of

The good people of Sydney – English, Irish and Scottish – Roman Catholic and Protestant – British and Colonial – come together to express their utter detestation of the attempted assassination ... There was combined loyalty, anger, and love of order everywhere, which was too palpable to the casual observer not to see ... the very sight of which might have satisfied the Royal Mother herself if she could possibly have witnessed it.³³⁶

The character of the crowd can be understood from the journalists’ descriptions:

The anger of the people became more and more intensified ... men gathered on corners of our streets and excoriated the deed of the assassin in terms more loyal than polite, and many in the retirement of their homes wept silently ... pale faces and stern looks were to be seen everywhere, with a defiant air ... At the Pavilion the Royal Standard, floating from one of the flagstuffs, hung listlessly in the fervid air; drooping in heavy folds as if despondent at the outrage ... When it came in sight of the crowds as they swept around the corner ... many were the muttered expressions of concentrated wrath that were heard, threatening death to those who would attempt to offer any disrespect to that authority of which it was the significant emblem. All were obviously in an angry mood.³³⁷

Dr Badham of Sydney University moved a motion of support for the Prince “I shall only express this one sentiment ... that there is but one feeling of warm attachment to the person of his Royal Highness in all ranks of the community. Neither Irishman, Englishman, nor Scotchman – Catholics or Protestants – have any sympathy with those who make murder their profession.” The motion was greeted and accepted with prolonged cheering. Moving another motion, the speaker said “We can boldly say the

³³⁵ ‘Mr Macleay on the Loyalty of the Hon. Henry Parkes’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 March 1868: page 10.

Brummagem is also the demonym for someone from Birmingham, when Parkes had been a Chartist follower, and was used by Macleay in this instance to be doubly-pejorative

³³⁶ ‘Attempted Assassination of the Prince: Indignation Meeting at the Pavilion’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1868: page 5

³³⁷ ‘Attempted Assassination of the Prince: Indignation Meeting at the Pavilion’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1868: page 5

outrage is in no way Australian. (Cheers). It is our sad misfortune, but not our fault. It was a stranger amongst us: it was a heart alienated from all that loyal Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen and Australians hold dear that conceived the crime.”³³⁸ A similar meeting was held the same day in Newcastle, and other meetings followed elsewhere across New South Wales.

In Queensland, “A large meeting, comprising all classes of the community, has been held in the School of Arts [at Ipswich], for the purpose of giving a public expression to the feelings of deep indignation universally entertained at the attempt to assassinate the Prince. The greatest excitement prevails”.³³⁹ Similar meetings were held that day in Maryborough, Rockhampton and Bowen. In Melbourne, a crowd of over 6,000 attended a meeting with 12 hours’ notice at the Exhibition Building “to express their indignation and abhorrence at the attempted assassination ... and to avow attachment and loyalty to the British throne.”³⁴⁰ In Adelaide, the *South Australian Chronicle* editorialized

On the subject of the dreadful attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh ... amongst the letters we have received is one that directly attributes the crime to a Catholic and Jesuit origin. We ... have no doubt whatever that the Catholics of South Australia will furnish good evidence that, whatever may be their political opinions, they have no sympathy with murderers and regicides ... the Queen will not hold that our national honor is irredeemably lost through the unforeseen act of a maniac or an assassin. ... we hope that no attempt whatever will be made to associate this crime with any particular class of the community, ... *Since writing the foregoing we have received telegrams from Sydney strongly asserting the existence of a Fenian conspiracy to murder the Duke, and alleging extraordinary preparations made for that purpose. However, we shall still wait for proof positive before we believe that New South Wales harbors such a nest of traitors. We may at least be thankful that nothing of the kind exists in South Australia.³⁴¹

Over in Perth the *Inquirer* was moved to publish poetry from the *Melbourne Punch*:

O much desired of many lands! O Prince,
Whom freedom, aye, invokes to fill her throne!

Ah, me! our ruptured faith, our fatal love!

³³⁸ ‘Attempted Assassination of the Prince: Indignation Meeting at the Pavilion’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1868: page 5

³³⁹ ‘Attempted Murder of Prince Alfred’, *Brisbane Courier*, 14 March 1868: page 4

³⁴⁰ ‘Attempted Assassination of Prince Alfred: Indignation Meeting at the Exhibition-Building’, *The Argus*, 14 March 1868: page 6

³⁴¹ ‘The Attempted Murder of Prince Alfred’, *South Australian Chronicle*, 14 March 1868: page 8

Hold us not guilty, deem us not so base,
But each would render up his life for thine;
More than thy flesh, our honour felt the wound—
Henceforth in all this land no name so clear
In all this land no life so highly prized—
In all this land no Heart so close to ours—
As thine, our gentle Prince, our victim guest.³⁴²

The Prince was nursed at Government House by a group of Nightingale nurses under matron Miss Lucy Osburn, who had just arrived from London.³⁴³ Daily bulletins charting his recovery were issued, and within a week the Prince was able to sit in the vice-regal garden. By 21 March his recovery was certain, a day of thanksgiving was proclaimed in Victoria and New South Wales, and suggestions began to be made for a suitable memorial to mark the tour and the Prince's survival.

Figure 3.5 | Gold probe used to explore the bullet wound in Prince Alfred's back



One of several relics of the assassination attempt held in public collections in New South Wales.

Royal Prince Alfred Hospital Archives, Camperdown, Sydney: 60690 AVS_1626

Arrangements for the trial of O'Farrell were put in place, and the Catholic *Freeman's Journal* began fund-raising for a defence barrister. They commissioned James Aspinall, who had secured the acquittal of some of the Eureka Stockade leaders 14 years earlier, and who had a reputation for taking on unpopular cases, to be assisted by Sydney barrister William Bede Dalley.

The Prince re-appeared in public on 3 April to lay the foundation stone for the new Sydney Town Hall, and the next day he announced that he intended to sail directly back to Britain, postponing the planned New Zealand leg of the tour. As the sun set on 6

³⁴² 'Australia's Guest', *The Inquirer & Commercial News* (Perth), 29 April 1868: page 3

³⁴³ Rosemary Pitt, 'The Nightingale Nurses in Colonial New South Wales', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 78, Parts 3 & 4, 1992: pages 22-24

April, HMS *Galatea* moved out into the Harbour, surrounded by hundreds of small craft, amid bonfires on every headland and hill, rockets, fireworks and naphtha flares, and the sounds of ‘Home Sweet Home’, ‘Auld Lang Syne’ and other sentimental songs, before sailing out through the Heads.

The local German papers were the first to report the safe arrival of HMS *Galatea* at Portsmouth on 26 June where Prince Alfred, “who enjoyed the best of health”, received a welcome as warm as he had received in Australia.³⁴⁴ On 7 July the Prince was received at a grand fete at the Crystal Palace in London, and the Queen ordered a general day of thanksgiving for his recovery.³⁴⁵ His safe return was complete.

IV | The Three Clauses and Fenian Ghosts

Against this emotionally-charged background throughout the Australias, the parliament in Sydney reconvened the following Wednesday, and in one day passed a bill through all stages in both chambers titled ‘A bill for the better security of the crown and government of this united kingdom, and for the better suppression and punishment of seditious practices and attempts’, with the short title of the ‘Treason Felony Bill’. The bill received the royal assent that night from Lord Belmore. The new Act specifically made it a criminal offense when

Any person whatsoever shall within this colony or without compose, imagine, invent, devise or intend to deprive our Most Gracious Lady the Queen her heirs or successors [of the] Crown of the United Kingdom or any other of Her Majesty’s dominions and countries ...

or to levy war, or to try and compel or force or constrain the Queen or royal family, or to move or stir any foreigner or stranger to invade, in an attempt to intimidate or overawe either the British or New South Wales parliament.³⁴⁶ These offences could be committed by utterance, by publication in writing or printing, or public speaking. Any person committing such an offence could be sentenced to hard labour on public works for anywhere between seven years and the term of their natural life.

³⁴⁴ ‘Auswärtige Angelegenheiten - Ankunft des Prinzen Alfred in England’, *Süd Australische Zeitung*, 5 August 1868: page 1

³⁴⁵ ‘Latest Telegrams’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 4 August 1868: page 2

³⁴⁶ ‘Legislative Council, Wednesday March 18th’ and ‘Legislative Assembly, Wednesday’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 19 March 1868: pages 2-3

The bill also provided a two year sentence in three additional clauses for using language disrespectful to the Queen, or refusing to join a loyal toast or demonstration, or expressing sympathy or approval for any felony committed under the act.³⁴⁷ The only change to the bill during its parliamentary passage was to include a two-year sunset clause for the three extra clauses. The ‘three clauses’ proved to be unexpectedly contentious.

The bill was harsh and clearly impinged upon freedom of speech and assembly, with liberal and conservative divisions evident in the debate. Several conservative members argued against it on that basis, but the heated atmosphere of the day meant they were eventually reduced to declarations of loyalty and muted opposition to avoid being labelled as Fenian sympathizers. John Hay had heard of Fenian plots extending to Canada and to the whole world, and that the Fenian society “had arisen in the United States during the late deplorable war”, but he argued against the harshness of the penalty proposed in the bill. Much of the debate focused on Parkes’ supposed secret societies of Fenians that were infiltrating the colony from the United States and their nefarious influence, even though no evidence had been found of any such groups.

However, although treason, and Fenianism in particular, real or imagined, was the ostensible target of the bill, some members were concerned that others would be caught up in the net and tarred as disloyal seditionists. Martin argued that the bill was necessarily broad in its wording “to include any attempts at deposing the Queen, establishing a republic, putting down the courts of law, or any [other such] designs”. Conservative MP Allan MacPherson said “he believed that the strength of the monarchical institutions of Great Britain was found to exist not in law but in the hearts of its subjects (Cheers)” and he opposed the need for the bill. He believed the people, despite the current zeal and passions, distinguished between the British government and the Crown, and he “did not believe there were a dozen traitors in the colony (Hear, hear)”. William Forster expressed his concern that the bill

³⁴⁷ ‘[Public Notice] The Treason Felony Act ... Section 9’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 March 1868: page 6, and ‘Echoes of the Month’, *Illustrated Sydney News*, 7 August 1868: page 2

interfered with liberty of speech and liberty of discussion ... and persons (and he believed there were still some holding the opinion) who happened to think that the ancestors of the Queen were improperly on the throne, to the exclusion of the Stuarts, although having no idea of disloyalty to her Majesty, would be liable to prosecution for the mere statement of that opinion.³⁴⁸

Reverend JD Lang, on the other hand, was willing to vote for the bill as

If it was necessary that such a bill should be passed at all, it was highly necessary for it to be passed quickly. ... These three clauses were liable to abuse in the carrying of them out, for they opened the door to injustice and the oppression of individuals. He cordially approved of the bill, but he was quite sure that our posterity would say that the Act had been passed under a panic... .³⁴⁹

Some members reflected views widely reported in the press that the assassination attempt had stained the honour of New South Wales and Joseph Docker sought to add a request to the address to the Prince to change the name of the colony. New South Wales had “hitherto been known under a name associated with its origin”, an allusion to its convict past, and there were those who saw the assassination as the culminating result of those origins. As the oldest colony, he argued, they were entitled to re-name it Australia.³⁵⁰ The convict stain associated with the name New South Wales seemed indelible, and was now deepened by the taint of regicide. Edward Deas Thomson, however, reminded the Council that “from the recent demonstrations the feeling of loyalty to which he referred was as intense now as it was thirty-five years ago.” The responses of the colonial politicians to the assassination attempt, especially in New South Wales, were characterised by *fortissimo* scapegoating, but the mass indignation meetings had contained the immediate public reactions and allowed for less divisive expressions of public embarrassment. As the *Inquirer* poem had stressed, “More than thy [Alfred’s] flesh, our [settler’s] honour felt the wound”. Their new colonial democracy was humiliated as much by political denunciations of alleged Fenianism as it was by the failed regicide.

By August, when passions had cooled, news was received that the *Treason Felony Act* had

³⁴⁸ ‘Legislative Council, Wednesday March 18th’ and ‘Legislative Assembly, Wednesday’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 19 March 1868: pages 2-3

³⁴⁹ ‘Legislative Council, Wednesday March 18th’ and ‘Legislative Assembly, Wednesday’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 19 March 1868: pages 2-3

³⁵⁰ Other suggested names were Alfredland and Alfredea: ‘Our Trans-Murray Neighbours’, *Leader* (Melbourne), 28 March 1868: page 6.

been returned from London with a request for amendments. The Hobart *Mercury* editorialized that it was returned “for amendment, or, in other words, for the expunging of the outrageous additions [the three clauses] made by the incomprehensible Legislature of New South Wales.”³⁵¹ There were several charges laid under the ‘three clauses’, usually after complaints from the public, that were mostly dismissed by magistrates for drunkenness, before they expired in August 1870.³⁵²

The London *Daily Telegraph*, reporting on the assassination attempt, wrote

Truly spoke the Prince himself when he said that the event had resulted in proving, not merely Australian loyalty, but Australian affection to the reigning family. It will be the fault of bungling statesmanship at home, rather than of our countrymen abroad, if that feeling should ever be changed for one of discontent or disaffection. Loyalty is a plant that still grow readily enough when it is favoured by a little sunshine.³⁵³

As the Galatea was leaving, the trial of O’Farrell had already concluded. He pleaded guilty, and offered no explanation for his actions. No evidence was produced of a plot by any group, or that he had acted with the support of any others. He retracted his claim that he was a Fenian, but did not deny that he admired their actions in Ireland, England, Canada and America. He had been excited in the weeks beforehand at rumours that a ship chartered by American Fenians was attempting to rescue transported Fenian convicts from Western Australia. Aspinall’s argument for O’Farrell’s insanity was dismissed, and on 31 March he was found guilty of assault with intent to murder.³⁵⁴ Parkes stated that no appeals for clemency would be considered, including such an appeal from the Prince.

³⁵¹ Editorial, *Mercury*, 7 August 1868: page 2. See also editorial in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1868: page 4, that maintains support for the problematic ‘three clauses’ in the Bill.

³⁵² (the case of Toomey) ‘In the Legislative Assembly’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 March 1868: page 4 and ‘The Assembly’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 March 1868: page 10; (the case of Sinnet) ‘Charge under Treason Felony Act’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 March 1868: page 4; (in the cases of Kelly & Noonan, and of Rau), ‘New South Wales’, *The Inquirer & Commercial News*, 13 May 1868: page 3; (in the case of Johnson) ‘The Treason-Felony Act’, *The Queenslander*, 18 April 1868: page 6; (in the case of Farrell) ‘Grafton Police Court – Breach of Treason Felony Act’, *Clarence & Richmond Examiner*, 16 June 1868: page 4. For a contrary claim that no charges were ever laid under the Act, see Gregory D. Woods, *A History of Criminal Law in New South Wales: the Colonial Period 1788-1900*, Federation Press, Annandale 2002: pages 242-243

³⁵³ ‘Australian Loyalty’, *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 1868, reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1868: page 6

³⁵⁴ There is extensive coverage of the trial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 1 April 1868 and an abridged version of the same article in the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 20 April 1868

The press reported

We are glad the Prince gave us this additional proof of his noble and merciful disposition, but we are still better pleased that his generous interference did not prevent the Executive Government of New South Wales from taking the responsibility upon themselves of deciding the fate of O'Farrell. Their decision is the proper one ... O'Farrell is to die the death of a cowardly traitorous assassin upon the gallows on Tuesday week, the 21st instant.³⁵⁵

O'Farrell was duly hanged in Darlinghurst Gaol.³⁵⁶ The court evidence had cleared him of any Fenian associations, and two years later a parliamentary inquiry dismissed the supposed Fenian connections.

V | The Stability of Imperial Queenship

A Proposal, with the firing of O'Farrell's pistol, had turned from dream to nightmare with the *Treason Felony Act* insinuated new meanings. Consider for instance the claims that Britain would not be able to defend the Australias in a war. It was now treason to 'stir an invasion' or to even imagine the Queen deprived of her Australian dominions. Saving the Australias from American-style civil war, from standing armies, from foreign invasions: the very discussion of such topics simply associated Fenianism, American republican instability and Irish American perfidy with *A Proposal*. Fenianism was understood at the time as a shadowy, violent insurgency born of the American Civil War, and the 'Fenian Raids' into Canada from the United States were widely reported in the local press between 1866 and 1871, as was the Fenian assassination of Canadian parliamentarian D'Arcy McGee.³⁵⁷ Fenian raids and bombings in England were also widely reported, reinforcing these perceptions of disloyalty in any claims that Britain could not defend the Australias (or Canada) from enemies external or internal.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ 'Departure of Prince Alfred from Sydney', *The Cornwall Chronicle*, 11 April 1868: page 4

³⁵⁶ O'Farrell was buried in Rookwood Cemetery in an unmarked grave, and a police watch had to be kept over the site until it became obscured by grass to prevent threats from the vengeful and the curious of disinterring the body. Today, an innocuous metal plaque with an incorrect death date marks the grave, Roman Catholic Section, Mortuary 1, Area 4, Grave 3290.

³⁵⁷ 'D'Arcy McGee | Martyr of the Dominion', *South Australian Register*, 10 July 1868: page 2; 'The Assassination of D'Arcy McGee', *Empire*, 30 June 1868: page 3. These are representative examples of press reporting.

³⁵⁸ 'America', *Brisbane Courier*, 24 January 1866: page 4; 'The Late Insurrection in Jamaica', *Perth Gazette*, 16 February 1866: page 3; 'Canada', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 November 1866: page 5; 'Canada: the Fenian

Consider the idea of a cadet crown and an Australian honours system. It had already been argued in the press that the tour, if it had a political purpose, had achieved ‘displays of attachment to the mother-country’ rather than the ‘phantasmagoria’ of a separate king and court.

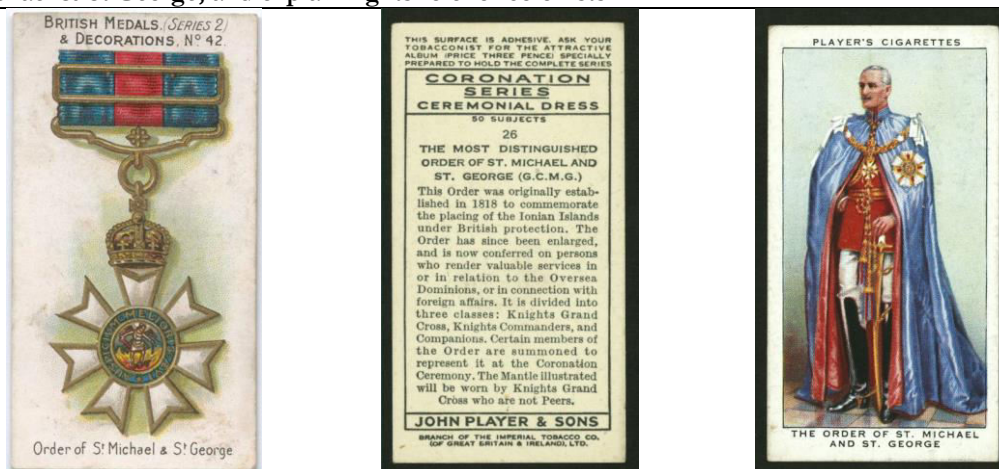
The rejuvenation of the Orders of the Bath and of St Michael & St George made imperial honours available to colonial subjects from 1868, so the demand for honours could now be met from London and recipients drawn into a single empire-wide system with a single sovereign as the fount of honour at its apex, an exemplar of the imperial system described by Cannadine. In early 1869 these honours started to flow to New South Wales, with parliamentarians James Martin and Terrence Murray knighted in the Order of the Bath, and Charles Cowper and John Darvall created companions in the Order of St Michael & St George.³⁵⁹ In the same year Prince Alfred (on his second tour) was present in Melbourne and was associated with the public announcement that the Victorian Government Botanist Dr Ferdinand Von Müller had been created a companion of the Order of St Michael & St George.³⁶⁰ This may have been the first royal (imperial) investiture in the Australias.

Trials’, *The Mercury*, 12 January 1867: page 3; ‘Fenianism in America’, *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 31 August 1867: page 2; ‘Danger in the East’, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 7 March 1868: page 3; ‘Fenian Raids in Canada’, *Gippsland Times*, 16 June 1868: page 4; ‘United States, Anticipated Fenian Movement Against Canada’, *Town & Country Journal*, 5 February 1870: page 3; ‘The Fenian Movement’, *Launceston Examiner*, 11 June 1870: page 2; ‘Fenian Movements – An Extensive and Extraordinary Combination’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 1870: page 3; ‘Special Telegram’, *The Cornwall Chronicle*, 9 July 1870: page 6; ‘The Fenian Invasion of Canada’, *The Empire*, 22 July 1870: page 3; ‘The Fenian raid on Canada’, *Queanbeyan Age*, 28 July 1870: page 3; ‘General Butler’s Fenian Motion’, *The Border Watch*, 7 June 1871: page 4. These are just a sample of the many press reports over this period.

³⁵⁹ ‘The Order of St Michael and St George’, *Illustrated Sydney News*, 20 March 1869: page 20; also *NSW Government Gazette*, 23 February 1869; ‘The New Colonial Order of St Michael and St George’, *The Queenslander*, 11 September 1869: page 9. These announcements were extensively covered across the colonial press.

³⁶⁰ ‘Thursday, February 25’, *The Argus*, 25 February 1869: page 5; ‘Melbourne’, *Empire* 26 February 1869: page 4, ‘Victoria’, *Perth Gazette*, 19 March 1869: page 3

Figure 3.6 | Early twentieth century cigarette cards showing the regalia of the Order of St Michael & St George, and explaining its role for colonists



Images: New York Public Library Digital Gallery Cartophilic reference books, T6-6 (Left) and P72-157 (centre and right)

Consider the idea of a ‘refined society’ patronising the arts and trades. Literature, art, architecture, theology, all had the potential to express overtly political ideas. They might support the philosophy of separationism and confederation under an Australian Crown against that of a single empire and British Crown. The wealthy patrons of the royal household and the ‘best families’ would be likely to foster nativist arts that would support their social standing and cultural values in the Australias. The Brazilian imperial household was already well reported in the Australian press as setting the example for a cadet crown in patronising the expression of national identity through the arts and sciences in a former colony.³⁶¹

Consider the idea that the Public Will would ensure liberties would not be curtailed or rights restrained. The Act now made it treason to deprive, or even imagine depriving, the Queen of the Crown in any of her dominions, such as the Australias. Followers of

³⁶¹ “Our interests as a colony are not, at present, identified with those of Brazil – save in a general sense ... it is not improbable that at a later date we also shall derive therefrom no inconsiderable advantages”, ‘The Pride of Tyranny and the Tyranny of Pride’, *The Empire*, 14 June 1855: page 4; ‘Commerce and Revenue of Brazil’, *South Australian Register*, 31 May 1854: page 3; ‘Review: A Journey in Brazil’, *The Argus*, 22 June 1868: page 6 are just some examples; also Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *The Emperor’s Beard: Dom Pedro II and the Tropical Monarchy of Brazil*, Hill & Wang, New York 2004, especially Chapter 7 ‘A Monarch in the Tropics: The Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, and the Pedro II School’, *passim*.

the deposed Stuarts were well aware of the bitterness engendered by the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688, and Jacobitism could still excite accusations of disloyalty in Sydney 180 years later where about 10 per cent of the inhabitants professed Presbyterianism.³⁶² *A Proposal* could be read as placing Prince Alfred in rebellion against his mother and her Crown. The Public Will had already been shown to lead, just as easily, towards liberties being suppressed, whether for Fenians real or imaginary, Stuart legitimists or those refusing to toast the Queen.

Consider the idea of a peripatetic royal court and parliament. Could that be construed as an attempt to intimidate the NSW parliament by its implied abolition or, as the *South Australian Register* put it, reduction to a ‘mere parish vestry’.³⁶³ The royal courts in Europe and Brazil did seasonally relocate at the time, moving between their official and summer residences, stimulating economic activity especially in the vicinity of their summer residences.³⁶⁴ The Queen had made a point of establishing a summer residence in Scotland at Balmoral, on an old forfeited Jacobite estate, only a decade earlier. But even that was a double-edged sword for the *Proposal*, for while Scotland might have a palace it had lost its parliament 170 years earlier.

The old, dynamic loyalism of New South Wales that had room for a joke about the throne, that could cope with Jacobite pretensions as a mere eccentricity, was suddenly forced into a straightjacket of effusive publicly-stated deference to the one Queen and empire. The distinctions between the British government and the Crown, clearly articulated before Clontarf, were being obscured and aggregated into a single identity. The convict past, despised by liberal-minded emigrants, was now conflated with regicide and portrayed as a peculiarly New South Wales history that needed to be replaced by a British-Australian past free of such taints³⁶⁵.

³⁶² Census of New South Wales 1871, Pt 2: xxiii-xxv, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1871-census-02_xxy accessed 9 January 2013

³⁶³ ‘Federation of the Colonies’, *South Australian Register*, 19 February 1868: page 2. The editorial was quoting from an *Edinburgh Review* article on federation.

³⁶⁴ *The Court Historian, Courts and Capitals 1815-1914*, Society for Court Studies, Vol. 13, No. 1, June 2008 *passim*.

³⁶⁵ Babette Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain: The startling legacy of the convict era*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest 2008, Chapter 9 ‘Best Forgotten’ *passim*.

The *Illustrated Sydney News* grudgingly conceded that views circulating in the London press about the Treason Felony Act might be correct when it editorialised

Our motives in consenting to a temporary suspension of our liberties, do not seem to be understood in England, or, if understood, to be much appreciated. Several of the London papers have been very severe on what they are pleased to term our "political delirium". ... The only excuse they seem inclined to allow us is the not very complimentary one of "cerebral excitement, occasioned by over-indulgence in unaccustomed stimulants." We had had a little too much Prince, and didn't know what we were doing. "A live Prince" says the *Spectator*, "acts upon the starved appetite for rank, as neat brandy on an empty stomach unused to alcohol." This may be very witty, but it loses a good deal of its point when we remember that it was because the live Prince was so very nearly becoming a dead Prince, that we, for the moment, allowed our feelings to master our judgments, and rushed into the excessive loyalty of the Treason Felony Act. If the *Spectator* means that there was nothing in the visit of the Prince, or in the attack upon his life, that should have evoked enthusiasm, then we can only say that the *Spectator* must be suffering from a surfeit of Prince, and is slightly dyspeptic in consequence.³⁶⁶

This chapter points to the importance of cadency in the historical development of political and constitutional institutions in Australia despite the historiography of federation making no mention of the tour or discussion of 'royal confederation' in the 1860s. The reactions to the assassination attempt included the suppression of the ideas set out in *A Proposal*. 'Loyal separationists' kept their heads down and their ideas to themselves for the time being.

There is a clear distinction made in the reporting of the time between the British Government, or Downing Street, from which the colonies would one day separate, and the British Crown, or the Queen, to which they would remain loyally attached. How that loyal attachment was to be maintained was a subject of some discussion in London and the colonial capitals. The models available at that time were essentially those of cadet kingships, and when people spoke or wrote of 'separation' they did not mean American style republican independence. The colonists had already experienced a series of separations between 1824 and 1863 when new colonies were separated from New South Wales, an experience that allowed local 'national' identities to develop within the

³⁶⁶ 'Echos of the Month', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 7 August 1868: page 2

framework of the Empire and loyal relationships with the Crown.³⁶⁷ Further separation meant reducing the remaining roles for Downing Street in the internal affairs of each colony. The New South Wales ministry greeted the arrival of the Prince in their new court dress – not as an act of subservience, but as an act of independence for the dress displayed for everyone, including the Prince, that the New South Wales government was as self-governing and independent (at least in domestic affairs) as the government in London, and had its own direct relationship with the royal court independently of Downing Street.

Peter Cochrane, while not specifically mentioning either the tour or the assassination attempt in his study of mid-century colonial politics, argued that ‘republican separationism’ was essentially a tactical last-resort rhetoric used by colonial politicians such as Parkes and Lang in political disputes with Downing Street.³⁶⁸ It was a type of republicanism he argues that was ‘really loyalism spurned’, a bluff never actually meant to be called. It is an idea that can be useful in conceptualising and exploring distinctions between loyal separationism and republican separationism.³⁶⁹ The idea or tradition of separationism in this period has its own meanings and needs to be understood in those terms.

The idea of establishing cadet crowns is absent from Australian historiography, but this chapter has established that a proposal for establishing such a crown in Australia was the subject of pamphlets, newspaper editorials, poetry and public discussion and commentary in the 1860s and 1870s, especially in Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales. This public conversation was conducted with an awareness of the recent and rise and fall of such a crown in Mexico, the rejected offer of a crown from the Greeks, the old-established success of a new crown in Brazil, and competition from the Canadians for the same new king. Cadency is an old tradition within dynastic states, and

³⁶⁷ 1824 Van Diemen’s Land, 1841 New Zealand, 1851 Victoria, 1856 Norfolk Island, 1859 Queensland and 1863 Northern Territory (transferred to South Australia)

³⁶⁸ Cochrane, Peter, *Colonial Ambition: Foundations of Australian Democracy*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2006: 247

³⁶⁹ for a recent variant on this idea, see Andrew Carr and Benjamin T Jones, ‘The Republicanism of Sir Robert Menzies’, which distinguishes between ‘separatist republicanism’ and ‘civic republicanism’: http://apsa2010.com.au/full-papers/pdf/APSA2010_0068.pdf, accessed 16th January 2013

it was as natural and viable an idea as any other for new states. There was no forgone conclusion as to whether it could or could not be applied in the Australias. It is tempting to ask whether the stop-over in Rio was planned in London for the purpose of introducing the Prince to the actual operations of a cadet crown in a now-independent former colony. He certainly spent plenty of time alone with the Emperor and the Comte d'Eu, husband of the heiress Princess Isabella, to discuss such ideas.³⁷⁰ Records in Rio, London and Gotha may throw more light on this issue.

Prince Alfred's royal visit in the summer of 1867-1868 exposed three main ideas about the Crown circulating in the eastern colonies in Australia in the period of self-government between the gold rushes and Federation. The first is the imperial dynasticism of personal allegiance to Queen Victoria. This was most passionately expressed in the reactions to the assassination attempt, especially in the conservative press such as the *Sydney Morning Herald* and Melbourne's *Argus*, and by conservative country politicians such as James Martin and William Forster in New South Wales. This was part of a larger project driven by the Prince Consort of emphasizing emotional similarity and unity between sovereign and subjects of all backgrounds³⁷¹. While seeming to reflect the *status quo*, it was actually the realization of a successful royal transformation.

The second is loyal separationism, or the establishment of a cadet crown and new kingdom. This is the ideology clearly expressed in *A Proposal*, and the most radical of the intellectual strands. It was more or less supported by newspapers such as the *South Australian Advertiser*, the *Süd Australische Zeitung* and the *Illustrated Sydney News*, advocated by conservative Irish-born Catholic politicians such as John O'Shanassy in Melbourne and associated with Irish-born evangelicals such as Zacchary Barry in Sydney and the German Lutherans in South Australia. It envisaged a future in which independent British kingdoms around the globe would retain their cultural and ritual ties through a

³⁷⁰ See John Milner 1869: pages 14-27

³⁷¹ Aron K. Paul, *Royalty and the Australian Nation 1867-1997*, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne 2004, Chapter 1 'Cut Loose from their Native Shore': the royal tour of Prince Alfred 1867-8', *passim*.

shared dynasty of kings and queens while being politically and diplomatically independent.

The third is nominal monarchism, or a general view that constitutional monarchy was, all things being equal, the form of governance probably best suited to evolving liberal-democratic societies, but without any strong emotional attachments to particular sovereigns or the rituals of monarchy, and open to a republican future as part of a British heritage. This view was mostly commonly expressed by the *Empire*, the *Queenslander* and the Hobart *Mercury* newspapers, and liberal proto-nationalist politicians in Sydney such as Henry Parkes and the Reverend Lang.

O'Donnell illuminates the motives behind a large part of *A Proposal*, especially the graphic descriptions of civil war savagery, the fears of conflict between the colonies if they separated before federation, and the concern that presidents in republican countries were weak and only able to exert influence as partisan players. The part of *A Proposal* that Davidson describes as a 'diatribe' is really a reflection of these fears of imminent war described by O'Donnell. That *A Proposal* was written in the shadows of war also helps explain the constant references to Prince Alfred as a 'sailor prince', his many appearances and photographs in naval uniforms, and the rather excited descriptions of the beauty and prowess of HMS *Galatea*. The idea of a young naval king for a newly-federated maritime kingdom was bound to be attractive in such a climate, and explains the description of him as "a goodly leviathan rolled from the waves."³⁷² It was also a prospect that may have been hoped to appeal to the Prince over any similar offer from a Canada subject to border raids, assassinations and fears of invasion from an avenging United States or its Fenian proxies; and over any attractions from Ireland.

James Murphy has argued that the 19th century Lord Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland, commonly referred to as the Viceroy, was not simply the monarch's

³⁷² *Empire*, 20 January 1868: this quote is in Cowburn 1971: footnote 31, but I have not been able to locate the original reference.

representative in Ireland but a substitute for the monarch.³⁷³ Plans were drawn up to abolish the vicerealty because Downing Street considered it encouraged a separate Irish identity rather than closer union, but opposition within Ireland, articulated in the Catholic *Freeman's Journal*, argued the role was part of the Irish 'local government', the viceregal residence was part of Dublin's metropolitan status, it would increase absenteeism by Anglo-Irish landholders, and it would remove a vital source of economic activity in Dublin.³⁷⁴ The similarity of these arguments to those in *A Proposal* is obvious. Is this a reflection of access by different authors to a common empire-wide conversation in Sydney, Melbourne, Ottawa and Dublin (and elsewhere)? Does *A Proposal* have Irish or Catholic authors? This thought can be explored a little further. Murphy writes that in the late 1860s and early 1870s there were proposals made that a member of the royal family should occupy the position of Viceroy, or even act as a substitute for it, and should also establish a royal residence in the country. The favoured candidate was the Prince of Wales, and a little later Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught. Nine different members of the royal family were publicly discussed for the role between 1838 and 1911, but Murphy argues that the real obstacle to a royal viceroy or a cadet crown was Queen Victoria. She favoured Prince Arthur for some sort of semi-permanent role in Ireland, but was concerned that he would be surrounded by flatterers and drawn into party politics. By the end of 1872 the Prince of Wales conceded there was little likelihood of his mother agreeing to him taking on any significant role in Ireland. Murphy does not mention any particular reasons for the Queen's reluctance, apart from a concern that her sons might be unable to resist flatterers (or flunkeyism as the *Empire* put it in Sydney, or a 'surfeit of Prince' as the London *Spectator* wrote).

Parkes' attempts to tar Irish or Catholic colonists with the brush of Fenianism was finally shattered in 1869 when William Bede Dalley, a defender of O'Farrell, one of Parkes' political opponents, a son of convicts and a Catholic, exposed Parkes through a

³⁷³ James Murphy, 'Mock Court': the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland 1767-1922', *The Court Historian*, Vol. 9, No. 2, December 2004: page 132

³⁷⁴ James Murphy 2004: page 136.

parliamentary inquiry that found the whole Fenian scare was a concoction.³⁷⁵ By 1883 Dalley was Premier when he decided to send New South Wales troops to Sudan in 1885. Parkes cried “this is not patriotism, this is not loyalty, this is not true British sense of duty ... our first duty will be to hold inviolate the part of the Empire where our lot is cast.”³⁷⁶ Dalley responded in a passionate speech at Dubbo:

What has been our offence? ... We have lifted up remote colonies to equal companionship of chivalrous nations ... we have watched and waited for the moment when we could aid, however humbly, that Empire which, after all, is the guardian and depository of the noblest form of constitutional freedom that the world has ever seen ... as members of the Empire we were defending ourselves and all most dear to us ... the Queen’s enemies are ours wherever they are.³⁷⁷

BT Dowd argued that Dalley’s actions came at a time when it was supposed the colonies were indifferent to Imperial affairs and ripe for separation, that Dalley gained world renown as the first practical exponent of colonial loyalty, and quoted English historian JA Froude who admired Dalley because he “desired to see us all united – not in heart, not in sentiment, not in loyalty and British feeling – for that we were already – but in one so completed a confederacy that separation [from England] should no more be mentioned.”³⁷⁸ Dalley declined a knighthood but consented to becoming the first Australian-born Privy Councillor. In 1890 his memorial was unveiled in the crypt of St Paul’s Cathedral in London, which a few years later became the chapel of the Order of St Michael and St George. Just a few years earlier he had been hailed at the centennial exhibition in Melbourne for “proving by unquestionable evidence the devoted loyalty of New South Wales to the British Crown.”³⁷⁹ Dowd argues it was Dalley who had succeeded in demonstrating the loyalty of New South Wales’ Catholics to the Queen by outlining a vision of the Empire as a confederacy of equals under the Crown that all could defend. Dowd positions the colonial Catholics and Irish not as hapless victims of Parkes’ assassination backlash but as colonists with agency whose main reaction was not

³⁷⁵ BT Dowd, ‘William Bede Dalley – scholar, orator, patriot and salesman, 1831-1888’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 31, 1945: pages 201-248

³⁷⁶ BT Dowd 1945: page 222 – the extract is from a letter Parkes wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 February 1885.

³⁷⁷ BT Dowd 1945: pages 222-223

³⁷⁸ BT Dowd 1945, page 225 - the quote was taken from Froude’s book, *Oceana*.

³⁷⁹ WT Dowd 1945, page 229 – the quote is from a letter from the NSW Commissioner at the exhibition to Dalley, dated 4th October 1888.

to turn to republican separationism but, like the supporters of a separate Alfredian kingdom, to bide their time for the moment when they could demonstrate loyalty in their own way. That moment came 17 years later through Dalley's strategic use of the Sudan crisis to cleanse the stain of regicide from Celtic New South Wales.

Twenty years after the visit colonists were still talking about their own migrant-king, so why had it not happened?³⁸⁰ Possibly the combination of Querétaro and Clontarf dissuaded London? The Queen was appalled by the execution of Maximilian, especially after personally pleading with his captors for his life, and then Carlotta's descent into madness.³⁸¹ She was horrified at the assassination attempt on her second son only six months after Maximilian's death by firing squad. That ideas about cadet crowns and the Queen's several sons were circulating in Ireland, Australia and Canada at around the same time suggests these are not isolated ideas, and the news from Querétaro and Clontarf would have filtered through these same imperial circles. Emigrant kings and nationalist guns did not make an ideal combination. Although cadet crowns were successfully established in Europe during the later 19th century, the fate of the Mexican Emperor in 1867, the overthrow of the Brazilian Emperor in a military coup in 1889, and the overthrow of the Queen of Hawaii in 1893 by American planters made it seem that neither cadet nor indigenous crowns were particularly safe by the turn of the century.³⁸² At the same time the federation conventions were meeting in Australia the British Crown, by comparison, was a model of stability and strength. It was the object of much popular affection, and had long surrendered its executive functions to an elected ministry, although its 'racial' composition may have been rather more ambiguous than some race patriots desired, not enough Anglo, too much miscegenated Saxon.

³⁸⁰ For two examples, see 'New Name for The Colony', *Australian Town & Country Journal*, 29th January 1887: page 42; and Siobhán Lavelle, *1813: A Tale that Grew in the Telling*, WriteLight Pty Ltd, Sydney 2013: page 135

³⁸¹ John Elderfield, *Manet and the Execution of Maximilian*, Museum of Modern Art, New York 2006: pages 59-60

³⁸² Lilia M Schwarcz, *The Emperor's Beard: Dom Pedro II and the Tropical Monarchy of Brazil*, Hill & Wang, New York 2004, originally published as *Barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos*, Companhia das Letras, São Paulo 1998; Allen, Helena G., *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani, last Queen of Hawaii 1838-1917*, Mutual Publishing, Honolulu 1982. Prince Alfred had visited the Hawaiian royal family in 1869, stayed with them for a month, and was invested as a Knight in the Order of Kamehameha I by King Kamehameha V. Queen Victoria was godmother to the Crown Prince Albert Kamehameha, and corresponded regularly with the Hawaiian royals.

Even so, the association of federalism and the crown in the 1860s makes a crowned federation in the 1890s seem a natural, historical option.

The idea of a cadet crown can be positioned as a precursor to the idea of the divisibility of the Crown, an idea that would blossom in the inter-war period and evolve, again under Irish influences, in a dynastic context that is explored in Chapter 5. The seditious idea of an independent Kingdom of Australia had been suppressed for a while in 1868, but it had not died and would continue to find a voice. No one particular strand of crown thinking was at this time any more or less likely to become the prevailing strand. All the options were open.

Prince Alfred's royal tour provoked the expression of a range of ideas about the Crown in the Pacific Australian colonies, and widespread public discussion of alternative ideas for the Crown in a federal future. It revealed a depth and intensity of emotions towards the Crown in an abstract sense, either as personal loyalty to the one British Queen and her (Germanish) imperial family or, iconoclastically, the potential to transfer that loyalty to an emigrant king. It is a cardinal reference point in any history of the Crown in Australia.

Metamorphosis

The fifty years since Prince Alfred's remarkable visit had seen the separate Australias unite in 1901 to form the Commonwealth of Australia. The people of the colonies had authorized the new federal constitution with its preambular statement "Whereas the people ... have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown...". Queen Victoria gave her royal assent to the constitution on 9 July 1900, her last great imperial act before her death on 22 January 1901, just three weeks after the new Commonwealth had come into being.

Federation and the movement towards federation, the extensive shearer's and maritime strikes and battles between labour and capital in the 1890s, the invention of the 'bush legend' in literature and the arts, the building of a White Australia protected by tariff walls and discriminatory immigration laws after 1901, the formation of regular political parties, and 'soothing the dying pillow' of Aboriginal Australians, all chapters in nationalist historiography, could all reveal something of the changing exercise of crowned power in this period.

However, the Great War really changed everything, and the year 1917 was a moment of great crisis. Everywhere in Europe traditions were tumbling, revolutions were imminent, and there were intense civil divisions. It seemed anything could happen, even in Australia. In South Australia, anti-German feelings reached a fever pitch, book-ended by two conscription referenda. In this slice, the mass changing of German place names and the change of the Royal House name, both in 1917, provide a prism that reveals the mutability of the Crown and its capacity to change as its environment changes, a mutability that included the then-novel ideas of the Crown's divisibility that gradually grew in the Imperial War Cabinet meetings. In this environment, imaginings of cadency had little to offer the newly-ancient House of Windsor.

Chapter 4 | THE NAME OF WINDSOR A British king born in South Australia 1915-1918

Within seventeen years of the proclamation of a crowned federation of the colonies in Australia in lavish ceremonies in Sydney's Centennial Park in 1901, the Crown had passed firstly from Victoria to her son Edward VII and then to his son George V.

King Edward had taken the title 'By the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of *the British Dominions beyond the Seas* King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India'. For his regnal number he chose VII, a number meaningful in English history but not in Scottish, where the number was sometimes omitted since no preceding King Edward of Scotland was recognized in Scotland.³⁸³ This was the first occasion the regnal numbering had differed in the two kingdoms since the unfortunate reign of James II and VII had ended in 1688.³⁸⁴

George V acceded to the throne in 1910 with the same titles and no variation in his regnal numbering as all the preceding Georges had been kings of Great Britain, never separately of England or Scotland or Ireland. The seemingly arcane matter of regnal numbering points to the historical capacity for one body natural to represent several bodies corporate, or put another way, for one king to be wearing several crowns in separate kingdoms. The idea, whether in 1901 or 1910, was not new. The new twentieth-century title 'King of the British Dominions beyond the Seas' points to the capacity for one body natural to be imagined as containing many possibilities for representing future new bodies politic.

One matter, however, had not changed during the royal accessions. The name of the Royal House remained constant. But the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty was about to be recast in a new mould, with old bodies politic being shed as new ones were brought into

³⁸³ Matthew, H. C. G., 'Edward VII (1841–1910)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004

³⁸⁴ I have not found any examples of the title Edward VII and I (or I and VII) being used. When Scottish titles differ, all the examples I have located, such as on statue inscriptions, make the distinction by referring to him as King Edward, with no regnal number.

existence. In August 1914 war broke out in Europe, pitting the Allies of the British Empire, France and Russia against the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. The dynastic element of the war aligned the principal protagonists George V (House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) and Nicholas II (House of Romanov) against Wilhelm II (house of Hohenzollern) (all grandsons of Queen Victoria) and his more distant cousin Franz Josef of Austria-Hungary (House of Hapsburg). These alignments were reflected in every ruling house across the continent, which was effectively a single extended dynasty.³⁸⁵

The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty, in its own right and as a cadet dynasty of the House of Wettin, was a European dynasty. Its intermarriages, like those of the Hapsburgs, remained within the European dynastic network, but unlike the Hapsburgs they were not attached to particular territories until the dynastic realignments required by the Great War also required the changing of dynastic names. The Saxe-Coburg-Gothas in Belgium became the House of Belgium (van België, de Belgique, or von Belgien), but the most spectacular change was the transformation of the Anglo-German Saxe-Coburg-Gothas into British Windsors.

³⁸⁵ In the smaller states ruled by Saxe-Coburg cadet branches were King Albert I in Belgium and King Ferdinand I in Rumania aligned with the Allies, and King Ferdinand in Bulgaria with the Central Powers. Outside the Saxe-Coburg cadet dynasties, King Petar I in Serbia (House of Karadordevic, related to Petrovic-Njegos), King Nicholas I in Montenegro (House of Petrovic-Njegos, related to Savoy) and King Vittorio Emanuele III in Italy (House of Savoy, related to Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Hapsburg and Bourbon), all aligned with the Allies. Grand Duke Friedrich II of Baden (House of Baden), King Ludwig III of Bavaria (House of Wittelsbach), the Kaiser in his capacity as King of Prussia (House of Hohenzollern), King Frederick Augustus III of Saxony (House of Wettin, of which Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was itself a cadet line) and King Wilhelm II of Württemberg (House of Württemberg), sovereigns in the five kingdoms federated as the German Empire were aligned with Germany. All of these sovereigns were related either through blood or marriage and formed, in effect, a single European royal family. There were also the family branches that did not participate in the war: King Constantine in Greece (House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg) until he abdicated in June 1917 in favour of his son Alexander who joined the Allied cause, Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide in German-occupied Luxembourg and Queen Wilhelmina in the neutral Netherlands, both branches of the House of Nassau (related to Hohenzollern); King Christian X in Denmark and Iceland and his brother King Haakon VII in Norway (both of the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, related to Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Romanov), King Gustav V in Sweden (House of Bernadotte, related to Nassau and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha), King Alfonso XIII in Spain (House of Bourbon, related to Saxe-Coburg-Gotha), Prince Franz Josef II in Liechtenstein (House of Liechtenstein, related to Hapsburg) and Prince Albert I in Monaco (House of Grimaldi, related to Bonaparte and Bourbon), all of which remained neutral. Among the protagonists, only republican France, Portugal and the United States, Mehmed V Sultan of the Ottomans and the Taisho Emperor of Japan stood outside this dynastic network.

I | The Worst Year of the War

Joan Beaumont characterizes 1917 as ‘the worst year’ of the war, a time when it seemed conflict would never end, the Western Front was in stalemate and Russia was collapsing, although there were advances in the Middle East. On the home front in Australia the Federal government of former Labor Prime Minister Billy Hughes went through a long process of reformation as partisan groups re-formed in the wake of a failed conscription referendum in 1916 to produce, eventually, a coalition that became the National Party.³⁸⁶ Along with growing casualty lists published daily in newspapers, news of momentous battles such as Bullecourt, Passchendaele and Polygon Wood on the Western Front, bombing raids on London and southern England by Zeppelin airships and Gotha heavy bombers, and the effective withdrawal of Russia from the war, strains were evident in the fabric of civil life in Australia. Neville Meaney characterises the home front in 1917 as “increasingly troubled by political, industrial, communal and sectarian discord” that assumed a “vindictive and unforgiving character”.³⁸⁷ Following the failure of the 1916 referendum, conscriptionists became obsessed with controlling “the enemy within the gate”.³⁸⁸ Four factors combined by mid-1917 to create a perfect storm in Australia. A virulent and widespread anti-Germanism reached its apogée that year. Reactions to the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916 merged with this anti-Germanism so that support for Irish nationalism and separatism became tarred as German-backed treachery. The referendum on conscription held in late 1916 unleashed passions that intensified once it became known that another referendum would be held later in 1917.

Meaney focuses on the attacks on the ‘disloyalty’ of organised labour and the Irish Catholic community, especially Archbishop Mannix, in the east coast states. This chapter focuses on another of the ‘inside enemies’, the German-Australian communities in South Australia. Meaney accepts a view of the Anti-German League in Sydney that the ‘German question’ was not the most important element in the problem of

³⁸⁶ Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest 2013; pages 263-273

³⁸⁷ Neville Meaney, *A History of Australian Defence and Foreign Policy 1901-1923*, Volume 2 ‘Australia and the World Crisis 1914-1923’, Sydney University Press, Sydney 2009: page 204

³⁸⁸ Neville Meaney 2009: page 204

disloyalty.³⁸⁹ However, away from the industrialised south-eastern cities a different perspective emerges. In South Australia, the vicious treatment of local Germans was vicariously extended to the ‘Germanism’ of the royal family, to which the dynastic response was to invoke a tradition of Britishness or ancient Briton-ness to which all loyalists could subscribe. As the conflation of anti-Germanism and anti-Irishness developed, a more insidious, less vocalised element was added to this mix that attributed an essential Germanness to the royal family, especially in its extended branches, that was subverting the Allies’ cause and repressing Ireland. The great dynastic network proudly evoked before the war became a distinct liability in 1917.

Anti-Germanism in an organized sense in Australia began early in the war. Anti-German Leagues formed in New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand and England, a short-lived All-British Association in Western Australia, and a British Citizens League in South Africa, but attempts to establish such groups in Tasmania, Queensland and the Northern Territory came to naught.³⁹⁰ The formation of the All-British League in Port Adelaide in February 1915 provides both a microcosm of evolving anti-German sentiments and an example of one of the more virulent anti-German organizations.³⁹¹

Marilyn Lake has argued for a pre-war Anglo-Saxon ideology that posited a common ‘Teutonic’ racial heritage shared by Germany, the United States, Great Britain and the dominions that drew the intellectual elite in (especially) Melbourne into an American embrace.³⁹² This ‘Anglo-Saxonism’ collapsed with the outbreak of war, and German Australians were transformed into beastly Huns. Neville Meaney counters Lake by arguing that Australians did not think of themselves as Teutonic at all, which is why the supposed transformation occurred so rapidly and easily.³⁹³ He also disputes Lake’s claim of contending ‘orientations’ between a liberal Anglo-Saxonism and an oppressive

³⁸⁹ Neville Meaney 2009: page 214

³⁹⁰ Database of All British League branches in South Australia and contacts with similar groups outside South Australia, compiled by author. Generally, these groups seemed wary of each other, and attempts to form All British League branches in Victoria and Tasmania were stymied by the Anti-German League.

³⁹¹ ‘All British League’, *The Register* (Adelaide), 4 February 1915, page 5

³⁹² Marilyn Lake, ‘British world or new world?: Anglo-Saxonism and Australian engagement with America’, *History Australia*, Vol 10, No 3, December 2013: pages 36-50

³⁹³ Neville Meaney, ‘The problem of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Australian History: A reply to Marilyn Lake and Christopher Waters’, *History Australia*, Vol 12, No 2, August 2015: pages 209-231

Britishness, especially her claim that Britishness was a political ideology for an imperial-state that demanded loyalty and provided privilege to white British subjects. Even if a shared Teutonic community of culture existed, he argues, it could not form a single nation-state, whereas a shared British culture did exist and constituted a potential imperial or national state.

The All-British League was ostensibly founded to promote unity between British peoples within the Empire, and the Governor and Chief Justice of South Australia readily agreed to be its patrons.³⁹⁴ A few weeks after its formation several additional objectives were added to the League's aims, and these became its focus for the duration of the war. These 'supplementary objects' as they were sometimes called, were:

First, to advocate forever the shutting out of all foreigners from Government and municipal posts; secondly, to prevent foreigners from becoming members of Parliament or justices of the peace; and thirdly, to jealously guard against the ascendancy of any language over English in the curriculum of State-aided schools.³⁹⁵

It quickly became clear that 'foreigner' meant German.³⁹⁶ Over the next four years the League campaigned relentlessly, among other activities, to have Germans (by which it meant anyone of German birth, or German parentage or grand-parentage, wherever they were born) removed from the South Australia Parliament and magistracy, municipal councils and public employment, and to remove the franchise from all Germans in local, State and Federal elections. It also campaigned for all German or Lutheran schools to be closed or taken over by the State and to have all German-language publications suppressed. It wanted all land owned by Germans to be compulsorily acquired by the State and used for returned soldier settlements, and called for a boycott of all German businesses and products. The League also demanded that all German-origin place names be replaced by British or 'Australian native' names. By 1918 it was advocating the wholesale deportation of Germans.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ 'Personal', *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 26 February 1915, page 6

³⁹⁵ 'The All-British League | Important Additional Aims | Stirring Address by Mr Owen Smyth', *The Dailey Herald* (Adelaide), 4 March 1915, page 6

³⁹⁶ 'An Anti-German Movement', *The Mail*, 19 February 1916, page 5

³⁹⁷ 'All British League', *The Mail*, 30 August 1918, page 17; 'All British League', *Mount Barker Courier and Onkaparinga and Gumeracha Advertiser*, 28 June 1918, page 4

The League's campaigns were visceral, bigoted, jingoistic and highly public, and they found strong support in *The Mail* newspaper.³⁹⁸ Branches of the League were established throughout the state and its activities were widely covered in the South Australian press.³⁹⁹ Among the League's successes were the closure of all 48 Lutheran schools using German as the language of instruction, the closing of all the German-language newspapers in South Australia, and the removal of all Germans from the magistracy.⁴⁰⁰ Its campaigns also included 'information' programs, such as a 1917 three-part series in *The Mail* on 'The Germans in Australia | Their Number and History' that explained their surreptitious "peaceful penetration" of South Australia, Victoria and Queensland.⁴⁰¹

However, the League was not without its opponents, and an anonymous letter writer to the *Advertiser*, styled 'A Woman' put their principle arguments forward a few months after the League's formation. She argued that old traditions of "personal honour, domestic fidelity, commercial integrity, political probity, reverence for the law, chivalry towards woman and the Anglo-Saxon love of truth" would send a cold shiver up the spines of the League. One of The League's objectives, she argued, was to cultivate 'race-hatred', an objective that made the patronage of the Governor and the Chief Justice unacceptable. As the King's representatives, they should not be taking sides and supporting 'racialist distinctions' between members of the community. A Woman

³⁹⁸ *The Mail* (published in Adelaide between 1912 and 1954) produced in 1917 three weekend editions, and claimed a circulation of 30,000 copies that were read by 120,000 people, or about a third of all South Australians: banner, *The Mail*, 4 August 1917, page 6. The 1911 census numbered the population of South Australia (excluding 'full-blood Aborigines') as 411,161.

³⁹⁹ The League was established in a meeting at Port Adelaide on 15 January 1915. By the end of 1915 it had 18 branches, by the end of 1916 24 branches, by the end of 1917 34 branches, and by the end of 1918 40 branches. None were operational by 1920. It also had a rifle club, which members were encouraged to join. It claimed to have 'well over 5,000 members' in March 1917 (about 1.2% of the South Australian population). Database of branches compiled by author.

⁴⁰⁰ On the closure of German language newspapers, see Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-Language Press in Australia 1848-1964*, ANU Press, Canberra 1967, pages 8-13

⁴⁰¹ 'The Germans in Australia | Their Number and History', 'Part I How Many Germans are There in Australia?', *The Mail*, 14 April 1917, page 4; 'Part II Religion', *The Mail* 21 April 1917, page 8; 'Part III Decrease', *The Mail* 28 April 1917, page 6. During these period, the first battle of Bullecourt had been fought, at which the Germans took the greatest number of Australian prisoners in the whole war (https://www.awm.gov.au/units/event_110.asp, accessed 5 October 2014), the French campaign at Aisne had ended in disaster, and the Ottomans had successfully repelled British and Dominion forces in the second battle of Gaza (https://www.awm.gov.au/units/event_136.asp, accessed 5 October 2014).

argued there were ‘enormous’ numbers of intermarriages between Briton and non-Briton in South Australia, including many leading citizens. Further, she said, the League’s own rules would exclude the King and royal household from membership because of their ‘mixed descent’. The French, the Russians, “our black subjects in India”, were all good enough to fight and die for us, she argued, but not good enough to be members. In contrast, the Governor of Western Australia had refused to attend meetings or patronize the League in Perth, and his example should be followed in Adelaide.⁴⁰² The League’s arguments, she concluded “are more fitting for a back-lane harangue, but most unsuitable for a meeting called to exhibit British fairplay”.⁴⁰³ A woman mixes ideas of Anglo-Saxon and British fairness in what Meaney would probably characterise as the ideal of ‘better Britons’ seeking to democratise British institutions and fulfil the promise of Britishness.⁴⁰⁴

Responses to *A Woman* revealed two opposing streams of thought. Captain Cromarty, secretary of the League, wrote that a Briton would never raise the issue of the King’s ineligibility for League membership and that dual citizenship (mixed marriage) was a menace.⁴⁰⁵ Another critic invited *A Woman* to join the League, but was sure she wouldn’t because the King and the royal household would be absent: “Membership is an honour reserved for people of British parentage, and there are some privileges that even the King cannot enjoy”.⁴⁰⁶ Still another critic answered that pointing to the German blood in the royal family was a ‘pitiable cry’ because they would not want to join the League anyway: the League had no fear of being disloyal to the British throne

⁴⁰² see also ‘Letter to Major Summerhayes re: permission for All British League to Visit Rottneest’, 9 June 1915 - 17 June 1915, NAA Series PP14/1, Control 17/1/17, refusing permission for the League to visit Rottneest Island for a ‘curiosity visit’ on the basis of ‘absurd statements made by irresponsible persons’. This is a WA Police report prepared at request of Military Intelligence. Rottneest Island at that time was an internment camp for enemy aliens.

⁴⁰³ ‘All British League | To the Editor’, *The Advertiser*, 18 June 1915, page 10. *The Advertiser* has been published in Adelaide since 1889, a daily newspaper circulating throughout the State with a daily sales in March 1915 of 57,255 copies: ‘Circulation’, *Advertiser*, 13 November 1915, page 18

⁴⁰⁴ Neville Meaney 2013: page 220

⁴⁰⁵ Captain Cromarty is rarely referred to in the press by any other form. Occasionally, he is ‘Capt D C Cromarty’ (‘Sea Scouts’, *The Mail*, 10 April 1915, page 8), and there is a single report of his 20 year old son (no name mentioned) being appointed a professor of architecture at Alberta University in Canada (‘Personal’, *Advertiser*, 6 September 1915, page 6). He has no entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, or any other biographical dictionary that I have consulted.

⁴⁰⁶ ‘All British League | From W R Butler’, *The Register*, 21 June 1915, page 3

(as distinct from the German-blooded King).⁴⁰⁷ A Woman's supporters, such as the influential Methodist preacher the Reverend Henry Howard, on the other hand, stated that the League's rules were so 'narrow and un-British' that he would never join, would prevent "our own Governor's Lady, the Prince of Wales, the Mother-Queen and even the King himself" from joining. Those with an 'admixture of foreign blood', he added, had a splendid record of citizenship.⁴⁰⁸

The responses to A Woman finally led the editor of *The Register*, the conservative newspaper in which the debate mainly took place, to close further correspondence on "the racial question" because it was becoming of inordinate length and resorting to excessive vituperation.⁴⁰⁹ Public discussion of Germanness invoked an appeal by 'traditionalists' to the royal genealogy as an argument against charges of disloyalty among German Australians, which in turn was countered by the All-British League as an act of rudeness than indicated a certain foreignness in the traditionalists. The King's German relatives were becoming controversial.

A Woman's review of the League's objectives did seem to have one concrete effect. Captain Cromarty acknowledged that neither the Governor nor the Chief Justice had been made aware of the addition of the supplementary objects, and implied that they had since withdrawn their patronage of the League.⁴¹⁰ Cromarty went on to attack the anonymous letter writers who wrote "in order to deliver an ill-mannered lecture to His

⁴⁰⁷ 'All British League | From Once Too Tolerant', *The Register*, 21 June 1915, page 5

⁴⁰⁸ 'All British League | From the Rev. Henry Howard', *The Register* (Adelaide), 19 June 1915, page 13. The Governor's wife, Lady Marie Galwey, was the daughter of a Bavarian countess. Sir Harry Galwey was a career imperial servant and his vice-regal term was controversial with his opposition to the White Australia Policy, women's franchise and liquor prohibition, and support for conscription and gambling, see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/galway-sir-henry-lionel-6271>, accessed 6 October 2014.

⁴⁰⁹ 'All British League | Further letters on "the racial question"', *The Register*, 24 June 1915, page 5. *The Register* was published in Adelaide between 1836 and 1931, and was the main daily competitor to *The Advertiser*.

⁴¹⁰ The role of patron had been vacated by the Governor by early 1917 when Sir Josiah Symon, was announced as the new patron: 'All British League | Grand Council Meeting | The New Patron', *The Mail*, 10 February 1917, page 35. Symon was a liberal politician and lawyer, and also involved in the Royal Empire Society and the Anglo-Saxon Club: Don Wright, 'Symon, Sir Josiah Henry (1846–1934)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/symon-sir-josiah-henry-8734/text15293>, published first in hardcopy 1990, accessed online 24 November 2014.

Excellency’.⁴¹¹ Vice-regal patronage of the League was rarely mentioned after this time. Its version of Britishness was rejected by Government House, at least officially.⁴¹²

Apart from responses to the issues raised, A Woman, or ‘those of her lineage’, was also castigated for not only being rude, ill-mannered, and a complainer, but also for ‘no doubt’ being connected with German Australians, likely the wife of a ‘moneyed German’, anxious to cultivate race-hatred, a carping pro-German, and perhaps most cruelly of all, an accusation that A Woman was actually a man, born of pro-German parents in Adelaide. “Let ‘Woman’ come out of darkness into light” taunted her accuser.⁴¹³ A Woman let her original critique of the League sit without further comment, but the projection onto women of a potent mix of cultural anxieties about the war, Germanness and the royal family will arise again in this chapter.

Undeterred by this controversy, the League persisted in its campaigns and had a spectacular success with cleansing the map of South Australia of German place names. By mid-1916, a year after the ‘racialist’ controversy, anti-German attitudes were hardening and more frenzied.⁴¹⁴ In May, *The Mail* published a map of South Australia showing a sprawl of German toponyms, followed a week later by a hysterical article urging their removal under the headline “Deutschland Über Süd Australien”.⁴¹⁵ The Germans had removed English names in Germany, claimed *The Mail*, and the Tsar had changed Teutonic St Petersburg to Russian Petrograd. Tolerance, by contrast, had distinguished British communities, so that the Prince of Wales, for example, retained the

⁴¹¹ All British League | From D S Cromarty, Hon Secretary, All British League, *The Register*, 21 June 1915, page 3

⁴¹² Sir Harry Galway may have continued to provide some private support – see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/galway-sir-henry-lionel-6271>, accessed 6 October 2014; also ‘All British League | Grand Council Meeting | The New Patron’, op. cit., which stated “All are aware that his [Sir Henry’s] sympathies are none the less with the league.”

⁴¹³ ‘All British League | From GLJ’, *The Register*, 24 June 1915, page 5

⁴¹⁴ Similar attitudes were reported from other dominions, such as ‘South Africa | Motives of Rebellion’, *Weekly Times* (Victoria), 6 March 1915, page 30, reporting that “racialist republican ideals” were behind a Boer rebellion that aimed to release interned Germans, march on Pretoria, and “raise the republican flag”.

⁴¹⁵ ‘Deutschland Ueber Sued Australien | Work for the Government Christener’, *The Mail*, 27 May 1916, page 10; ‘Deutschland Über Süd Australien | How does the Government regard German names?’, *The Mail*, 3 June 1916, page 10. At this time, Germany had just suspended unrestricted submarine warfare, the Battle of Jutland was fought in which the Royal Navy (including Australian and Canadian ships) lost 6,094 seamen and 113,300 tons of shipping, and Lord Kitchener, British Secretary of State for War, drowned when HMS Hampshire struck a German mine off the Orkney Islands in the North Sea.

German motto *Ich Dien* on his coat of arms. However, editorialized *The Mail*, German names and the ‘gutteral language’ were becoming ‘outrageously offensive’ by association with German military brutality, and the most offensive example was Kaisterstuhl, or the Emperor’s Seat, near Tanunda. This place name showed the characteristic audacity of Germanic thinking “in applying such an appellation to a portion of a British range of hills”.⁴¹⁶ Another example was Sedan that, although French, had been named by German settlers to commemorate the Prussian victory over Napoleon III, a victory they still secretly celebrated every year. Any traveller to South Australia, claimed *The Mail*, would think that the Kaiser, not King George, was ruler of the land. A “few drab, unimaginative, anaemic and ductile individuals” might object, but the motives for removing German names were because they were now disagreeable. In support of its quest *The Mail* quoted Henry de Halsalle, author of the best-selling and sensationalist *Degenerate Germany*, who had written: “Germany is beyond question the most vice-ridden country in Europe. She is as libidinous as the American negro, and vastly more diseased”.⁴¹⁷ Thus, claimed *The Mail*, any German who objected to changing the names was inherently disloyal and should be immediately interned.⁴¹⁸

On the other hand, *The Register* cautioned against purity in regard to place names, noting that it was not always simple to decide which was a ‘British’ name: “One need not go beyond the Royal Family to illustrate the ease with which confusion may arise” wrote the editor.⁴¹⁹ However, rather than opposition to the move, *The Register* could only advance some gentle derision: “It would be small consolation to a permanently disabled soldier a year or two hereafter to reflect that, even if he were not sufficiently fed and

⁴¹⁶ ‘German Names Must Go | British Spirit and Sentiment Thoroughly Aroused | Pseudo-Patriots Vigorously Condemned’, *The Mail*, 17 June 1916, page 10

⁴¹⁷ *Degenerate Germany*, T. Werner Laurie, London 1916. Online edition available here <https://archive.org/details/degenerategerman00halsuoft>, accessed 5 October 2014. De Halsalle is a shadowy figure, described variously as an intelligence officer and a journalist, author of several moralistic tracts on the allegedly sordid behaviour of German women, actors, homosexuals and others he classed as degenerate; he also railed against using the term Anglo-Saxon as being a Germanic term.

⁴¹⁸ ‘German Names Must Go | British Spirit and Sentiment Thoroughly Aroused | Pseudo-Patriots Vigorously Condemned’, *The Mail*, 17 June 1916, page 10

⁴¹⁹ ‘German Names’, *The Register*, 12 July 1916, page 6

cared for, at any rate “Kaiserstuhl”, of which probably he had never previously heard, had been turned into some other less offensive specimen of nomenclature”.⁴²⁰

In early August the South Australian Parliament passed a unanimous resolution to remove all place names of an ‘enemy origin’ and replace them with British or South Australian ‘native names’ (that is, Aboriginal names). The offending Kaisterstuhl was highlighted, as was the imagined probability that, if the Germans won the war, they would undoubtedly rename King William Street as Kaiser Wilhelm Strasse.⁴²¹ Meaney argues that anti-conscriptionists never really considered what would happen to Australia if Germany won the war, but for the German-baiters such imaginings were vital to their cause.⁴²² Their fear was usually expressed, not as a fear of German invasion, but of a German victory over Britain resulting in Australia being claimed by the Germans as booty, a valuable addition to their colonial empire. The parliamentary debate was as single-sided as *The Mail’s* coverage of the issue and, perhaps not surprisingly, *The Mail* was thanked by several MPs for its campaign on the matter. At least 96 German-language place names were removed from the South Australian landscape under the *Nomenclature Act 1917*.⁴²³ It was the largest mass toponymic cleansing of a landscape in Australia during the war.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁰ ‘German Names’, *The Register*, 12 July 1916, page 6

⁴²¹ ‘German Names Doomed | Parliament Orders Change | Legislators’ Unanimous Vote | “The Mail” Thanked | “No More Loyalty In Germans Than In A Fly”, *The Mail*, 5 August 1916, page 10

⁴²² Neville Meaney 2009: pages 208, 212

⁴²³ *Nomenclature Act 1917*, Act No 1284, accessible at

http://www5.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/sa/num_act/na1284o1917196/; ‘Nomenclature Act 1917 | Change of Place Names’, *South Australian Government Gazette*, 10 January 1918, page 37, accessible at http://www5.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1918/2.pdf

⁴²⁴ A list of changed names across Australia was published in the *Year Book of Australia*, 1926 edition, although it is not certain whether this is a definitive listing. Accessible at

www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/featurearticlesbytitle/B3FA8BA897D1908DCA2569DE0025C1A7?OpenDocument

Figure 4.1 | The German throne in South Australia



Kaisterstubl, 'An outrageously offensive name for a British range of hills', emblematic of the toponyms that were associated with the increasingly controversial 'mixed descent' of the royal family and encapsulated in the royal house name of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

Source: *The Mail*, 3 June 1916, page 10

Some parliamentarians questioned whether such a change would alienate German Australians for generations to come, but the mover of the motion, William Ponder, replied that any German who did not like it could go back to Prussia, and the sooner the better. The All-British League's campaign, which had almost floundered on the racialist question and the withdrawal of vice-regal patronage, had now captured the whole South Australian parliament, and once again the German ancestry of the royal family had been dragged into public controversy. Compared to the 'racialist' issue, any arguments against the mass cleansing of German toponyms were muted and derided.

The activities of the All-British League in South Australia need to be placed in a wider context. Just as the League's activities became increasingly fevered, other factors also came into play. The Easter Rising in Dublin over a week in April 1916 at first attracted little press coverage in Australia, but this gradually changed. Early reports concentrated upon supposed German support for the rebels, and it was this that attracted a virulent response from the Catholic press, especially in Sydney.⁴²⁵ The focus of this response

⁴²⁵ 'Irish Rebels | German Ammunition', *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 May 1916, page 6; 'The Irish Rebellion | German General's Surrender with Sinn Feiners', *Gundagai Times*, 9 May 1916, page 4; 'German Fiction |

was the shared genealogy of the British and German royal families. “The present reigning house in England, the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha ... is a German house”, stated *The Catholic Press* unequivocally, and so from a ‘racial descent’ point of view it was entirely accurate to say that the Kaiser is half English.⁴²⁶ This inversion of the claims that the British royals were partly German to a claim that the German royals were partly English, and both were racially impure, added a new tension to the changing social environment. Various ‘histories’ of the royal dynasties and surnames of Wettin, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Hanover and Guelph, all indicating shared Germanic origins of the two royal houses, became common fare in some newspapers, especially in apparent responses to reader’s inquiries.⁴²⁷ They presented an alternative history of royalty that, among other things, emphasized Orangism as a form of subversion in Ireland supported by Germanic elements in the English royal family, the continuing payment from the Civil List of incomes to royals living in Germany, the head of the Church of England being required to be a Protestant descendant of German Hanoverians, the dynastic network that encouraged ‘Teutonic princelings’ to permeate foreign courts through marriage and turn them into assets of ‘Deutschtum’ (cultural Germanness), and German Lutheranism and Anglicanism being essentially the same (non-Catholic) denomination. Meaney provides another perspective on this ‘history making’, enunciated especially by Mannix, that stressed the Irishness of Catholics in Australia and positioned them as suffering constant persecution since 1788 at the hands of the English Protestant ascendancy. Protestants still denied them their proper place in public and political life, a suffering only mediated by the church maintaining a separate system of parish schools that ensured the survival of their “inherited Irish qualities”.⁴²⁸

Irish Revenge’, *West Australian*, 18 May 1916, page 5; ‘Some British Traitors | Casement’s Disloyalty’, *Great Southern Star*, 2 June 1916, page 2; ‘German-Irish League’, *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 1 March 1917, page 6; ‘Irish Unrest | German Propaganda’, *Northern Times* (Newcastle), 25 October 1917, page 1

⁴²⁶ ‘The Kaiser’s English Blood’, *The Catholic Press* (Sydney), 29 June 1916, page 4

⁴²⁷ ‘Answers to Correspondents | “Troglodyte” (Warranga)’, *The Australasian* (Melbourne), 29 July 1916, page 25; ‘Queries and Answers | The Duke of Edinburgh’, and ‘Salary of the English Royal Family’, *The Catholic Press*, 10 August 1916, page 8; ‘Matrimony the Kaiser’s Ally | German Connections with European Thrones’, *Daily News* (Perth), 31 August 1916, page 6 [and 13 other newspapers in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia]; ‘The Untouched Crucifix | The Catholic background to the War’, *Freeman’s Journal* (Sydney), 21 June 1917, page 3

⁴²⁸ Meaney 2009: page 209

By the end of 1917 a further layering of this ‘history’ had evolved that positioned Ireland as the only truly non-German nation or race in the British Empire.⁴²⁹ In this narrative the Welsh, the Scots and especially the English had for centuries been ‘enthusiastic’ for all things Germanic. Only the Irish had supported the French in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, it was claimed, while the Scots had been happy to be flattered by the Saxe-Coburg-Gothas wearing kilts and adopting Highland ways, and the Welsh kept the Germanic motto of *Ich Dien* on the escutcheon of the heir to the throne. The racial inferiority of the royal family implied by the All-British League in South Australia was further complicated by a layer, also couched in a language of racial distinction and hierarchy, of Irish separateness promoted through the Catholic press in Sydney and Melbourne in which the royal family served as a metaphor for a Germanic and inherently repressive ‘English’ state.

Both these anti-German and anti-Irish narratives bled into other narratives of discontent, notably a more general story of an inherently degraded character in the dynastic network of royalty, attributed to its German characteristics, and the intensive and highly divisive conscription referenda of October 1916 and December 1917. Stories about the dynastic network in Europe were appearing in the Australian press in increasing numbers during 1916 and early 1917. The principal targets, apart from the Kaiser, were his son-in-law King Constantine of Greece (mocked as ‘Tino’) and King Ferdinand of Bulgaria (derided as ‘the fox’).⁴³⁰ To this trio was added, after the abdication of the Tsar of all the Russias in February 1917, the Tsarina and through her all royal women with German ancestry, especially Queen Sophia of Greece. The characteristics of the male dynasts were listed as vice and debauchery (especially of a sexual nature), greed, meanness, laziness, self-indulgence, cunning, treachery, planting *Deutschtum* wherever they went, and grovelling subservience to the Kaiser. The Tsarina, a cousin of the Kaiser, was already being assailed long before the abdication as an agent of a “crafty and mischievous” German influence in Petrograd, a “mole” in the

⁴²⁹ ‘Irish always Anti-German | Historical facts’, *The Catholic Press*, 13 December 1917, page 12;

⁴³⁰ ‘King of the Bulgars | “A Royal Adventurer” | His Vices Outlined’, *Berringa Herald* (Victoria), 22 January 1916, page 3; ‘Matrimony the Kaiser’s Ally | German Connections with European Thrones’, *Daily News* (Perth), 31 August 1916, page 6; ‘Alien Sovereigns’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 21 September 1916, page 4; ‘Fox’, *Cowra Free Press*, 23 December 1916, page 3

global burrowings of the dynasts.⁴³¹ After the abdication the contumely heaped upon the Tsarina flourished, with the weak-willed Tsar “having failed to prevent his consort from becoming a dangerous instrument ... the treasonable actions of the ex-Czarina with the foes of Russia”.⁴³² Queen Sophia, sister of the Kaiser, was similarly cast as an agent of Berlin in Athens, thwarting the Allied inclinations of the Greek people by controlling her husband, and tempting speculation in Australian press reports of “whether Greece will adopt a Republican form of government”.⁴³³ The Catholic papers by mid-1917 were also reporting on republican undercurrents in Sweden, Norway and Spain that would soon overthrow their German Lutheran dynast sovereigns.⁴³⁴ While some opinion writers thought “Women are rarely ‘political creatures’ in the Aristotelian sense, and readily adopt the country of their consorts”, the bulk of the reportage cast the alien queens as harridans, dominating their weak-willed husbands, devious and always willing to do the bidding of the Kaiser, aliens in their kingdoms and ultimately responsible for the fall of their thrones.⁴³⁵ And always a connection was made or intimated with the British Saxe-Coburg-Gothas.

The conscription referenda added another element to this increasingly overwrought atmosphere, perhaps encapsulated in a slogan used during both referendum campaigns, “King or Kaiser”, in which a vote against conscription was cast as a disloyal vote for the Kaiser and Deutschtum, and a vote in favour as a loyal vote for the King and Britishness.⁴³⁶ In 1916 this was countered by arguments that conscription was a Prussian or German institution, which all Germans in Australia “are whooping for”.⁴³⁷ Added to this was a further argument that a referendum was itself not a British institution, as it bypassed parliamentary government that “is the only guarantee against

⁴³¹ ‘Matrimony the Kaiser’s Ally | German Connections with European Thrones’, *Daily News* (Perth), 31 August 1916, page 6

⁴³² ‘Only One Exiled ex-Monarch Left in Paris’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 June 1917, page 3

⁴³³ ‘Alien Sovereigns’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 21 September 1916, page 4; ‘The Position of Greece’, *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 23 September 1916, page 4

⁴³⁴ ‘Only One Exiled ex-Monarch Left in Paris’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 June 1917, page 3. The fact that the Spanish king was a Catholic Bourbon was apparently overlooked

⁴³⁵ ‘Matrimony the Kaiser’s Ally | German Connections with European Thrones’, *Daily News* (Perth), 31 August 1916, page 6

⁴³⁶ ‘King or Kaiser’ | “Antis” and German Capital’, *The Ballarat Courier*, 14 October 1916, page 4

⁴³⁷ ‘Germany Conquers!’, *Truth* (Melbourne), 21 October 1916, page 4

revolutionary disorder”.⁴³⁸ By late 1917, a strong anti-Irish tone inflected the second referendum campaign. Archbishop Mannix in Melbourne was accused of equating, “with sinister intention”, British rule in Ireland and German rule in Belgium, and of supporting “the outbreak of Sinn Feinism backed by bloody German gold”.⁴³⁹ Meaney argues that Mannix was essentially an opportunist motivated by his inability to obtain public funding for Catholic schools, but nevertheless his fiery commentary and open opposition to conscription tarred all Catholics and Irish with the taint of disloyalty to the Empire of which Australia was a part.⁴⁴⁰ Anti-conscriptionists continued to argue that conscription was Prussianism, a form of slavery, in which a man was forced to bayonet a German and was no longer a free agent, which further ostracised German Australians but failed to engender a sense among ultra-loyalists that there could be a loyal opposition to conscription.⁴⁴¹ The virulence of the All British League and the Anti-German Leagues found a voice in the rules for the second referendum. While residents of the Federal territories (Capital Territory, Northern Territory, Papua and Norfolk Island) and service personnel under 21 years were enfranchised, any naturalized British subject born in an ‘enemy country’, or whose father was born in an enemy country was disenfranchised.⁴⁴² Meaney notes that South Australia was the only state to record a fall in the No vote (to conscription) in the second referendum, which both he and Beaumont attribute to the disenfranchisement of the Germans.⁴⁴³

A sense of the storm raging around the Anglo-German House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha amongst its Australian subjects can be imagined when these sentiments are set in the context of the anti-Germanism exemplified by the All British League, and the Irish

⁴³⁸ ‘The Wasp’, *The Newsletter: An Australian Paper for Australian People* (Sydney), 28 October 1916, page 7

⁴³⁹ Editorial, *The Argus* (Melbourne), 10 November 1917, page 20

⁴⁴⁰ Neville Meaney 2009: 207

⁴⁴¹ ‘Dr Hughes Again | Speech at Bundaberg’, *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton), 21 December 1917, page 8

⁴⁴² ‘Conscription | The Form of Question | Some Naturalised Subjects Disqualified’, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 12 November 1917, page 7. The Australian Capital Territory was formally named as such in 1938, before which it was officially the Territory for the Seat of Government and informally the Federal Capital Territory: ‘Federal Capital Territory | Proposed Change of Name | Unnecessary Proposal in Bill | Heavy Cost Will Be Involved’, *Canberra Times*, 3 December 1937, page 1

⁴⁴³ Neville Meaney 2009: page 223; Joan Beaumont 2013: page 387. However, such an analysis would tend to support an All-British League assertion that German Australians would vote No to decrease the Imperial forces and increase the likelihood of a German victory, suggesting the result might instead indicate unhappiness among many British South Australians over the persecution, or at least the extremist tenor of it. Beaumont suggests the reasons for the result are more complex than attributed at the time or later: pages 387-389

nationalism of the Catholic press that was increasingly anti-English and anti-monarchical while locked into a duet with Irish loyalist claims that the rebels were simply German stooges.⁴⁴⁴ Coupled with a more general equating of royal dynasticism with an insidious Deutschtum that had already set aside a site for the Kaiser's new Australian throne near Tanunda in South Australia, the storm was embroiling ideas about the Crown and dynasty within a larger conflict of ideas about Britishness in Australia. Not Britishness as a nationality, but as an ideal or as a set of values, perhaps encapsulated in the conflict between ideas of racial purity and admixture but also in claims about the value of parliamentary forms and voluntary democracy. Meaney notes that the anti-conscriptionists raised issues about retaining men in White Australia to defend it against Japanese duplicity, and quotes journalist Keith Murdoch's attribution for the referendum failure to a greater fear of Japan than Germany.⁴⁴⁵ However, this does not seem to have been an issue in South Australia, certainly not in the press. Although never publicly stated, there was an implicit question by mid-1917 of whether King George was British enough, or would follow the fate of his relatives in Petrograd and Athens.

II | The World's Greatest Monarch

King George, it seems, had already been reading the signs and by mid-1917 he was ready to act. In 1915 all members of the dynasty in countries at war with Britain were expelled or 'degraded' by the King from the Order of the Garter, the oldest and most prestigious British order of chivalry. These included Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Austro-Hungarian Emperor-King, along with the King of Württemberg, the Grand Duke of Hesse, Prince Henry of Prussia, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and the Duke of Cumberland.⁴⁴⁶ This, claimed the press reports, was the first time any members had been degraded from the Garter since 1793, and the banners of their arms were torn

⁴⁴⁴ Charles Townshend, *The Republic: The Fight for Irish Independence 1918-1923*, Allen Lane, London 2013, pages xiii – xx, argues that before 1916 republicanism in Ireland was a means to an end, separation from the UK, and that it only became an objective in its own right because of the heavy-handed British response to the Easter rising. Sinn Féin leaders, especially Arthur Griffiths, were republicans in a 'Garibaldi mode', meaning they accepted constitutional monarchy as essentially a republican form.

⁴⁴⁵ Neville Meaney 2009: pages 222-223

⁴⁴⁶ 'Order of the Garter | Dealing With Foreign Royalties', *Brisbane Courier*, 17 May 1915, page 7

down by the Earl Marshall from the Order's chapel at Windsor Castle.⁴⁴⁷ The Order had already made an appearance in the press when King George invested King Albert of Belgium as a knight of the Order on the battlefield in Flanders, an event notable for being the first battlefield investiture, it was claimed, since at least 1642.⁴⁴⁸ Some months after the investiture and the degradings, *The Catholic Press* carried a long article in July 1915 on the history of the Order, founded when England was still Catholic, noting that the Queen and the Queen-Mother were the only two 'lady-members', but that historically there had been many lady members, including all of the (Catholic) queens-consort up to the reign of Henry VII, and more could be expected in the future.⁴⁴⁹ The Catholic press was not adverse to intimating some sort of unspoken recusant empathies in the royal family when responding to accusations of Irish disloyalty, especially after Easter 1916. As shown in Figure 4.2, by 1918 this could include provocatively deriding their Protestant accusers. German South Australians were unable to advance similar claims.

Perhaps it was the changes in the Order of the Garter in 1915, or more precisely the way the changes were made, that suggested a response to the troubling times. Late in 1914 questions about removing the British titles and coats of arms of 'traitor dukes' were raised by Swift MacNeill KC, Irish Nationalist MP in the House of Commons.⁴⁵⁰

The traitor dukes or 'alien peers' MacNeill specifically identified were the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Albany. Cumberland was also Crown Prince of Hanover and a nephew of George V. Albany was also Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and a cousin

⁴⁴⁷ 'Order of the Garter | Degradations of Germans | Method of Procedure | Duke of Monmouth's Case', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 17 May 1915, page 2; 'Order of the Garter | Expelled Germans' Banners Torn Down', *The Capricornian* (Rockhampton), 22 May 1915, page 8. The Earl Marshall is the chief heraldic official in England and Wales and a member of the royal household, not the civil service. The office is hereditary, and held by the Dukes of Norfolk.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Order of the Garter | Investiture of King Albert', *The Argus*, 29 January 1915, page 5; 'King Albert KC', *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 17 February 1915, page 4.

⁴⁴⁹ 'The Order of the Garter | When Was It Instituted | the Days When Great Ladies Were Admitted', *The Catholic Press*, 22 July 1915, page 7. For some discussion of the tensions during the Tudor reigns between expunging Roman Catholicism from the Order and maintaining its perceived English roots, see Stephanie Trigg's *Shame and Honor: A vulgar history of the Order of the Garter*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2012: pages 181-183.

⁴⁵⁰ House of Commons Debates, 18 November 1914, Volume 68 cc437-8W, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1914/nov/18/alien-peers#S5CV0068P0_19141118_CWA_25, accessed 9 October 2014

of George V. Both also commanded troops in the German Army and “engaged in active hostilities against the Sovereign and people of the British Empire”.⁴⁵¹ Prime Minister Asquith, and his successor Lloyd George, did not actively pursue this issue, but MacNeill eventually succeeded in having a Titles Deprivation Bill introduced into the Commons that provided for the appointment of a committee of the Privy Council to examine all such claims about British peers and royals, and recommend whether they should be deprived of their British titles and coats of arms. The Bill was assented to by the King in November 1917, and the committee issued its report in August 1918 recommending four deprivations. The ‘alien peers’ Bill slowly made its way through the parliament in London throughout 1916 and 1917 and contributed to keeping the ‘Germanness’ of the Saxe-Coburg-Gothas in public conversation in Australia.⁴⁵² As *The Catholic Press* rather pointedly noted, Germans could no longer be magistrates in New South Wales or South Australia, but they could still serve as Privy Councillors in England.⁴⁵³ While clearly a polemical point, it also suggests that Lake’s sudden Australia-wide destruction of Anglo-Saxonism needs to be tempered by attention to highly variable local circumstances.

Peers can only be removed from the House of Lords by a parliamentary vote, and the time taken over the Titles Deprivation Bill provided endless opportunities for slights and snide commentary of the royal family’s German connections.⁴⁵⁴ By comparison the sudden and complete break with those royal relatives achieved through their degradation from the Order of the Garter had provided a rapid and more obviously responsive approach through exercising the royal prerogative. In June 1917 the King

⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵¹ House of Commons Debates, 18 November 1914, Volume 68 cc437-8W,

http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1914/nov/18/alien-peers#S5CV0068P0_19141118_CWA_25, accessed 9 October 2014

⁴⁵² ‘Fighting With Germany | Dukes Not Struck Off’, *Singleton Argus*, 15 January 1916, page 5; ‘British-German Dukes’, *Gilgandra Weekly*, 21 January 1915, page 14; ‘Traitors in High Places’, *Albury Banner & Wodonga Express*, 7 April 1916, page 45; ‘Some British Traitors’, *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 23 May 1916, page 6; ‘The Duke of Edinburgh’, *The Catholic Press*, 10 August 1916, page 8; ‘Titles Deprivation Bill Read A Second Time’, *Examiner* (Launceston), 19 July 1917, page 5; ‘The Peerage | Expulsion of Enemy Subjects’, *The Age* (Melbourne), 19 July 1917, page 12; ‘German Dukes and the Peerage’, *Brisbane Courier*, 19 July 1917, page 7.

⁴⁵³ ‘Queries and Answers | Justices of the Peace Who Are Germans’, *The Catholic Press*, 10 August 1916, page 8

⁴⁵⁴ <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/briefings/snpc-05148.pdf>, accessed 9 October 2014

announced that two of his close relatives, the Tecks (Queen Mary's family) and the Battenbergs (his cousins) who lived in Britain and served in the British forces would be discarding their German names and titles. The Tecks became Cambridges with the title Marquess of Cambridge, and the Battenbergs became Mounbattens with the title Marquess of Milford Haven.⁴⁵⁵ Both families were regularly reported upon in Australia through the social columns of the newspapers, and Queen Mary was well known from her visit in 1901 as the Duchess of York when her husband opened the first Commonwealth Parliament in Melbourne.⁴⁵⁶

This change had been made “owing to war conditions”, and some of the reporting also included coverage of another change.⁴⁵⁷ Suggestions were being made, although by whom was never very clear, that the name Saxe-Coburg-Gotha could be changed to the Royal House of Britain. Of significance to the King's subjects overseas was the additional note contained in all the reporting in Australia that this would be “a title which would embrace the dominions”.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁵ ‘No German Titles’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1917, page 13 [and 7 other papers the same day]; ‘Peerages for Princes | German Names Must Go | King George's Wish’, *Evening News* (Sydney), 20 June 1917, page 1.

⁴⁵⁶ ‘People You Hear About’, *The World's News* (Sydney), 1 January 1916, page 32; ‘Madame Pauline Donalds | “Melba Minor” | The Story of War and a Woman's Heart’, *Jewish Herald* (Melbourne), 25 August 1916, page 15; ‘Personal’, *The West Australian*, 19 January 1917, page 8; ‘Random Gatherings’, *The Queenslander*, 2 June 1917, page 7.

⁴⁵⁷ ‘No German Titles’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1917, page 13

⁴⁵⁸ ‘No German Titles’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 1917, page 13; ‘German names Dropped | Title of Royal Family’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 3 July 1917, page 6; ‘The German Taint’, *West Australian*, 30 June 1917, page 7; ‘War Briefs’, *Geelong Advertiser*, 30 June 1917, page 3; ‘Royal House of Britain’, *Northern Times*, 30 June 1917, page 1; ‘The House of Britain’, *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 30 June 1917, page 4.



The Irish and Catholic newspapers in Melbourne and Sydney occasionally attempted to establish an alternative narrative of royal respect for the loyalty of Irish Catholics with images such as these.

source: *The Advocate* (Melbourne), 11 May 1918, page 24; also published (photo and caption) in *Tribune* (Melbourne), 9 May 1918, page 4; and *The Catholic Press*, 16 May 1918, page 24

For a brief moment, it seemed the King of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas would be founding a new Royal House of Britain. That moment soon passed, but what had been demonstrated was the power of the King, by the use of his royal prerogative, to achieve rapidly and with a finality what the long passage of the Titles Deprivation Bill could not, a dramatic and symbolic transformation of royal Germans into royal Britons. Back in 1916 a letter writer to *The Mercury* in Hobart had stated as a truism "It is a well-

known fact that a naturalized German is still a German subject”.⁴⁵⁹ Now, having removed royal Germans from the most ancient chivalric order, announced the Anglicising of the names and titles of his once-German relatives, and floated an idea of renaming the Royal House in honour of the dominions, no time was left for any such ‘well know facts’ about the royal family to enter the public discourse before the King’s real intentions became clear.

A perhaps unexpected narrative taking place around the same time referred to the royal family members living in ‘non-German’ states losing their rights to succession in the various German thrones. The Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, it was reported, was removing non-German members of the ducal family from the succession to the ducal throne.⁴⁶⁰ There was a clear implication that the British royals could not be so German after all if the Germans were rejecting them. But the *Sydney Morning Herald* managed to observe that, despite all these changes, “the business of completely dissociating British and German institutions is not yet complete”, and while the proposed change to the Royal House of Britain was “seemingly unimportant in the clash of the world war, it will yet serve an important purpose ... future historians will have to explain this remarkable action by the world’s greatest monarch”.⁴⁶¹

III | The House of Windsor

Back in Adelaide in early 1915 A Woman had invoked ‘the old traditions’ to try and overcome the racialism of German scapegoaters. Within days of the vague announcements about a House of Britain, the newspapers across Australia were reporting on the complete rejection of his royal German relatives and privileges, and by implication of the whole European dynastic network, by ‘the world’s greatest monarch’.

“The King signed a proclamation, announcing that he had adopted the family name of Windsor, and had relinquished all German titles and dignities” read The *Sydney Morning*

⁴⁵⁹ ‘The Aliens Question | W.R.A.’, *The Mercury*, 14 September 1916, page 7

⁴⁶⁰ ‘Jottings’, *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 2 June 1917, page 12

⁴⁶¹ ‘British Royal House’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 July 1917, page 7

Herald's lead story that was replicated across the country.⁴⁶² They all noted two matters of particular interest to Australian readers. One was the presence at the Privy Council meeting at which the King signed the proclamation of the Australian High Commissioner and former Labor Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, and the South African High Commissioner and former Cape Liberal Prime Minister, WP Schreiner KC.⁴⁶³ The dominions had been present at the very heart of this decision. The other was that the male descendants of the King who were not in the line of succession would become, after a few generations, plain Mr Windsor. This was welcomed as in the spirit of democracy, almost as if something 'Australian' was becoming part of royalty. David Cannadine has argued there was a democratising of the monarchy at this time in Britain, characterized by a focus on royal patronage of welfare groups, peripateticism connected with the extension of the franchise, the introduction of a merit base into the honours system, and acknowledgement of the different nations constituting the UK.⁴⁶⁴

The other matter in the reportage was the new name was "entirely English in its history", which would "give gratification throughout the Empire". Over the next few months, the nature of this English history was spelled-out in feature articles and opinion pieces in the press, and the emphasis was placed firmly on a royal lineage stretching far back, over several dynasties, to before the Norman conquest; and to a sacralising of the dynasty and its most sacred site, with which it was said to have been associated since the very idea of Englishness had first risen from the dark ages of post-Roman Britain, Windsor Castle. The change of name was neither a radical nor panicked response, instead it was presented as the workings of ancient, venerable and English 'tradition'.

⁴⁶² 'House of Windsor | Royalty's New Name', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1917, page 7. Some 40 different newspapers carried this same story, some in abridged or extended versions, around Australia. The official notice was in *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, No 121, 2 August 1917, page 1

⁴⁶³ Schreiner was the son of a German missionary in the Cape Colony, and an advocate of liberal approaches to the inclusion of African, Coloured and other groups in the Union: see 'The Late Right Hon. William Philip Schreiner KC CMG', *The South African Law Journal*, No 1, Vol 36, 1919: pages 392-393; 'William Philip Schreiner, South African Politician', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Philip-Schreiner> accessed 23 January 2017

⁴⁶⁴ David Cannadine, *Making History Now and Then: Discoveries, Controversies and Explorations*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2008, Chapter 2 'Monarchy', pages 52-53

The reporting in the dominions varies in emphasis. New Zealand matches the volume of reporting in Australia, but in Canada it seems to evoke little interest, although the ‘history’ of dynastic Windsor is similar in tone.⁴⁶⁵ In the British press, the reporting was often accompanied by local witticisms, such as in Manchester where there were 21 ‘Windsors’ in the local area including a confectioner, a wheelwright and a fried fish dealer, or associated with the dominions as in Liverpool where the story was paired with a story on the King’s visit to the Western Front where he visited an ‘Australian Sports Day’, or came with a history of the dynasty’s essential Britishness.⁴⁶⁶ The British reporting, like the Australian, reflects Cannadine’s democratisation argument and Meaney’s promise of realising democratic Britishness in the dominions.

The characteristics and workings of the tradition, as articulated in the Australian press, had four main inter-related elements: Windsor was ‘English’ in its historical associations, it was a ‘natural’ choice for a dynastic name, the new dynastic rules were ‘democratising’, and it would be welcomed throughout the Empire. This ‘tradition’ relied upon innovation to invoke a reimagining among the King’s subjects of the Crown itself.

The first element, and that which attracted the most description, were certain historical associations of the name evoked as a legitimating device. These descriptions sought to invoke a mythical or very distant past in which Windsor Castle was the seat of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, and then of the English kings of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy; it was where Edward III founded the Order of the Garter in about 1340 and was still the site of the Order’s chapel; it had been immortalized by Shakespeare’s account of the legendary Herne the Hunter (itself a representation of the mythic Green Man, spirit of the primeval forest) in his 1597 play *The Merry Wives of*

⁴⁶⁵ [New Zealand] ‘British Royal House | German name Dropped’, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 July 1917: page 5; ‘Royal House of Windsor’, *Marlborough Express*, 20 July 1917: page 2; ‘The New Surname’, *Northern Advocate*, 19 July 1917: page 2; ‘British Royal House’, *Wanganui Herald*, 18 July 1917: page 5; ‘Eliminating German’, *North Otago Times*, 19 July 1917: page 7; ‘Royal House of Britain’, *Dominion*, 20 July 1917: page 5 [Canada] ‘Happenings of The Week’, *Charlottetown Guardian*, 21 July 1917 – there may be more Canadian reportage, but digitisation of Canadian newspapers is comparatively limited.

⁴⁶⁶ ‘King’s New Name’, *Manchester Evening News*, 17 July 1917: page 2; ‘British Royal Family’ and ‘The King at The Front’, *Liverpool Daily Post*, 18 July 1917: page 4; ‘The House of Windsor | King Adopts a New Family Name | German Taint Eliminated’, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 July 1917: page 1

Windsor, it was where Charles I had been held pending his execution in 1649; it had been the principal royal residence since before the Conquest, and so on.⁴⁶⁷

This history made Windsor a ‘natural choice’ of name. As a name with such a history it cleansed alien (non-British) influences and emphasized the ‘national character’ of the dynasty, and in doing so showed the fundamental difference between British and German (and other European) ideas of kingship. British kings, it was stated, have understood that they were the hereditary heads of republican states, something they had learnt long ago from years of bitter civil wars, a route which the Germans had yet to traverse.

This natural, national character of the name Windsor, shed of its recent (Hanoverian and Saxe-Coburg) German influences, was emphasized by returning to the more ‘democratic’ traditions of the ancient past. Princely status would be based on merit and limited to the immediate family of the king, and scions (that is, those not in the direct line of succession) would return in a few generations through the nobility to the gentry and the commonalty. Windsor would, for them, be simply a surname. Thus the meritorious ‘English’ character of the dynasty and the Crown was restored and the extended dynasties of continental royalty, a recent accretion, could be abandoned.⁴⁶⁸

Finally, this restoration of a truly English dynasty would also be the institution of a British dynasty for the whole Empire. Marrying into European royal dynasties, a practice that arose, it was said, from the need to avoid marrying into the peerage and being perceived to be taking sides during the English civil wars, was no longer necessary

⁴⁶⁷ The Kaiser apparently responded by ordering a gala performance of the Merry Wives of Saxe-Coburg Gotha: ‘Apt Notes and Pertinent Quotes’, *Westralian Worker*, 8 April 1921, page 5; Geoffrey Dennis, *Coronation Commentary*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1937, page 40; also noted in Miranda Carter, *George, Nicholas and Wilhelm: Three Royal Cousins and the Road to World War I*, Knopf Doubleday, New York 2010, page xxiii

⁴⁶⁸ This medievalist and meritocratic ‘tradition’ of English royalty had been a feature of popular children’s fiction and educational writing for some years. Just a few examples include GA Henty, *St George For England: A Tale of Cressy and Poitiers*, Blackie and Son, London 1909; Percy F. Westerman, ‘Under King Henry’s Banner: A story of the days of Agincourt’, Chapters I – XXIX, *Young Australia Illustrated Magazine for Boys*, Twentieth Annual Volume 1912, Pilgrim Press, London 1912; Rev. J Wallis, *The Welding of the Race 449-1066: English History Source Books*, G. Bell & Sons, London 1913; Lord Lytton, *Harold: The Last of the Saxon Kings*, SW Partridge & Co., London 1916

and would be replaced by royal sons taking British wives from within the Empire. The ancient royal pedigree stretched back to Cerdic of Wessex and Malcolm Canmore of Scotland, a pedigree both Anglo and Celtic that reflected the British communities in the Empire.⁴⁶⁹ It was this “intimate association through that ancestry with the history and growth of the British nation that King George wishes to impress upon both his own family and the peoples of the Empire”.⁴⁷⁰

This was a powerful narrative about a tradition in which king and people were closely intertwined, with a shared ancestry that was emotional, spiritual and ideological more than it was biological. The first element established a continuity with the past, a past deeper than any historical research could verify. The second element, using an idea of ‘naturalness’, named this continuity not as medieval but as part of an enduring national character. Having invented this continuity and its character, the third element was an innovation masked as a restoration in the abandonment of extended dynastic relationships. The fourth extended this tradition by the novelty of moving the dominions from the imperial periphery to the centre, equal with the metropole through a shared dynasty and common genealogy.

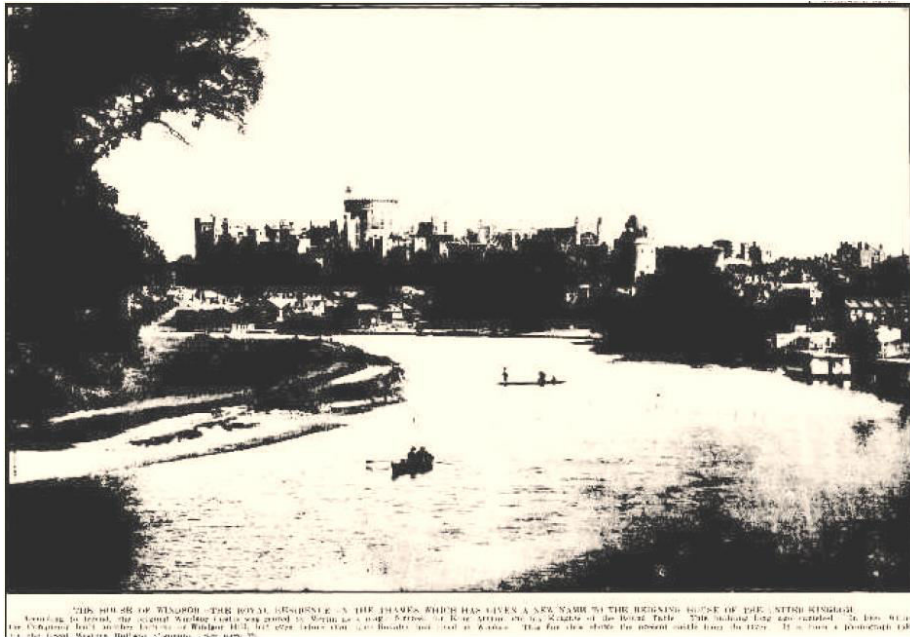
The making of the House of Windsor also involved a sacralising component, a secular civic spirituality that could appeal to all the 400,000,000 subjects of the Empire, with its principal sacred site being Windsor Castle and its inner sanctum of the Chapel of St George with its chivalric rituals performed beneath the armorial banners of the Knights of the Garter. The 200 years of German influence since George I had assumed the throne in 1714 were thus swept aside as a mere detour from an ancient tradition embodied in a venerable, mystical, unbroken lineage of sovereigns that linked old pre-Conquest Windlesore (Windsor) with modern and imperial London and Edinburgh, Sydney and Wellington, Ottawa and Capetown, Singapore and Calcutta and eventually every household and every subject in the remotest corner of the Empire. Through this

⁴⁶⁹ A Celtic component to Britishness in popular and didactic publications was also evident at this time. Examples include GA Henty, *In The Irish Brigade: A Tale of War in Flanders and Spain*, Blackie & Sons, London 1901 and Huyshe, W (translator), *The Life of Saint Columba (Columb-Kille) AD 521-597 ... by Saint Adamnan*, Routledge & Sons, London 1905

⁴⁷⁰ ‘Royal Names and Titles’, *Gippsland Mercury*, 24 July 1917, page 3

romanticised tradition the ‘intimate association’ between the King and every single subject, direct, emotional and unmediated, could be imagined. The press across Australia reinforced the ‘tradition’ by providing the visual representations for audiences who would never actually see Windsor Castle. This was a dynasty to which all true Britons could be loyal, and the new technologies of mass printing and photography would make it accessible to all.

Figure 4.3 | The ancient sacred site of Windsor, photographed from a modern train



The caption reads: THE HOUSE OF WINDSOR — THE ROYAL RESIDENCE ON THE THAMES WHICH HAS GIVEN A NEW NAME TO THE REIGNING HOUSE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. According to legend, the original Windsor Castle was reared by Merlin as a magic fortress for King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. This building long ago vanished. In 1066 William the Conqueror built another fortress on Windsor Hill, but even before that time Royalty had lived at Windsor. This fine view shows the present castle from the river. It is from a photograph taken for the Great Western Railway Company.

Source: *The Queenslander Pictorial*, 29 September 1917, page 23

IV | Keystone of the Imperial Arch

Away from the public arena of parliaments and the press, concerns about royal Germanness were replaced by constitutional and political issues for the Crown. In the more rarified atmosphere of Westminster, Home and dominion leaders engaged in an opaque statecraft in coming to terms with war-time changes. Their explanations of their

discussions and conclusions, however, were framed by versions of modernity rather than 'tradition'.

The Imperial Conferences that had developed from the informal gatherings of colonial leaders since Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887 took the form of two Special Imperial War Conferences in March-April 1917 and June-July 1918 in London. Concurrently with the two conferences meetings were also held of an Imperial War Cabinet. The meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet received little public notice, as was intended when the United Kingdom (UK) War Cabinet decided in March 1917, in preparation for the imperial meetings, to limit communications to a press release noting that a meeting had taken place, without giving the names of those attending or of any of the business of the meetings.⁴⁷¹ This would apply to meetings of both the UK and Imperial war cabinets and the special imperial conferences. As a consequence, the only reporting in the Australian press (and in Britain and the other dominions) from the cabinet and the conferences were anodyne statements such as this:

London, March 23.

All the delegates to-day attended the third meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, in Mr. Lloyd George's residence, and the overseas delegates were much impressed by the importance of the matters presented for their consideration in Cabinet.⁴⁷²

Beaumont has outlined the complex structure and business of the imperial gatherings, and their main focus on higher-level war strategizing and developing plans for the post-war order.⁴⁷³ Throughout most of these two years the dominion prime ministers were in London for extended periods of time participating in the overlapping imperial meetings, although Australia was only present at the 1918 meetings. Figure 4.4 shows the hierarchy and sequence of meetings and Hughes' participation in the context of the dynastic name change.⁴⁷⁴ Essentially, the conference agreed upon broad policy issues,

⁴⁷¹ UK War Cabinet, Minutes (Secret), Meeting No 102, Minute No 19, 22 March 1917, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23 'First World War Conclusions'

⁴⁷² 'Imperial War Cabinet | Important Matters Discussed', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 27 March 1917, page 3

⁴⁷³ Joan Beaumont 2013: pages 269-273, 442-450

⁴⁷⁴ Table prepared from Joan Beaumont 2013, page 442; and annotations and stamps on files UK War Cabinet, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23; National Archives of Australia, Series A981, Control IMP 104, contains copies of some of these papers from London with some annotations and supporting papers. The digitized file can be accessed online at <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx>

the cabinets (really continuing sessions of the UK War Cabinet) on actions implementing diplomatic, military and civil policy and assessing military actions, and the committee on executive actions to allocate resources, mainly to military campaigns, and inquire into campaign failures. Meaney argues that the imperial conferences and the Imperial War Cabinet always promised dominion equality within the Empire, and while the British government rarely implemented the conference outcomes, dominion leaders such as Hughes still believed they were the best way to resolve conflicts over varying interests such as future security.⁴⁷⁵

Figure 4.4 | Imperial war meetings, and Hughes' attendance, 1917-1918

Event	From	To	Attend?	Classification
Imperial War Conference	21/3/17	27/4/17	No	Confidential
Imperial War Cabinet (1)	20/3/17	2/5/17	No	Secret
Dynastic name change announced 19 July 1917				
Imperial War Cabinet (2), over two sessions	11/6/18 3/8/18	2/8/18 31/12/18	Yes, Yes	Secret
Prime Ministers' Committee	21/6/18	16/8/18	Yes	Most Secret

All the dominion and Indian leaders had long and dangerous maritime voyages to reach London, but Prime Minister Hughes was unable to leave Australia in the (southern) autumn of 1917 as he was campaigning in a federal election.⁴⁷⁶ Special means (using secret cablegrams and messengers carrying lead-lined boxes) were developed to keep him informed of proceedings.⁴⁷⁷ After securing a decisive election victory in May 1917, and despite losing the second conscription referendum in December 1917, he was finally able to get to London and play a leading role in the War Cabinet and the Prime Ministers' Committee during 1918. Two significant outcomes from the meetings, relevant to this chapter, were the evolution of principles of dominion autonomy under the Crown and the establishment of the Order of the British Empire, measures intended to promote loyalty to the Empire and to the dynasty and, ultimately, to help win the war.

⁴⁷⁵ Neville Meaney 2013: page 227-228

⁴⁷⁶ for example, Henry Burton, South African Minister for Finance at the Imperial War Cabinet, survived the sinking of the 'Galway Castle' after it was torpedoed on his return to Capetown: 'Steamer Torpedoed | Bound for South Africa | Serious Loss of Life Reported', *The Age* (Melbourne), 17 September 1918, page 5

⁴⁷⁷ UK War Cabinet, Minutes, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23, Meeting 98, Minute 12, 16 March 1917; Meeting 124, Minute 7, 23 April 1917; Meeting 129, 1 May 1917; Meeting 142, Minute 13 and Appendix III, 22 May 1917.

Hughes initially advised London that he would have trouble attending an Imperial Cabinet because of political problems in Australia arising from Irish opposition to the war and the failure to reach a settlement on the ‘Irish Question’.⁴⁷⁸ In March, following the first meetings of the Imperial Cabinet at which ‘Irish Policy’ had been raised, the UK Cabinet decided to consider amendments to the suspended *Government of Ireland Act 1914*, and expressed a wish that the dominions would participate in this process, although “...no decision on this point could be reached without the full and free consent and authority of the [Dominion] Representatives.”⁴⁷⁹ Beaumont argues that Hughes was keen to attend the conferences, especially to have the question of Irish Home Rule dealt with because, he believed, a solution would resolve the antagonism in Australia and increase enlistment rates.⁴⁸⁰ However, the need to fight an election delayed his attendance, and eventually worked against his agenda as other events overtook the ‘Irish Question’.

Nevertheless, Irish politics influenced the War Cabinet in another way. Swift MacNeill’s Titles Deprivation Bill was considered by the War Cabinet. UK Prime Minister Asquith, in response to MacNeill’s initial inquiries in 1914 had replied:

What ought to take place after the War is a matter which will be considered in due time. The question of the retention of British and Irish titles and peerages will be reserved for consideration until after the conclusion of the War.⁴⁸¹

His unsuccessful attempt to deter MacNeill from ‘wasting time’ changed under new Prime Minister Lloyd George (from December 1916) who recognised the importance of the Irish Question in the dominions. The Cabinet agreed that, while the matter “has no real or intrinsic importance”, given strong public sentiments some action was needed, and authorized the drafting of a Bill, especially to remove any rights by ‘alien princes’ in

⁴⁷⁸ UK War Cabinet, Minutes, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23, Meeting No 150, Minute No 11, 1 January 1917

⁴⁷⁹ UK War Cabinet, Minutes, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23, Meeting No 101, Minute 1, 22 March 1917

⁴⁸⁰ Joan Beaumont 2013: pages 272-273

⁴⁸¹ House of Commons Debates, 18 November 1914, Volume 68 cc437-8W, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1914/nov/18/alien-peers#S5CV0068P0_19141118_CWA_25, accessed 9 October 2014

succession to the Crown.⁴⁸² MacNeill's Home Rule ideals were envisioned through restoring the Irish parliament that had been abolished with the union of Ireland and Great Britain in 1800, and to that end he was one of several proponents of arguments that the union had been achieved through widespread bribery of Irish politicians with promises of 'union peerages' and other titles. Alvin Jackson has argued that these 'union peerages' became a byword for corruption and the devaluation of ideas about nobility, and helped deligitimise the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland.⁴⁸³ MacNeill's interests in reforming honours through the removal of corrupt or alien influences shaped his approaches to both Home Rule and Anglo-German dynasticism.⁴⁸⁴

The War Cabinet spent some time on the question of a new order of chivalry. The proposed Order of the British Empire was first considered in February 1917 when it adopted one of several options on the basis that it would include a knighthood level, would be open to women who would have the title of Dame, and that in both cases if the recipient chose not to take the title they would still take the same level of precedence as though they had.⁴⁸⁵ Further discussions made it clear that the new Order had to satisfy five disparate audiences, including persons from the dominions and colonies "who attach a great deal of importance to social precedence and to titular prefixes to their names", labour members and trades unionists who would accept a decoration but not a title, and munitions and other war workers who would not care for a distinction unless accompanied by a title. They agreed on two options "...with no sort of exhilaration to the War Cabinet. Were it not for the insatiable appetite for the British-speaking community all the world over for titles and precedence" they would have

⁴⁸² UK War Cabinet, Minutes, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23, Meeting No 16, Minute No 1, 23 December 1916; Meeting No. 48, Minute No 12, 30 January 1917; Meeting No 78, Minute No 7, 22 February 1917; Meeting No 150, Minute No 16, 30 May 1917

⁴⁸³ Alvin Jackson, *The Two Unions: Ireland, Scotland and the Survival of the United Kingdom 1707-2007*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012: pages 99-100

⁴⁸⁴ Two of MacNeill's books on the corrupting influence of the union peerages in 1800 reflect these interests: *Titled Corruption; the sordid origin of some Irish peerages* (TF Unwin, London 1894) and *How the Union was Carried* (Kegan Paul, London 1887)

⁴⁸⁵ UK War Cabinet, Minutes, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23 Meeting No 60, Minute No 3, 9 February 1917; Meeting No 80, Minute No 9, 26 February 1917; Meeting No 87, Minute No 14, 5 March 1917.

already decided on their preferred option.⁴⁸⁶ These discussions, which included the dominions, are a clear example of Cannadine's imperial honours system, purposely designed to be both comprehensive and imperial.

The Conference covered a broad range of issues, the most significant item was devoted to the 'constitution of the Empire' and relations between the UK and the dominions and India after the war.⁴⁸⁷ Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, was the principal player at the Conference and speaker on the evolving role of the dominions. When Hughes was able to join the leaders he and Borden tended to support each other in their positions on this issue. Borden put forward a resolution at the Conference, seconded by the New Zealand Prime Minister William Massey, calling for reform of the constitutional arrangements within the Empire to be dealt with by a special conference to be called as soon as possible after the war ended. The resolution included preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of internal affairs by the dominions, which along with India should also have a voice in foreign policy and foreign relations of common concern based upon consultation between equals. The resolution described the dominions as the 'autonomous nations of an imperial commonwealth'.⁴⁸⁸ The degree of this autonomy was a major issue in the debate over the resolution, with all the dominion and Indian representatives agreeing this was the critical issue, and also agreeing that the contribution of the dominions and India to the war effort in terms of men and money meant that it was now time to realize "the ideal of an Imperial Commonwealth of United Nations".⁴⁸⁹

All the speakers, to varying degrees, rejected the idea of an imperial federation and instead looked to Borden's concept of autonomous nations bound together by a common allegiance, like institutions and ideals of democracy, expressed in the symbolic tie of the Crown. King George, Borden argued, was especially associated with the dominions because he was the first sovereign to have visited them all and become

⁴⁸⁶ UK War Cabinet, Minutes, The National Archives Kew, CAB 23., Meeting No 122, Minute No 22 and Appendix III, 17 April 1917

⁴⁸⁷ Imperial War Conference, *Extracts from Minutes of Proceedings and Papers laid Before the Conference, Presented to Both Houses of Parliament in May 1917*, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London 1917.

⁴⁸⁸ Imperial War Conference 1917, Resolution IX, 16 April 1917, page 5

⁴⁸⁹ Imperial War Conference 1917, page 41

acquainted with their ideals and aspirations. In addition, “the Queen was recognized throughout the Dominions of the Empire as a distinctively British princess before her marriage to the king”.⁴⁹⁰

Queen Mary’s ‘distinctive Britishness’ was mentioned by several of the speakers, a response to the insinuations of Germanness in the press. Massey argued that the monarchy was the ‘keystone of the Imperial arch’, and gave a Britishness to the atmosphere of more representative forms of government and democracy than ‘in the air’. General Smuts, South African Defence Minister, emphasized the equality of the dominions and the Home government by depicting each of the governments as “equal governments of the King in the British Commonwealth”, which was a clear recognition of the dominions as autonomous nations.⁴⁹¹ Sir Edward Morris, Prime Minister of Newfoundland, stated that while some of the principles of republican institutions could be admired, Britons still believed in the wisdom of monarchical institutions. Sir Satyendra Sinha, Member of the Bengal Executive Council, expressed his confidence in the loyalty of every person in India to the King and would unequivocally support the resolution as a monarchical form of government was best suited to the needs of the Empire. Comparisons were made between the British King and ‘some tottering European thrones’. British constitutional forms had preserved the King from having to assume the role of an autocrat, and thus relived him of any responsibility for starting the war. Had the King played such a role, then people in the dominions, many of whom would never actually see or visit Britain, would have very different feelings about the monarchy. Sir Joseph Ward, the New Zealand Finance Minister, believed he spoke for them all when he said the dominions “would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Motherland for the preservation of the monarchical system”.⁴⁹²

Borden argued that while there was one Crown there were many nations in the Empire, and the Crown operates in each nation on the advice of the government or cabinet of that state. There had been questions in Canada, since the war began he said, about the

⁴⁹⁰ Imperial War Conference 1917, page 42

⁴⁹¹ Imperial War Conference 1917, page 47

⁴⁹² Imperial War Conference 1917, page 58

exercise of the royal prerogative and whether the King should act upon the advice of his UK or Canadian ministers when exercising his prerogative in Canada. This made 'British Democracy' the most advanced, progressive and perfect of any in the world, he said, and he made it clear that by "British Democracy" he meant "the system of government which prevails in the United Kingdom and the Self-governing Dominions. In that system the King is the head of no party, but he is the head of the united democracies of the Empire".⁴⁹³

Beaumont argues that all of the dominions were gaining a new 'national consciousness' as a result of the war, and the pre-war *modus vivendi* could not return. The dominion prime ministers won concessions because, as a result of their contributions to the war, they now had a right to participate in the councils of empire as equals.⁴⁹⁴ Borden, in particular, had stressed all along that the dominions had entered the war, not to help the Motherland but because an attack on one was an attack on all, and equals always supported each other. The dominions, led by Hughes and Borden, had achieved significant changes. The principle of the dominions being autonomous nations had been accepted at the conference, as was the principle that a dominion governor general was primarily a personal representative of the King, extending the idea of 'the King as the head of no party' to his dominion representatives. The dominion's wishes to be the formal equals of the United Kingdom, in which the Crown functioned as the focus of a shared, non-partisan allegiance, was now accepted (although it would take another decade for the formal shape of this arrangement to be effected). Although Meaney says the Imperial War Cabinet achieved little of substance, in terms of this thesis it strengthened the 'community of culture' within which disagreements over interests could be contained, and did it through positioning the Crown as the overarching emblem of cultural Britishness.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ Imperial War Conference 1917, page 59

⁴⁹⁴ Joan Beaumont 2013: pages 445-447

⁴⁹⁵ Neville Meaney 2013: page 227

Figure 4.5 | The imperial war cabinet



From left to right: front row, 1st Massey (NZ), 2nd The Maharajah of Patiala (India), 3rd Bonar Law (Colonial Office), 4th Borden (Canada), 5th Lloyd George (UK), 6th Hughes (Australia), 7th Balfour (Colonial Office), 8th Cook (Australia), 9th Lloyd (Newfoundland); middle row, 2nd Ward (NZ), 3rd Rowell (Canada), 4th Long (Colonial Office), 7th Smuts (South Africa), 10th Burton (South Africa)
Chronicle (Adelaide), 14 September 1918, page 24

A fortnight after these momentous but largely sequestered arrangements had been agreed upon, the Prime Ministers' Committee issued a press release stating that there would now be direct communication between the UK and dominion prime ministers, and that each dominion would appoint a permanent minister in London to attend Imperial War Cabinet meetings.⁴⁹⁶ No mention was made of dominion autonomy or the changing vice-regal role. The first reports in Australia illustrated the long distances between dominion and metropole when the Acting Prime Minister William Watt told journalists he had no information on the matter.⁴⁹⁷ A few days later the full communiqué was released by the Governor General and published in the press.⁴⁹⁸ The reporting was generally descriptive rather than analytical, although there was some reporting of Canada's 'new status' as a nation in complete control of its own affairs.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Prime Ministers' Committee, Meeting 32A, Minute 3, 15 August 1918, National Archives Kew, CAB 23/44

⁴⁹⁷ 'Australia And The War', *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton), 17 August 1918, page 9; and at least 80 similar reports in other newspapers.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Imperial War Cabinet | Representation of Dominions | Important Decisions', *West Australian*, 19 August 1918, page 5; and at least 40 similar reports in other newspapers.

⁴⁹⁹ 'The New Status | Ottawa', *Cairns Post*, 22 August 1918, page 5; 'Canada's Improved Status | Wider Imperial Recognition | Ottawa', *Brisbane Courier*, 22 August 1918, page 7; 'Recognition of Canada',

However the labour movement press saw the ghost of imperial federation. Hughes was accused of returning to commence another conscription campaign,⁵⁰⁰ of ‘peculiar’ meetings in London,⁵⁰¹ of plotting the first steps towards imperial federation, of securing a “fine fat job for some played-out political parasite”⁵⁰², of “glittering generalities and rhapsodical rhetoric”⁵⁰³. The inclusion of India also sparked fears on the Left of imperial undermining of the White Australia Policy, although as Meaney has argued such fears were already being expressed about latent Japanese intentions once the war was finished.⁵⁰⁴ News that the dominions might be able to help resolve the ‘Irish Question’ through their membership of the Imperial War Cabinet were scorned by the Catholic press, although received some support in the mainstream papers.⁵⁰⁵

The notable absence in this reportage is any mention of the changing status of the Crown, the King or the Governor General, perhaps not surprising as there is no mention in the press release. What analysis there was generally argued that the imperial meetings had provided a basis for a post-war settlement, but apart from a capacity to avoid future wars the details remained rather vague.⁵⁰⁶ For the Left however, always on the watch for Hughesian perfidy and capitalist intrigue, the news from the Imperial War Cabinet was perfect kindling for the fire beneath their straw man of imperial federation.

The effect of the imagined imperial federation on the labour movement was reflected in the outcomes of the Labor Party’s annual conference held in Perth in 1918. A policy was adopted of ending the practice of recommending Australians for imperial titles (by which they meant hereditary peerages) because this was a covert means of creating a

Newcastle Morning Herald, 22 August 1918, page 5; ‘The Nation of Canada’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1918, page 7

⁵⁰⁰ ‘Conscription Plot | Important News from London | What Hughes Told The British People | May Try Conscription Again’, *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 20 August 1918, page 3; also in *Westralian Worker* (Perth), 23 August 1918, page 5

⁵⁰¹ ‘First Step Towards Imperialism’, *The Australian Worker* (Sydney), 22 August 1918, page 9

⁵⁰² ‘Imperialist Intrigues’, *Truth* (Melbourne), 24 August 1918, page 4

⁵⁰³ ‘Imperial Intrigues | Australian Renegades in London’, *Truth*, 31 August 1918, page 1

⁵⁰⁴ ‘For the Labor Party | People Must Be Educated’, *Daily Herald*, 26 August 1918, page 3; Neville Meaney 2009: pages 221-222

⁵⁰⁵ ‘A Crisis in Ireland | A Budget of News from Ireland | Wiping Ireland off the Slate | the Trickery of Lloyd George’, *Catholic Press*, 19 September 1918, page 7; ‘Home Rule and Conscription | Church Resistance’, *The Argus* (Melbourne), 31 August 1918, page 8

⁵⁰⁶ ‘Do You Want Another War?’, *The World’s News* (Sydney), 24 August 1918, page 12; ‘The Power House of the Line’, *Weekly Times* (Victoria), 24 August 1918, page 29;

dominion peerage that would occupy an empire-wide upper house in an imperial parliament.⁵⁰⁷ Ostensibly a reaction to the creation of the first Australian-born peer in 1917 (Baron Forrest of Bunbury, formerly the Western Australian politician Sir John Forrest), a legacy of this policy was to detach the British Crown from any putative class of Australian ‘nobility’.⁵⁰⁸ Swift MacNeill’s views on the corrupting influence of the Irish ‘union peerages’ were widely reported in the Catholic press, and the Conference fears of imperial peerages are consistent with his views.⁵⁰⁹ Such was the prestige of an imperial peerage that the new Baron Forrest, it could be expected, would sell out Australia and ‘Australian ideals’.⁵¹⁰ The Queensland State Treasurer and future Labor Party premier, Edward Theodore (later known as ‘Red Ted’) decried the creation of an Australian aristocracy and “privileged castes”, although acknowledging that Forrest was a “very fine Australian” and the one redeeming feature of the appointment was that Forrest was “an Australian-born subject”.⁵¹¹ Theodore added that he was not objecting to honours for distinguished service “as such were recognised by democracy as being justified”.⁵¹² However, the secretary of the New South Wales branch of the Labour Party, PC Evans, called the appointment a “direct affront to our democratic interests” and announced the State Executive of the party had resolved that “the time has arrived when no title should be bestowed on any Australian citizen”.⁵¹³ It was Evans’ resolution that eventually lead

⁵⁰⁷ ‘Official Labour Conference: Fourth Days Proceedings’, *Western Mail* (Perth), 28 June 1918: page 31. Other components of the ‘No Imperial Federation’ policy were complete autonomy as a British community, bills to be given assent on advice from Australian ministers only, and the Australian High Court to be final court of appeal. Three days earlier, just before most of the Eastern States delegates had departed, the conference adopted the name and spelling (proposed by New South Wales) of Australian Labor Party, and an emblem (to be selected) that was red in colour: ‘Official Labour Conference | Closing Day’s Proceedings | Red Emblem Adopted’, *West Australian*, 25 June 1918, page 4.

⁵⁰⁸ ‘A Victorian Manifesto: Senator Gardiner’s Repudiation’, *Western Mail*, 3 May 1918: 13; see also Richard d’Apice, ‘The Heraldry of Sir John Forrest GCMG (1847-1918)’, *Heraldry News*, No 43, November 2006: 19-35

⁵⁰⁹ ‘Settling the Irish Question | War no Barrier | By JG Swift MacNeill KC MP’, *The Catholic Press* (Sydney), 12 July 1917; page 25; ‘Irish Self-Government’, letter to the editor from Anti-Imperialist of Mirani, *Daily Standard* (Brisbane), 3 May 1918: page 4; ‘Editor of the English Review Defends Sinn Fein’, *Freeman’s Journal* (Sydney), 21 February 1918: page 3; ‘Anti-English Antrim Emigrants’, *West Australian Record*, 7 December 1918: page 12

⁵¹⁰ see Joan Beaumont 2013: pages 272-273 on Labor Party fears that Hughes attendance at the imperial meetings smacked of imperial federation

⁵¹¹ ‘Federal News’, *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton), 12 February 1918, page 7; ‘Australian Aristocracy Not Wanted by Democracy’, *The Mail*, 9 February 1918, page 1.

⁵¹² ‘Federal News’, *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton), 12 February 1918, page 7; see also Karen Fox 2013: page 212

⁵¹³ ‘An Affront to Democracy’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 11 February 1918, page 6

to the policy adopted in Perth in 1918.⁵¹⁴ Unlike the public discussions and controversy over the German ancestry of the royal family or the appointment of Australian-born peers or the creation of the Order of the British Empire, the changes in the actual functions and constitutional roles of the King and Governor General passed un-noticed in the press and public conversation.

V | Distinctively British

Benedict Anderson argued that dynasties derive their prestige and status aside from ‘miscegenation’, and he described Austria-Hungary in particular as the product of “centuries of Hapsburg hucksterings”.⁵¹⁵ Anderson also argued that 1776 and 1789 marked a revolutionary rupture with a dynastic past and the beginning of nationalist historiographies in Europe and the Americas.⁵¹⁶ This argument has been countered by Philip Mansel, arguing that it was only in 1917-1918, after being traumatized by mass slaughter, hunger and battlefield defeats, that the imperial subjects in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany turned against their monarchies: “1918, not 1789, marks the end of court’s and dynasties’ roles in shaping Europe”, says Mansell.⁵¹⁷ Anderson suggests the ‘miscegenated’ European dynastic network was something inherently sordid and therefore lacking in legitimacy. On the other hand, and contrary to the received wisdom of much twentieth-century historiography, Mansel counters that this dynastic network survived the revolutions emblemized by ‘1789’ only to fall in some realms in 1918. How accurate are these characterizations in the ‘exo-Europe’ of the British dominions beyond the seas?

The Great War created a social and cultural environment in turmoil. The year 1913 is often presented as an idyllic but somnolent (northern) summer, innocently and

⁵¹⁴ The NSW Labor Conference in June 1917 also adopted policies of opposition to imperial federation and for the abolition of the states, and debated a policy that governors general, prime ministers and premiers should be Australian-born, all matters that were raised at the 1918 inter-state conference which adopted the policy opposing imperial titles as part of the anti-imperial federation policy: Michael Hogan (ed), *Labor Pains: Early Conference and Executive Reports of the Labor Party in New South Wales*, Volume III 1912-1917, The Federation Press, Annandale 2008: pages 528-537

⁵¹⁵ Benedict Anderson 1991: pages 21-21 and n23, n24, n25, pages 107-108 and n58, n59. Huckstering refers to selling things of questionable value at cheap prices, to haggling.

⁵¹⁶ Benedict Anderson 1991: pages 194-195

⁵¹⁷ Philip Mansel, ‘Editor’s Note’, *The Court Historian*, Vol. 19, No 1, June 2014: page 2

uncomprehendingly on the verge of the coming tempest.⁵¹⁸ By 1917, the tempest had well and truly struck, the innocence had long gone, and war weary and hardened societies were planning for a very different future, a future in which, as Mansel argues, royal courts and dynasties were absent, or at least waning. Except in the British Empire and its dominions.

The idea of 'Britain' as a royal house name had been briefly floated in the press before it was vanquished by the 'traditional' Windsor. Windsor as a name was infinitely malleable, able to be sacralised, historicized and popularized in ways that Britain was not. 'Britishness' as a set or system of values was still being reimagined in the arcane world of imperial conferences and cabinet meetings, themselves both a venue and a metaphor for the rapidly evolving relationships, under the pressure of the war, between homeland and dominions. The use of Britain as a royal house name was simply premature in 1917. It would be another decade before the concepts of Britishness and 'Windsorness' would take coherent and complementary forms. In Australia, the 'Austral-Briton' was one such form, but regional variations would also arise (see Chapter 5).

The new Royal House of Windsor actively attached itself to the dominions. King George invested Australian General Sir John Monash (son of Prussian-Jewish parents) as a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath on the battlefield at Amiens in 12 August 1918. This appointment was followed a few months later by appointment as a Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George.⁵¹⁹ Monash planned and executed several battles that led to breaking through the Hindenburg Line, and the King's repeating of the 'ancient' ritual of battlefield investitures revived with King Albert in 1914 was now within the new context of a direct relationship between the King and his dominion subjects.⁵²⁰ Sir Robert Borden had claimed that, in the

⁵¹⁸ for just one example, Jean-Paul Kauffmann, *A Journey to Nowhere: Detours and riddles in the lands and history of Courland*, Macle hose Press Quercus, London 2012

⁵¹⁹ *London Gazette*, No 30450, 1 January 1918

<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/30450/supplement/1>, *London Gazette*, No 31092, 1 January 1919, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/31092/supplement/3>

⁵²⁰ 'King Thanks Australians | Sir John Monash Knighted', *The Argus* (Melbourne), 15 August 1918, page 5; 'A Gallipoli (1914) Medal', *The Argus*, 30 November 1917, page 7

dominions, Queen Mary had always been known as a ‘distinctively British’ princess even before her marriage, a sentiment evident in the Australian press where it was noted that the Queen was the first British-born consort since the Hanoverians had taken the throne two centuries before.⁵²¹

King George said in his acceptance of a loyal address from the Imperial Conference delegates that he and the Queen looked forward to their children visiting all the dominions and India so they would also “have an opportunity of acquiring similar priceless experiences” to those of the royal parents.⁵²² The new British ‘national’ dynasty also ‘returned’ to an older ‘tradition’ of marrying the daughters and sons of the British nobility and, eventually, the gentry and commonalty of Britain and the dominions. After 1917, only two members of the Windsor dynasty married a European royal, and even they were from a single minor cadet branch with no prospect of succession to a throne. The Duke of Kent, George V’s youngest son (and nominated Australian Governor General in 1939) married Princess Marina of Greece and Denmark in 1934, and Princess Elizabeth, grand-daughter of George V, married Prince Phillip of Greece and Denmark in 1947 (he renounced any dynastic claims and took the surname Mountbatten before their marriage). George V’s other children married within the Empire: George VI married the daughter of a Scottish noble, the Duke of Gloucester married the daughter of an English noble (and served as Australian Governor General between 1944 and 1947), and the King’s only daughter Princess Mary married an English Earl.⁵²³ His eldest son, the unfortunate Edward VIII, insisted on marrying an American divorcee that, by 1936, when ideas of dominion Britishness had achieved more cohesive forms, excluded the possibility of her being imagined as ‘British’.⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ ‘Concerning People’, *The Register* (Adelaide), 26 May 1916, page 4: “Queen Mary ... has the distinction of being the only English-born Queen Consort since the House of Hanover was established in England (in 1714).”

⁵²² Imperial War Conference 1917, page 163

⁵²³ This pattern still held in 2014: of the 90 known descendants over 5 generations of George V, 7 have married ‘old dominion’ spouses, 3 have married European royalty or nobility, 2 have married Americans and the balance (84%) have married British partners. Database compiled by author.

⁵²⁴ The unsuitability of Mrs Simpson as a royal consort might be positioned in the context of the collapse of Anglo-Saxonism in 1914, which was accompanied by a new form of anti-Americanism: see Marilyn Lake 2013: page 38.

Cannadine argues that from the animosity and distress of the war a neutral and admirable monarch was presented as a rallying point of stability, in which the use of anachronistic, but grand ceremonial was its most effective aspect, and identified the ‘traditional’ pageantry of George V’s silver jubilee in 1935 as an act of thanksgiving for a king who had survived the war and the peace.⁵²⁵ He further argued that the British monarchy changed between 1914 and 1919 from using ritual in a ceremonial competition with other imperial powers of the time to becoming a unique expression of continuity as rival dynasties were swept away in a period of unprecedented change.⁵²⁶ The change of the royal house name reveals the dynamic of that change, a dynamic that was imagined and articulated as a tradition inherent in Britishness, and that could only really be comprehensible by Britons in the British societies of the Empire.

During 1917 and 1918, several strands of dominion loyalty and Britishness can be discerned, all of which were couched to some degree within a reinvigorated or newly invented ‘tradition’. The most obvious was the populist, nationalistic, anti-German, jingoistic, tabloid press strand exemplified by the All British League. The League was able to influence state politicians of all shades, from both the conservative and labour movements, with its head office in working class Port Adelaide and branches in working and middle class suburbs and country towns. Its vision of Britishness was bigoted and proudly discriminatory, and quite prepared to eschew a conjectural membership by the King on the basis of his partly-German ancestry while claiming to support the British Crown as an institution.

This strand, through the medium of shared support for the White Australia Policy, segued into a left wing, labour movement, pro-Catholic strand that drew upon socialist thinking and was emboldened by events in Russia, especially after the Bolshevik coup of November 1917. It was influential within the rump Labor Party that survived the split with Hughes and his supporters in September 1916, and opposition to Imperial Federation was a token of its version of a non-imperial Britishness. Its support for

⁵²⁵ David Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c1820-1977’, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, Canto edition 1992: 141, 152

⁵²⁶ David Cannadine 1977: pages 133, 139

Irishness, as mediated through the lens of the Catholic church in New South Wales and Victoria, which was imagined as an 'Irish Race' subjected to continuing repression by a 'capitalistic' Britishness, was the flip-side of the vitriol it shared with the All-British League. It never took on their virulent anti-Germanism just as the League never accepted Catholicism as an authentic voice of Irishness. The fundamental distinction between the two groups was the League's ideology based upon nationalism while that of the labour movement was based upon class.

Meaney has argued that conscription became the ultimate symbol of loyalty and inextricably linked Australia and the Empire, and the federal government's insistence on such symbolism created a gulf between the 'loyal' and the 'disloyal'.⁵²⁷ The gulf was evident in 1920 during the Prince of Wales' tour of South Australia. The preparatory publicity for his tour in Adelaide noted that, unlike the German princes who posed and sacrificed lives unnecessarily, he had enlisted three days after war was declared as an example to all young men, and the prince and the 'digger' had come to know each other well in the trenches. But the scars of war-time anti-Germanism were still raw in Adelaide, with complaints that the prince's emblem displayed the German words *Ich Dien*, and questions of whether his great-grandfather (Prince Albert) was a 'good German'.⁵²⁸ Even so, the visit also provided some opportunities to, if not reconcile with German Australians, at least begin reflecting on the recent past. The coming visit was compared with Prince Alfred's visit in 1867 when its *fackelzug* and *Liedertafel*.⁵²⁹ A year later the Prince's motto, it was explained, was actually a miss-writing of an Old Dutch phrase, and not German at all.⁵³⁰ But, not all cracks could be papered over. The Catholic *Southern Cross* noted that "King George V of Windsor (late Saxe-Coburg Gotha)" was celebrating his 55th birthday, and that the English continued to pursue a policy of "Prussianism' in Ireland".⁵³¹ It also editorialised the Prince would arrive in Adelaide on 12 July, the date for

⁵²⁷ Neville Meaney 2009: pages 236, 240

⁵²⁸ letter to the editor from 'Nothing German', *The Mail*, 17 July 1920, page 5; 'Some Pertinent Answers to Correspondents', *Southern Cross*, 25 June 1920, page 18

⁵²⁹ 'Royalty in South Australia', *The Register*, 24 June 1920, page 8

⁵³⁰ 'The Prince of Wales' Motto', *The Register*, 14 July 1921, page 6

⁵³¹ 'Purely Personal', *Southern Cross*, 4 June 1920, page 12

...the festival of hate on which the “loyal” Orange lodges ... are accustomed to vilify Catholics. ... Labour, too, is likely to be coupled with the Catholics and Irish as disloyal ... apart altogether from the disputable point whether hereditary rulers or titles are desirable in a democracy. With regard to Catholic loyalty, we have no doubt it will be properly and adequately shown ... [but] Under present circumstances no patriotic or self-respecting Irishman can be loyal to the existing British administration. That may not be the fault of the King or the Prince, but the Monarch, unfortunately, has to accept responsibility for the acts of his advisers.⁵³²

The least visible of these strands was the elite, liberal, modernising strand of Britishness that regarded the British Crown as the symbolic apex of a shared political and constitutional framework. This was a Britishness identified with the Empire and imperial loyalty, and which used the word imperialism as a positive noun. This strand was exemplified by the prime ministers and their colleagues at the imperial meetings, including politicians from liberal and conservative parties in Britain and the dominions, and Sir Robert Borden’s definition of British Democracy.⁵³³ It is emblematic of this strand of Britishness that it assumed India was already evolving to become the next dominion, and that their ‘constitution making’ was properly the work of an elite political class supported by lawyers and academics when needed. They conceptualized the Empire as a community of equals who supported each other because they were equal. Their ‘responsibility’ was to their electors who, as Borden said, were ‘back in their capitals’, and would not have accepted that the King was responsible for their actions as the *Southern Cross* insisted.⁵³⁴

The most-subtle of the strands was the ‘traditionalist’ dynastic loyalism that emphasized the ancientness of institutions and mythic and legendary origins which provided a strong continuity over time that maintained social cohesion and allowed for evolutionary change. Crude nationalism was an anathema, and ideas of ‘admixture’, or mixed (miscegenous) marriages, were advanced as a continuation of the historical traditions of

⁵³² ‘Topics | The Prince of Wales’ Visit’, *Southern Cross*, 9 July 1920, page 11

⁵³³ Borden defined “British Democracy” as “the system of government which prevails in the United Kingdom and the Self-governing Dominions. In that system the King is the head of no party, but he is the head of the united democracies of the Empire”: see Imperial War Conference 1917: page 59

⁵³⁴ see discussions at Imperial War Cabinet, Meeting 26, 23 July 1918, Minute No 8 ‘Channels of Communication’, and Meeting 27, 25 July 1918, Minute 8 ‘Channels of Communication’, National Archives, Kew, CAB 23-41

British dynasties that had grown out of centuries of such mixing. It was exemplified by the writings of A Woman and the Reverend Henry Howard, and some of its ideas were consistent with the elite liberal thinking of Imperial Britishness, such as the King and his governors being the neutral ‘head of no party’. The invention of the House of Windsor with its sacred imaginings appealed to their spiritual and esoteric leanings. WJ Hudson wrote

[In the 1930s] Australians ... focused, not on the bond between dominion and king, but on ‘the individual relationship of the citizen to the King.’⁵³⁵

That Australians could have such a focus is explained, in this chapter, by the invention of the House of Windsor and the imaginary central to that invention which produced the enthralling affect described by Hudson. How that personal, direct loyalty was nurtured through the invention of ‘Windsorness’ has been a focus of this chapter.

These strands of Britishness in 1917 and 1918 were not so much competitive as illustrative of the means by which the Crown was adapting to its rapidly changing war-time environment. They all had real effects on the Crown in Australia and the other dominions.

The most immediate results of the change in the dynastic name was a dramatic decline in press reporting and opinion writing denigrating, openly or implicitly, the King and the royal family for their Germanness. A month after the change, the King instituted the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.⁵³⁶ Designing the Order had vexed the War Cabinet, but its creation was welcomed across the Empire, and it clearly linked the new royal house with the new empire, especially as among its first recipients were an Australian, a Canadian, a South African, trades unionists and nurses.

In the longer term, the strands of Britishness in Australia each had their effects.⁵³⁷ The nationalists, through their jingoism and access to the tabloid press, were able to bring

⁵³⁵ WJ Hudson and Martin Sharp 1988: page 115

⁵³⁶ *London Gazette*, No 30250, 24 August 1917,

<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/30250/supplement/8791> accessed 13 October 2014

⁵³⁷ the following four paragraphs summarise the several strands of thinking evident by the end of the war, each of which are referenced in the preceding paragraphs in this chapter.

about substantial changes in the naming of things, such as places as well as food stuffs, clothing and anything else that seemed Germanic. New names came with new histories and new ways to imagine these things. The change of the dynastic name is particularly associated with the anti-German campaigning not only in Australia but in the other dominions and in Britain itself, in which the role of the Northcliffe tabloid press was critical. However, their preferred name for the royal house of 'Britain' was too partisan, and the traditionalists were able to turn the situation to their advantage. The German contribution to communal or national identities in Australia, however, was effectively silenced for several generations and remains largely so today.

The distinctions drawn by Theodore and Evans on honours, and the connection between titles, aristocracy and a fear of imperial federation is reflected in the later radical nationalist historiography. The conflation of hereditary titles and imperial federation in the compound term 'imperial honours', and the later casual conflation of that term with the Order of the British Empire is discussed in Chapter 6.

For elite liberalism their version of Britishness, as a constitutional and legal tradition, had laid foundations that would come to fruition in 1931. Their Britishness was of separate but related communities, self-governing and autonomous, held together in a loose but formal alliance by a common loyalty to the one crown and the one king. Perhaps unwittingly, in attempting to explain these ideas to each other and reach a mutually agreed formula, they planted the seeds for dividing the crown so that each community became its own independent kingdom, with only the natural body of the sovereign, the only king-emperor destined to survive the war because he reigned but did not rule, joining them together. But those seeds were not to bear fruit for another decade.

The traditionalists focus on history and culture rather than politics emphasized the intimate nature of the direct relationship between sovereign and subject. Loyalty to the Crown meant participating in a mystical relationship that was timeless, connecting back into the mists of ancientness when people of different origins were coming together and forming a new people. These relationships were evident in the rituals and ceremonies

of investitures into orders of chivalry and in the sacred place of Windsor Castle with its own magical origins and centuries of use as a royal residence. The various ‘conjoinings’ that created, and were continuing to create, British peoples and communities around the globe were historical and they were natural, and they were enduring and would continue into the future. This was a Britishness that placed the King in the heart of every subject, and it could be imagined, *vice-versa*. The traditionalists’ recognition of multi-ethnic ‘conjoinings’ as an element in the forming of new Britons in the dominions provides a counter-narrative to White Australia that needs further research.

The Great War had completely changed the environment of the Crown. The Crown’s response, uncertain at first but gradually taking shape, was to adapt to the changing circumstances in multiple ways. Whether in popular or elite culture, these changes were at once dramatic and also presented as being in the moment, never appearing to be anachronistic but traditional, never an artifice but always natural.

The dominions were not passive recipients of these changes. Through their active participation the dominions affirmed their status as equal but separate bodies politic within the empire. But the body natural of the one king was also transformed, de-Germanised and de-Europeanised, transfused with mythic ancient Briton-ness and re-born as wholly British or, to paraphrase Churchill, the royal metal had been totally recast in the furnace of war.⁵³⁸ It was a naturalization and modernisation shaped by the times, and by it the Windsor’s avoided the fate of the continental imperial dynasties. A truly Briton king had been born, and he was fit to wrought a new throne atop the ruins of the *Kaiserstuhl* in South Australia.

⁵³⁸ Winston Churchill, in urging action at a War Cabinet meeting on accepting increased dominion and viceregal autonomy, used the phrase “The metal was now molten and could be moulded”: Imperial War Cabinet, op. cit., Meeting No 27, Minute No 8, 25 July 1918; Meeting No 28, Minute No 9, 30 July 1918

Figure 4.6 | The King invests General Sir John Monash at Amiens



For the nationalists a non-British meeting of Anglo-German monarch and Prussian Jew; for the socialists a knighthood was acceptable but not an imperial peerage; for the liberals evidence of dominion equality under the one Crown; and for the traditionalists an ancient ritual both intimate and democratic.

Source: *The Queenslander*, 16 November 1918, page 23

As the anti-German campaigns in South Australia, the opposition to imperial titles by the labour movement, the sophisticated constitution making of the political elite, and the defence of royal and common ‘admixing’ by traditionalists had all shown, the people in the dominions played an active role in reimagining the monarchy. There would be no more membership of the once great, now wrecked, European royal and imperial dynastic network. Honours would flow directly from the sovereign to the brave and deserving subject. That the Crown, in the person of King George V, could be acknowledged as ‘the world’s greatest monarch’ in mid-1917, at the peak of ‘the worst year’ of the war, was not empty sycophantism but an expression of determined and heart-felt loyalty. Britons in the dominions through their own imaginings of loyalty, dynasticism and Britishness helped the Crown to evolve and change while all the time

appearing to be maintaining continuity and tradition. The dominions helped save the Crown during the Great War, an assistance not available to the other imperial thrones lacking a network of supportive autonomous settler states. After 1918, a British sovereign would no longer be a mere European dynast, instead she would be the living embodiment of the greatest and only truly imperial Crown left on the planet.

Metamorphosis

The decade of the 1930s was scarred by the Great Depression, and the end of the dream that the Great War had been the war to end all wars. It was also the decade in which the decisions of the Imperial War Conference of 1917 reached their fruition in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. By this enactment of the Parliament in London the dominions were formally recognized as being in a “free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations ... united by a common allegiance to the Crown”. The British Crown had been divided amongst the dominions and six new, independent crowns had come into existence. All of these crowns sat on the head of one King, George V of the (British) House of Windsor.

There are many ‘slices’ available that might reveal a significant moment in the workings of the Crown in this period, such as the consumer boom and mass migration of the 1920s, the Great Depression and its harsh austerities demanded by the London banks, the vice-regal dismissal of a New South Wales premier, an anthropological phase in Aboriginal ‘assimilation’, a new internationalist realism in the arts, intra-empire sporting successes, the expanding Japanese wars in East Asia (or the Near North) after 1931, the evolution of self-governance in India or the role of the Royal Navy in the Indo-Pacific.

Imperial historiographies suggest it was only in South Africa and Ireland that the existence of the new dominion crowns was tested. However, taking as a ‘slice’ the attempted secession by Western Australia from the Australian federation in the 1930s goes directly to the success of the ‘dominion project’ within an evolving empire. At stake were competing symbols and ideas of Australian Britishness, of the direct relationships between subject and sovereign, and of the centrality of ‘place’ in a settler society. A highly desired popular outcome was thwarted, and it was only through the agency of crowned healing that its forgetting was possible. Even so, some sense of Western Australia’s separate sovereignty remained in corporate memories in Whitehall and Perth, to surface again in the 1970s.

Chapter 5 | BLACK SWAN DREAMING The Crown divided in Western Australia, 1930-1935

Saturday 8 April 1933 was a red-letter day in Western Australia. There was a State election in which the Nationalist-Country Party government of Premier Sir James Mitchell was facing a challenge from the Labor opposition under Phillip Collier. Along with the election there was also a referendum in which voters were asked “Are you in favour of the State of Western Australia withdrawing from the Federal Commonwealth established under the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act (Imperial)?” The governing coalition supported secession while the opposition was officially ambivalent. This was the first referendum in Western Australia in which voting was compulsory.⁵³⁹

Various civic leaders and organisations had been calling for secession since 1906, and a Secession League was founded in 1925, but the formation of the Dominion League in 1930 at a crowded public meeting in His Majesty’s Theatre, Perth had taken the issue out of the hands of the political class in Perth and into the hotels and meeting rooms, on to the verandahs and around the kitchen tables of people across the State.⁵⁴⁰ By the end of counting, 66 per cent of the electors had voted to secede, while perversely electing the anti-secessionist Labor Party to form a new State government. The new parliament appointed a delegation of secessionist leaders to go to London and present the case for independence. All that now remained was for the relevant authorities in London and Canberra to accede to the consequent petition from loyal Western Australians, and a brilliant new future would dawn.

⁵³⁹ After the referendum voting in Western Australian elections was made compulsory in 1936, and first enforced at the 1939 State election. It had been compulsory in Federal referenda since 1915 and Federal elections since 1925.

⁵⁴⁰ For the 1906 debates, see *Western Australia Parliamentary Debates*, Sixth Parliament, Second Session, Vol. XXIX, 1906, pages 1871-1880, 2053-2059, 2105-2011, 2131-2133, 2241-2271, 2333-2334; ‘Western Australia and Federation | Sir John Quick and Secession’, *West Australian*, 27 October 1906, page 12; ‘Mr Walter James | Complementary Social | An ANA Gathering’, *West Australian*, 18 December 1906, page 2; ‘The West Australian Discontent | Is Secession Possible?’, *Life* (Melbourne), 15 October 1906

I | Creating a Dominion League

The founders of the Dominion League of Western Australia had quite deliberately and strategically named their new organization to clearly articulate the change they sought. Its predecessor, the Secessionist League, had made some headway in garnering popular support during the 1920s, but its very name had given its critics two fearful arguments. One was the bogey of civil war, drawing on the United States experience. The other was more recent, arising from the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 in which actions by Ireland and South Africa were equated with republicanist secession from the Empire.⁵⁴¹

The objective of the Dominion League was to have the State of Western Australia withdraw from the Commonwealth of Australia, and be established as the Dominion of Western Australia within the British Empire. The word ‘dominion’ was a crucial symbol for the League. It avoided the bellicose and disloyal connotations of the word ‘secession’, it was considered forward-looking in light of the recent establishment of a Dominions Office in Whitehall, and it implied equality with other British states in the empire.⁵⁴² As one country newspaper editorialized, “under this name the secession movement will now be known, for it more clearly defines the ideal of the secessionist than could any other title or style. Western Australia demands the right to progress as a unit of the British Empire, and not to remain chained ... in bondage as the “wood-and-water-joejoe” of Australia.”⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ ‘Dominion of W.A. | Movement to Fight Unification’, *Sunday Times*, 9 March 1930, page 1; ‘Secession and Loyalty’, *Sunday Times*, 5 October 1930, page 8. The Irish Free State and South Africa each, for their own reasons, sought national independence through incremental reforms and changes to the overall structure of the Empire in relation to the dominions as a group: see WJ Hudson and MP Sharp, *Australian Independence: Colony to Reluctant Kingdom*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1988

⁵⁴² The British cabinet position of Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs was created in 1925 and separated from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1930. The position was reformed in 1947 and re-named Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and in 1968 merged in the new position of Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

⁵⁴³ ‘Dominion League’, *Great Southern Herald* (Katanning), 21 June 1930, page 2. A ‘wood and water joejoe’ was a slang term for a young indentured labourer, see Edward E. Morris, ‘Joejoe’, *Austral English: A Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases and Usages*, Macmillan & Co., London 1897, page 223 ‘Joejoe’

Figure 5.1 | The Citizen's Rally



The foundation meeting of the Dominion League at His Majesty's Theatre, Perth on 20 July 1930
State Library WA, <http://www.liswa.wa.gov.au/federation/popup/000774d.htm>, accessed 2 October 2015

The aims of the League for an independent Dominion of Western Australia were based upon a number of arguments. Their principal economic arguments revolved around the tariff barriers erected to protect manufacturing industries in the eastern States, which they argued greatly inflated the cost of materials and machinery to the largely primary industry-based economy of Western Australia. Tariffs also protected the Queensland sugar industry, which the League argued artificially raised the cost of sugar for the 'Perth housewife'. Tariffs, they claimed, cost Western Australians £8 million per year.⁵⁴⁴ They also argued there was a duplication of services by Federal and State agencies, that it was 'impossible' to administer such a large state remotely from Canberra, and that the Federal authorities were inherently extravagant in their expenditure with little regard for Western Australia's capacity to pay. These economic grievances were labelled 'federal bondage'.⁵⁴⁵ A particular secessionist ire was the new city of Canberra, "the American-designed Capital", which became a metonym for profligate and gaudy federal waste.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ This was known at the time as the 'sugar ramp'

⁵⁴⁵ 'Secession Campaign Initiated | Address by Mr Lovekin', *West Australian*, 24 May 1930, page 16

⁵⁴⁶ 'Melbourne Age | Attack on Secession | Reply by Mr Lovekin', *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1930, page 4

The Dominion League's head office was in the fashionable new Goldsbrough House, on Perth's high street, St George's Terrace.⁵⁴⁷ The League claimed some 60 branches all across the state, with a concentration in the Wheatbelt, a crescent-shaped agricultural region running from Geraldton on the west coast to Albany in the south. By 1933, the League was claiming a paid-up membership of over 5,000 or 1.25 per cent of the State's population of 400,000. Its membership, as far as can be determined, was drawn from a number of groups, mainly wheat and sheep farmers, returned soldiers (with a large overlap between these two groups), 'old settlers' (descendants of the pre-1890 population), small-scale business people and entrepreneurs, women running households, especially in suburban Perth and urban unemployed. The Primary Producers Association, the Farmers & Settlers Association, and the militant Wheatgrowers' Union publicly stated their support for the League, or at least its ideals.⁵⁴⁸ Other supportive organizations included the Housewives Association and the Roads Board Association (the rural local government body). Organisations such as the Royal Agricultural Society, National League of Western Australian Women, Country Women's Association, and the Council of Progress Associations (suburban resident groups), while not explicitly supporting the League, conducted events supporting secessionist speakers and contained large numbers of members who also engaged in League activities. The Returned & Services League (RSL) was internally split between supporters and opponents of secession, and returned soldiers played prominent roles in the Dominion League.⁵⁴⁹ In just one example, at a meeting of over 500 farmers in the wheatbelt town of Kulin, attended by many ex-soldier farmers, Captain Herbert (Bert) Sykes (Anzac

⁵⁴⁷ *Daily News*, 5 July 1930, page 10

⁵⁴⁸ The Wheatgrowers' Union agitated for a guaranteed minimum wheat price, and organized a strike of farmers in 1932, see G. C. Bolton, 'Boyle, Ignatius George (1882–1960)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/boyle-ignatius-george-5327/text9001>, published first in hardcopy 1979, accessed online 28 May 2015.

⁵⁴⁹ For some examples of reporting on both support and opposition within the RSL, see 'RSL and Secession | The President's Address', letters from Herbt. Collett President WA Branch; CR Collins of West Perth; Noel M Brazier of Capeldene, *West Australian*, 9 October 1930, page 14; 'Question of Secession | Attitude of RSL | Depression and Secession Both Harmful', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 2 October 1930, page 4; 'Soldiers and Secession', *Daily News*, 18 August 1930, page 4; 'What Others Are Thinking | Ex-Solders and Secession', *Sunday Times*, 21 June 1931, page 10; 'Bunbury Bullets | A Debate on Secession', *Sunday Times*, 21 December 1930, page 15 (the federalist team were referred to as 'henchmen'; the secessionists as 'sincere' and 'beautifully modulated'); 'Cottesloe Beach Sub-branch | Mr Pady on Secession', *Sunday Times*, 3 August 1930, page 16; 'Secession | Correspondent's Views', letters from HK Watson of Dominion League, JE Gibson of Nedlands, *West Australian*, 10 October 1930, page 20

veteran, ex-16th Infantry Battalion) and president of the local RSL seconded a motion in support of secession, saying “Our soldiers fought as Britishers to protect the Empire, and had Western Australia been a separate Dominion he and others would have enlisted just the same.”⁵⁵⁰ The motion was carried with only 15 dissenters. Perth architect Edwin Summerhayes (ex-44th Infantry Battalion) regularly spoke at RSL sub-branch meetings and reported “with very few exceptions returned soldiers have shown their approval of secession”.⁵⁵¹ The *Sunday Times*, in an attack on Prime Minister Lyons’ apparently denigrating the loyalty of Western Australians, concluded

Learn to use the word LOYALTY in its highest spiritual sense, Mr Lyons, and then you may talk to LOYAL Western Australians ... As the conscription movement was loyally responded to in the West, so the Secession movement [is] the most LOYAL movement made in any people in the Empire since the war”.⁵⁵²

The principal leaders of the League were Henry (HK) Watson, a tax accountant and charismatic public speaker, Alfred Chandler, journalist and editor of the *Sunday Times*, James MacCallum Smith, businessman and owner of the *Sunday Times*, Edith Cowan, the first woman elected to any parliament in Australia and a leading social reformer in women’s and children’s issues, and Arthur Lovekin, journalist, politician and ‘city beautificationist’. Both Cowan and Lovekin died during the campaign, and were replaced by younger leaders such Mrs FA Pratt JP of the National League of Western Australian Women, Colonel Noel Brazier, Anzac veteran (ex-10th Light Horse Regiment), and Norbert Keenan KC, lawyer and Nationalist politician. Watson (always known as ‘HK’) was the best-known public face of the organization. A notable characteristic of League members seems to have been their youth, many in their 30s and 40s. HK Watson in 1932 pointed to the Prince of Wales’ call for young men of ‘drive and pluck’ to enter politics as a motivating factor for his involvement with the League.⁵⁵³ Colonel Brazier was also influenced by a proposal for the Prince of Wales to lead a mass British migration to one of the dominions. “This is exactly what Western Australia is

⁵⁵⁰ ‘Kulin Speaks on Question of Secession | A Remarkable Gathering’, *Sunday Times*, 7 June 1931, page 10

⁵⁵¹ ‘Secession | Correspondent’s Views’, letter from E Summerhayes of Perth, *West Australian*, 10 October 1930, page 20

⁵⁵² ‘Loyalty and “Loyalty”’, *Sunday Times*, 26 March 1933, page 12

⁵⁵³ ‘Politics and Youth | Do Years Mean Ability? | Views Vary’, *Daily News*, 9 April 1932, page 12

seeking ... hands are stretched across the sea to give each other necessary mutual help.”⁵⁵⁴

Figure 5.2 | Mr HK Watson



*HK (Henry Keith) Watson,
charismatic leader of
the Dominion League
from 1930 to 1938*

*born 1900, died 1973
appointed a Knight Bachelor
in the State's New Year's Honours
list for 1968*

Image: *Toodyay Herald*, 27 September 1935, page 5

Apart from Watson, most of the leadership group was, at least in the beginning, older and from a generation who remembered the federation referendum of 1900 and their active opposition to federation. The older leaders were roughly half locally-born and half gold rush-era migrants to the State.⁵⁵⁵ Watson was a local country boy presented in the press as protégé of this group of ‘elders’. He made much use of the new technologies of the day such as having League rallies broadcast on radio stations, having all important events photographed, and sometimes filmed for distribution in cinemas throughout the state, organizing a coherent strategy of advertising the League and its aims in newspapers and magazines, and providing detailed and encouraging reports and pictures of League activities to the press. In the days before widespread motor

⁵⁵⁴ “As Colonel Brazier Sees It’, *Sunday Times*, 26 March 1933, page 12

⁵⁵⁵ Cowan was born near Geraldton, Brazier near Busselton, and Watson at Southern Cross, all in Western Australia, while Chandler was born in Geelong, Victoria, MacCallum Smith near Inverness, Scotland, Lovekin in Buckinghamshire, England and Keenan in Dublin, Ireland.

transport he made extensive use of the rail and shipping networks to champion the cause, and new country branch formation followed the railway lines in the south and coastal shipping routes in the north of the State.⁵⁵⁶

Figure 5.3 | The Dominion League leadership in 1931

SECESSION CONVENTION AND PROCESSION.



Top: Some members of the executive of the secession movement (left to right): The President (Mr. A. T. Chandler), Mrs. E. Cowan, Mr. E. H. B. Lafroy, Mr. H. K. Watson (secretary), and the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (Mr. S. Stubbs). Lower: The procession moving along in two lines in Wellington-street.

(Left to right) President Alfred Chandler (aged 79), committee members Edith Cowan (70) and Edward Lafroy (42) and secretary HK Watson (31), with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, reviewing the 300 motor vehicles in the 'Save Our State' procession moving through the streets of Perth before the League's annual convention, 4 August 1931.

Source: *West Australian*, 5 August 1931, page 18

Opposition to the Dominion League came from the Federal League, also formed in 1930, and the Australian Natives Association (ANA), a fraternal society devoted to cultural nationalism, White Australia and personal self-improvement.⁵⁵⁷ The ANA had a branch network, mainly in the metropolitan and Goldfields regions, while the Federal League eschewed geographical branches in favour of vertical divisions, notably a

⁵⁵⁶ Database of branches 1930-1933, compiled by author

⁵⁵⁷ The ANA was founded in Victoria in 1871 and remained mainly Victorian-based. Membership was restricted to Australian-born white men until 1964 when it admitted women as members. Brian Murphy, *Dictionary of Australian History*, Fontana/Collins, Sydney 1982: pages 32-33

Women's Section and a Youth Committee, although these were only formed a few months before the referendum.⁵⁵⁸

Anti-secessionists usually called themselves federationists or federalists, and were sometimes labeled by their opponents unificationists (meaning abolition of all states and 'unification' under a single central government). Their campaigns tended to be less organized than the secessionists, with events somewhat *ad hoc* and usually focused on a speech by a single figure. The ANA was ardently federationist, and sponsored a variety of speakers from its eastern states branches to present public addresses and write opinion pieces for the press.

Supporters of federation, as much as can be determined, came from two main groups. The first group was trade unionists and the broader labour movement, which at this time was well organized but concentrated in unions covering transport workers in the mainly government-owned railways and shipping services, workers in the timber mills and forest industries, and the mines of the Goldfields. Many in the labour movement had arrived in Western Australia during the gold rushes, especially in the decade between 1892 and 1903, mostly from Victoria and other eastern colonies or states. Some remembered the 'separation for federation' movement of the late 1890s when the Goldfields threatened to secede from Western Australia if the colony did not join the federation, a legacy they occasionally implied would be revived in response to secessionism.⁵⁵⁹ Labor Party members were often speakers at the Federal League events, and labour movement publications, especially the *Westralian Worker*, were particularly derisory towards secessionist arguments and leaders.⁵⁶⁰ The *Worker* claimed,

⁵⁵⁸ 'Federal League's Campaign', *West Australian*, 13 March 1933, page 10

⁵⁵⁹ 'Secession | Attempt to Bind Candidates | Protest by Cr Boas | Binding Body and Soul', *West Australian*, 4 February 1932, page 11; 'Prime Minister's Case | Ministerial Delegation Arrives', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 27 March 1933, pages 3-4, comments by Senator TC Brennan KC (Victoria) and Senator Sir George Pearce (Western Australia), Minister for Defence

⁵⁶⁰ John Curtin, Labor Prime Minister 1941-1945, was a leading editorial writer for the *Westralian Worker*, and federal member for Fremantle 1928-31 and 1935-45. HK Watson twice ran against him for election to the seat. In 1928 Curtin defeated Watson, but in 1931 Watson's preferences ensured the independent candidate outpolled Curtin to win the seat for one term ('Anti-Labor nominee for Fremantle', *Daily News*, 17 August 1934, page 1). Curtin regained the seat in 1934, narrowly winning with 51% of the vote over the Watson-aligned candidate, Florence Cardell-Oliver, author of *Empire Unity or Red Asiatic Domination* (1934), standing for the Nationalist-Secessionist Group ('Federal Elections | Curtin Wins Fremantle |

for instance, that the secessionists were free-traders in disguise, and their complaints about Queensland sugar protection were simply a mask for “cheap coloured labour produced sugar from Java”.⁵⁶¹ “Java”, claimed the *Worker*, is “the secessionists land of hope and glory ... their earthly paradise [they] dearly love a nigger”.⁵⁶² The *Worker*’s most damning charge against the Dominion League was “Neither, it would appear, does a White Australia mean anything to them although that policy or doctrine ... is in the forefront of the platform of every party which exists in the Commonwealth except the Secessionists”.⁵⁶³ The secessionists were also cast as ‘no shirts’, or ersatz fascists who had come too late to claim a coloured shirt.⁵⁶⁴ Not all federationists cast the secessionists in such deprecatory lights, but derision, casual accusations of racial betrayal and risible fascism were among the rhetorical tools commonly wielded against secessionists.

The other main federationist groups were the larger business houses in Perth, and the newly forming intellectual classes centred on the University of Western Australia, established in 1911. Federationist leaders included Perth businessman Sir Charles Nathan (President of the Federal League), Albert McClintock and SH Hearne (Chief Presidents of the ANA) and Harold Boas, a Perth city councillor and town planning advocate. Their arguments centred around several propositions, such as a disunited continent would attract the ‘menace from outside’ of the ‘Eastern Countries’ (that is, Asia), and political energies would be more productively directed to ameliorating conditions for all small states.⁵⁶⁵ Their *cri-de-guerre* of the ‘federal spirit’ was frequently

Majority of 1028’, *Western Argus*, 2 October 1934, page 12). Cardell-Oliver was later the member for the State seat of Subiaco 1936-56, becoming the first woman to serve as a Minister in any Australian government in 1949 (Minister for Health, 1949-53).

⁵⁶¹ ‘More Secession Sob-Stuff’, *Western Worker*, 30 May 1930, page 1

⁵⁶² ‘A Secessionist Screech | Give us Freedom and Java Sugar’, *Western Worker*, 1 August 1930, page 1

⁵⁶³ ‘A Secessionist Screech | Give us Freedom and Java Sugar’, *Western Worker*, 1 August 1930, page 1

⁵⁶⁴ ‘What About The “No-Shirts”! | Here’s an Interesting Idea for Some Big Strong Man’, *Mirror*, 9 September 1933, page 8. Some of the fascist coloured shirts in the early 1930s were black shirts (Italy, Germany, Finland), brown shirts (Germany), blue shirts (Britain, Ireland, Canada, Portugal, Spain, China), green shirts (Romania, Hungary, Ireland), grey shirts (South Africa), silver shirts (USA), gold shirts (Mexico) and even red shirts (Bulgaria)

⁵⁶⁵ ‘Should WA Secede? | The Negative Case | New Federal Convention Urged’, *Western Mail*, 11 September 1930, page 25. The ‘small states’ were usually identified as Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania, and referred to their population rather than geographical size

invoked to counter secessionist romanticism.⁵⁶⁶ Defending White Australia was a core federationist argument. Former prime minister Billy Hughes, addressing a rowdy public meeting in Perth Town Hall claimed secession was about turning towards Asia. He warned “Don’t look towards the coloured races for your salvation saying “To hell with white Australia [and] turning your back on the British people in the East”. His fellow speaker, from the Victorian ANA, invoked the spectre of civil war between “people of the same stock”.⁵⁶⁷

Figure 5.4 | ‘A Boas Constrictor’



Harold Boas is represented as the embodiment of Federation, trying to strangle a young, vigorous, ironically ‘no-shirt’ Westralia, in the pro-secessionist Sunday Times.

Cartoonist George Benson was an official war artist who sketched the landscapes of Gallipoli in preparation for the landings, and producing works such as the iconic ‘The man with the donkey, Anzac 1915’.

Born in Melbourne, he drew for the Bulletin and Punch before emigrating to Perth in 1931.

“A Boas Constrictor”

Source: *Sunday Times*, 19 March 1933, page 12

The political parties represented these constituencies accordingly. The agrarian Country Party strongly favoured secession, and bound its members to support any actions towards that end. The more liberal Nationalist Party generally supported the

⁵⁶⁶ For some examples, see ‘Back to Federation’, *Western Mail*, 29 May 1930, page 5; ‘Secession | Essay Competition’, *Geraldton Guardian*, 3 September 1930, page 4; ‘Women’s Interests’, *West Australian*, 31 October 1931, page 4; ‘The Federal Spirit’, *South-Western News*, 7 October 1932, page 3; ‘Tourists at Canberra | Support of Federation Urged’, *West Australian*, 18 January 1933, page 12; ‘Plain Facts Rammed Home at Canberra’, *Sunday Times*, 28 May 1933, page 2

⁵⁶⁷ ‘Mr Hughes’s Visit | Women’s Rally | Amusing Incidents’, *West Australian*, 6 April 1933, page 16

movement, but never as fervently as the Country Party. The Labor Party was ambiguous, saying it would support whatever outcome there was from the referendum.

The secessionists arranged large mass rallies in Perth, open air street corner meetings in the suburbs, and public meetings in local halls in country towns, all of which attracted large and boisterous crowds. The federationists held some large public meetings in Perth, but tended to focus on smaller gatherings in supporters' homes, and addresses to sympathetic organizations.

Both the secessionists and the federationists thus had their established networks of influence and supporters by 1933, and each set forth competing visions of a crowned future. The Dominion League had a clear set of aims, which it rarely deviated from in public debates, and a determination to achieve them without compromise. The federationists put forward various conciliatory proposals, usually involving the holding of a constitutional convention, that were rejected by the Dominion League. Support for secession and the establishment of a 'Free State', as Lovekin called it, was unequivocal.⁵⁶⁸

It was this uncompromising commitment that led the Dominion League firstly to victory, then to slow, crushing defeat. The change they wanted was a change too far for the new British Commonwealth that had been created in the very midst of the secession campaign. The secessionists were aware of the new Statute of Westminster, given the royal assent on 11 December 1931, but never entirely clear about its implications. By the time they were clear, it was far too late.

⁵⁶⁸ Although Lovekin was never explicit, this was presumably an allusion to the Irish Free State and the negotiated separation of Ireland and Britain reached in 1921, rather than the conquered Orange Free State in South Africa

II | Westralian Romanticism

The economic arguments, rational or otherwise, were only part of the secession debate.⁵⁶⁹ Secessionist writings and meetings usually opened with cultural and political arguments, and generally at least as much time was devoted to these factors as to economic issues. Secessionist and federationist cultural arguments reveal two contrasting visions for what was ostensibly the one Crown, each grounded in the imagined traditions of its agents.

The secessionists articulated a history of Western Australia that contested the orthodox ‘Australian History’ being taught at the University and posited a tradition of a past golden age that, by trickery and calumny, had been subverted and then stolen by nefarious ‘Eastern’ forces (that is, the eastern states, not Asia). Westralia, originally a contraction of the words ‘Western Australia’ invented for telegraph use, became the toponymic emblem for this romanticized lost past that, by the will of the people supported by their King, could be recovered in the coming dominion.⁵⁷⁰ The narrative of this Westralian history was transmitted as a sort of ‘folk history’, not usually written but told by ‘old settlers’ in homes and at social gatherings.⁵⁷¹ It is no coincidence that the Western Australian Historical Society, founded in 1926 (with Mrs Cowan one of the prime movers) focused in these years on producing a journal filled with such reminiscences.⁵⁷² Another founder of the Society, Dr James Battye, was principal

⁵⁶⁹ Gregory Craven, *Secession: The ultimate states right*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1986: pages 31-36. Craven identifies the importance of the economic arguments used at the time, but assumes these were the only issues of any substance argued by the secessionists, as do other writers.

⁵⁷⁰ There was also some usage of the demonym ‘Westralienne’ for a woman: see Sidney J Baker, *The Australian Language*, The Currawong Press, Milsons Point 1978: page 390; and references in Western Australian newspapers between 1911 and 1930

⁵⁷¹ Bruce Baskerville *Deconstructing Crowley’s ‘Western Australia’*, 1992, <https://historymatrix.wordpress.com/2015/05/10/deconstructing-crowleys-western-australia-1992/> , accessed 11 May 2015

⁵⁷² The Western Australian Historical Society was founded in 1926, and granted the ‘Royal’ honorific in 1963: <http://www.histwest.org.au/?page=history> accessed 19 June 2015. Its journal *Early Days* commenced in 1927, with Mrs Cowan a regular contributor. Her first article, in the first issue, was ‘Letters of Early Settlers’: http://www.histwest.org.au/files/rwabs_early_days_index.pdf accessed 19 June 2015

librarian and *de facto* State archivist at the Public Library of Western Australia, and member of the university senate since its foundation. He was also vice-chairman of the State Centenary Executive Committee in 1928-29, which produced a year of celebrations in 1929 that (perhaps unwittingly) primed the Westralian patriotism of the secessionists.⁵⁷³ Battye's *Western Australia: A History*, published in 1924, based upon his own archival research, became the accepted centenary history.⁵⁷⁴ It remained a standard work on Western Australian history for many years, with its entire chapter on federation but not even an index entry for secession.⁵⁷⁵ Not surprisingly, the Victorian-born Battye was frequently invoked by the federationists, but rarely by the secessionists.

The Westralian history enunciated by the secessionists drew more upon the Historical Society than the University or Battye. It had a number of characteristics, such as a periodisation by royal events, and became as emblematic of the secessionists as the visual symbols they chose to represent their ideals. It was summarized in the *Case for Secession* prepared by Watson and MacCallum Smith for the State parliament in 1934.⁵⁷⁶

The defining events in secessionist Westralian history emerged from a hazy 'old time' that, like the mythical origins of the Windsors, invoked longevity to provide an aura of legitimacy. History began with the charting of the coastline by Dutch and English mariners in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries long before Captain Cook sailed up the east coast, and the foundation of the colony in 1829 directly from London rather than Sydney. This was followed by the peaceful secession of Tasmania, New Zealand, Victoria and Queensland from their mother colony of New South Wales during the mid-nineteenth century, while the independently established Western Australia

⁵⁷³ 'State Centenary Executive Committee', *West Australian*, 4 February 1928, page 18

⁵⁷⁴ James Sykes Battye, *Western Australia: A history from its discovery to the inauguration of the Commonwealth*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1924

⁵⁷⁵ Fred Alexander, 'Battye, James Sykes (1871–1954)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/battye-james-sykes-5156/text8651>, published first in hardcopy 1979, accessed online 14 May 2015

⁵⁷⁶ 'Secession | The Case for London | Committee Completes Its Work | Unabridged Report', *West Australian Special Issue*, 27 March 1934. Other iterations of the secessionists alternate history can be found in 'Out for Secession', *Sunday Times*, 24 August 1930, page 13; 'Secession Campaign | Meeting at Boulder', *Kalgoorlie Miner* 4 September 1931, page 6; 'Secession | Delegates from Perth visit Busselton', *South-Western News*, 31 March 1933, page 2

Figure 5.5 | Priming Westralian patriotism: the 1929 centenary celebrations

Official symbols of the centenary associate the black swan with history, royalty, community and commerce

(top)
centenary postage stamp (reproducing swan design from colonial series), 21,000,000 issued
(Author's collection)



(bottom)
centenary medal issued by the Perth Mint in a range of metals and values, c85,000 struck (swan design from University coat of arms, see fig. 5.9)
<http://blog.perthmint.com.au/2014/10/15/western-australian-centenary-1929-medal-part-2/>



A tapestry panel worked by Mrs. Richards, of Subiaco, at present on view at Brennan's, Ltd., is an exquisite example of crossstitch needlework, in black silk on cream-coloured canvas. The design which features a black swan among bulrushes, iris plants and water lilies, is typical of Western Australia. This interesting piece of needlework has been executed by Mrs. Richards as a centenary souvenir.

THE W.A. TRAWLING CO. LTD.
NAME COMPETITION
Result of Selection.

"CENTENARY."— Mrs. Dornan, 350 Oxford-street, Leederville.
"GOLDEN WEST" Mr. A. C. Flahey, Waronga-road, Claremont.
"THE BLACK SWAN," Miss A. Ferrier, Griver-street, Cottesloe.

The Company does not guarantee to use any of the above names, but consider these the most suitable from 549 entries.

Popular competition responses position the black swan as 'Westralian'
(L) *West Australian*, 7 June 1929, page 8 (R) *Sunday Times*, 16 June 1929, page 2

1829
1929

**Centenary
Celebration
Week**

THE FUTURE

at **FOY & GIBSON'S**

WESTRALIA'S GREATEST BUSINESS

TO DAY **Souvenirs—Keenly Priced**

Commercial associations with the Centenary: this department store advertisement visually segues from an Australian flag and 'today's' store to a Western Australian flag and a 'future' skyscraper store, linking Westralian history and achievement with a forecast of modernity and commerce.

Sunday Times, 29 September 1929, page 9

achieved limited self-government in 1870, followed by the gold discoveries of the 1880s and 1890s and the conferring of full self-government by Queen Victoria in 1890. The decade from 1890 to 1900 was the 'golden age' of wealth and growth, of a free self-governing British community charting its own course in the world of the Indian Ocean and Empire.

This Arcadia, however, contained a treacherous serpent. The turn-of-the-century gold rushes brought a flood of transient gold miners, peaking in the late 1890s and skewing the result of the federation referendum of 1900 in favour of federation, before they just as rapidly returned east.⁵⁷⁷ The colony was forced into the federation only after the Imperial parliament had passed the Constitution Act, and 1901 marked not nationhood but subjugation, with the introduction of federal tariffs in 1901 that continually rose in the interests of 'eastern' industrialists. However, Westralians remained loyal to the Crown, providing more volunteers per capita in the Great War than any other state, and suffering proportionally larger losses in battles and to wounds and sickness. Because of this, the conscription referenda in 1916 and 1917 were supported by a majority of two to one in Western Australia but lost in the east. Westralians had demonstrated their loyalty to King and Empire with their own blood, while implicitly the anti-conscriptionist T'Othersiders had failed to prove their true British mettle.⁵⁷⁸

As tariffs and war-time imposts were heaped on Western Australians, the federally-owned Transcontinental Railway opened in 1917. Westralian gold was railed eastwards to pay for the war, and manufactured goods were sent westwards and dumped in a market that had neither need nor capacity to pay for them. After the war ended, the secession debates that began in the State parliament in 1906 were taken up in the local press, and by the time the Prince of Wales visited in 1920 there was a budding popular secession movement. By 1927 when the Duke and Duchess of York visited the State Western Australians had formed the Secession League and voted several times in constitutional referenda against expansions in federal powers even as federal tariffs and taxes continued to increase.

⁵⁷⁷ Gregory Craven 1986: page 32 and footnote 8, accepts this argument without question

⁵⁷⁸ T'Othersider or Othersider: vernacular Westralian demonym for residents of the eastern states

As the centenary of Western Australia was celebrated in 1929, the federal government again increased tariffs and embargoed imports such as sugar, and in response the Dominion League was formed in 1930. The Imperial Conference in Ottawa in 1932 that might have reduced tariffs was instead undermined by Australian protectionism. By 1933, when the State was “afire with the fire of secession”, an overwhelming majority of people voted to secede, a triumph of Westralianness emphasized by the appointment of the first Westralian-born Lieutenant-Governor in the same year.⁵⁷⁹ The secession delegation left Perth for London in 1934, and the history of the free and independent Dominion of Western Australia was about to begin.⁵⁸⁰

A theme particularly emphasized in the secessionist histories was the ‘golden age’ of the decade between 1890 and 1900. The Imperial parliament had granted the colony responsible self-government, which the secessionists equated with contemporary dominion status, the population had quadrupled, great public works had been carried out, and there had been only minimal taxes, tariffs and customs duties. The golden age had been brought to an end by the ‘disastrous experiment of federation’. The solution was for the Crown or the Imperial parliament to declare Western Australia a separate state once again, and revert to the ‘absolute autonomy’ of the Western Australian constitution of 1890.⁵⁸¹ The federationists contested this, claiming the putative golden age had in fact been a time of black labour, land grabbers and financial swindlers who would all return under secession.⁵⁸²

The idea of a golden age, on the one hand, was a reference to the fabulous years of the gold rushes, but also an allusion to classical ideals of a primordial, foundational but lost past. That allusion was evident in the secessionists core visual symbol of essential

⁵⁷⁹ ‘Getting Out’, *Sunday Times*, 24 August 1930, page 8

⁵⁸⁰ ‘Chronology’, in ‘Secession | The Case for London’, *West Australian Special Issue*, 27 March 1934: page 3

⁵⁸¹ ‘Move for Secession’, *Great Southern Herald*, 28 June 1930, page 3; ‘Secession’, *West Australian*, 3 November 1930, page 8; ‘Secession | What it Means’, *West Australian*, 6 August 1931, page 14; ‘Secession Campaign | Meeting at Boulder’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 4 September 1931, page 6; ‘For Secession | The Morning After’, *West Australian*, 7 April 1933, page 26; ‘The Case for Secession’, *Sunday Times*, 1 April 1934, page 12

⁵⁸² ‘The Labour Movement and the Secession Referendum | What Australian History Teaches | By J. Curtin’, *Westralian Worker*, 3 March 1933, page 1

Westralianness, the black swan, a bird once known to Europeans only as a myth or a metaphor for that which could not exist.⁵⁸³

III | The Black Swan Soars

The black swan was, by the 1930s, the official metaphor for the Crown in Western Australia. It is native to most of Australia, and was first seen by Europeans when Dutch East Indiaman captain Willem de Vlamingh in 1697 explored a river in New Holland running into the Indian Ocean that, to his astonishment, was alive with the impossible black swans.⁵⁸⁴ He named it the *Zwaanenvier*, or Swan River, a name that appeared on all subsequent maps of New Holland. The British colony established in 1829 was known colloquially as the Swan River Colony for many years.

An early and significant official use of a black swan symbol was on the colony's postage stamps, first issued from 1854 bearing an image of a black swan in lieu of the usual royal portrait. The first British colonial stamp was issued in 1847 for Mauritius with a portrait of the Queen, and over the next decade when sixteen other colonies began producing stamps, several used heraldic or royal symbols such as a seal, crown or allegorical figure before also adopting the royal portrait.⁵⁸⁵ Only Canada (that is, today's southern Ontario and Quebec) and Western Australia used a nativist symbol. Canada's first stamp of 1851 depicted a beaver, crown and royal cypher, replaced from 1852 with a royal portrait. Western Australia was the only colony to persist with a local emblem, with black swan stamps issued in various denominations until 1913 when they were replaced by Australian stamps.⁵⁸⁶ The black swan was never depicted in the stamp

⁵⁸³ Edward E. Morris 1897, 'Swan, Black': page 451. The Roman satirist Juvenal wrote in 82 AD of *rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno* (a rare bird in the lands, and very like a black swan). He meant something whose rarity would compare with that of a black swan, or in other words, as a black swan did not exist, neither did the supposed characteristics of the thing with which it was being compared. The comparative phrase 'rara avis' or 'rare bird' passed into English and other European languages

⁵⁸⁴ New Holland was a name given to the continent by Dutch mariner Abel Tasman in 1644. After the British invasion of the east coast in 1788, the name was confined to the western part of the continent, and gradually fell out of use in the 1830s.

⁵⁸⁵ *Stanley Gibbons Stamp Catalogue: Commonwealth & Empire Stamps 1840-1970*, Stanley Gibbons Ltd., Hants 2013

⁵⁸⁶ Michael Eastick (ed), *Comprehensive Colour Catalogue of Australian Stamps*, Victoria Stamp Traders, Melbourne 2003

issues with a crown or other royal emblem, and any decoration was limited to Western Australian wildflowers and wetland reeds.⁵⁸⁷

The black swan had long been used as an official emblem. The Great Seal of Western Australia has displayed a black swan design since 1831. The colonial merchant flag adopted in 1870 was a blue ensign with a bezant or gold disk in the fly displaying a black swan, which came to be used more generally as the State flag. In 1925 the City of Perth was granted a coat of arms displaying on a white shield a red cross of St George with a black swan in the upper-right corner, and designs were prepared for a formal grant of arms to the State featuring a black swan on a gold field.⁵⁸⁸ The university assumed, from its foundation, a coat of arms showing a black swan on a gold field between two books of learning. The black swan was widely used in Western Australia as a local emblem, as was an unofficial motto *cygnis insignis*, meaning ‘distinguished for swans’. It was widely represented in popular culture in material forms such as decorative ceramics, and as branding for all manner of consumer goods from beer to magazines.

At first the secessionist’s use of a black swan emblem attracted little comment until a press report that the Dominion League was considering ‘unconstitutional secession’, proposing “to hoist the Black Swan over the Post Office and use the State police to expel the officials”.⁵⁸⁹ Although Watson protested that a humorous speech had been misquoted and taken out of context, the black swan became invested with a sense of

⁵⁸⁷ *Postage Stamp Ordinance 1854, 17 Vict, No 12*, section 7, specifies the design must show a swan, in addition to any other marks or words. The first Western Australian postage stamps with a royal portrait date from 1902, after federation.

⁵⁸⁸ File - State Coat of Arms, Flag, Badge and Emblems (Premier's Department file 1925/67), 1920-1962, Item 01, State Records Office Western Australia; Alex George and Charmaine Cave, *Swanning Around Perth: An exploration of the black swan in our city*, Four Gables Press, Kardinya 2014: pages 27-30

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Current Comment | Unconstitutional Secession’, *West Australian*, 21 October 1932, page 18. The Post Office was an agency of the Commonwealth government, transferred from the State after federation

Figure 5.6 | The black swan in popular consumer culture, mid-twentieth century



Wembley Ware black swan vase, c1946
http://www.ronebergcairns.com/2008onwards/home2008_072.html



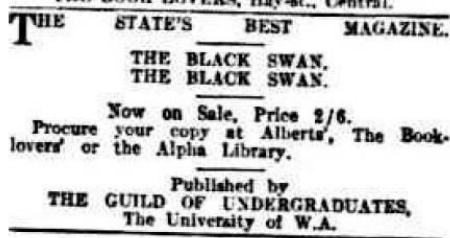
Western Australia Centenary souvenir cup and saucer, 1929
<http://www.antiquesandcollectables.com.au/ad1677/1929-western-australian-centenary-cup-saucer/>



The Mirror, 4 February 1933, page 15



The Mirror, 7 December 1935, page 16



West Australian, 5 September 1931, page 4



West Australian, 9 April 1936, page 27

being a dangerous, even revolutionary emblem.⁵⁹⁰ The implications of hoisting a rebel flag over the general post office, only 16 years after the Easter Rising in Dublin, couldn't be avoided. Ironically, the rebelliousness of Westralians was their mark of loyalty to Crown and Empire. A few months later, a public competition for a symbol to be used for marking goods manufactured in the State disqualified entries that had used a black swan.⁵⁹¹ The association with secession was clear.

As the referendum approached, the Dominion League was calling for “freedom to make a glorious Dominion under the flag of the West – the Union Jack with a Black Swan in a central field”.⁵⁹² This flag design mimicked that of the vice-regal standard of the Governor (see Figure 5.7). The matter of a ‘black swan flag’, however, took on greater significance after the referendum. At the Dominion League conference in April 1934, on the first anniversary of the referendum, the “proposed Dominion flag” (the blue ensign) was flown from Perth Town Hall, representing, said the League, the “heritage stolen from us in 1900 when the State was decoyed into Federation”.⁵⁹³ The League re-dedicated itself to fight until “the flag of Western Australia once more flies over our State and civic buildings”, the flag in which the Union Jack and the black swan were “the emblems of our nationality”.⁵⁹⁴ Their nationality was that of the Westral Briton, not the Australian, and the federationists objected to the flag being flown, indignant letters were published in the anti-secessionist press, and the Town Hall caretaker was reprimanded.⁵⁹⁵ The secessionists responded that the “black swan in a yellow circle ... on a dark blue background ... is a beautiful emblem”, a reminder of the “good old days of freedom under the British Crown”, and dared anyone to pull it down when it is again “floating in the breeze of a free country”.⁵⁹⁶ The dare was

⁵⁹⁰ ‘Trying to be Witty | Secession and Revolution’, *Westralian Worker*, 28 October 1932, page 1

⁵⁹¹ ‘A State Mark’, *West Australian*, 6 December 1932, page 12

⁵⁹² ‘Unanswerable Arguments for Secession | Campaign Sparklets | The Great Day Approaching’, *Sunday Times*, 19 March 1933, page 12

⁵⁹³ ‘Dominion League Conference | Proposed New Flag Flown at Town Hall’, *Daily News*, 4 April 1934, pages 1-2

⁵⁹⁴ ‘Dominion League Conference | Proposed New Flag Flown at Town Hall’, *Daily News*, 4 April 1934, pages 1-2

⁵⁹⁵ ‘Pre-Federation Flag | Flown at Perth Town Hall’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 7 April 1934, page 4

⁵⁹⁶ ‘Under Which Flag?’, *Sunday Times*, 8 April 1934, page 14

Figure 5.7 | Black swan flags in use during the 1930s⁵⁹⁷



Figure 5.8 | The black swan flies over London



The secession delegates display their black swan flag in London at the Agent-General's Office in Savoy House. The tones in the image suggest this is a red ensign, perhaps the one flown on RMS Oronsay.

Source: *West Australian*, 11 December 1934, page 20

⁵⁹⁷ Following controversy in Perth over the design of official decorations for the coronation in 1953 and the royal tour of 1954, the official flags (Vice-regal standard and State flag) were revised, on advice from the College of Arms in London, by turning the swan to face left, towards the flag pole in accordance with heraldic practice: 'Swan's course on WA Flag set to the left', *West Australian*, 11 November 1953, page 1. In practice, both left and right facing swans were used on flags before 1953.

unconvincingly accepted a few months later at the University, when a debater from Melbourne declared that secession belonged with such ‘modern movements’ as sterilization, but after protests from the audience provocatively stated he had no intention “of wringing the Black Swan’s neck”.⁵⁹⁸

A few months later at Victoria Quay Fremantle, Dominion League flags and blue ensigns farewelled Watson and MacCallum Smith, the official delegates sent by the State parliament to London to present the *Case for Secession* and the secession petition to the King and the Imperial parliament.⁵⁹⁹ Along with the crowd, flags and kilted Scottish pipers, a large red ensign with a “black swan set in a gold circle” hung from the deck of the liner RMS Oronsay.⁶⁰⁰

Before boarding, the new Lieutenant Governor (and recently-defeated premier) Sir James Mitchell appointed Watson a ‘King’s Messenger’ for conveying the petition to the King, “the first time in Australian history that a King’s Messenger has been so appointed”.⁶⁰¹ As such, Watson was to carry and personally hand the message for the King directly to the Secretary for Dominion Affairs, James (Jimmy) Thomas. While the delegation was in London, the Western Australian Agent General’s Office in Savoy House flew a large blue ensign with black swan that Watson and Smith took to London.⁶⁰²

The rhetorical power of the secessionist black swan is illustrated by Randolph Stow’s semi-autobiographical novel *Merry-Go-Round in the Sea*, drawing upon his boyhood in wartime Geraldton of the early 1940s. On a visit with his mother to Perth, the boy-character Rob is impressed by the city:

⁵⁹⁸ ‘University Debaters | The Secession Question’, *West Australian*, 22 August 1934, page 11. Craven notes the absolute disdain the federationists displayed towards the secessionists, see Gregory Craven 1986: pages 41-2, and 56-57

⁵⁹⁹ ‘Secession Petition | Delegates Farewelled’, *West Australian*, 21 September 1934, page 11

⁶⁰⁰ ‘Departure of Delegates | Farewell at Wharf’, *Western Mail*, 27 September 1934, page 12

⁶⁰¹ ‘Secession Petitions | Delegates Leave Today | Credentials Presented’, *West Australian*, 24 September 1934, page 13; ‘Secession | Delegation Leaves’ *Albany Advertiser*, 24 September 1934, page 1; ‘Secession Delegation Leaves by the Oronsay’, *Northern Times*, 26 September 1934, page 3. A King’s (or Queen’s) messenger is an accredited diplomatic courier who personally escorts important state papers.

⁶⁰² ‘The Royal Wedding’, *West Australian*, 30 December 1934, page 95

Perth was ancient ... And it was a very special city, cut off from other cities by sea and desert, so that there was not another city for two thousand miles. Among all Australian cities it had proved itself the most special, by a romantic act called the Secession, which the other cities had stuffily ignored.

... they had ignored his poor Cinderella State, all one million square miles of it. Maybe after this war there'd be another war. Western Australia against the world, Black Swan flying.

'When will Western Australia be free?' he wondered.

'I don't know,' said his mother. 'Perhaps when Bonnie Prince Charlie comes over.'
'Aww.' He grew disgusted at her flippancy.⁶⁰³

Federationists ridiculed the use of the black swan as a symbol. The director of the nationalistic boys club the Young Australia League and owner of the anti-secessionist *Mirror* newspaper in Perth (which coined the 'no shirts' tag), JJ 'Boss' Simons, was inducted with much mirth into an imaginary Order of the Black Swan in Sydney.⁶⁰⁴ Walter Murdoch, foundation professor of English at the University and avowed anti-secessionist, published in 1930 the satirical verse 'Hail to Westralia! / Hail to its bigness! / Hail to its motto / "Cygnis insignis."⁶⁰⁵ A secessionist rally in Perth in 1931 was mocked by federationists for lacking enough black swans.⁶⁰⁶ The use of the blue ensign by the secessionists attracted the ire of the federationists, who argued "The Black Swan stands for Western Australia as an integral part of the Empire, and does not stand for secession".⁶⁰⁷ When the blue ensign was flown in London, the federationists again

⁶⁰³ Randolph Stow, *Merry-Go-Round in the Sea*, Penguin, Ringwood 1985, page 135, original publication Macdonald, London 1965. The allusion to Stewart legitimism contains a deeper allusion to change in apparent timelessness, and Stow's enduring search for a settler's unattainable spiritual connection to place in a colonial environment: see the introduction in John Kinsella (ed) *The Land's Meaning: New selected poems of Randolph Stow*, Fremantle Press, Fremantle 2012

⁶⁰⁴ 'West Australian Association | Mr JJ Simons Entertained', *Western Argus*, 18 October 1932, page 26; Lyall Hunt, 'Simons, John Joseph (Jack) (1882–1948)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/simons-john-joseph-jack-8430/text14815>, published first in hardcopy 1988, accessed online 14 May 2015

⁶⁰⁵ Walter Murdoch, 'On Pioneering', in Bruce Bennett & William Grono (eds), *Wide Domain: Western Australian themes and images*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1979, page 66; Fred Alexander, 'Murdoch, Sir Walter Logie (1874–1970)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murdoch-sir-walter-logie-7698/text13477>, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 15 May 2015

⁶⁰⁶ 'Secession Convention | Procession in Perth', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 5 August 1931, page 5; 'Secession Stir | Abject and Dismal Failure', *Westralian Worker*, 14 August 1931, page 1

⁶⁰⁷ "'Dominion League" Flag', letter from Hal McKail of Perth, *West Australian*, 20 December 1934, page 19

objected, demanding to know who authorized such ‘propaganda’ before any imperial authority had approved of secession.⁶⁰⁸

Federationists offered, instead of the black swan, an alternative tradition of the Australian flag and the southern cross. In 1930 “well-known young solicitor” Mr DM Cleland in an anti-secession speech to the Perth Rotary Club recited the chronology of the federation movement from which “Australia had progressed to real nationhood ... as a nation within the British Commonwealth”.⁶⁰⁹ Federation, he argued, had given “citizens of the Commonwealth domiciled in Western Australia” three things of which to be immeasurably proud: a national flag, the ideal of White Australia, and the glorious memory of Anzac. He argued that the centre of world affairs was moving to the Pacific, and the time would come when “Eastern countries” would ask of Australia by what right it holds its empty spaces. If secession was put to a referendum, he was sure Western Australians would support federation as they had “...in those years when the nation was winning its spurs on the fields of Armageddon”.

In 1933, Prime Minister Joe Lyons finally came to Western Australia to campaign for federation. At a rally in Kalgoorlie, his wife Enid Lyons was a leading speaker, arguing while advocates of secession professed loyalty to the throne, secession would be the first step in ‘crumbling the Empire’. The Australian flag, she argued, “aroused a feeling”.⁶¹⁰ The Union Jack symbolized the aspirations of a British people, while the “six white gleaming stars” made it a flag under which “they must stand together or fall”. She concluded with the rhetorical question “Who would have only five stars on that flag?” The Federal League reiterated the same point when it argued that all Australians felt pride whenever the Australian flag was flown in their presence, making it “hard to imagine the flag with one of the stars cut out ... hard to imagine this State losing its relationship with the Australian coat-of-arms.”⁶¹¹ The secessionists, they said, would even “dispense with the kangaroo [supporter of the arms], and have just two birds – the

⁶⁰⁸ ‘The Dominion League Flag’, *West Australian*, 19 December 1934, page 18

⁶⁰⁹ ‘Should WA Secede? | The Negative Case | New Federal Convention Urged’, *Western Mail*, 11 September 1930, page 25

⁶¹⁰ ‘Prime Minister’s Case | Ministerial Delegation Arrives’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 27 March 1933, page 4

⁶¹¹ ‘The Secession Issue | Arguments for and Against’, *West Australian*, 22 March 1933, page 15

swan and the emu.” And, for good measure, they reminded secessionists that “small communities are not allowed to do as they like ... secessionists should remember that Lincoln’s name is revered today by 120,000,000 people because he defeated a secession movement”.⁶¹²

The black swan or the southern cross flag, the contested tradition of Anzac, fear of Asia and a revenant civil war all invoked emotional imaginings that can be presented as a classical *versus* Gothic binary in cultural landscapes and architecture. The civic symbols, architectural styles and town planning of ‘old’ Perth and ‘new’ Canberra reflect these competing imaginaries.

In 1928 a coat-of-arms was granted to Canberra and the new city plan was given a toponymic reality by the gazettal of its official street names.⁶¹³ The placenames memorialized a range of colonial governors, explorers, scientists and other worthies, states (including a Westralia Crescent) and state and dominion capital cities (such as Delhi Buildings) and Aboriginal words (such as Molonglo River). None, however, were named for a monarch. The coat of arms bore charges of civic, parliamentary and royal authority, and came with the Latin motto *Pro lege, rege et grege*. The centre of the new capital was formed by three boulevards, Constitution (*lege*) Avenue, Kings (*rege*) Avenue and Commonwealth (*grege*) Avenue.⁶¹⁴ The geometric planning and wholesale street naming was not unlike that of its imperial contemporary New Delhi, but the American nationality of the planner, Walter Burley Griffin, made comparisons with Washington DC more amenable to the secessionists.⁶¹⁵ Modern town planning with its emphasis on achieving social reform was a cause espoused in Perth by the federalist Harold Boas.

⁶¹² ‘The Secession Issue | Arguments for and Against’, *West Australian*, 22 March 1933, page 15

⁶¹³ ‘National Memorials Ordinance 1928’, *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, No 99, 20 September 1928, pages 2638-2643; Geoff Kingman-Sugars, ‘The Arms of Canberra’, and Geoff Kingman-Sugars and Bruce Baskerville, ‘Who is the armiger and where is the city?’, *The Australian Heraldry Society Members Circular, Centenary of Canberra Special Issue*, No 159, March-May 2013, pages 11-14

⁶¹⁴ There are several English-language renditions of the motto, most commonly ‘For the law, the King and the people’. Other versions substitute queen for king, and mob for people.

⁶¹⁵ Gavin Stamp, ‘New Delhi: A New Imperial Capital for British India’, *The Court Historian*, Vol 17, No 2, December 2012, pages 189-208

Boas was an exponent of ‘scientific’ town planning that favoured data analysis and civic surveys over aesthetics to realize a modernist ‘city efficient’.⁶¹⁶

Perth, by contrast, had just passed its centenary. As Stow’s character Rob marvelled, “Perth was ancient”.⁶¹⁷ The city’s arms, granted in 1925 with twin black swan supporters, bore the motto *Floreat* (flourish), expressing its local civic aspirations. The original grid plan of the city was surrounded by unplanned sprawling post-gold rush suburbs, with the Swan River providing an Arcadian setting for the old colonial town. Lovekin and MacCallum Smith were ‘beautificationists’, seeking to promote the ‘city as art’, often through the use of public monuments (such as parks) that would in turn promote civic and moral virtues.⁶¹⁸ Lovekin had been part of Premier Sir John Forrest’s powerful ‘bungalow clique’ in the Golden Age 1890s, directing public funding to creating amenities such as Kings Park, the Zoo, the cricket ground and eventually the university campus.⁶¹⁹ Perth’s street names reflected its establishment in the 1830s, its central axis honouring Hanoverian King William and Queen Adelaide, its long east-west streets recalling Scottish Tory politicians, its riverside terrace named for the patron saint of England. Provocative Gothic romanticism flamed secessionist imaginations.

Canberra was a planned imperial city, Perth an old colonial town. For the secessionists, the imperialism of the new city was Americanist and Pacific-oriented, and its modernist town planning championed in Perth by federationist Harold Boas was an artificial ‘eastern’ (states) distraction from a natural British Indian Ocean-oriented empire.⁶²⁰ The architecture of the two cities, like their layouts, was a metaphor for the two traditions. The federalists favoured the new ‘Mediterranean’ styles and Spanish-Pacific allusions, such as the University’s Winthrop Hall in Perth (1927-31) and the Melbourne Building

⁶¹⁶ Robert Freestone, ‘Town Planning’, in Philip Goad and Julie Willis (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne 2012, page 714

⁶¹⁷ Randolph Stow 1965/1986, see footnote 64

⁶¹⁸ ‘A Splendid Record | Mr MacCallum Smith’s 21 years | In the service of North Perth’, *Sunday Times*, 9 February 1936, page 3

⁶¹⁹ Alfred Lovekin, *Kings Park Perth*, ES Wigg & Son, Perth 1925; and Bruce Baskerville, *Creating Arcadia: A history of nature conservation in colonial Western Australia 1870-1914*, unpub. honours dissertation, University of Western Australia 1992: Chapter 3 *passim*: the ‘Bungalow Clique’ was an inner circle that socialized with and advised Forrest, and was reputed to meet on the verandah of his home in Perth.

⁶²⁰ Boas authored a 1930 Perth regional planning strategy: *Report of the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission*, Government Printer, Perth 1931

in Canberra (1927). The secessionists favoured revival styles such as the University's Gothic St George's College (1931) and the 'Old English' London Court in the city (1937), styles largely absent in Canberra.

Even in Perth, however, the influence of rational town planners was evident in the design for the new university campus in 1915 resembling that of Canberra and New Delhi, with axes radiating from central points connected by circular avenues.⁶²¹ However, a closer look at the archetypal inter-war Westralian suburb of Nedlands suggests these imaginaries were less contrasting and more intermingled.

Adjacent to the university, Nedlands' domestic housing displayed features of either modern California Bungalow and Spanish Mission idioms, or 'Old English' and Georgian revival, although the houses were all mixed together.⁶²² Nedlands returned a 62% 'yes' vote in the secession referendum, but its mixed-up domestic architecture suggesting the landscape boundaries between these 'traditions' were porous rather than a deep cleave.⁶²³ This blurriness would soon be harnessed to the 'federal spirit'.

⁶²¹ RJ Ferguson, *Cranley Campus: The Planning and Architecture of the University of Western Australia*, UWA Press, Nedlands 1993, pages 8-11

⁶²² Palassis Architects, *City of Nedlands Municipal Heritage Inventory Review*, City of Nedlands, Stage One Report, February 2012, page 6; for identification of architectural styles, see Richard Apperly *et al*, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and terms from 1788 to the present*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1989

⁶²³ 'Secession Referendum | Counting Completed | Two to one in favour', *Western Mail*, 27 April 1933, page 18. Another example of 'mixing' at the time is secessionist architect Summerhayes and federationist town planner WE Bold collaborating on designing Floreat Park Estate, on Garden Suburb principles, in which the first 'model house', in an 'Old English' style designed by Howard Bonner in his Goldsborough House studio, was opened by Lt Governor Sir James Mitchell on 1 April 1934: 'Model Brick Home', Assessment of Cultural Significance, *Register of Heritage Places*, Heritage Council of Western Australia, Assessment Documentation, 4 May 2001

Figure 5.9 | Contrasting imperial southern cross and royal black swan landscapes



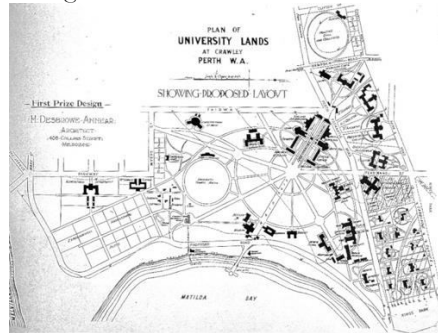
Coat of Arms, City of Perth, granted 1925
<http://www.perthone.com/pbdg.html>, accessed 2 October 2015



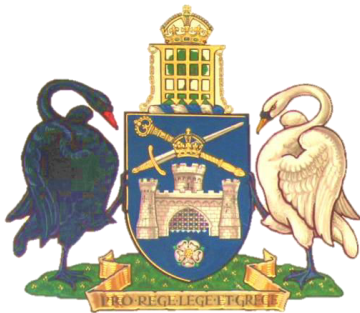
Old, organic, ad-hoc metropolitan sprawl, Perth 1930s
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/mrlederhosen/507193936>, accessed 19 August 2016



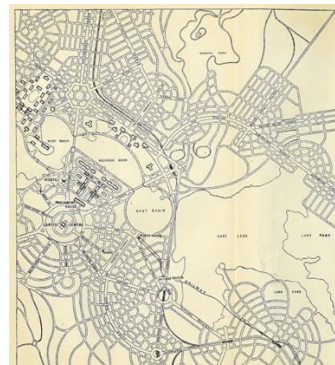
Coat of Arms, University of Western Australia, assumed (GK Gray design 1929).
<http://www.web.uwa.edu.au/university/history/archi-ve-collections/coat-of-arms>, accessed 23 September 2015



Desbrow-Anneer's planned university campus, 1915
 RJ Ferguson, *Cranley Campus*, UWA Press, Nedlands 1993: page 9



Coat of arms, City of Canberra, granted 1927 design by Windsor Herald, displaying symbols of power, authority and lineage.
 Letters Patent, ACT Archives, Canberra



Burley-Griffins' modern, rational, planned city of Canberra, as finally gazetted in 1925
 Frederick Watson, *A Brief History of Canberra*, Federal Capital Press, Canberra 1927: page 172

Figure 5.10 | Intermingled imperial and royal Nedlands domestic life



*Old English: House, 1937, architect unknown, 83 Florence Road, Nedlands (N34)
Photo: Graham Grundy, 27 October 2015*



*Georgian Revival: HK Watson's House, 1927, architect unknown, 85 Tyrrell Street, Nedlands (not listed)
Photo: Graham Grundy, 27 October 2015*



*Gothic Revival: St Margaret's Church of England, 1937, architect WG Bennett, 58 Tyrrell Street, Nedlands (N47)
Photo: Graham Grundy, 27 October 2015*



Functionalist/Art Deco: Nedlands Tennis Club, 1938, architects Harold Kranz and Neil Perkins, Bruce Street, Nedlands (N26) Photo: Graham Grundy, 27 October 2015



*Mediterranean: 'Stirling Court' Flats, 1935, architect unknown, 80 Stirling Highway, Nedlands (N1g)
Photo: Graham Grundy, 27 October 2015*



*Art Deco: 'Greenough' Flats, 1941, architect Horace Costello, 114 Stirling Highway, Nedlands (N1b)
Photo: Graham Grundy, 27 October 2015*

Note: numbers in brackets are the heritage item identifiers, Nedlands Municipal Inventory, City of Nedlands 1999.

IV | Indissoluble Bonds

The place of the Crown in this romanticized history of a lost golden age and the enigmatic, impossible black swan versus the nationalist rhetoric of White Australia and the southern cross, each presented as authentic heir to Anzac, took another form in the legalistic debates over the meaning of the word ‘indissoluble’.

The *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900* is an enactment of the British parliament, containing a preamble and nine clauses (‘covering clauses’) and a schedule, (the ‘constitution’).⁶²⁴ Differing interpretations of the covering clauses, especially the preamble, clause 3 and clause 6, were fundamental points of difference between the secessionists and the federationists. The preamble opens with the sentence

Whereas the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania, humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and under the Constitution hereby established ...

Clause 3 provided for the Queen to proclaim the “people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania, and also, if Her Majesty is satisfied that the people of Western Australia have agreed to, of Western Australia, shall be united in a Federal Commonwealth”. Clause 6 defines ‘the States’ as “such of the colonies of New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia and South Australia, including the northern territory of South Australia ... and such colonies or territories as may be admitted into or established by the Commonwealth as States ... shall be called ‘a State’”.

Each of the colonies held one or more referenda in which the male colonists (and women in South Australia and Western Australia) voted on whether or not to join the federation. In Western Australia, the referendum took place on 31 July 1900, hence its absence from the preamble, and the tentative reference in Clause 3. The preamble also included a reference to admitting other Australasian colonies and possessions into the federation in the future, hence the inclusion of New Zealand, the Northern Territory and ‘other colonies and territories’ in Clause 6.

⁶²⁴ *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900*, 63 & 64 Vict, Ch 12, Royal Assent 19 July 1900

All of these issues were raised during the secession campaign, with the secessionists arguing at various times that Western Australia had been dragooned into federation before the referendum was even put, that the electoral rolls had been flooded with new enrolments from ‘eastern’ miners just before the vote, and the phrasing in the sixth clause of ‘such of the colony of Western Australia as may be admitted’ was a coded reference to the ‘separation for federation’ movement of the Western Australian goldfields, and an implied threat to remove the colony’s most prosperous region if it did not join the federation.⁶²⁵ These arguments, aimed at undermining the legitimacy of the 1900 referendum result, were tactical sideshows, however, compared to the arguments over the word ‘indissoluble’.

The secessionists argued that, as the word indissoluble only appeared in the preamble, it was not part of the constitution proper, and therefore was only a statement of sentiment rather than law. More substantially, they argued that indissolubility referred to the relationship between the King and the people. It was not open to the people to sever their connection with the Crown, only to sever the bonds between the parties to the constitution, the States. Various constitutional experts were quoted to the effect that the constitution was a deed of partnership, and it was the deed that could be dissolved provided the parties remained ‘under the Crown’. Indissolubility referred to the connection of the parties to the Crown, not their connection to each other.

⁶²⁵ Helen Irving (ed), *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1999, ‘Separation for Federation’, page 423-424; Gregory Craven 1986: page 32

restoration of ‘absolute self-government’, to a Westralian birthright of full autonomy as a dominion under the Crown. The secessionists could not contemplate a refusal of their just petition as an ‘overseas British community’ to self-government and autonomy within the Empire. Self-government was a traditional and inalienable right of a ‘British community’, they argued. Secession was a sovereign right, and sovereignty had not been lost or absorbed by the Commonwealth in 1901. It remained intact in the people, as was demonstrated by their loyalty to the throne through their sacrifices in the Great War, and their faith that the King could and would restore their rights as a self-governing community.⁶²⁶ This interpretation of indissolubility was well developed during 1930, and enunciated at every meeting and gathering of the Dominion League, usually before any other business was considered. It became an abiding article of faith, almost a credo.

The secessionist leaders were also keen students of constitutional developments within the Empire. Watson was fond of quoting from the Simon Report on the governance of India, especially its recommendations that Burma should be separated and formed into a separate colony, which he argued was a ‘parallel case’.⁶²⁷ The League commented favourably on a movement similar to itself in western Canada ‘clamouring for release’, and was in regular contact with a similar organization, the Dominion League of Tasmania.⁶²⁸

The Empire was, for the Dominion League, a great laboratory of evolving constitutional forms in which autonomous self-governing British communities experimented, adopted and discarded state forms as their circumstances required. It was held together, not by legislated constitutions, but by something far more powerful and ethereal, personal loyalty to the Crown validated through a strongly localized sense of place or *genius loci*

⁶²⁶ ‘Secession Campaign Initiated | Address by Mr Lovekin’, *West Australian*, 24 May 1930, page 16; ‘Melbourne Age | Attack on the Secession Movement | Reply by Mr Lovekin’, *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1930, page 4; ‘Can WA Secede? | Some Pungent Points of the Subject’, *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1930, page 6; ‘Move for Secession | Dominion League Policy’, *Daily News*, 26 June 1930, page 7; ‘A Layman’s Analysis | On the Constitutional Aspect of Secession’, *Sunday Times*, 20 July 1930, page 9

⁶²⁷ ‘Out for Secession | Spirited Meetings at Several Country Centres’, *Sunday Times*, 24 August 1930, page 13

⁶²⁸ ‘Secession and Loyalty’, *Sunday Times*, 5 October 1930, page 8; ‘Secession in Canada’, *Sunday Times*, 25 January 1931, page 14

that, for Westralians, was represented by the mythologised but actually experienced black swan. The Commonwealth of Australia, on the other hand, was contrasted as rigid, illiberal, centralising, homogenising and unable to accept local diversity.

The federationists gave these arguments and evocations short shrift. The King, they argued, was advised by his ministers and by virtue of the Balfour Declaration made at the Imperial Conference in 1926, he would be advised by his Australian ministers on any question of secession. The preamble was as much a part of the constitution as any other, and could only be changed by referendum. It was very unlikely the (eastern) Australian people would agree to Western Australia's secession. A secession referendum in Western Australia would be a waste of money, and would not bring about separation anyway. The King would only talk to his Commonwealth ministers, not the secessionists, even if they could win a referendum. And even if the Imperial Parliament would consider amending the Constitution Act, they would seek the consent of the Commonwealth ministry, which would not give such consent. The federation was indissoluble and it was impossible for any State to withdraw from it. That question had been answered with finality by the American Civil war, and even Java would not be able to save the secessionists from that reality. Secession, said the *Westralian Worker*, was an "absolute menace to the Commonwealth" promoted by "that queer collection of self-glorified nonentities known as the Dominion League".⁶²⁹

Watson's invocations of the Simon Report were attacked as naïve. The Burmese were racially different to other Indians, argued the federalists, whereas Westralians were "racially identical" with other Australians. Further, if the secessionists were against federalism then they were giving Gandhi grounds to reject a federal form of government for India, with its many races and religions, because if a federal principle could not promote unity between a single race with a single tongue, then it could not work in

⁶²⁹ 'More Secession Sob-Stuff', *Westralian Worker*, 30 May 1930: page 1; 'A Secessionist Screech', *Westralian Worker*, 1 August 1930: page 1; 'Should WA Secede? | The Negative Case | New Federal Convention Urged', *Western Mail*, 11 September 1930, Page 25; 'Men and Women', *Westralian Worker*, 22 January 1932, page 3

India.⁶³⁰ The Dominion League was, in reality, just as subversive of the Empire as Gandhi, hypocrites waving a Union Jack when they really stood for disunion.⁶³¹ The secessionists were attacking (eastern) Australia's very concept of its own Britishness.

Whether Gandhi or Indian nationalists were aware of Westralian anti-federalism, and despite the secessionists interest in new state formations in the Empire, it was the federationists references to Balfour that proved more insightful. The Imperial Conferences in London over October and November 1926 and the same months in 1930 were reported in the Western Australian press, but with a focus on immigration, trade and the social activities of the delegates. There were some references in 1930 to Prime Minister Scullin's push for the appointment of locally-born governors-general, but little mention of constitutional issues.⁶³²

Secessionists first became aware that a change in imperial relationships may be under way in March 1931 when Watson asked Premier Mitchell to protest against a proposed Imperial statute, arising from the 1930 Conference, that in future no Imperial act could extend to a dominion unless the dominion had asked for and agreed to the law. He argued that decisions relating to the State constitution rested with the Imperial authorities, but under the proposed law that power would pass to Canberra without any safeguards for the States. He noted that Tasmania had already protested, as had the Canadian provinces. His real concern was that Western Australia would "be entirely at the mercy of Canberra which might have a blocking effect on securing secession".⁶³³

Watson's prescience received little public attention at the time, but other League members such as Norbert Keenan KC, Chief Secretary in the Mitchell cabinet, were able to lodge several official objections with the Imperial authorities, and when the Bill was debated in the Imperial Parliament an amendment was included, apparently at the behest of the Western Australian government, that purported to remove any doubt

⁶³⁰ Letter to the Editor from Colin Unwin, Hon Organiser, The Citizens' Federation, *West Australian*, 26 August 1930, page 14.

⁶³¹ 'A Secessionist Screech', *Westralian Worker*, 1 August 1930: page 1

⁶³² 'The Imperial Conference | Legal and Constitutional Issues | (By Fred Alexander)', *West Australian*, 18 October 1930, page 5

⁶³³ 'Secession Notes | Enthusiastic Meeting at Beverley', *Sunday Times*, 29 March 1931, page 12

about the sovereignty of the Australian States, and their continued direct access to authorities in London.⁶³⁴ The State-supported amendment and the non-ratification of the Statute by the federal parliament seem to have lulled the secessionists doubts.⁶³⁵

By the time the secession delegation was leaving for London they had a clear plan to present the petition directly to the King, the House of Commons and House of Lords, and avoiding at all costs sending it through the Dominions Office where, although now less wary of the Statute of Westminster, they were nevertheless fearful in case “some influence born of secret diplomacy would defeat the effect the people desired”.⁶³⁶ They arrived in London on 26 October 1934, and were greeted by the Agent General Sir Hal Colebatch, Admiral Bromley of the Dominions Office (and a Gentleman Usher to the King) and the press.⁶³⁷ Smith told the reporters “Western Australia’s attachment to the Crown was not affected” by secession.⁶³⁸ The address to the King, they said, was to be presented before the petitions to parliament.

The delegates, supported by the Agent General, duly presented the petitions to the Commons and Lords in December 1934.⁶³⁹ The petitions were referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, which issued its report on 22 May 1935.⁶⁴⁰ The Committee resolved to consider only the question of whether the petition could be received, and not the substance of the petition. The report was brief. Its principal finding was that,

⁶³⁴ ‘Statute of Westminster’, *Geraldton Guardian*, 1 December 1931, page 2; ‘Statute of Westminster | State Rights Protected’, *Western Mail*, 3 December 1931, page 33; ‘The Westminster Statute’, *Western Argus*, 8 December 1932, page 2; ‘Dominion Status | Leadership Claimed for Ireland’, *West Australian*, 14 December 1931, page 12. Clause 9 of the Statute is the relevant section.

⁶³⁵ for example, letters to the editor from JRL Brinkley of Fremantle, ‘Statute of Westminster’, *West Australian*, 7 January 1932, page 10; ‘Elections and Secession’, *West Australian*, 2 February 1932, page 11; ‘Secession and Constitution’, *West Australian*, 10 June 1932, page 10

⁶³⁶ ‘Secession Festival | Scenes of Enthusiasm’, *West Australian*, 11 May 1933, page 10

⁶³⁷ A gentleman usher acts as a personal escort from the King. Bromley also held the position of Ceremonial and Reception Secretary for the Dominion Office between 1931 and 1952, see *Burke’s Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition*, Wilmington Delaware 2003: Vol 1, page 519

⁶³⁸ ‘Secession Delegation | Arrival in London’, *Western Argus*, 30 October 1934, page 21

⁶³⁹ ‘Secession Petitions | Tabling at Westminster | Delegates to Watch in Lords’, *West Australian*, 18 December 1934, page 18. The liberal Marquess of Aberdeen tabled the petition in the Lords, and it was presented in the Commons by New South Wales-born Adrian Moreing, Conservative Member for Preston and partner in a mining company with extensive interests in Western Australia

⁶⁴⁰ *Report of the Joint Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, appointed to consider the Petition of the State of Western Australia in Relation to Secession*, HMSO London and Commonwealth Government Printer Canberra 1935

although the Imperial Parliament did have the power to amend the covering clauses and remove the references to Western Australia, the constitutional conventions of the Empire recently given formal approval in the Statute of Westminster meant that this could only happen if requested by the Commonwealth of Australia, but not by any of the States. A State could ask that its own State constitution be amended without the consent of the Commonwealth, but it could not ask for the Commonwealth constitution to be amended. As the State of Western Australia was asking for the Commonwealth constitution to be changed, the petition could not be received by the Imperial Parliament. And with that, in thirteen brief paragraphs, the secessionists' ardent hopes and beliefs were broken. The supposed protections in the Statute of Westminster had been used against them. It had all been for nothing.

The Dominion League had been quietly confident of success before the Joint Committee, and the rejection of the petition was met with shock and defiance. Watson angrily told reporters that revolutionary force was now the only means left, and claims were made about preventing customs officials collecting duties, refusing to recognize federal authorities, and following the Sinn Féin practice of abstention in the federal parliament.⁶⁴¹ He also warned the Indian princes then in London following the passage of the Government of India Bill through the parliament they should beware entering into any federation developed by the British government because “it would betray them, as we have been betrayed.”⁶⁴² The League formally reaffirmed “its objective of fighting for secession and nothing but secession ... until complete liberation has been obtained from the Commonwealth”.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ ‘Secession Decision | A Delegate’s Outburst | Mr Watson Talks of Using Force’, *West Australian*, 28 May 1935, page 15. Abstentionism was the Sinn Féin practice of standing candidates for election to the House of Commons but, when successful, abstaining from attending the parliament in London. In 1919 abstentionist MPs formed themselves into a separate Irish parliament.

⁶⁴² ‘Secession Decision | A Delegate’s Outburst | Mr Watson Talks of Using Force’, *West Australian*, 28 May 1935, page 15. Watson was reaffirming the princes’ earlier rejection of a federal constitution for India that was reported in Western Australia as lacking a right to secession: ‘The Indian Princes’, *West Australian*, 28 February 1935, page 16. See also Barbara N. Ramusack, *The Indian Princes and Their States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004: chapter 8 ‘Federation or Integration’ *passim*; and Dr Pamela Price, review of *The Indian Princes and their States*, *Reviews in History*, (review no. 434) <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/434>, accessed 18 September 2015

⁶⁴³ ‘Dominion League | Separation Still the Objective’, *West Australian*, 30 May 1935, page 18

And what of their petition to the King? For some time they did not know what had happened. “The mystery of the long-deferred reply from His Majesty”, as the secessionist *Sunday Times* described it, was only revealed in December 1935.⁶⁴⁴ On 5 December the Premier was asked in the Assembly whether the government would be asking the Commonwealth to agree to the secession petition being received by the British parliament. The Premier replied that he was considering the matter.⁶⁴⁵ Apparently, a number of papers were tabled at the same time without discussion, but later perusal by Alfred Chandler revealed an undated letter from the (by then, former) Secretary for Dominions, Jimmy Thomas to the Premier stating that as the address to the King was the same in substance as the petition to parliament, presenting it to the King had been deferred pending the outcome of the Joint Committee. In light of the committee’s findings, Thomas wrote “It has not been possible to advise His Majesty to accede to the prayer of the address”.⁶⁴⁶ Chandler argued that Thomas had been “conspicuously disingenuous”. Watson more directly stated “There was a common conspiracy between Mr Lyons and Mr Thomas to side-track the issue”.⁶⁴⁷ And, to rub salt into the wound, also among the papers was a response from Prime Minister Lyons stating that the Federal government would not approve the matter of secession being considered by either the British or Federal parliaments.

While the secessionist’s anger was directed to the British government, the seven-month vacuum in learning of the King’s response was filled with expressions of vice-regal reassurance. Sir William Campion, the last British-born governor of the State who retired in 1931, told a gathering in London that nowhere in the Empire was more loyal than Western Australia and its claims for secession were justified.⁶⁴⁸ Tom Hartrey, Vice-president of the Dominion League, spoke of the King owing his title to the Glorious

⁶⁴⁴ ‘The Secession Issue | Getting to the Commonwealth | The King’s Reply’, *Sunday Times*, 8 December 1935, page 22

⁶⁴⁵ *Western Australia Parliamentary Debates*, Fifteenth Parliament, Fourth Session, Legislative Assembly, 5 December 1935, page 2246

⁶⁴⁶ ‘The Secession Issue | Getting to the Commonwealth | The King’s Reply’, *Sunday Times*, 8 December 1935, page 22

⁶⁴⁷ ‘Mr HK Watson’, *Toodyay Herald*, 27 September 1935, page 5. See also David Lee, ‘States rights and Australia’s adoption of the Statute of Westminster, 1931-1942’, *History Australia*, Vol 13, No 2, July 2016 on behind-the-scenes dealings between Lyons, Menzies and Thomas

⁶⁴⁸ ‘Excuse for Petition | Sir William Campion’, *West Australian*, 30 May 1935, page 18

Revolution (that is, to non-violent extra-constitutional change), and if redress could not be achieved through constitutional means, a policy of non-cooperation may be as successful in achieving such a ‘glorious’ revolution in Perth.⁶⁴⁹ In the end, however, the reply buried in the parliamentary papers was taken as proof by secessionists that deceitful civil servants in the Dominions Office had tricked their King.

Watson, now returned from London and ever the firebrand, claimed that if Irish Prime Minister De Valera received even half the double-dealing the secessionists had received from Thomas then the responsibility for all the problems with Ireland should be laid at the door of the Dominions Office.⁶⁵⁰ ‘High British officials’, he claimed, had acted like gangsters, and their practices would “discredit a black republic.”⁶⁵¹ The question now, said Watson, was whether Westralians would “act as a conquered race or act as free men and take what they wanted ... [once] all constitutional means had been exhausted.”⁶⁵² Alfred Chandler, Mrs Pratt, and a number of parliamentarians all praised Watson’s efforts.

Some federationists joyfully ridiculed the secessionists faith in the Crown, suggesting the delegation should have taken along a black swan flag to a ceremony in England to toast the King as ‘Seigneur of the Swans’ to prove how easy they said it would be to get secession from the King.⁶⁵³ More sarcastically, they cast the secessionists as ‘pink shirts’ (or pale revolutionaries) burning the files of the Federal Taxation Department in Perth and raiding the naval establishment at Fremantle while its guns faced seaward.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁹ ‘Why Not Force? | Secession and the Extreme View’, *Sunday Times*, 2 June 1935, page 35

⁶⁵⁰ ‘Secession Petition | Mr HK Watson’s allegations’, *West Australian*, 24 September 1935, page 15

⁶⁵¹ ‘Secession Petition | Mr HK Watson’s allegations’, *West Australian*, 24 September 1935, page 15; ‘a black republic’ was a reference to the policy adopted by the South African Communist Party in 1928 of overthrowing the British and Dutch bourgeoisie and forming a republic in which the white masses would realize they are just one of several national minorities. The policy led to bitter infighting in the Communist Party over arcane points of interpretation of the policy and seriously reduced its numbers. <https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sections/sacp/1928/comintern.htm> and <https://www.marxists.org/archive/hirson/1989/response.htm> accessed 18 September 2015

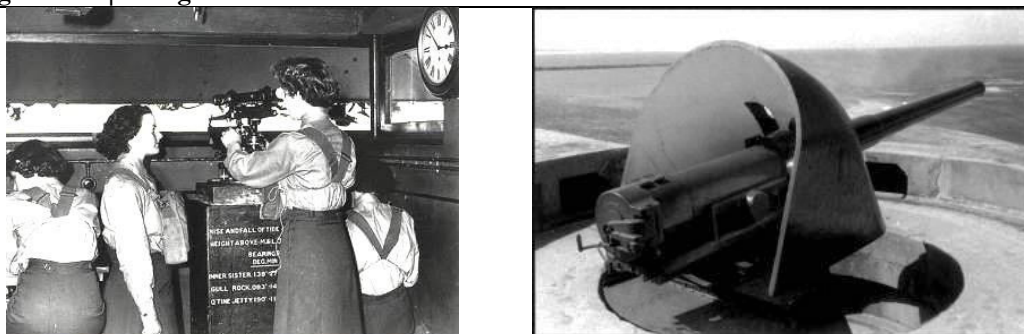
⁶⁵² ‘Secession Petition | Mr HK Watson’s allegations’, *West Australian*, 24 September 1935, page 15

⁶⁵³ ‘Men and Matters’, *Westralian Worker*, 24 May 1935, page 7

⁶⁵⁴ ‘The Pink Shirt Revolution | A Horrible Western Australian Nightmare’, *Mirror*, 1 June 1935, pages 11-12

Eighteen months later, federationists gleefully provoked secessionists by claiming that people had lost faith in secession “when the threatened civil war has not taken place”.⁶⁵⁵

Figure 5.12 | The guns of Fremantle in 1942



The guns face seaward into the Indian Ocean, giving the Mirror’s derision a sense of insight into a later nationalist theme of British betrayal of Australia illustrated by the fall of Singapore, legendarily because its guns also faced the wrong way, neither able to be turned inland on either invading Japanese forces nor Westralian secessionist raiders.

Images: <http://www.artillerywa.org.au/raahs/history.htm>

V | A Ducal Patrimony

Secessionist Westralianism reached its peak during the two-years between 8 April 1933 and 22 May 1935. In the history of Westralia, as imagined and presented by the Dominion League, the black swan had never flown higher. The referendum had been convincingly won, the Crown was represented in the body of a Westralian-born Lieutenant Governor who performed all the roles of a governor, and the State parliament had sent a formal delegation to London to obtain legislative and royal assent for the coming dominion. In April 1934 it was publicly announced that Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester and third son of the King would be visiting Australia.⁶⁵⁶ The ostensible reason for his visit was as guest of honour at the centenary celebrations for Melbourne, but his first landfall would be in Fremantle and he would make a week-long tour in the State.

The secession delegation sailed just a fortnight before the Duke’s arrival, and arrived in London in time for the wedding of the King’s youngest son, the Duke of Kent. Colebatch, as agent-general, attended and Watson and MacCallum Smith witnessed a grand royal spectacle. The black swan flag was flown from Savoy House, and there was

⁶⁵⁵ ‘Timely Topics’, *Westralian Worker*, 24 January 1936, page 2

⁶⁵⁶ ‘Prince George Not Coming | Reported Weariness After African Tour | Henry, Duke of Gloucester, to substitute for him’, *Sunday Times*, 29 April 1934, page 1

a sense that the historically destined revival of the Westralian Golden Age was portended by its alignment with Kent marrying a princess of the Greek royal house in an apparent return to the traditional pre-war pan-European dynasty.

But the secessionist's certain belief in the destiny now unfolding before their eyes blinded them to the quiet workings of the 'federal spirit'. Gloucester's tour was undertaken after direct discussions between the King and the governors-general of Australia and New Zealand, and preceded the presentation of the petition in London.⁶⁵⁷ It soon became clear in Perth that the tour arrangements would be made and controlled by the Commonwealth not the State. The Duke would land first in Western Australia and be greeted on board HMS *Sussex* by Lyons ally and Commonwealth politician Major Charles Marr DSO MC (ex-1st Anzac Wireless Squadron in Mesopotamia).⁶⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Westralians went to great efforts to present the Duke his Westralian patrimony. Loyal addresses were presented at levees and fetes by municipal authorities, community groups such as masons and scouts, religious groups and sporting bodies.⁶⁵⁹ The Dominion League's address was bound in kangaroo skin and embossed with black swans, reflecting that of many other addresses. Vignettes of local landscape scenery were popular in the addresses, as was Westralian heraldry and colour paintings of wildflowers. The Duke opened the annual Perth Royal Show, with wildflowers a feature of his visit to the show because it was an auspiciously 'good season' for wildflowers, and as one enthusiastic reporter wrote

...it is likely the fame of Western Australia's flora has come under the notice of the Duke ... [but] he is never likely to see so many of them to such advantage as on this occasion ... being of a historic nature and giving pleasure to the Royal visitor ... [they have] evolved from common ancestry into the royalty and nobility of the Kingdom of Flowers; nearly every bloom has a proud pedigree".⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁷ 'The Royal Tour', *Western Argus*, 1 May 1934, page 15

⁶⁵⁸ "'Me'" and Prince Henry | Royal Visit will be "Marred" | Premier and People of Western Australia Slighted', *Sunday Times* 19 August 1934, page 2; see also 'Tour Direction | Commonwealth and State Principals', *West Australian*, 4 October 1934, page 20

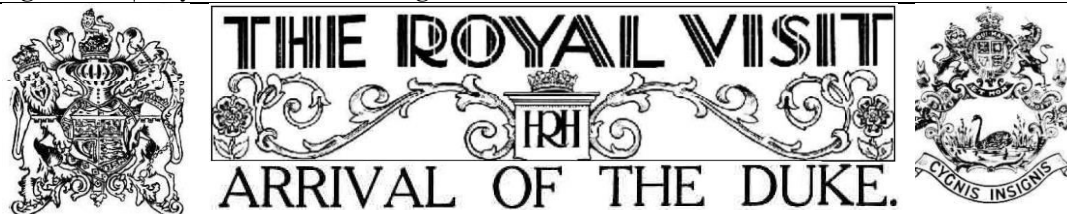
⁶⁵⁹ 'Loyal Addresses | Handsome Documents | Historical Events Illustrated', *West Australian*, 2 October 1934, page 20

⁶⁶⁰ 'Amongst the Flowers | Wild and Garden Varieties', *Sunday Times*, 30 September 1934, page 15; see also 'Flowers That Will Greet The Duke', *West Australian*, 27 September 1934, page 20. The Royal Show is an annual, originally strictly agricultural, festival held in Perth since 1834, with counterparts in other

Simons' *Mirror* ridiculed this fervour, awarding coats of arms to notables including the absent Watson (blazoned "a black swan twisting a kangaroo's tail").⁶⁶¹ Whether deferring or deriding, however, neither secessionists nor their detractors comprehended the confidence with which the Commonwealth took control of the tour.

Gloucester's tour of Western Australia and then the eastern states was wildly popular.⁶⁶² His first official duties in Perth were to place a wreath at the State War Memorial in Kings Park, and officially open the new RSL headquarters Anzac House. The leitmotif of his tour was found in a phrase he used often 'Affection for the Crown and Loyalty to the Empire'. These two sentiments, he told an audience in Brisbane as he was departing Australia, he found common to all Australians.⁶⁶³

Figure 5.13 | Royal black swan heritage



Combining royal and Westralian symbols to illustrate the Duke's patrimony: the ducal arms on the left, the Great Seal of Western Australian on the right, joined by dynastic roses with no representations of the Commonwealth of Australia
 Source: banner headline, picture feature in *West Australian*, 5 October 1934, page 23

The Empire that the secessionists had seen as the proper political and economic framework for the new dominion was being co-opted and presented as the 'natural' framework for the Commonwealth of Australia, and as the only viable and enduring alternative to secession. Craven has outlined the moves by the Commonwealth behind the scenes in London to persuade the British government not to accept the petition for

state and territory capitals. The Perth show became 'royal' in 1890:

<http://www.perthroyalshow.com.au/about-the-show/history.aspx> accessed 27 September 2015

⁶⁶¹ 'Why Can't We All Have A Coat of Arms?', *The Mirror*, 19 May 1934, page 16. Watson was also ascribed the nonsense motto 'Secession vincit unitatem', or 'Unity and secession prevails'

⁶⁶² for a detailed itinerary and assessments of the tour, see Philip W. Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia 1867-1986*, Royalty Publishing, Adelaide 1986, Chapter 6 *passim*; also Jane Connors, *Royal Visits to Australia*, NLA Publishing, Canberra 2015: pages 68-73. Neither pay much attention to the Western Australian component of the tour.

⁶⁶³ 'Duke's Visit Near End | Leaves Brisbane on Monday | Royal Honours', *Daily News*, 8 December 1934, page 3

secession.⁶⁶⁴ Federal Attorney-General Robert Menzies briefed an eminent Kings Counsel to present a case to the Joint Committee arguing that it would be constitutionally improper to receive the secession petition, let alone consider it.⁶⁶⁵ To do so would clearly constitute interference in the internal affairs of a dominion, which would lead to great resentment in Australia and eventually disruption and the ‘suicide’ of the Empire. The legal capacity of the British Parliament to receive the petition was not contested, but the political consequences of doing so dominated the discussions between Canberra and Whitehall. None of these discussions were reported in the press, but the final report of the Joint Committee set forth just such reasoning, directly referencing the Statute of Westminster.⁶⁶⁶

The Commonwealth was confident of a favourable outcome long before the Joint Committee met, and it moved quietly but swiftly behind the scenes to co-opt the forthcoming royal tour in preparation for such an outcome. The Prince of Wales’ tour in 1920 had authenticated the post-war forgetting in South Australia of the deep divisions caused by the destruction of its German communities, and Gloucester’s visit would now be harnessed to a similar purpose. Gloucester would be the federationist’s royal avatar to dissipate anger from the petition’s failure. Watson’s fiery invocations of unilateral secession and civil disturbances after the Joint Committee’s decision, and the need for some response, had been foreseen. The Commonwealth’s public lethargy and ignoring of secession until the eve of the referendum was replaced afterwards by an unseen but agile ‘federal spirit’. Both Menzies and Lyons were in London when the Joint Committee was meeting, ostensibly on other business.⁶⁶⁷ Craven argues that the Commonwealth was so worried about the potential for the federation to break-up that it was forced to rely on the Imperial Parliament to save it, and to resolve a ‘domestic’ Australian political problem, paradoxically conceding that Australia did not have the independence that both Canberra and London claimed it did.⁶⁶⁸ But it was ideas of

⁶⁶⁴ Gregory Craven 1986: pages 50-55; see also David Lee 2016

⁶⁶⁵ This was apparently a view within the Dominions Office – see David Lee 2016: pages 266-268

⁶⁶⁶ *Report of the Joint Committee* 1935.

⁶⁶⁷ Gregory Craven 1986: page 57; ‘Secession Petition | Mr HK Watson’s Allegations’, *West Australian*, 24 September 1935, page 15

⁶⁶⁸ Gregory Craven 1986: page 58

‘Windsorness’ and its cultural expressions, not the law, that was used to both obscure and overcome arcane legalisms.

Fine arguments in constitutional law were not really debated among the Westralian public. Instead, the Commonwealth now moved to provide a route by which Westralians could transfer their loyalty from the still-born dominion to the Commonwealth, willingly, without losing face, perhaps without even realizing it. That route lay by a subtle elision of the seemingly ancient but in fact newly invented traditions of the Australian Crown, traditions that included the (amnesiac) healing powers of a royal tour and invocations of a common Britishness among all the King’s subjects however they identified patrially.⁶⁶⁹

The complex invention of the House of Windsor in 1917 now came to the fore. This Britishness, or perhaps Windsorness is a more revealing term, functioned as a meta-narrative providing a focus for a loyalty to which all could ascribe, regardless of their secessionist or federationist leanings. It allowed Westralians to become Western Australians, blurring boundaries between secessionists and federationists’, as in the suburban streetscapes of Nedlands, without being riven and separated, by an overarching loyalty to the one Crown. This narrative was represented in May 1935 when the King’s silver jubilee celebrations were widely marked in Australia by, among other things, a commemorative postage stamp issue depicting George V in the uniform of a field marshall riding his favourite horse ‘Anzac’. The stamp was issued just two weeks after a 20th anniversary of Anzac stamp issue. Commemorative stamps were not common at this time, but between 1934 and 1937 stamp issues commemorated six historic events.⁶⁷⁰ Denis Altman has written on the use of stamps as official propaganda promoting certain behaviours and orthodoxies that are often only intelligible in a local

⁶⁶⁹ Geoffrey Dutton, writing thirty years later, referred to the ‘syrup’ of royal visits that ‘oozed over any cracks’ in the relationship between Britain and Australia: ‘British Subject’, *Nation*, 6 April 1963, pages 15-16. In this instance, the royal syrup was actively poured by the Commonwealth into the gaping cracks in the relationship between Western Australia and Australia.

⁶⁷⁰ The relatively high volume of historical commemorative issues in this short period is illustrated by there being only two issues before 1934, and the next not being issued until 1946.

culture.⁶⁷¹ This concentration of stamp issues at the same time as the Commonwealth was mastering its belated response to secession reveals, especially in the linked Anzac and silver jubilee issues, a significant cultural message aimed especially at one large group of secessionists. For the returned soldiers who had so strongly supported secession, their metonymic ‘Anzac’ sacrifice, and their loyalty to the King, in this moment of high Windsor ‘tradition’, was cast as a loyalty that transcended Westralianess or Australianess. The stamps illuminate a psychological route back from secession to commonwealth without imputations of disloyalty.

The release of the Joint Committee’s report coincided with the jubilee celebrations which helped to obscure both the findings and Watson’s passionate, even subversive, responses. In his angry appeals to Irish and Western Canadian separatisms and methods he, unwittingly, also revealed a terrible truth for the secessionists. They had lost their claim to a royal imprimatur for their program and for the coming dominion. The black swan’s neck had been, metaphorically, well and truly wrung, and even worse, not on the federationist university campus or in Americanist Canberra but in that seat of imperial power, the Gothic-revival Palace of Westminster.

Figure 5.14 | Royal Anzac

Conflating King and Anzac invoked a loyalty that transcended west-east nationalistic differences and facilitated a rapprochement between old soldiers (and stamp collectors)



Anzac Anniversary stamp, issued 18 March 1935, showing the Cenotaph in Sydney. 47,000,000 x 2d red stamps issued. Source: Author’s collection

Silver Jubilee stamp, issued 2 May 1935, showing George V on ‘Anzac’. 96,000,000 x 2d, 2,880,000 x 3d stamps issued. Source: Author’s collection

⁶⁷¹ Denis Altman, *Paper Ambassadors: The Politics of Stamps*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde 1991, pages 1-4

Just as the news leaked out on 5 December 1935 that the King had not seen the secession petition and Watson's claims of a Whitehall-Canberra conspiracy might have gained some traction, events seemed to conspire against the secessionists. The Commonwealth's 'federal spirit' was subtly positioning secession as disloyal, and Gloucester's tour provided

a conduit for shifting allegiances. This was made clear in a royal tour article in the *West Australian* combining a London *Times* article with local interpretation:

The royal family, by right of birth ... "belongs as much to Australia and New Zealand as to Great Britain. ... With the growth of the Dominions to independent nationhood the Crown is far more than a symbol of underlying unity" ... It is a potent force binding together all British subjects ... The Duke stands outside and above all parties. "When he reaches Western Australia he will find the Government and Parliament busy with plans for severing connexion [sic] with the other States and full of grievances against the Federal Government. Neither ... will affect the people's devotion to the Crown. Indeed, it would be more difficult to find anywhere a people more loyal and patriotic than West Australians." It is just because the Crown is so far removed from all party or sectional differences that it constitutes so potent a unifying power, reconciling all differences in a common loyalty."⁶⁷²

A few weeks later, on 20 January 1936, George V died, and with his death the secessionists and the Dominion League lost their royal talisman. During the royal mourning it was impolite to question the deceased King's role, or lack of role, around the petition. Three days after the King's death, the term of Governor-General Sir Isaac Isaacs, the first Australian-born governor-general in Canberra, came to an end. George V had approved Lyons' recommendation for a vice-regal successor before his death. The English-born Baron Gowrie of Canberra had previously been governor of South Australia and then New South Wales. His appointment relocated the bodily representation of the new Australian Crown back to that of a 'neutral' Briton, in accord with Lyon's reclamation of Empire from the secessionists. Isaacs had issued statements in support of the federationist cause, and there was a danger to Lyons' quiet reconciliation that this would be perceived as partisanship, undermining vice-regal and royal neutrality. Perhaps Lyons saw the spectacle of De Valera's treatment of the Irish-born Governor-General of the Irish Free State, widely reported in the Westralian press

⁶⁷² 'Imperial Significance | Crown's Unifying Power', *West Australian*, 5 September 1934, page 15

throughout 1936, as confirming the potential for locally-born vice-regal representatives to be dragged into partisan and nationalist politics?⁶⁷³ Vice-regal partisanship could not be allowed to undermine his response to secession.

In Perth affection for the old Westralian-born, ambiguously secessionist governor Sir James Mitchell remained strong, and would do so until his death a month after his retirement in 1951. Ironically, the appointment of a locally-born governor-general in 1931 had been portrayed by its proponents as a new step in Australian independence, while that of a locally-born governor in the same year, who may have become the governor-general of a new dominion, is largely unremarked upon. After 1935 Mitchell became one of the agents in reconciling the secessionists to a future within the Commonwealth, and he was elevated to the long-vacant governorship in 1948. The new Australian Crown reverted to a tradition of British-born appointees to engender acceptance by the disappointed secessionists, while their 'own' Westralian governor remained in office, allowing enigmatic possibilities of realizing secessionist Westralianism to be imagined, but contained.

Philip Collier, the ALP premier who returned to office in 1933 with a government at best agnostic about secession had, in the long run, played a significant role in saving the federation. David Black argues that Collier's role in defeating secession has been overlooked.⁶⁷⁴ This chapter concurs, showing that Collier certainly outflanked the secessionists in a strategic sense. Collier's party colleagues were furious with him for having Mitchell appointed to Government House without consulting them, but combined with allowing the secession delegation to be composed of fervent secessionists, and confident in his private view that the British government would not

⁶⁷³ De Valera pursued a policy of rendering the office invisible and irrelevant, and in 1932 the incumbent Donal Buckley was formally advised to stop attending public functions and only undertake the strictly legal requirements of the office. For just a few examples in the Western Australian press, see 'Irish Free State | Office of Governor-General | Possible Abolition', *Geraldton Guardian*, 30 May 1935, page 5; 'Republican Move | Elective Free State Head | Office of Governor-General to Go', *West Australian*, 26 June 1936, page 24; 'An Irish Republic', *Western Mail*, 2 July 1936, page 4 (in which Buckley was described as 'an obscure nonentity'); 'Free State Bill | Recognition of New King', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 14 December 1936, page 6; 'Irish Legal Tangle | The King's Position | Constitutional Lawyers Worried', *West Australian*, 15 December 1936, page 16

⁶⁷⁴ David Black, 'The Era of Labor Ascendancy, 1924-1947', in Tom Stannage (ed) *A New History of Western Australia*, UWA Press, Nedlands 1981, page 427

endorse their mission, he and the State government were able to stand to one side when the anger over the rejection of the petition became manifest. The secessionists had been given every opportunity, with State government support, to present their case. The failure was all theirs, not the government's. Collier's commiserations were understated, but his colleagues did not readily appreciate his strategy, forcing him in August 1936 to resign the premiership in favour of a new leader.

Thus, by early 1936, not even three years after the great victory of 8 April 1933, the Dominion League was floundering, its leaders confused, their energy dissipating. A meeting of the Dominion League in December 1937 was a shadow of the rallies of the early 1930s.⁶⁷⁵ Only 35 people attended, and adverse comments were occasioned by the absence of Watson. The meeting closed when "...a woman's voice demanded why Mr Watson was not present [sic]".⁶⁷⁶

A process of elision had fused elements of secessionism and federationism, starting long before the Joint Committee had made its decision.⁶⁷⁷ Loyalty was being positioned by the federationists as loyalty to the King, and therefore to the vice-kings in Perth and Canberra, rather than to a particular state, whether Westralia, Australia, Britain or Empire. Mitchell's two-decade term in the vice-regal office in Perth, Gowrie's succession to Isaacs, and Gloucester's role in providing a focus for allegiance to the culturally 'British' Crown are critical markers of this process.

Hudson and Sharp argue that a new Australian Crown was created in 1931 by the Statute of Westminster.⁶⁷⁸ By 1937 this Crown was simultaneously unchanging in its 'British' forms but also new and an agent of change. The rituals of the royal tour,

⁶⁷⁵ The last reported meeting of the Dominion League was on Monday 9 January 1939: see 'Dominion League', *West Australian*, 11 January 1939, page 13. In March 1939 Labor Premier John Willcock declined to engage in any further discussion with the League on what he termed "the proposed disintegration of the Australian nation", see 'News and Notes | Premier on Secession Issue', *West Australian* 6 March 1939, page 18

⁶⁷⁶ 'Secession | Dominion League Stir | Mr HK Watson Criticised', *West Australian*, 18 December 1937, page 23

⁶⁷⁷ I am using an understanding of 'elision' derived from process philosophy: see Freya Mathews, 'Environmental Philosophy', in Graham Oppy and NN Trakakis (eds), *A Companion to Philosophy in Australia and New Zealand*, Monash University Publishing, Clayton 2010, pages 164-165

⁶⁷⁸ WJ Hudson and Martin Sharp 1988: page 6

appearing to be modern antipodean forms of ancient royal progresses, simultaneously engaged in new rituals such as wildflower viewing, while being represented in naturalistic forms such as the black swan or the southern cross, and located as a bridge through a sort of royal Anzacdom between westward and eastward looking cultural views. The Commonwealth's avoidance of adopting the Statute of Westminster at this time is comprehensible as part of its strategy to maintain, through a common allegiance to one Crown, the Australian federation. That crown was culturally British, but its nationality was veiled.

From a western perspective the Commonwealth was a fundamentally different entity in 1936 to what it was in 1930. Secession, and responding to it, shaped the views of those who experienced it. This is exemplified in the actions of Prime Minister John Curtin in 1942. James Curran's assessment of Curtin's view of Australia and Empire does not mention Westralian secession, but he reveals statements and actions by Curtin that seem to recall the near-loss of his adopted State in 1933.⁶⁷⁹ In December 1941, in his New Year Statement for 1942, Curtin wrote a paragraph that has since been taken by Australian nationalists as a declaration of independence: "Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom."⁶⁸⁰ Curran debunks this notion, and other parts of the statement, while undoubtedly responding to the crisis of imminent Japanese invasion, could also have been read by Westralians still smarting with a sense of thwarted destiny as a coded warning:

We know the dangers of *dispersal of strength* ... The year 1942 will impose supreme tests ... I demand that Australians everywhere realize that Australia is *now inside the fighting lines* ... Australians must be perpetually on guard ... against *hampering by disputation* or *idle, irresponsible chatter* ... *All Australia* is the stake in this war. *All Australia* must stand together.⁶⁸¹ (author's emphases)

Curtin's statement was widely discussed in the eastern states press over the next few days in an intense and confused discussion. The earliest reference to the statement in Western Australia was on the 29 December when the *Kalgoorlie Miner* reprinted from the

⁶⁷⁹ James Curran, *Curtin's Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne 2011

⁶⁸⁰ quoted in Curran 2011: page 11, originally published in *The Herald* (Melbourne) 27 December 1941

⁶⁸¹ 'The Task Ahead', *The Herald* (Melbourne), 27 December 1941

front page of the *New York Sun*, “Australians here [in New York] wonder whether, in the stress of anxiety, Mr Curtin has forgotten the real links of kinship are not merely traditional”.⁶⁸² The *West Australian* editorialised on 31 December that Curtin’s remarks “might have been more happily phrased” and noted an “unfortunate synchronisation” with commentary in London by Sir Keith Murdoch about “isolationist embers” in the dominions.⁶⁸³ The only full publication of the statement in Perth was in Curtin’s old paper and secessionist foe the *Westralian Worker* on 9 January 1942, with a clarification from Curtin that nothing he said meant a weakening of Australia’s ties with the Empire, it was simply a geographical necessity that could be compared with Edward VII’s Entente Cordiale with France that “arose through similar necessities”.⁶⁸⁴ No other Western Australian newspaper published the statement, and in March 1942 Curtin announced the Minister for External Affairs was being sent to America where he would tell the Americans there “...was no belittling of the Old Country ... We have no Fifth Column.”⁶⁸⁵ Two days after the statement, Curtin told a press conference in Melbourne

Our loyalty to His Majesty the King goes to the very core of our national life. It is part of our being ... I do not consider Australia a segment of the British Empire. It is an organic part of the whole structure ... Australia is a Dominion ... We want to preserve Australia as part of the British Commonwealth.⁶⁸⁶

Curtin’s recall of essential loyalty to the King, the actions of a previous King, and the reassurances of support for Britain and Empire reflect the elision by which Westralians at least accepted, even if not consciously, the failure of secession. The comment about there being no fifth column may reflect a continuing unease, however, in the labour movement about secessionist tendencies. The Dominion League had not met since

⁶⁸² ‘Defence of Australia | Mr Curtin’s Statement | Mr Casey’s Work in USA’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 29 December 1941, page 3. The *Kalgoorlie Miner* only repeated the *New York Sun* article, it did not carry the text of the actual statement. Presumably radio news had already broadcast either the statement or commentary on the statement in Western Australia, as there is some limited press commentary in Perth that obliquely refers to the parts of Curtin’s statement on 29, 30 and 31 December 1941.

⁶⁸³ editorial, ‘Australian and America’, *West Australian*, 31 December 1941: page 4. Sir Keith Murdoch (father of Rupert), apparently referred to as Lord Southcliffe (as a complementary comparison with Lord Northcliffe) was a strong critic of Curtin at this time: see Geoffrey Serle, ‘Murdoch, Sir Keith Arthur (1885–1952)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murdoch-sir-keith-arthur-7693/text13467>, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 7 February 2017

⁶⁸⁴ ‘What Mr Curtin Said’, *Westralian Worker*, 9 January 1942, page 5

⁶⁸⁵ ‘Curtin Talks to US | “Last Bastion” Here’, *Sunday Times*, 15 March 1941, page 3

⁶⁸⁶ quoted in Curran 2011: page 14; ‘Australia Is Steadfast’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 January 1941, page 7

early 1939 but remained usefully alive in the pages of the *Westralian Worker*, where secessionists were regularly pilloried as enemies of the planned post-war New Order. The secessionist bogey remained as rhetorically useful after World War Two as imperial federation had been after the first war, and only disappeared from the *Worker* after Curtin's sudden death in July 1945. It was resurrected one last time in 1948 for the confident declaration "Secession is Dead".⁶⁸⁷ But echoes survive in, for instance, labour historian Drew Cottle's 2002 assertion that the Dominion League was a front for pre-war Japanese military-industrial interests (see figure 5.12).⁶⁸⁸

Whether secession was dead or not by 1948, there is no doubt it was waning by 1938. The Joint Committee's decision posed an irreconcilable conundrum for the secessionists. To accept the decision was to accept that the 'Golden Age' history was a fantasy, and that the intimate and direct personal relationship between each Westralian and their sovereign could not exist. To reject the decision meant rejecting an essential Britishness, whether as post-war Windsorness or as Westminster dominioness, and the direct relationship between King (of Australia) and (Australian) subject. It was a diabolical conundrum for those dreaming of a black swan freedom.

Keith Hancock wrote in 1930 of the Austral Briton, a "blending of all the stocks" of the British Isles: "If such a creature as the average Briton exists anywhere on this Earth, he will be found in Australia".⁶⁸⁹ Hancock claimed that "pride of race counted for more than love of country", and that unity meant a united race.⁶⁹⁰ However, he also cautioned against misapplying the statistic that 98% of Australians are British subjects as equating with 98% racial whiteness, estimating that at least 10% of the population was

⁶⁸⁷ 'The Seventh State | Tribal Political System', *Westralian Worker*, 7 March 1941, page 3; 'Lincoln | He, Too, Fought for Freedom', *Westralian Worker*, 29 May 1942, page 3; 'Uniform Tax and Uniform Government', *Westralian Worker*, 5 June 1942, page 3; 'Opponents of Change', *Westralian Worker*, 26 March 1943, page 4; 'Labor Women', *Westralian Worker*, 5 May 1944, page 3; 'The West Australian Vote', *Westralian Worker*, 1 September 1944, page 5; 'Secession is Dead', *Westralian Worker*, 20 February 1948, page 4

⁶⁸⁸ Drew Cottle, *The Brisbane Line: A Reappraisal*, Upfront Publishing, Leicestershire 2002: pages 59-62, 204. Cottle's assertion is apparently based on archived correspondence from the Federal Attorney-General's Department, see his footnote 41, Chapter 1

⁶⁸⁹ WK Hancock, *Australia*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane 1961 (first published 1930), page 38

⁶⁹⁰ WK Hancock 1930/1961: pages 49-50

‘non-British’.⁶⁹¹ White Australia nationalists used the statistic in their critique of the secessionists as race traitors, without Hancock’s caution. Hancock denied the existence of any regional variation in this blended Austral Britoness, but this chapter reveals at least one such variation, that of the Westral Briton. Westralian secessionists, no doubt, would have denied their identity was ‘regional’.⁶⁹² Instead, they were a free, self-governing British people, perhaps not as gleaming white as the easterners, but nevertheless quite distinct. Applying Hancock’s construct of the Austral Briton to the secessionist period allows a counter-narrative of the Westralian or Westral Briton to be constructed, and within that structured bifurcation two expectations can be revealed about how the Crown would respond to their world views.

The cultural elision of Lyons and Menzies in Canberra, of Curtin and Collier in Perth, and of federationists generally in their political strategies and cultural manipulation of the secessionists’ crowned loyalty, provided ways for the Westral Britons to gradually move from Westralians to Western Australians, and to rejoin the crowned body politic of the Commonwealth. Lyons, Menzies, Curtin, Collier and Mitchell have their place in Australian history. Marr was knighted. The Duke of Gloucester returned to Australia in 1944, on the nomination of Curtin, as the 11th Governor-General. On the other side, Edith Cowan was memorialized in monuments and institutions, but with her secessionist passions rendered invisible.⁶⁹³ Watson was knighted in old age, but nevertheless he, MacCallum Smith and Chandler all died in relative obscurity.

The new Australian Crown had survived an existential threat at the moment of its birth. It was saved by the old British Crown through the Joint Committee, but the price, a protective attitude to its State crownlets, would only become evident many years later

⁶⁹¹ WK Hancock 1930/1961: page 38

⁶⁹² Argument as to whether any regional variations in the Australian population exist remain common, see for example Emma Manser, ‘Why Aussies Really Butcher the English Language’, *New Daily*, 29 October 2015: [http://thenewdaily.com.au/news/2015/10/29/real-origin-aussie-slur/?utm_source=SilverpopMailing&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=20151030%20The%20New%20Daily%20Copy%203%20\(2\)&utm_content=&spMailingID=23864425&spUserID=MTA3NDg4MzYwNTUyS0&spJobID=662943831&spReportId=NjYyOTQzODMxS0](http://thenewdaily.com.au/news/2015/10/29/real-origin-aussie-slur/?utm_source=SilverpopMailing&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=20151030%20The%20New%20Daily%20Copy%203%20(2)&utm_content=&spMailingID=23864425&spUserID=MTA3NDg4MzYwNTUyS0&spJobID=662943831&spReportId=NjYyOTQzODMxS0)

⁶⁹³ Edith Cowan’s portrait has graced the reverse of the Australian \$50 bank note since 1995, but the surrounding design illustrating her achievements is silent on her secessionist interests. The Perth university named in her honour in 1991 makes no mention of her secessionist interests in its official history: <http://www.ecu.edu.au/about-ecu/welcome-to-ecu/edith-dircksey-cowan>

(see Chapter 6). The dynastic interest was served by siding with the Australian Crown and invoking the healing imaginaries of a royal tour that salved the wounds of secession and encouraged its forgetting. By 1939 the news of the Duke of Kent's coming translation to Yarralumla heralded the final victory of the 'gleaming white stars'.

And what of the black swan? The new Australian Crown had adapted in response to the disruptive changes of secession, but seemed like the unchanged British Crown. The federationists claimed the 'traditions' of the Crown, and as they did, the black swan was subtly transformed from Westralian metaphor for the Crown to simply a decorative element in architecture and design, naturalistic but cleansed of any historicity. The modernist technological anti-historical style of art deco was used by leading Federationist architects on fantastic cinemas and eye-catching commercial buildings, such as fanciful Aboriginalist motifs and black swans on friezes in the Gleddon Building (a commercial tower in the city), and cinemas and hotels with names such as the Windsor Theatre (Nedlands 1937), Regal Theatre (Subiaco 1937), Raffles Hotel (Applecross 1937) and Piccadilly Theatre and Arcade (City 1938)). They co-opted and mixed Windsor and royal terminologies with those of empire, making it an 'in the moment', highly stylized representation of the 'traditionally' new Austral-Briton Crown, all victorious Pacific whiteness and federal spirit after 1935. The black swan as a metaphor for a distinct Westralian Crown appeared to have met its demise.

Metamorphosis

The 1940s and 50s are marked in Australian history by two principal events, World War Two and the post-war economic and migration booms. The Royal Tour in 1954 was the first by a reigning sovereign, and began a pattern of dynastic visits firmly entrenched by the 1980s. The civil disturbances of the Great War and the 1930s seemed to have been forgotten, but unease over Britain's accession to Europe marked the 1960s, as did the consequent sense of abandonment in Australia and other old dominions. The election of the Whitlam Labor federal government in 1972 inaugurated an explicit phase in 'Australianising' the Crown, a phase that paradoxically ended some fifteen years later on the eve of a campaign for its abolition.

Slices that could offer insights into the working of crowned authority in this period include the creation of Australian citizenship, Britain's withdrawal east of Suez, the red scares and atomic testing of the Cold War, Vietnam, the US alliance and 'coca colonisation', dismantling White Australia, the growth of Aboriginal activism, the anti-apartheid movement in the Commonwealth, the cultural and artistic 'new nationalism', and the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government in 1975, mostly prominent events on a nationalist timeline.

A change that marked these transformations in the old dominions was the creation of new symbols of 'national' identity, of which the invention of the Order of Australia was a significant marker and is the focus of this slice. This creation took nearly two decades to achieve, and through that process can be seen ways in which the Crown was manipulated by executive office holders to achieve partisan ends disguised as nation-building, sometimes with the enthusiastic participation of the dynasty while at other times the dynasty had its own hand to play. Studying the creation of the Order unveils a dynamic of competing federal and state sovereign interests, and ultimately the counter-intuitive birth of six new crowns.

Chapter 6 | FOUNTAIN OF HONOUR Imagining an Order of Australia, 1973-1986

Queen Elizabeth II formally opened the Sydney Opera House on 20 October 1973. Just the day before, she had given her formal assent in Canberra to the *Royal Style & Titles Act 1973* passed by the federal parliament, making the opening her first official public duty under her new title Queen of Australia. It was, she said

...something which my father thought should be done as long ago as 1947 ... I hope it will strengthen that relationship which I value and cherish.⁶⁹⁴

The opening took place on a sunny day, and began with Aboriginal actor Ben Blakeney playing the role of his ancestor Bennelong, on whose namesake peninsula the Opera House had been built. 'Bennelong', in welcoming the Queen, said

Two hundred years ago fires burned on this point. The fires of my people - and into the light of the flames - from the shadows all about - our warriors danced. Here my people chanted - their stories of the dreamtime - of the spirit heroes - and of earth's creation - and our painted bodies flowed in ceremony ... on this point my people laughed – and they sang while the sticks clacked in the rhythm of the corroborees ...⁶⁹⁵

The Queen continued the theme of performance and place when she said

To express itself fully, the human spirit must sometimes take wings – or sails – and create something which is not just utilitarian and commonplace. ... This site was not only the birthplace of the nation but also where the first European dramatic performance ever to take place in Australia was staged in a mud hut. This interest in the arts has been a characteristic of the people who settled in Australia ever since. ... The progression from mud hut to soaring opera house reflects the continuing cultural development, as well as the tremendous economic achievements which have made it possible. ... I congratulate the people of Sydney, and indeed of Australia, for this remarkable addition to its architecture and to its cultural and community life.⁶⁹⁶

In this chapter the changes in the Crown in Australia arising from Britain joining the European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market) on 1 January 1973, when

⁶⁹⁴ Quoted in Philip Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia: The official royal tours of Australia from 1867 to 1986*, Royalty Publishing, Adelaide 1986, page 150

⁶⁹⁵ Philip Pike 1986: page 151; and 'Bennelong Talks the Dreamtime', *Sun Herald Special Opera House Souvenir Issue*, 21 October 1973, page 6

⁶⁹⁶ 'Queen pays glowing tribute to Aust.', *Sun Herald ... Souvenir Issue*, 21 October 1973: page 7; 'Queen Elizabeth II at the Official Opening of Sydney Opera House, October 1973', film on YouTube, uploaded 2 February 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0tecBKSOIJ4> accessed 5 October 2015

a sense of abandonment was being ameliorated by the ‘new nationalism’ of the 1970s and 1980s, are explored through the prism of the *Royal Style & Titles Act* and one of its consequences, the establishment of the Order of Australia on 14 February 1975, events far beyond the ‘utilitarian and commonplace’.⁶⁹⁷

The Queen’s opening of the Sydney Opera House came at a crucial moment in the evolution of the Crown in Australia. It was just ten months after her British realm had joined the Common Market, and six months after her Australian realm had legislated to confer on her the title Queen of Australia. The *Royal Style & Titles Bill*, as with Prime Minister Whitlam’s broader ‘Australianising’ of the Crown, seems counterintuitive, especially in light of his oft-attributed remarks on ‘colonial relics’. But, as this chapter will show, Whitlam sought to harness a tradition of popular sentiment and emotional attachment to the dynasty and the Queen in particular in support of a more ‘independent’ realignment of post-EEC Australia.

The *Royal Style & Titles Act* is a more radical route to understanding this aspect of the new nationalism than has been appreciated. Other key elements in his program, carried out under the aegis of the *Royal Style & Titles Act*, along with the invention of the Order of Australia, are the quiet abandonment of the word ‘Commonwealth’ in the national nomenclature, plans to appoint Prince Charles as Governor General, protection of the royal prerogative as a tool of prime ministerial authority, and attempts to assert political and constitutional control over the States. The Order of Australia was the most publicly visible display of the popular Crown, but there was also a quiet counter-revolution by the States that ultimately produced a fundamental re-invention of the constitutional Crown, or Crowns plural. The *Royal Style & Titles Act 1973* and the *Australia Acts 1986* frame this chapter.

⁶⁹⁷ Stuart Ward’s work suggests the sense of abandonment was characteristic of the early 1960s when Britain was first attempting to join the EEC, but this chapter evinces abandonment as a more enduring dialogue with new nationalism, rather than a stage in a sequence from one to the other: Stuart Ward, *Discordant Communities: Australia, Britain and the EEC, 1956-1963*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sydney 1998: ‘Conclusion’ *passim*.

I | The Abandonment

The Conservative British government of Harold Macmillan submitted an application for membership of the Common Market in 1961 that was vetoed by French President de Gaulle in 1963. In 1967 the Labour Government of Harold Wilson again tried, and again de Gaulle vetoed the application. De Gaulle claimed that Britain was an island with ties “far beyond the seas”, and its entry into the EEC “would deprive our continent of any real personality”.⁶⁹⁸ After de Gaulle’s fall from office, Wilson submitted a third application in 1969 that was finally successful, and the Conservative Government of Edward Heath led Britain into Europe from the beginning of 1973. Stuart Ward has argued that this twelve year period was, for Australia (and the other old dominions), “a key symbolic event” that provoked “a crisis of British race patriotism”.⁶⁹⁹ It was a long crisis that, says Ward, “fatally undermined persisting assumptions about Anglo-Australian unity”.⁷⁰⁰ This, in its essence, illustrates the narrative of abandonment, of a society once ‘at home’ within a community of equals, within a fractious but unified British world suddenly cast aside by one of those equals deciding to pursue its more limited national interests and, in doing so, forcing its fellow British societies to do the same. De Gaulle’s ‘continental personality’ may have then become available to the United Kingdom, but in Australia, as Ward intimates, an inescapable sea change had to be confronted.

In Canada a similar crisis arose, and two significant symbolic responses were noticed in Australia. One was the adoption of a new national flag in 1965 to replace the red ensign that had signalled its shared heritage with other British communities, the other was the creation of a new chivalric or honours system, the Order of Canada in 1967. The new symbols were not a radical departure from the past. The new flag displayed as its central motif a maple leaf, a symbol of Canadian identity since at least 1806.⁷⁰¹ The red and white colours were used by Canadian patriots repelling invaders from the United

⁶⁹⁸ Le Grand ‘Non’, <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1967-degaulle-non-uk.html>, accessed 9 May 2016

⁶⁹⁹ Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Ideal*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South 2001: page 4

⁷⁰⁰ Stuart Ward 2001: page 10

⁷⁰¹ Auguste Vachon, ‘The Origins of the Beaver and the Maple Leaf as Canadian Emblems’, *Heraldry in Canada* | *L’Héraldique au Canada*, Vol 45, Nos 3-4, 2011: pages 50-69

States in the early nineteenth-century and subsequently became important in military decorations. They are the principal colours in the Canadian coat of arms granted by George V in 1921. The Order of Canada adapted the hierarchical structures headed by the sovereign, with designs and styles of decorations and use of post-nominals already familiar through British and French examples. The Canadian changes showed that abandonment by the British state did not necessarily entail a reciprocal abandonment in the British societies ‘far beyond the seas’ of British cultural models centred upon a crown even as their political horizons also had to shrink to contiguity with national borders and geographical neighbours.⁷⁰²

Away from such symbolic adaptations, abandonment also had its echoes in Australia in the rarefied world of constitutional law. In 1963 British officials proposed repealing the application in Britain of a number of British laws applying in the Australian States, especially their various Constitution Acts.⁷⁰³ The States responded that the repeals could have serious consequences within their jurisdictions, such as terminating the existence of State Supreme Courts. In 1966 the Standing Committee of Attorneys General considered issues of ‘imperial’ laws operating in the States, and in 1969 a draft bill was prepared for the Commonwealth to request the British parliament (under the provisions of the Statute of Westminster) to repeal some imperial statutes operating in the States concerning merchant shipping. Various arrangements were made between the McMahon Liberal government in Canberra and the Heath Conservative government in London to undertake these amendments when, in early 1973 the new Whitlam Labor government ceased all such actions and took a unilateralist approach that will be discussed later.⁷⁰⁴ Twomey, in discussing these moves, concluded that Whitlam’s desire to assert Australian ‘independence’ and terminate ‘anachronistic’ links was subordinate to his desire to make the States subservient to the Commonwealth, a conclusion explored further in this chapter.

⁷⁰² see also Philip Buckner (ed), *Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series: Canada and the British Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011 and José E Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada 1945-1971*, UBC Press, Vancouver 2006

⁷⁰³ Anne Twomey, *The Australia Acts 1986: Australia’s Statutes of Independence*, The Federation Press, Annandale 2010: pages 62-63

⁷⁰⁴ Anne Twomey 2010: pages 64-66 for details of these proceedings.

At this stage, however, these events simply illustrate strands in the increasing unease being felt in Australia over the continuing activities within Whitehall and Westminster between 1961 and 1973 that seemed to unpick old relationships with little awareness of the sentimental and emotive attachments in Australia to a sense of Britishness (or Britishnesses). Change was in the air long before the Whitlam government came into office, and Australians seem to have been caught between denial and a lack of any coherent responses. James Curran and Stuart Ward have written extensively on the rise of a ‘new nationalism’ in this period, a vision for the post-abandonment nation they characterised as incoherent, confused, disoriented, tenuous and nebulous, a characterisation they argue emphasises, not the shortcomings of those involved, but the nature of the dilemma itself: how to extricate themselves from a community of Britishness that was receding all around them, a task they neither sought nor particularly welcomed.⁷⁰⁵

One element of the new nationalism is emblematic of this chapter, the use of the rhetorical term ‘colonial relics’. Jenny Hocking identifies its origin in Whitlam’s Attorney General Lionel Murphy who used it on a visit to London in January 1973, as ‘colonial relics’ or ‘continuing relics of colonialism’, when it was widely reported in the press.⁷⁰⁶ Murphy was referring to what he and Whitlam had assumed would be a simple legal exercise in abolishing appeals from the State supreme courts to the Privy Council, and to this Hocking adds the ‘symbolic manifestations’ of changing the Queen’s title, ending ‘British empire’ honours, choosing a new national anthem, erasing royal cyphers from post boxes, and removing royal portraits from public buildings. These were the ‘colonial relics’ whose removal would be swift and uncontroversial.

Curran and Ward acknowledge Whitlam’s determination to rid Australia of ‘colonial relics’, but argue that, despite some press support in Australia, the issue was largely met with public indifference and claims of indulgent grand gestures.⁷⁰⁷ Whitlam was careful

⁷⁰⁵ James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2010: pages 1-25

⁷⁰⁶ Jenny Hocking, *Gough Whitlam: His Time*, Updated Edition, The Miegunyah Press, Carlton 2014: page 74

⁷⁰⁷ James Curran and Stuart Ward 2010: pages 138-139

to present the changes as incremental, not radical, specifically placing them “in the great tradition of the British constitutional monarchy, [in which] we march still from precedent to precedent”.⁷⁰⁸ The newly visible Australian Crown in the Queen’s title now embodied Australia’s Britishness, independently of the equally new Euro-Britishness of the British Crown. It was a radical re-invention garbed in imaginings of tradition and common origins that sought, in Anderson’s terms, to naturalise the relics rather than destroy them.

The abandonment period was marked by unease among those who refused to believe the United Kingdom would or had simply walked away from its British co-states, and struggled to imagine and invent a new collective identity through the many twists, turns and occasional dead-ends of the new nationalism. The Whitlam government, in pursuing its policy response of removing ‘colonial relics’, used the *Royal Style & Titles Act* as a key enabler, an approach continued by the Fraser government.

One colonial relic in Whitlam’s crosshairs was the honours system. Since 1918 the Commonwealth and the States had each made nominations for British, or in Cannadine’s scheme, Imperial honours. The States submitted their nominations directly to the British government, and the Commonwealth, after 1931, submitted its nominations directly to the Palace. Immediately upon taking office, Whitlam suspended the Commonwealth’s 1972 nominations list, and sought to prevent the States submitting theirs. From that moment, the fate of the honours system and of the States became evermore entangled.

The new Order of Australia, headed by the Queen of Australia, provided the most visually splendid re-imagining of a newly traditional Australia, but it also obscured the battles Whitlam and later Fraser had with what they both regarded as the real colonial relics, the States. Whitlam both belittled the States as colonial relics and used that term as a rhetorical dagger to stab at their sovereignty, telling Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) officials in 1973

⁷⁰⁸ Whitlam quoted in James Curran and Stuart Ward 2010: pages 137-140

in some respects his government did not mind the Australian States having a residual colonial status since this helped to make clear that they were not fully sovereign.⁷⁰⁹

II | A New Elizabethanism

In February 1975 recently appointed Governor General Sir John Kerr announced the establishment of a new honours system when he told a live television and radio audience

Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to give her approval for the institution of a new system of honours and awards for her Australian subjects ... Awards in the “Order of Australia” and for bravery will be made in the name of The Queen, and with the Queen’s approval, and will be available to all Australians. ... An Office has been established at Government House Canberra to administer all aspects of the new Honours system ... the first investiture will be by Her Majesty personally, in Australia ...⁷¹⁰

Figure 6.1 | Sydney Harbour as monument to abandonment



The Queen during her opening tour of the Opera House, pictured at the John Olsen mural in the northern foyer overlooking the harbor. Mrs. Olsen, the artist's wife, explains the imagery with its theme of Kenneth Slessor's poem "Five Bells", which is a lament for a friend drowned in Sydney Harbor.

The metaphorical 'drowned friend', whose watery death site is being presented to the Queen of Australia, may well be the old British race patriotism, abandoned on 1 January 1973 and now 'gone even from the meaning of a name', in the poem's verse, on 19 October 1973.

Source: 'At Olsen Mural', *Women's Weekly*, 31 October 1973, page 6

⁷⁰⁹ 'Constitutional Issues', Record of a meeting with Mr Whitlam, 24 April 1973, UKNA FCO 24/1614, in *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*, Vol 27 Australia and the UK 1960-1975, No 460,

<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/volume-27/Pages/default.aspx>

⁷¹⁰ 'Text of an Address...', Governor General Sir John Kerr, Radio and Television Address, 17 February 1975, in *Honours – papers relating to Imperial Honours and Order of Australia*, NAA M4799, 1/2, folios 55-57

Curran and Ward suggest the changes arising from Britain's entry into the Common Market, the abandonment of the old dominions, and the invention of the Queen of Australia were events of importance and interest mainly (but not completely) among 'insiders' in the political and legal elites. As I will show, these changes also provoked re-imaginings among ordinary women and men.⁷¹¹

On the dais with the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh that day in Sydney were Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and Mrs Whitlam and Liberal Premier Sir Robert Askin and Lady Askin. The combination of royalty, Aboriginality, lineage, spirituality, history, culture, city and architecture, even bipartisanship, seemed an omen of a new Australia sailing the blue waters of a glittering sea. The Queen of Australia seemed properly, naturally, at home at the helm of her austral kingdom.⁷¹²

The opening of the Opera House was a memorable day for all those who participated, whether the estimated one million people around and on boats on the harbour or the two million television viewers, an audience of about one quarter of Australia's population at the time.⁷¹³ But despite the presumed timeless traditionality of the ceremony, there were hints in the reporting of traditions in transition.

On the one hand,

⁷¹¹ for some discussion around this dichotomy, see Frank Bongiorno, 'Knowing the Nation', *History Australia*, Vol 7, No 3, 2010: pages 74.1-74.2; James Curran, 'Australia at Empire's End: Approaches and arguments', *History Australia*, Vol. 10, No 3, December 2013: pages 32-34

⁷¹² Whitlam, at a luncheon celebrating the new royal title apparently referred to Australia as a 'kingdom', an achievement of which the Canadian federalists of the 1860s could only dream: 'Queen Sees Opera House as Catalyst', *Canberra Times*, 19 October 1973, page 3. An earlier reference to his use of the term was in 1966 when he said "The Governor General is now the regent of an independent and separate kingdom", *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, Second Reading Speech, 'Extradition (Commonwealth Countries) Bill, 20 October 1966

⁷¹³ The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) transmitted a 75-minute live broadcast of the opening ceremony on all its channels, in colour and with an archival recording. The broadcast was also shown live in New Zealand, and shown in Europe: 'Live telecast of Opera House opening', *Canberra Times*, 15 October 1973, page 15. The colour transmission was experimental, with colour television transmission not commencing in Australia until 1 March 1975. The 1,000,000 harbour audience figure is from Phillip Pike 1986: page 150; the 2,000,000 television audience figure from Ken Inglis, *This is The ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, Black Inc., Carlton 2006: page 370. The population of Australia in 1973 was 13.3 million.

If diehard traditionalists were disturbed about Australia's "new nationalism", the applause which twice interrupted the Premier, Sir Robert Askin, in his welcoming speech must have given them heart.

"I take this opportunity of reaffirming our loyalty to the Crown" he began to a crescendo of cheers.

"And" he continued when it subsided, "of reminding you of the affection in which you and your family are held by the people of this State and, indeed, of Australia".

Another thunder of cheers ... that expression of loyalty to the newly-styled Queen of Australia...⁷¹⁴

However, in an opinion piece on the Sydney *Sun Herald's* editorial page, it was observed

Once upon a time it would have been a safe bet that, following the opening by the Queen, her permission to have the place named the "Royal" Opera House would be loyally sought and graciously granted. Nobody has put the idea yet, though it could still happen ...

The quaint old custom is fading and Australia is no longer Royal to the bootstraps, as Sir Robert Menzies might have said. But Australians are still delighted to have Queen Elizabeth come amongst them and bestow her patronage, if not the prefix, on the Opera House.⁷¹⁵

The *Sun Herald's* lauding of the 'newly-styled Queen of Australia' contrasts with a report from the previous day in Canberra when

Mr Whitlam, of course, was responsible for pushing the national identification of the Queen as Queen of Australia. In fact at the lunch he pointedly delivered the toast "To the Queen of Australia", which did not gain universal acceptance – one lady loudly said "The Queen of England".

The Queen's subsequent happy acceptance of the title took a great deal of wind from the sails of those who opposed this expression of the "new nationalism".⁷¹⁶

The reporter touched upon a key aspect of official new nationalism, Whitlam's gaining and broadcasting of the Queen's support for his changes. The support of the Queen and more broadly the Windsor dynasty was integral to the legitimacy of what might be thought of as the antonym to colonial relics, a 'new traditionalism' or 'new Elizabethanism' entangled with the new nationalism.

One window into the new Elizabethanism can be seen in the increase in royal visits or tours. Nearly half of royal tours during the 1970s occurred during the short Whitlam

⁷¹⁴ 'A Hush as The Queen spoke ... then a tumult', *Sun Herald ... Souvenir Issue*, 21 October 1973 op. cit., page 6;

⁷¹⁵ 'Candid Comment by Onlooker', *Sun Herald*, 21 October 1973, page 36

⁷¹⁶ 'Political kudos for PM', *Canberra Times*, 19 October 1973, page 3

period. A royal visit was not an end in itself but like the *Royal Style & Titles Act* an enabler. However, unlike earlier royal visits to the dominions that usually marked important events or commemorations, the royal visits of this period became almost commonplace. Between the Duke of Gloucester's visit in 1934 and Macmillan's application for EEC membership in 1961, there were just four royal visits. Between 1962 and the election of the Whitlam government at the end of 1972, there were 14 royal visits. Between 1973 and the end of the decade there were another 13 royal visits, and from 1980 to 1986 another eight. In all, there were 35 royal visits in 24 years, 21 of them during the 13 years covered by the chapter. In eight of the years there were two visits, and in 1979 a total of four visits by six members of the dynasty. Not only did the number of visits increase, so did the geographical spread of places visited, from Norfolk Island to North Queensland to the Pilbara to Central Australia and more. The breadth of dynastic members making the visits is just as significant. Not only the Queen and her immediate family became frequent visitors, but so did the royal cousins descended from her father's brothers, the Duke of Gloucester (Governor General 1944-1947) and the Duke of Kent (designated Governor General 1939 but killed in RAF training). They did not include descendants of her father's sister or of earlier generations, suggesting a strategic approach within the dynasty to the tours, building upon older associations with Australia. A similar pattern is evident in Canada during this period, with the descendants of Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, Queen Victoria's third son, and Governor General 1911-1916 and George VI's sister, Prince Mary.⁷¹⁷ Another notable element of the royal visitors was their relative youth, mostly in their 30s and 40s (apart from the Queen Mother), and their marriages to English, Scottish, Dutch, Austrian and Greek spouses. As a dynastic generation, they reflected the youth and cultural diversity of Australia's post-war migration boom. To take just one example, the visit by Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent in 1964 (the erstwhile vicereine of 1939, and a little older at 58) was enthusiastically reported in the press, her modernity emphasised by her arrival being the biggest event ever broadcast on national television from Canberra, and her love of sports by her presidency of the Lawn Tennis Association in England and

⁷¹⁷ Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli, *Home to Canada: Royal Tours 1786-2010*, Dundurn, Toronto 2010; Nathan Tidridge, *Canada's Constitutional Monarchy*, Dundurn, Toronto 2011: Chapter 11 'Royal and Vice-Regal Tours' *passim*

following the local tennis competition. Her Greek heritage was emphasized in reporting of an impromptu street welcome from a Greek women who welcomed the princess in Greek, as did “Mrs and Mrs Paul Xago of Northbourne Flats” who, after speaking with her, told the reporter “Princess Marina still spoke her native language fluently and well, although it is many years since she left Greece to marry the Duke of Kent”.⁷¹⁸

Anderson’s miscegenated royalty becomes, in this context, a positive advantage that was tactically deployed by the dynasty, presented as traditions of a royalty that Australians could imagine as their own. British consular officials in Australia observed the popularity of President Lyndon Johnson’s visit in 1966, especially its informality, and concluded that the ‘working visits’ by younger royals were especially popular because they were also informal and lacking in stuffy protocols.⁷¹⁹ Although British officials claimed they “felt the need” for the new, informal royal visits “against the background of President Johnson’s visit”, that informality had been marked since at least Prince Phillip’s 1962 visit to open the Commonwealth and Empire Games in Perth.⁷²⁰ Whether dynastic agency or political manoeuvring by the British government was the organising spirit of these ‘new’ tours will remain a moot point until the royal archives of the period become publicly accessible. However, it seems unlikely the dynasty was passively carrying out instructions from Whitehall.

The Australianising theme was also marked by activities less fleeting than visits. In 1966 Prince Charles was enrolled as a student at ‘Timbertops’, a rural campus of Geelong Grammar School, during which time he visited his grandmother at the Adelaide Festival. The Duke of Edinburgh was president of the Australian Conservation Foundation between 1971 and 1975 campaigning for an end to whaling, the conservation of the Great Barrier Reef and joining the World Heritage Convention.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁸ ‘Royal TV First’, *Canberra Times*, 28 September 1964, page 6; ‘Tennis Fan’, *Canberra Times*, 29 September 1964, page 3; ‘A princess charms Canberra’, *Canberra Times*, 28 September 1964, page 1

⁷¹⁹ ‘Australian Attitudes to the Monarchy’, British High Commissioner Sir Charles Johnston to Sir Saville Garner, Commonwealth Office, 26 January 1967: UKNA: FCO 49/78

⁷²⁰ letter, British High Commissioner CH Johnston to Sir Saville Garner, Commonwealth Office, 9 March 1967: UKNA: FCO 49/78; see also Phillip Pike 1986: pages 93-94, Jane Connors 2016: page 160

⁷²¹ ‘The 1970s and a Decade of Growth’, <https://www.acfonline.org.au/about-us/our-history/1970s-and-decade-growth>, accessed 15 May 2016

In 1959, 1978 and 1980 and several other occasions Princess Alexandra officially opened the Royal Melbourne Show. A regular item of any royal tour itinerary beyond a capital city from at least 1963 was to an Aboriginal community, leading the Queen in that year, after meeting elders at Uluru, to rebuke those who spoke of Australia's 'dead centre' where she now saw central Australia "as [Australia's] living heart, beating with a confident energy".⁷²² In 1983 Prince Charles and Princess Diana spoke to pupils on the School of the Air, and toured districts ravaged by the Ash Wednesday bushfires in Victoria and South Australia where they were greeted by large crowds and Welsh-language signs. Such tour activities were long established by 1983 in the royal visit itinerary.

These are just a few of many examples to illustrate the point that the 'traditions' of royalty in Australia can be presented as entangled within the imaginings of the new nationalism. Public opinion polling during the period, despite various problems with methods and quality, indicates the success of the new traditions.⁷²³ Morgan Gallup polls recorded support for the monarchy between 1969 and 1988 averaging 62 per cent.⁷²⁴ Luke Mansillo summarises academic polling on the importance of the Queen between 1967 and 1988 averaging 50 per cent, and for retaining the Queen averaging 60 per cent, with commercial polling reflecting similar averages.⁷²⁵ Both Morgan and Mansillo show small variations over the period, but a trend of constant, not decreasing, support. Perhaps the British High Commissioner's claim in 1967 that Australians saw the Queen not so much as Queen of Australia or Queen of Britain but as 'Queen of the British', a phrase that many regarded as including themselves, offers an insight into a distinction in people's minds between dynasty and nation, about which the new nationalism was ambivalent.⁷²⁶ The British state may have been becoming a constitutionally 'foreign'

⁷²² quoted in Philip Pike 1986: page 102

⁷²³ Murray Goot, 'the Queen in the Polls', in John Arnold, Peter Spearitt and David Walker (eds), *Out of Empire: The British Dominion of Australia*, Mandarin, Port Melbourne 1993: pages 295-312

⁷²⁴ Roy Morgan Research, 'Majority of Australians Support Monarchy', <http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4709-201302140352>, accessed 15 May 2016

⁷²⁵ Luke Mansillo, 'Loyal to the Crown: Shifting public opinion towards the monarchy in Australia', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 2016,

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10361146.2015.1123674> accessed 15 May 2016

⁷²⁶ 'Australian Attitudes to the Monarchy', Paragraph 12, British High Commissioner Sir Charles Johnston to Sir Saville Garner, Commonwealth Office, 26 January 1967: UKNA: FCO 49/78

country, but cultural Britishness and the historicised origins of the Crown remained familiar.

The Queen of Australia was no occasional visitor from ‘far beyond the seas’ but an integral part of the nation seeking to overcome its abandonment. The Windsor dynasty, it was clear from the accumulation of tours and associations, had not abandoned its antipodean realms (as the British Government had) and was actively seeking to be further integrated into the nation. This is a powerful message in a migrant society, especially when the dynasty could also be effortlessly imagined within an ancient indigeneity with ideas of lineage, place, family and culture at its ‘beating heart’. The new Elizabethanism connected the new nationalism with ideas of stability and continuity as Whitlam had intended, although perhaps more deeply and longer-lived than he perceived. Whitlam and Fraser both made use of the Crown as one element of new nationalism, but the dynasty, also driven by its own imperatives, was able to offer new Elizabethanism as a mode within which the new traditions could be imagined, just as it was doing in Canada.

III | A Logical Development

On the evening of 17 February 1975 the Governor General, Sir John Kerr, appointed just six months earlier, gave a broadcast on television and radio announcing the establishment of a new system of honours and awards. The principal element in the new system was the Order of Australia, a ‘society of honour’, with the Queen as its sovereign head and the Governor General as its chancellor, along with a new system of military medals. The Order would consist of three grades or ‘degrees’ of Companion, Officer and Member, with no titles. Kerr stated he was making the announcement in his dual capacities as representative of the Queen and as Chancellor of the Order. “The institution of this new system” he said “is a logical development following the change in Her Majesty’s Australian Royal Style and Titles reflecting her position as Queen of Australia.”⁷²⁷ Kerr went on to state that the new system would be administered from Government House (rather than any ministerial office), and awards would be

⁷²⁷ ‘Text of an Address... 17 February 1975’, *Papers Relating to Imperial Honours and Order of Australia*, NAA M4799 1/2, folio 94

announced twice-yearly, on the Queen's Birthday (in June) and on Australia Day (26 January), the latter being a change from New Year's Day when "British Honours" were announced.

The vice-regal announcement encapsulates many of the elements of new nationalism and new Elizabethanism. The new Order had been developed swiftly. Kerr's announcement establishes a firm date upon which the Order came into existence, and implies there were, until that date, no Australian honours, only British honours awarded to Australians. Whitlam's championing of Australia Day reflected the new nationalism, although Curran & Ward argue that the date was met with popular apathy rather than acclaim.⁷²⁸ In New South Wales the Liberal Government's agency the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority (SCRA) actively 'revived' Australia Day from 1975 onwards as a public celebration, illustrating institutional involvement in shaping the new nationalism.⁷²⁹ However Garfield Barwick's acerbic comment that the date only marked the beginning of European settlement in New South Wales, not a national event, might indicate SCRA's 'revival' of the contested date was as much an affirmation of State patriotism as new nationalism, and reveals potential multiple readings of such events.⁷³⁰

Christopher McCreery's example of post-Westminster honours preceding the Order of Canada has its counterpoint in Australia.⁷³¹ There are at least three 'dominion' decorations preceding the Order of Australia, the Australian Service Medal 1939-1945 (instituted in 1949), the Anzac Commemoration Medal of 1967 and the Vietnam Medal of 1968.⁷³² The Anzac Medal was a joint initiative of the Australian and New Zealand prime ministers, but the Service Medal and the Vietnam Medal were established by royal warrants of George VI and Elizabeth II respectively, and only available to Australians, in the same manner analysed by McCreery for Canada. When Australia entered the

⁷²⁸ James Curran and Stuart Ward 2010: pages 216-221

⁷²⁹ Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, *Annual Report 1975*, the Authority, The Rocks 1975: page 5

⁷³⁰ Garfield Barwick, *A Radical Tory: Garfield Barwick's Reflections and Recollections*, The Federation Press, Annandale 1995: pages 267-268

⁷³¹ Christopher McCreery, 'The Crown and Honours: Getting It Right', in Jennifer Smith and D Michael Jackson (eds), *The Evolving Canadian Crown*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston 2012: pages 139-154

⁷³² 'Defence Honours and Awards', <http://www.defence.gov.au/Medals/Imperial/1945-75/default.asp>, accessed 10 April 2016

Vietnam War in 1962, its forces were eligible for the British General Service Medal. However, this medal was awarded by the Queen of Great Britain, although no British (or ‘imperial’) forces were engaged. The Vietnam Medal was therefore instituted so the Queen of Australia could award Australians involved in the war.⁷³³ Neither Paul nor Kirkland attribute to Australia any distinctive honours before 1975.⁷³⁴ Like McCreery, and Erik Goldstein writing on Irish honours, Paul notes that in 1946 new British Labour prime minister Clement Attlee came to an understanding with George VI that a number of orders were to be restored to the status of personal gifts of the sovereign, while other orders would only be awarded on the nomination of the government of the day.⁷³⁵ Thus the orders of the Garter, Thistle and Merit became purely dynastic orders, while orders such as St Michael & St George, and the British Empire, became the province of executive government.

Figure 6.2 | The (Australian, not Imperial) Vietnam Medal, 1968-1975



Reverse: Classically modern profile of Elizabeth II and Latin inscription 'Queen and Defender of the Faith'. Defender of the Faith was abolished as an Australian royal title in 1973. *Obverse: described in the Royal Warrant as "a symbolic representation of the ideological war in Vietnam ... a man between spherical shapes".*

Source: <http://www.defence.gov.au/Medals/Imperial/1945-75/Vietnam-Medal.asp> accessed 10 April 2016

In establishing a ‘new tradition’ in the form of the Order of Australia, Whitlam had to ignore the two Australian dominion honours established in 1949 and 1968. These awards would not, by definition, fit Cannadine’s description of an imperial honour. He also had to try and subvert the cultural value of the British honours, and he cast them as

⁷³³ ‘Australian Attitudes to the Monarchy’, paragraph 6, British High Commissioner Sir Charles Johnston to Sir Saville Garner, Commonwealth Office, 26 January 1967: UKNA: FCO 49/78

⁷³⁴ Christopher McCreery 2012, JB Paul 1991

⁷³⁵ Erik Goldstein, ‘Quis Separabit: The Order of St Patrick and Anglo-Irish Relations, 1922-34’, *Historical Research*, Vol 62, No 147, February 1989: pages 70-80

colonial relics with the added opprobrium of now only being awarded by more colonial relics, the States. A pathway had been prepared for ridiculing British honours by intellectuals such as Donald Horne in 1966 (calling them “an act of international transvestitism”) to which Whitlam could add his own rhetorical flourishes.⁷³⁶

Officers of the Prime Minister’s office had met with State representatives in September 1974 to discuss the proposed new honours system, but Kerr’s announcement in February 1975 came as a complete surprise to the States.⁷³⁷ The premiers of Western Australia and Queensland immediately responded saying they would continue their ‘normal lists’. Premier Don Dunstan in South Australia said he would no longer proceed with creating a new State honours system.⁷³⁸ The Federal Opposition was also caught off-guard with the Liberal leader Billy Sneddon saying they would consider their attitude to the new honours the next day.⁷³⁹ Their surprise was belied by the reassuring press reporting that “the Government is to resume twice-yearly honours lists, but with an order of Australia ... approved by the Queen ... will not affect the award from time to time by the Queen of British honours under existing arrangements.”⁷⁴⁰ The public response seems to have been muted, and the change was reassuringly presented as the restoration of a tradition, fully supported by the Crown, not the dramatic invention of a new order.⁷⁴¹

Rapid pursuit of the policy objective was not matched by administrative finesse. Over a month later, in March 1975 an officer of the Canadian Governor General, Carl Lochnan, visited Melbourne and held a lengthy discussion with representatives of the Commonwealth and Victorian governments and Commonwealth and Tasmanian vice-regal households to explain how the Order of Canada actually operated and how it had

⁷³⁶ Donald Horne, ‘Republican Australia’, in Geoffrey Dutton (ed) *Australia and the Monarchy*, Sun Books, Melbourne 1966: pages 90-92; see also James Curran and Stuart Ward 2010: pages 216-221

⁷³⁷ Meeting in Premier’s Department Melbourne on 25th March 1975 ...’, NAA M2480, 179 *Order of Australia, Towards Establishment 1974-1975*, folio 9

⁷³⁸ ‘New System of Federal Honours’, *Canberra Times*, 18 February 1975: page 1

⁷³⁹ ‘New System of Federal Honours’, *Canberra Times*, 18 February 1975: page 1

⁷⁴⁰ ‘New System of Federal Honours’, *Canberra Times*, 18 February 1975: page 1

⁷⁴¹ Ross Campbell, ‘Better than Super’, *Women’s Weekly*, 26 March 1975: page 57

been instituted.⁷⁴² Lochnan's advice to this somewhat perplexed group gave them a basis for fashioning a new Order that tried to fuse continuity, traditionality and Australianness, a fusion that might have made the radical nationalist and liberal historians blanch, but which was consistent with ideas of new Elizabethanism.⁷⁴³

The Commonwealth officials summarised what they regarded as Lochnan's key points. The system was run from the Governor General's Office through an advisory council with no interference by executive government, recipients of British honours remained eligible for Canadian honours, serving parliamentarians and judges were excluded (but not their spouses), and the investiture ceremonies were sparse. Just as significantly, the Commonwealth summary did not mention some other matters raised by Lochnan, notably that the provinces had no formal role in the Order, although Lieutenant Governors were often consulted by the advisory committee, the Order had been expanded in 1972 because its original structure was too exclusive, nominations were made by the public and the Canadian system had been introduced into a 'vacuum' after some 40 years of no honours. PJ Lawler, Secretary of the Department of the Special Minister of State, summarised the differences between Canada and Australia as being the Australian States capacity to submit nominations directly to the Queen under the "British System", the likelihood of the States being unwilling to relinquish that right, especially as the British system was more inclusive and able to honour the 'little man' compared to the exclusivity of the Canadian system, and as the Australian system was not being introduced into a vacuum, there was a need for the new Australian honours to have precedence over the British honours (and so over the States). Beautiful insignia and visible investiture rituals were critical to establishing this precedence.

As noted earlier, there were some distinctively Australian honours prior to the Order of Australia, and in 1962 (between Macmillan's submission of Britain's EEC application but before de Gaulle's first rejection) Attorney General Garfield Barwick had proposed

⁷⁴² 'Meeting in Premier's Department Melbourne on 25th March 1975 ...', NAA M2480, 179 *Order of Australia, Towards Establishment 1974-1975*, folios 9-17. Representatives from Queensland and South Australia were unable to attend due to an airline strike.

⁷⁴³ Lochnan had worked on establishing and operating the Order of Canada, and was considered an expert on the subject: see Christopher McCreery, *The Order of Canada: Its Origins, History and Development*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2005: page 220

to Prime Minister Menzies that an “Australian Order of Chivalry” would become necessary to replace the Order of the British Empire, although Menzies was non-committal.⁷⁴⁴ Barwick was later appointed, on Whitlam’s recommendation to Kerr, as the inaugural chair of the Order of Australia Council (the apolitical entity based on Canadian precedent), and apart from the mechanics of establishing a new bureaucratic structure he soon became an ‘insider’ critic of the lack of a knighthood level in the new Order.⁷⁴⁵ Whitlam made a very specific claim to paternity of the new Order when he stated “The concept of the Order of Australia occurred to me on 18 May 1967”.⁷⁴⁶ He states that, at the time, the Order of Canada had just been established, and that later Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau “made available the services of Karl Lachnan [sic] to help us frame our new system of honours and awards”. Whitlam’s conception occurred two days after De Gaulle’s second rejection of Britain’s EEC application, although he doesn’t articulate any obvious connection.

Whitlam couched the lack of a knighthood degree in the new Order in terms of Labor Party opposition to titles, citing a July 1971 Labor Party conference resolution that titles should not be conferred, but that appropriate recognition should be given for exceptional service. Later that year the Party Executive interpreted the resolution to mean no knighthoods, peerages or other awards in the Order of the British Empire should be ‘conferred’, a term used, he said, as his predecessor Arthur Calwell had ‘accepted’ a papal knighthood (Calwell was appointed a Knight Commander with Star in the Order of St Gregory the Great by Pope Paul VI in 1964).⁷⁴⁷ Removing the lure of knighthoods for susceptible Labor Party luminaries may also have been an additional benefit of the title-free new Order in obtaining compliance with Party policy.

⁷⁴⁴ Garfield Barwick 1995: page 265

⁷⁴⁵ Garfield Barwick 1995: pages 266-267. Governor General Lord Casey had a discussion with FCO officials in London in 1967 about a new ‘Commonwealth Order’: Lord Casey to Sir Murray Tyrrell, Official Secretary, 9 May 1967: NAA A1209, 1967/7334, in *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*, Vol 27 Australia and the UK 1960-1975, No 419, <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/volume-27/Pages/default.aspx>

⁷⁴⁶ Gough Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government 1972-1975*, Penguin Books, Ringwood 1985: page 141

⁷⁴⁷ Gough Whitlam 1985: page 140

As the States continued to use the British honours system with knighthoods there was a concern that the Order of Australia may be cast as somewhat *déclassé* or even ridiculous.⁷⁴⁸ A new official table of precedence was published in which the Australian categories outranked their British equivalents (so that an un-titled Companion of Australia outranked a titled Knight of the British Empire in Australia). There had been no long drought of honours as in Canada (as Lawler had noted), no ‘forgetting’ of knighthoods. Instead they remained potent and highly desirable symbols of social and cultural status. Knighthoods were central to what the States were beginning to refer to as their ‘State Honours’ systems. From Whitlam’s perspective, the colonial relics (the States) were subverting his new traditionalism with an old colonialism, making it appear that his Queen of Australia was secondary to their ‘Queen of the British’.⁷⁴⁹ Politically unable to counter their moves by introducing a knighthood level, he instead waged a ‘break the states’ campaign behind the scenes (discussed later). One weapon he used was the term ‘imperial honours’ to supersede the terminology of British honours and State honours, a term that neatly aligned with Labor’s opposition to hereditary titles as instruments of the by-then largely forgotten ideas of imperial federation (or Irish peerages), and which had a suitable ‘colonial’ tone that accorded with the new nationalism. British honours, State honours and pre-1975 Australian honours were thus rhetorically conflated and assigned to the status of colonial relics.

The dismissal of the Whitlam government by Sir John Kerr in November 1975, presented in Australian historiography as a defining moment, is, in this context, remarkable for the absence of any real change under the Fraser Liberal government in its approaches to honours and development of the Order of Australia. The transition from one government to the next is marked, in honours, largely by continuity not disruption. The terminology of colonial relics was abandoned, but the animosity towards the States remained alive and the new terminology of ‘imperial honours’ took

⁷⁴⁸ James Curran and Stuart Ward 2010: page 218

⁷⁴⁹ The Federal Attorney General’s Department compiled a list in 1973 of what it regarded as the surviving ‘colonial relics’, which included “The grant of State honours and the creation of corporations by charter, by The Queen personally [in the States]”, ‘Legal Relations With the UK – Colonial Relics’, Minute, JG Lindell, Principal Legal Officer, NAA: A5034, SRI973/2001, in *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*, Vol 27 Australia and the UK 1960-1975, No 445, <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/volume-27/Pages/default.aspx>

hold. It may be objected that under Fraser the knighthood degree was introduced to the Order, but as I will show this was not a radical change but a critical element in the continuing evolution of the Order as an Australian, or Austral-British, but not Imperial British and certainly not Euro-British, institution.⁷⁵⁰ And it relates to a vague but continuing apprehension in Canberra that the States might ‘do something’, a disquiet that seems to pervade new nationalism at an official level during both the Whitlam and Fraser years. The new Elizabethanism can be partly understood as a response to this anxiety. If the new Elizabethanism is understood as an expression of Anderson’s dynastic naturalisation or ‘official nationalism’, his claim that it is destined to fail seems germane to that disquiet, to a sense that royal integration into the new nationalism was neither persuading nor forcing the States to acquiesce. However, Bauer’s ‘personal principal’ suggests that for the State communities the royal presence was central to their new imaginings of themselves, for they too had been abandoned in the 1960s and their responses varied between a counter-nationalism in conservative governed states, notably Western Australia and Queensland in which the Queen of Great Britain came to be imaged as Westral-British or ‘Barcoo-British’, while in Labor governed states such as South Australia there was more forbearance for the idea of a single new Australian Crown.⁷⁵¹ The British High Commissioner Sir Charles Johnson remarked in 1967 there remained a question of whether the monarchy ‘preserved the rights of the States’ through their governors, which remained an important issue in Western Australia and Queensland, and in 1970 that loyalty to the throne in the States, especially Western Australia and Tasmania, “retains much of its pre-war fervour”.⁷⁵² Whether the counter-

⁷⁵⁰ When questioned about this 15 years later, Fraser referred to “...restoring a pattern that used to prevail ... if there are traditional things which help give continuity to your society, if they’re not harmful, they’re probably good”: transcript of interview, James Curran with Malcolm Fraser, 22 October 1980, copy courtesy of James Curran

⁷⁵¹ ‘Barcoo’ from the name of the Barcoo River in western Queensland, a shorthand reference for hardship and privation, but also denoting more positive aspects of outback life and typifying laconic bush wit. Patsy Adam Smith relates the following story: ‘I see you’ve learnt the Barcoo Salute’, said a Buln Buln Shire Councillor to the Duke of Edinburgh. ‘What’s that?’ said His Royal Highness, waving his hand again to brush the flies off his face. ‘That’s it’, said the man from the bush: Australian National Dictionary Centre, Australian National University: http://andc.anu.edu.au/australian-words/meanings-origins?field_alphabet_value=71 accessed 19 May 2016. An interesting connection between the Barcoo and vicerealty can be found in ‘A Woman Journalist as Vice-reine’, *Brisbane Courier*, 23 September 1907, page 7

⁷⁵² ‘Australian Attitudes to the Monarchy’, paragraph 10, British High Commissioner Sir Charles Johnston to Sir Saville Garner, Commonwealth Office, 26 January 1967: UKNA: FCO 49/78; ‘The Monarchy in

nationalisms in such States were a reaction confined to conservative premier's offices or had a popular basis needs further research, but David Black, for instance, argues that the period was marked in Western Australian politics by vigorous denunciations of 'outside' (federal) interference, the removal of federal agricultural subsidies, federal revaluations of the dollar affecting export industries, and renewed public agitation for secession, suggesting a strong-enough level of popular support.⁷⁵³

The patterns of these State-centred imaginings are very complex, sometimes mutual, often competitive and occasionally antagonistic, as the political alignments of governments in the States continually change, with evolving responses to both abandonment and the fears of a homogenising new nationalism. As Bauer suggests, State identities did not evaporate when State residents crossed State borders, or through inter-state migration blend into a single Australianness, but travelled and were mediated through a highly mobile and visible travelling dynasty in a federal realm. Imagining the dynasty as federal rather than national allowed the States to 'naturalise' the Crown within their realms while at the same time induce (perhaps with an element of *shadenfreude*) a level of apprehension in Canberra.

This point is illustrated by the royal visits of 1979. The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester were first. The Duke had spent part of his childhood at Yarralumla when his father was Governor General, perhaps explaining New South Wales' Labor Premier Neville Wran's quip that he "is the nearest Australia has to its own Prince, and ... he's my kind of Prince".⁷⁵⁴ In Adelaide the Duke (an architect) opened the Colonel Light Centre, memorialising the founder and planner of Adelaide, telling the appreciative Adelaiders that Light had "created a sense of balanced visual harmony" in their city.⁷⁵⁵

Australia', paragraph 7, British High Commissioner CH Johnston to Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 19 May 1970: UKNA: FCO 24/715 C28.3450

⁷⁵³ David Black, 'Liberals Triumphant – The Politics of Development 1947-1980', Tom Stannage (ed), *A New History of Western Australia*, UWA Press, Nedlands 1981: pages 441-470. Conservative Liberal-Country party coalition governments in Perth were also beset by problems, not previously encountered, around the destruction of the natural environment, settler cultural heritage and Aboriginal sacred sites. Heritage activists sought federal assistance during the Whitlam and Fraser years, forcing the State to develop local legislative responses in line with the rhetoric of stymying 'outsiders'.

⁷⁵⁴ Philip Pike 1986: page 205. The Duke was also Atkinson's conjectured Australasian king and 'Asianist'

⁷⁵⁵ Philip Pike 1986: page 203

Next was Prince Charles who spent three weeks in Western Australia during the State's 150th anniversary celebrations, travelling the whole State with numerous bush camping, sailing, fishing and swimming activities, visiting many Aboriginal communities, being greeted in Perth by people in Welsh costumes, and representing the Queen at an investiture ceremony at Government House Perth for 55 recipients of honours.⁷⁵⁶ He visited Canberra where he was inducted as a Royal Fellow of the Australian Academy of Sciences marking its 25th anniversary.⁷⁵⁷ The *Canberra Times* editorialised that despite a "call to republicanism heard frequently from at least one cloister at the ANU" the frequency of royal visits had the "comfortable acceptance of friends dropping in".⁷⁵⁸ Then came Princess Anne and Captain Mark Phillips who received in Perth a knitted black swan toy for their infant son and were shown remnants of the US Skylab satellite that fell to earth on the Nullabor Plain during their visit.⁷⁵⁹ The year ended with the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Perth where he opened the Royal Perth Show and, in his capacity as Chief Judge for the Industrial Design Council of Australia presented the annual design awards on live television.⁷⁶⁰

The royal visits displayed elements of the new nationalism in the bush tours, sporting events, engagements with Aboriginal communities, and the hinted tensions between 'cloistered republicans' and 'comfortable friends', the new Elizabethanism in 'Australia's own Prince' and the royal investitures for honours recipients, celebrating States identities in Adelaide's 'visual harmony' and gifts of black swan toys, modernity through the Academy fellowship, Skylab viewings and design awards, and in the Welsh-language signs and costumes a sense of Bauer's distinct but associated national communities held together by a dynastic 'personal principal'. As Charles Johnson observed in 1970 "history may have provided Australians with the form of Monarchy which best suits their special qualities and situation".⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁶ Philip Pike 1986: pages 206-210

⁷⁵⁷ 'The Academy of Science opens its doors to the public', *Canberra Times*, 6 March 1979, page 2

⁷⁵⁸ Editorial, 'A Royal Charlie', *Canberra Times*, 25 March 1979, page 2; see also James Curran, *Unboly Fury: Whitlam and Nixon at War*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 2015: Chapter 3 *passim* for similar sentiments expressed during Lyndon Johnson's visit to Australia in 1966

⁷⁵⁹ Phillip Pike 1986: pages 212-213

⁷⁶⁰ Phillip Pike 1986: page 214

⁷⁶¹ 'The Monarchy in Australia' 1970, paragraph 22

Figure 6.3 | The imaginative versatility of the new Elizabethanism



A casual Prince Charles leaving Cottesloe Beach in Perth after an early-morning swim, 1976 *Prince Charles conducting an investiture ceremony for Australia Day honours, Government House Perth 1979*
Source: Philip Pike 1986: pages 188, 207, Left credited to West Australian Newspapers Ltd, right credited to the Australian Information Service

Fraser sought to overcome the States use of British honours by providing the Order of Australia with a knighthood degree, and simultaneously to overcome perceptions that the Order was too exclusive by providing for a degree of medallist. These changes were set out in Letters Patent issued by the Queen of Australia on 24 May 1976.⁷⁶² The new Knights of Australia took precedence in Australia over all other Australian and British or State titles except knights of the Garter or the Thistle or membership in the single

⁷⁶² *Order of Australia, Second Edition*, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra 1979: page 3. Whitlam introduced the *Royal Style & Titles Bill* on the same date (24 May) in 1973, Queen Victoria's Birthday, later Empire Day. The Order of Australia formally came into existence on 14 February 1975, St Valentine's Day. There is nothing in the primary sources to suggest why these dates were chosen, but in Hobsbawm's terms they invent an (admittedly obscure) chronology and 'tradition' for the new Order within a heart-felt royal ancientness.

degree, untitled Order of Merit, awards that were dynastic and not available to the State honours lists.⁷⁶³ A Knight of Australia, titled Sir or Dame, was now more prestigious than any honour a State could award. Fraser had checkmated the States in this sense, who were only able to access the honours that Attlee and George VI had agreed in 1946 were ‘government’ honours.

Like Whitlam, Fraser also comprehended the need to assert the new was old, that the new knighthood was, in fact, part of an old tradition. Barwick, now chair of the Order of Australia Council, approached and eventually persuaded Sir Robert Menzies (a dynastic Knight of the Thistle) to accept appointment as the first Knight of Australia on the basis that “the Order needed such support as he could give if it were to become universally accepted in Australia”.⁷⁶⁴ Menzies new knighthood was announced in the Queen’s Birthday honours list in 1976 as one of 26 new knighthoods announced that day including the States’ British honours and the Fraser’s revived Commonwealth use of British honours.⁷⁶⁵ One knighthood went to Jack Egerton, a Queensland senior vice president of the Labor Party.⁷⁶⁶ Surrounding the first Knight of Australia with two score of other knights and dames in the Queen’s Birthday honours projected the traditionality of the new Order and obscured its newness, while Egerton’s knighthood suggested the Canadian-like impartiality of the Order (or, countering that impartiality, the allure of a knighthood for those supposed to be immune to such ‘baubles’).⁷⁶⁷ At the same time as the new knighthoods were being announced, the press also reported details of a forthcoming royal visit and Fraser’s resistance to the States at the annual Premier’s Conference.⁷⁶⁸ The newly traditional quality of Menzies’ knighthood was

⁷⁶³ *Order of Australia* 1979: pages 26-27

⁷⁶⁴ Garfield Barwick 1995: page 271-272

⁷⁶⁵ The proposed restoration of Commonwealth British Honours is discussed in some detail in an unattributed memo ‘Honours’, *Honours – papers relating to Imperial Honours and Order of Australia*, NAA M4799, 1/2 folios 81-86

⁷⁶⁶ ‘Menzies Honoured’, ‘Labor Leader Knighted | 24 New Australian Knights, Two Dames’, ‘Royal Visit Details Announced’, *Canberra Times*, 12 June 1976, page 1. Egerton was expelled from the Party for allowing a knighthood to be conferred upon him, and branded a ‘black knight’ and a ‘rat’: Obituary, *Canberra Times*, 29 December 1998: page 13

⁷⁶⁷ Egerton was punished by expulsion from the Labor Party: see Johannah Bevis, ‘No more labour for the knight: an overview of Sir Jack Egerton’s leadership’, *Centre for the Government of Queensland Summer Scholar Journal*, No 3, 2012-13: pages 1-12

⁷⁶⁸ Gay Davidson, ‘Premier’s Conference | Mr Fraser stands firm and gives the States as little as possible’, and editorial ‘Federalism as Before’, *Canberra Times*, 12 June 1976, page 2

further emphasised a few months later when the Queen invested him as the inaugural Knight of Australia in a ceremony at the Melbourne Cricket Ground surrounded by former cricket champions during the Centenary Test marking the anniversary of the 1877 test match (a retrospectively applied term) between an English and a combined New South Wales/Victorian ('Australian') team, before an audience of over 30,000 in the stands and a live national television broadcast.⁷⁶⁹

In 1975 Lawler had foreseen a problem after meeting with Lochnan in that the Order of Canada was too exclusive in its small number of new appointments, and lacked the capacity to honour the 'little man' as the British or States honours did. Whitlam had earlier dismissed this expansiveness in a reference to the Order of the British Empire as "the most prolific and exuberant fount of honours", but Fraser's introduction of the medal degree to the Order of Australia at the same time as the knighthood allowed the new Order to match this exuberance.⁷⁷⁰ The Medal of the Order of Australia was ranked equally with the lowest degree of Member of the Order of the British Empire, with matching three-initial post-nominals of OAM *versus* MBE, and outranked the British Empire Medal (BEM).⁷⁷¹ There was no limit on the number of Australia medals that could be awarded, and the first awards of 45 medals were made on Australia Day 1977, compared to 32 awards in all the other degrees.⁷⁷²

Barwick was acutely aware of the need for the 'national' honours to shine with greater lustre than anything the States could offer, and was critical of the number of nominations for awards he suspected were "inspired" by the State representatives on the Order of Australia Council.⁷⁷³ He also suspected that Labor governments were using their patronage to generate nominations to the Order of Australia in competition with conservative governments generating nominations for State honours (especially among judges). This, he believed, was creating partisan divisions between honours systems and

⁷⁶⁹ Photo and caption, *Canberra Times*, 18 March 1977, page 1; Phillip Pike 1986: page 181. Charles Johnson observed in 1970 Menzies' return to popular favour after his retirement: 'The Monarchy in Australia' 1970: paragraph 19

⁷⁷⁰ Gough Whitlam 1985, citing himself in a speech from 1967: page 141

⁷⁷¹ *Order of Australia* 1984: pages 28-29

⁷⁷² 'Full List for Order of Australia', *Canberra Times*, 26 January 1977: page 12

⁷⁷³ Garfield Barwick 1995: page 270

he urged Fraser to terminate nominations to the Order of the British Empire and enforce the “universal use of the Order of Australia”.⁷⁷⁴

Barwick, Fraser and Whitlam all viewed State honours with antipathy. Dunstan, irritated by Whitlam’s unilateral interference in his State’s nominations for British Honours in December 1972, was threatening in early 1973 to establish an Order of South Australia. That was thwarted by Whitlam’s sudden creation of the Order of Australia. Whitlam crowed that Dunstan “learnt that Royal Warrants in such matters are issued on the recommendations of Prime Ministers alone”.⁷⁷⁵ Dunstan was publicly embarrassed by press reports he had abandoned his plan for a distinctive State honours system.⁷⁷⁶ By 1977 Dunstan was advocating the right of State premiers to directly advise the Queen on all matters including honours, rather than go through British ministers as was the current situation and even less so through Commonwealth ministers as both Whitlam and Fraser had canvassed, which “provoked a bitter reaction, and so it should”.⁷⁷⁷ He wanted the Statute of Westminster to apply to the States, a line of thinking that leads to the Australia Acts a decade later, and saliently brought into play by Whitlam’s rapid, and to the States antagonising, creation of the Order of Australia. Barwick wryly noted that, motivated by desires to stimulate nationalism and be seen as an innovator, “Mr Whitlam was in a hurry”.⁷⁷⁸

The zenith of Whitlam-Fraser new Elizabethanism may have been reached in 1981. Prince Charles, although heir to the Crown in Australia, had no official role or function in Australia. His titular identities came from being heir to the British Crown but, despite his frequent physical appearances in Australia he had no official identity as an ‘Australian’. New Elizabethanism and the Order of Australia provided a suitably new and at the same time traditional mode for conferring a royal ‘Australianness’ on the heir.

⁷⁷⁴ Garfield Barwick 1995: page 270

⁷⁷⁵ Gough Whitlam 1985: page 140

⁷⁷⁶ ‘New System of Federal Honours’, *Canberra Times*, 18 February 1975: page 1

⁷⁷⁷ Don Dunstan, ‘The States, The Governors and The Crown’, in Geoffrey Dutton (ed), *Republican Australia?*, Sun Books, Melbourne 1977: pages 208-209

⁷⁷⁸ Garfield Barwick 1995: page 266. British High Commissioner Morrice James similarly observed in 1972 that Whitlam suffered a ‘presentational itch’ and ‘desire to appear as a dramatic innovator’: cited in James Curran & Stuart Ward 2010: page 138

With Fraser's advice, the Queen by Letters Patent appointed Prince Charles a Knight of Australia in March 1981, with precedence over all other knights of the Order except the Governor General who remained the 'Principal Knight'.⁷⁷⁹ Governor General Sir Zelman Cowan invested the Prince with his knighthood at Yarralumla, after which the new knight met award winners of the Queen Elizabeth Silver Jubilee Trust for Young Australians and then dined with Prime Minister Fraser and others including the leader of the federal opposition Bill Hayden, Democrat Senator Don Chipp, Irish ambassador Florence O'Riordan and the Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane Francis Rush.⁷⁸⁰ Surrounding the investiture with youthful awardees, the ecumenical or bipartisan character of the celebratory dinner, and the lack of any public opposition to the appointment confirms the success of the new traditions. While new nationalism may have been disorienting, as Curran & Ward contend, new Elizabethanism had the capacity to be a compass to safe harbour.

Around the time of the investiture, there was also speculation in the press on the possibility that Prince Charles might succeed Sir Zelman in the vice-regal office, although this was officially denied. Fraser occasionally spoke in favour of such an appointment, but Labor leader Bill Hayden, while agreeing that Charles was a popular royal figure, denied any partisan connotations behind his rejection by saying it was "Just good old fashioned Australian nationalism. I'm an Australian nationalist from way back".⁷⁸¹ The speculation also attracted some controversy when a tape recording of a conversation allegedly involving Sir Zelman, Prince Charles and his fiancé Lady Diana Spencer was published in the press, in which Prince Charles says that while Fraser has assured him of popular support for his appointment, he wasn't convinced and did not want to force himself on anyone.⁷⁸² The *Canberra Times* summarised matters when it editorialised that a vice-regal Prince Charles would be perfect training for a future King

⁷⁷⁹ Letters Patent, dated 14 March 1981, in *Order of Australia*, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra 1984: page 5

⁷⁸⁰ 'Vice-regal', *Canberra Times*, 14 April 1981, page 2; The Queen Elizabeth Silver Jubilee Trust for Young Australians changed its name to The Queen's Trust Australia in 1991, and after merging with another youth advocacy organisation in 2000 is currently the Foundation for Young Australians (FYA)

⁷⁸¹ 'No reason why Australians should have a cultural cringe | Hayden rejects vice-regal role for Charles', *Canberra Times*, 27 February 1981: page 1;

⁷⁸² 'Governor-General denies conversations', *Canberra Times*, 16 May 1981: page 8

of Australia, and would also open opportunities for vice-regal appointments from other Commonwealth countries.⁷⁸³ But it also cautioned that the Fraser government was about to lose control of the Senate, and with that came the possibility of Charles being placed in a position of having to make Kerr-like political decisions. It rejected the “chauvinism” of Hayden’s nationalist comments, but acknowledged that without bipartisan support “it would be better to forget it”. It noted the irony that it was Hayden’s predecessor, Whitlam, who had done so much to make the monarchy relevant to Australia through the *Royal Style & Titles Act*. This episode illustrates, perhaps better than any other, the limits of new Elizabethanism as new nationalism. The heir to the Australian Crown could be a Knight of Australia, but the old nationalism articulated by Hayden determined he was ‘foreign’ and ineligible for vice-regal office. The ghost of the dismissal six years earlier also cast its shadow, with a fear in the editorial (and in readers’ letters responding to the editorial) that elected parliamentarians would inevitably politicise the vice-regal office for their own partisan benefit, a politicising from which the future king had to be protected. Popularity would not be enough to protect a youthful royal governor-general from wily old political advisors, even one who had been a significant player in the dynasty’s contribution to new nationalism and post-abandonment healing.

Figure 6.4 | A wistful fiancé, newly-invested knight, possible viceroy and future king



*Prince Charles at 33,
Bondi Beach 1981.*

*The newest Knight of
Australia, three months
before his marriage, and
amid the public discussion
of the wisdom of offering
him the role of Governor
General of the
Commonwealth of
Australia*

Source: ‘A Pensive Prince’, Philip Pike 1986: page 226, credited to the Australian Information Service

⁷⁸³ Editorial, ‘Governor General’, *Canberra Times*, 14 April 1981: page 2

By the time of Prince Charles' appointment, 223 recipients had been awarded at some degree within the Order of Australia, and an Order of Australia Association had been formed in a public meeting at the Australian National University.⁷⁸⁴ The first president was Sir Colin Syme, a Knight of Australia, and the first patron was another Knight of Australia, the Governor General Sir Zelman Cowan. Two of the purposes of the Association stand out in the context of this chapter, the first "To promote loyalty to the Sovereign and to the institution of the Crown and the foster love of and pride in Australian citizenship", and the other "To foster awareness in the Australian community of Australia's history, traditions and culture". This is perhaps the most concise definition of the new Elizabethanism and illustrates the imaginative capacities of the Order of Australia, at least among those ordained with membership.

The election of the Hawke Labor government in March 1983, like that of Fraser in 1975, is marked in matters of honours by continuity despite apparently far-reaching changes. By Letters Patent issued in March 1986 (mid-way through the second Hawke government) the Queen, on Hawke's advice, stopped awarding the knighthood degree in the Order of Australia and increased the maximum number of appointments to the other degrees in any year, but placed a limit on the number of medallists.⁷⁸⁵ In this way he balanced suspending the knighthood with expanding the overall number of awards and protecting the popular medal degree from becoming devalued. He also announced that the fabled Victoria Cross would remain the highest award for gallantry, but would be transferred to the Australian system and awarded by the Queen of Australia as an Australian honour.⁷⁸⁶

The same new Elizabethanism informed the changes as it had for Whitlam and Fraser. Hawke doesn't seem to have explicitly announced any intention to remove the

⁷⁸⁴ Sir Zelman Cowan, *Speeches to Members of the Association*, Order of Australia Association, Parkes 2008: page 72. The Association was formed 26 January 1980 in Bruce Hall ('Vice-Regal', *Canberra Times*, 28 January 1980: page 2); and was incorporated in 1986: Kirkland 1997: page 47.

⁷⁸⁵ Letters Patent, dated 3 March 1986 and Amendments to the Constitution of the Order of Australia, *Order of Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1986: pages 31-34. Existing knights retained their degree, title and precedence.

⁷⁸⁶ 'New Awards in Australian honours system [sic]', *Canberra Times*, 27 January 1986: page 1

Australian knighthoods, and at first this seems to have been regarded as Labor's policy approach, illustrated by a press report that "Imperial honours are now in great disfavour with ALP regimes ... The more nationalistic Order of Australia, with its knight rank in abeyance during the interregnum, is an Australia Day affair."⁷⁸⁷ The division Barwick feared between partisan honours was not without foundation. The traditional Australian knighthoods would no longer be available (although British knighthoods remained available through some States), but the Victoria Cross was naturalised as Australian in the same way Prince Charles has been naturalised as a Knight of Australia, by letters patent from the Queen on the prime minister's advice. As with Fraser's changes in 1976 and 1981, Hawke's appear to have been accepted by the public with little comment, and were clearly reported as being made by the Queen, the traditional fount of honours.⁷⁸⁸ Counter to Anderson's argument that a dynasty attempting to naturalise itself was simply delaying its inevitable fall, the new Elizabethanism was, by the mid-1980s, suggesting quite the opposite.

IV | Breaking The States

Amid all the crowded royal touring, elaborate investiture ceremonies, friendly sporting and recreational activities, the growing touring and television presence of members of the dynasty, and the expanding number of people admitted to the Order of Australia, the governing classes were also occupied by a more arcane battle over colonial relics that occasionally spilt over into public consciousness.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Twomey concluded that Whitlam's desire to assert Australian 'independence' and terminate 'anachronistic' links was subordinate to his desire to make the States subservient to the Commonwealth. Jenny Hocking has argued to the contrary when she writes "ending the colonial entanglements still lingering ... was one of Whitlam's most determined objectives. ... The twin shibboleths of postcolonial Australia – a commitment to Britain and to the White Australia Policy – remained

⁷⁸⁷ Jack Waterford, 'For the second year – no sleepless knights', *Canberra Times*, 30 December 1984: page 16

⁷⁸⁸ 'A New Service Medal', *Canberra Times*, 5 March 1986: page 8

fraying but persistent”.⁷⁸⁹ This objective was thwarted, says Hocking, by a British refusal to seriously consider Whitlam’s foreign policy agenda, and instead use the “arcane relationship between the British Crown and the Australian States” to justify inaction and active engagement by London with the States in what was, she argues, a “political response and disingenuous argument” to thwart Whitlam’s policy of “postcolonial independence”.⁷⁹⁰ Instead, a ‘captious British attitude’ manipulated an institutional arrangement with the States, which was presumed to have ended with federation, to maintain a colonial dependence in Australia even after Britain had humiliated Australia by joining the EEC. Hocking’s formulation is straight from the radical nationalist school, remarkable more for its anachronism than its content, but when considered with Twomey’s conclusion, points to a more complex relationship between new Elizabethanism and new nationalism through the entanglement of honours, the States and federalism than a simple ‘captious attitude’.⁷⁹¹

Sir John Kerr’s public announcement of the new honours system in February 1975 was a ‘surprise’ to the States, but this does not mean they had been completely unaware of a proposal, or were not already suspicious of Commonwealth motives. After winning the May 1974 federal election, holding a Premier’s Conference in June 1974 and having Kerr appointed Governor General in July 1974, Whitlam began planning for an overseas visit that would include London. On the agenda for that visit were discussions with the Queen and with Harold Wilson to discuss the proposed new system of honours, and terminating the connections between the States and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO). The situation whereby the States submitted their nominations for British honours to the FCO, who in turn passed them on to the Palace, was the nexus between these issues.

⁷⁸⁹ Jenny Hocking 2014: page 71. On the other hand Matthew Jordan, for instance, has argued that the White Australia Policy had already been effectively abandoned by the mid-1960s: Matthew Jordan, *The Reappraisal of the ‘White Australia’ Policy Against the Background of a Changing Asia, 1945-1966*, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, March 2001: pages 258-262

⁷⁹⁰ Jenny Hocking 2014: page 76

⁷⁹¹ The continuing strength of the nationalist perspective is also evident in David Lee 2016: page 264 - “This anomaly...the colonial status of the States”; page 274 “...a status of continuing dependent ‘colonialism’ for the Australian States until ... the mid-1980s”: the secessionists of the 1930s would have countered that any dependence was an expression of ‘federal bondage’ under Canberra, and the ‘colonial anomaly’ was in fact emblematic of the state’s independent sovereignty

Between 5 and 12 December 1974, high-level official discussions between Canberra and London prepared for the meetings. Whitlam had flagged with the premiers in June the possibility of having a system of Australian-based bravery (military) and long-service (civilian) awards, and a committee of officials was formed to explore the issue.⁷⁹² The notable exclusion from Whitlam's proposal was any mention of 'distinguished service' awards, meaning appointments to British honours. The two problems identified by Commonwealth officials after the meeting were the lack of consistency between the States in their honours practices, and the 'lack of autonomy' for Australia as British standards and quotas for honours had to be observed. On this basis, the Commonwealth officials formulated a policy that a 'total' Australian system should be instituted in which the Commonwealth and the States could all make recommendations to the Governor General. It was this 'total system' that surprised the States. A subtle indication had been given to the premiers when Whitlam said he thought the vice-regal flags of the State governors (usually a Union flag defaced with a State emblem) should be replaced with an Australian national flag.⁷⁹³

In August 1974 the appointment as Secretary of the Department of Prime Minister & Cabinet of John Menadue, the General Manager of Rupert Murdoch's News Ltd, was announced, to the chagrin of the public service establishment who publicly protested about patronage and politicisation of the service.⁷⁹⁴ Menadue developed the 'total system' honours policy, which significantly included awards for 'distinguished service' that would be made under a new Order of Australia based on the Canadian model, would be based in the Governor General's Household and would be instituted by and in the name of the Queen. He advised Whitlam that "The Palace fully appreciates the

⁷⁹² 'Confidential – Meeting of Australian and State Government Officials on Honours and Governors' Flags', 4 September 1974, *Order of Australia – Toward Establishment 1974-1975*, NAA M2480, 179, folios 70-73

⁷⁹³ 'Confidential – Meeting of Australian and State Government Officials on Honours and Governors' Flags', 4 September 1974, *Order of Australia – Toward Establishment 1974-1975*, NAA M2480, 179, folios 70-73

⁷⁹⁴ David Solomon, 'Top Officer Fails on P.S. Protest', *Canberra Times*, 16 October 1974: page 1; David Solomon, 'Cleaning out the cobwebs from the top', *Canberra Times*, 24 October 1974: page 2; 'New Job of Journalist on PM's staff', *Canberra Times*, 12 December 1974: page 7; Bruce Juddery, 'Those bygone days of golf and government', *Canberra Times*, 8 February 1975: page 2

problems of the States but believes that the Prime Minister's advice should take primacy over that of the States".⁷⁹⁵

This advice was provided after discussions between senior Commonwealth officials and Sir Martin Charteris, Private Secretary to the Queen. The key line in Menadue's advice was that "...he [Whitlam] does not need to inform the Premiers of the action he proposes to take in London".⁷⁹⁶ Whitlam had already received from the premiers, in response to the officials meeting in September, responses from Labor governed South Australia and Tasmania that they supported the proposal discussed in June, but opposition from Liberal governed New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia (Queensland abstained from replying until after a State election). The intention to advance the 'total system' policy without first going back to the States, and present them with a *fait accompli* on returning from London, all sealed with royal approval to which they could not object, is clear.

Menadue's advice had, so some extent, misconstrued Charteris who actually said that it was a problem if the States could not directly advise the Palace of nominations but instead had to go indirectly through the FCO, and suggested that "this arrangement could perhaps be broken by an approach [from Whitlam] to Mr Wilson". He thought the Queen would be placed in a difficult position if two honours systems were operating together, and indicated he could personally try to influence the FCO "so that the Palace's view on the matter would be known".⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁵ 'Secret – Honours', attached to advice from Honours Secretariat to Secretary, Department of Special Minister of State, 5 December 1975, *Order of Australia – Toward Establishment 1974-1975*, NAA M2480, 179, folios 61-62. The covering memo expresses concern that the Department was "losing control" of honours because of Menadue's involvement. Menadue may also have introduced the term 'imperial honours' into official discourse from common usage at News Ltd – see for example quote from an *Australian* editorial in Curran & Ward 2010: page 217. Menadue's memoir makes no mention of these events: John Menadue, *Things You Learn Along The Way*, David Lovell Publishing, Melbourne 1999. The relevant National Archives file *Abolition of Honours Branch from within Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet* (A463 1973/3516) remains closed (advice from NAA 29 March, 27 June 2016)

⁷⁹⁶ 'Secret – Honours', attached to advice from Honours Secretariat to Secretary, Department of Special Minister of State, 5 December 1975, *Order of Australia – Toward Establishment 1974-1975*, NAA M2480, 179, folios 61-62

⁷⁹⁷ 'Secret – An Australian System of Honours and Awards – Preliminary Reaction from The Palace', attached to advice from Whitlam to Kerr, dated 11 December 1974, *Order of Australia – Toward Establishment 1974-1975*, NAA M2480, 179, folio 90

On the eve of Whitlam's departure for London, a warning shot was fired by the Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen. Prompted by a press report, he sought clarification from Whitlam there would be consultation between Canberra and Brisbane before any matters relating to the constitutional arrangements between the Queen and the State of Queensland were discussed with the British government, including the use of the royal prerogative and access to the Privy Council, as these matters concerned "the sovereignty and integrity" of the State.⁷⁹⁸ Bjelke-Petersen and Whitlam were already involved in public conflict over related matters, notably a bill made by the Queensland Parliament, in the wake of the *Royal Style & Titles Act*, to confer the title Queen of Queensland on the Queen. The bill had been referred to the Queen for her assent, on which she would be advised by the FCO, not the Commonwealth.⁷⁹⁹

Whitlam's reply was delivered in a speech he gave in London.

One of our first acts as a government was to amend Her Majesty's Royal Style and Titles in Australia. That change had the warm personal approval of the Queen ... it makes the monarchy a closer and more relevant institution for Australians ... We no longer confer knighthoods in the name of an empire that has ceased to exist ... [But] We still retain procedures by which the Governors of the States are commissioned by the Queen – not as Queen of Australia but as Queen of the United Kingdom ... I do not think I am alone in seeing something absurd in the proposal to have a Queen of Queensland. Is there a Queen of Alberta or a Queen of Prince Edward Island? ... Some of Australia's State Governments have resented some of the initiatives of my government ... There is no possible advantage to Britain in embroiling the Queen ... in such Australian domestic disputes... if the States accept that Australians are one people, with national interests and legitimate national aspirations.⁸⁰⁰

Whitlam's confidence belied a brazenness. Wilson had already advised him in August 1974 that the British Labour government did not support divesting the FCO of responsibility for communications between the States and the Palace and shifting that

⁷⁹⁸ 'Inwards Teleprinter Message – J Bjelke-Petersen to EG Whitlam', dated 13 December 1974, *Order of Australia – Toward Establishment 1974-1975*, NAA M2480, 179, folios 101-102

⁷⁹⁹ see for example 'Draft', advice from Whitlam to Kerr, dated 20 September 1974, *Royal Style and Titles Policy*, NAA A1209, 1973/6503, no folio numbers; David Solomon, 'Queen of Queensland Plan', *Canberra Times*, 31 July 1974: page 1; David Solomon, 'PM and Premier in 'un-civil war'', *Canberra Times* 24 September 1974: page 2

⁸⁰⁰ *Speech by the Prime Minister at the Mansion House, London, on 19 December 1974*, <https://pmtranscripts.dpmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00003557.pdf> accessed 26 May 2016

role to the Governor General “unless the State Governments concur”.⁸⁰¹ Wilson stressed that the British government “has no wish whatever to continue to be involved in these matters”, but suggested any change should come about from a mutual agreement between the Commonwealth and the States in Australia, rather than any decision by the British government to “unilaterally alter the established constitutional relationship between the United Kingdom and the States”. Nevertheless, Whitlam later advised Kerr to advise the Palace that the Queen, as Queen of Australia, should be advised “by Her Majesty’s Australian Ministers” on such matters, advice that clearly indicated (or confirmed) for the Charteris his fears about the Queen being placed in the impossible situation of received conflicting advice.⁸⁰²

In October 1975 issues of State vice-regal sovereignty again erupted in public when the Governor of Queensland, Sir Colin Hannah, remarked in public on the Whitlam government’s “fumbling ineptitude” in economic matters. Whitlam’s retaliation was swift, advising the Queen to revoke Sir Colin’s dormant commission (held by all the State Governors) allowing him to act as Administrator of the Commonwealth if the Governor General became ill or was overseas.

As with more direct issues associated with honours, the dismissal of the Whitlam government a month after Sir Colin’s remarks is notable for the continuity rather than disruption in the evolving constitutional status of the States and the Crown. Unlike the honours systems, to which Fraser and later Hawke introduced a number of changes already discussed, these matters rarely received any public attention, and were largely confined to the offices of constitutional lawyers and attorneys-general and, as Twomey as demonstrated, the Palace and government houses. When the Queen assented to the Australia Acts at Yarralumla in 1986, a *Canberra Times* opinion piece stated “On Monday ... the nation will achieve complete independence from Britain, its old colonial ruler ...

⁸⁰¹ Letter, Wilson to Whitlam, dated 1 August 1974, *Royal Style and Titles Policy*, NAA A1209, 1973/6503, no folio numbers

⁸⁰² ‘Draft’, advice from Whitlam to Kerr, dated 20 September 1974, *Royal Style and Titles Policy*, NAA A1209, 1973/6503, no folio numbers

[amid an] almost total lack of fanfare or controversy ... the achievement of this milestone in Australia's history appears to be passing without a ripple...⁸⁰³

V | Their Australian home

Press commentary nevertheless invented a history for the gentle ripples.

For some the greatest irony in all this is that it has been Labor Governments which have strengthened the Royal links with this country ... Mr Whitlam ... successfully steered the change to the Queen's title so that she became Queen of Australia ... On the visit just completed the Queen signed the proclamation of the Australia Acts 1986 ... There is no evidence of a widespread popular movement for a republic ... The Queen and Prince Philip can be as pleased as ever that their visit to their Australian 'home' was part of an ongoing rather than a waning constitutional and human process.⁸⁰⁴

In December 1976 David Hamer, Liberal member for the Victorian seat of Isaacs, asked the Prime Minister whether the Queen, in selecting a State Governor as her representative, acted on the advice of her Australian or British ministers, and whether the Statute of Westminster affected this position.⁸⁰⁵ Fraser replied, that while the States 'traditionally' communicated with the Palace through British ministers, "the view of this Government [is] that the appropriate means of communication with the Palace is the Government of the Commonwealth".⁸⁰⁶ He added that if any State wished to change the traditional arrangement, he "shall be only too delighted to assist".

Fraser's reply could have been spoken by Whitlam, and was pounced on by Fraser's own supporters. Ian Wilson, Liberal member for the South Australian seat of Sturt, wrote angrily to Fraser that the future of the federal system could depend on the consequences that might flow from his response, adding "it is little wonder that Mr

⁸⁰³ Bill Goff, 'Australia Acts to be Proclaimed | Monday: Day of country's full independence', *Canberra Times*, 1 March 1986: page 11

⁸⁰⁴ Editorial, 'Labor Firms Royal Links', *Canberra Times*, 15 March 1986

⁸⁰⁵ British officials had discussed this very issue since at least 1968: see for example Garner to Charles Johnson, 28 February 1968, UKNA FCO 49/134, in *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*, Vol 27 Australia and the UK 1960-1975, No 427, <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/volume-27/Pages/default.aspx>

⁸⁰⁶ Questions Without Notice, Mr Hamer to Mr Fraser, House of Representatives, 7 December 1976, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, page 3372

Whitlam was beaming as you answered David Hamer's question".⁸⁰⁷ Fraser sought the advice of his Attorney General who said that discussions were well under way between the Commonwealth and the states over the application of the Statute of Westminster to the States, and the preferred principle of the Commonwealth was that all communication between the States and the Palace should be through the Commonwealth.⁸⁰⁸

While this may seem an 'insider' issue, Hamer's question had been prompted by a very public controversy, again involving the Governor of Queensland. Sir Colin Hannah's term was coming to an end, and the Queensland Government sought to have him re-appointed. However, the Callaghan Labour Government in London was refusing to support this recommendation to the Queen, an act widely reported in the Australian press as pay-back for Bjelke-Petersen's role in the dismissal of the Whitlam Government, or as Murdoch's *Australian* newspaper editorialised "his unfriendly act to a fraternal socialist party".⁸⁰⁹ The Fairfax-controlled *Canberra Times* reminded readers "Mr Whitlam has argued that the Australian States are no more, legally, than British colonies ... the Premiers today are unable to speak directly to the Queen on those matters which require her approval ... the award of Imperial honours is one such matter".⁸¹⁰ The rhetorical framework established by Whitlam of 'colonial relics', especially in regard to the States, and the conflation of all honours outside the Order of Australia as 'imperial', was now firmly in place in press reporting. Nowhere were these assumptions being questioned by 1977. Even the decisions by Whitlam from 1973 to abandon the use of the proper noun 'Commonwealth' to describe or refer to the actions of federal authority in Australia remained uncontested by the Fraser ministry, despite calls from its own supporters such as Western Australian Senator Tom Drake-Brockman who argued in the Senate this was because the Whitlam government begrudged the powers the States retained under the constitution and was a prelude to Labor's "hopes for a single

⁸⁰⁷ Letter, Wilson to Fraser, dated 12 January 1977, *State Governors and State Honours – Advice to the Queen*, NAA A432, A1977/134, no folio numbers

⁸⁰⁸ 'Sources of Advice to the Queen ... State Honours', January 1977, *State Governors and State Honours – Advice to the Queen*, NAA A432, A1977/134, no folio numbers

⁸⁰⁹ Editorial, 'A link with Britain we do not want', *The Australian*, 7 December 1976

⁸¹⁰ Editorial, 'Westminster Connection', *Canberra Times*, 7 December 1976: page 2

government of Australia”.⁸¹¹ Twomey describes Whitlam’s abandonment of the term as “in part, a mischievous attempt to use language to obscure the distinction between the Commonwealth’s powers and jurisdiction and those of the States”.⁸¹²

Just as Whitlam had located the *Royal Style & Titles Act* within an invented tradition in order to gain acceptance for his changes, so now Fraser continued the same ‘tradition’, despite some anger from his backbench. And, as was noted by his Attorney General, the Commonwealth and the States had been in discussions for some time now over the State’s constitutional foundations, continuing a process that had begun under Whitlam. That would eventually lead to the *Australia Acts* in 1986.⁸¹³

A particularly salient matter Twomey discusses is the State’s gradual acceptance they would have to relinquish being able to advise the Queen, however indirectly, on awards of British honours. The discussion began in 1984, and eventually agreement was reached that honours fell within the personal prerogative of the Queen (as fount of honours) rather than the powers of a State Crown, and so would not be mentioned in the *Australia Act*.⁸¹⁴ In this way, the ‘traditional’ dynastic honours were maintained, based upon the prerogative, while the ‘government’ or British honours such as the Order of the British Empire were closed to the States. Hawke’s changes to the Order of Australia in 1986 that suspended the degree of knighthood, as previously discussed, was now politically possible because most States no longer operated what was, in effect, a competing honours system that retained the allure of a knighthood.⁸¹⁵ Without

⁸¹¹ Second Reading Speech, Mr Whitlam, ‘Extradition (Commonwealth Countries) Bill 1966’, House of Representatives, *Parliamentary Debates* 20 October 1966; Question, Thomas Drake-Brockman, and Lionel Murphy, ‘Australian Government’, Senate, *Parliamentary Debates* 18 October 1973; Cabinet Minute, *Use of Term “Commonwealth”, Australian Honours and Awards, National Symbols and Related Matters*, dated 22 December 1975, NAA A12931, 17M, 1 folio

⁸¹² Twomey 2010: note 179, page 472

⁸¹³ Twomey 2010: pages 344-346. Draft names for a proposed Statute of Westminster for the States included the *States of Australia Constitution Act*, the *Australian States Constitution Act* and *Australia Independence Act*

⁸¹⁴ Twomey 2010: pages 152-156, 355-358. Other honours prerogatives retained by the States’ Queen include issuing royal charters, granting the ‘Royal’ prefix to organisations, and exercising heraldic authority. The Queen can delegate the exercise of these prerogatives to a State Governor.

⁸¹⁵ Each State ceased nominations for British honours when a Labor government came to office. No subsequent conservative government resumed the practice. Queensland was the last State to recommend British honours, ceasing to do so in 1989

competition, old concerns about the prestige of a title-free Order of Australia could be assuaged and Labor policy upheld.

Whitlam's original intention of banishing State honours (British honours awarded on the recommendation of the States) was achieved, and the Order of Australia was able to be consolidated as the sole, or 'total' system, with the Queen of Australia as the 'traditional' fount of honours. The possibility of the States now establishing independent honours systems, such as Dunstan's proposed Order of South Australia, of which their own Queen would be sovereign, independently of her British or Australian crowns, was not excluded by these arrangements, but neither did any State leader advance such a proposal.⁸¹⁶

Implicit in this discussion is Twomey's conclusion that, by the enactment of the *Australia Acts 1986*, the States were transformed from British dependencies into sovereign states, for which a separate crown for each State came into existence, although whether by division of the British or Australian crowns remained moot. And while these six new realms did not establish their own honours systems as emblems of their new sovereignty, the birth of State crowns was clearly contrary to any outcome anticipated by either Whitlam or Fraser. The long process by which they 'naturalised' the Crown, as an instrument of Commonwealth authority had, in effect, also achieved the independence of each of the States as sovereign, crowned states. These processes occurred over a long time, becoming invested with an aura of naturalness that provided a rhetorical route away from 'colonial relics' under the aegis of new Elizabethanism.

In 1986, when the Order of Australia Association was incorporated, it claimed membership of 2,076, or half of all recipients since 1975; by 1993, when the first (brief) history of the Association was prepared it claimed a membership of over 6,000 members, or about two-thirds of all recipients since 1975.⁸¹⁷ The power of the Order as a manifestation of new nationalism and new Elizabethanism in 1993, with its purposes

⁸¹⁶ Imperial jurist AB Keith argued in 1938 that the dominions, by virtue of the Statute of Westminster, could now create their own independent honours system: Keith, Sir Arthur Berridale (AB), *The Dominions as Sovereign States: their constitutions and governments*, Macmillan & Co, London 1938: pages 85-86

⁸¹⁷ 'A Brief History' and 'Statistics' in Kirkland 1997: pages 47, 51.

combining the Crown, Australian identity, history and culture seems contrary to Mansillo’s analysis of polling showing the period between 1993 and 1998 as that in which support for the monarchy reached its nadir. However, the Association’s rallying to that nadir is illustrated by its 1995 conference in Adelaide when it’s national president, retired Governor General Sir Zelman Cowan, said “If you seek evidence of [the Association’s] achievements, let me use the words of Christopher Wren and invite you to look around you”.⁸¹⁸ The knights of the Order, titled or aspiring, were standing by the fount of honour as the tide of support for the dynasty (or for a forsaken imperial Britishness conflated with the dynasty) seemed to be receding around them.

Figure 6.5 | ‘Look around you’: Order of Australia insignia and post-nominals



Insignia designed by Stuart Denlin AO CMG in 1976, based on the Commonwealth livery colours (gold and blue) and a single wattle blossom, with a crown signifying the sovereign as head of the Order
 Source: *Order of Australia*, 9th Edition, Government House Canberra 2009: pages 10-13

This chapter has shown that the development of the Order of Australia was not the simple invention of a great visionary, but integral to a transformative, lengthy and

⁸¹⁸ Sir Zelman Cowan 2008: ‘Toast to the Order of Australia Association ... 1995’: page 63

contested re-imagining of the Crown in Australia over several political generations, a re-imagining experienced in the community and legitimised by the conscious use of ‘invented’ continuities and traditions.⁸¹⁹ It disputes singular ideas of a monolithic Australian nationalism by drawing attention to the responses by the States to Britain’s abandonment and to the complexity and resilience of localised ‘pre-modern’ or counter-nationalist State identities through a brief flowering of ‘State honours’. It is consistent with Twomey’s positioning of the Crown as an active agent in shaping Australian identities. It has placed the dynasty within popular imaginings of the Crown in Australia that have a historical and emotional depth and intensity receptive to an experience of civic ritual and mythic ‘ancientness’.

The Whitlam period is historiographically characterised as transformative, and nothing in this chapter disputes that. But, in matters of honours, Whitlam (despite his claims to paternity) crystallised an existing trend in the disoriented responses to abandonment, and the later results were not always what was expected. Fraser, in this context, stands not as a reactionary wanting to turn back the clock but as a conservative seeking to preserve institutions of honour and the Crown as he found them in 1975. In a sense, he was probably the perfect successor to Whitlam’s ‘crash through or crash’ reformism, and ensured the Order of Australia was able to weather early concerns about partisanship and flourish. The abandonment element in new nationalism characterised in this chapter as a retreat to national borders (or withdrawal from a global Commonwealth) has its corollary in the States, with a similar retreat to State borders and increasing wariness of a continental Commonwealth.⁸²⁰ The 1975 federal election, held four weeks after the dismissal, indicates the strength of State identities. Not only did Fraser win the largest landslide in federal election history to that date, but in the States most publicly and loudly resistant to Whitlam’s reformism by 1975, Queensland,

⁸¹⁹ examples of mass participation include attending the ‘new’ royal tours, consuming widespread press, radio and television coverage of royal visits and activities, gradual receptivity to the new honours, especially once the medal was introduced, and constant levels of support for monarchy in opinion polling as these changes were made

⁸²⁰ Bongiorno has described the recent attraction of transnationalism for some Australian historians as allowing them to “...re-enter international conversations from which they had largely withdrawn during the field’s ‘national’ phase of the 1960s-90s”: Frank Bongiorno, ‘Comment: Australia, nationalism and transnationalism’, *History Australia*, Vol 10, No 3, December 2013: page 77

Western Australia and Tasmania, Labor was reduced to one or no House seats and a minority of senators. The historiographical focus, indeed obsession, with the dismissal tends to obscure these long-term continuities and the strength of Andersonian ‘pre-modern’ identities, and deter questioning of the ‘colonial relics’ rhetoric. Making the Crown the organising principal, and using honours as a prism, has allowed this chapter to move around that focus.

By end of 1980s, Australia’s royal authority appeared splendid, popular, modern, federal, natural and regenerative, entrenched in a Commonwealth of seven crowns, made all the more resplendent by the complex rituals and mutability of honours systems flowing from a sole fountain of honours. Vice-regal authority basked in these lights, but among the *cognoscenti* at the federal level, it also contained a nagging uncertainty about the legitimacy of viceroial use of royal prerogative and its susceptibility to partisan, especially prime ministerial, manipulation.

In mid-1976, Geoffrey Yeend, Deputy Secretary of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, recorded a long conversation he had with Gough Whitlam on whether he would accept an honour. He would, wrote Yeend, accept an appointment by the Queen as a Companion of Honour, one of the more exclusive dynastic orders.⁸²¹ Instead, in 1978 while Whitlam was visiting Warsaw, it was announced in the Queen’s Birthday honours list that he had been appointed a Companion of Australia. As he later stated, “The comrades were the first to hail me as Companion”.⁸²²

⁸²¹ Hand-written note, dated 20 May 1976, *Honours – discussion with Mr Whitlam*, NAA M4810, 33

⁸²² Whitlam, in Kirkland 1997: page 18

Metamorphosis

As Australia approached the bicentennial year of 1988, the Australian Crowns (plural) appeared both traditional and modern. With the benefit of hindsight, at that moment they stood on the cusp of a republican assault that would seek their abolition and consignment to the ash heap of history. In 1999 that ash heap would turn out to be the ‘sacred ashes of her honour’ from which the Crowns rose anew, but in 1986 that was all in the future.⁸²³

From a nation-centred timeline events such as the Republic Advisory Committee of 1993, Prime Minister Keating’s *An Australian Republic: The Way Forward* speech of 1995, elections to and proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1998, various aspects of the republican and/or monarchist campaigns of the 1990s, financial de-regulation fears of a ‘banana republic’ in the mid-1990s, and the Thatcher-Reagan inspired movement to neoliberalism; Mabo and the Redfern Speech in 1992; or Keating’s ‘Big Picture’ of ‘republic, reconciliation, Asia’, might be selected as a ‘slice’ for 1988-2000.

From a crown-centred perspective, however, the choice of slice might be the absence of royal visits between 1992 and 2000; Australia’s experience of the Queen’s *annus horribilis* of 1992; Australia’s experience of mourning Princess Diana in 1997; the governor-generalships of Bill Hayden (1989-1996) or Sir William Deane (1996-2001); the historiographical absence of the Crown in official Centenary of Federation histories; Neville Bonner AO’s election to the Constitutional Convention in 1998; various aspects of the republican and/or monarchist campaigns of the 1990s; or indeed Keating’s triptych of ‘republic, reconciliation, Asia’ or John Howard’s counter narrative of ‘one flag, one Australia, one future’. These and other slices await the historian, but that does not prevent conclusions that throw light on the referendum results in 1999 being drawn from this thesis.

⁸²³ Henry VIII referring to the future of his daughter Princess Elizabeth, in Shakespeare’s *All Is True* (later titled *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry VIII*), Act V, Scene V, 1613.

CONCLUSIONS

Their future history is yet to be written

Constitutional scholar Professor Cheryl Saunders AO, writing in 2003, expressed both perplexity and annoyance at the outcome of the 1999 referendum

The proposal to establish a republic was not intended to disturb Australia's constitutional calm. The changes initially sought were largely symbolic and it was assumed they would be confined. A move to a republic appeared merely to involve a continuation of the process of removing signs of formal colonial status which, on this occasion, happened to involve formal constitutional change. ... Public willingness to accept what was essentially a fiction during the debate on a republic – the Crown is a check and balance – was almost as disturbing as the distrust of the democratic process it suggests.⁸²⁴

Professor Saunders' thoughts reflect some of the early commentary on the 'failure' of the referendum. Her view that the public had been gulled reflects the widespread attribution after 1999 of failure to disreputable monarchist tactics, republican disunity and prime ministerial duplicity. Her thought that removing 'colonial' relics would be achieved easily and quietly recalls the earlier confidence of Whitlam and Murphy in Australianising the Crown without anticipating longer-term consequences.



The Crown in Australia has its own histories. It is not the same history as the history of the Crown in Britain, or in England, or in Ireland, or in New Zealand or elsewhere although they may all share genealogies and common historical phases. The divisibility of the Crown is an idea that also has its own history, a history central to understanding the Crown as it evolved in Australia between 1808 and 1986.

As this thesis has shown, the Crown is a dynamic, ever-changing, institution always becoming its next iteration. Its agents have worked to nourish relationships with individuals and institutions within its many and diverse realms, and in doing so it has

⁸²⁴ Cheryl Saunders, 'The Australian Republic: Act 1', in F Leslie Seidle and David Docherty (eds), *Reforming Parliamentary Democracy*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston 2003: pages 77-78

acquired temporally and spatially diverse civic personalities. Some of those personalities, in some places and some times, have been imperial, but the assumption of an enduring synonymy of crown and empire is questionable. The Crowns in the 16 realms are not, and were certainly not by 1986, synonyms either for each other or for the British Crown. The Crown existed long before the British Empire, was integral to the cultural projections and meanings of the empire while it existed, and continues to survive after the end of empire. The *British* Crown in Australia was by 1986, as in the other Commonwealth realms beyond the British Isles, largely a historical institution.

By 1986 the Australian Crown had been an independent institution for 55 years. In that same year, the Crown in each of the Australian States had just been created through further legislative division of the British Crown. The ambiguity of one crown, or two, or seven or many is a strength of the crowned idea, providing multiple spaces for imagining and historicising crowned forms.

On the question

So, what has this thesis shown in the history that precedes this cusped year? The two most significant outcomes relate to emotion and change. The principal question for this thesis has been whether history can provide an understanding of the forces that shaped the 1999 referendum, and in particular whether the mutability and divisibility of the crown provides insights into that understanding. The answer, fleshed out in the preceding chapters, lies in the subtle interplay between emotions and cultural values, in passion and the heart, rather than reason and the mind. It lies in deep desires in a rapidly changing settler society for historical continuum rather than ahistorical rupture or abstract constitutional finesse.

The Crown is a ‘fiction’, an intangible entity with its own logic and rules manifested in rituals, myths and traditions. These in turn inculcate values and imply historical continuities. It is an emotional ‘imaginary’ through which the world can be experienced and its significance made real. This thesis has only begun to reveal the immense power and complexity of historical and emotional imaginings about the Crowns in Australia. The Crown cannot be treated simply as an arcane legal/constitutional ‘problem’ to be

remedied by simple abolition, which no-one would really notice or care about.⁸²⁵ In 1969, Geoffrey Serle wrote with some prescience that:

vast good will [towards the Crown] remains without opportunity for expression, and tradition may have a more lasting power than appears at the moment”.⁸²⁶

Jane Connors hinted at this when she noted in 1993 many people who fondly remembered the 1954 royal tour were by then “aware of the general scorn, tingeing their recollections with guilt”, and so kept their memories to themselves.⁸²⁷ An affection for the monarchy had become, at this time, a love that feared to speak its name. The 1990s debates had a foreclosing effect that passed un-noticed in the rarified world of constitutional law, but was deeply and quietly felt in the suburbs and country towns, illustrated in this referendum ‘day-after’ letter to the editor:

So, the working class and rural voters who rejected the Turnbull republic need educating do they? Well, ordinary Australians know in their bones something that these sophisticates appear not to know: it’s a question of legitimacy.⁸²⁸

The letter-writer’s ‘knowing’ was heartfelt rather than mindful. Those emotions and passions can be studied and comprehended, not by ‘myth busting’, but by seeking to understand the power of the crowns as imagined in and by communities by the mid-1980s. It is a powerful, but not mysterious, imaginary that is comprehensible through history.

Personal and communal imaginaries of the Crowns exist within iterative relationships with Crowns as mutable and dynamic institutions. Casting the crowns as anachronistic or unchanging rules out exploration of this dynamic. As Hobsbawm made clear, ‘tradition’ is dynamic, not static. Traditions that continue, or appear to have continued over long periods of time, have done so by having new legitimating histories attached to ritual forms that also evolve over time. They always appear unchanging in the context of what at a particular time ‘unchanging’ is perceived to look or feel or sound like in order to provoke an imagery of continuity and stability.

⁸²⁵ Cheryl Saunders 2003: pages 77-78

⁸²⁶ Geoffrey Serle, ‘Australia and Britain’, in R Preston (ed), *Contemporary Australia: Studies in history, politics and economics*, Duke University Press, Durham NC 1969: page 19

⁸²⁷ Jane Connors 1993: page 382

⁸²⁸ ‘Letters - M. McClure of Armidale’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: page 22

The mutability (or as Twomey might say, chameleon-like quality) of the Crown is evident in, for example, the entangled relationships between crowns and post-1788 Indigeneity. Michael McHugh regards this mutability as deceitful, but like the scholarly sport of myth busting, it's an attribution that misses the point.⁸²⁹ When Queen Elizabeth in 1963 spoke in Central Australia of Uluru and its custodians being the 'living beating heart' of Australia, she, with all the "numinous and mystical" virtue of actually being The Queen, showed respect for and located the Crown within that beating heart.⁸³⁰ She invoked emotional and spiritual re-imaginings in the public of the 'traditional' roles of kingly stability in a rapidly changing society. Nugent has shown Indigenous communities have long and paradoxical histories of 'the Queen' as both a source of restorative justice and a keeper of ancient tradition. There is a time-specific aspect in the history of Crown-Indigenous relations, and the slice approach insists that temporal diversity be respected, not homogenised. Colonial liberals sought to deride cadency in the 1860s through attributions of Indigenous royalty, federationists in the 1930s appropriated 'Aboriginalist' art to neutralise the imaginative power of black swan history, the Queen in 1973 invented a genealogy that connected corroboree, opera and place as both traditional and modern, as 'in the moment'. The Queen then, and at such moments as Uluru in 1963, was revealed as the perfect successor to her grandfather George V who, in a similar moment of great emotional uncertainty and imaginative flux, re-invented the Saxe-Coburg-Gothas as Windsors. Now Elizabeth II was reinventing the Windsors as Australias, with Uluru and Sydney Opera House metaphorical Windsor Castles in a miscegenating and legitimating civic sacredness. This is the 'fiction', or at least a window into it, that Saunders found so disturbing. The crowned 'checks and balances' are not those of the lawyer and social scientist but the artist and storyteller.

This mutability may not have been a topic of public commentary by the mid-1980s, but the dynamic was at play. In his 1988 bicentennial speech at Sydney Opera House Prince Charles said

⁸²⁹ The Hon Michael McHugh AC, 'Foreword' in Twomey 2006: pages v-xi

⁸³⁰ The 'numinous and mystical' reference is from 'The Monarchy in Australia', paragraph 20, British High Commissioner Charles Johnston to Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 19 May 1970: UKNA: FCO 24/715 C28.3450

For the original people of this land it must have all seemed very different ... a country free enough to examine its own conscience is a land worth living in”, while at the same time Gumatj elder Galarrwuy Yunupingu AM speaking at Sydney’s Hyde Park, on an ancient Cadigal ritual battleground, said

We know this land is more powerful than the man who landed here on behalf of the King ... this land is the boss, the victor and the oldest”.⁸³¹

The voices of two heirs to ancient institutions meet and entangle around a notion of ‘the land’ as a spiritual actor, and in doing so emotively performed the ‘traditional’ role of sovereign and guide in a changing landscape. They point to a particular aspect of the Crown’s fluidity, its divisibility or capacity for being infinitely divided into new or successor crowns consonant with changing times, while at the same time appearing continuous and traditional, neither anachronistic nor artificial but in the moment and natural.

This thesis has shown the creation of new crowns as legal entities was preceded by their creation as cultural entities. A feature of the Crown as synonym for empire were arguments advanced by constitutional lawyers that the Crown was indivisible, arguments superseded by actual events. The Statute of Westminster formalised that divisibility, effectively dividing the Crown of the United Kingdom into seven successor crowns. That process continued each time a British colony became self-governing or independent. The Australia Acts of 1986 are an iteration of this process, creating six new crowns, one in each State. Like the seven bridges of Königsberg, the post-1986 ‘Commonwealth of Seven Crowns’ can disorient the scholar unless their presence and complex relationships are discerned.⁸³²

In New South Wales the settler’s resistance to military usurpation between 1808 and 1810 was expressed in their invention of a crownlet subsidiary to the British Crown. In Western Australia secessionist settlers use of the State’s first compulsory referendum in

⁸³¹ both quoted in Alan Atkinson 2002: 52-53

⁸³² The Seven Bridges of Königsberg is an old mathematical problem that was resolved by understanding the relationships (sometime inverted) in the East Prussian city of Königsberg between seven bridges and the islands and banks of the Pregel River they connected rather than seeking simple linear connections. The resolution of the problem in 1736 by Leonhard Euler led to the branch of mathematics called topology. Königsberg is now the Russian Baltic port of Kaliningrad. Only 2 of the original bridges remain *in situ*.

1933 invented a crownlet in opposition to the Australian Crown. Both existed as historicised cultural imaginaries long before their constitutional invention in 1986, although obscured in nationalist historiography as expressions of fading provincialism or disparaged as ‘colonial relics’.

Assuming a synonymy of Crowns and empire can also be disrupted when considering the relationships between Crowns and settler societies. Like the Crown, they have outlived the empire. Settler society viceroyalty has evolved from absolute deputy king to constitutionally bound vice-sovereign. Contentious uses of the royal prerogative in 1932 and 1975, when first ministers were dismissed by vice-regal fiat, point to an area of royal governance no longer practiced by sovereigns in Britain but which remains in-play in New South Wales and Australia.⁸³³ Vice-regal exercises of royal prerogative, as cultural rather than legalistic actions, have been extensive in Australian histories, from William Bligh’s refusal to surrender the Great Seal in 1808 to Sir John Young’s supposed authorship of the *Prince Alfred for King* pamphlet in 1867 to Sir Harry Galwey’s patronage of the All British League in 1915 despite its professed agnosticism towards the dynasty to Sir James Mitchell’s appointment of a King’s Messenger in 1935 to the acceptance by Sir John Kerr (and all subsequent governors general) of the Chancellorship of the Order of Australia since 1975. The acceptance of nativist governors-general and governors, beginning with Tim Healy in Ireland in 1926, Sir Isaac Isaacs in Australia in 1931 and Sir James Mitchell in Western Australia in 1933 also mark dominion viceroyalty as distinctive and localist. By 1986, distinguishing characteristics of the Crowns in Australia include the lack of a supportive aristocracy (perhaps compensated by the Order of Australia), lack of religious roles (perhaps substituted by a civic sanctity), expatriate residency of the sovereign, traditions of divisibility and federalism and popular consent through constitutional referenda.

Crowns, dynasties and viceroalties have their own histories in settler societies, and should not be conflated with each other or the British Crown without close attention to

⁸³³ Despite 1932 and 1975, there appears to remain some social acceptance of this usage, see for example Louise Hall and Brian Robbins, ‘Governor assessed sacking state government’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 June 2010: page 5; Tim Dick ‘When governments go bad, its only fair to give the people a choice’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 June 2010: page 15, and letters-to-the-editor around this date

the specifics of time and place. But, neither should the importance of dynastic and crowned imagery, such as royal tours and pictures of royal regalia, especially when located within local landscapes, be downplayed.

Figure C1: Royal banality, Sydney Harbour and Uluru, mid-1980s



Images: stamp designer J Richards, photolithography Leigh-Mardon P/L, issued 20 April 1983, author's collection; Prince and Princess of Wales at Uluru in 1983, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-27107302>

Arguments around the idea of abandonment, referring to Britain's abandonment of Australia through its decisions to seek membership of the EEC in 1961-3, have been positioned as alternate to a historiography of 'thwarted' nationalism, but this thesis points to a historical richness in the idea of abandonment as a historical force in its own right. The States, not just 'Australia', experienced their own sense of abandonment. Stuart Ward positions abandonment as a phenomenon of the early 1960s that by the time of Britain's formal accession to the EEC in 1973, had been largely overcome or displaced by other factors, including trade re-orientation and new nationalism. However, this thesis posits a longer period, perhaps a 'long abandonment', that underlies new nationalism, like Banquo's ghost, continually disturbing and disorienting the hoped-for certainties to which new nationalism and new Elizabethanism were responding. The London *Daily Telegraph* comment of a century earlier on Australian loyalty and affection for the royal family seems augural:

It will be the fault of bungling statesmanship at home, rather than of our countrymen abroad, if that feeling should ever be changed for one of discontent or disaffection.⁸³⁴

The idea of a 'long abandonment' allows the dynasty to be positioned as a 'natural' continuity, bridging cultural Britishness and political Australianess as both gradually

⁸³⁴ 'Australian Loyalty', *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 1868, reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1868: page 6

drew (or were chased) away from the impending and then post-1973 Euro-British state. Ideas of a cultural Britishness as ‘tradition’ have had an enduring resonance of perhaps greater strength than Serle envisaged, exemplified by one post-referendum letter writer in 1999:

Before the rugby World Cup, a Welsh woman wished for an Australian victory ‘as Australians are British’. Now that we are retaining our British Head of State ... I no longer have to queue in the ‘aliens’ immigration line [at Heathrow].⁸³⁵

In some ways it is the ghost Whitlam and Fraser tried to exorcise through ‘new nationalism’, new Elizabethanism and a new honours system. This is not to deny the immediate shock of 1961-63, but instead to suggest a lingering, subdued post-traumatic ‘disheartening’ worthy of further research.⁸³⁶

Along with the historiographical presence of Britishness (and Irishness) in Australia’s crowned history, Germanness also needs to be considered. Although less perceptible, Hanoverian elements are present in the settler loyalism of 1808-1810, and Saxe-Coburg dynasticism pervades Prince Alfred’s tour in 1867-68. The collapse of an all-embracing Anglo-Saxonism, debated between Lake and Meaney, could be explained as the logic of dynasticism at work, abandoning its familial Germanic connections in accordance with Anderson’s ‘naturalisation’ strategy, although with both more angst and more success than Anderson would allow. The Germanophobia of the Great War remains evident in snide characterizations of the Queen and other royals as ‘Germans’ (used as a pejorative), ignoring the ethnically-cleansed map of South Australia that silently monumentalises the Crown’s inventive capacities for avoiding downfall, and absent a popular capacity to reflect upon the persecution of German Australians.⁸³⁷

⁸³⁵ ‘Letters, S. Davis of Lindfield’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 November 1999: page 22. The Rugby World Cup was played in the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff on referendum day 6 November 1999 (which, due to the time difference, was several hours after the results were known in Australia). Australia defeated France for the world title, and the Queen presented the cup to Australian captain John Eales (a self-declared republican) before a television audience of 3.1 billion: Peter FitzSimons, ‘Wallaby golden cup of joy flows over’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: pages 1 and 29

⁸³⁶ Resonances can still be discerned in 2016: “Being here in London makes me wonder what the net gain could be by selling to the English, remembering that they chucked us out of their trade arrangements when they went into Europe. So much for the strong bond since 1788”: Harold Mitchell, ‘London is burning, we should be looking instead to an Asian haven’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 September 2016: page 19

⁸³⁷ A few of many recent examples point to a ‘remembrance’ of 1917: “Ditto with Camilla Parker-Bowles-Mountbatten-Windsor, nee Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, aka his [Prince William’s] step mum”, ‘Stay in Touch’,

Bound up in ideas of forgetting and a 'long abandonment' are Pocock's fears of kingless anarchy as the alternative to the Crown. Each chapter, without intending to, has revealed an underlying narrative of fears of civil disturbance. In the 1800s it was fear of French-style revolution and military rule, in the 1860s of intruding American civil war and invasion, in the Great War of German subversion and occupation, in the 1930s of imperial break-up and civil conflict, in the 1970s of geographical isolation and familial abandonment. Pocock argued such fears of kingless republicanism were characteristic of British communities. That they still found wider expression in the Australia of the 1990s, after a decade of republican campaigning, is illustrated in a post-referendum *vox pop* in Western Sydney when Bosnian refugees Alic and Zinerta Mehmed said they voted 'No' because

they didn't trust the model, and were concerned a republic would be unstable and bring 'troubles'.⁸³⁸

The Mehmeds own lived experiences in a once-Hapsburg domain found resonances in a historical Australian Britishness explored in this thesis that had not been 'forgotten', although as Connors intimates, perhaps tranquilised during the campaign.⁸³⁹

Another unexpected theme to emerge across the chapters was honours. Upon reflection, because honours remain one of the limited but significant dynastic interests where the dynasty is not subject to the same degree of control or manipulation by parliamentary executives, they exhibit an element of continuity in ways that are

Sydney Morning Herald, 4 September 2012: page 18; "Prince Harry wearing nothing but a smile and a swastika armband", Peter Munro, 'Six Degrees', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April 2014: page 23; "[Prince Harry's] heritage on his dad's side is rather German", Claire Harvey, *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 April 2014; "... our Anglo-German overlords", Jacqueline Maley, 'Royals flushed with worry as baby glow fades', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 2015: page 35; "Prince Charles and his use of the word 'hip' to elicit a 'hooray' ... a hunting cry when German knights in the middle ages were hunting Jews", Column 8, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 April 2016: page 13. Philologist Sidney J Baker remarked in 1976 on the toponymic changes: "As Australia grows older this melancholy example of xenophobia will not be regarded as one of this country's proudest achievements": Sidney J Baker 1976: page 281

⁸³⁸ Leonie Lamont, 'Labor stronghold teaches a lesson in civics', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 November 1999: page 8

⁸³⁹ some examples of 'monarchist' tracts in the 1990s that echoed themes of civil disturbance as the alternative to monarchy are Martyn Webb 'Republicanism means more than removing the Queen: Lessons from America 1776-1787', Heidi Zwar 'Dispelling the Multicultural Myth', both in Rick Brown (ed), *The NO Case Papers*, Standard Publishing, Rozelle 1999: pages 161-171, 172-180; Patricia Feodosiu, 'Australian Constitutional Monarchy and Multicultural Australia', in Gareth Grainger and Kerry Jones (eds), *The Australian Constitutional Monarchy*, ACM Publishing, Sydney 1994: pages 115-122

otherwise not readily discernible. Contrary to Twomey's contention that "the matter is now of little interest", Karen Fox has argued "the debates [around honours] are not merely of historical interest", a view with which this thesis concurs.⁸⁴⁰ Even as continuities honours display a mutability more consistent with Hobsbawm's invented history and Lennon's logic of allusion than any sense of unchanging permanence. The recent invention of the term 'imperial honours' is attached to a history of 'forgetting' pre-1975 Australian honours (and pre-1989 State honours). Honours are a viable prism for researching the influences of a changing Crown, and it is for future scholars to explore other aspects such as incremental change in make-up of the Order of Australia Council, from equal State-Federal representation in 1976 to domination by prime ministerial appointees since 1996.⁸⁴¹

'Forgetting' has long been a trope in Australian historiography, and the thesis suggests a role for royalty and vicereignty in some of that forgetting. The military usurpation of 1808-1810 was very deliberately forgotten through Macquarie's 'tranquillity' policy. Prince Alfred's potential cadet crown was forgotten in 1868 by effusive declarations of loyalty to one Queen and empire. Forgetting the Saxe-Coburg-Gothas was not as easy as toponymically cleansing the map of South Australia in 1917, at least for nationalists, despite the invocation of mystical Windsorness. Prince Henry's tour of 1935 was actively wielded by the Lyons government to provide a bridge to federal unity and forget secession. The Queen willingly consented to being an agent for forgetting imperial history in the new post-abandonment Australian kingdom with its own Australian honours. Both the dynasty and vicereignty have provided a healing balm in the wake of traumatic communal events, a balm that, by being itself forgettable, is evidenced by the lightness of historiographical touch upon these events.

But, just as the Crown has been an agent of 'forgetting', it has also been an agent for remembering, illustrating a duality and mutability that infuses the thesis. That 'remembering' is evident when considerations of State, or other non-national, identities

⁸⁴⁰ Anne Twomey 2010: page 355; Karen Fox 2013: page 226

⁸⁴¹ 'Amendment to Letters Patent and Constitution of the Order of Australia', *Commonwealth of Australia Special Gazette*, No 303, 16 August 1996: page 2

are considered. The Westralian secessionists claimed that self-government was an inherent right of a British community, and their referendum success suggests a popular basis for such a claim. Localism has provided strong counter-narratives to the nationalism of the south-east. It has been mixed up with ideas of the Crown as defender of its state realms, ideas given constitutional form in the Australia Acts. As mentioned, the States experienced their own abandonment when Britain began moving towards EEC membership, and they quite explicitly turned to their own relationships with the Crown in their struggles to reorientate. They sought a quite different reconstructing and rebalancing to that sought by Canberra, motivated by fears of a loss of local identities under a homogenising and mostly amorphous 'Australianess'. Their achievement, in effect, of independence under their own Crowns suggests a strongly localist element in the 'failure' of 1999.

Questions of the Crown, indigeneity, localism and sovereignty raise questions of whether self-governance and communal autonomy is or was a legitimate expression of either cultural Britishness or dynastic loyalty. State identities are not simply 'regionalism', but (in the thesis context) can be understood as distinctive 'British' (in a cultural rather than ethnic sense) communities with their own political, economic and social interests shaped and buttressed by distinctive relationships with, before the 1986 the British Crown, and since then with their own independent crowns. The thesis has shown that applying a single Australia-wide nationalism as the organising principle in writing continental-scale histories is not sufficient. State-based nationalisms or patriotisms need to be accounted for and not dismissed as quaint or obstructive pre-modern entities or colonial relics thwarting the great modernising national project.

Questions of how much agency the Crown or viceroyalty or its agents have is raised in some chapters. Twomey was surprised by the existence of 'Palace' agency during Australia Acts negotiations; Hocking was angered by it during the Whitlam era in relation to the sovereignty of the States. It is not clear how much agency the dynasty had in increasing royal tours and change in their style in the 1970s/80s, but it is unlikely the dynasty was simply a quiescent servant of the British government. The dynasty has

its own imperatives and interests, its own relationships with subjects to be nurtured, which in accordance with crown divisibility will vary from realm to realm.

Twomey, Philip Murphy and others have demonstrated a more active and participatory role by Queen Elizabeth (often referred to metonymically as ‘the Palace’) in matters touching upon the dignity of the Crown in Australia and the dominions, such as honours, royal titles and dynastic representations. Their conclusions are supported by this study. Importantly this is not participation in the ‘thwarting’ sense of the radical nationalists, but more significantly a participation that provides entrée into distinctive dynastic imperatives and strategies that occur, with varying degrees of separateness, from the wishes of governments in the realms, including the British government. While Twomey is cautious in identifying independent dynastic interests because of limited archival evidence currently available, she nevertheless challenges views of a passive unchanging Crown, uncritically projecting the demands of partisan governments in London. This thesis, like Ged Martin, points to the FCO (and its predecessors) as thwarting dynastic or subject interests wherever it has perceived these may not be complimentary to British government interests, regardless of how that may impact in the other realms. A timeless synonymy of the interests of the dynasty and of the British government cannot be accepted at face value. Divisibility has produced multiple agents, multiple pasts and multiple futures.

With regard to historiographical visibility, and the persistent claim of an increasing post-crown ‘void’, this thesis has shown such claims are overstated. The Crown’s visual identifiers changed rather than vanished post-EEC, from inanimate objects and signs to living royal bodies in local streets and domestic living rooms through (especially) television. Mansillo’s concept of ‘banal royalism’ offers one route to an alternative explanation for the vanishing material emblems of the Crown.⁸⁴² The impact of radio, cinema, television and frequent air travel provided the elements of crowned banality relevant to the abandonment era. This meant the static exhibitions of royal cyphers and portraits (whose desuetude was itemized by Horne and others) were simply replaced by

⁸⁴² Luke Mansillo 2016: pages 17-18

new, ‘in the moment’ displays. Prince Charles appeared on ABC Television’s popular music program *Countdown* in 1977 and reduced the normally urbane compere to tongue-tied stammering. The 1981 royal wedding was broadcast in real time and vivid colour directly from St Paul’s Cathedral in London to homes in remotest Australia. These events reinforce in the mid-1980s the continuing direct personal link between each citizen and the Crown that Hudson identified as bemusing the Irish in the 1930s.⁸⁴³ The materiality of royal banality had simply shifted in accordance with the basic principle of continuing royal mutability that informs this whole thesis. Nevertheless, the removal of material symbols of the Crown was not unproblematic, and one reading of 1999 is that such removals were actively resented by some, but only articulated in the private spaces of the mind, the home and the ballot box. There were few ‘banality-maintaining’ royal tours between 1992 and 2000 (the Queen’s eight-year absence was unprecedented since 1963), perhaps making the vanishment of material royal symbols more obvious in the 1990s and reinforcing the tranquilising (or is it vexing?) effect touched upon by Connors.⁸⁴⁴

To bring this discussion to a close, by 1986, on the eve of the republican challenge, the Crown was a thriving and continually adapting institution. The referendum results, and the ‘day after’ comments in the press and *vox pop* interviews, suggest this adaptability was a core strength of an idealised Crown that was able to provoke an imaginary that motivated and gave heart to the Crown’s defenders, even if they did not consciously articulate such a motivation. It also suggests this was not the Crown the republicans sought to abolish, for they did not see it.

⁸⁴³ for original *Countdown* interview, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-72muL9zrI> and 40th anniversary replay <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FsdVISvslkc> accessed 26 May 2016; for blanket television of royal wedding, including in remote areas, see ‘TV Guide, Wednesday 29th, Channel 2, 6:15-10:40, Royal Wedding’, *Victor Harbour Times*, 22 July 1981, page 28; ‘Leonard not pushy’, *Canberra Times*, 30 July 1981, page 10; ‘Klugman criticizes television coverage’, *Canberra Times*, 28 July 1981: page 9; Ian Warden ‘Watch the wedding or watch nothing’, *Canberra Times*, 16 July 1981: page 1

⁸⁴⁴ There are alternative explanations for many of the ‘vanished’ symbols, for example Turnbull’s claim in 1993 that the removal of royal portraits from inner-city Sydney municipal council chambers was evidence of the Queen’s ‘civic death’ needs to be placed in the context of the republican campaign of the time, rather than acceptance at face value of such disappearances as ‘inevitable’ republicanism

The reminiscences of campaign participants, both immediately after in 1999 and in the longer term (as summarised over pages 7 to 9), provide republican's explanations of disunity, alleged prime ministerial duplicity, monarchist dishonesty, and various constitutional confusions that are really explanations about a failure of tactics. Similarly, monarchist's explanations focused on republican divisions, alleged elitism and slurring of opponents, and a reliance on celebrities, explanations that are also about the tactics of their opponents. There was no real counter-commentary at the time on the Crown *per se*. The post-referendum assessments from both sides in the campaign illustrate, as claimed at the commencement of this thesis, a blindness to the complex histories of both the Crown and republicanism in Australia.

This must raise questions of whether 1990s republicans fought a straw crown of their own invention? The strength of that inventiveness may have been revealed by the disbelieving and extravagant day-after claims by campaigners that the great majority of Australians actually supporting the removal of the Queen despite the clarity of the referendum results (see pages 8 to 9). A study of the Crown in Australia between 1986 and 2000, using the Crown as its organising principle, is needed to take such ideas further, but this thesis has established the existence of a mutable and familiar Crown, a Crown different to, and quite capable of resisting, a republicanism apparently informed by ideas of a desiccating and alien Crown consistent with the nationalist historiography discussed in Chapter 1.

The conflict of the 1990s awaits its historians, but this thesis strongly suggests that significant historical shapers of the 1999 referendum results include a deep mutability and divisibility of the Crowns, popular and cultural as much as constitutional; strong local and communal identities that can invoke ideas of the Crown in their defence against authoritarian or centralising national authority; deeply-felt fears of civil disturbance associated with a loss of kingly stability; the Crown's specific relationships with Australia, and with each of its States, that are quite distinct and separate from its relationships with other realms (describing the Crown in Australia as 'British' has been misleading since at least the 1980s if not the 1930s); a casual manipulation by politicians and popular movements in Australia harnessing the Crown to their causes, often

presenting partisan or sectarian projects as royally-endorsed nation building; a significant degree of social value attached to the awarding of official honours that are both visually splendid and, being awarded from the royal fount of honour, apparently non-partisan; an enduring affection for the dynasty, perhaps because of its familial and homely connotations; a reverence for and enjoyment of the sensory traditions of monarchy, especially as those traditions were incrementally adapted to the televisual environments of post-abandonment Australia; a sense that the projected ancientness and traditionality of the Crown might be a bridge to engage ideals of tradition and ancientness articulated by Indigenous societies; and possibly an unstated agitation over the elimination of material symbols of crowned or royal favour.

The Crown has not been imposed from without or sustained by tyrannical means – instead, it has been sought from within, and historically sustained by (not particularly synchronous) continental and local understandings of democracy and sovereignty. The Crown is a fiction, in that it provides a rhetorical space for discussion and negotiation. That space has been occupied by Australian voices, Indigenous and settler, as much as if not more than any now historical voices of a colonising British power. Two centuries of changing technologies, from sailing ship and printing press to jet airliner and colour television, facilitated the deepening complexity and power of historical and emotional imaginaries of the Crowns in Australia. They made possible the sharing and continual re-shaping of those imaginaries among disparate communities, settler and Indigenous, communities not always bounded by present-day views of inherent national borders. Finally, the thesis points to the power of emotions, of passion and the heart rather than reason and the mind, of spaces in the polity for elements of civic sanctity or a secular transcendence that can inspire an unbounded sense of personal allegiance. It points to a very old formula, expressed in 1936 by the Imperial constitutional scholar AB Keith as “From the people the king receives allegiance; in return he accords justice and protection.”⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴⁵ AB Keith, *The King and the Imperial Crown: The powers and duties of His Majesty*, Longmans Green & Co, London 1936: page viii

These were some of the multiple characteristics of a mutable and divisible Crown made visible through historical and historiographical questioning that by 1988, with hindsight, girded an Australian institution at once ancient and contemporary for the challenges of the 1990s when it stared-down what seemed to be an existential threat from Australian republicanism.

On the method

A central methodological problem has been the perception of the Crown's historiographical invisibility. As this study has demonstrated, such a perception is eminently contestable. To make the Crown 'visible' and available for historical study, a 'mixed method' was developed combining the slice approach with the Crown as an organizing principle, and attention to the material archive. This 'crowned slices' method prompted the asking of different questions, different at least, to those asked in nation-centred historiographies.

Overall, the activities and relationships within each slice point to deeper patterns and older continuities. The slice approach allows each chapter to conclude with a number of options available at that time that might (or might not) shape the future, without emphasising any particular option from a present-day point of view. The 'Metamorphosis' page between each chapter draws attention to key themes in nation-centred historiographies, and as a counter-point positions the choice of each slice clearly within a crown-centred *longue durée*. The choice of each slice has been guided by its potential to show the crown in a moment of change and adaptation.

Each slice has provided a window into the dynamics of crowned change in a certain time and place. This chameleonesqueness of the Crown is made evident as a deep continuity that necessarily takes different forms and expressions in each period. There are no straight lines between the slices and each other or 1999 or the present. Instead, the slices show the imaginative possibilities at that time, through which are woven multiple strands of the Crown's mutability and divisibility as the organising principle of the study. The method has allowed the historiographical visibility of the Crown to be established.

Arising from the contingency of this approach comes possibilities for developing new periodisations for studying the Crown in old dominions and settler societies and posing new research questions outside nationalist frameworks. The Crown existed before, during and after the Empire, as noted earlier, and closer attention to its periodisation will help untangle its study from nationalist frameworks. The slice method allows for changing relationships between crowns and realms to be explored, and is insistent on disaggregating the two.

A ‘crowned slices’ method has also allowed attention to be drawn away from the iconic events and the ‘national’ scale of Australian history to otherwise overlooked events and localised scales. Seeking the dynamics of crown mutability in the subtle and the small, in microhistory-like registers, strongly suggests the potential for such dynamics to be evident in the vivid and continental contexts, or to raise further historiographical questions if they are not. Using the Crown as an organising principle does not banish the nation or nation-state, and is not intended to do so, but it does disturb its projected permanence, and prompts questioning of ideas such as the inevitability of the fall of the Australian Crowns or the end of the crowned-state. Removed from teleological inevitablism, a wider landscape of pasts and futures becomes available to the historian.

On their future history

History has provided an illuminating avenue of research and interpretation that can provide explanations for 1999. Emotions and relationships between sovereigns and subjects, crowned divisibility and mutability in culture as well as law, cadency whether intended (1860s) or virtual (1970s-80s), the high social value of crowned honours, royal and vice-regal imprimaturs on forgetting remembering and healing, close connections between crowns and changing technologies of communication, old fears of civil disturbance as the alternative to the Crown, desired and repressed imaginings of biological and institutional miscegenations and hybridities, and questions of whether a sense of a ‘long abandonment’ pervaded the late twentieth-century are all factors that can be discerned in the thesis and that inform 1999. Stories of the Crown are deeply embedded within broader communal and personal histories, not something separate or

‘foreign’. The ‘day after’ and *vox pop* quotes from the popular press suggest the power of ‘remembering’ such stories. Taken together, they raise a question of whether 1999 was indeed a failure?

Do these factors point instead to opportunities to reorient research to questions of why was 1999 a success for the Crowns? Each Crown in Australia in 1986 was still a chrysalis, “born heir to the puzzle of what is to be”.⁸⁴⁶ Collectively, the Australian Crowns by 1986, and still by 1999, were chameleonesque, but more than that, they were truly chrysalids.⁸⁴⁷ To paraphrase a Sydney writer extolling the virtues of Gothick viceroyalty in 1846, ‘their future history is yet to be written’.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁶ Mary E Fullerton, ‘The Butterfly’, in *The Breaking Furrow: Verses*, Sydney J Endacott, Melbourne 1921: page 16

⁸⁴⁷ with apologies to John Wyndham (*The Chrysalids*, Michael Joseph, London 1955)

⁸⁴⁸ Thomas Braim, *A History of New South Wales*, R Bentley, London 1846: page 291

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Cultural Landscapes

Australian Capital Territory

Government House and Domain, Yarralumla

Old Parliament House, Capital Hill

Street name patterns

New South Wales

Bridge Street, Sydney Cove and The Rocks, Sydney

Burra Bee Dee Mission and Forky Mountain, near Coonabarabran

Clontarf Reserve, Sandy Bay Road, Clontarf including the unformed Duke of Edinburgh Parade

First Government House archaeological site, Sydney

Government House and grounds, The Domain and Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney

Hawkesbury District, including sites of Arrowfield and Blighton farms

Old Government House and Domain, Parramatta Park, Parramatta

Rookwood Necropolis, Lidcombe

Headstone (metal plaque) of Henry James O'Farrell, with an incorrect death date of 20 March 1868, Rookwood Necropolis, Roman Catholic Section, Mortuary 1, Area 4, Grave 3290

Headstone of James Pettigru Lesesne, A Battalion, State Cadets, South Carolina Volunteers, Confederate States of America, died 1892 in Sydney, Rookwood Necropolis, Church of England Section RRR, row 16, grave 767

University of Sydney, Main Quad and Great Hall, including views to and from

Norfolk Island

Kingston & Arthur's Vale Historic Area, including Government House and grounds, Kingston

Northern Territory

Government House and Domain, Darwin

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, south-west of Alice Springs

Queensland

Bentinck Island, Gulf of Carpentaria

South Australia

Barossa Valley, or Neu-Schlesien, and *Barossadentsch* language

Hahndorf (village), Adelaide Hills (officially named Ambleside, 1917-1935)

Kaiserstuhl Conservation Park, Barossa Ranges

King William Street, Adelaide

Süd Australien (lost toponymic landscape)

Tasmania

Derwent Estuary, Hobart

Government House and Queen's Domain, Hobart

Western Australia

Government House and Domain, Perth including views to and from

Karrakatta Cemetery, Karrakatta

Rose Garden, Karrakatta Cemetery, site of scattered ashes of Sir Henry Keith Watson, died 1973

Kings Park and State War Memorial, Perth

Nedlands (suburb), Perth

Rottneest Island

Swan River Estuary, Perth

University of Western Australia, Crawley campus layout

United Kingdom

Australia House, Aldwych, London

Buckingham Palace, London with the Mall and Victoria Memorial

Central Criminal Courts (Old Bailey), London

Queen's Chapel of the Savoy, London, chapel of the Royal Victorian Order

Savoy House, 114-115 Strand, London (location of Western Australian Agent-General, 1930s)

St Giles High Kirk, Edinburgh, including chapel of the Order of the Thistle

St Paul's Cathedral, London including the chapels of the Order of St Michael & St George and the Order of the British Empire

Westminster Abbey, London including the chapel of the Order of the Bath

Windsor Castle with the Long Drive, Home Park, Great Windsor Park and Frogmore, and the chapel of the Order of the Garter

Ireland

Dublin Castle, St Patrick's Hall (formerly the Great Hall), chivalric hall of the Order of St Patrick

Memorial plaque, cnr Booterstown and Cross avenues, Booterstown, Dublin, assassination site of Kevin O'Higgins

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Appendix Three GLOSSARY

Autochthony, autochthonous

Original or indigenous to a place. See also *Patriation*

Brazilian Option

Also known as the Braganza Option or the Lost Option, citing the establishment of a cadet dynasty by the Braganza dynasty in Brazil in 1826 as the head of a new crowned state when Brazilian independence from Portugal was achieved.⁸⁴⁹ The dynasty reigned until 1889 when it was usurped by a military coup. The term is an analogous reference to the ‘option’ of establishing a cadet branch of the Windsor dynasty in Australia. See also *Cadet, Dynasty*.

British Race Patriotism

British Race Patriotism is the idea that all British peoples, despite any regional particularities, “...ultimately comprised a single indissoluble community through ties of blood, language, history and culture”.⁸⁵⁰ Hancock observed in his 1930 history *Australia* that ‘pride of race counted for more than love of country’ among Australians, but in the 1966 reprint he repudiated his ‘careless’ use of the word ‘racial’ as a foundation of the White Australia Policy, and further argued that the Policy was only a slogan, neither legislation nor administrative practice.⁸⁵¹ For Stuart Ward, such slogans were not empty but a rhetoric that revealed the depth of the imperial ideal and Australia’s place in the British world, an idea further developed in James Curran’s study of prime ministerial visions for a post-British Australian nation and his discussion of, for example, the idea of a ‘British-speaking race’.⁸⁵² Whether ideas of Britishness, whiteness and race are synonymous, historically or presently, remains contentious⁸⁵³, but an apposite argument about Britishness in the West Indies in the inter-war period is that Jamaicans and other West Indians ‘of colour’ were themselves arguing that race was not (or should not be) a primary factor in determining a British identity, that the boundaries of ‘Britain’ were cultural not geographic, and all imperial subjects were located firmly within those boundaries.⁸⁵⁴ The term ‘cultural Britishness’ is used in the thesis as generally synonymous with British Race Patriotism.

⁸⁴⁹ Jim Davidson 2012

⁸⁵⁰ Stuart Ward 2001: 2-3.

⁸⁵¹ Sir Keith Hancock 1930/1966: vii-viii

⁸⁵² Stuart Ward 2001: 2; James Curran 2004; Chapter 1 *passim*; on a British-speaking race: 31-32.

⁸⁵³ for a small example of this literature see Marilyn Lake & Henry Reynolds 2008: 132, 163-165; Ghassan Hage 1998, Chapter 5 *passim*.

⁸⁵⁴ Anne Spry Rush 2011: 10, 106-107. The League of Coloured Peoples was founded in London in 1931 by expatriate West Indians around such ideas, and the title of its journal, *The Keys*, played on the metaphor of a piano keyboard of black and white keys playing together to create harmony.

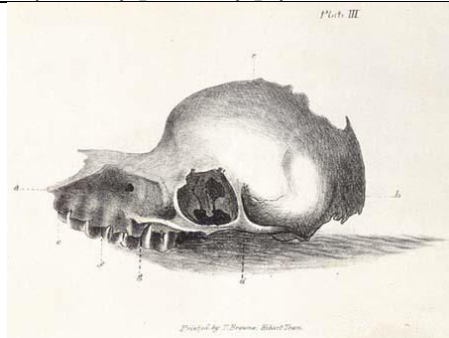
Bunyip

A legendary beast said to inhabit waterways and wetlands, forming part of Indigenous spiritual and historical beliefs, sometimes as a devil or evil spirit, other times a creator and ancestral being. Settlers attributed the name ‘bunyip’ to various heard but unseen or otherworldly creatures in the bush, especially around waterholes, which are typically said to be watched over by a guardian bunyip. Described in 1893 as “an aboriginal name for a fabulous animal”, by the mid-nineteenth century it was associated with derided Aboriginal mythologies and became Sydneysider slang for a pretender, imposter or transgressor.⁸⁵⁵

Bunyipry

Humour and derision with the Crown(s) and its presumed analogues as its subject or object. For example, the bunyip was a common metaphor for an outmoded local gentry or landed classes, as in ‘bunyip aristocracy’, between the 1840s and 1950s.

Figure A3.1 | A bunyip or bunyipry?



A ‘bunyip skull’ discovered in the Murrumbidgee and displayed at the Australian Museum in Sydney in 1846.

The bunyip was extinct, its skull a relic from a bygone age. People queued for days to see this ancient curiosity before it was pronounced to be a deformed foal fetus.

Image: *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, 1 January 1847 (Wikimedia Commons)

Cadet

Noun. A younger son, as opposed to the first-born heir. A cadet branch consists of the male-line descendants of a monarch or dynasty’s younger sons (cadets). Primary responsibility for promoting the family’s status remains with the senior branch for future generations. A cadet, having less means, was not expected to reproduce a family. If a cadet chose to raise a family, members were expected to maintain the family’s social status by avoiding derogation (i.e. lessening, impairing or debasing the family position) but could pursue endeavours that might be considered unsuitable for the senior branch, such as immigration to another realm. Mass noun: cadency. See also *Brazilian Option*.

Clontarf

A place name (1) in Ireland (*Cluain Tarbh*), a seaside site of a battle in 1014 when High King Brian Boru defeated an army of Vikings and Leinstermen. (2) in New South Wales, a waterside suburb in northern Sydney, and metonym for the assassination attempt made on Prince Alfred in 1868. A public picnic on

⁸⁵⁵ Edward Morris 1893/1982: 66-67; JS Ryan 55-56: 1993

12 March 1868 was held in the park as a fund raising event for the Sailor's Home in The Rocks and attended by Prince Alfred. Henry James O'Farrell fired two shots from a pistol, one entering the Prince's back and the other striking the foot of a bystander, Mr Thornton. A small pyramidal monument and a Norfolk Island Pine tree in the park mark the attempted assassination site. See also *Querétaro*.

Commonwealth Realm

An un-official term used to describe the independent sovereign states that share Queen Elizabeth II as their constitutional sovereign and share a common line of royal succession. Sometimes considered a form of personal union in which independent states share a single monarch. The use of the term 'realm' derives from the formula "and her other realms and territories" adopted as part of the Queen's title in 1952, and subsequently agreed by Commonwealth prime ministers to be a 'common element' to be included in the separate titles of the sovereign in each realm. Two contemporary examples are "Elizabeth II, by the Grace of God, Queen of Australia and Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth" and "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Grenada and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth". The sovereign is represented in each realm, other than the United Kingdom, by a governor general or other viceregal officer. See also *Realm, Sixteen Realms, Personal Union*.

Commonwealth Republic

The independent states within the Commonwealth that have neither Queen Elizabeth II nor an Indigenous monarch as their head of state. Eighteen Commonwealth republics were created between 1950 and 1992 (three-quarters in the fifteen years between 1960 and 1976). None were created before or since. Three were authorised by popular referenda. The most recent Commonwealth republic is Mauritius, established when the Mauritian Crown was abolished by a simple parliamentary vote in 1992. Hong Kong was transferred to the People's Republic of China in 1997, but remains a member of several Commonwealth councils and advisory bodies. See also *Commonwealth Realm*.

Commonwealth Secessionist

Independent states that were once territories within the British Empire or Commonwealth but either did not join the Commonwealth upon independence or have since withdrawn from membership of the Commonwealth. Examples are Myanmar (1948), Ireland (1949) Sudan (1956) and Gambia (2013). Some secessionist states have subsequently returned to Commonwealth membership, for instance South Africa (left 1961, readmitted 1994) and Pakistan (left 1972, readmitted 1989). All secessionist states have been republics. See also *Commonwealth Realm, Commonwealth Republic, Localism*

Court

(1) The household of a sovereign, and by extension of a viceroy, containing family members, retainers, courtiers and staff, as well as the physical place(s) where they are located.

(2) A system, with complex networks of the courtiers integral to that system.⁸⁵⁶ Both an institution and a place, constituted by various personnel and governed by its own ethos; an intangible entity that involves people from top to bottom of society and needs to be understood holistically. Court culture is polycentric with multiple royal (or viceregal), aristocratic and gentry ‘foyers of patronage’, with access to the sovereign (or viceroy) a central feature.⁸⁵⁷ ‘Court Studies’ seeks to “examine courts from a multi-disciplinary perspective, bringing together (amongst other areas) architectural history, military history, art history and cultural patronage, and the role of women in courts.” See also *Government House*

Crown, the

Noun: a sovereign as head of state; the monarch; the imperial or royal power; sovereignty; government above local government level; of or relating to that which belongs to the Crown or acts on its behalf, such as Crown lease, Crown prosecutor.⁸⁵⁸ Also ornamental headdress worn by a sovereign as a symbol of authority.

‘Crown’ can mean, for the purposes of this thesis and according to the context,

- an individual sovereign, and/or
- the institutions of a crown or crowned state, and/or
- the agents of a crown such as viceroys, state officials or functionaries, and/or
- the social networks around a crown, such as courtiers, commercial suppliers, community loyalists, etc., whether organized or not, and/or
- the regalia and ritual artefacts and ceremonies of royal and viceregal institutions.

Crown, divisibility of the

The British Crown has, formally since at least the Statute of Westminster, been divided and become a separate institution in each realm or polity. While the physical body of the sovereign (the body natural) is a single person, the crowns worn by that person are each a separate institutional crown (a body corporate). The Crown’s powers are exercised by the sovereign or her representative within each jurisdiction, on the advice of local ministers, judges and other crown functionaries, independently of how they are exercised in other jurisdictions. See also *Crownlet*.

⁸⁵⁶ Clarissa Campbell Orr 2012: 1.

⁸⁵⁷ Clarissa Campbell Orr 2002: 24-25

⁸⁵⁸ *Macquarie Australia’s National Dictionary, Concise Dictionary*, 4th Edition, The Macquarie Library Pty Ltd., Macquarie University 2006: 288

Figure A3.2 | Material representations of the Crown’s divisibility in 1953 and 2012



The royal standard used in each Commonwealth realm of which the Queen was sovereign, borne in the coronation procession through London, 2 June 1953

Image:

Illustrated London News, 6 June 1953

The heraldic banners of the Queen’s heraldic officers in two Commonwealth realms: England (top), Canada (bottom), displayed in the diamond jubilee pageant on the Thames, 3 June 2012

Image: growler2ndrow, flickr.com

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/28439790@N03/7163748507>

‘Crown in right of X’

A phrase used to distinguish the crown in one jurisdiction from that in another, for example the Crown in right of Victoria and the Crown in right of Australia. The phrase reflects the divisibility of the Crown and its separate legal personalities in each realm.

Crowned

Adjective of crown, meaning originating from or being founded in a crown or its dignity, can be synonymous with ‘royal’, depending on context. Perhaps most frequently heard in Australia during the 1990s in the phrase ‘crowned republic’. The phrase in the preamble to the *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900* “one indissoluble federal commonwealth under the crown” can be rendered as ‘crowned federation’. In 1803 the term ‘crowned despot’ was used to describe a military usurper of royal prerogatives.⁸⁵⁹

Crownlet

Generally refers to the crown in a territory or colony that has some significant degree of self-governance but which remains subject to a larger crown. The name implies that eventually the crownlet will transition into a separate crown in its own right. Carlyle in 1859 referred to the Hanoverian lands ruled by British kings between 1714 and 1837 as ‘Hanoverian crownlets’, and in 1907 the autonomous British colonies were described as crownlets, or divisions of the Crown.⁸⁶⁰ The Crown in right of the self-governing

⁸⁵⁹ ‘Description of Hamburg’, *The Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 16, No 108, 1 December 1803: 415

⁸⁶⁰ George Walter Prothero, John Gibson Lockhart, William Gifford, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, Whitwell Elwin, William Macpherson, Baron Rowland Edmund Prothero Ernle, Sir William Smith *The Quarterly*

Australian territories (Northern Territory, Norfolk Island and Australian Capital Territory) might be considered crownlets, each possessing the potential to eventually transition to independent sovereign crowns in their own right.

Demise

In property law, 'demise' means to transfer or convey property ownership, usually by a will after the death of an owner. In constitutional law, the 'Demise of the Crown' means the immediate transfer of royal authority upon the death of one sovereign to the succeeding sovereign, without an interregnum, as expressed in maxims such as 'the crown never dies' and 'the king is dead long live the king'.⁸⁶¹ Demise, then, can mean death or ending, but it can also mean transfer or renewal, a re-imagining as simultaneously new *and* as a continuation of what went before.

Dreaming

The Dreaming is a term within the creation narrative of indigenous Australians for a personal, or group, creation and for what may be understood as the "timeless time" of formative creation and perpetual creating. It also means the places where the uncreated creation spirits and totemic ancestors, or *genii loci*, reside. The Dreaming can be seen as an embodiment of Creation, which gives meaning to everything. It establishes the rules governing relationships between the people, the land and all things for Aboriginal people. Mark McKenna has argued "For many constitutional monarchists, the crown provided a mythological language of belonging, what we might otherwise call a Dreaming ... the crown was 'not only an element of law, but an element of the spirit'."⁸⁶²

Dynasty

A sequence of genealogically connected sovereigns or other rulers or families. The family may be known as a 'house' or 'lineage'. A 'dynast' may be the head of a dynasty, or a member of a dynasty with a right to succeed. Thomas Hobbes described dynastic government, or 'monarchie', as "Artificiall Eternity, which men call the Right of Succession", without which societies would sink into conflict and civil war.⁸⁶³ See also *Hereditary Succession*

Review (1907) "... about it by its abstract name of 'the Crown,' into as many corpuscles politic or crownlets as there are autonomous legislatures under the British flag. ..."; Thomas Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great* (1859) "But George is dead; careless of it now. After sixty-seven years of it, he has flung his big burdens — English crowns, Hanoverian crownlets, ..."

⁸⁶¹ *Demise of the Crown (Amendment) Act 1936*, No 55 of 1936, Statutes of New South Wales: this amendment provided that 'demise' includes abdication – the regnal numbering of the Act as Edward VIII, c55 reveals the motivation for the change. Vice-regal assent to the Act amendment was given on 11th December 1936, the same day that Edward VIII's abdication took effect.

⁸⁶² Mark McKenna 2004: 99

⁸⁶³ Thomas Hobbes 1651/2012: 247

Elizabethanism

1. adjective, relating to or characteristic of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (r 1558 – 1603), or of Queen Elizabeth II (r 1952 +)
2. noun, relating to the argument that Australian republicanism will naturally flourish when Queen Elizabeth II dies and is succeeded by King Charles III, who will lack the Queen's personal appeal and support. An early use of the term in 2011 referred to "...the high level of support for the constitutional status quo [that] comes from Elizabethans who often double as small-R republicans rather than out-and-out monarchists".⁸⁶⁴ It propounds the somewhat macabre notion of a republican renaissance arising from the royal catafalque. See also *Royalism*.
3. New Elizabethanism (i) British Labour leader Clement Attlee said in 1953 "Let us hope we are witnessing the beginning of a new Elizabethan Age no less renowned than the first." The term refers to the optimistic early years of the reign of Elizabeth II, marked in Australia by institutions such as the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust, established in 1954.
4. New Elizabethanism (ii) term used in this thesis to identify the role of the Windsor dynasty in supporting and legitimating the new nationalism of the 1970s/80s.

Government House

'Government House' is the toponym typically applied to vice-regal residences throughout the former British Empire, and retained in old dominion and settler societies. The domain of a Government House means the usually extensive landscaped grounds within which the House sits and over which a vice-regal representative has some notional or symbolic ownership. Some Government Houses, particularly those that have been adapted for that purpose from a previous building, also have a more informal and individual place name such as Yarralumla in Canberra, Fernberg in Brisbane and Rideau Hall in Ottawa. When the sovereign is in residence she may signify her assent by a formula such as "Given under the Great Seal of Australia at Our Court at Government House Canberra".⁸⁶⁵ See also *Court*.

Hatchment

A diamond-shaped panel of wood, or canvas on a timber frame, painted with the coat of arms of a deceased person (such as a sovereign), hung outside their residence (such as a Government House) during a period of mourning and later moved to their parish church. This custom is especially evident at Government House Adelaide, where hatchments were hung on the deaths of Queen Victoria and kings Edward VII, George V and George VI for a year and a day. After their removal, the hatchments were lodged with the Public (now State) Library of South Australia as the Anglican Bishop of Adelaide declined

⁸⁶⁴ Nick Bryant, 'Last hurrah for our Elizabethan age', *The Australian*, 8 October 2011, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/last-hurrah-for-our-elizabethan-age/story-fn59nix-1226161562661>, accessed 22 August 2012

⁸⁶⁵ Letters Patent amending the Constitution of the Order of Australia, 3 March 1986

to accept them for display in St Peter’s Cathedral. There is some evidence of the custom operating at other government houses, but only the Adelaide example has been documented.⁸⁶⁶

Figure A3.3 | Royal Hatchments, Government House Adelaide



Edward VII, 1910-1911

Artist: unknown

George V, 1936-1937

Artist: unknown

George VI, 1952 – 1953

Artist: HS Burch

All images (with thanks to Richard d’Apice):

State Library of South Australia: SLSA B68974 | SLSA PRG 287/1/3/31 | SLSA PRG 287/1/15/104

Heraldry

The study of the use and display of coats of arms and other heraldic devices, including their evaluation and use as historical records or documents.

Hereditary succession

A means of passing the crown from a parent to a child, or occasionally to another relative. A constitutional sovereign succeeds by a hereditary succession determined by parliamentary legislation. Bogdanor identifies three types of hereditary succession: Salic Law, which excludes women from succession; Primogeniture, whereby male heirs in birth order take precedence over female heirs in birth-order; and Absolute Primogeniture, where succession passes to the children in birth order, regardless of gender.⁸⁶⁷ See also *Dynasty*

Knighthage

A list or roll of knights, or a term used to refer to knights collectively. Arising from this study, the term, ordinarily numbered, can be used to periodise knightly history in Australia. The *First Knighthage* means knighthoods awarded, either as knights bachelor or knights of a British order, by the British sovereign between 1868 and 1989 (often referred to as ‘imperial honours’ or ‘imperial knights’). The *Second Knighthage* means knighthoods awarded within the Order of Australia, by the Australian sovereign, between 1976 and 1986. The *Third Knighthage* means knighthoods awarded within the Order of Australia, by the Australian sovereign, between 2012 and 2014. The *Personal Knighthage* means those knighthoods awarded as the personal gift or prerogative of the sovereign at any time. Recipients of a knighthood may, in the case of a man, use the title Sir, and in the case of a woman, the title Dame. See also *State Honours*.

⁸⁶⁶ Richard d’Apice AM, ‘Sovereigns’ Hatchments at Government House Adelaide: A South Australian Heraldic Tradition’, *Heraldry News: Journal of The Australian Heraldry Society*, No 56, March 2011: 3-16

⁸⁶⁷ Vernon Bogdanor 1995: 42-43

Localism

Mass noun. Generally, political, social or economic philosophies prioritising the local, supporting local history, culture and identities, and communal self-governance. Related to ideas of subsidiarity and federalism rather than regionalism and centralisation. In Hong Kong localism informs the emerging city-state autonomy or independence movements.⁸⁶⁸ Occasionally used as a pejorative, synonymous with rustic backwardness or parochialism. In this thesis, the term relates to State and Territory-bounded localisms, and potentially Indigenous nations or realms (without the pejorative tone).

Miscegenation

Noun. The combination or mixing of people of differing ethnic or cultural backgrounds, especially when leading to the birth of children. Historically, the term has implied disapproval, such as in Anderson's referral to European dynasties deriving their prestige, "aside from an aura of divinity, from, shall we say, miscegenation."⁸⁶⁹ On the other hand, Campbell Orr, in disaggregating the British monarchy and the British state, argues that a persistent theme in the study of dynasties and queenship is the cosmopolitanism of British courts across dynasties, giving them interfaith and international dimensions only now beginning to be studied.⁸⁷⁰ Opponents of anti-Germanism in Adelaide during the Great War praised what they called 'admixture' in the royal family and the broader community. In this thesis, the word is used in a positive sense similar to Campbell Orr's 'cosmopolitan' and loyalist Adelaiders 'admixture'.

Monarchist

Generally, a monarchist is a person who supports monarchical principles or institutions, whatever those particular principles or institutions may be, rather than a particular royal person. See also *Royalist*

Monarchist/Republican

Peter Coleman wrote in 1966 that popular debate about the Crown could only come about by sharpening differences in the community, and "...dividing people into 'republicans' and 'monarchists', people who otherwise live and work together and who love both their country and countrymen."⁸⁷¹ This is the terminology used in the debates of the 1990s, creating two opposing camps between which every elector, through the referendum process, had to take a side. There was no room for the 'monarchist-republicans' and 'republican-monarchists' that Coleman believed formed the vast majority of people in the 1960s. It is

⁸⁶⁸ see for example Philip Wen, 'Angry youth go 'localist'', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 2016: page 36; Rowan Callick, 'Young anti-China activists win in Hong Kong election', *The Australian*, 6 September 2016: page 10; Ng Kang-chung, 'Hong Kong party that wants Britain to take over aims to win five Legco seats', *South China Morning Post*, 26 June 2016

⁸⁶⁹ Benedict Anderson, 1991: pages 20-21, and n23, n24, n25

⁸⁷⁰ Clarissa Campbell Orr 2002: 7-16

⁸⁷¹ Peter Coleman 1966: 179

a nomenclatural bifurcation that persists in usage today replete with the divisions of the 1990s, so usage of both words is avoided in this thesis where possible. See also *Elizabethanism* (2).

Naturalisation

Anderson defined naturalisation as “a tendency by monarchies and dynasties to adopt a national identification in the later nineteenth-century, also called official nationalism”, the willed merger of nation and dynasty.⁸⁷² See also *Miscegenation*.

Patriation

Verb, to transfer control of a sovereign function from one country to a second country that was formally dependent upon or under the sovereignty of the first country. Not to be confused with repatriation. From Canadian usage, to describe the action of transferring the power to amend the Canadian constitution from the British parliament in 1982. Also from a Canadian context, used to describe the transfer of heraldic authority in Canada from the British Crown to the Canadian Crown in 1988. In an Australian context, examples of patriation include the transfer from the Queen to the Governor of New South Wales in 1991 of authority to approve retention by certain public office holders of the title ‘Honourable’ after retiring from office, the delegation by the Queen to the Governor-General in 1987 of the power to grant Royal (or ‘Supplemental’) Charters, and the delegation by the Queen to the Governor-General in 1981 of her prerogative to award battle honours.⁸⁷³ See also *Autochthony*

Personal Principle

Otto Bauer developed the principle of national-personal autonomy, or the ‘personal principle’ in 1907. The personal principle was a way of gathering the geographically scattered members of the same nation (or ethnicity) by organising them, not in territories, but in associations or corporations of persons. Nation was disaggregated from territory and instead each nation was a non-territorial association. Each adult would nominate their national association, and would live according to the laws made by that association’s legislative and administrative bodies, under the aegis of a federal Crown that provided the unifying element across all nations in a realmic state and its external relationships.

Personal Union

A form of sovereignty in which independent states share a single monarch. Historical examples including Ireland and England (1541-1707), England and Scotland (1603-1707), Great Britain and Hanover (1714-1837), Austria and Hungary (1867-1918), Finland and Russia (1809-1917), Denmark and Iceland (1918-1944), Portugal and Brazil (1826). The relationship between Great Britain and India from 1857 to 1947 could be considered a personal union. The relationships between the Commonwealth Realms and the sovereign has been described as a personal union.

⁸⁷² Benedict Anderson 1983/2006: 85-86

⁸⁷³ Anne Twomey 2010: 357-359

Querétaro

A place name (pronounced ke'retaro) of a town 213 kilometres north west of Mexico City, and a metonym for the show trial and execution of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico in 1867. Maximilian was captured after being defeated by the republican nationalists at the nearby battle of Cerro de las Campanas. Maximilian and two of his generals, Miramón and Mejía, were imprisoned in the Capuchin Convent in Querétaro. They were subject to a court martial at the Iturbide Theatre (ironically named for the first emperor of Mexico after independence from Spain) on 13 June. Maximilian was pronounced guilty of, among other things, usurpation, and sentenced to death on 14 June. The execution by firing squad was carried out on 19 June 1867 on the battlefield. Maximilian's body was embalmed and put on public display, until eventually being returned to Vienna and interred in the imperial crypt on 18 January 1868. A memorial chapel was erected on the execution site in 1910. See also *Clontarf*.

Realm

Noun: a kingdom, especially in law. Adjective realmic. See also *Commonwealth Realm*, *Seven Realms*, *Sixteen Realms*

Regent

Noun: a person administering a state when the sovereign is absent, incapacitated or under-age. The Prince Regent, later George IV, administered the British Crown between 1811 and 1820 during his father's incapacity due to illness. His rebuke of the military usurpers was published in the *Sydney Gazette* in January 1812. Gough Whitlam claimed in 1966 that "The Governor General is now the regent of an independent and separate kingdom which makes its own international arrangements".⁸⁷⁴ The Australian Republican Movement was publicly launched at the (with hindsight, ironically named) Regent of Sydney Hotel in The Rocks in 1991.

Regency

Noun: the period of a regent's administration.

Adjective: relating to architecture, furnishing, clothing and other material characteristics of a period of rule by a regent. Some exemplars of Regency style in Australia are St Matthew's Anglican Church at Windsor (NSW), country houses such as *Camden Park*, Menangle (NSW), *Panshangar* near Longford (VDL) and *Edenvale*, Pinjarra (WA), and urban buildings such as those shown in fig A2.5.

Figure A2.4 | Some examples of urban Regency style in Sydney

⁸⁷⁴ Gough Whitlam, Second Reading, Extradition (Commonwealth Countries) Bill, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 20 October 1966



*Lord Nelson Hotel (1832),
Architect unknown
cnr Kent & Argyle streets,
Millers Point, Sydney NSW*



*Jobbins Terrace (c1855),
Architect Oswald H Lewis,
103-111 Gloucester Street,
The Rocks, Sydney NSW*



*Regency Townhouses (c1845),
Architect unknown
57-61 Lower Fort Street,
Daves Point, Sydney NSW*

Images: Bruce Baskerville 31 August 2016

Regicide

Noun. The killing of a king. Referred to in an 1868 *South Australian Chronicle* editorial on the assassination attempt on Prince Alfred: “whatever may be their political opinions, they (Catholics) have no sympathy with murderers and regicides”.⁸⁷⁵ Although he was a prince and the heir to the ducal throne of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and was not at that stage a king, it could be inferred from this that Australian usage of the term extends to the killing, or attempted killing, of any member of a royal family.

Regionym

A class of toponyms, or place names, representing in some way ideas, people, places or events associated with the Crown, monarchy, royalty and vicereignty in Australia. Australian examples include Queensland (Q), Princess Royal Harbour (WA), Adelaide (SA), Royal Women’s Hospital (V), Princes’ Highway (NSW), Queenstown (T), Victoria River (NT), King Edward Terrace (ACT), Queen Elizabeth Avenue/Kwiin Elizabeth Aewenyu (NI), Prince Charles Mountains (AAT).

Figure A3.5 | An example of a regionym in material form



*Island elders with plaque unveiled to commemorate the Queen’s diamond jubilee on Kwiin Elizabeth Aewenyu | Queen Elizabeth Avenue, Middlegate, Norfolk Island. English and Norfolk languages have equal official status in the territory.
Images: Christina McRitchie 4 June 2012*

Regnal numbering

(1) Ordinal numbers used to distinguish between sovereigns of the same name, such as Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II. (2) A regnal year is a specified year in the reign of a sovereign, calculated from the date of accession. In ancient calendars time was reckoned in the number of years in the reign of the current

⁸⁷⁵ ‘The Attempted Murder of Prince Alfred’, *South Australian Chronicle*, 14th March 1868: 8

monarch, for example, 3rd year of King John. Reckoning over long periods required a king list. (3) The practice of numbering each act of parliament by a formula consisting of the year in the reign, the abbreviated sovereigns name, and the serial or chapter number of the act. For example the 114th Act made in the 21st year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II would be written as 21 ElizII c114. This form of numbering was replaced at various dates during the 20th century in Australian parliaments with a serial number and calendar year system, so that the above example would now be rendered as Act 114 of 1973. This Act, however numbered, would more commonly be known by its short title of the *Royal Style and Titles Act 1973*. Regnal numbering is still used in some formal or ceremonial documents such as grants of property or illuminated addresses.

Regnant

Adjective: reigning. A queen regnant (plural: queens regnant) is a female monarch who reigns in her own right, in contrast to a queen consort, who is the wife of a reigning king. A queen regnant possesses and exercises sovereign powers. A queen consort shares her husband's rank and titles, but does not share the sovereignty of her husband. The husband of a queen regnant does not usually share his wife's rank, title or sovereignty. A king regnant is rarely distinguished as such, and a king-consort usually has a title such as prince or prince consort rather than king.

Royal cypher

A physical device usually consisting of the sovereign's initial and the letter R (for *rex* or *regina*) with a regnal number and surmounted by a crown, displayed on public buildings and structures to identify the sovereign at the time of construction and indicate continuing Crown ownership of a place or provision of a service. Queen Elizabeth's royal cypher is EIIR surmounted by a St Edward's Crown.

Figure A3.6 | examples of royal cyphers displayed on communications infrastructure



Elizabeth II, Post Office, Dongara, WA.
Image: Bruce Baskerville
23 August 2007



Elizabeth II, Exchange Building, Pitt St., Sydney.
Image Bruce Baskerville,
11 April 2013



Edward VII, Pillar Box, Nedlands WA.
Image Graham Grundy
27 October 2015



Victoria, Post Box, Millers Point Post Office, NSW.
Image Bruce Baskerville
31 August 2016

Royalist

Generally a royalist supports a particular monarch or dynastic claim, often in a conflict against a competing contender (or 'pretender') to a throne. The word is often casually conflated with monarchist. Prime Minister Robert Menzies often described himself as a royalist, occasionally as a monarchist, but there is no suggestion he favoured a Stuart (or any other) pretender over Queen Elizabeth II. Davidson says that the 'Brazilian Option' is a "...good idea – for royalists", although presumably he means monarchists.⁸⁷⁶ See also *Monarchist*.

Seven Realms, the

The Crown in right of the Commonwealth of Australia plus the Crown in right of each of the states in Australia when considered collectively. The Australian federation can be conceptualised as a commonwealth of seven realms or seven crowns. Whether an Australian territory, especially a self-governing territory, is also a realm remains a moot point. See also *Crownlet*.

Sigillography

The study of seals, including their evaluation and use as historical records or documents.

Sixteen Realms, the

The sixteen countries or realms over which a sovereign of the Windsor dynasty reigns, otherwise known as the Commonwealth Realms. They are Antigua & Barbuda, Australia, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, St Kitts & Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent & The Grenadines, The Bahamas, Tuvalu and the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland. In addition, each Australian state, each of the four nations of the UK, and possibly each Australian territory and each Canadian province and territory are realms, suggesting there are at least an additional 24 realms. See also *Commonwealth Realm*, *Crownlet*.

State Honours

Between 1869 and varying dates between 1973 and 1989, each Australian state (colony before 1901) submitted its own nominations ('lists') to the British government for appointments to various British and dynastic honours. These were referred to after 1973 as State honours, although increasingly after 1975 they were also referred to as imperial honours. State Honours have since been superseded in practice by Australian national honours, to which the States do not make nominations. However, the royal prerogatives of each State crown retain the capacity to operate a State honours system independently of either the Australian or British honours systems. See also *Knightage*.

Un-national

⁸⁷⁶ Jim Davidson 2012: 62

'un' is a prefix added to adjectives and their derivative adjectives and adverbs meaning (a) not, denoting absence, or (b) the reverse of, usually with an implication of disapproval or some other connotation. There can be ambiguity as to which prefix is meant. An example is in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (c1595), Act IV, Scene I, where the character of Richard, at the moment of being deposed, says "God save King Harry, unking'd Richard says". For the purposes of this thesis, the sub-title use of 'un-national' means 'not in accordance with characteristics said to be typically national; freed from constructions of innate or natural national feelings'.

Vice Regal

'Vice' adjective: 'instead of, in place of', relating to someone who rules a country or province in the role of deputy or representative of a sovereign. A viceroy is a royal official who runs a territory in the name of and as a representative of a monarch. In some jurisdictions, such as British India, the term 'Viceroy' had a specific constitutional meaning, in others such as Ireland it was a common or informal term for the Lord Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland before 1922. In Australia there is a long history of using viceroy as an informal term for a vice-regal representative, and of using viceroyalty as a collective noun for all such representatives. Vice-regal is the adjective form of viceroy, with the alternate form of viceregal. Feminine form of viceroy is vicereine (single word), whether regnant or consort.

The Australian Government's official style guide (2005) contains a section headed 'Viceroyalty', under which it sets out correct forms of address for the Governor-General, State Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, Territory Administrators and Knights and Dames.⁸⁷⁷ The previous 1994 edition also used the collective noun Viceroyalty, but only includes the Governor-General and State Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, not Territory Administrators or the knightage.⁸⁷⁸ The 1994 edition also refers readers to *Debrett's* for further details. The 1991 edition of *Debrett's* lists, under 'Vice-Regal', the Governor-General, the State Governors and Lieutenant-Governors and Territory Administrators, and places these officers in this order at the head of the 'Table of Precedence' for the Commonwealth of Australia.⁸⁷⁹

In Australia and other Commonwealth realms, the title of Governor-General and (in the Australian states) Governor are used instead of viceroy, but vice-regal is still used as the adjectival form, occasionally viceregal. Vicereine is occasionally used in Australia and its states, and in Canada the French term *chatelaine* ('wife of a lord or *seigneur* of a manor) is the informal title used for a vicereine-consort. Both terms are used informally, and have no official standing. There is some historic use of the title The

⁸⁷⁷ Snooks & Co., *Style Manual: For Authors, Editors and Printers*, 6th Edition, John Wiley & Sons Australia Ltd and Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra 2002, reprint 2005: 510-511

⁸⁷⁸ AusInfo, *Style Manual: For Authors, Editors and Printers, Fifth Edition*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1994: 384-385

⁸⁷⁹ Colebatch, Hal (Ed), *Debrett's Handbook of Australia*, Fifth Edition, Debrett's Peerage (Australasia) Pty Ltd, South Perth 1991: D8, E1.

Governor's Lady or The Administrator's Lady. Australian Governors-General, State Governors and Lieutenant-Governors are addressed as Your Excellency. Territory Administrators are addressed as Your Honour. The spouse of the Governor-General is addressed Your Excellency, but the spouses of State Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Territory Administrators, have no formal title.

There is occasional incorrect usage of 'gubernatorial' as a synonym for 'vice-regal'.⁸⁸⁰ Australian Oxford English Dictionary and Macquarie Dictionary note this term "of or relating to a governor" is a particularly US usage, and Merriam-Webster specifically says "relating to the governor of a US state".

For the purposes of this study, in accordance with Australian usages, (a) *vice-regal* (with hyphen) is used as the adjective for things attributed to the sovereign's representatives (but not orders of chivalry regardless of titles), and (b) *vicerealty* is used as the collective noun for the sovereign's representatives in Australia (the Governor-General, the state governors and the administrators of self-governing territories and their spouses or partners and families). *Viceroy* is occasionally used as a synonym for governor-general or governor, or as a proper title, depending on the context and historical usages.

⁸⁸⁰ John Baalman, 'Gubernatorial Land Jobbing', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 48, Part 4, August 1962: 241-255; Sir David Smith, 'The Role of State Governors: An Endangered Species?', *Proceedings of the Samuel Griffith Society*, Perth 2004; 'Government House', Andrew Fraser MP for Coffs Harbour, NSW *Hansard*, 19 September 2012; Michael Lewi, 'The Buildings of Perth', in Terri-Ann White (ed), *Perth: A Guide for the Curious*, UWA Press, Crawley 2016: page 103

A Vicereine Regnant

Professor The Honourable Dame Marie Bashir AD CVO
37th Governor of New South Wales 2001-2014
in the Main Hall of Government House Sydney, on the eve of her retirement,
at the public unveiling of her newly-assumed coat of arms and official portrait



Image: Government House Sydney, 22 September 2014

