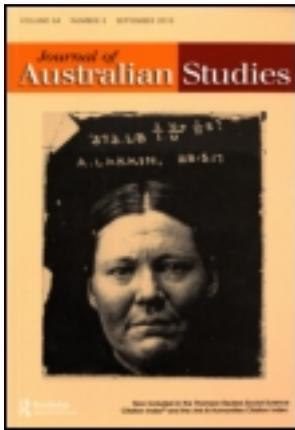


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Civic republicanism and Sir Robert Menzies: the non-liberal side of the Liberal leader

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Robert Menzies was the founder of the Liberal Party and a constitutional monarchist. His political thought, however, often reveals a civic republican understanding of the crucial problems of government and society. This article will examine some key events and influences on Menzies and argue that his political philosophy and understanding of politics can be more accurately understood as classically republican. In his support for a limited monarchy, his defence of public life, and insistence on civic virtue through education, Menzies supported fundamentally republican ideals. This article offers scholars a way to get past some of the seemingly contradictory elements of Menzies's career and arguments, along with reassessing the role and understanding of republicanism in Australian political history.

Keywords: Robert Menzies; Australian politics; liberalism; republicanism

Liberalism is a term both dynamic and contested. Its meaning has not remained static, especially in Australia where the word is almost unrecognisable from the European and North American understanding. Australian liberalism means far more than liberalism in Australia. The need for this politico-philosophical subsection is a direct result of a unique Southern path that has led the liberal tradition in Australia away from its classical meaning.¹ Albert Metin christened Australian politics as “*socialisme sans doctrines*”, recognising this was not a land of ideologues but practical thinkers who manipulated philosophies to meet local needs.² As early as 1887, Bruce Smith was decrying the bastardisation of what he called “true liberalism” by the Victorian school.³ In the early Federation period, George Reid's Free Traders did battle with Alfred Deakin's Protectionists for ownership of the term and direction of the non-Labor forces. Deakinite liberalism is a common term among political scientists who acknowledge that his was not a perfect recreation of British liberalism but a liberal-esque philosophy merged with collectivist ideas and catered to an Australian setting. In contrast, however, the term Menzian liberalism has little currency given the divided views over Menzies's own approach. Former New South Wales Premier Nick Greiner voiced the mainstream view when he argued that Menzies's government was “more conservative than liberal in its policies”.⁴ Conversely, Menzies's close colleague and biographer Paul Hasluck thought that “his political thinking was in accord with the liberalism of Alfred Deakin and the

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liberalism of late nineteenth century England”.⁵ Might some third political philosophy, such as civic republicanism, one we know Menzies had a deep understanding of and reverence for, help unlock these contradictions?

In 1944, representatives of eighteen non-Labor parties met to create a new party to challenge the Curtin Government. On October 16, 1944 the Liberal Party of Australia was established, led by Robert Menzies, who had already served as prime minister for the United Australia Party (1939–1941). Whether or not Menzies can be considered the “founder” of the Liberals is a matter for debate.⁶ In any case, Menzies, as convenor of the two conferences, chair of the plenary meeting, and leader for the first twenty-two years of the party, was clearly the largest single influence. After careful deliberation, Menzies made a highly strategic move and christened his new party the Liberals rather than the Conservatives, the name of their British equivalent. According to Menzies, “We took the name ‘Liberal’ because we were determined to be a progressive party . . . in no sense reactionary”.⁷ This decision highlights, among other things, the unique philosophical journey liberalism took in Australia. This would not have been a suitable choice in Britain, Canada, or the United States, for instance, where liberalism meant something altogether different to what Menzies intended. There should be “no analogy” Menzies insisted between his Liberals in Australia and those in the United Kingdom or anywhere else.⁸ If Menzies was eager to reject the label “Conservative” for his views, was he then a liberal?

According to the Liberal Party website, “the name Liberal was chosen for its associations with progressive nineteenth century free enterprise and social equality”.⁹ While Menzies’s own rhetoric includes a prominent place for progress and equality, the interpretation of the longest serving Liberal leader as a hero of free enterprise runs in sharp contrast to the highly protectionist and regulatory government he presided over from 1949 to 1966. Menzies’s political ideology certainly drew on liberalism in its nineteenth-century meaning to a degree, but there was more to his thinking than this. In the modern neoliberal sense, it is difficult to describe Menzies as a liberal at all. He held a demonstrably positive concept of liberty and was never afraid as prime minister to take interventionist measures, even when those measures were outside his constitutional powers. The most dramatic instance was his attempts to ban the Communist Party in the early 1950s.¹⁰ Leaving that complex case aside, there is still ample evidence that Menzies was not overly drawn to the chief tenet of liberalism—noninterference. Menzies told the Liberal Party Federal Council in 1964, “Where government action or control has seemed to us to be the best answer to a practical problem, we have adopted that answer at the risk of being called Socialists”.¹¹ Although eager to promote individual enterprise, there is clearly much in Menzies’s political philosophy that cannot be reconciled with classical liberalism.

While he consigned it as a matter for “retrospective historical judgement” and “inconclusive philosophical analysis”, D. M. White cast doubts over the liberalism of the Liberals under Menzies.¹² Presenting a series of dilemmas, he notes the party does not share liberalism’s suspicion of government, concern about interference, anxiety over centralisation, or distrust of power.¹³ Menzies himself claimed that, “We have no doctrinaire political philosophy”.¹⁴ Despite his frequently preached message about the glory of individualism, Menzies believed also in the patriotic duty of good citizens and in the government’s responsibility to interfere when necessary to ensure

the creation of a virtuous population. He insisted that his views “did not represent a belief that private enterprise should have an ‘open go’. Not at all”.¹⁵

As this brief review shows, the lack of consensus over what philosophy and ideas drove Australia’s most successful prime minister is quite understandable. Hitherto, the debate has only attempted to place Menzies somewhere between the mainstream liberal and conservative camps. This article will contend that a third camp, civic republicanism, with its positive liberty, stress on civic virtue, and belief in the primacy of the common good, was essential to Menzies’s political thinking. At first glance, republicanism and Menzies seem to have nothing to do with each other. What could this notion possibly have in common with Sir Robert Gordon Menzies, Liberal prime minister of Australia, Knight of the Order of the Thistle, and the very paragon of an empire man? Yet, the republican story in Australia and Menzies’s personal legacy may not be the polar opposites often presented. Republicanism in Australia is often the victim of a contextual interpretative flaw. The 1990s constitution debate did much to perpetuate the view that republicanism is merely a separatist ideology concerned only with Australian independence from the United Kingdom.¹⁶ Republicanism—civic republicanism, in particular—is, as the classically educated Menzies would have known, a much broader concept extolling civic virtue and active participation in a political community. By broadening the lens through which republicanism is understood in Australia, we can gain a deeper understanding of both a dynamic and potent political ideology and its interpretation and application by Australia’s longest serving prime minister. To develop our argument, it is necessary first to clearly define what civic republicanism is and how it is revealed in opposition to liberalism in democratic theory.

Liberalism is both a modern word and a modern idea. Its English form is derived from the Spanish *Liberales* who fought for democratic reform in the early nineteenth century. The encroachment of liberalism on civic republicanism’s traditional philosophical space is seen in Jose Maria Lassalle’s recent work *Liberales: Compromiso civico con la virtud* (Liberals: Civic Engagement with Virtue).¹⁷ Turn-of-the-century British sociologist Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse described liberalism in brobdingnagian terms. Liberalism was understood as a philosophical behemoth, an “all-penetrating element of the life structure of the modern world”.¹⁸ At the height of the Cold War, J. Salwyn Schapiro described liberalism as a synonym for democratic freedom, in opposition to the slavish totalitarian and communist states. Liberalism was seen as the “unshaken belief in the necessity of freedom to achieve every desirable aim”.¹⁹ For Schapiro, “the fundamental postulate of liberalism has been the moral worth, the absolute value, and the essential dignity of the human personality”.²⁰

It is no surprise to see liberalism cloaked in such grandiose rhetoric in an American context. Before the republican revisionism of Bernard Bailyn and John Pocock, the *Locke et praeterea nihil* paradigm rang true with Louis Hartz’s influential tome, seeing little distinction between liberalism and Americanism.²¹ Recent American political scientists have been more willing to accept the “limits of liberalism” (to borrow Michael Sandel’s pithy phrase) and to explore the place of “small r” republicanism in modern democratic thought and notions of freedom.²² C. F. Delany’s edited collection *The Liberalism-Communitarianism Debate* notes that, “the new challenge to the liberal perspective comes from a tradition that . . . puts considerable emphasis on shared values and community”.²³ Australian academics

have been far more reluctant to acknowledge the place of civic republican thought, preferring to find a symbiosis between individual sovereignty and collectivism under the auspices of a big liberalism. In his now canonical text, *Australian Liberalism and National Character*, Tim Rowse identified this political marriage as “New Liberalism” and credited T. H. Green with exporting its virtues from England to Australia.²⁴ Marian Sawyer has developed the idea further in her work on social liberalism.²⁵ Again, Green’s work is identified as a turning point with the doctrine of new or social liberalism providing the “philosophical foundations for the welfare state”.²⁶

Australian liberalism has been understood as a ubiquitous concept of democratic freedom. Chandran Kukathas has written that democracy and liberalism are “very different ideas” that technically can exist without each other, but he goes on to say it is hard to imagine that in the modern world.²⁷ Rowse goes further. Looking at Australian social and cultural history from Hancock and Eggleston to Clark and Crowley, he concludes that “the only way to make sense of the tradition of writing about Australia and the critical responses to it is to recognise in it the protean influence of liberal concepts and ideas”.²⁸ The current orthodoxy necessitates a concept of Australian liberalism so large it becomes trite. Can one philosophy or idea do justice to the complexities and nuances of national thought? In an influential 1985 article, Hugh Collins argued that Benthamite utilitarianism was central to the foundation and development of Australian political thought.²⁹ For the article’s many merits, as Graham Maddox noted in response, “It privileges a liberal reading of Australian history”.³⁰ Liberalism is better understood as part of the puzzle of freedom, not its entirety.

In 1995, Janet Ajzenstat and Peter Smith challenged the all-invasive concept of liberalism and argued republicanism was a major shaping factor in Canada.³¹ This revisionism was partly inspired by Bailyn and Pocock, but it was also a challenge to Gad Horowitz’s Red Tory thesis.³² Ajzenstat and Smith abandoned the liberal–tory dichotomy and identified a third distinct philosophy with roots in ancient Rome and Athens. In Australia, the place of civic republicanism has been hinted at but never fully explored. Mark McKenna presented it as a possible influence on colonial politics, noting that, “it may be possible . . . to argue that the language of British constitutionalism in Australia is a descendent of the political language of classical republicanism”.³³ In a 2001 article, Paul Pickering convincingly argued that colonial radicals appealed to the British constitution to justify their progressive agenda.³⁴ Pickering broadly identified the movement as “popular constitutionalism”, and in 2005, Neville Kirk wrote an important article arguing that popular constitutionalism helped define the “conditions of royal rule”.³⁵ In a 2009 article, Benjamin Jones argued that the appeal to positive liberty and the primacy of civic virtue in the language of the reformist crowd belonged to the ancient tradition of civic republicanism.³⁶ In his 2012 doctoral thesis, he again made the case that colonial reformers, such as John Dunmore Lang and Daniel Deniehy (as well as their Canadian equivalents), drew freely from the civic republican tradition and that it was a powerful force in colonial Australia.³⁷ Distinct from toryism on the political right and liberalism on the left, civic republicanism is an ancient concept of citizenship and virtue that has married itself to democratic theory in both countries.

The term republicanism has shrunk in the Australian popular consciousness to only a small and limited version of its historical meaning. Its common interpretation

as a narrow, anti-monarchical ideology restricts a full understanding of what republicanism means and what it has meant to various historical players. Unlike liberalism, republicanism is a tradition that can be traced back through thousands of years of Western political thought. Although the word “republic” entered the English lexicon in the early seventeenth century, its Latin predecessor, *res publica*, dates back to ancient Rome. The term can be understood as affairs (*res*) of the people (*publica*). In this sense, republicanism does not preach against individual hereditary or oligarchic rule but rather promotes a free society. In particular, as Philip Pettit stresses, republicanism seeks to achieve freedom from domination (and liberalism freedom from interference).³⁸ Aristotle, considered the father of the civic republican tradition, did not extol democracy alone in his tome *The Politics* but favoured a mixed constitution incorporating elements of monarchy and aristocracy.³⁹ Similarly, when Cicero defended the Roman Republic against the would-be dictators of Caesar and Marc Antony, he was not advocating a radical Periclean democracy but a political community based on active participation and the production of civic virtue. The trend is continued in the writings of Marsilius of Padua, who insisted the community of citizens that comprised the Holy Roman Empire should not be dominated by the Papacy. In turn, Machiavelli sought freedom for his beloved Florence from the domineering Medici dynasty.

Civic republicanism is a political and social theory rather than a system of government. Its principal authors are Aristotle, Cicero, and Machiavelli, whose works Menzies seems to have read closely.⁴⁰ These classical authors argue that an ideal state must encompass three distinct traits: a division of power between the monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements; political participation by patriotic citizens; and institutions which produce civic virtue.⁴¹ Civic republicanism is a positive concept of liberty that considers the common good of society more important than upholding individual rights.⁴² In this paradigm of thought, the good precedes the right. Menzies firmly believed a successful society must produce not just free and law-abiding citizens but citizens who will actively seek the common good (virtue) rather than individual gain (corruption). He pre-empted John F. Kennedy's challenge in his famous inauguration speech to ask not what your country can do for you by nearly two decades. In his “Forgotten People” broadcast in 1942, Menzies said, “The great question is: ‘How can I qualify my son to help society?’ and not, as we have so frequently thought: ‘How can I qualify society to help my son’”.⁴³ This is the sentiment of a man who firmly believes the good precedes the right.

Unsurprisingly, there are no single quotes where Menzies directly embraces civic republicanism. Menzies often dismissed the role of ideology in his writings and speeches, though never the value of history or learning.⁴⁴ Instead, the evidence for the argument that Menzies drew deeply from the ideas of civic republicanism has to be developed indirectly. This article tests the words and actions of Robert Menzies against the three dominant traits of civic republicanism: support for the division of power in a state, support for public participation, and support of institutions that produce civic virtue. In each area, we find compelling evidence of Menzies holding firm to civic republican ideals. In this way, we seek to build our case that the ideological puzzle of how to classify Robert Menzies's political philosophy can be unlocked through recognising the significant impact of civic republicanism on his thought.

Robert Gordon Menzies was born on December 20, 1894 in the small Australian town of Jeparit in rural Victoria, yet from the beginning his heart and inspiration belonged centuries earlier to the great political and literary contests of English lore. Judith Brett describes the young Menzies as a passionate reader, who was drawn to English literature and history.⁴⁵ From childhood, Menzies seems to have been attached not to the century that had just passed but to its predecessor, with its links to classical history and the great period of the rise and glory of the British Empire. This was to be a feature of Menzies throughout his life, and his knowledge of “the great writers of English literature . . . became one of his public emblems”.⁴⁶ In an article for the *Bulletin* magazine titled “The mind of R. G. Menzies”, M. H. Ellis made the telling observation that “Menzies . . . is a child of the 18th century . . . his reading is that of a natural extension of the normal reading of a late 18th century political intellectual”.⁴⁷ Notably, the eighteenth-century figure Ellis is drawn to compare Menzies with is the famous Whig politician and staunch believer in the value of civic virtue, Charles James Fox. Menzies’s critics likewise noted his historical inheritance and regularly portrayed Menzies as a man of another era. Donald Horne famously mocked the “frozen Edwardian”, who imagined himself to be not Australian but “some great Scottish gentleman”.⁴⁸

In 1935, Menzies had his first opportunity to visit the land of his imagination and, though a federal minister at the time, his personal diary offers an adolescent-like fascination when visiting Westminster in London—“what a day!” he states:

I have literally been in the presence of the great charter among the barons assembled at Runnymede: I have seen the very handwriting of the man whose sword and character made England a free country [Cromwell]. I have stood where stood many times the great John Hampden and have sat a while in the invisible presence of the greatest poet of liberty.⁴⁹

When he visits the English Parliament, it is telling that so many of the great names he imagines himself standing alongside are civic republicans and anti-monarchists. Names such as Cromwell, Hampden, Milton, Fox, and Sheridan are foremost on his mind as he wanders this hallowed ground.⁵⁰ Menzies’s unabashed praise for (and clearly deep knowledge of) Cromwell and Parliament would have placed him clearly in the Roundhead camp had he lived through England’s turbulent seventeenth century. While Menzies is most commonly identified by Australians with his support for the British Crown, a careful examination of his attitudes to the monarchy reveals his thinking clearly bears the mark of civic republicanism. Menzies can only be considered a monarchist in the anti-separatist sense. This attitude goes to the heart of his endorsement of civic republican principles as a guiding political philosophy.

Menzies is often identified as the foremost supporter of the monarchy in Australia. Indeed, Kevin Perkins’s 1968 biography is subtitled *Last of the Queen’s Men*.⁵¹ This interpretation, however, owes less to Menzies’s own thinking and more to the overwhelming understanding of republicanism in Australia solely as a separatist ideology. Whilst republicanism today is seen as a process of removing the monarchy, civic republicanism and the larger republican history holds no prejudice against the institution. Rather, the civic republican view is one of enforcing constitutional limits on power and a separation of powers within the state. It is an attempt to blend the three estates with the equilibrium of the (idealised) Roman

Republic of which Polybius boasted, “no one could say for certain, not even a native, whether the constitution as a whole were an aristocracy, or democracy or despotism”.⁵² This was also the ideal of the British constitution, with the *Royal Standard* claiming in 1836, “the three parts which compose it are so harmoniously blended and incorporated, that neither the flute of Aristoxenus, nor the lyre of Timotheus ever produced more perfect concord”.⁵³ While Menzies is well known for his grandiose prose addressing the young Queen Elizabeth II, “I did but see her passing by, And yet I love her till I die”, he distinctly separated the historical and emotional role which the Crown played with the independence of Australia’s parliamentary system.⁵⁴ As quoted above, in Menzies’s view, it was Cromwell and the Parliamentarians and their containing and constraining of the monarchy that “made England a free country”.

Pre-modern republicans decried the monarchy for its absolutist tendencies, and Menzies also condemned the monarchy of King George III for trying to prevent the American Revolution.⁵⁵ For Menzies, the monarchy can only be a force for good when it is kept in check by the three-tiered civic republican system. He argued that in English history the:

whole process . . . has been from absolute to constitutional monarchy. As the powers of the people, through the Parliament, have come to be paramount, so have the powers of the Crown diminished. This, in our simple fashion, we have thought to be good. The Monarch is no longer the tyrant, but the symbol.⁵⁶

Indeed, Menzies directly states, “I am a monarchist just because to me, and millions of others, the Crown is non-utilitarian; it represents a spiritual and emotional conception”.⁵⁷ This is a statement perfectly compatible with civic republicanism. Menzies deliberately endorses the Queen because she could “evok[e] a powerful sense of allegiance and therefore of national unity, but not asserting an authority of her own”.⁵⁸ For Menzies, it is precisely the “Crown’s absence of legal power . . . that is its strength, for lacking legal power it depends on impalpable things such as honour, respect, love and the embodiment of national sentiment and so has authority over the hearts and minds of the people”.⁵⁹ Menzies supported the monarchy because the evolution of British democracy since the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had limited the power of the Crown. He wholeheartedly endorsed the separation of powers most famously articulated in Walter Bagehot’s 1867 *The English Constitution*.⁶⁰ For Menzies, the proper role of the monarchy had already been established, hence his resistance to those who wished to make further changes and remove the Crown entirely.

Menzies asserts in his memoirs that “the creation of a republic does not make complete independence more independent”.⁶¹ He decried international republican tendencies as an ideological byword for complaining about Western colonialism, while ignoring Soviet expansion or Indonesian control of West Papua. Menzies notes that despite the labels, India had “turned away from that independent status under the Crown which Australia enjoys, and chose to be a republic”.⁶² Menzies takes time in the same piece to address the question of the selection of the Australian governor-general. Menzies recounts his concern to establish a proper process for all things, especially when dealing with the monarchy.⁶³ After this had been completed to his satisfaction, he informed the Queen, “Your Majesty will be bound to accept my

nomination”.⁶⁴ The monarchy was to be consulted and honoured, but the prime minister was in charge. Menzies sums up his essay by insisting that “the Queen must be guided by the advice of her Prime Minister in the Commonwealth Country concerned, since constitutional practice forbids a purely personal and unadvised appointment”.⁶⁵ As far as Menzies was concerned, Australia was an independent country; therefore, those advocating removing the monarchy had something else in mind.

Menzies was fully aware of the dual meaning of the term republicanism. While he appears to have accepted civic republicanism (or at the very least important aspects of it) as a social theory, he roundly rejected separatist republicans, dismissing them as “these latter-day English Republicans”.⁶⁶ The value of the monarchy to Menzies was precisely that it had changed to be just one institution within the wider nation-state, occupying a role that was now emotional and unifying rather than legal and political. Thus, it is misleading to call Menzies a monarchist without employing the prefix constitutional; his position of support for constitutional monarchy is entirely compatible with civic republican ideology. Menzies’s political philosophy also coalesces with civic republican thought when we consider the second pillar, that of political participation.

Perhaps no theme is more clearly and consistently visible in Menzies’s speeches and writings than the importance of public life. Participation in politics has always been central to the republican tradition. The Greeks of Periclean Athens had a police force who would lasso citizens with rope covered in red dye if they were found standing idle when the *Ekklesia* met to debate public policy.⁶⁷ The red mark on their clothes was a great dishonour, as Pericles famously said, he considered the man uninterested in politics not harmless but absolutely useless.⁶⁸ Menzies passionately supported this view. Speaking at an American-Australian Association lunch in New York in 1960, he jovially quipped that “the United States [was] so backward as not to have compulsory voting”.⁶⁹ Unlike many of his era, and indeed throughout Australian history, Menzies saw a career of politics in itself as an honourable and worthy pursuit. Writing for the University of Melbourne newspaper as a student, he penned a mini-essay titled “On Politics”, which argued, “Politics is the supreme profession of public life. Good government is the essence of social well being and we are not going to ensure good government by adopting the popular political cynicism”.⁷⁰

As a young man, Menzies’s success as a lawyer seemed almost predestined. He was practicing before the High Court at age twenty-three with “his judicial wig . . . already reserved for him long before he took the silk”.⁷¹ Yet A. W. Martin, in his extensive two-volume biography of Menzies, records the young lawyer as unsatisfied by his achievements and his renown. Undoubtedly ambitious and with politics in his family history, his decision to switch careers to politics was driven not just by a desire for personal fame and power (both of which were assured if he stayed in law), but also the worth and honour of politics as a profession. Later in his life, Menzies would tell his would-be biographer, Allan Dawes, that his reasoning was akin to the following:

Well here you are, you are practicing your profession; you are earning a lot of money . . . and you’ve got an enormous amount of work to do. But isn’t it a rather narrow sort of

existence? Isn't it about time that you cut out of this, and did a certain amount of public work?⁷²

With that, Menzies decided to stand for the Victorian Legislative Council in 1928, aged thirty-four. Some years later, Menzies recounted that many tried to dissuade him from this choice, seeing it as a waste to move from the high pursuit of the law to the low scope of politics.⁷³ Following his election, he would move to the Assembly as the member for Nunawading, quickly advancing into the Victorian Cabinet under Sir Stanley Seymour Argyle in 1932. While the Victorian premiership beckoned, such a small stage could never expect to house a figure as large as Menzies. His eyes were set on federal politics, and in 1934, he was elected as the member for Kooyong, a seat he would hold for the next thirty-one years.

Throughout Menzies's speeches and writings, he argued:

What should be, if we understood democracy, the noblest and highest of civil vocations, degraded into something of less importance than the higgling of the market and the acquisition of wealth! . . . We have been at fault in our failure to maintain a constant and steady interest in the government of the country. If we come to life only at election times and go back to indifference or grumbling criticism for the years that intervene.⁷⁴

In Menzies's words, one can hear the voice of Cicero, teaching his son that, "we are not born for ourselves alone . . . but our country claims for itself one part of our birth, and our friends another".⁷⁵ We also hear echoes of Aristotle, declaring that participation in politics is the noblest of all pursuits, for "to secure the good of one person only is better than nothing, but to secure the good of a nation or a state is a nobler and more divine achievement".⁷⁶

The importance of public life is certainly acknowledged in both liberal and conservative politics. The two great voices of these traditions, John Stuart Mill and Edmund Burke, respectively, both served in the Westminster Parliament. Yet, participation in democracy does not hold the same urgency as in the republican tradition where it is the lifeblood of the body politic. Liberals such as Mill were often more concerned with ensuring the maintenance of individual freedoms against the tyranny of the majority, while the conservative impulse worried that the maintenance of traditional forms of organisation could not be guaranteed with the mass expansion of suffrage. For the earlier tradition of republicanism, participation in public life was not just to be encouraged, but it was the foundation and health of the polity. For Roman advocates, such as Cicero and Livy, citizens needed to "act as slaves to the public interest" if liberty was to be maintained.⁷⁷ According to Quentin Skinner, while Machiavelli would drop Cicero's talk of duties, he too argues that "liberty requires the performance of public services and the cultivation of the virtues as instrumentally necessary . . . conditions of assuring any degree of personal liberty".⁷⁸

Of course, many ambitious young men seek to enter politics by citing honour while desiring fame and power. Yet Menzies is consistent throughout his career in noting the importance and honour of politics as a calling. In 1958, safely ensconced in the prime ministership, Menzies released a collection of his finest oratory, *Speech is of Time*. Echoing the era's emerging individualism, Menzies still sought to tie this trend to public participation:

Individual freedom, individual independence of mind, individual participation in the difficult work of government seems to me essential to all true progress... which made Rome, which made Scotland, which has created all our best values.⁷⁹

A firm believer in the importance of symbols and emotion as part of the art of government, Menzies knew the role authority must play in a good society. He read and quoted that famed English republican and apologist for the 1649 regicide, “we are still ready to say as Algernon Sidney said three hundred years ago that ‘the strength of the nation is not in the magistrate, but the strength of the magistrate is in the nation’.”⁸⁰ Far from seeing government as the necessary burden of the liberals or the necessary authority for conservatives, Menzies saw a much more fluid relationship between government and the people, with the former existing to serve the latter. Quoting Lord Acton, Menzies writes, “We believe that ‘the ship exists for the sake of the passengers’; we are no believers in an authority which moves independently of the public will”.⁸¹

Full (non-Aboriginal) suffrage had already been achieved in Australia before Menzies was first elected to parliament. His defence of public life and encouragement of participation was, therefore, not based on liberal or democratic notions of equality but rather a more classical view of rewarding public life as the greatest challenge worthy of a man. Menzies thrived on the daily contests between his political opponents, members of the press, and the public at large. Summing up the twin requirements of politics as an educated and an engaged public, Menzies argued, “democracy is not mob rule – it postulates a people ready to govern itself and capable of governing itself”.⁸² Like the great twelfth-century Renaissance thinker John of Salisbury, who drew his inspiration from Plutarch, Menzies saw the polis as a “sort of body”.⁸³ It was not for every person to take a seat in parliament or become prime minister, yet all were obliged to actively contribute to the body politic in their various functions. Therefore, it was incumbent upon every citizen to be educated in politics and virtue, active in civic institutions, and spurred by patriotic duty to defend the polis from enemies external and internal. This is by no means a liberal impulse but rather the third pillar of the civic republicanism tradition. For Menzies, the two institutions which served to develop civic virtue were the education system and the British Commonwealth.

Education was crucial for Menzies as it was the primary means of creating the virtuous citizens who would contribute nobly and selflessly to the public treasury of Australian society. In the “Forgotten People” series, he argues that the role of schools was not simply to produce students who can complete exams but to produce “developed men and women”, not for the purpose of wealth but so they could “help society”.⁸⁴ Universities had the role and honour of training “the recognition of values which are other than pecuniary”.⁸⁵ Never more comfortable than in the throes of heated debate, Menzies frequently returned to Melbourne University to engage the students. On one occasion, following several hostile interjections, the chairman bluntly asked dissidents to leave. Menzies disagreed, saying, “I’d like them to stay. I may be able to convert them”.⁸⁶ He went on to say, “no government has ever promoted education like I have. After listening to you, I can understand what vast amounts will still have to be spent”.⁸⁷ Though spoken in jest, civic education creating virtuous citizens was a crucial element in Menzies’s vision. He spoke ideally of his ancestral home as a place where the “acquisition of knowledge” was valued far above

“an inheritance of money”.⁸⁸ Scotland’s contribution to civilisation was possible because, “sons of many Scottish farmers find their way to Edinburgh and a university degree”.⁸⁹

Education was one of Menzies’s main policy concerns while prime minister. Not only did he resolve the “oldest, deepest, most poisonous debate in Australian history”, the question of government aid to church schools, he also significantly expanded the university system in Australia after World War II.⁹⁰ Menzies described the introduction of the Murray Report on Australian Universities into the parliament as a “special night in my political life”, one full of deep emotions.⁹¹ Despite his reputation as a champion of capitalism and prosperity, Menzies was convinced that if “our view of education is ‘how much can I get for myself out of it . . . in terms of financial advantage or social position’ that we shall see the material advancement of the nation matched by moral decay, and ultimately destroyed by it”.⁹² This was not just about being a moral society but about maintaining social and civic institutions. For Menzies, “education is the indispensable instrument in the promotion and protection of democracy. Learning is valuable in itself, but the preservation of a democratic society depends on the quality of its education”.⁹³ In his election speech of 1949, he argued, “We shall become perfectly democratic only when every citizen is given all the spiritual, mental and physical training he is capable of receiving”.⁹⁴ Again in 1961, Menzies argued that, “the greatest of all liberties is that which exists in a man’s own mind . . . [if we] produce in a nation a generation of men and women with liberty in their own individual minds and dictatorship becomes impossible”.⁹⁵ This comment also highlights Menzies’s consistent stress on liberty in a way that suits neither liberal nor conservative thought but rather the mixed, positive liberty of republicanism.

The production of civic virtue (and the countering of corruption) is by far the most abstract of the civic republican pillars. A mixed constitution is a legal goal, and political participation is a social goal; the production of civic virtue, however, is a moral goal. For Menzies, it could even be called a spiritual goal. His rhetoric was often dripping with biblical intertextuality. Particularly in his fight against communism, Menzies felt, quite literally, that he was fighting the powers of darkness and that a virtuous, patriotic, and righteous population was essential. Aristotle highlights virtue as the key ingredient for a successful life and polis: “the life which is best for men, both separately, as individuals, and in the mass, as states, is the life which has virtue”.⁹⁶ The English republican tradition placed huge importance on maintaining what James Harrington called “ancient prudence”.⁹⁷ Algernon Sidney, citing Machiavelli, opined that civic virtue was absolutely essential because it was “impossible for a corrupted people to set up a good government, or for a tyranny to be introduced if they be virtuous”.⁹⁸ Menzies certainly adhered to this maxim. It was not enough to have a free and well-organised society. Through education and participation in civic institutions, citizens should be produced who are patriotic, outward-looking, and who valued *bonum commune communitatis* (common good) over *bonum commune hominis* (individual good).

These ideas of virtue and liberty coalesced in his efforts to ban the Communist Party from 1949 to 1951. Menzies had rejected earlier calls to suppress Australian communists, particularly from his more conservative colleagues, such as John McEwen. Yet Menzies did not come to support the ban, predominantly on security grounds. Instead, when he finally moved against communists, foremost among his

objections was their resort to illegitimate and unlawful social conflict. This is an unusual objection, one that doesn't fit neatly into a liberal or conservative viewpoint. Menzies was "deeply committed" to the legitimate arenas of contest between males that could be found in the courts, parliament, and on the sporting grounds.⁹⁹ To those who entered such a ring willingly, a freedom to speak and act was essential. And so, Judith Brett compellingly argues, in Menzies's view, it was the communists' willingness to engage in "fraudulent and cunning methods which justify the extraordinary legislative measures taken against them".¹⁰⁰ This kind of argument would not have held water with Locke or Mill. Again, we find in Menzies neither clear liberal nor conservative doctrine but rather a guiding philosophy in support of the free society of educated and engaged virtuous citizens. To those who sought to pollute the system with corruption, Menzies had nothing but contempt.

The importance of community and public spirit is readily seen in Menzies's speeches. Speaking about freedom, he famously said:

If our motto is to be, "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost", then want will be the portion of the least active or the least fortunate, and our civilization will be disfigured by those extremes of wealth and poverty, of comfort and despondency, which have defaced our history in the past, and which a proper understanding of human dignity will roundly condemn.¹⁰¹

Menzies clearly had a vision of society that transcended individual sovereignty and rights. Ian Cook has argued that "while he [Menzies] was an individualist, he believed that individuals were members of communities that contained traditions, moralities, and other bonds".¹⁰² While Cook prefers to identify Menzies as a "conservative liberal" as opposed to an "economic liberal", such as John Hewson, the emphasis on civic virtue and community spirit predates liberalism of all stripes. Menzies's concern with developing virtuous, public-minded citizens belongs to an older tradition.

Along with education, Menzies believed there was another institution which was also vital in the creation of civic virtue. This was the universal family of the British Commonwealth, with its eternal and intangible spirit of righteousness. In his Australia Day Broadcast for 1950, Menzies said, "it is a good thing to be an Australian. But this is not enough... we are not only citizens of Australia; we are members of a great British Commonwealth".¹⁰³ Menzies was completely devoted to the celebration of unity in diversity, which was a hallmark of the British Commonwealth. This devotion was never more dramatically highlighted than during World War II. Menzies's refusal to sever Australia's plight from that of the Commonwealth contributed to his loss of the prime ministership in 1941. Delivering the Roy Milne Memorial Lecture on June 26, 1950, Menzies opined on the British Commonwealth:

It is and must be a living thing – not a corpse under the knives of the constitutional dissectors. It would be a tragedy of our history if what began as a splendid adventure and grew into a proud brotherhood should end up as a lawyer's exercise. When the Commonwealth ceases to be an inner feeling as well as external association, virtue will have gone out of it.¹⁰⁴

The British Commonwealth was for Menzies far more than a mere association of friendly nations. To him, it represented a common commitment to produce virtuous

societies whose citizens would engage with one another and stand together against the tyranny which enslaved so many parts of the world (communism in particular). Unless the precedence of this virtuous common cause was maintained, Menzies warned that the Commonwealth would eventually become an ineffectual group of self-serving states, blinded by what Rudyard Kipling called “the webbed and inward-turning eye”.¹⁰⁵

In a broader sense, Menzies saw the ideological and physical battles, first between democratic and fascist states, and then between democratic and communist states, as the ultimate battle between virtue and corruption. Menzies, of course, saw the world firmly through the prism of World War II and later the Cold War. Nevertheless, he spoke of the alliance between the British Commonwealth and the United States not just in terms of political strategy but of “common spiritual values”.¹⁰⁶ Describing the two, he says:

In the most real sense, we are the same kind of people, with the same ideas, with the same ideals, with the same high faith, with the same basic belief that governments exist for the people, that they are the servants and not the masters. It is a tragedy that the world should be divided at all; but if it is, we may at least be comforted by the recollection that it is divided between those who believe in the spirit and significance of man and those who believe in power for its own sake.¹⁰⁷

In this statement, Menzies encompasses the spirit of virtue, which has compelled republicans throughout history to make a stand against tyranny. It is the same spirit that empowered Washington’s Americans against the British, Cromwell’s Roundheads against the Royalists, Machiavelli’s Florentines against the Medici, and Themistocles’s Greeks against the Persians. Though intangible and difficult to define, the spirit of virtue in the civic republican tradition was a concept Menzies both believed in and strived to build in Australia.

What then can we conclude about Sir Robert Gordon Menzies? Our subject is a man synonymous with the Liberal Party of Australia, and yet his political ideology was not always—arguably not often—liberal. His aggressive attempt to ban the Communist Party sticks out in stark contrast to the negative theory of liberty, yet his rhetoric in favour of individual liberty and markets was far stronger than the Deakinite liberals he replaced. Neither was Menzies conservative in his new language of enterprise and desire for reform and development. In at least three significant areas, his views of the distribution of power within a state, the nature of public participation, and the importance of institutions which encourage civic virtue, Menzies was advocating an essentially civic republican position. It is a position steeped in his vast reading and deep understanding of English history and lore. Not by nature an ideologue, Menzies felt free to draw from liberal, conservative, and republican theories as it suited, always leaving room for his own sense of reason and virtue to guide him. This let him deal with the challenges of his political fortunes, especially trying to manage relations with the Country Party, along with managing the tension between liberty and security during the Cold War. The argument presented here is that the type of society he fought for was more civic republican than liberal or conservative and that in order to understand this dominant politician, his motives, policies, and ideological legacy, a recognition of the role of civic republicanism in Menzies’s thought is important.

Twentieth-century political categorisations and the jargon to which modern political scientists and historians are so accustomed can sometimes be detrimental to understanding a figure like Menzies, a man whose political and personal interests were of a much older tradition. Menzies's worldview contains a number of core civic republican ideals at its heart. Principles such as the division of power, political participation, civic education, and civic virtue allowed him remarkably open scope with which to lead and improve his society and cast himself alongside the great men of his books.

Menzies is just one of a plethora of Australian thinkers and leaders whose republican ideas are yet to be properly acknowledged. Just as Menzies's impact and legacy is often simplified and misunderstood, similarly republicanism in Australia is often reduced to an inaccurate caricature and dismissed. Republicanism needs to be understood as both a system of government and a political theory. As a system of government, the United States is a republic, and Australia is a constitutional monarchy. With regard to political theory, however, the United States draws more strongly from the liberal tradition, while Australia, with its ingrained sense of positive liberty, communalism, and pragmatism, has been heavily influenced by republicanism. It is a great intellectual loss to Australia that this tradition is not widely noted or discussed. There are, of course, historical reasons for this academic and social silence. Throughout the nineteenth century, the word republic was closely associated with the barbarism of the French Revolution and the less attractive features of the United States. Despite the best efforts of republicans, such as Dr John Dunmore Lang, Daniel Deniehy, and Charles Harpur, it was seen as a theory in opposition to the glory of the British constitution. In the twentieth century, the word republic became synonymous with a narrow political objective to sever the last remaining constitutional ties between Australia and the United Kingdom, epitomised in the 1999 republic referendum.

This article has employed the term civic republicanism for two reasons: first to differentiate the concept from separatist republicanism and second to identify it as a political theory concerned with both the administration and culture of a society. We are fully aware that it is provocative to identify Menzies as a republican. Yet in the words, identity, and deeds of this Australian leader, there is ample evidence of civic republican political theory at work. By expanding the narrow prism through which republicanism is seen, the grandeur and richness of an ideology that is threaded throughout British history and dates back to classical Rome and Athens can be better understood. Australia is sometimes dismissed as a country not interested in political theory, a social laboratory that, through luck and by virtue of birth and temperament, has grown into one of the most stable constitutional democracies in the world. This narrative ignores the hard work of many Australian thinkers and leaders whose faith, determination, and intellectual rigour helped mould the nation into its present form. The political theory of civic republicanism has been a constant yet largely unacknowledged force in the creation of Australia's culture, society, and government. Its full story, like that of Robert Menzies, is yet to be told.

Notes

1. Tim Rowse, Ian Cook, and Marian Sawyer have produced significant works highlighting the distinctive nature of Australian liberalism. J. R. Nethercote has edited a collection of

- essays on behalf of the Liberal Party, exploring liberalism since Federation. See Tim Rowse, *Australian Liberalism and National Character* (Melbourne: Kibble, 1978); Ian Cook, *Liberalism in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1999); Marian Sawyer, *The Ethical State?: Social Liberalism in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003); J. R. Nethercote, ed., *Liberalism and the Australian Federation* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2001).
2. Albert Metin, *Socialisme sans Doctrines* (Sydney: Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1997).
 3. See, in particular, his fifth chapter: Bruce Smith, "The Principles of True Liberalism," in *Liberty and Liberalism* (New York: Cosimo, 2006), 133–70.
 4. Nick Greiner, *Menzies and the Liberals – Into the Next Century*, The Sir Robert Menzies Centenary Oration, October 19, 1994, University of Melbourne, 14.
 5. Greiner, *Menzies and the Liberals*, 24–25.
 6. For contrasting views on this issue, see Gerard Henderson, "Why Menzies Still Matters," *Quadrant* 52.12 (2008): 12–21 and Ian Hancock, "Menzies and the Liberal Party, 1944–66," *Voices* 5.2 (1995): 70–79.
 7. Robert Menzies, *Afternoon Light* (Adelaide: Penguin, 1969), 286.
 8. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 286.
 9. "Our History," Liberal Party of Australia, last modified March 2010, <http://www.liberal.org.au/The-Party/Our-History.aspx>.
 10. David Lowe notes that Menzies's eventual decision to try and ban the CPA "flew in the face of his oft-stated commitment to civil liberties and his earlier rejection of such a ban on libertarian grounds." David Lowe, *Menzies and the 'Great World Struggle': Australia's Cold War, 1948–1954* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999), 25.
 11. Graeme Starr, *The Liberal Party of Australia: A Documentary History* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1980), 217.
 12. Specifically, he examines the platform in 1946 and the evolution of Liberal political philosophy until 1974. D. M. White, *The Philosophy of the Australian Liberal Party* (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1978), 130.
 13. White, *The Philosophy of the Australian Liberal Party*, 130–31.
 14. Starr, *The Liberal Party*, 217.
 15. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 289.
 16. This article employs the terms separatist republicanism and civic republicanism to differentiate between the political institution (a republic as opposed to a monarchy) and the social theory with its concerns for civic virtue and participation. Separatist republicans are concerned with the former, while civic republicans are interested in the latter and follow the classic tradition of republican thought, which, beginning in ancient Greece and Rome, had a profound impact on the British Empire and her colonies. The term "separatist republicanism" originates from Benjamin Thomas Jones's treatment of republicanism in colonial New South Wales. Benjamin Thomas Jones, "Colonial Republicanism: Re-examining the Impact of Civic Republican Ideology in Pre-Constitution New South Wales," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009): 129–46.
 17. Jose Maria Lassalle, *Liberales: Compromiso Civico con la Virtud* (Madrid: Debate, 2010).
 18. Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (Teddington: Echo, 2009), 19.
 19. J. Salwyn Schapiro, *Liberalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: D Van Nostrand, 1958), 9.
 20. Schapiro, *Liberalism*, 9.
 21. See Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) and Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* (New York: Harcourt, 1955).
 22. Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.
 23. C. F. Delaney, ed., *The Liberalism-Communitarianism Debate* (Boston: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994), vii.

24. Rowse, *Australian Liberalism*, 37–43.
25. Saywer, *The Ethical State*.
26. Saywer, *The Ethical State*, 87.
27. Chandran Kukathas, “Liberalism: The International Context,” in *Liberalism and the Australian Federation*, ed. J. R. Nethercote (Sydney: Federation Press, 2001), 24.
28. Rowse, *Australian Liberalism*, 6.
29. Hugh Collins, “Political Ideology in Australia: The Distinctiveness of a Benthamite Society,” *Daedalus* 114.1 (1985): 147–69.
30. Graham Maddox, “The Australian Settlement and Australian Political Thought,” in *Contesting the Australian Way: States, Markets and Civil Society*, ed. Paul Smyth and Bettina Cass (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 59–60.
31. Janet Aizenstat and Peter J. Smith, *Canada’s Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican?* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1995).
32. In a celebrated and contested 1966 essay, Gad Horowitz used the phrase “red tory” to describe an “ideological Conservative with some ‘odd’ socialist notions...or an ideological socialist with some ‘odd’ tory notions”. He specifically identified Canadian philosopher George Grant as a red tory, as he had combined “elements of socialism and toryism so thoroughly into a single integrated Weltanschauung”. Gad Horowitz, “Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Introduction,” *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d’Economie et de Science politique* 32.2 (1966): 143–71.
33. Mark McKenna, “Tracking the Republic,” in *Crown or Country: The Traditions of Australian Republicanism*, ed. David Headon et al. (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 4.
34. Paul Pickering, “The Oak of English Liberty: Popular Constitutionalism in New South Wales, 1848–1856,” *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 3.1 (2001): 1–27.
35. Neville Kirk, “The Conditions of Royal Rule: Australian and British Socialist and Labour Attitudes to the Monarchy, 1901–11,” *Social History* 30.1 (2005): 64–88.
36. Jones, “Colonial Republicanism.”
37. Benjamin Thomas Jones, “Commonwealth of Republics: The Lost Republican History of Australia and Canada, 1837–1855” (PhD diss., Australian National University, 2012).
38. See Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
39. For a good overview of Aristotle and Cicero’s republican thought and the broader civic republican tradition, see Iseult Honohan, *Civic Republicanism* (London: Routledge, 2002).
40. The works of Machiavelli and Aristotle were both kept in Menzies’s personal library. The library was donated to the University of Melbourne where it is still stored. For a listing of titles, please contact the authors or Caitlin Stone, senior project archivist, eScholarship Research Centre, University of Melbourne.
41. Machiavelli notes that if a constitution combines *Principato* (Principality), *Ottimati* (Aristocracy), and *Popolare* (Democracy), “each would keep watch over the other.” See Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Discourses* (London: Penguin, 2003), 111–12.
42. Berlin’s celebrated essay “Two Concepts of Liberty” distinguishes between negative liberty (the absence of things which hinder freedom) and positive liberty (the presence of things which allow freedom). See Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).
43. Robert Menzies, “Forgotten People”, radio broadcast, chapter 1, Robert Menzies Virtual Museum, last modified 5 January 2010, <http://www.menziesvirtualmuseum.org.au/transcripts/ForgottenPeople/Forgotten1.html>.
44. Starr, *The Liberal Party*, 217.
45. Judith Brett, *Robert Menzies’ Forgotten People* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007).
46. Brett, *Robert Menzies’ Forgotten People*, 136.
47. M. H. Ellis, “The Mind of R. G. Menzies,” *Bulletin*, March 22, 1961, 7.
48. Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1964), 84.
49. A. W. Martin, *Robert Menzies: A Life, Volume 1, 1894–1943* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993), 150.

50. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, 116–17.
51. Kevin Perkins, *Menzies: Last of the Queen's Men* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1968).
52. Polybius, *The Histories of Polybius: Volume I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 468.
53. *Royal Standard*, September 9, 1836, 2.
54. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, 174.
55. Robert Menzies, *Afternoon Light* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1967), 250.
56. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 234–35.
57. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 234.
58. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 235.
59. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, 174.
60. In his celebrated treatise on the *English Constitution*, Walter Bagehot stated that “the sovereign has, under a constitutional monarchy such as ours, three rights – the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn. And a king of great sense and sagacity would want no others”. Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), 103.
61. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 232.
62. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 232.
63. S. Cockburn, “Three Years with Menzies,” *Bulletin*, March 31, 1954, 24.
64. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 256.vv
65. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 257.
66. Menzies, *Afternoon Light*, 235.
67. Joint Association of Classical Teachers, *The World of Athens: An Introduction to Classical Athenian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 202.
68. Robert Johnson Bonner, *Aspects of Athenian Democracy, Volume 11* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933), 102.
69. Robinson, *The Wit of Sir Robert Menzies*, 19.
70. Menzies’s view is even more remarkable given that it was published in 1917 at the height of popular distrust with the political elite over World War I. C. Hazlehurst, *Menzies Observed* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1979), 31–32.
71. Ellis, “The Mind of R.G.Menzies,” 7.
72. Dawes never in fact published the biography, dying before it could be completed. Martin was given access to Dawes’s papers. Allan Martin, *Robert Menzies A Life* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 53.
73. Robert Menzies, “Forgotten People,” chapter 34.
74. Menzies, “Forgotten People,” chapter 34.
75. Cicero, *On Duties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9–10.
76. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (London: Harvard University Press, 1982), 7.
77. Quentin Skinner, “The Idea of Negative Liberty,” in *Philosophy in History*, ed. Richard Rorty, Jerome B. Schneewind, and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 217.
78. Skinner, “The Idea of Negative Liberty,” 217.
79. Menzies noted in the collection that he could not remember the date or audience of the particular address but was impressed enough with the content to include it for publication. Robert Menzies, *Speech is of Time* (London: Heinemann, 1958), 220.
80. Menzies, *Speech is of Time*, 213.
81. Menzies, *Speech is of Time*, 213.
82. Hazlehurst, *Menzies Observed*, 32.
83. John (of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres), *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 66.
84. Robert Menzies, “Forgotten People,” in *Well May We Say: The Speeches that Made Australia*, ed. Sally Warhaft (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2004), 156.
85. Warhaft, *Well May We Say*, 156.
86. Robinson, *The Wit of Sir Robert Menzies*, 19.
87. Robinson, *The Wit of Sir Robert Menzies*, 20.
88. Menzies, “Forgotten People,” chapter 1.
89. Menzies, “Forgotten People,” chapter 1.

90. G. A. Freudenberg, *A Certain Grandeur* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2009), 28; Dame Leonie Kramer, *Education, Politics and Democracy: The Tenth Sir Robert Menzies Lecture* (Melbourne: Sir Robert Menzies Lecture Trust, Monash University, 1987), 3.
91. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, 209.
92. Robert Menzies, *The Challenge to Australian Education* (Canberra: F.W. Cheshire, 1961), 7.
93. Kramer, *Education, Politics and Democracy*, 6.
94. Kramer, *Education, Politics and Democracy*, 6.
95. Menzies, *The Challenge*, 5.
96. The quote continues to add that "material resources to facilitate participation in the actions that virtue calls for" are also needed. See Aristotle, *The Politics* (London: Penguin, 1981), 393.
97. James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana and A System of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10.
98. Algernon Sidney, "Chapter 2, Section 11: Liberty Produceth Virtue, Order and Stability: Slavery is Accompanied with Vice, Weakness and Misery," *Discourses Concerning Government (1698)*, Constitution Society, last modified 16 June 2009, http://www.constitution.org/as/dcg_211.htm.
99. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, 101.
100. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, 93.
101. Cook, *Liberalism in Australia*, 117.
102. Cook, *Liberalism in Australia*, 118.
103. Robert Menzies, "Australia Day Broadcast, 26 January 1950," *Menzies Papers*, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
104. Menzies, *Speech is of Time*, 17.
105. Menzies, *Speech is of Time*, 11. Rudyard Kipling, *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Kent: Wordsworth, 1994), 521.
106. Menzies, *Speech is of Time*, 15.
107. Menzies, *Speech is of Time*, 14–15.