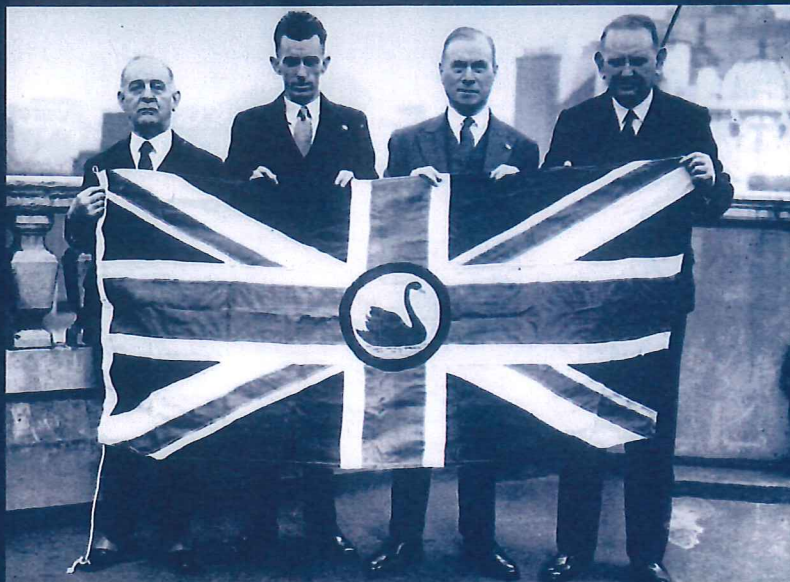


# SECESSION



The history of the Secession  
Movement in Western Australia



## SECESSION

# SECESSION is LIBERTY

### An Expert Opinion

In 1925 Mr. J. Entwistle (South Australia), a Royal Commissioner appointed by the Federal Government to inquire into the disabilities of Western Australia under Federation, reported as follows:—

IN MY OPINION WESTERN AUSTRALIA SHOULD NEVER HAVE ENTERED THE FEDERATION, BUT HAVING DONE SO, THERE IS, I FEEL CONVINCED, ONLY ONE COMPLETE AND SATISFACTORY REMEDY FOR HER PRESENT DISABILITIES, VIZ., SECESSION.

Under date of December 30, 1930, Mr. Entwistle writes to the Dominion League of Western Australia as follows:—

I WISH YOUR LEAGUE EVERY SUCCESS IN YOUR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. THE LONGER YOU CONTINUE IN FEDERATION THE GREATER WILL BE YOUR FINANCIAL DISABILITY—OR EVEN RUIN.

The Dominion League of Western Australia

H. K. WATSON, Hon. Secretary,  
Goldsbrough House — 164 St. George's-terrace, Perth.

"The Sunday Times" Print, Perth.

**T**he depression years form something of a hiatus in the political history of Western Australia. Not only did they provide the sole interruption in more than twenty years of Labor dominance of the treasury benches but also a unique manifestation of western separatism, the overwhelming vote for secession in the 1933 referendum. Paradoxically it was also the depression which brought home to Western Australians their utter involvement in the national economy and dependence on decisions taken outside the state.

[The Era of Labor Ascendancy, David Black.]



## SECESSION

**I**n 1900, the majority of West Australians took a giant leap of faith and voted to join the Federation. Of slightly more than 96,000 electors, around 64,000-people voted.

It was an emotional vote; a decision to join the rest of Australia to become part of one country with a common and distinct national identity.

Most country electorates were against Federation, though Albany was for it and the Goldfields was a major influence in the 'Yes' vote.

But within a few short years of joining the Commonwealth, there were rumblings in WA about being short-changed by the East. Many felt that the central government was pandering to the business and power interests of its eastern cousins. In fact, there was a growing mood that WA was fast becoming the 'Cinderella' state.

The Federal system was dominated by Victoria and New South Wales. While the rest of Australia benefited from the enormous primary industry contribution from WA, there seemed to be few benefits in return. Tariff policies by successive Commonwealth governments bolstered industry in the East while making it hard for WA to sell its primary exports on a world market where it had no protection.

By 1925, a Royal Commissioner, Mr J. Entwistle, appointed by the Federal Government to inquire into the disabilities of WA under Federation wrote:

*'In my opinion Western Australia should never have entered the Federation, but having done so, there is, I feel convinced, only one complete and satisfactory remedy for her present disabilities, viz., Secession.'*

Sir William Francis Latham, one-time Lord mayor of Perth, spoke strongly against federation as a witness to that Royal Commission. 'Twenty-five years ago we all boarded the good ship Commonwealth for a lifetime voyage, with the full assurance that there would be only one class for all the passengers,' he told the commission. *'During the voyage we*



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.  
The Referendum (Constitution Alteration) Act.

# REFERENDUM

to be taken on the Proposed Law  
CONSTITUTION ALTERATION (RENTS  
AND PRICES) 1947.

## The CASE FOR and AGAINST

Pamphlet containing—  
AN ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF the Proposed Law  
authorized by a majority of the Members of both Houses  
of the Parliament who voted for the Proposed Law;  
and  
AN ARGUMENT AGAINST the Proposed Law author-  
ized by a majority of the Members of both Houses of the  
Parliament who voted against the Proposed Law.

The Argument FOR	Pages 4 to 9.
The Argument AGAINST	Pages 10 to 15.

V. F. TURNER,  
Chief Electoral Officer for the Commonwealth.  
12850/1/48—340w.

Canberra, 5th January, 1948.

1930  
WESTERN AUSTRALIA

## SECESSION AS A LAST RESORT.

A REPLY

to  
Hon. Norbert Keenan, K.C., M.L.A.  
(Chief Secretary)

by  
Hon. A. Lovekin, M.L.C.  
(Vice-President Dominion League of W.A.)

PERTH

BY AUTHORITY: FRED. WM. SIMMONS, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

1930.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

## THE CASE FOR UNION

A REPLY

TO THE  
Case for the Secession of the  
of Western Australia

Prepared by a committee consisting  
SIR ROBERT GARRAN, K.C.M.G., K.C. (U  
General of the Commonwealth);  
The Honorable J. H. KEATING (formerly  
State of Tasmania);  
WILLIAM SOMERVILLE (a member of  
of Western Australia); and  
DAVID JOHN GILBERT (of Perth, W.A.)

Issued with the authority of  
of the Commonwealth.

Printed and Published for the Government  
by L. F. JACKSON, Government Printer.  
1930.

*found to our great surprise that there were four classes. Victoria and N.S.W had secured all the saloon cabins, South Australia and Queensland the second class, little Tasmania was put in the steerage, whilst W.A. is compelled to work for her passage in the fore-castle.'*

The 1926, editor of the Sunday Times James MacCallum Smith set up the Secession League, hoping to draw on people's sentiments to split from the Commonwealth. But it was not so successful.

However, just four years later, Western Australia's isolation and the effects of the Depression, led to a crisis of identity. Perth was the most isolated city in the world, and Western Australians had become distinctly aware of their apparent separation from the rest the nation.

They felt cut off and ignored by their Eastern cousins. Many blamed the 'tyranny of distance' for this demise. And many saw the only solution as a radical one: to secede.



## SECESSION

Out of this discontent grew the Dominion League, formed at a public meeting at His Majesty's Theatre on 30 June, 1930. The League was established to agitate for secession and soon harnessed support under the leadership of its secretary, H.K. 'Keith' Watson, who later became a Liberal Party MLC. It claimed at one stage to have a membership of 10,000, and campaigned actively for the secession cause. Members spoke on the streets and organised public meetings, appealing for support at a grassroots level, while capitalising on the fact that the State was under extreme social and economic pressure.

The League wanted WA to be a Dominion within the British Empire, a sentiment expressed in the 1930s secession song 'Liberty Light':

*"Westralia's law. Westralia's will;  
Our loyalty, 'England and Empire' still."*

In December the same year, former Royal Commissioner Entwistle was moved to

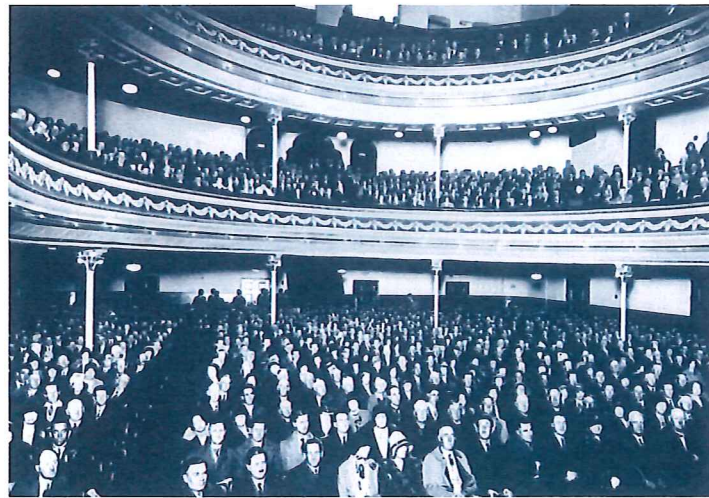
### COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA. THE CASE FOR UNION.

A REPLY  
TO THE  
Case for the Secession of the State  
of Western Australia.

Prepared by a committee consisting of:  
SIR ROBERT GARRAN, K.C.M.G., K.C. (formerly Solicitor-General of the Commonwealth);  
The Honorable J. H. KEATING (formerly a Senator for the State of Tasmania);  
WILLIAM SOMERVILLE (a member of the Arbitration Court of Western Australia); and  
DAVID JOHN GILBERT (of Perth, Western Australia).

Issued with the authority of the Government  
of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Printed and Published for the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia  
by L. F. JENNINGS, Government Printer for the Commonwealth.  
1930.



The Dominion League of Western Australia, Citizens Rally at His Majesty's Theatre, 30 July 1930.



## SECESSION

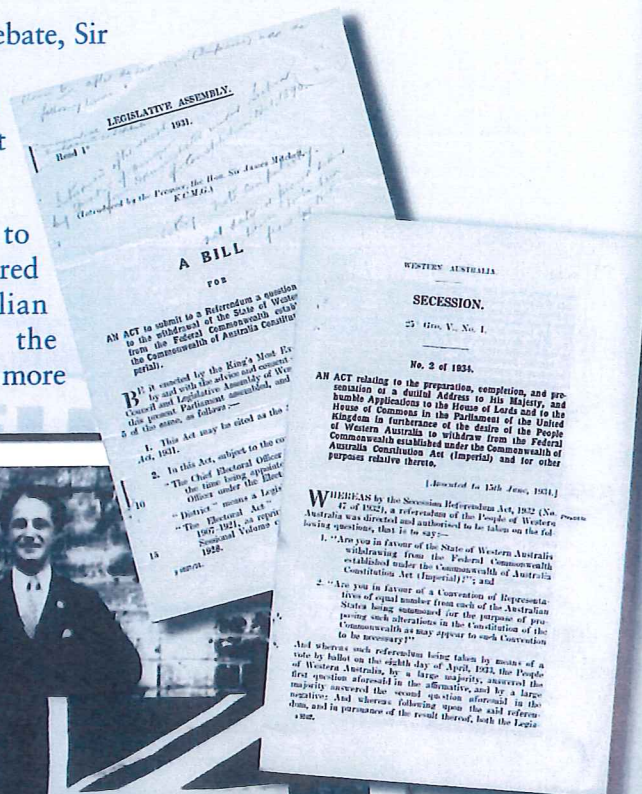
write to the Dominion League of Western Australia:

*'I wish your league every success in your fight for freedom. The longer you continue in federation the greater will be your financial disability - or even ruin.'*

The year 1932 was the winter of Western Australia's discontent.<sup>1</sup> The community had been gripped by the Depression and no end seemed in sight. The once-optimistic Premier, Sir James Mitchell, was bearing the brunt of people's fear and hardship, and *'seemed to spend half his time on the train commuting between Perth and Canberra to haggle for funds from the Commonwealth'*.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, after much public debate, Sir James - himself an ardent secessionist - called for a referendum on the issue that same year.

He wanted the people to decide whether they favoured secession or an Australian convention to revise the Constitution. In April 1933, more



F.C. Sevaine displaying the flag designed by the Dominion League for Western Australia, 1933.



## SECESSION

than 91 per cent of the electors turned out to vote in what was to be a record poll. 237,198 people cast a vote, 68 per cent in favour of secession. Only the mining areas - keen Federalists - voted against the move. Paradoxically, though, Mitchell's pro-secession government was swept out of office by support for the anti-secessionist Philip Collier's Labor Party.

A booklet, 'The Withdrawal of Western Australia from the Australian Federation', was printed by the State Government following the referendum to reinforce the case for secession. West Australians, it said, had expressed their desire to withdraw from the Federal Commonwealth but 'in the most honourable and friendly manner and without leaving any trace of resentment or bitterness behind it'. The government claimed that prosperity could not come to 'this great island' continent by the 'aggrandisement of a few highly industrialised cities on the eastern seaboard'.

But the matter did not rest there. The Commonwealth was disdainful of WA's position and prepared a strong opposing case for consideration by the British Parliament. In that document, 'Case For Union - A Reply to the Case for the Secession of the State of Western Australia', the Prime Minister of the day, Joe Lyons, argued for the federal union, saying it had already forged the way for industrial development of the continent, and strengthened the powers of the people 'to cope with the difficult social and economic problems of the day, but also in giving to Australia a national outlook and an assured status in world affairs'.

Western Australians considered the case with suspicion and hostility. It seemed to many that it was a narrow and parochial line. The London Times commented also that the Commonwealth attitude was unlikely to improve relations by belittling the State's grievances.

The battle lines were firmly drawn. But the crucial questions were legal ones:

Could WA secede? And, could the British Government break up the Federation?



## SECESSION

WA argued that it had every right to secede - in the same way it had chosen to join the Federation. The State argued that Britain should enforce that right.

*'Secession has long been a word with powerful magic: it conjures up the dismemberment of countries and the creation of new and unpredictable regimes. But, since the break up of the Soviet Union, secession has become both more familiar and less fearsome... Secession can no longer be assumed to be a bad thing.'*

*'Secession: is the withdrawal of a territory, by the community that occupies that territory, from the jurisdiction of a larger entity'...*  
Dr Cambell Sharman.

The Commonwealth argued vigorously that the Australian Constitution was indissoluble and that Britain should not interfere to partition a Dominion.

However, the final decision - whether WA could secede, or would be allowed to, was still in the hands of the British Parliament, and it would take another four years to resolve.

The four secessionist delegates holding the proposed flag for Western Australia on the roof of the Savoy House, October 1934.





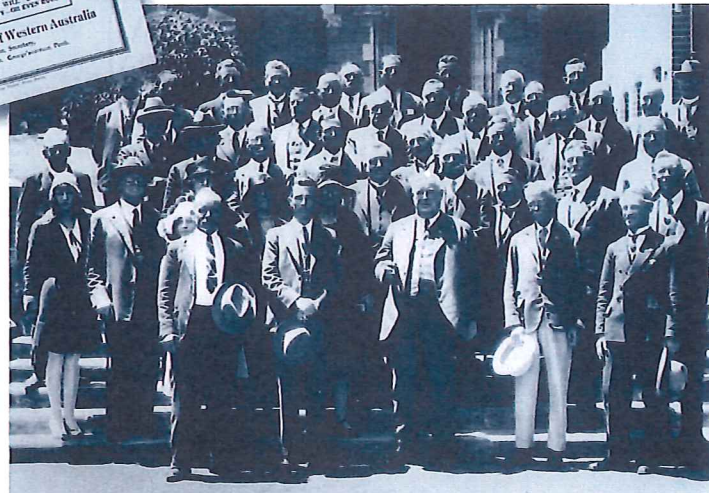
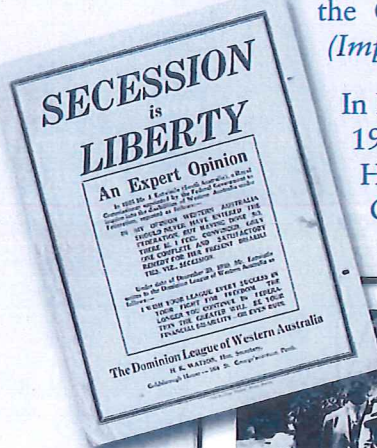
## SECESSION

### THE CASE FOR SECESSION: 'SECESSION IS LIBERTY'

That was the war cry from West Australians after the State's rural boom burst in 1930. The Depression hit the State's income by one third, despite a record wheat harvest and high wool production. By 1931, the Depression intensified and many people were fearful. They were also angry with what they perceived as the Commonwealth's floundering in its handling of the crisis.

In August of the same year, while Premier Mitchell was absent in the Eastern States, the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution requesting the government to bring in a referendum on the question of the 'withdrawal of the State of Western Australia from the Federal Commonwealth established under the *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act (Imperial)*'.

In November, a Bill, the *Secession Referendum Act*, 1931, was introduced and passed in the Assembly. However, it ran into trouble in the Legislative Council when it was attacked by the Labor minority and several prominent government



Group photo of the members of the Secession movement, c. 1930.



## SECESSION

supporters. They opposed secession either because they came from the Goldfields, or they were city importers aware of the State's commercial interdependence with the rest of Australia.

However, while they didn't succeed in torpedoing the referendum, they managed to tie several conditions to it - the referendum had to be held within six months so that the issue could be dispatched quickly, and voting should not be compulsory.

Harold Sedden - a Goldfields man - tried to attach a third condition that the Eastern Goldfields and the North West should be given the opportunity at the same time of seceding from WA. His proposal failed by one vote.

The referendum question put to electors was:  
**Are you in favour of the State of Western Australia withdrawing from the Federal Commonwealth established under the *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act (Imperial)*? Yes or No?**

*'A simple definition of secession masks many problems, both practical and theoretical, but at its heart, secession is a claim for self government'...*

*Allen Buchanan.*

The case to secede from the Federation was prepared by a committee appointed by the State Government, comprising J. Scaddan, J.L. Walker, H.K. Watson, J. Lindsay, A.J. Reid and C.G. Dudley. Alongside, The Dominion League of Western Australia, was a powerful and influential voice, arguing that secession would:

- Release the clutching hand, the bondage... and chains of Canberra - 'that £12,000,000 monument of legislative incompetence'.
- Cause freedom from all Federal tariffs... stopping all costly duplications.
- Allow one Parliament only, fewer Parliamentarians, and less cost to the people of Western Australia.
- Be the salvation of [the State] during the world-wide depression.
- Give prosperity to our primary producers; our ports will flourish and factories will have great opportunities;
- Provide work for everybody and opportunity for the youth.



## SECESSION

### THE CASE FOR UNION

**T**he Commonwealth Government mounted a vigorous campaign to combat the secessionists. It published a 128-page booklet 'The Case for Union' with a foreword by Prime Minister Joe Lyons, who urged people to think sensibly about the ramifications of WA cutting itself adrift from the rest of the nation.

The federal campaign canvassed the topics that had flared in the secession debate, including free trade, tariffs, road payments, taxing and spending power, WA's record of industrial progress, defence, shipping and imports.

It also appealed to national sentiment, quoting:

*For God has made her one; complete she lies*

*Within the unbroken circle of the skies,*

*And round her indivisible the sea*

*Breaks on her single shore...*

*...bound by sacred ties*

*Of one dear blood, one storied enterprise.*

simple definition  
secession masks  
problems,  
practical and  
ethical, but at  
art, secession  
claim for self  
government'...

Buchanan.



'Fellow donkeys! vote for a convention', sign on a donkey standing on a Perth Street, c. 1931.



## SECESSION

The Federal League of Western Australia sprang up in 1931 in opposition to the Dominion League. Sir Charles Nathan was its founding president and most of the committee were local businessmen, including Harry Boan, founder of the once popular Boans department store.

The League organised several political rallies and wrote letters to the local newspapers in defence of the Federation. Lyons joined WA Senator George Pearce and former Prime Minister Billy Hughes to promote the campaign on a speaking tour.

H.K. Watson and J. MacCallum Smith MLA, with the petition to be presented to the House of Lords and Commons, 17 December 1934.



The League's 'No' campaign called for a constitutional convention to explore WA's grievances. It claimed a vote for secession was a vote for 'mischief' while a vote for a convention was a vote for 'reform'. However, League members came in for criticism that they were acting out of self-interest due to their commercial links with their eastern business colleagues, rather than the welfare of WA.

### Federal Song

*All the greyness of the dawning, all the mists are over-past,  
In the glory of the morning we shall see Her face at last.  
He who sang, "She yet will be,"  
He shall hail her, crowned and free.  
Could we break the land asunder God has girdled with  
the Sea?  
For the Flag is floating o'er us,  
And the star of Hope before us,  
From the desert to the ocean, brothers, lift the mighty chorus  
For Australian Unity.*



## SECESSION

### OFF TO SEE THE KING

A referendum was held in conjunction with the WA general election in 1933. Two thirds of the electors voted in favour of secession. Voting was compulsory and only six out of 50 electoral districts recorded a 'No' majority - five in the Eastern Goldfields and Kimberley. These were the same regions that had voted most strongly for federation in 1900.

By contrast, in the wheatbelt, the vote for secession was as high as three-to-one in some places, and of the 21 constituencies to record a two-to-one 'Yes' majority, 17 were in agricultural areas.

In the metropolitan area, only three seats, two of them Labor strongholds, followed that trend. Interestingly, neither North Perth held by Sunday Times proprietor, James McCallum Smith, nor Norbert Keenan's seat of Nedlands recorded especially impressive 'Yes' majorities. Keenan was the most ardent secessionist in the ministry.

It seems that electors voted for or against secession by region rather than, in many instances, by political affiliation. In general, too, those areas most strongly in favour were those most severely affected by the Depression.

Following the successful result, the State Parliament enacted the *Secession Act*, 1934, making provision for the presentation of petitions to His Majesty the King, and to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament.

The new State Government put together a delegation of men, including Agent General, Sir Hal Colebatch, James MacCallum Smith, the proprietor of the Sunday Times, and the leader of the Dominion League, Keith Watson.

The delegation was charged with presenting petitions and conducting all negotiations with the British Government on behalf of the 'people of Western Australia', to 'effectuate the restoration' of the State to 'its former status as a separate and distinct self-governing colony in the British Empire under its present Constitution'.





## SECESSION

The delegation arrived in London in 1934, hopeful its appeal to the British Government would be heard favourably. The Agent-General and former conservative State Premier, Sir Hal Colebatch, used his offices in the city as a base to promote the secession cause. He held dinners and functions at which he spoke strongly for cutting the strings of federation.

The delegation wanted to persuade the British Parliament to overturn the Act of Parliament that had formed the Commonwealth of Australia and given the nation its Constitution. Pro-Federationists argued the preamble to the *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act* made it clear that the colonies: *'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.'*

Sir Hal said that the words 'under the Constitution' were of equal significance to 'indissoluble' and that the delegation would argue that the Constitution had been violated to WA's detriment. *'The federation,'* he said *'is a partnership between six States in which certain guarantees were given and certain safeguards were provided. We can show that these guarantees have been violated - that these safeguards have been swept aside - and so we ask for the annulment of the partnership.'*

*'After all, what does the word indissoluble mean? Remember that it occurs only in the preamble and not in the Act itself. Is any arrangement made in this world indissoluble? Can the rulers of any country "dressed in a little brief authority", bind the people of that country not merely to the third and fourth generation, but for all time?'*

And he posed the question to the British: *'Is there either justice or common sense in continuing an agreement that is working badly? Is a party to that agreement - after giving it a trial for 35 years and having proved it to be hampering to its industries, destructive to its prosperity and a grave bar to its development - prohibited from seeking relief?'* 3



## SECESSION

### TAILS BETWEEN THEIR LEGS

**T**he Secession delegation left for London in 1935 with a mission to convince the British Government to accept the State's Secession Petition.

However, they were doomed to fail and within two years had returned home, dispirited and empty-handed.

After months of lobbying the government of the day to have their petition received by the British Parliament, the delegation only managed to get the issue referred to a joint committee of the Houses of Commons and Lords.

The high-powered committee rejected the petition on the grounds that the British Parliament could not act without the Australian Federal Parliament's approval. It said that if Western Australians were allowed to secede then events would happen in the Commonwealth of Australia that would 'shake the empire to its very foundations'.

There was, though not widely understood, the fact that Tasmania and South Australia had been watching from the sidelines and had WA been successful, may have followed suit, posing a threat to the Federation.



A meeting of the Dominion League for the secession movement.



## SECESSION

Delegate Keith Watson expressed his bitterness at the decision when he attacked Prime Minister Lyons, saying the matter had been discussed in the Federal Parliament 'ad nauseam'. He went on: *'Let it be clearly understood that, if the Imperial Parliament adopts the committee's report, it will mean that, in their determined desire for secession, the people of Western Australia will be denied any further recourse to argument.'*

*'The argument of force will be the only means left to them. I shall not hesitate so to inform my fellow citizens in Western Australia and to play my full part in whatever course may be decided on, no matter how "unorthodox" that course may be'.<sup>4</sup>*

Watson proposed a 'kind of volunteer force' to protect the landing of cargoes at Fremantle and stopping, by force if necessary, the Commonwealth Customs officials from collecting duty. But he received little support from his secession colleagues.

It meant the demise of the Dominion League. The British Government and its Parliament were clearly not going to support the secession moves.



Delegation arriving with the petition for the secession of Western Australia from the Commonwealth of Australia at the British Houses of Parliament, 17 December 1934.



## SECESSION

### SECESSION SINKS

**T**he secession movement fell away quickly after the rejection by the British Parliament of WA's petition for separation.

The economy was recovering from the Depression and people turned their attention to rebuilding. The Dominion League folded. Secessionist delegate James MacCallum Smith returned from 11 months in London disgruntled with the British Parliament, but satisfied that the British people had accepted the delegation's message of WA's economic suffering at the hands of the Commonwealth.

By the end of the 1930s, Australia was well on the road to economic recovery and WA was fairing a little better financially, now that the Federal Government had established the Grants Commission.

The Collier Labor Government was against secession but had honoured the secession poll conducted at the same time it was swept to office. Collier sent the delegation, but its failure meant he could get on with the business of government.

The secession movement sunk, though not to total oblivion. It sat on the political shelf gathering dust for nearly 40 years.



H.K. Watson enters Parliament House, London, with secession petitions for the Houses of Lords and Commons, 17 December 1934.



## SECESSION

### STOPPING THE CANBERRA GRAB

**S**ecessionist sentiments surfaced again in the early seventies. Mining magnate Lang Hancock led the charge, setting up an office on Stirling Highway in Nedlands to run a campaign against the 'Canberra grab'.

Hancock and the new Westralian Secession Movement claimed the new secessionists were echoing their 1930s predecessors, wanting the split to be friendly and with a spirit of goodwill.

*'The withdrawal of WA does not involve the severance of race,' he claimed. 'The people of WA were good Australians before Federation, they have been good Australians in Federation, and they will be good Australians having withdrawn from Federation.'*

*'The people of WA will still be loyal subjects of the Queen, living in Amity with their neighbours, and vying with them in the loyalty to the Crown and their attachment to the Commonwealth.'*

In 1974, Hancock asserted in his 'A Condensed Case for Secession' that *'...we are not seeking secession from our Eastern neighbours, but secession from the power grasping tentacles of central government'*.

The Movement unsuccessfully fielded a candidate, Don Thomas, in the 1974 Senate election, to try and combat what Hancock and others saw as the raw deal being dished out by Canberra to WA. They felt that the State was getting less than a fair return from the Commonwealth for its enormous contribution to the nation via its new-found mineral wealth. They also resented what they saw as the power 'grab from Canberra', under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's centralist policies.

But the Movement floundered and once again secession was shelved.



## SECESSION SUCCESS IN THE FUTURE?

Supporters of secession have had little impact on the State's political process in recent years. After the failure of Hancock's Westralian Secession Movement, the issue remained dormant for another 25 years until it resurfaced again in the 1999 Federal referendum campaign on the republic.

WA secessionists seized the chance to voice their opposition to what they believed would be a new 'federation' if a republic was supported. They urged people, under the banner 'Our State, Our People, Our Flag' to vote 'No'. How much influence they had on the outcome is questionable.

There will always be those who support secession. However, it is unlikely there will ever be a repeat of the majority support seen for it in 1933. The question remains whether that result was exceptional due to the unusual times, or whether it truly reflected a deep secessionist streak in the West Australian electorate.

**POLICY**  
**AUSTRALIANS AT THE CROSSROADS**

**Natural Underdeveloped Wealth**  
Such is our natural underdeveloped wealth in W.A. that instead of being a prey to any predator we should be able to stand on our feet. Australia has no defence to stop it. Our nearest neighbour could not be so far by telephone. We could grow anything, produce in much the same way as the Arab oil states. Not only more so, by producing for the world to the point where one or more of the major western power future economy will be based on our output and fast growing economy.

**Unmatched Defence System**  
In other words we are obtaining for ourselves an unmatched defence system simply by growing everything we need. But is it? Within the next 25 years, U.S.A. will be importing some 7,000 million tons of iron ore, 1,000 million tons of bauxite and other minerals in the proportion, most of which can be produced and supplied from W.A. If Canberra would let us.

**Canberra Says No Secession to 32-1/3%**  
If they do this to a W.A. Labor Government just imagine how they will put our new Liberal/Conservative Party Government through the wringer.

**New Zealand Opted Out**  
810,000 New Zealanders (once part of N.S.W. colony) opted out of federating. Only 1,000,000 New Zealanders don't stand on their own feet.

**Secessionist Canberra Will to Save W.A.**  
By seeking secession separatists, W.A. for the first time has the golden opportunity to control the balance of power of the government and thus ensure a fair go for W.A. No-one else can do this. Some political sides can see that they cannot control the Senate on their own.

**Just think:**  
• \$1,000 off the price of your motor car.  
• 50 per cent less to pay for your washing machine.  
• Similar reductions for steel and other basic commodities needed for our basic industries.  
• Hundreds of dollars off your colour T.V.  
• Cheaper fuel for motorists.  
• More time home pay.  
• Free enterprise measures.

These things are all possible because we don't have the heavy Canberra bureaucratic empire to support. This is the road to secession and salvation.

**JOHN HENNESSY**   **BRIAN SAUNDERS**   **NEIL SCRIMGEOUR**   **ALAN TAYLOR**



Images:

Courtesy of the Battye Library.

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2 Ibid.

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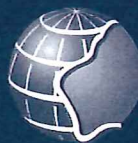
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Department of  
the Premier  
and Cabinet  
Government of  
Western  
Australia



THE  
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CENTRE  
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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