



ANZAC CULTURE:
A South Australian case study of
Australian identity and commemoration of war dead.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that in South Australia Anzac Day began as a spontaneous expression of mourning for war dead and disability support for wounded soldiers. Subsequent changes made to Anzac Day rituals by the Returned and Services League and antecedent bodies, mirrored changes in the concept of Australian identity allowing migrants from other cultures to participate in Australian rituals commemorating war dead. Successive Australian Governments, both Labor and Liberal, through the Prime Minister's Department and Department of Veteran Affairs utilized Anzac Day commemoration services to foster a sense of Australian consciousness and national identity. Australian collective memory of war dead, together with the Anzac legend, has symbolic representation in soldiers' memorials, war cemeteries, and commemorative days; it also has political significance endorsed by the Commemorations Branch of the Department of Veterans' Affairs. Explanations for all these representations exist within a global network of social transmission in thanatoid rituals and solutions to the problem of the absent corpse resulting in travel to significant sites synonymous with Australian identity both within Australia and overseas. Even though the observation of Anzac Day takes place internationally, Anzac Day is not a replica of an overseas event for Anzac Day is a public holiday of Australia's making.

STATEMENT

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institutions and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

I consent to this copy of my thesis when deposited in the University Library, being available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

Jarice Gwenllian Pavils

Date: *6th December 2004*

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AD Committee	Adelaide Anzac Day Committee
ADCC	Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AWM	Australian War Memorial
CBD	Central Business District
CMF	Citizens' Military Forces
Ex-POWs	Ex-prisoners-of-war
League	Returned & Services League of Australia (S.A. Branch) Inc.
MBE	Member British Empire
MC	Military Cross
NSW	New South Wales
POW	Prisoner-of-war
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RAR	Royal Australian Regiment
RSA	Returned Soldiers' Association of South Australia
RSL	Returned & Services League of Australia
RSS & AILA	Returned Sailors', Soldiers' & Airmen's Imperial League of Australia
RSSILA	Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia
RSSILA SA	Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia South Australian Branch
SA	South Australia
State Memorial	State National War Memorial
TS-OH	Their Service Our Heritage
VP Day	Victory Pacific Day
WDL	Wattle Day League
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

GLOSSARY

Antecedent bodies of the Returned & Services League, South Australian Branch (League).

Formed as Returned Soldiers' Association South Australia in December 1915 (RSA).

In July 1917 the Returned Soldiers' Association South Australia became the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, South Australian Branch.

In 1941, the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, South Australian Branch became the Returned Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia, South Australian Branch.

In 1966, name changed to the Returned Services League of Australia South Australian Branch.

In 1990, became Returned & Services League of Australia (S.A. Branch) Inc.

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INTRODUCTION

'Anzac Culture' traces developments in the concept of Australian identity through changes in rituals concerning the commemoration of war dead, principally on Anzac Day. The first commemoration days of Anzac and Armistice took place not only in Australia but also in Britain and New Zealand. Current commemoration services for both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day take place in other countries around the globe, as well as in Australia, yet in Australia, Australians believe Anzac Day to be a commemoration exhibiting a sense of national identity.¹ Using tangible material history and documentary evidence, together with media articles, this South Australian case study of Australian identity and commemoration of war dead illustrates the emergence, consolidation, decline and renewal of Anzac Day, and also illustrates the origins, decline and Australian appropriation of Remembrance Day into Anzac culture.

Modern memory of Australian national identity arose from the sense that literature written about Australian servicemen in relation to the Gallipoli landing engendered a belief that the 'Anzacs' had developed into a different type of 'Briton', British Australians. Many historians have written in academic journals about A.N.Z.A.C. and debated C. E. W. Bean's historical accuracy in relation to his work as editor of the 12-volume *The Official History of Australia in the War of*

¹ For information on early Anzac Days see *The Register*, 'Anzac Day', 13 October 1915, p.6; Anzac Day Commemoration April 25th 1916, Mortlock Library Z Pamphlet Anzac Souvenir 940.425 A637, Adelaide Ceremonies pp. 13-46, Celebration in London pp. 31-32; Maureen Sharpe 'Anzac Day in New Zealand 1916-1939', in the *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol 15, No 2, October 1981, pp. 97-114. For current Anzac Day observance see Internet 'Anzac Day Ceremonies Around the world', <http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/anzac_ceremonies.htm>

1914-1918 (1921-42).² In my reading, no one has attempted to map the actual changes in the rituals surrounding the commemoration of war dead between 1915 and 2000. Likewise, historians have not sought to determine the reason the rituals surrounding Anzac Day have become more linked with Australianness than the rituals surrounding Armistice Day, when both days are ostensibly set aside for commemoration of war dead. I set the parameters of this thesis on both Anzac Day and Armistice Day because those patriotic days serve as a tangible measure of memory of the same wars and the same war dead. Anzac Day provided the main source for my research precisely because it is the one variable of all the original memorial observances that developed attributes signifying Australian identity.

This thesis looks at Anzac Day through the records of Australians who developed their own particular public holiday in remembrance of other Australians. Australian historians have discussed A.N.Z.A.C. in terms of ‘myth’ and ‘legend’ but Australian men and women who died serving the nation in times of war were not a ‘myth’ or a ‘legend’. Equally, Australian men and women who returned to Australia after periods of war service, or internment as prisoners-of-war, remembered specific personal experiences endured during the test of their service and the suffering of their imprisonment. My thesis does not enter the debate concerning rights and wrongs of any myths or legends; it concerns a particular cultural group of Australians and the rites and rituals developed by them as a panacea for the trials and tribulations for which they, and their relations, suffered and died. Australian ex-servicemen and women came home and found they had to fight for recognition of their service and the debt they believed owed to them for that service and the sacrifice of their families. Using the medium of Anzac culture,

² Graeme Davison, John Hirst, Stuart Macintyre (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University, 1998), Bean, Charles Edwin Woodrow, pp. 65-66.

this thesis concerns the story of a specific Australian cultural group and their struggle to uphold their culture and ideals. Paul Keating, in his Eulogy to the Unknown Australian Soldier in 1993, stated ‘This Australia and the Australia he knew are like foreign countries.’³ My thesis attempts to outline part of the journey between that Australia and modern Australia.

This thesis will demonstrate that commemoration of war dead has changed since 1915, uniting diverse groups within Australian society by using a global network of social transmission in the rituals surrounding death that provide a sense of national consciousness. These rituals provided a solution to the problems of closure following bereavement due to burial of Australian war dead on overseas battlefields. My thesis does something different from those historians who concur with C.E.W. Bean’s official history and those historians who have sought to discredit his methods, for I illustrate the adaptation of commemoration rituals since 1915. Examining Australian identity, in 1999, Miriam Dixson argued in *The Imaginary Australian*:

The source of our identity as Australians springs from three broad streams – indigenous, Anglo-Celtic and ‘new ethnic’ Australians – and attending to identity means keeping the relation between the three in steady focus. It means attending to whatever enables them to hold together in a fragmenting world.⁴

Immigrants from other nations now take part in Australian commemorative rituals on Anzac Day. Their participation reinforces British Australian, or old core Anglo-Celtic culture in rituals that are culturally inclusive within a global network, because the commemorative rituals enable people from diverse races and nations to mourn the death of those killed on overseas battlegrounds. Although commemorative

³ Funeral Service of the Unknown Australian Soldier, 11 November 1993, Eulogy delivered by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Honourable P. J. Keating, MP, Copy of Eulogy supplied by Simon Berry, Australian Funeral Directors’ Association.

⁴ Miriam Dixson, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity – 1788 to the present*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999), p. 18.

rituals encompass people from many different ancestries, those rituals still project identification with Australian achievement. Departing from existing literature, this thesis shows that Australian cultures have blended to produce commemorative rituals, ceremonies and services that link local Anzac culture with multiple identities that co-exist as 'Australians'.

Rationale for the methodological approach, used in the construction of my argument emanates from theory espoused by Alan Confino in a 1997 article, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method'. I agree with Confino who argues:

That a given memory exists, that it has a symbolic representation and a political significance is obvious, but in itself it explains little if we do not place this memory within a global network of social transmission and symbolic representations.⁵

Therefore I based my research on a study of primary sources concerning South Australian remembrance of war dead and placed the manifestation of South Australian memory into the context of international and national representation evidenced by the observance of Anzac Day and Armistice Day. My thesis focuses on three aspects in particular. Commemorative practices organised by the Returned & Services League of Australia (hereinafter RSL). Reports published in the public media concerning commemoration ceremonies. The evident sense of personal identity conveyed in recorded memoirs of individual war experiences.

Theoretically, the above aspects lead to an analysis of Australian commemoration ceremonies linked to concepts of national consciousness across the spectrum of individual to collective memory. Research carried out at the South Australia Branch of the Returned & Services League, (hereinafter League), into the records of

⁵ Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', in *The American Historical Review*, Vol 102, No 5, December 1997, p. 1402.

the inaugural meetings of the Returned Soldiers' Association 1915-1917, minutes of League Sub-Branch Conferences between 1918 and 1933, State Council meetings between 1920 and 1927 and State Board minutes between 1931 and 1986 gave insight into ex-service aspects of collective or group memory. Likewise, research at the League library in Adelaide into annual reports and magazines, *The Diggers' Gazette*, *Back* and *Sentry Go* provided evidence of group initiatives and collective ex-service memory. Microfilm of *The Register* and *The Advertiser* in the Barr Smith library, illustrated public culture linked to the commemoration of war dead during the period 1915 and 1986. Documents held at the Mortlock Library of South Australia and the Adelaide City Archives regarding patriotic days, and planning for soldiers' memorials also informed aspects of this thesis related to public and collective memory of war dead.⁶

The National Archives of Australia, in Canberra and Collinswood South Australia allowed research into government and political aspects of Armistice Day, in addition to pilgrimages to overseas battlefields and soldiers' memorials. Successive Australian Governments have promoted pilgrimage to significant sites on both Anzac Day and Armistice Day, coupling the memory of Australian war dead to concepts of national identity. Similarly, the Australian War Memorial Research Centre provided access to records concerning commemoration and pilgrimage. Research conducted into series AWM 38, records of Charles E. W. Bean that held Anzac pilgrimage proposals, and series AWM 67, the personal records of Gavin Long, which contained minutes of the Australian Battlefields

⁶ Returned Services League of Australia, *Annual Report and Balance Sheet* 1966-1986; *RSA Magazine*, Vol II, January 1917-June 1917; *The Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 1-12, 15 Nov 1920-7 May 1921, Vol III, No 2, June 1921 – 7 November 1921; *Back Magazine* of the RSL, March 1947-January 1948, June 1954-September 1956; *Sentry-Go*, News Magazine of the SA RSL October 1956-November 1957, December 1959-January 1962; *Stand-to*, Vol 8, No 2, March-April 1965; *The Advertiser*, 1922-1953.

Memorials Committee, allowed further insights into the origins of national commemorative practices. The National Library of Australia permitted access to records deposited in 1998 by Ken Inglis, the historian who has devoted many years of his life to observing and recording the 'Anzac Tradition'. Inglis's papers provided further information relating to Anzac culture, in particular, into some aspects of community dissent evident during the period of the Vietnam War.⁷

The first chapter concerns international, national and state perspectives on concepts of identity and memory and reviews the historiography of Anzac Day and Armistice Day as a cultural observance. In 1989, when discussing methodology in 'Memory and American History', David Thelen argued that any writing on memory remained incomplete if it concerned only group and cultural identity because memory is 'profoundly intertwined with the basic identities of individuals, groups, and cultures'.⁸ For this reason I contend that Australian identity grows out of the basic intertwining of individual, group and cultural identity. Hence, one may discern Australian identity in the whole spectrum of historical experience from the private and personal, to the collective, public and political memory of war dead. I also believe it is important to realise, and I quote from Joyce McMillan, political columnist, member of the Consultative Steering Group on procedures for the new Scottish Parliament, and in 1999, author of 'Remind me who I am again', that 'all national identities are, in the positive sense, "forged" or constructed at some stage in history'.⁹ Journalists first constructed Australian consciousness or identity upon the base of military operations, in 1915, with descriptions of the Gallipoli landing.

⁷ National Library of Australia, Papers of Ken Inglis, (MS 389).

⁸ David Thelen, 'Memory and American History', in *Journal of American History*, Vol 75, No 4, March 1989, p. 1117.

⁹ Joyce McMillan, 'Remind me who I am again ... (comments on dual national identity in the UK)', in *New Statesman*, (1996), July 5, 1999, v128 i4443, p. 30 (3), Info Trac Web, Electronic Collection A55413496, p. 3 of 5.

Historians tested the concept of Australian national identity in the forge of historical debate. Politicians nurtured the concept of the ‘Anzacs’ as material evidence of Australian consciousness in the promotion of national identity. My thesis thus contributes to the field of the study of social and cultural history and adds to the work of Ken Inglis and other historians on soldiers’ memorials and the Anzac Tradition in drawing the various aspects of Australian commemoration of war dead together in a South Australian case study of Anzac culture.¹⁰

Chapter 2, ‘Honoring the Debt’, details the emergence of South Australian Anzac culture from patriotic button days, particularly those of Violet, Wattle and Anzac Day. My research found that in Adelaide the first ‘Anzac Day’ took place on Wednesday 13 October 1915. Further research into community initiatives that organised the commemoration of war dead, and provided a form of grief management, through the observance of Wattle, Violet, Anzac and Armistice or Poppy Day, revealed that women’s initiatives played a greater part in the beginnings of Anzac Day during the First World War than that acknowledged in literature concerning Anzac tradition.¹¹ Adelaide City Archives contain evidence that in Adelaide, the Wattle Day League lost favour with the City Council in the 1930s. The Mortlock Library and League annual reports and minutes recorded the observance of Violet Day memorial services until the 1970s. Anzac Day and Poppy Day appeals continued under the auspices of the League after the Second World

¹⁰ Ken Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places, War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1998, Reprinted 1999); John Lack, (ed), *Anzac Remembered, Selected Writings by K.S. Inglis*, (Melbourne: History Department, University of Melbourne, 1998).

¹¹ The Wattle Day League dedicated a memorial obelisk for Australasian soldiers of the Dardanelles at Wattle Grove in the Adelaide park lands on 7 September 1915, see Anzac Day Commemoration April 25th 1916 Mortlock Library Z Pamphlet Anzac Souvenir 940.425 A637 p. 28; Violet Day arrangements, to honour the memory of the fallen brave are set out in *RSA Magazine*, May 1917, Vol II, No 5, p. 11.

War, although both appeals lost a degree of community favour during the Vietnam War.

Departing from the labels ‘significant sites’ used by the Department of Veterans Affairs, and ‘sacred places’, the title used by Ken Inglis for his work on ‘War Memorials in the Australian Landscape’, my third chapter, ‘Sacred Ground’, details the erection of memorials in Adelaide used each Anzac Day during Anzac mourning rituals. It considers commemorative practices and grief management in a broad sense, with particular focus on gender and religion in response to collective mourning. It deals with the significance of Anzac Day in remembrance of the ‘Army of the Dead’, together with the religious and spiritual significance of sacred or hallowed ground in relation to battlefields and war graves.¹² My research in the Adelaide City Archives and Mortlock library, revealed that in South Australia women favoured a symbolic mourning site designed to mirror European war cemeteries. Adelaide women corresponded with the Imperial War Graves Commission, the British architects Mr Herbert Baker, Sir Reginald Blomfield and Sir Edwin Lutyens and, in 1920, successfully achieved the architects’ co-operation in plans for a ‘Women’s Memorial to the Men who fell in the War’.

The fourth chapter, ‘The One Day’ provides an insight through League Sub-Branch Conference and State Council minutes, together with the South Australian *Holidays Act Amendment Act*, into League and parliamentary debates surrounding the institutionalisation of Anzac Day in South Australia, debates that resulted in the Day’s observance as a public holiday. *The Advertiser* and League minutes reveal that having achieved public holiday status for Anzac Day, the afternoon of Anzac Day became the focus of sporting activities, originally military sports.

¹² Reference to ‘Army of the Dead’, in *Diggers’ Gazette* Vol II, No 12, 7 May 1921, p. 42.

Subsequently, the League allowed Anzac Day afternoons to develop into a sustained use of charity sporting fixtures. The League, through *The Advertiser*, promoted charity race meetings, league football and trotting events in support of the Anzac Day appeal, illustrating that the League's objective when organising these events concerned fund raising for the ex-service community.

League reports, minutes, and magazines available between 1915 and the 1980s exhibited the strength, decline and renewal of RSL 'Diggerhood' as demonstrated in chapter five, 'Diggers and Slackers'. The title comes from the League's description of parliamentary candidates for State elections. After the Great War, politicians seeking votes 'wooded' the ex-service community. The League endorsed Digger candidates and lobbied on behalf of ex-servicemen and women for payment of the debt of honour. Early RSL magazines described ex-service personnel as 'British', subjects of the British Empire, basing their identity as 'Australians' on the geography of enlistment. Study of public newspaper reports detailing community participation in commemorative services during the same period, in the main, showed concurrence with the official RSL point of view. As war veterans, RSL and League executives felt that their experience, gained in service of the nation in time of war, allowed participation in any national debate concerning the freedom and security of Australia, but I confined my research to League administrative decisions reflecting aspects of Australian identity in relationship to Anzac Day and the League's demonstrated sense of patriotism.

'Widening the Ranks', chapter 6, highlights the increasing participation of veterans from diverse groups and other nationalities who applied for and gained permission from the League, to join the ranks of ex-servicemen and women marching in Adelaide on Anzac Day, as part of an increasingly multicultural

Australia. League minutes provide evidence showing that as Allied veterans migrated to Australia, they joined the ranks taking part in the Anzac Day procession or 'Church Parade'. My thesis illustrates recurring problems related to the Anzac march organization concerning route of march, provision of music, Legatee and other children's participation within the ranks of marchers and the increasing age and disability of veterans. The League has made extraordinary efforts to maintain the commemorative significance of the concluding civic service held each year at the Cross of Sacrifice. To my knowledge, no other historian has used South Australian League minutes to explore these aspects of the annual Anzac Day procession and civic memorial service.

While contributing to research concerning Anzac Day, I also contribute to research with regard to international commemoration of war dead in chapter 7, 'Harefield and the Remembrance Connection'. Harefield is but one site manifesting an example of both Anzac and Armistice/Remembrance culture, in the United Kingdom. My research discovered a link between an Australian Military Cemetery and a British primary school, which concerned a 'Union Jack', placed on the coffins of Australian war dead, and Adelaide High School. Research conducted at the National Archives of Australia found that after the Second World War, the Australian Government superseded King George VI's instructions regarding Remembrance Sunday by deciding to commemorate war dead on 11 November, Remembrance Day. Adelaide City Archives reveal that various multicultural groups gained permission from the council to conduct their own cultural remembrance services for war dead at the State National War Memorial (hereinafter State Memorial).

The National Archives of Australia also provided evidence that politically, successive prime ministers have used Anzac Day and Remembrance Day, and the views of historians, to promote their own versions of Australian identity in a seesaw, which alternates between Europe and Asia dependant upon prime ministerial conceptions of Australian consciousness. ‘God Save Australia’, chapter 8, illustrates that with the advent of multiculturalism and decline in the number of Christians active as practising church members, together with attitudinal changes within Roman Catholicism towards other faiths since Vatican II, the denominational divisions, which in the past were a barrier to united Christian participation in Anzac Day services, have been partially overcome. Simon Berry of the Australian Funeral Directors Association, provided documents, a video and slide transparencies that allowed insight into the logistics of recovering the body of the Unknown Australian Soldier from Adelaide Cemetery in France. After the Gallipoli Landing, various Judaeo-Christian denominations in Australia organised religious services in memory of war dead, particularly on Anzac Day. Increasingly, Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services have become inclusive civic services that endeavour to provide a greater sense of Australian consciousness and thus embrace the entire Australian Community.

‘Australian Britons’, chapter 9, looks at the memory of individual Australians evident in articles written by veterans, together with autobiographies and biographies of Australian ex-servicemen and women, using this literary genre to illustrate individuals’ concepts of identity in relationship to their war service within the British Empire. Cognizant with using South Australia as a case study capable of representing Australia nationally, predominantly the individual memories used in my thesis were gleaned from South Australian source materials that provided the

basis of primary and comparable secondary sources.¹³ I studied the recorded experiences of individuals living at the time of World War One for instances of individual conceptions of identity that provided insight into the interchangeability of Australian Britons and British Australian Anglo-Celtic identity in terms of private and personal perceptions of national consciousness. I also found that ex-prisoners of war incarcerated during World War Two (hereinafter WWII), referred to Anzac Day and Armistice Day as part of their personal experience of war during their captivity, thus exhibiting an awareness of their own and others' national identity.

Chapter 10, 'Balancing the Ledger', looks at the fate of some memorials and 'honor rolls' since the influx of diverse multicultural groups of immigrants and some impacts of the Government initiated programmes, 'Australia Remembers' and 'Their Service Our Heritage'. The League provided access to a memorial file recording details concerning the fate of some South Australian soldiers' memorials and League efforts to reinstate, or relocate them. I utilize the results of a 1967 survey of 'war' memorials conducted by the League, which was supplied by the Department for Environment and Heritage, to compare loss, recycling, restoration and retention of memorials in a rural area of South Australia, with the same processes in Greater Port Adelaide. The Port Adelaide Local History Library, Uniting Church Historical Society and Uniting Church, Alberton provided access to archived documents concerning suburban memorials. The field studies undertaken as research for this chapter indicate a national loss of monumental and 'living memorials' caused by policies of urban infill and economic rationalism.

¹³ For example, Edwin N Broomhead, *Barbed Wire in the Sunset*, (Melbourne: The Book Depot, 1944); Ralph Churches, *A Hundred Miles as the Crow Flies*, (Adelaide: R F Churches, 1996); Don McLaren, *Mates in Hell*, (Adelaide: Seaview Press, 1998).

Chapter 11, 'The Pilgrimage Trail', deals with aspects of closure and remembrance in the form of a civil religion. South Australian RSL delegations have taken part in RSL commemorative jubilee and anniversary pilgrimages interstate and overseas, commemorative pilgrimages organised by the RSL and supported by the Federal Government. Decisions made in Canberra by the Department of Veterans' Affairs, the Australian War Memorial and RSL National Headquarters had an impact upon the commemoration of war dead in South Australia. The Australian War Memorial and its surrounds, together with Anzac Parade, provide a field in itself to observe and record changing commemorative practices in relation to memorials in Anzac Parade that represent all Australians. Time and space preclude a further chapter in relation to the symbolism of Canberra's ex-servicemen's and women's memorials. Nevertheless, history concerning South Australian commemoration of war dead cannot be divorced from its representation within the Australian Capital Territory. For this reason documents relating to pilgrimage held in Canberra at the National Archives of Australia, the Australian War Memorial, the National Library, and Department of Veterans Affairs media releases via the Internet, provided the main source of research for 'The Pilgrimage Trail'.

My thesis deals with actual changes in commemorative practices explaining why the significance of Anzac Day to the Australian nation is greater than in other nations that took part in the Gallipoli landings. In the first instance, the focus is on South Australian records concerning commemorative practices, forming a case study for an explanation of structures in Australian society nationally identified with both Australian identity and the commemoration of war dead. My research shows Anzac culture to be a dimension of Anglo-Celtic core culture arising from the service of Australian families to the Australian nation in times of war. Anzac

culture embraces Australians of Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic and New Ethnic descent, therefore as a metaphorical 'conglomerate', it represents the nation with the same validity as any other culture within a pluralistic society. It is time to move beyond the customary debates regarding Anzac myth and legend, to look at Anzac culture itself. Anzac culture does exist; it is demonstrably obvious on at least two days, in Australia, and overseas, on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. It has been so for over eighty-five years. Anzac Day developed in Australia because that was the day Australians saw as the most appropriate to remember their war dead and to raise money for the support of those maimed by war. Britain, France and other Western cultures have chosen Remembrance Sunday or Remembrance Day for the same purpose. Anzac Day is the anniversary of the day of the first official Australian war casualties. Anzac Day is a binary of mourning and celebration. However, Anzac Day is not a triumphal anniversary of victory, nor is it a glorification of war. Anzac Day is an acknowledgement that Australians died overseas while serving the nation in time of war, and that they remain there in both known and unknown burial sites. Australia's observance of Anzac Day also encompasses aspects of thanksgiving in the homecoming to Australia of wounded veterans and those who survived the horror, not only Gallipoli, but also the subsequent battles in Europe during the First World War and later battles in the Pacific and Asia during the Second World War, Korea, Vietnam and Peace Keeping deployment. Anzac Day also became a rejoicing recognition of regained freedom for those who returned to Australia after surviving imprisonment because of war.

Successive Federal Labor and Liberal Governments have utilized and promoted a sense of Australian national identity linked to commemoration of twentieth century war dead, particularly on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day.

Even so, historians have not yet attempted to write the history of Anzac Day as a commemorative dimension of Australian national identity. Most Australians assume they know the connotations surrounding Anzac Day and will passionately defend their own feelings concerning the 'Day', and the different meanings it has for all of them, without any point of reference to academic historical research. This thesis does not attempt to justify any particular stance on the myth or legend of A.N.Z.A.C.; rather, it delineates the changes that have taken place in the way in which South Australians observe Anzac Day as an Australian public holiday in an important case study of local practices that informs national research. The manner in which each Australian state observes the Anzac Day public holiday is controlled by a series of State Acts, therefore each State's Anzac Day observation is uniquely pressured by the limitations of their own particular Act, a fact which also impacts upon the way in which each state parochially views its own celebrations of Anzac Day. Yet, as a federation of states, all the States have representation in the observances carried out within Canberra at the Australian War Memorial and its precincts. Australians need to look beyond the boundaries of the Australian Federation to understand the implications of the commemorative services performed around the nation and overseas as part of Anzac culture. In the main, other nations observe what was Armistice Day, now known as Remembrance Sunday or Remembrance Day, as a day on which to remember their own war dead and as a celebration of the end of World War I. Australians made their own decision to honour their war dead and injured on Anzac Day before the decision made in other countries to observe Armistice Day for the same purpose. Although celebrated in the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and other sites around the world, Anzac Day has been celebrated for a longer period of time than Armistice Day because it is

the day Australians saw as appropriate to remember war dead. This thesis argues that, unlike some other public holidays in Australia, Anzac Day is a public holiday of Australia's making.

Chapter 1.
ANZAC DAY AND ARMISTICE DAY
International, national and local perspectives on
Identity and Memory as the commemoration of war dead.

As illustrated in the introduction, primary sources concerned with the emergence, institutionalisation, conduct of, and problems associated with, Anzac Day exist in Australian archives. In this literature review, I aim to highlight some of the gaps in Australian historiography concerning Anzac culture that I have attempted to fill. Australian and British research has already dealt with the establishment of Anzac Day and Armistice Day but lacunae occur in an understanding of changes since the formation of those observances. Existing literature concerned with Anzac Day, Armistice Day and Australian commemorative rituals does not cover the changes in Anzac Day and Remembrance Day observances to the same extent as my thesis. In 1998, McGregor Tan Research of Frewville, South Australia, consultants in social research, carried out commemorative program research for the Department of Veterans' Affairs in relation to the 'Their Service Our Heritage' (hereinafter TS-OH), program that followed an earlier commemorative program 'Australia Remembers'. McGregor Tan's research developed methodologically through four stages: 'situation analysis', 'understanding the issues', 'establishing benchmarks' and 'tracking success'.¹ Conducted throughout Australia, the research consisted of samples taken in capital cities, major regional centres and rural locations namely Sydney, Adelaide,

¹ Ian McGregor, Frances Eltridge, and Karen McGregor, Principal Consultants, *Commemorative Program Research*, Project No 4433, prepared for Ms Kerry Blackburn and Ms Lyn Witheridge, Commemoration Branch, Department of Veterans' Affairs, 26 May 1998, (Adelaide: McGregor Tan Research, 1998), p. 1.

Canberra, Townsville and Warrnambool.² McGregor Tan reported the findings of the preliminary assessment in relation to traditional information sources as follows:

It is rare for us to encounter such a dearth of relevant information as we have in this part of the study. While much has been written about war and its effects on the Australian culture, there is little detail or research available through the traditional sources about the ways in which Australians publicly commemorate these events other than through the written or spoken word. These traditional sources include books, academic journals, internal documentation and/or research, research conducted by others, etc., usually accessed via state and university libraries, the client and other organizations.³

In assessing Australia's 1990s commemoration projects, McGregor Tan research specifically reported on attitudes to Australian military history and commemoration. Objectively, the commemorative research conducted on behalf of the Department of Veterans' Affairs was inconsistent because 'TS-OH' commemorated 'the service and sacrifice of veterans of all wars and conflicts in which Australia has been involved since Federation.'⁴ In a further 1998 publication, *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, Alistair Thomson's contribution concerns 'Anzac Day' about which he writes, '[g]iven the significance of Anzac Day, it is surprising that it does not have its own published history.'⁵ Accordingly, this thesis deals with the actual commemoration of war dead and war service in Australia in the form of Anzac culture, which includes Anzac Day and Armistice Day, now Remembrance Day, not with the Anzac 'myth' or 'legend'.

Theoretical concepts of identity and memory in conjunction with war have been the subject of monographs, articles and conference papers both internationally and nationally; therefore, I divide this literature review into sections dealing with

² Ian McGregor, Frances Eltridge, Vincent Burke and Patrick Shanahan, *Commemorative Program, Understanding the Issues*, 1998, pp. 2-3.

³ McGregor et al, *Commemorative Program, Situation Analysis, Principal Findings*, p. 5.

⁴ McGregor, Eltridge, McGregor, *Commemorative Program, Understanding the Issues, Preliminary Assessment*, p. 6; McGregor et al, *Commemorative Program, Situation Analysis, Introduction*, p. 1.

⁵ Davison, Hirst, Macintyre (eds), *Oxford Companion to Australian History*, (1998), Anzac Day, p. 28.

international, national and local perspectives. Similarly, I discuss international, national and local literature concerning war memorials, pilgrimage and spirituality individually, because some thesis chapters consider these particular elements of Anzac Day, as components of Anzac culture. Internationally, historians have recorded the beginnings of Armistice Day as a commemorative event. Many Australian historians and writers use Anzac and Anzac Day interchangeably as an allusion, analogy, archetype, metaphor, motif, simile or symbol, to illustrate a point in other arguments, but do not actually write about Anzac Day itself as a cultural event. Australian historians and writers assume A.N.Z.A.C., originally a military event, now referred to colloquially as Anzac, to be a representation that all Australians know and understand. Although historians allude to Anzac and couple Anzac to theoretical debates concerned with memory and identity, few have recorded the fundamentals of Anzac Day as a commemorative ritual.

Upon dissecting the international identity/memory/history debate one realises that a theoretical definition of the concept of memory is elusive. Since memory is an abstract, historians tend to couple memory with history, war, culture or identity, attempting to provide a construct from which they can extract, or manifest, an example of memory. Paul Fussell in *The Great War and Modern Memory*, published in 1975, pointed out the relationship between personal memories of war and history. Fussell's chapter on 'Persistence and Memory' records how British ex-serviceman, Vernon Scannell, hinted at the relationship between personal histories and war during an address delivered on 2 June 1970 to The Thomas Hardy Society on the subject of Hardy's poetry. During the address, which took place in recognition of the anniversaries of Hardy's birthday and the Normandy invasion, Scannell, while talking about the 1944 channel offensive, made

the point that he knew his memories of war had reduced to ‘a few repeated incoherent images.’ Scannell realised ‘I do not remember it so clearly after all. History remembers it, and I remember it as history’.⁶ Fussell used Scannell’s address as an example, illustrating that individuals who serve a nation in times of war ultimately forget intimate details of personal exploits, but remember the historically recorded experience of war.

During the 1990s, overseas historians also coupled collective memory of war and soldiers’ experiences of war to national identity. George Mosse, in *Fallen Soldiers*, published in 1990, included a chapter on the ‘Cult of the Fallen Soldier’. Although Mosse’s work in the main concerned soldiers from European nations, he briefly mentioned Australian war dead.⁷ In 1992, Antoine Prost, when writing of French ex-servicemen, claimed:

The veteran is not a soldier praising war or warlike qualities, he is a man who refuses to eradicate from his life, as if it had never existed, an experience that was unsought, that was significant to him, and of which he generally has no cause to be ashamed.⁸

The ‘Cult of the Fallen Soldier’ operates in Australia, especially when ex-servicemen become the focus of commemorative programmes authorised by the Department of Veterans’ Affairs. Use of the term ‘the Anzacs’, provides a metaphorical perception of an archetypical serviceman as an example of Australian consciousness.

Historical studies concerning Western culture also reveal a link between memory of war, politics, spirituality and national identity. Dealing with both

⁶ Stevens Cox, J & G, (eds) *The Thomas Hardy Year Book*, (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1970) inside front cover; Scannell in Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, (New York, Oxford University, 1975), p. 334-335.

⁷ George L Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), particularly Chapter 5, ‘The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers,’ pp. 70-106.

⁸ Antoine Prost, translated by Helen McPhail, *In the Wake of War ‘Les Anciens Combattants’ and French Society*, (Oxford: Berg, 1992), p. 15.

politics and identity, in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (1994)

John Gillis, as editor, included in his introduction:

Modern memory was born not just from the sense of a break with the past, but from an intense awareness of the conflicting representations of the past and the effort of each group to make its version the basis of national identity.⁹

My research suggests that, politically, Anzac culture is in resurgence due to intense awareness of conflicting representations of the past. Australian Governments use old core Anglo-Celtic traditions in the form of Anzac culture in an effort to make that version of history a basis of national identity. This thesis also examines material history relating to the commemoration of war dead examining aspects of religious and civic spirituality expressed at Australian sites of memory and mourning. A study of collective remembrance by Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning* (1995) examined the mythologies of war through culture exhibited in films, popular religion, art and literature as they related to the Great War. Likewise, my thesis outlines the results of my research into the ‘common history of mourning, which is inextricably linked with the common history of war’ in South Australian media publications, soldiers’ memorials and commemorative days.¹⁰ Ronald Koven, examining ‘national memory’ in a 1995 article, wrote that Pierre Nora concludes ‘that memory is a synonym for national identity’, adding Nora was concerned not with individual memory, but with the inculcation of memory in each generation that was ‘cultivated for later generations through an institutionalised

⁹ John Gillis, (ed), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994), p. 8.

¹⁰ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 11.

approach to folk memory.’¹¹ We will see that earlier generations of Australians did cultivate and institutionalise the memory of Anzac for later generations.

Kerwin Klein, in 2000, argued that ‘memory has become the leading term in our new cultural history’, adding ‘current historiography pits memory against history’.¹² In contrast, I use examples of memory exhibited within a culture linked to historical events to illustrate Australian identity. The commemoration of war dead reinforces concepts of older forms of national identity through modern memory. Jon Lawrence, looking at British history, perceived general agreement that local forms of identity survived the rise of ‘Britishness’, remaining integral to competing ideas of what ‘Britishness’ meant, in which case localised forms of an older ‘Australianness’ can still remain integral to a current form of Australian identity.¹³ To Jakob Vogel, in his article, ‘The Search for the Nation’, the ‘imagined community’

has become the central idea of this broad branch of research, whose chief areas of interest are the various representations of national identity and the emotional identifications and historical memory of the nation.¹⁴

Older concepts of the ‘Anzacs’ as an archetypal Australian identity still exist as a dimension of modern Australian identity.

In 2001, Peter Fritzsche argued that because scholars did not understand how to tie individuals to groups, ‘memories are a problem’.¹⁵ One solution to my problem concerning individual memories was the use of autobiographies and biographies concerning ex-service personnel in conjunction with institutional

¹¹ Ronald Koven, ‘National memory: the duty to remember, the need to forget’, in *Society*, Sep-Oct 1995 v 32 n6 p52(7), Info Trac Web, Electronic Collection: A17370521, p. 3 of 11.

¹² Kerwin Lee Klein, ‘On the emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse’, in *Representations*, Winter 2000, p. 127, Info Trac Web, Electronic Collection: A6088808014, p. 2 of 23.

¹³ Jon Lawrence, ‘The Politics of Place and the Politics of Nation’, *20 Century British History*, Vol II, No 1, 2000, p. 83.

¹⁴ Jakob Vogel, ‘Review Article The Search for the Nation’, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 35, no 3, Jul 2000, p. 502.

¹⁵ Peter Fritzsche, ‘The Case of Modern Memory’, in *The Journal of Modern History*, March 2001, v73 il p87, Info Trac Web, Electronic Collection A73392122, p. 4 of 31.

documents regarding patriotic days as research tools. Bearing in mind the theories espoused by the above academics in relation to problems of memory and identity, my thesis draws all the threads of the international identity/memory/history debate together, presenting the results of my research into tangible manifestations of memory concerned with Anzac culture exhibited in the rites and rituals of patriotic days, as a dimension of Australian identity.

Armistice Day, celebrated internationally, correlates with Australia's Anzac Day. British historians have studied aspects of Armistice Day but they have not connected Armistice Day to British national identity. In Britain, the State links patriotism and religion in the observance of patriotic days through the rituals of the Anglican Church. Writing in *Theology*, in 1976, Owen Chadwick used the original title of Armistice Day to discuss the values of justice and liberty together with the spiritualism inherent in those values.¹⁶ In 1992, Geoffrey Moorhouse published the details of cultural rituals held in Bury on 'Gallipoli Sunday' each year, rituals marking the 'Lancashire Landing' at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915.¹⁷ Bury also commemorated Armistice Day and Remembrance Sunday, but Moorhouse defined 'Gallipoli Sunday' as more indicative of aspects of local identity than the observance of Armistice Day. Written in 1994, *The Silence of Memory* details Adrian Gregory's research into the two minutes silence observed in Britain from 1919 until 1946 when the Armistice Day observance altered from 11 November to Remembrance Sunday.¹⁸ Although traditional ceremonial rituals in Britain observe both Anzac Day and Armistice Day, British subjects link neither day to a complete sense of 'Britishness', the WWII evacuation of Dunkirk being more readily

¹⁶ Owen Chadwick, 'Armistice Day', in *Theology*, Vol 79, 1976, p. 329.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Hell's foundations: A Social History of the Town of Bury in the Aftermath of the Gallipoli Campaign*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), pp. 147-148.

¹⁸ Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946*, (Oxford: Berg, 1994), pp.220-221.

correlated to the modern spirit of British national identity, in terms of the Dunkirk spirit and ‘myths’ of Dunkirk.¹⁹

Published research by overseas historians concerning war memorials emphasizes the global nature of memorials concerned with remembrance of war dead. James Mayo wrote *War Memorials as Political Landscape* in 1988, stating:

War Memorials in the landscape are part of a nation’s political history. How the past is commemorated through a country’s war memorials mirrors what people want to remember, and lack of attention often reflects what they wish to forget.²⁰

In *War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present* (1991), Alan Borg mentioned ‘the Cross of Sacrifice, designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield, which has a cruciform sword applied to the face of the cross’, as ‘the most familiar of all memorial symbols’ while Bob Bushaway contributed to *Myths of the English* (1993) with a chapter on memorials, entitled ‘Name upon Name’.²¹ Furthermore, in 1995 Catherine Moriarty’s thesis ‘Narrative and the absent body’, found building local memorials acted as a focus for grief that compensated for absent war dead.²² In 1997, in France, Antoine Prost wrote that before the Armistice the cult of the dead took place in cemeteries before the building of monuments and asked the question: ‘Could a cult born when it was still possible that the war might end in defeat have been a cult of victory?’²³ The only possible answer to Prost’s question is ‘no’. In 1998, Annette Becker researched religion and the First World War in relation to

¹⁹ Peter Hitchens, *The Abolition of Britain*, (London: Quartet Books, 2000), p. 319; BBC News, Europe, Dunkirk Spirit gets lost in translation, Friday 2 June, 2000, <<http://news1.this.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid%5F774000/774678.stm>>

²⁰ James M Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond*, (New York: Praeger, 1988), p. 13.

²¹ Alan Borg, *War Memorials From Antiquity to the Present*, (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. 9; Bob Bushaway, Chapter 6, ‘Name upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance’, in Roy Porter, (ed), *Myths of the English*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1993), paperback edition.

²² Catherine Moriarty, ‘Narrative and the absent body: mechanisms of meaning in First World War Memorials’, Doctor of Philosophy, Sussex University, Thesis no DX187161, 1995, pp. 47-48.

²³ Lawrence D. Kritzman, under direction Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* Volume II: Traditions, Antoine Prost, Chapter IX “Monuments to the Dead,” p. 309.

Catholic France, and argued there was an indissoluble link between faith and war because they ‘were both concerned with death’, a link made unconsciously by the majority and consciously by practising observers and chaplains. Becker wrote that:

With the organization of cemeteries, the construction of war memorials and the creation of new stained glass windows for the churches, the entire land of France was becoming this place of mystical memory.²⁴

Alex King, in his 1998 book, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, claimed that the location of memorials did not often reproduce the symbolic sites of mourning characteristic during peace.²⁵ As the bodies of British war dead remained overseas, locating a memorial within a community, whether that community was situated in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada or any other country belonging to the British Empire, was a substitute for burial sites in local cemeteries during times of peace. As we have seen, internationally, historians acknowledge memorials in local communities as monuments for absent war dead, rather than monuments erected to memorialize war.

The material history evident in memorials continues to interest historians: J. Bartlett and K. M. Ellis seeing them, in 1999, as a way that the dead ‘could come home’, while in *The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (2000), Michael Howard, claimed that they are ‘monuments of mourning, not of triumph’.²⁶ Australian historian Ken Inglis in a book review, credited a group of scholars from ‘around and beyond Europe’, who met under the supervision of a pioneer of the subject, Antoine Prost, and Maurice Agulhon, ‘iconographer of nationality’, with

²⁴ Annette Becker, *War and Faith The Religious Imagination in France, 1914-1930*, (Oxford, Berg, English edition first published in 1998), p. 43; p. 113.

²⁵ Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998), p. 218.

²⁶ J Bartlett and K M Ellis, ‘Remembering the Dead in Northop’, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 34, (2), 1999, p. 231; Jay Winter, Geoffrey Parker and Mary R Haback, (eds), *The Great War and the Twentieth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University, 2000), Chapter 1, Sir Michael Howard, ‘The First World War Reconsidered’, p. 16.

discovering that '*monument aux morts* does not have quite the same meaning as war memorial'.²⁷ Following Inglis and extrapolating South Australian evidence into the national arena, I maintain that the term 'soldiers' memorials' does not have quite the same meaning as 'war memorial'. The majority of memorials in South Australia are memorials to war dead and service personnel. Other historians may criticize the term 'soldiers' memorial' because it is gender specific, and, in some cases, the memorials list the names of both ex-servicemen and women. (Currently both men and women serve as Australian soldiers.) In South Australia, some communities characterized the memorials 'Soldiers Memorial' or 'Fallen Soldiers Monument'.²⁸ Although the community does not view those named on South Australian memorials as 'saviours of their own land' in the same sense as the French *monuments aux morts*, indisputably the memorials are in remembrance of named soldiers, they are not memorials to any particular war as such.

Internationally, literature relating to the theme of closure and remembrance in terms of pilgrimage to World War I battlefields dates from 1919, with the production of Michelin Guides, illustrated history and guides of battlefields published in memory of Michelin Workmen and Employees who died for France.²⁹ In 1981, David Cannadine explored the theme of 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain' noting that in 1931, pilgrimages by widows and parents to war graves numbered 140,000 a year. Eight years later, they numbered

²⁷ K S Inglis, 'Memorials of the Great War in Britain: the Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance', in *The Journal of Modern History*, V 72 i3 p792, September 2000, Info Trac Web, Electronic Collection A68145335, p. 1 of 3.

²⁸ J Pavils holds photographs of memorials labelled 'Soldiers Memorial' that are situated at Wallaroo, Parkside, Arthurton, Ardrossan, Paskeville and Stockport. Kapunda has a 'Fallen Soldiers Monument'.

²⁹ As an example, Michelin & Cie, *Ypres and the Battles of Ypres: An illustrated history and guide*, (France: Clermont-Ferrand, 1919).

160,000.³⁰ Richard Barber, in 1991, described pilgrimages as a journey to a distant sacred goal, a journey outwards to new, dangerous, strange places, and inwards, to spiritual improvement, either through braving physical dangers or through increased self-knowledge.³¹ John Gillis, in 1994, as editor of *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, included a chapter concerned with pilgrimage to Europe by the mothers and widows of fallen American soldiers who, unlike Australians, had a choice concerning the repatriation of bodies from battlefields.³² David Lloyd, following Australian John Laffin mentioned below, labelled pilgrimage and Great War commemoration in Britain, Australia and Canada as 'Battlefield Tourism' in 1998.³³ In 1998, Canadian Jennifer de Freitas studied the ambivalence between pilgrimage and tourism arguing 'that heritage tourism is a form of secular pilgrimage', admitting she left unexplored the issue of nostalgia and national identity. De Freitas critically discussed Victor Turner's contribution to the field of pilgrimage studies, stripping away 'the longstanding relationship between pilgrimage and religion ... redrawing pilgrimage as a multileveled social process.'³⁴ Following de Freitas, I redraw Australian pilgrimage to significant sites associated with overseas battlefields as a multileveled social process, part of an Australian civil religion linked to Australian national identity and commemoration of war dead.

Theoretical concepts of national identity related to memory of war and 'Anzac' proliferate in Australian history without necessarily making any distinction

³⁰ Joachim Whaley, (ed), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981), Chapter VIII, David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', pp. 187-242, p. 231.

³¹ Richard Barber, *Pilgrimages*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), p. 1.

³² John R Gillis, *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994), G. Kurt Piehler, Chapter IX, 'The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War', pp 168-185, p. 168.

³³ David W Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

³⁴ Jennifer de Freitas, 'Heritage Tourism as Secular Pilgrimage', a Thesis in the Department of Communication Studies, Degree of Master of Arts, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, May 1998, pp. 92-95, p. iii.

between Anzac as a military exercise and Anzac Day as a cultural event. Alistair Thomson, when writing in his doctoral thesis for the University of Sussex, 'The Great War and Australian Memory' (1990), divided historians who have written on Anzac into two groups. One group, adopting C.E.W. Bean's accounts of national characteristics uncritically, and the second group, active since the Vietnam War and the 1980s, who endeavoured to 'correct' what they saw as Bean's preconceptions by re-introducing the 'darker side' of Anzac characteristics they felt Bean neglected. Among the second group of historians seeking to correct Bean's work Thomson named Tony Gough, Lloyd Robson, P. Stanley, D. A. Kent, Kevin Fewster and Adrian Howe. Thomson included Patsy Adam-Smith, Peter Firkins, W. F. Mandle, S. Welborn and Bill Gammage among historians and journalists more favourably disposed towards Bean's account.³⁵ Thomson alludes to Anzac and categorizes historians by their response to Bean's work, but such a classification does not provide insight into the history of Anzac Day as an Australian cultural event.

Debate related to Bean's work is quite different from the history of Anzac Day as grief management and community fund raising for disadvantaged ex-servicemen and women. Alistair Thomson uses the Anzac legend as a battleground in itself, to dispute the egalitarian nature of Australian society and highlight departures from old-core Anglo-Celtic culture. Historians seeking to reconstruct Bean's version of national character incorporate minority groups in an endeavour to be more inclusive and record the diversity of modern Australians, but they are not writing about Anzac Day as a cultural event. Significantly, Thomson's work, which includes *Anzac Memories* (1994), and 'Memory as a Battlefield' published in the *Oral History Review* (1995), recognises one's attitude to Anzac as a military

³⁵ Alistair Thomson, 'The Great War and Australian Memory: A study of Myth, Remembering and Oral History (World War I, Anzac)', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1990, p. 48.

operation and national identity is coloured by the other organizations one belongs to within the Australian community. Thomson also recognises oral responses are themselves influenced by the legend as people internalise the legend and it becomes part of their own memories.³⁶ Thomson and Fussell both recognise ex-service personnel internalise recorded history within individual memory. Australian historians judge Anzac Day through personal perceptions, but very few have researched the actual beginnings of Anzac Day as a cultural event.

Australians have received different messages relating to their sense of national identity because during the process of becoming a sovereign nation they have received varying representations of their history that present diverse theoretical positions relating to nationality, identity and race. 'Gallipoli, Kokoda and the making of national identity', a 1997 paper by Hank Nelson, claimed that Prime Minister Paul Keating shifted attention to the Second World War with 'Australia Remembers 1945-1995'. Nelson depicted Anzac Day 1995 as 'a popular, stately folk festival', writing:

The distinctions between national history and collective biography, between national history and collective memory, is all the more significant because of the emphasis that Australians now place on multiculturalism.³⁷

The same year Rachael Buchanan and Paul James criticised the mythology of the Australian soldier character claiming Anzac Day focused on pride, mourning and emotionalism. Buchanan and James presented the shared national identity and patriotism founded on this ideological focus as failing to address adequately the

³⁶ Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, (Melbourne: Oxford University, 1994); 'Memory as a Battlefield: Personal and Political Investments in the National Military Past', in *Oral History Review*, 22/2 (Winter, 1995), pp. 55-73.

³⁷ Hank Nelson, 'Gallipoli, Kokoda and the making of national identity, (Fatal Shores)', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, n 53, p157 (11), June 1997, Info Trac Web, Electronic Collection A20171122, p. 6 of 15; p. 11 of 15.

relationship between the mythology of the Australian soldier and multiculturalism.³⁸

But, as we will see, Anzac culture is just one culture within an Australian multicultural society, which as a dimension of Australian Britons/ British Australian culture, or Anglo-Celtic culture, can either exist alongside, or include, Indigenous Australian culture, New Ethnic Australian culture, or any other Australian culture.

It is difficult to refer to Australian historiography in relation to Anzac Day as a commemorative cultural event because, as I argued above, Anzac Day is distinct from both military history and the debates surrounding the ‘myth’ or ‘legend’ of Anzac. Australian historians debate Anzac in terms of myth or legend in relation to the journalism of Ellis Ashmead Bartlett and C. E. W. Bean as war correspondents, *The Anzac Book* compiled by Bean from the writings of men of the AIF while on Gallipoli, and Bean’s work as editor of Australia’s official history of the Great War.³⁹ Australian historians have written of national identity in an allegorical time line dating from the Australian bushman. During 1965, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the Gallipoli landing, Ken Inglis, writing on ‘The Anzac Tradition’, accredited Russel Ward with tentatively suggesting the bush legend was continuous with the Anzac tradition, while Geoffrey Serle linked ‘Digger’ tradition and Australian nationalism with the assumption of most Australians that Australia achieved nationhood between 1914 and 1918.⁴⁰ In 1974, Bill Gammage, in his work *The Broken Years*, exhibited great empathy with the experience of individual Australian ‘Diggers’. Gammage allowed the men of the first AIF to speak for

³⁸ Rachel Buchanan and Paul James, ‘Lest We Forget’, in *Arena Magazine*, December 1998, p.25(1), Electronic Article A53877600, p. 1.

³⁹ C E W Bean, (ed), *The Anzac Book, Written and illustrated by the Men of Anzac*, (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1916, 1975 edition); C E W Bean (ed), *The Anzac Book*, (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1916, 1975 edition).

⁴⁰ K S Inglis, ‘The Anzac Tradition’, in *Meanjin Quarterly*, No 100, Vol xxiv no 1, 1965, pp. 35; Geoffrey Serle, ‘The Digger Tradition and Australian Nationalism’, in *Meanjin Quarterly*, Winter, No 101, Vol xxiv, no 2, 1965, pp. 149.

themselves through their letters and diaries written while serving in Gallipoli, Egypt and France during World War I.⁴¹ In a 1994 article, Gammage subsequently gave an account of the origins of his classic, *The Broken Years*, in which he acknowledged he was part of the generation who took the Great War dead ‘from memory to history’. Despite Thomson’s categorization of Gammage, which I discussed earlier, *The Broken Years*, is not about Anzac, or military history: in the words of Gammage it is ‘an emotional history of the men of the AIF’.⁴² Using correspondence and the minutes of the ‘Women’s memorial to the Fallen in the Great War’, my thesis builds on the work of Gammage and presents some of the emotional history of Australian women left mourning war dead.

Bean, originally a journalist, compiled Australian Military History from his own observances and official sources. During the 1980s, historians continued a spirited debate concerned with the origins of the Anzac legend in terms of journalists’ reports. In a 1982 article, Kevin Fewster discussed ‘Ellis Ashmead Bartlett and the making of the Anzac Legend’, stating Bean and Inglis credited Bartlett with originating the Anzac legend. In 1985 D. A. Kent chose ‘*The Anzac Book* and the Anzac Legend: C.E.W. Bean as Editor’, as his topic, writing that Bill Gammage, Kevin Fewster and Richard White probed the Anzac tradition to reveal the importance of Anzac to national identity.⁴³ Coming to the defence of Bean in 1988, John Barrett described Bean as ‘an exceedingly scrupulous archivist’, deserving praise for destroying nothing to hide what he had done.⁴⁴ Stuart

⁴¹ Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years*, Australian Soldiers in the Great War, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1974).

⁴² Bill Gammage, ‘The Broken Years’, in *Journal of the AWM*, Vol 24, April 1994, pp. 34-35.

⁴³ Kevin Fewster, ‘Ellis Ashmead Bartlett and the making of the Anzac Legend’, in *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol 10, 1982, pp. 17-30; D A Kent, ‘*The Anzac Book* and the Anzac Legend: C.E.W. Bean as Editor and Image-Maker’, in *Historical Studies*, Vol 21, No 84, April 1985, pp. 376-390.

⁴⁴ John Barrett, ‘No Straw Man: C E W Bean and some critics’, in *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol 23, No 89, April 1988, p. 109.

Macintyre, in 1999, discussed Bean in terms of a metaphorical ‘demarcation dispute’ between Bean as a journalist, and historians.⁴⁵ Irrespective of the original link between journalists and the Anzac legend, the rites and rituals of Anzac tradition required more than the work of journalists to become a symbol of Australian consciousness.

There is a difference between the history of Anzac and the history of Anzac Day as part of Anzac culture. Whereas other historians debated Anzac in terms of myth and legend, Ken Inglis wrote about a different conception. In the words of Bill Gammage, Inglis was ‘exploring the significance of Anzac.’⁴⁶ Inglis recognised the distinctive elements concerned with Anzac Day, for in probing the meanings of Anzac tradition, he endeavoured to capture and portray the essence or core of Anzac culture. In 1999, John Lack, as editor, compiled *Anzac Remembered* highlighting the considerable body of work on Anzac produced by Ken Inglis in the form of articles written between 1964 and 1988 concerning Anzac tradition.⁴⁷ One can gauge the extent of Ken Inglis’s interest in Anzac Day and Armistice Day by the scope of the collection of papers and newspaper clippings he donated to the National Library of Australia, but as we shall see, his research into Anzac culture culminated in a book concerned with soldiers’ memorials.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, other Australian historians published articles detailing the rites and rituals of Anzac Day as a cultural observance and began to delve into its origins. Anzac symbolism was the subject addressed by Chris Flaherty and Michael Roberts in a 1989 survey of the relationship between ‘the

⁴⁵ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), p. 159.

⁴⁶ Bill Gammage, ‘The Broken Years’, in *Journal of the AWM*, Vol 24, April 1994, p. 34.

⁴⁷ John Lack, (ed), *Anzac Remembered Selected Writings by K S Inglis*, (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 1999).

local, the national and the universal.’⁴⁸ After the death of John Robertson, Margo Simington finalised *Anzac and Empire* for publication in 1990. Robertson’s book includes a chapter illustrating the beginnings of Anzac Day in the Australian States.⁴⁹ That same year, Richard White attributed Australians’ remembrance of the First World War to the ‘creation of a national culture’ writing:

Instead of imagining a glorious past, the national culture fed off memories of the war, in a sense ‘nationalizing’ those memories as private grief was turned into public remembrance, with the formal rituals of Anzac Day, and ultimately into national commemoration.⁵⁰

Even so, Australian historians still wrote about Anzac as myth or legend. During the 1990s Raphael Samuel, Paul Thompson, Alan Seymour, Richard Nile, and Jane Ross further coupled the Anzac story with myth, while Joan Beaumont and David Kent continued to write about the Anzac legend.⁵¹ Graham Seal’s *Inventing Anzac The Digger and National Mythology* (2004), provides a current example of published work that continues to couple ‘Anzac’ with ‘myth’. Seal examines the role of the folk music and literature of the Digger in the invention of Anzac, treating this aspect of ‘Anzac’ separately from the ‘official’ invention of Anzac Day.⁵² In comparison, this thesis illustrates grass roots community initiatives and the institutionalisation of Anzac Day. Existing historiography within the field of cultural history centred on Anzac as a motif, underlines its importance as a basis of

⁴⁸ Chris Flaherty and Michael Roberts, ‘The Reproduction of Anzac symbolism’, in *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol 24, May 1989, p. 52.

⁴⁹ John Robertson, *Anzac and Empire The Tragedy & Glory of Gallipoli*, (Melbourne: Hamlyn, 1990), pp. 7-9, Chapter 35, Gallipoli never dies, pp. 245-258.

⁵⁰ Richard White, ‘Memories of Anzac’, in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Vol 16, April 1990, p. 57.

⁵¹ Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, (eds), *The Myths We Live By – The Anzac Legend: Exploring national myth and memory in Australia*, (London: Routledge, 1990); Alan Seymour and Richard Nile, (eds), *Anzac: Meaning, Memory and Myth*, (London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, 1991); Jane Ross, ‘The Myth of Anzac’, in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 16, April 1990, pp. 55-56; Joan Beaumont, *Australia’s War, 1914-18*, (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1995), Chapter 6, ‘The Anzac legend’; Anna Rutherford and James Wieland (eds), *War Australia’s Creative Response*, (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1997), Chapter by David Kent, ‘Bean’s Anzac and the Making of the Anzac Legend’, (p. 27).

⁵² Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac The Digger and National Mythology*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland, 2004).

Australian identity. John Williams, concluding *Anzacs, The Media and The Great War* quoted Australian ex-serviceman killed in the war, Adrian Consett Stephen, who wrote: 'Before the war "we were the most soul-less people alive, as a nation", but since 1915 Australia had "at last found a 'soul'"'.⁵³ Following this line of argument presupposes that, as a nation, Australia found its identity in the baptism of fire at the Gallipoli landing. 'Anzac Culture' illustrates the development of an Australian national culture through the formal rituals of Anzac Day.

After the Gallipoli landing, the succeeding commemoration of war dead practised as part of Anzac culture, identified Australian ex-service personnel as possessing a national consciousness innately different from that of other Empire personnel. In 1999, Miriam Dixson, discussing Australian feminist history in *The Imaginary Australian*, wrote that Anzac was 'widely felt to mark Australia's birth as a nation', then continued, '25 April, Anzac Day: it is this day which releases the deepest feelings about the birth of the nation.'⁵⁴ In chapter 6, 'The Nation and the Imaginary', Dixson writes:

Within the allegedly secular Australian national identity, Anzac embodies a reflection of Kantorowicz's universal 'sacrificial moment.' The historian Ken Inglis tells us that after 1918, Anzac Day became our 'national day', and its 'ceremonies, monuments and rhetoric' constituted something like a 'civic religion'. Others, such as Alistair Thomson, have underlined the idea that the Australian nation was born in blood above the cliffs of Anzac Cove. Anzac thereby furnishes an Australian example of Anderson's idea of an integral link between religion and the national imaginary. Anzac provides just such a bridge between the nation and identity concerns like death, suffering, and immortality – concerns managed by pre-modern dynastic imagined communities and bequeathed to the imaginary of the modern nation.⁵⁵

In a paragraph concerned with 'symbols and ceremonies of the nation', while alluding to Anzac three times, Dixson used it as an analogy for a sacrificial moment,

⁵³ John F Williams, *Anzacs, The Media and The Great War*, (Sydney: UNSW, 1999), p. 256.

⁵⁴ Miriam Dixson, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity 1788 to the Present*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999), p. 59.

⁵⁵ Dixson, *Imaginary Australian*, p. 150.

as a metaphor for an integral link, and symbolically, as a bridge between nation and identity. Dixson discussed Ken Inglis in relation to Anzac Day and its ceremonies, monuments and rhetoric, as a simile for civic religion, then referred to Alistair Thomson and his analogous idea of Anzac Cove as the symbolic birth of the Australian nation. My decision to research national identity through the medium of commemoration of war dead on Anzac Day emerges from the prevalence of Anzac as a military event, and Anzac as a figure of speech in relation to Australian national identity within Australian historiography.

In 1999, Ann Curthoys, in a critical essay, presented a balanced view of the significance of commemoration ceremonies and recognised that official and unofficial commemoration both play a part on Anzac Day. In a paragraph dealing with ‘the Australian imaginary’, Curthoys argued:

There are more war memorials than any other kind, many erected in the 1920s to commemorate those fallen in the first world war, the list of war dead and war-serving supplemented after the second world war; they have become the focus of Anzac day [sic] ceremonies all over the country. The process of memorialisation is fostered both officially, by prime ministers and through such means as the ‘Australia Remembers’ program of 1995 (commemorating the end of the second world war), and unofficially, by the many thousands who march, pray, and watch on Anzac Day, and by the thousands of young backpackers who now visit the site of Australian graves at Gallipoli each year. Despite criticisms from time to time of Anzac Day from feminists, leftists, pacifists and others, so much so that it went into something of a decline between the early 1960s and the early 1980s, it is not too much to say that in Australian popular political culture, commemoration of war displaces the political formation of the nation through Federation as the emotional locus [sic] of a sense of nationhood.⁵⁶

In writing about Anzac Day as a cultural event, Curthoys recognised that Australian memorials listing ‘war dead and war-serving’, commemorated the fallen, even while labelling them ‘war memorials’. Similarly, Curthoys recognised the thousands of Australians who participate in Anzac Day rituals. Curthoys argued that the

⁵⁶ Ann Curthoys, ‘Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology’, in *Journal of Australian Studies*, December, 1999, Expanded Academic Electronic Collection: A57687441, Critical Essay, p. 12 of 26, full text copyright 1999 University of Queensland Press.

commemoration of war was the emotional focus of a sense of nationhood, but my point is that it is essentially the commemoration of Australian war *dead* that provides the emotional focus of Australian consciousness, not the commemoration of war.

Remembrance services, held at soldiers' memorials, are a distinctive attribute of Anzac Day rituals. *War & Society*, in 1985, published 'A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial', by Ken Inglis.⁵⁷ Michael McKernan in *Here is Their Spirit*, in 1991, touched on the debates surrounding the ceremonies of Anzac Day and Armistice Day and their spiritual nature in relation to the Australian War Memorial, which represents all Australian States, while Jock Phillips and Ken Inglis, in a fascinating study, compared 'War memorials in Australia and New Zealand'.⁵⁸ In 1998, Inglis produced an authoritative work on Australian War Memorials, *Sacred Places*. In a further article, 'The Anzacs,' published in 1999, Inglis said of memorials 'These memorials were surrogate tombs, and the unveiling ceremonies were substitutes for funerals'.⁵⁹ Tanja Luckins's *The Gates of Memory Australian People's Experiences and memories of Loss and the Great War* (2004), details examples of memorials that alleviated individuals' personal sense of loss caused by the Great War. The title of Luckins's book refers to the gates of No. 1 wharf on Cowper Wharf Road, Woolloomooloo, where mourning women formerly attended remembrance services on Anzac Day

⁵⁷ K S Inglis, 'A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial', In *War & Society*, Vol 3, No 2, September 1985, pp. 99-126.

⁵⁸ Michael McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War memorial 1917-1990*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1991), pp. 15-16; John Rickard and Peter Spearritt, (eds), *Packaging the Past?* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991), Jock Phillips and Ken Inglis, 'War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand', pp. 179-191.

⁵⁹ Ken Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places*, 1998; Ken Inglis, 'The Anzacs: Their courage, resourcefulness and comradeship impressed both allies and enemies', in *Time International*, 25 October 1999, p48+, 1999, Electronic Collection A57298706, p. 1-2 of 3.

and hung laurel and rosemary wreaths on the wharf gates.⁶⁰ On a similar vein, this thesis details the erection of a Women's Memorial in Adelaide where mourning rituals currently take place on Anzac Day.

Following criticism concerning the afternoon Anzac Day activities of some ex-servicemen and women, historians produced articles that researched the beginnings of Anzac Day commemoration observances. Overt criticism of Anzac Day came from Alan Seymour in 1962, in the form of a play *The One Day of The Year*. Seymour followed his play with a novel with the same title, published in 1967. The opening chapter of Seymour's book, a description of a pilgrimage to Gallipoli, suggests Hughie, the University dropout, no longer held the same views he espoused during the play when he tried to assert his independence and hurt his father Alf, on Anzac Day.⁶¹ In 1985, Richard Ely claimed 'the Day was not so much invented, as almost effortlessly discovered.'⁶² Ely's claim became the subject of later debate. Bruce Kapferer, an anthropologist, became the focus of further discussion in 1990 when Greg Denning and Ken Inglis both responded in the journal *Social Analysis*, to Kapferer's book, which concerned the 'myths and legends of nationalism'. Denning reported he and his students found little ideology or nationalism but much compassion in Anzac Day, while Inglis corrected inconsistencies in Kapferer's book, judging the anthropologist's 'guide to the culture of Anzac' unreliable.⁶³ As always, Inglis's examination proved his mastery of Anzac culture.

⁶⁰ Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War*, (Fremantle, Curtin, 2004), Chapter 6, pp. 159-181.

⁶¹ Alan Seymour, 'The One Day of the Year', (London: Angus and Robertson, 1962); Seymour, *The One Day of the Year*, (London: Souvenir Press, 1967), pp. 5-17.

⁶² Richard Ely, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered?' *Journal of Australian Studies*, No 17, November 1985, p. 58.

⁶³ Both in *Social Analysis*, Vol 29, 1990, Ken Inglis, 'Kapferer on Anzac and Australia', p. 67; Greg Denning, 'Anzac Day: An Ethnographic Reflection after Reading Bruce Kapferer', p. 66; Inglis, 'Kapferer on Anzac', pp. 67-73.

The South Australian observance of Anzac Day on 13 October 1915 was co-ordinated by grass roots community organizations in response to the publication of increasing numbers of AIF casualty lists. However, Eric Andrews in 1993, claimed ‘25 April 1916: First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain’ as a celebration to make the British Government think of Australia and increase the prestige and status of Australian Prime Minister Hughes.⁶⁴ In a 2002 article, ‘The struggle for Anzac Day 1916-1930 and the role of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee’, John Moses disputed Richard Ely’s claim that Australians almost effortlessly discovered Anzac Day. Moses claimed that ‘the spontaneity theory’ did not take into account the institutionalisation of Anzac Day. Moses included religious aspects of Anzac Day in his paper in relation to Queensland and the national institutionalisation of Anzac Day.⁶⁵ Akin to Moses, as part my examination into the beginnings of Anzac culture, I researched the institutionalisation of the ‘Day’ in South Australia, and also endeavoured to include religious and spiritual aspects relating to Anzac culture as a dimension of Australian identity. Although agreeing with Moses that Queensland initiatives led to the national institutionalisation of the ‘Day’, I detailed the results of my own research leading me to agree with Ely in espousing ‘the spontaneity theory’ concerning Anzac Day, in an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, in December 2003.⁶⁶ In South Australia, community groups spontaneously reacted to the news of death and injury at Gallipoli in 1915, with fund raising patriotic button days in aid of wounded soldiers and memorial services for war dead. Any research and/or case studies

⁶⁴ Eric Andrews, ‘25 April 1916: First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain’, in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Vol 23, October 1993, pp. 13-20.

⁶⁵ John A Moses, ‘The struggle for Anzac Day 1916-1930 and the role of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee’, in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 88, Part I, pp. 54-74.

⁶⁶ Janice Pavils, ‘The emergence of South Australian Anzac culture 1915-1925’, in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 89, Part 2, December 2003, pp. 123-144.

conducted on a State-by-State basis throughout Australia thus leads to a more complete understanding of Australia's observance of Anzac Day and Anzac culture.

Another theme running through Australian historians' work concerning Anzac Day is the spirituality evident in commemorative services of both a religious and civic nature. Ken Inglis, writing under the pseudonym of John Kemp, in a 1965 journal article, 'Anzac: The Substitute Religion', argued 'Anzac Day is the common property of all political parties.' Inglis saw a tension between Christianity and the Anzac Tradition, for the RSL, in the same fashion as a church, 'accepts responsibility to help members in trouble'.⁶⁷ In 1981, Richard Ely recognised that although Inglis refrains from actually postulating an Australian civil religion, he 'likened the Anzac memorial ceremonies to American civil religion'.⁶⁸ By 1985, Guy Freeland linked the architecture of the Australian War Memorial, with 'Death and Australian Civil Religion' in his contribution to *Essays on Mortality*, edited by Mira Crouch and Bernd Huppauf, whereas by 1990 Mark Hutchinson explored elements of historiography demonstrating close affinities between history and civil religion, a civil religion of convicts, drovers, Eureka stockaders and Anzacs.⁶⁹ The same year Alan Black believed the understanding of Australian civil religion expressed in Anzac Day events resided in the ideological structure of Western Judaeo-Christian civilization, despite the fact some Anzac symbolism derived from pagan and classical sources.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, further linking Anzac Day and Western Judaeo-Christian religion, in 1999 Brian Fletcher coupled Anglicanism with

⁶⁷ Ken Inglis, [pseudonym John Kemp], 'Anzac: The Substitute Religion', in *Nation* April 23, 1960, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁸ Richard Ely, 'Secularisation and the Sacred in Australian History', in *Historical Studies*, Vol 19, No 77, 1981, pp. 557-559.

⁶⁹ Mira Crouch and Bernd Huppauf, (eds), *Essays on Mortality*, (Kensington: University of New South Wales, 1985), Part Two, 'Death and Australian Civil Religion', by Guy Freeland, pp. 105-120; Mark Hutchinson, 'History as Civil Religion: Writing Australian History in the Nineteenth Century', in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol 16, no 2, December 1990, p. 185, 200.

⁷⁰ Alan W Black, 'The Sociology of Religion in Australia', in *Sociological Analysis*, Vol 51S, 1990, p. S27.

nationalism in Australia because of the church's support for Anzac Day.⁷¹ John Luttrell detailed some problems in relation to Roman Catholicism and Anzac Day commemorative services in a 1999 article, 'Cardinal Gilroy's Anzac Day problem', describing the Anzac Day service held in Sydney since 1962 as a 'lay-led common ceremony'.⁷² Thus, ecumenical adjustments within the practise of the Christian religion admit more denominational representation at civic memorial services. My research suggests that Ken Inglis's 'substitute' religion is not exclusively civil religion in relation to Anzac Day services within Australia, but that civic memorial services currently conducted locally on Anzac Day are more inclusive than the original religious Anzac Day memorial services.

Dealing further with spirituality and commemorative rituals, during 1993-1994, Ken Inglis added to historical knowledge pertaining to unknown soldiers by producing a number of papers in the *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, the first, 'Entombing unknown soldiers', in October 1993. 'Reflections on the Unknown Soldier' followed in the April 1994 edition. In the same edition of the journal, Craig Wilcox's, 'A View from the Crowd', asks 'Is this the first public proclamation of a new indigenous Christianity for Australia?' and Ric Throssell's 'For the Unknown Soldier: Another Dedication', argues the only honour that would do Australia's war dead justice is 'never again!'⁷³ In 2001, Fiona Nicoll linked questions of national identity to gender theory and the commemoration of war dead. In *From Diggers to Drag Queens* (2001), Nicoll argued that the attempt of the

⁷¹ Brian H Fletcher, 'Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia 1901-1962', in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol 23, No 2, June 1999, p. 229.

⁷² John Luttrell, 'Cardinal Gilroy's Anzac Day problem', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, June 1999, v85 i1 p1, Expanded Academic, Article A55805882, p. 9 of 14.

⁷³ *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Ken Inglis, 'Entombing unknown soldiers', Vol 23, October 1993, pp. 4-12; Inglis, 'Reflections on the Unknown Soldier', Vol 24, April 1994, pp. 6-7; Craig Wilcox, 'A view from the crowd', Vol 24, April 1994, p. 8; Ric Throssell, 'For the Unknown Soldier: another dedication', Vol 24, April 1994, p. 8.

Australian War Memorial to encourage visitors to participate in a grieving ritual by placing a flower on the Australian Unknown Soldier's grave, constituted 'efforts to re-present the digger' compatibly within the 'modern history/memory dichotomy.'

From Diggers to Drag Queen's final chapter, 'Orientation of a nation: Australian identity @ the intersection of Anzac Day and Mardi Gras', explores 'our identity as it is refracted through the relationship between Anzac Day and Mardi Gras' arguing the intersection of two parades is 'where the future of national identity will be decided.'⁷⁴ Currently, throughout all the Australian states, Anzac Day observances reach and connect with more Australians as a dimension of national identity than the Sydney Mardi Gras parade held in New South Wales.

Literature concerned with individual memories and a personal sense of identity illustrates that concepts of individual identity remain fluid in the interchange ability of British Australian/Australian Britons with regard to war service prior to the Vietnam War. Considering aspects of Australianness, Donald Horne in 1966 wrote in *Quadrant* that:

Even the moderate Australian nationalists (probably the majority) saw their Australianness as lying in the fact that they were really 'British', unlike the English who were too English to be British.⁷⁵

Literature concerned with the lived experience of war readily depicts facets of Australian identity. Kevin Smith's monograph, *Borneo: Australia's Proud but Tragic Heritage* (2000), concerned Australian volunteers incarcerated in Borneo, and the death marches from Sandakan to Ranau during the Second World War. Smith linked Australian mateship and identity at Sandakan to the men's remembrance of Empire Day, Anzac Day, and Armistice Day, together with their inheritance of the Anzac tradition writing 'Anzac themes of selfless courage were

⁷⁴ Fiona Jean Nicoll, *From Diggers to Drag Queens Configurations of Australian National Identity*, (Annadale: Australian Academy of Humanities, 2001), p. 26, pp. 190-191.

⁷⁵ Donald Horne, 'Australia Looks Around', in *Quadrant*, May-June 1966, p. 32.

well-known and internalised by the new soldiers of the second A.I.F.'. ⁷⁶ The generation of Australians who volunteered and fought during WWII grew up inculcated with the exploits of the archetypical Anzacs as a facet of Australian national identity. Equally, they were familiar with the rituals of Anzac Day and Armistice Day as components of Australian culture including descriptions of both within their memoirs.

Australian historians have considered the fate of some soldiers' memorials, which used to occupy the Australian landscape to a greater degree than they currently do. Following Mayo's 1988 international monograph on war memorials, in 2000, Graeme Davison looking at the *Use and Abuse of Australian History*, in relation to material history wrote:

the history of our public monuments is a vital clue, not only to what Australians have chosen to remember but to the nature of public memory itself. ⁷⁷

Davison also noted that 'ties to kin, family, neighbourhood, city and nation are in radical dissolution.' In a chapter entitled, 'Sacred Sites', Davison looked at the fate of old, redundant church buildings in a 'post Christian society', seeing 'Heritage' as an attempt to hold on to the sense of spiritual continuity and transcendence represented in churches and war memorials. ⁷⁸ Anzac culture is a further attempt to retain that same sense of spiritual continuity and transcendence. Dissolution within the Anglo-Celtic core culture produces counter efforts designed to restore a sense of traditional cultural values within the civic community. This thesis demonstrates attempts made to ensure the survival of local soldiers' memorials as part of the rural and urban landscape.

⁷⁶ Kevin Smith, *Borneo: Australia's Proud but Tragic Heritage*, (Armidale: K R & H Smith, Revised Second Edition, 2000), p. 8.

⁷⁷ Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australia History*, (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 2000). P. 38.

⁷⁸ Davison, *Use and Abuse*, 2000, p. 78; p. 149.

One facet of Australian national identity that is patently evident as a dimension of Anzac culture and an Australian civil religion is travel to 'significant sites' along a well-worn pilgrimage trail in the quest for closure and or remembrance. C. E. W. Bean's *Gallipoli Mission* first published in 1948 by the Australian War Memorial, detailed work carried out by Bean to get the battlefields of Gallipoli ready for pilgrims and names various pilgrimages that took place between 1924 and 1935.⁷⁹ Recognition of, and pilgrimage to, sacred or hallowed ground in the commemoration of war dead, takes place both within and outside the geographical boundaries of Australia. In 1988, Joan Beaumont mentioned pilgrimages made by Gull Force members to Ambon in *Gull Force Survival and Leadership in Captivity 1941-1945*, while Australian John Laffin, in 1992, produced a *Guide to Australian Battlefields of the Western Front 1916-1918*, listing names changes and priorities for Australian travellers, labelling such journeys 'Battlefield Tours', rather than pilgrimages.⁸⁰ Australian historians have not written about pilgrimage to overseas battlefields to the same extent as international historians. Hank Nelson, Ken Inglis, and Richard Reid have been on 'pilgrimage' to significant sites and recorded their personal interpretations of those journeys in articles.⁸¹ Bruce Scates produced a further article using questionnaires completed by 'pilgrims'.⁸² In my reading, I am unaware of any Australian historian writing a history of personal or official group pilgrimages conducted by institutions such as

⁷⁹ C E W Bean, *Gallipoli Mission*, (Crows Nest: ABC Book, 1990).

⁸⁰ Joan Beaumont, *Gull Force Survival and Leadership in Captivity 1941-1945*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988); John Laffin, *Guide to Australian Battlefields of the Western Front 1916-1918*, (Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press & Australian War Memorial, 1992), p. 12, 15.

⁸¹ Hank Nelson, 'Travelling in memories Australian prisoners of the Japanese, forty years after the fall of Singapore', in *Journal of the AWM*, No 3, October 1983, pp. 13-24; Ken Inglis, 'Gallipoli Pilgrimage 1965', in *Journal of the AWM*, No 18, April 1991, pp. 20-27; Richard Reid, "'Up north": the *Australia Remembers Veterans' Pilgrimage to Papua New Guinea*', 29 June to 13 July 1995, in *Journal AWM*, No 27, October 1995, pp. 27-33.

⁸² Bruce Scates, "'From a Brown Land Far Away", *Australian Pilgrimages to Great War Cemeteries*', in *Locality*, Vol 9, No 3, 1998, pp. 6-13.

the RSL. Likewise, I do not know of any research concerning changes that have taken place in commemoration services held at significant sites on important anniversaries. Battlefield tourism, travel to commemorative civil ceremonies at significant sites, and services that incorporate Christian terminology have all been categorised as a 'pilgrimage' in Australian records.

No historian has attempted to write a national history of Anzac Day, possibly because the depth of research necessary to complete the task is so geographically widespread throughout Australian and international archives. The task of completing a history encompassing the entire national observance of Anzac Day throughout Australia since 1915 remains a challenge. A number of articles describe early responses regarding Anzac Day in local areas of various Australian States. Mary Wilson's 1974 article dealt with the debates surrounding 'The Making of Melbourne's Anzac Day' until 1927, while Philip Kitley compared Anzac Day 1977 in Toowoomba, with the inaugural rituals of 1916. Research conducted previously under the auspices of the University of Adelaide History Department provides insight into some aspects of South Australian Anzac culture. Michael Reardon's honours thesis concerns Anzac Day in Adelaide from 1916 to 1922, from the first anniversary to the establishment of a national public holiday.⁸³ In another 1979 honours thesis, 'South Australian Women – Some Responses to the first World War', Beth Robertson wrote of women's sometimes hidden responses, those of waiting and praying for absent men and that of mourning for the dead.⁸⁴ In his 1993 honours thesis, 'For God, King and Country: Aspects of Patriotic Campaigners in Adelaide During the Great War', Christopher Argent made special

⁸³ Michael Reardon, 'Anzac Day in Adelaide, 1916-1922: from the first anniversary to a national public holiday', Honours Thesis, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1979.

⁸⁴ Beth Robertson, 'South Australian Women – Some Responses to the First World War', Honours Degree, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1979, p. 8.

reference to the first Violet Day in Adelaide in 1915.⁸⁵ Combining aspects of historical research related to Australian Anzac culture during periods of war, supplements the nationwide knowledge of Australian national consciousness.

Very little has been published related to soldiers' memorials located in South Australia. Bill Gammage, in the foreword of Dr Doreen Kartinyeri's 1996 book *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs* revealed four of the Point McLeay district's indigenous men who enlisted in the AIF and went to the Great War, 'lie buried outside their country.' Kartinyeri included photographs of memorial windows installed in the church at Point McLeay Mission now known as Raukkan.⁸⁶ The rededication of at least one 'living memorial', took place in Adelaide through the sponsorship of the TS-OH programme. In the December 2001 edition of the *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Paula Furby's article described efforts to re-instate the art collection chosen as a 'living memorial', an alternative to the usual form of memorial statuary, by students of the old Adelaide Teachers College. Some items of the memorial collection were 'lost', consequent upon tertiary institutional reorganization and the merger of the College with the University of Adelaide.⁸⁷ Although historians have researched some aspects relating to South Australian soldiers' memorials, the fate of a number of South Australian honour boards that previously hung in recycled or demolished community buildings, and the location of soldiers' memorials dismantled and shifted because of road realignment may never be known, for want of a state-wide data base of soldiers' memorials.

⁸⁵ Christopher M Argent, 'For God, King and Country: Aspects of Patriotic Campaigners in Adelaide During the Great War', Honours Degree of Bachelor of Arts in History, University of Adelaide, 1993, p. 27.

⁸⁶ Dr Doreen Kartinyeri, *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs*, (Adelaide: Gillingham Printers, 1996), p. 6, 8 and Back cover.

⁸⁷ Paula Furby, 'Resurrecting a war memorial', in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 35, December 2001, p. 1 of 6, <<http://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j35/furby.htm>>

This thesis presents a South Australian case study of Anzac culture and commemoration of war dead, indicative of the national observance of Anzac Day, thus covering some of the lacunae left by previous research into Anzac culture. Michael Reardon's thesis, which looked at Anzac Day from 1916 to 1922, did not cover the first South Australian Anzac Day held in October 1915. Beth Robertson researched women's hidden responses to war whereas I studied the public records of the General and Executive Committees for the 'Women's Memorial to the Fallen in the Great War'. Although Christopher Argent's thesis covered the first Violet Day, I discovered information regarding the demise of Violet Day. Because the League provided access to their minuted records and library, I was able to research the culture of Anzac Day and Armistice Day through the sustained efforts of those who worked for the survival of those patriotic days, and then compare their objectives with public media reports. Access to Government records related to Anzac Day and Armistice Day, through the National Australia Archives disclosed government actions regarding the observance of patriotic days, and solved the riddle of two commemorative days for the same war dead. A study of personal records, memoirs and autobiographies closed the gap on individual memories linked to Australian identity and memory of war dead. Using examples of orders of service, Government reports and speeches allowed the discovery of changes from religious Judaeo-Christian memorial services on Anzac Day, to civic Anzac Day memorial services, as well as the development of an Australian civil religion.

Although this thesis is original and the prevailing motif is Anzac Day within Anzac Culture, it would not have been possible without a solid historiographical foundation; therefore, I acknowledge a debt to all historians involved in the international identity/memory/history debate and the remembrance of war dead. In

particular to the work of Jay Winter, Paul Fussell, George L. Mosse, Antoine Prost, John Gillis, Alistair Thomson and Ken Inglis. I owe a further debt to Ken Inglis, Bob Bushaway, Catherine Moriarty, Annette Becker and Alex King. Their work on soldiers' memorials and absent war dead has enriched my understanding of the mourning rituals performed on Anzac Day. The work of David Cannadine, Richard Butler, David Lloyd and Jennifer de Freitas, provided insight into both religious and secular aspects of pilgrimage and the resultant sense of *communitas*, while Adrian Gregory's work on *Armistice Day* was another exemplar model. I have taken up the challenge extended by Geoffrey Moorhouse in 1992, in *Hell's Foundations*, and investigated part of the Anzac legacy as a case study of Anzac Day in South Australia.⁸⁸ Nationally, I owe my greatest debt to Ken Inglis for his work on the Anzac Tradition, soldiers' memorials and Anzac as a substitute religion, to Bill Gammage for his 'emotional history of the men of the AIF', and to Miriam Dixson for her work on Australian identity. I have attempted to emulate the work of Richard Ely and John Moses by including religious and spiritual aspects of Anzac culture within this thesis. Ultimately my research provides evidence that in South Australia, Anzac culture emerged from the rites and rituals carried out on patriotic days organised for fund raising purposes, in payment of the perceived national 'debt of honor', owed to Australian ex-servicemen and women. In January 1916, Adelaide poet, Leon Gellert of the 10th Battalion AIF, described the liability as 'an unpaid waiting debt'.

⁸⁸ Moorhouse, *Hell's Foundations*, pp. 13-17.

Chapter 2.
'HONORING THE DEBT'¹
 Patriotic Days establishing Anzac Day rituals

Anzac Cove

There's a torn and silent valley:
 There's a tiny rivulet
 With some blood upon the stones beside its mouth.
 There are lines of buried bones:
 There's an unpaid waiting debt:
 There's a sound of gentle sobbing in the South.
 Leon Gellert.²

Gellert's verse describes the results of the Gallipoli Landing at Anzac Cove and the impact of Australian deaths on overseas battlefields, upon those left to mourn war dead. This chapter begins my case study of South Australian Anzac culture and illustrates the emergence of Anzac Day as a form of grief management and recognition of the 'unpaid waiting debt'. Community groups reacted spontaneously to the news of war dead and injured at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915. Editor of *The Register*, William Sowden, and women's groups were prominent in the organization of patriotic days that raised money for wounded soldiers and recognized a 'Debt of Honor' in an effort to ease war-caused suffering and loss within the South Australia community. Patriotic days form the basis of what Ken Inglis has variously termed the distinctive idiom of Anzac, the cult of Anzac, and a substitute religion.³ Repayment of the 'Debt of Honor' began in 1915: Violet, Wattle and Anzac Day being three of the patriotic fund raising days held that year. In 1916, the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee put forward a plan

¹ Local newspaper and magazine sources used the old spelling of honour and honouring. I quote that spelling in an effort to place the concept of 'honoring the debt' and 'debt of honor,' in the time frame of the early twentieth century.

² Leon Gellert, *Songs of a Campaign*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1917, third and enlarged edition,) p. 64.

³ Ken Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places*, 1998, p. 209, p. 465; 'Anzac: The Substitute Religion', written under the pseudonym John Kemp by Inglis in *Nation*, April 23, 1960, pp. 7-9.

suggesting the national observation of Anzac Day on the first anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing.

Initially, 1915 editions of South Australian newspapers raised the subject of 'honoring' the dead and 'paying a debt of honor' in reports of patriotic days organized at grass roots level to raise funds for wounded soldiers. 'Roll of Honor' casualty listings began appearing in May 1915, raising awareness of the growing numbers of war dead. The wish to commemorate war dead was transposed by returned soldiers' organizations into terms of 'honoring' the debt to the 'Army of the Dead' and 'human wreckage' resulting from the Great War. Years later, in 2000, ex-servicemen and women still sought satisfaction of debt as evidenced by a seminar concerning aged care needs in the Veteran community, 'A Last Debt', which was funded by the Department of Veteran's Affairs.⁴ The debt acknowledged in 1915, grew, increased by the death and sacrifice of Australian servicemen and women during the Second World War, the Korean War and Vietnam War.

Documents written during the Great War and immediately afterwards resound with the implication that those who served Australia fighting overseas sacrificed their lives for King and country, and therefore those who stayed behind in Australia and profited from the 'work' performed overseas owed ex-servicemen and women a debt. This debt was acknowledged not only to those who paid the ultimate price with the sacrifice of their lives, but extended to the injured and disabled, together with those who served overseas, sailors, soldiers and nurses, as well as their mothers, sisters, wives, children and lovers. The acknowledged debt was predominantly that of blood sacrifice supposedly made to save Australia and the

⁴ State Ex Service Round Table on Aged Care, (presenter), A Last Debt, A Seminar on Aged Care Needs In the Veteran Community, Funded by Department of Veterans' Affairs. 18 August, 2000.

Australian way of life for those left behind when the service personnel, both men and nurses, travelled overseas. Australian civic identity was that of British subject. In theory, Australians enlisting in the Australian Imperial Force, (hereinafter AIF), responded to the call of King and country, their patriotic war service as Australian servicemen and women ultimately served the British Empire.⁵

Various patriotic days developed during the period of the Great War provided a base upon which to build the rituals of Anzac Day. The 'Anzac Day Committee' inaugurated the first day formally labelled 'Anzac Day' in South Australia in 1915 as a day intended to raise funds for 'Wounded Soldiers'. This first Anzac Day took place on 'Eight Hours Day', celebrated as a holiday, on Wednesday 13 October 1915. Adelaide City Archives provide evidence of Anzac Day arrangements. Three specific letters dated 6, 24, and 29 September 1915 relate to preparations for Anzac Day in October of that year. The first, a letter from Mr Fred L. Seager of West's Pictures, advised the Town Clerk:

On Wednesday, October 13, instead of the usual Eight Hours' Day Procession, a Committee has been formed to raise Funds for the Wounded Soldiers. This Committee is known as the Anzac Day Committee, and is desirous of advertising the day by means of sandwich men in the Streets.⁶

Theatrical Managers and other leading citizens planned to advertise the special day as a day with 'purely patriotic and philanthropic' objectives. The second letter sent from the Trades Hall and signed by T. B. Merry, Secretary, on 'Anzac Day (Eight Hours' Celebration)' letterhead, under the direction of the Anzac Day Combined Committee, requested permission for the Anzac Day Pageant to follow a route from the Trades Hall in Grote Street to Gawler Place. The third letter from L. J. Powell, Hon Organizer on 'Anzac Day, October 13th, 1915' letterhead, giving an address of

⁵ *The Advertiser*, 'A Debt of Honor', 3 July 1915, p. 13,15; *The Register*, 'Fallen Heroes-Violet Day', 'really a sacred obligation', 2 July, 1915, p. 4; *Advertiser*, 'The Roll of Honor', 3 May 1915, p. 7; *Register*, 'Roll of Honor', 4 May 1915, p. 6.

⁶ Adelaide City Archives, TCDKT 1915/2964, Arrangements for Anzac Day, 6 September 1915.

Committee Rooms, Royal Exchange, concerned an application for permission to use Victoria Square, situated in the city centre, and Creswell Gardens, adjacent to the Adelaide oval, for supplying refreshments on Anzac Day.⁷

With Adelaide City Council permission secured, advertisements appeared each day in local newspapers from the beginning of October proclaiming ‘This space is reserved for Anzac Day announcements watch it daily.’⁸ On 13 October *The Register* reported on the day’s appeal under the sub-heading ‘The Anzac Celebration’:

“I give thee all – I can no more,
Though poor the offering be.”

This must be the spirit of Anzac Day – no gift or sum of money, too great for the cause in whose support this carnival of the collection box has been organised and no effort too strenuous on the part of those who have assumed the task of gathering in the contributions. ... In a word, the Australian Soldiers’ Fund must keep pace with the recruiting figures, and as the latter swell, so must the pockets of the populace open wider and yet wider – not to admit the hand of charity, but to liquidate a liability which came into existence on the day that the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps landed on Gallipoli.⁹

The Register of 14 October 1915 published reports on the spectacular procession, ‘which included patriotic tableaux, [sic] soldiers, trade union displays and concert parties.’ There was praise for ‘Labour’s Loyalty’ in putting patriotism before politics by giving up the Eight Hours Day holiday thereby helping to raise an amount of over £2,500. The report continued:

⁷ ACA 1915/2964 Arrangements for Anzac Day, 6, 24, 29 September, 1915.

⁸ *Register*, 2,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,12,13 October 1915, p. 2 each day; *Advertiser* 1,2,4,5,6,11,12 October 1915, p. 2 each day.

⁹ *Register*, ‘To-day’s Appeal, The Anzac Celebration’, 13 October 1915, p. 7.

For all time, then, Anzac, with its thrill of heroic reminiscences, will have a fixed place in South Australian history, and will, at the same time, record the admirable spirit of self-denial on the part of the workers. Only war would have inspired an act which so worthily sacrificed the identity of a great movement. It showed how real and how robust was the loyalty of Labour, that it should have retired into the background and given all that wonderful talent of organization, unique splendour of display, and fine monument of enthusiasm, to the noble humanitarianism of the Wounded Soldiers' Fund.¹⁰

South Australians spontaneously observed Anzac Day as disability support for wounded soldiers. Storylines in *The Advertiser* of 14 October 1915 are those of 'Soldiers and Police, Another Serious Riot, Disgraceful Scenes in the City, Two Arrests made'.¹¹ In South Australia Anzac Day remains a binary of mourning and celebration, being both an acknowledgement of death and sacrifice, as well as a celebration of life and survival.

However, Anzac Day in October 1915 was not the first attempt to recognize publicly the 'debt of honor' believed owed by South Australians for the war service of the men at Gallipoli and nurses in the Dardanelles area. The first casualty lists appeared in *The Register* and *The Advertiser* on Monday 3 May 1915. The same day in *The Advertiser*, the Minister of Defence, Mr. Pearce, made a statement indicating that the Department was under pressure from the friends and relatives of those fighting, who wanted news from the battlefield. Recognizing the fact that the awful war conditions caused time lapses in compiling casualty lists that some saw as the 'callous treatment' of distressed relatives, Pearce asked people to curb private feelings to enable the Australian people 'to suffer their private griefs without adding to the difficulties and dangers of our men on active service'. By the end of May 1915 'The War' was dominating daily news: the Commander-in-Chief of the

¹⁰ *Register*, 'News of the Day', and 'Labour's Loyalty. Anzac Day Celebration. More than £2,5000 Realised', 14 October 1915, p.4.

¹¹ *Advertiser*, 'Soldiers and Police, Another Series Riot, Disgraceful Scenes in the City, Two Arrests made', 14 October 1915, p. 9.

Australian Forces in the Dardanelles, General Bridges, had died at sea from wounds; the *Lusitania* had been torpedoed; and twenty-five casualty lists had been published. Accompanying the lists were photographs of South Australians killed and wounded, together with biographies obviously prepared in haste.¹² As a direct result of the growing number of casualty lists, the South Australian community observed Violet, Australia and Wattle Day during July and September 1915.

Violet Day, a South Australian patriotic day, recognized the debt owed by Australian society and encompassed the sacrifice of both those killed overseas and the sacrifice of Australian women. Mrs. Alexandra Seager, who co-ordinated the first Violet Day in memory of war dead, was nicknamed 'Little Mother' by soldiers. Seager was honorary organizer of the Adelaide Cheer-Up Society, which cared for troops while still in Australia.¹³ In an endeavour to highlight the significant impact casualty lists were having, Violet Day integrated the rituals of mourning into fund raising patriotic days by including hymns and the 'Last Post' in a service held at the Soldiers' Memorial on the corner of North Terrace and King William Street. Erected to commemorate the valour of Citizen Soldiers, South Australians now designate this memorial the 'Boer War Memorial'. Highlighting the significant impact the casualty lists were having on bereaved relatives, the Cheer-Up Society applied to the Town Clerk asking:

¹² *Register*, 'First List of Casualties', 3 May 1915, p. 7; *Advertiser*, 'The Roll of Honor', 3 May 1915, 'Statement by Mr Pearce', p. 7; *Advertiser*, 21 May 1915 'The Roll of Honor', p. 8; *Advertiser*, 'General Bridges', 22 May 1915, p. 20; *Advertiser*, 'Lusitania Torpedoed', 10 May 1915, p. 9; *Advertiser*, 'Twenty-fifth Casualty List', 29 May 1915, p. 16.

¹³ Geoffrey Serle, (gen ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB), Vol 11, (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1988), Seager, p. 559; Christopher M. Argent, "'For God, King and Country'" Aspects of Patriotic Campaigners in Adelaide During the Great War. With Special Reference to the Cheer-Up Society, the League of Loyal Women and Conscription,' BA honours thesis, University of Adelaide, 1993, p.30.

[A]pproval of the City Council for the Society to hold a Violet Day demonstration on Friday next 25th June in Memory of the Australian Soldiers who have died for this Country in the War. The Ladies of the Society to sell Violets in the Streets.¹⁴

However, Violet Day actually took place on 2 July 1915. In this instance, violets were a symbol of grief and token of remembrance. By purchasing violet 'buttonholes', and placing floral wreaths around the soldiers' memorial as a substitute communal headstone, South Australians sought to honour their debt to the killed and wounded, by performing an act of closure.

The spontaneous demonstration of Violet Day as a form of grief management, provided evidence of state-wide solidarity for the relatives of war dead. Mrs Seager, whose youngest son was killed at Gallipoli, organised Violet Day in an endeavour to show those who were in mourning for men killed in the Dardanelles and Egypt, that even though things appeared to be going on as normal in South Australia, with the usual sport, pleasures, and business, that was not necessarily the case. According to *The Advertiser*, thoughtful South Australians were aware 'that there were many homes darkened by the shadow of death'. In 1915, most Australians would recognize this 'shadow of death', as an excerpt from the 23rd Psalm in the *Bible*.¹⁵ Violet day enabled South Australians to demonstrate a shared sense of community sorrow to those grieving for war dead.

In Adelaide and the larger South Australian towns, people prepared to show their acknowledgement of that debt by the purchase and wearing of violet buttonholes as a token of sympathy. On Friday 2 July 1915, from 8.30 in the morning as the first workers arrived in the city, women dressed in white, sold

¹⁴ ACA 1915/2048, Cheer-up Society, 18 June 1915.

¹⁵ *AIDB*, 1988, p. 559; *Advertiser*, 'Violet Day', 3 July 1915, p. 17; Psalm 23, verse 4, Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me, Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

violets tied with purple ribbon on which was printed 'In Memory' with a representation of the Christian cross symbolizing sacrifice. The sale of buttonholes suitable for both men and women continued until evening. Mrs Seager organized the printing of thirty thousand purple ribbon mementoes. Helping to meet demand some violets arrived from Victoria. Applications for the mementoes from leading country centres amounted to one thousand from Gawler, five hundred each from Mount Barker, Burra, Bute and Laura while three thousand went to Port Adelaide. Women travelled up and down in the trains from Glenelg, selling mementoes and flowers. *The Register* reported that in their thoughts, South Australians laid the memorial tokens on the graves of brave men in Gallipoli and Egypt. Violet Day was seen as a 'sacred obligation' to show that burial sites marked by 'little mounds and rough-hewn crosses', were not forgotten.¹⁶ The practical purpose served by the sale of violets was to provide a place for the returned wounded soldiers to meet, and somewhere for the troops currently undergoing battle training to be entertained before their departure.

Signifying the importance of the Gallipoli campaign, the Governor, Premier and Military Commandant made speeches from the steps of the soldiers' memorial, while the Police band supplied the music for hymn singing. *The Advertiser* reported that the Governor, Sir Henry Galway, addressed the crowd and said:

¹⁶ *Advertiser*, 'Violet Day', 3 July 1915, p. 17; *Register*, 'In Memory', 2 July 1915, p.4.

If any day is to be chosen for Australia's day I think it should be April 25, when the Australian troops landed under the most hellish fire at Gaba Tepe. (Applause.) Those heroes will hand down the finest traditions to their sons and their son's sons, and still further on. The troops have sent back a tremendously fine example for all young men. (Applause.) Today we not only honor the dead, but our hearts go out with the deepest respect and sympathy to those who are mourning the loss of their nearest and dearest. The British Empire will never be able to repay the debt owed to the women for their calm, self-sacrifice in this great struggle. (Applause.) They have given everything uncomplainingly. (Applause.) We are as proud of our women as of our men. (Applause.) It is not for me to say more, except to pay my personal tribute to the fallen, and to say how proud I am that I should be closely connected with Australia during this crisis.¹⁷

The South Australian Governor thus recognised a debt for women's sacrifice and the symbolic importance of 25 April to the Australian nation less than three months after the Gallipoli landing.

In the observance of patriotic button days, South Australians linked debt acknowledgement with Australian identity by fund nomenclature. Adelaidians were so eager to recognize the debt owed to wounded soldiers that they called a meeting of prominent citizens to organize 'Australia Day', which was observed on 30 July 1915. Members on the organizing committee included representatives from theatrical and other entertainments, the Cheer-Up Society, the Trades and Labor Council, the Wattle Day League and the Belgian Fund. The sum targeted for fund raising was £100,000 and at the time of the public meeting organizers claimed to have already raised half of that amount.¹⁸ On 31 July 1915, *The Register* claimed the pageant of patriotism a magnificent success for raising £104,457, reporting:

The duty of those who are staying at home is to provide for the sick and the wounded. All right! No clarion call is needed. We are doing it. The realization of our sense of obligation is deep enough, God knows.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Advertiser*, 'The Governor's Address', 3 July 1915, p. 17.

¹⁸ *Advertiser*, 'Australia Day, For our wounded Heroes, Mr Hugh Ward explains a scheme', 2 June 1915, p. 10; 'Preparing for Australia Day', 3 July 1915, p. 15.

¹⁹ *Register*, 'A Pageant of Patriotism', 31 July 1915, p. 14.

As money raised for war funds on 'Australia Day' was organised nationally by Mr Hugh Ward, Managing Director in Sydney for J. C. Williamson Ltd, South Australians showed a willingness to acknowledge that the 'debt of honor' extended into the national sphere.²⁰

A women's group associated with the Australian Natives Association, the Wattle Day League (hereinafter WDL), also used the patriotic community spirit of the war years to raise funds providing amenities to the men in the trenches at the front. Persons eligible for membership of the WDL consisted of 'Australian born women and the wives of members of the Australian Natives Association, whether Australian born or not.' In an outline history of the WDL, W. J. Sowden states the reason for the formation of the WDL was 'the private desire to have a body of ladies working to advertise the objects of the Australian Natives Association, outside its own membership.' One specific object of the WDL was to 'encourage the planting and conservation of the wattle as a matter of practical as well as sentimental policy', together with the desire to inaugurate a celebration of Wattle Day throughout the Commonwealth in the same way Canadians observed Maple Day.²¹ Sowden in his outline history of the wattle blossom celebration listed as one of the objects of the League:

The effort of the league, on that one day in each year, so that all the people – rich and poor, high and low, well or ill – should proclaim themselves as Australians and Australian Britons.²²

Although this sentiment would appear indicative of a desire to promote an Australian sense of consciousness or identity, it is important to realize the desire

²⁰ *Advertiser*, 'Australia Day', 2 June 1915, p. 10.

²¹ Mortlock pamphlet, Zpam 369.294 S731, 1913, W J Sowden, *Australian Wattle Day League, Outline history of the wattle blossom celebration in Australia*, 1913, pp. 2-3; p. 8.

²² Sowden, *Australian Wattle Day League*, p. 12.

encompassed dual identity in the sense that the identification was that of ‘Australian Britons’.

The members of the South Australian WDL provided grief management in the form of memorial services for war dead and fund raising to aid war wounded. Political reformer and freelance journalist, Mrs Jeanne F. Young, Hon Secretary and Organiser of the Australian Wattle Day League, South Australian Branch, wrote to the Town Clerk on 12 August 1915²³:

I am requested by my Committee to place before you a statement of their desire to inaugurate the planting on Sept 1st 1915 (Wattle Day) of a Wattle Grove on the South Park Lands – plans for which are being forwarded to you by Mr Walter Torode, the originator of the idea – to commemorate the landing of the Australian troops in Gallipoli on April 25th.²⁴

Consequently, on 7 September 1915, the WDL organized a memorial day in the South Parklands on Cohen Avenue at ‘Wattle Grove’ erecting an obelisk at which floral tokens could be placed by the mothers and relatives of the men killed in the assault at the Dardanelles. Before the Grove’s official opening by civic dignitaries, *The Register* reported the speech of Mr. Meincke, the Australian born son of Danish and Cornish immigrants. Indicative of mono or unicultural times in which Empire patriotism flourished, Meincke felt it necessary to tell the gathering of workmen that despite his German name, he had patriotic pride in his British citizenship, going on to acknowledge that the volunteer work of those assembled, in a humble way, honoured the sacrifice of ‘brave sons and brothers’ overseas.²⁵ Developing ‘Wattle Grove’ in the South Parklands provided a focus for the traditional mourning rites of those South Australians suffering bereavement due to war casualties.

²³ John Ritchie, (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 12, 1891-1939*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1990), Young, pp. 597-598.

²⁴ ACA, 1915/2598.01, Wattle Day Arrangement, Letter from Jeanne F Young to Town Clerk, Adelaide 12 August 1915, p. 1

²⁵ *Register*, ‘Golden Wattle’, 7 September 1915, p. 4; ‘Wattle Day Preparations’, 6 September 1915, p. 4.

The WDL combined its usual observance of Wattle Day in September 1915, with a ceremony recognizing the ‘debt of honor’ proclaimed in South Australian newspapers to those fighting in the Dardanelles. Forerunner of numerous soldiers’ memorials in cities and townships Australia wide, the League erected an obelisk unveiled by His Excellency the Governor General Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson. *The Advertiser* quoted Sir Ronald as saying:

Certainly the Wattle Day League has done much in giving us a national emblem. From the war to Wattle Day a great deal has helped us to strengthen and unite the national life of Australia. I find it a great honor, representing his Majesty’s Australian Forces, to have attended at the ceremony of unveiling this memorial of the landing at Gallipoli, which will ever be a tribute to the gallantry of our troops, to the record they have established, and to the wonderful manner in which they have maintained the tradition of the British Empire.²⁶

Celebrations of Wattle Day took place throughout South Australia at Kapunda, Kadina, Wallaroo, Petersburg, Port Wakefield and Gawler as well as at the Wattle Grove. The main patriotic work of the WDL was that of supplying ambulances to the front thus providing a practical service for wounded soldiers.²⁷

The initial reaction of South Australians for the grief management of war dead and the provision of disability support for war injured was the organization of patriotic fund raising days combined with quasi-religious or civic memorial services. A further reaction was the inauguration of a community organization specifically designed to provide supporting services for returned soldiers. One antecedent body of the League was the Returned Soldier’s Association of South Australia, (hereinafter RSA), an association that subsequently became the Returned Sailors’ and Soldiers’ Imperial League of Australia South Australia Branch,

²⁶ *Advertiser*, ‘A Beautiful Memorial’, 8 September 1915, p. 12.

²⁷ *Advertiser*, ‘Wattle Day’, 8 September 1915, p. 12; *Register* ‘Wattle Day Celebrations’, 3 September 1915 p. 4, ‘Wattle Day Preparations’, 6 September 1915 p. 7; Mortlock Zper 369.29423 A 938 a Wattle Day League (South Australian Branch) Report of the Annual Meeting held at the May Club on Tuesday evening October 5 1915.

(hereinafter RSSILA SA). The inaugural meeting of the RSA, held 8 December 1915, elected Mr William Sowden, as President of the association. At a general meeting held 22 December 1915, a motion carried appointing Mrs Seager as a Vice President.²⁸ Therefore, the first response to Australia's participation in the Great War within South Australia, was the spontaneous use of grass roots organizations to acknowledge community suffering and raise money for wounded soldiers, followed by the inauguration of a specific group to help returned ex-service personnel.

South Australian authorities co-operated on a national basis with other States in 1916, when at the instigation of a committee formed in Brisbane to organize that city's commemoration of the Gallipoli landing, South Australia celebrated Anzac Day on the anniversary of the landing on 25 April. Falling in line with other States recognised a national concept of Australian identity. The Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (hereinafter ADCC), asked that the observance be 'as far as practicable, Australasian'. They also advised His Worship the Mayor:

It will be noted that so far as Queensland is concerned, the Day is to be kept with solemnity and with avoidance of anything approaching jubilation or carnival. For this reason, no attempt is being made to raise funds for any purpose, it being felt that a valuable factor will be added to the building up of our people by an effort to make them realise there are other things of importance in the creation of national character.

Of course, Queensland does not presume to impose its views on any other State.²⁹

The Brisbane ADCC forwarded a 'Plan of Observance of Anzac Day. Tuesday, 25th April, 1916.' setting out three objectives:

The Commemoration of our fallen heroes;
The remembrance of our wounded;
The recognition of the gallant courage displayed by Australia's sons, in fighting for the preservation of liberty and civilisation.³⁰

²⁸ Minute Book, Inaugural Meetings of RSL 1915-1917, First meeting, 8 December 1915, p.1; General Meeting 22 December 1915, p.4.

²⁹ ACA, TCDKT 1916/1145, Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Brisbane), letter from David J Garland, Hon. Secretary, to His Worship the Mayor of Adelaide, S Australia, 28 February 1916.

Adelaide City Archive files also contain details relating to a public meeting held in Brisbane on 11 January 1916, which ‘originated with and was carried out by the Queensland Recruiting Committee’, where a committee was appointed responsible for arranging the celebration of Anzac Day on the first anniversary of the Landing at Gallipoli.³¹ Brisbane was the first ADCC to endeavour to harness the instinctive or spontaneous combustion of parochial ideas concerning grief management in each state, into a national observation, using the anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing as a decisive or defining moment.

Moving the South Australian celebration of Anzac Day from October, to 25 April, acknowledged the federal nature of Anzac culture, rather than the provincial nature of a limited South Australian observance. Ignoring the request of the ADCC in relation to fund raising, in Adelaide, under the authority of the State War Council the Premier, Hon Crawford Vaughan, published a souvenir booklet outlining the celebratory events of Anzac Day 1916. A donation of the proceeds from the sale of the booklets went to the Australian Soldiers’ Repatriation Fund. Wounded soldiers were the beneficiaries of the fund raising efforts. The booklet was a compilation of information relating to events held throughout the Empire in the observance of the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing. The souvenir, compiled from Adelaide daily press reports, included messages from King George V and the Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable W. M. Hughes, in London. The meaning of the word ‘ANZAC’ was explained, along with descriptions of the official ceremony at Queen Victoria’s statue, and events at St. Peters Cathedral, the Town Hall, Wattle

³⁰ ACA TCDKT, 1916/1145, Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Brisbane), T J Ryan, Chairman, David J Garland, Hon. Secretary Plan of Observance of Anzac Day, Tuesday 25 April 1916.

³¹ ACA, 1916/1145 Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Brisbane), Plan of Observance of Anzac Day, Tuesday, 25 April, 1916; Anzac Day Commemoration, 25 April, 1916.

Grove, the Cheer-Up Hut, and Mitcham Camp. As part of the commemoration, the Albert Bells pealed from the Town Hall, the Police Band played 'Dead March', from 'Saul' and buglers played 'Last Post'. Amid the celebrations the Governor's address took time to record 'respectful sympathy to those who mourn their loss', while the Premier noted 'unhesitatingly the womanhood of the land had responded to the clarion call of duty as splendidly as had their manhood.'³² With proceedings taking place at Wattle Grove and the Cheer-Up Hut, it would appear that in less than a year since their own patriotic days, the members of the WDL and Cheer-up Society deemed it more appropriate to shift the focus of commemorative observances from Wattle and Violet Day to Anzac Day.

Memorial days, imbued with the significance of ANZAC, Australia, wattle and violets, were only a few of the spontaneous patriotic days held throughout the duration of the war. There were so many different organizations wanting to conduct patriotic button days or raise money for the troops, that a separate body 'Council of Control of Patriotic Street Sales, South Australia, a Branch of the Commonwealth Button Fund', regulated the days and times the various groups held button days and fund raising activities. 'Belgian Flag Day' for the Belgian Relief Fund and 'Rose Day' organized for the WDL Motor Ambulance Fund had already taken place in April 1915, before the publication of Australian casualty lists. During September, as well as Wattle Day raising funds for Motor ambulances, 'French Flag Day' raised funds for the French Red Cross. Although the Adelaide Town Clerk's Office Index of Letters Received between 1916 - 1917 lists the only patriotic button day for October as Anzac Day, in the following month of November the Cheer-Up Society held a 'Cheer-Up Button Day' and the Y.M.C.A. Army Department held a further

³² Mortlock Library Z Pamphlet Anzac Souvenir 940.425 A637, Anzac Day Commemoration April 25th 1916, pp. 2-46.

‘Active Service Button Day’.³³ In 1918, the WDL chose not Wattle Day, but the anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing, as the appropriate day for commemoration of war dead. On 25 April, at the suggestion of Mr. Walter C. Torode, a builder of Unley and Wayville, the WDL arranged for the placement of a simple stone cross on the flattened top of the obelisk recognizing both the Christian attribute of sacrifice and the significance of 25 April to Australians.³⁴ Newspaper reports proclaiming the success of the landing on the Dardanelles resulted in the erection of the obelisk following traditional examples of erecting memorials on battlefields such as the Lion Mound at Waterloo. Wattle Grove was a symbolic battlefield, or metaphor for the Dardanelles, given that the WDL described the obelisk as representative of the cliffs Australians had climbed at Gallipoli.³⁵ The addition of a cross on Anzac Day indicates recognition of the Allies’ withdrawal from Gallipoli and the sacrifice of those who remained buried there.

The League, on behalf of ex-service personnel, maintained a projection of group identification, working to gain recognition of the service debt within other Australian community organizations, with particular focus on Anzac Day during ‘Anzac Week’ thus promoting Anzac culture. By 1918, the League set up a Building Fund Appeal for a residential club to raise money to provide a place where returned soldiers could meet in a homely atmosphere, away from the public houses and billiard saloons. Receiving permission from the State War Council to raise money in support of the Building Fund Appeal between the dates of 15 to 30 April, the League set about organizing a procession. The procession left from Gouger

³³ ACA 1918/0801, Button Day Returned Soldiers Association – 26 April 1918, Letterhead, Council of Control of Patriotic Street Sales, South Australia, to Town Clerk, Adelaide from Hon. Secretary, 5 March, 1918; ACA 4183 Item 0023.01, Town Clerk’s Office Index of Letters received 1916-1917, unpaginated, listed under ‘P’.

³⁴ ACA 1918/1451, W C Torode – Stone Cross on top of Obelisk Wattle Grove, Memos to Town Clerk and City Gardner, 20 April 1918; Letter to Mr W C Torode, 26 April 1918.

³⁵ *Advertiser*, ‘The Meaning of the Grove’, 8 September 1915, p. 12.

Street, not on 25, but Friday the 26 April at 11 am, then proceeded 'along King William Street, Currie Street, then Morphett Street, Hindley Street, Rundle Street, Pulteney Street to North Terrace.' In conjunction with the procession the button day was not the only means of raising money as in the vicinity of the Soldiers' Memorial, the League of Loyal Women ran a Market Fair, the stalls of which were erected on 25 April, itself. It is easy to see the purpose of this Anzac procession was to draw attention to the Building Fund Appeal and raise money for returned soldiers rather than a church parade in memory of fallen comrades. The League gained permission for another procession on 20 April ensuring fund raising activities came to the notice of the public during the period of greater significance, 'Anzac Week' itself. Further extending efforts consistent with fund raising rather than commemoration, a carnival took place on the banks of the River Torrens on Saturday 27 April.³⁶ Anzac Week extended fund raising activities for Anzac Day.

Although military participation in Anzac Day parades held on Wednesday 25 April 1917 and Thursday 25 April 1918 encouraged recruitment as outlined by Michael Reardon in his 1979 Honours Thesis, in 1918 it also endorsed and reinforced the premise of repaying a debt, for the Australian Military Forces co-operated in League fund raising activities.³⁷ Brigadier-General J. K. Forsyth, C.M.G., Commandant of the District Headquarters at Keswick Barracks issued a Special District Order on 20 April 1918, designed to aid the League's Building Fund Appeal advising troops:

³⁶ League Minutes, 14 March 1917 adjourned 17 March 1917, pp. 132-134; ACA 1918/0801 Button Day Returned Soldiers Association, Letter on Council of Control of Patriotic Street Sales letterhead from Fuller, Hon Secretary, to Town Clerk, 5 March 1918; Letter from League dated 23 March 1918, 18 April 1918; Letterhead, The League of Loyal Women of Australia, to Town Clerk 23 April 1918; Letter from League, 23 March 1918.

³⁷ Michael Reardon, 'Anzac Day in Adelaide, 1916-1922 from the first anniversary to a national public holiday', Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1979.

In connection with the Button Day Appeal for the Returned Sailors' & Soldiers' Residential Club a Parade of Returned Soldiers', A.I.F. Troops and Citizen Forces will be held on Friday 26th instant.³⁸

The parade of Returned Soldiers joined the A.I.F. Troops and those members of the Citizen Forces who volunteered under the command of Colonel S. Price Weir, D.S.O, V.D.³⁹ With the Armistice and return of veterans, the make-up of the parades or processions changed, there being no need to foster recruiting in 1919 when the League held a pageant on Gallipoli Day, Friday 25 April, and a memorial service on Sunday 27 April 1919. Of the patriotic button days held within the State and City of Adelaide during the Great War, only three patriotic days, ANZAC, Wattle and Violet Days continued for any length of time after service personnel returned to South Australia. Other patriotic days faded in significance, unable to compete with the symbolism of Anzac Day or rise to the challenges and changes taking place within Australia. With the passing of time, different cultural practices eclipsed Wattle Day and Violet Day. Nevertheless, the ritual of placing wreaths around the obelisk in Wattle Grove on Wattle Day, the ritual of hymn singing and the 'Last Post' enacted around the soldiers' memorial on Violet Day and the Anzac Day procession on 13 October 1915 all herald the nascent rites of an emerging Anzac culture.

Signing the Great War Armistice extended the rituals of Anzac culture developed at grass roots level on Wattle, Violet and Anzac Day to include and encompass the Empire on Armistice Day. ANZAC, Wattle and Violet patriotic button days developed from Australian initiatives. Anzac Day became 'Australia's Day' in the sense it was a special day, a public holiday, for remembering Australians and New Zealanders buried overseas. In contrast Armistice Day, a

³⁸ ACA 1918/0801, Special District Order, 20 April 1918.

³⁹ ACA 1918/0801, Button Day, Special District Order, 20 April 1918.

commemorative day, currently observed as Remembrance Day, did not begin in Australia as a patriotic day set aside for fund raising in aid of wounded soldiers, but as a memorial day instigated by King George V in 1919. The King's proposal set aside two minutes at eleven o'clock, on the eleventh day of the eleventh month on the first anniversary of the Armistice, as a time in which to remember the Empire dead of the Great War with the observance of silence.⁴⁰ Adrian Gregory details the history of Armistice Day in Britain in *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946*, (1994).⁴¹ Journal articles published by the League, reflect an aura of pathos as South Australians, tried to come to terms with the 'Army of the Dead', and the wounded 'Human Wreckage', some of whom stayed in hospital for the rest of their lives, ultimately dying from wounds inflicted in overseas battles.⁴²

South Australian League magazines record the same pathos surrounding the armistice and peace as experienced in Britain. Peace was a time to celebrate life and survival, but at the same time, few Australians could forget the dead left overseas and the bereavement of their loved ones. In 1920, the official organ of the Returned Sailors' & Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (South Australian Branch), *The Diggers' Gazette*, reported on the burial and funeral procession of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey, London, as a tribute to the Common Soldier. At the instigation of the King, the whole Empire observed the 'silence'. As reported in *The Diggers' Gazette*, 'in South Australia citizens of all classes bowed their heads in unison with those across the seas.' Afterwards, the Soldiers' Mothers' Band laid wild flowers on the graves of the eleven soldiers buried in the

⁴⁰ National Archives of Australia, Series number D958/0, Control symbol S1919/5808, Contents date range 1919-1919, Instructions re observance of two minutes silence on Armistice Day, Circular No 570, 10 November 1919.

⁴¹ Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory Armistice Day 1919-1946*, (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

⁴² *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, no 11, 'Human Wreckage', 21 April 1921, pp. 31-37; Vol II, no 12, 'Army of the Dead', 7 May 1921, p. 42; 'The March of the Dead', p. 21.

West Terrace cemetery. The memorial obelisk in the Wattle Grove was still in use, but eleven graves in the Adelaide cemetery provided another focus of closure for those mourning the death of family members, for that cemetery contained the graves of soldiers who had died since returning to South Australia from overseas.⁴³

Armistice Day symbolically commemorated Empire Dead. The League, through *The Diggers' Gazette* encouraged practical support with fund raising designed to help the war torn regions of France as well as Australian ex-servicemen and women.

The red poppy linked to Flanders Fields by the poem of Col. John McCrae, became a further symbolic floral memorial to the dead of the Great War. Soldiers' organizations throughout the British Empire and Allied countries, including the RSL, passed resolutions at international conventions recognizing the poppy of Flanders fields as an 'international memorial flower to be worn on Armistice Day.' *The Diggers' Gazette* reported a consignment of one million poppies was expected to arrive in Sydney around 20 October 1921. These were not fresh flowers as those used on Wattle and Violet days, but imitation poppies made by war orphans living in the devastated regions of France and Flanders. The poppies sold for the sum of one shilling as a means of raising money both for France and for the purposes of the RSL in Australia. Initially the RSL remitted five pence from the sale of every poppy to France. At the instigation of the Federal Secretary, the RSL asked State Branches to assist by requesting the Lord Mayor of Adelaide and the mayors of other municipalities to reserve Armistice Day for the sale of imitation poppies. In a further departure from the sale of the other floral emblems used as tokens of remembrance, the League was to have sole responsibility for distribution of the

⁴³ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II No 1, 15 Nov 1920, pp. 9-10.

poppies. 'Millie', author of an article in the *The Diggers' Gazette* entitled 'In Flanders Fields where Poppies Grow' wrote:

It is largely for the benefit of those war orphans that the League is arranging to sell the poppies throughout Australia. In addition, it is hoped that this red poppy will be a reminder to those in Australia who have almost forgotten what a deep debt of gratitude the Empire owes to those who now lie beneath the soil on which the red poppy blooms.⁴⁴

With the coming of peace and the return of the veterans, the 'debt of honor' became a 'debt of gratitude'.

Miss Clegget was a South Australian who worked for the benefit of returned soldiers suffering from tuberculosis. Clegget wrote to the Controller of Stores at the GPO in 1921 asking for help in fund raising activities for the Tubercular Soldiers AID Society. The Government accepted that some returned soldier's tuberculosis resulted from war service; these soldiers were 'lucky' enough to be treated and cared for at the War Veterans Home, Myrtlebank. Specifically, Clegget's concern was for those TB returned soldier sufferers whose illness was judged by authorities to be 'pre-war existent' or whose illness did not manifest itself within two years from date of discharge, whom the Government declined to support. In spite of difficulties, Clegget raised money to improve conditions for the TB returned soldiers at Bedford Park Sanatorium, where accommodation was isolated hillside huts, described as 'wooden chalets'. Fund raising also provided reading material, and alleviated the plight of the TB returned soldiers' families by giving help and Christmas gifts to wives and children otherwise left destitute. Clegget took up the debt abrogated by government authorities.⁴⁵ Despite the refusal of the postal

⁴⁴ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol III, No 10, 7 October, 1921, p. 10, 26; No 12, 7 November, 1921, p.1, p. 26.

⁴⁵ NAA D959/0, 1A1952/817, Tubercular Soldiers AID Society letterhead, to Controller of Stores GPO, from Miss E Clegget, 1 December 1921; booklet issued by the Tubercular Aid Society, 'The Bedford Call'.

department to grant her 1921 request for help, and a request in 1925 to sell badges, Clegget, persisted with fund raising proposals.

On the 12 November 1926, Miss Clegget requested permission from the Post Master General Department to place 150,000 'crests', on postal articles. The PMG eventually granted permission to Clegget, to affix the crests to other than the address side of articles, for the crests were already printed and ready for sale at one penny each. 'The Optimist', official organ of the Tubercular Soldiers Aid Society, in 1929, published a record of the Society's relief work at the Angorichina Hostel.⁴⁶ The relief work of the Tubercular Soldiers' Aid Society, begun on farming land at Bedford Park, also took place in the remote, Flinders Ranges, 'half-way between Parachilna and Blinman, in the Parachilna Gorge', where TB returned soldiers received recuperative help on land donated by J. Lee and W. H. McFarlane of Angorichina Station.⁴⁷ After the return of ex-service personnel to Australia, Miss Clegget honoured the debt owed to TB returned soldiers by alleviating their suffering and family distress.

The maintenance of Wattle Grove became a burden to the WDL as the focus of memorial activities shifted, and commemorative rituals began taking place in other locations throughout Adelaide. With the return of peace, the WDL sought permission for more parkland in recognition of the League's President, Sir William Sowden. However, the WDL had neglected trees planted to 'honor the debt' during the war years. In August 1923, the Adelaide City Council found the obvious neglect of the Grove unacceptable. The Council refused to release more land and curtailed further enlargement of the wattle plantation. The Soldiers' Mothers' Band held Anzac Sunday memorial services at Wattle Grove in 1925 and 1926. The

⁴⁶ NAA D959/0, IA1952/817, correspondence from Miss Clegget 10 February, 12 November 1926; 'The Optimist', with which is incorporated 'The Bedford Call', No 7, March 1929.

⁴⁷ Hans Mincham, *The Story of the Flinders Ranges*, (Adelaide: Rigby, 1964), p. 287.

hymns “O God our help in ages past”, “Lead kindly light”, and “Nearer, my God to Thee”, which had become the mainstay of Christians seeking solace during the war, continued to be a comfort. Speeches given during the memorial services maintained the theme and tenor of the war years, acknowledging the debt owed to the wives and mothers of the men of the AIF for their suffering during the war, as well as that of the debt owed to the men. Further neglect of the grove ultimately led to the removal of the obelisk from Cohen Avenue in the South Parklands, in October 1940, to Lundie Gardens, South Terrace where it remains today.⁴⁸

Rhetoric during the war had been of undying remembrance, of heroic deeds, memorials, and work for returned men, but in reality, the bodies of some of the ex-servicemen lay in paupers’ graves, neglected and weed ridden, in different parts of West Terrace cemetery. Under the title ‘Dishonoring the Dead, Neglected Soldiers’ Graves’, *The Diggers’ Gazette*, in 1921, reported that the promises made to the ‘gallant lads’ who volunteered to take up arms, had been forgotten. The Government of South Australia, ‘alone of the Governments of the Empire’ allowed burial of the country’s saviours in paupers’ graves. The League, negotiated for a grant of land known as ‘Light Oval’, which was situated adjacent to the cemetery, intending to exhume all the bodies of the returned soldiers and bury them in a fitting manner at that location.⁴⁹ Early records relating to Anzac Day ceremonies held by both the League and Adelaide City Archives, exhibit evidence that mourning rituals were an important feature of Anzac culture, that those who had given their lives had little else to give and therefore had given their all.

⁴⁸ ACA 1917/2419.01, Wattle Day League. Planting of Wattle Trees at South Parklands, 17 August 1923; letter from acting Town Clerk, 27 August 1923; *Advertiser* ‘Soldiers’ Mothers’ Band’, 27 April 1925, p. 11; ‘Soldiers’ Mothers’, 26 April 1926, p. 11; Des Ryan, words & David Faber, research, ‘The forgotten, original Anzac memorial’, in *The City Messenger*, 22 April 1998, p. 6; ACA, National War Memorial 305C, 19.9.68 to 2.10.1975 Pamphlet produced by RSL.

⁴⁹ *Diggers’ Gazette*, Vol II, No 7, 21 February 1921, pp. 43-45

Although the South Australian community had spontaneously recognised a need to ‘honor a debt’ to ex-servicemen and women of the Great War, as well as the sacrifice of those left to mourn war dead, I found a comparatively small amount of written evidence acknowledging the extension of that debt to ex-servicemen and women during the Second World War. The South Australian community may have assumed that existing organizations developed during and after the Great War would automatically accept responsibility for grief management and disability support. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission maintained war graves. The Repatriation Department had responsibility to alleviate war-caused disability. Newspaper reports of Anzac Day services during the later period of the WWII underline the importance of commemorative services in memory of war dead and refer to prisoners-of-war. In the aftermath of the Second World War *Back*, magazine of the RSL, published a cartoon by Goodchild in *The News*, referring not to the debt owed to war dead but delivering an ‘Account Rendered’ for War Reparations on behalf of ex-POW and Dependents for the ‘Siam Railway and other Death Jobs’.⁵⁰ The RSL added the WWII ‘account rendered’ to the original ‘debt of honor’ and as we shall see in ‘Diggers & Slackers’, lobbied the Government on behalf of the ex-service community.

Although the national commemorative initiatives of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day supported by the RSL continued, the 1960s and 1970s saw the decline and eventual demise of two of the original South Australian remembrance initiatives instigated by women. Funeral arrangements after the death of Miss Clegget in 1960, merited discussion at League State Board level: the President advised he could not agree to recite the ‘Ode’, but the Board did reach an agreement

⁵⁰ *Advertiser*, ‘War Prisoners Reach Britain’, 26 April 1943, p.3; ‘Memorable Observance, Dawn Services in City and Suburbs’, 26 April 1945, p. 5; *Back*, Magazine of the R.S.L., August 1947, p. 7.

to drape Miss Clegget's coffin with the flag. Subsequently, the State Board advocated the termination of Angorichina Hostel, with the result that by 1970 the TB Soldiers' Aid Society prepared to close down the association's facilities at that site.⁵¹ The defunct Cheer-up Society ceased to exist in 1963, when it presented funds totalling over five thousand pounds to assist in the establishment of an infirmary at the War Veterans Home, Myrtlebank. Violet Day observances consisted of a service at the Adelaide Town Hall with children's choirs providing choral items. Takings from the commemorative collection donated to the AIF Cemetery Trust, enabled the continued upkeep of the AIF section at West Terrace. By the mid 1960s, concurrent with the period of the Vietnam War, Violet Day, now labelled Violet Memory Day, reached its 50th commemoration service, the momentum of the day itself fading in collective memory. The State Board of the League received advice in May 1971 that a Violet Memory Day Service Committee meeting had agreed to discontinue the service. However, the committee decided to continue the observance of Violet Day with the memorial ritual of placing wreaths on both the Cross at the AIF cemetery and the State Memorial.⁵² Australian identity changed to become more independent of formal British rituals, widening to embrace other cultures. Changes within Australia society in relation to patriotism, and spirituality hastened the decline of Violet Day. Rituals formerly observed in school assemblies such as saluting the flag, honouring the monarch, singing the national anthem and acknowledging the self-sacrifice of earlier generations of Australians at Anzac Day and Armistice Day ceremonies with a silence, ceased in some Australian

⁵¹ League State Board Minutes, (f) Funeral – Miss Clegget, 4 April 1960; SB, (o) Angorichina Hostel, 3 October 1960; SB, TB Soldiers Aid Society, 16 May 1966; SB, TB Assoc, 16 November 1970.

⁵² RSL Annual Report year ended 31 December 1962, p. 14; A/R 1964-65, unpaginated; Mortlock Library Pamphlet A940.425, Address by Mr. W C D Veale, Violet Memory Day, 1 August, 1965, Town Hall Adelaide, p. 8; SB minutes, (f) Violet Memory Day, 18 May 1971.

schools. The death rate of ex-servicemen and women was exceeding that of over one thousand a year and calls for assistance in arranging burials and erecting memorial headstones continued as the burden of honouring the debt became heavier each year.⁵³

In contrast to the debt accepted by the Australian community as owing to those who served the nation during WWI and the account rendered after WWII for the war service of ex POWs, the war service of those Australians who served in Korea and Vietnam went largely un-appreciated. Korea, subsequently labelled ‘The Forgotten War’ elicited very little attention within Australia, while the Vietnam War was the cause of controversy. South Australian Peter Haran, joined the Australian Regular Army in 1966 as an enlistee, and served alongside National Servicemen conscripted to serve in Vietnam. Describing that period, Haran wrote in his memoir of Vietnam, *Trackers*:

And six years is a bloody long time, particularly when you consider that the Australian Army in the 1960s was caught in a time that saw the military shaken from peace activities into a shadowy conflict which rapidly escalated into a political and military wildfire.⁵⁴

Haran came home unmet and unwelcomed to Adelaide, his parents explaining ‘They didn’t want us to know when you boys were returning because those protest people might do something.’ It was not until 1987 that some Vietnam Veterans took part in what Haran described as ‘a highly emotional, unexpected event ... the country’s official Big Sorry Day’, the Welcome Home Parade in Sydney.⁵⁵

The 1987 parade, ‘honored the debt’ metaphorically, for ‘the debt’ remained un-acknowledged at the time of service. Describing his feelings after the Sydney

⁵³ RSSAILA, Annual Report and Balance Sheet, year ended 31st December 1965, no pagination; Annual Report, 1970, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Peter Haran, *Trackers The Untold Story of the Australian Dogs of War*, (Sydney: New Holland, first published 2000, reprinted 2000, 2001), p. 4.

⁵⁵ Haran, *Trackers*, 2001, p. 198; p. 5.

march past Haran wrote ‘At the end of the parade I felt a relief and unloading I could never have imagined’.⁵⁶ In 1998, Haran received a letter from the Australian government thanking him on behalf of a ‘grateful nation’ for ‘contributing to Australia’s effort in the Vietnam War.’ Haran’s comment:

Funny about that – in the early 1960s the government said there wasn’t a war. I still smile when I look at it with John Howard’s signature on the bottom, reckoning it must have been held up in the mail for 30 years.⁵⁷

By the end of the century, the ‘debt of honor’ acknowledged as owing to those Australians who served the nation at the time of the Great War on behalf of a grateful nation, had become a debt of gratitude to all veterans.

Despite the demise of Wattle and Violet Days and the waning significance of Armistice or Poppy Day until its revival in the 1990s by Prime Minister Paul Keating, the observance of commemorative ceremonies on 25 April, Anzac Day, continued because the League’s Anzac Day Committee made decisions acknowledging and adapting to changes within the Australian nation. Adjustments made by the League in the organization of Anzac Day marches and commemoration services, endeavoured to accommodate differences within the Australian community and ensured the Day’s survival. These adjustments are the subject of further discussion in later chapters. The South Australian Anzac Day march changed its route, its format, its ideology to fit into the prevailing and evolving identity of the Australian nation. Changes are evident in the first year of the observance, in 1916, when the South Australian community changed its original idea of celebrating Anzac Day on Eight Hours Day, and adopted some of the suggestions of the Brisbane ADCC. During the period from 1916 to 1920, Anzac Day was a combination of returned soldiers, not only from the Great War, but also from the

⁵⁶ Haran, *Trackers*, 2001, p. 195.

⁵⁷ Haran, *Trackers*, 2001, p. 199.

Boer War, serving military, and militia. Anzac Days during the war were not only a time of patriotic exhibition from the military and returned men and women, but also of the wider service groups within the community. Although Anzac Day was used as a means of raising money to provide a place of entertainment and comfort for returning and embarking servicemen, it was also used as a patriotic example of empire loyalty and acknowledgement of suffering within the South Australian community. An acknowledgement that only widened with the return of the men and the knowledge that the many dead lying overseas outnumbered those taking part in the parades at home.

Anzac culture also encompasses a sense of Australian identity in the observance of a memorial 'dawn service' timed to elicit a sense of anticipation, in the birth of a new day, bonding participants at the memorial service to the men who made the dawn landing at Gallipoli in 1915. This hyperbolic ceremony attunes modern Australians into recognizing the heightened sensibilities of a dawn battle, and the debt owed for the sacrificed lives of earlier generations, especially when the service takes place surrounded by the resultant graveyards of Gallipoli, Europe and Asia. RSL documentation credits the introduction of the first dawn service to Rev. Arthur Ernest White, Church of England clergyman, in Albany, Western Australia on 25 April 1923. Rev. White left Australia with the men of the First A.I.F. in November 1914. White chose Albany for the inaugural dawn service because it was there that those 'ANZACS' who remained in graves overseas had their last sight of Australia. Dawn services conducted in South Australia originally took place on Anzac Day in memorial gardens at Unley. After the dedication of the State Memorial on North Terrace, focus shifted from suburban dawn services to the main

observation of the dawn service in Adelaide.⁵⁸ Christian liturgy used in grief management rituals evolved into an Anzac Day liturgy used at civic memorial services, not only statewide, but also nationally and internationally. Anzac culture continued the acknowledgement of the 'debt of honor'. The spirituality inherent in commemorative services observed as a dimension of Anzac Day takes place at soldiers' memorials on sacred ground. As we shall see in the next chapter, in 1922, the South Australian Anzac Day march concluded at a surrogate burial site that incorporated the Cross of Sacrifice and Stone of Remembrance used in overseas war cemeteries.

⁵⁸ Information reprinted by the League from the minutes of the Royal Australian Corps of Signals Officers; Association Queensland. Unpaginated; Advertiser, 'Impressive Dawn Service', 27 April 1931, p.8; 'Dawn of Anzac', 26 April 1932, p. 10; 25 April 1933, 'Unley Service at 6.00 am', p.7; 'Dawn Services Ceremony at State War Memorial', 26 April 1935, p. 18.

Chapter 3.
SACRED GROUND
 Mourning and memorials at surrogate burial sites

South Australian group responses made to honour Australian war dead led to the development of rituals forming the basis of morning Anzac Day grieving rites on 'sacred ground'. The rituals of Anzac Day that take place before noon are predominantly those of mourning, developed to substitute and encompass Judaeo-Christian funeral rites adapted throughout Australia to portray a community sense of Australian remembrance. The essence of spirituality in the rites conducted during the morning of Anzac Day assuage grief, endeavouring to bring a sense of closure, particularly to the relatives of war dead, because of the absence in Australia of a corpse over which to conduct formal funeral services. Tanja Luckins records that on Tuesday afternoon 25 April 1922, in Woolloomooloo, New South Wales, Governor-General, Lord Forster, unveiled a memorial fountain erected by the women of New South Wales. Luckins writes 'the memorial drinking fountain was a women's war memorial', and that the fountain, together with the nearby wharf gates were 'part of a mnemonic landscape, ... intended to assist, memory'.¹ In Adelaide, South Australia, on the morning of the same day, South Australian women arranged the dedication of a Women's Memorial to the Fallen of the Great War. It is important to realize memorial days encompassing funereal, spiritual, rituals, developed not only in Australia but also throughout the British Empire and other Allied Countries at memorials built on sacred, or within hallowed ground. With death, battlefield cemeteries became sacred ground. Sacredness compounded in an analogy with the 'translation of saints', the removal of a saint's remains from one place to another. The Imperial, now Commonwealth War Graves Commission

¹ Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory, Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War*, (Fremantle: Curtin University, 2004), p. 159, 161.

exhumed the bodies of war dead from their original hastily dug burial sites in battle areas, and subsequently interred them within the war cemeteries of Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Since the time of the Pharaohs, the Greeks and the Romans, obelisks erected on battlegrounds signified death and victory.²

In Australia, memorials imbued the ground upon which they stood with a sense of sacredness, despite the absence of bodies. As discussed in chapter 2, ‘Honoring the Debt’, during the Great War the WDL added a cross to the obelisk in Wattle Grove. After the war, in some cases an effigy of a Digger, hewn from white stone, symbolized the bodies or ghosts of the army of the dead. With peace and the signing of the Armistice, a combination of women’s organizations, St Peters Anglican Cathedral, and veterans’ organizations in Adelaide, sought to bring to their various memorials a sense of spirituality or sacredness by the erection of a cross. The women’s group in particular, found comfort in the use of designs that shadowed the overseas graves of Australian war dead. Although the three groups all decided to erect a memorial cross, the women’s group were first to obtain copyright of Sir Reginald Blomfield’s design for the ‘British Cross of the Great War’, erected initially in Wiltshire, then in European war cemeteries.³

To understand the element of sorrow evident within memorial days such as Anzac Day and Armistice Day, it is necessary to look at rituals concerning death that developed during the nineteenth century within Western civilization. The Rural Cemetery Movement commercially marketed a solution to crowded, odorous,

² Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*, (London: Leo Cooper, 1991) p. 3.

³ Compiled by Judith McKay and Richard Allom, *Lest We Forget A Guide to the Conservation of War Memorials*, (Brisbane: Returned Services League of Australia (Queensland Branch), 1984), explains how statues of soldiers carved from white stone, suffer damage when those seeking to renovate the memorials use brown paint, unwittingly destroying symbolism representing an army of dead soldiers.*; Mortlock Library, SRG 89, Women’s Memorial to the Fallen in the Great War, Letter from Dorothy Gilbert, Hon Secretary, Women’s Memorial Fund to Mr. Lethaby, 23 August, 1919; Letter addressed to Herbert Baker, 3 September, 1919; Adelaide City Archives, SPF 549A.01 Cross of Sacrifice. *See photographs of Mt Barker & Kadina ‘Diggers’ p. 373 & 376.

graveyards within city areas. Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was one example that provided a garden setting for funeral rites. Attending funeral services for loved ones operated as an act of closure. Symbolism displayed on headstones preserved people's sense of identity. Tending the graves, keeping them tidy and placing flowers on or near headstones developed significance as a visible act of remembrance. After the Great War, American next of kin had a choice whether they left American war dead lying in overseas graves or arranged with the American government to bring the bodies of their men home for burial as heroes. Australians, as members of the British Empire, did not have that choice and were therefore unable to bring the bodies of war dead home. Of all Australians killed overseas during the First World War, only the body of General Bridges, exhumed from Alexandria, received transportation back to Australia for re-burial in the grounds of Duntroon, Canberra in September 1915. The body of General Bridges remained the only Australian body brought back from World War I (hereinafter WWI), battlefields until 1993 when the body of an unknown Australian soldier was exhumed from France, returned to Australia and given a State funeral and buried in the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Museum.⁴

Australian community groups sought to alleviate the distress of war-caused bereavement with the establishment of memorials for Australian war dead lying in overseas cemeteries. The bodies of Empire dead lay buried with comrades and given identical headstones showing no preference to rank, class, creed, or distinguished service, although relatives could choose an identifier symbolising

⁴ Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity Religion and Popular Culture in America*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1995), pp. 103-131; G Kurt Piehler, 'The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War', in John R Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994), pp. 168-185; *The Advertiser*, 'The Late Major-General Bridges, The Burial Service', 3 September, 1915, p. 17; 'Funeral Service of the Unknown Australian Soldier, 11 November 1993, Eulogy delivered by the Prime Minister of Australia', in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 24, April 1994, p. 4.

religion, either a cross, or a Star of David. Senator G. F. Pearce, Minister of State for Defence, in *Where the Australians Rest* (1920), published descriptions of the many cemeteries overseas where Australian war dead lay buried. Among European cemeteries named in the publication are Tanks Cemetery, Hooge Crater Cemetery, and Ypres Town Extension Military Cemetery. Jerusalem Military Cemetery, situated on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, faced the 'Holy City', while the bodies of some wounded who died away from the battle fronts lay in cemeteries in England at Harefield, Brookwood and Lark Hill. The 'Glorious Dead' received further recognition and commemoration at the Cenotaph at Whitehall, the memorial erected not to a division, brigade, company or battalion but to the '1,000,000 soldiers and sailors who died that Liberty might live.'⁵ Described as 'An Empire's Monument', the Cenotaph:

[S]tands on the roadway between the Houses of Parliament and the Nelson column in Trafalgar Square. Thousands of civilians bare and bend their heads, and place wreaths at the base of the memorial; while soldiers, in pride and sorrow, salute "THE GLORIOUS DEAD."⁶

While Soldiers saluted the London Cenotaph, civilians showed their respect to Empire war dead by baring and bending their heads. Soldiers and civilians alike treated the London Cenotaph as sacred ground.

Once erected, Australian soldiers' memorials intended to provide a sacred site for mourning and remembrance, received as a label the term 'war memorials'. In contrast, the French call monuments to the fallen, *monuments aux morts*, saviours of their own land.⁷ Whether a question merely of semantics or the Australian tendency to devise shorter 'nick-names', designating effigies and monumental

⁵ Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter to Imperial War Graves Commission, London, 3 September 1919; Senator G F Pearce, *Where the Australians Rest*, (Aust: Minister of State for Defence, 1920), p. 24, 71, 58, 61, 71.

⁶ Pearce, *Australians Rest*, p. 71.

⁷ Ken Inglis, foreword, in Annette Becker, *War and Faith The Religious Imagination in France, 1914-1930*, Translated from the French by Helen McPhail, (Oxford: Berg, 1998) p. xiii.

structures 'war memorials' led later generations of Australians to regard them as a commemoration of war itself. Because a number of Australian monuments also included the names of ex-servicemen and women as well as war dead, some Australians failed to recognize the memorials' primary function, that of symbolizing the overseas burial sites of thousands of individual Australians. Australians were so far away in distance from the war graves and cemeteries in other countries that, what in effect Australian collective memory now terms 'war memorials', became communal headstones representing absent corpses, memorials to common sacrifice, where grieving relatives could place tokens of remembrance. Memorial days became part of Anzac culture, a collective display of bereavement and remembrance throughout the Australian community. Had the memorials been described as 'peace memorials' or more truthfully 'sacrificial memorials', later generations of Australians may well have avoided some mistaken assumptions in relation to the intended purpose of mourning ceremonies held before noon on Anzac Day. Attending services at memorials in remembrance of those who had made the 'supreme sacrifice' became part of the patriotic function of showing Australian loyalty to the British Empire, and thereby British Australian identity, in a display of grief, which forced recognition of family and Australian sacrifice in the maintenance of British interests.

As we have seen, Ken Inglis published a study of 'War Memorials in the Australian Landscape', (*Sacred Places*), in 1998. In writing about Adelaide memorials, Inglis referred to the Cross of Sacrifice as a women's memorial, Memorial Drive as a public work, and discussed the South Australian State

Memorial in a chapter entitled 'Capital Monuments'.⁸ I will not duplicate his work in relation to the State of South Australia, but in order to outline the intended purpose of the memorials' originators, deal with debates concerning principal soldiers' memorials within the city of Adelaide, memorials that have become the focus of Anzac Day and Armistice or Remembrance Day services. Soldiers' memorials designed in the form of monumental structures, include the Cross of Sacrifice and the State Memorial. Memorial Hospital is an example of a memorial within the utilitarian, institutionalised category built with the intention of 'honoring the debt'. The Adelaide City Council built 'War Memorial Drive' as a substitute for extensive peace celebrations.⁹ Collective memory no longer recognizes the original purpose of some monuments and utilitarian memorials built after the signing of the Armistice, but documents held in Council and Church archives reveal their intended purpose.

South Australian women planned to erect the first official Women's Memorial within an Australian city for they wanted to provide a communal space in which to conduct funeral and mourning rituals designed to commemorate war dead. After the conclusion of hostilities ending World War I, in March 1919, the Adelaide League of Loyal Women's organization set about organizing a general and executive committee for 'The Women's Memorial to the Fallen of the Great War'. Mrs. C. R. J. Glover, the wife of the Lord Mayor, was instrumental in organising the first meeting of the Women's Committee in the reception room of the Town Hall; the project began under her administration and she was President of the General Committee. With the formation of committees, the objective of the Adelaide

⁸ Ken Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, (Carlton South, The Miegunyah Press, 1998), Cross of Sacrifice p. 282, 332-2; Memorial Drive p. 138; South Australian National Memorial p. 282, 284, 293-5, 296, 297-8, 445,446.

⁹ Uniting Church in Australia Synod of South Australia Historical Society, *The Memorial Hospital Souvenir, 1919*; ACA, 1919/0953 Drive Way around Torrens Lake - War Memorial Drive.

Women's Memorial Fund was to emulate the Women of England who organized the memorial that the Adelaide women believed to be the only extant Women's Memorial at that time, the Lion Mound at Waterloo.¹⁰

Civic leaders readily utilised the Waterloo memorial, as one example of fulfilling a 'debt of honor' owed to war dead. Adelaide's Mayor, Mr A. A. Simpson, referred to the Lion Mound at Waterloo in Belgium on 13 September 1915, in a memo submitted to an Adelaide City Council works and Highways Committee regarding a 'memorial to the heroes of Gallipoli'. Simpson, believed:

Such a memorial must necessarily be too large for North Terrace, because like the statue which honours the heroes of the South African War, it should bear the names of the dead, legibly inscribed on bronze tablets round the pedestal.¹¹

The Mayor went on to recommend:

Like that of our Belgian Allies at Waterloo, the memorial should be placed on the summit of a well-grassed mound, though not of such great height. This mound could be formed without cost by using the waste material from building excavations and should be begun now – it is not too early to acknowledge our obligations to the dead. It would be necessarily a work of many months and I recommend a report be at once obtained from the City Engineer as to the most suitable place.¹²

Therefore, the Adelaide Women's Memorial established by the Women's Memorial Fund followed Western traditions, necessarily adapting those traditions for Australian purposes in fulfilment of the women's desire to recognize their 'Glorious Dead' and be a 'link in the Imperial chain of Crosses' known as the British Cross of the Great War.¹³ The concept was born primarily because there was no suitable site in Adelaide available to carry out western traditions of mourning and closure for Australian war dead buried overseas.

¹⁰ Mortlock, SRG 89, copy of Public Notice in *The Register and The Advertiser*, 11 March 1919; Typed quarto sheet, 'The Women's Memorial.'

¹¹ ACA, TCDKT 1915/2968, Memorial to Australians at Gallipoli, Memo for Docket, Works & Highways Committee, 13 Sept 1915, Digest Page 461.

¹² ACA, TCDKT 1915/2968, Australians at Gallipoli, Works & Highways Committee, 13 Sept 1915.

¹³ Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter to Imperial War Graves Commission from D Gilbert, 3 September 1919.

Temporarily, churches compiled Rolls of Honour or honour boards, as did many schools and the work places where men and women had left employment to serve overseas. Local honour boards in the hallowed space of Christian churches metaphorically acknowledged the debt owing for sacrifice called for from Australian churches. Sir Josiah Symons, speaking at the dedication of the Upper Sturt Church memorial on 2 April 1916, said to mothers:

I know the sacrifice, but mothers, too, have a sacred duty. That duty is to encourage their boys to go, to tell them to go. It is for the mothers to point to that roll of honour and say, in the spirit of love and self-sacrifice. 'Go and do likewise.'¹⁴

Rolls of honour and honour boards recognized the debt owed, but did not satisfy the need to play out acts of closure. Women in particular still lacked a gravesite to care for, or a site on which to place material tokens of remembrance, evidence in the form of floral wreaths. The parents and relatives of some British Soldiers, travelled across the English Channel to visit battlefields and gravesites as described by Vera Brittain in *Testament of Youth* (1933). In France where a great proportion of Allied men's bodies lay buried, relatives of the French dead wanted the bodies of French war dead brought home to local burial plots. Some French families were prepared to 'steal' the bodies of their men, against the wishes of their government.¹⁵ The bulk of South Australian bereaved knew there was no likelihood of their travelling overseas to visit the grave of loved ones in overseas war cemeteries.

In an attempt to remedy the situation, in Adelaide, a public notice placed in daily newspapers by the Lady Mayoress invited women of all ages and descriptions to work together in an effort to construct a place in Adelaide suitable for women to

¹⁴ Arnold D Hunt, *Methodism Militant Attitudes to the Great War 1914-1918*, (Adelaide: South Australian Historical Society, 1975), p. 14.

¹⁵ Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, (Great Britain, Virago Press, 1978), p. 483, pp. 522-527; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning The Great War in European cultural history*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 23-27.

mourn their dead.¹⁶ *The Register* reported that Miss Dorothy Gilbert, elected as honorary secretary, made a ‘moving and scholarly address’ at the first general meeting and outlined the object of the memorial as:

To enable us, the women of this State, to erect as a memorial to those who have sacrificed their lives in this war, something which in its beauty, its permanence, and its symbolism, shall express what we can never put into words for the men who went out of our own homes, out of our everyday lives, carrying our hearts with them, and have left us with a memory, an ideal, and an outlook on life very different from that which was ours before the war.¹⁷

The Women’s Memorial Fund required Adelaide City Council permission and approval, together with copyright designs from overseas to convert the envisioned idea of a memorial into a material edifice suitable for commemorative purposes. The Women’s Memorial Fund first requested from the Council, a site on North Terrace outside the Art Gallery, on which to erect their memorial. After the publication of an article on war memorials, in *The Times* by Mr Herbert Baker, the Executive Committee contacted Baker thus initiating protracted negotiations with both him and the Adelaide Council. Baker suggested the space the women required was not on a boulevard surrounded by the noise of tramlines and a busy city, but a space near the spiritual heart of the city, namely the Cathedral. Placing the memorial in a garden near the cathedral would help the women attain the ‘atmosphere of peace and reverence’ necessary for the formation of a sacred place.¹⁸

Subsequently, while working on the development of New Delhi, India, Baker devised an open-air cathedral in a garden setting planned to provide the peace

¹⁶ Mortlock, SRG 89, Women’s Memorial Fund Executive Committee Minute Book March 12, 1919 to July 28, 1920, copy of Public Notice inserted Tuesday 11th March in both dailies *Register* and *Advertiser*.

¹⁷ ACA SPF 549A.01 Cross of Sacrifice, newspaper cutting *Register*, 25 February 1922.

¹⁸ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Cross of Sacrifice, Letter to His Worship the Mayor, Town Hall Adelaide, 2 March 1919; Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter to H Baker from D Gilbert, 26 April 1919; ACA, SPF 549A.01, Cross of Sacrifice, Letter to Mayor from D Gilbert, 20 August 1919, handwritten note; Letter from H Baker, 3 July 1919.

and tranquillity the South Australian women required for their memorial.¹⁹ Delay occurred while the women sought permission from Sir Reginald Blomfield and Sir Edwin Lutyens, for copyright to existing Empire memorials. Purchasing the necessary copyright enabled the women to achieve their desired objective. A memorial garden that surrounded the exact reproduction of the two monuments, so that anyone entering the garden would feel that somewhere, on some battlefield, the man they personally knew was lying under the shadow of the cross, facing the stone, just one of almost a million British dead who gave their lives for the Empire.²⁰ The shadows cast by the Adelaide Cross of Sacrifice and cenotaph, symbolically represented the shadows cast by Blomfield's British Cross of the Great War and Lutyen's 'Altar of Remembrance' erected by the Imperial War Graves Commission in overseas war cemeteries.

South Australians of both genders saw 'The British Cross of the Great War' as a suitable symbol signifying the commemoration of Australian war service. It was not only the women working to honour the fallen of the Great War who wished to erect the same cross in Adelaide as that in overseas cemeteries for the purposes of remembrance and mourning. The same form of remembrance crosses stands in the A.I.F. section of West Terrace cemetery. Another two crosses stand in Centennial Park cemetery, one in Derrick Garden of Remembrance the other in a section reserved for those members of the forces who died while still in Australia. The Cathedral Memorial Committee of St Peter's Cathedral also wanted to erect the same cross in the grounds of the Cathedral. The Women's Memorial Fund

¹⁹ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Cross of Sacrifice, Letter from H Baker, circa 1919; copy of same letter also in Mortlock, SRG 89.

²⁰ Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter from Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., to D Gilbert, 19 May 1920; Letter from Sir Edwin I Lutyens B.A., to Mrs A R Lungley, 10 January 1921; letter to Dr Lethaby from D Gilbert, 23 August 1919; letter to B Mackennal, 3 September 1919; Typed quarto sheet, 'The Women's Memorial.'

discovered the Cathedral Memorial Committee's intentions in the midst of conducting negotiations with the Imperial War Graves Commission, and copyright negotiations with Blomfield.²¹ Eventually, the Cathedral Memorial Committee resigned all rights to Blomfield's cross in favour of the Women's Memorial Fund. The Cathedral Memorial Committee altered the shape of their cross to that of a Celtic cross, and also bowed to the women's wishes and placed the Cathedral cross on the North Adelaide side of the Cathedral where it stood sentinel in what eventually became an asphalt car park.²² The women's committee objected to the same cross being erected by the Cathedral in 1920, because the Cathedral congregation intended to remember all those who enlisted for war service, whereas the cross in Pennington Gardens was specifically raised to honour the dead, for the men who had made the 'supreme sacrifice'.²³ Discussion took place concerning women who had died while on overseas' service. Debate centred on whether nurses should also be included within the memorial aspects signified by the Cross of Sacrifice. After research found only three South Australia nurses died, the Women's Memorial Fund General Committee decided that their cross was only to be in memory of the men who had fallen in the Great War.²⁴ Another source of contention among community groups was the right to conduct memorial services on significant dates.

A number of community groups tried to organise fund raising and memorial functions on symbolic dates during the period immediately after the Armistice. The inevitable clashes resulted in the Women's Memorial Fund and League coming

²¹ Mortlock, SRG 89, Executive Committee Minutes, 25 September 1919; Letter to H Baker 29 September 1919; General Committee Minutes, 1 October 1919; ACA, SPF 549A.01, Letter from H Baker circa 1919, copy also in SRG 89.

²² Mortlock, SRG 89, Executive Committee Minutes, 29 January 1920.

²³ Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter to H Baker, New Dehli, 29 September 1919; Letter signed by D Gilbert 18 February 1920.

²⁴ Minutes General Committee 15 April 1920.

together on Anzac Day, 25 April, which both organizations viewed as the most appropriate day for remembrance rituals. The Women's Memorial Fund sought permission from the Council to hold a silent appeal in Adelaide streets on Monday 26 April 1920. In an effort designed to double the memorial funds already raised, the Committee intended that women should proceed in a procession to Pennington Park, wanting to facilitate the placement of offerings of money and flowers at the memorial site. The League already had permission from the Council for fund raising between 24 and 26 April therefore the women postponed their arrangements, deciding to lay the foundation stone of the Women's Memorial on 4 August, the anniversary of the outbreak of war.²⁵ One can discern the evident passion caused by the frustration of trying to arrange memorial functions on significant dates without clashing with other community groups, and the conflict within the women's ranks in correspondence directed to the Council and in the Minutes of the Women's Executive Committee. The Women's Executive Committee made a decision to hold the foundation stone ceremony on 4 August, and decided at the following meeting held on 22 April, to make 'collecting bags' of purple material and 'to bespeak at once large quantities of violets.' The Executive Committee therefore not only usurped the day on which the usual Violet Memory Day ceremonies and fund raising took place, but also moved to ensure supplies of violets.²⁶ These decisions forced the Cheer-up Society to change the date of Violet Day to a day in July to avoid further conflict, despite Mrs Seager's assurances to the public, published in *The Register*, that the observance of Violet Memory Day would take place on 4

²⁵ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Letter to Mayor from D Gilbert, 5 March 1920; Letter to Mayor from D Gilbert, 1 April 1920; Letter to Mayor from D Gilbert, 10 April 1920.

²⁶ Mortlock, SRG 89, Executive Committee Minutes, 8 April 1920, 22 April 1920; ACA, SPF 549A.01, Memo from Deputy Town Clerk to Town Clerk, 20 April 1920.

August.²⁷ The decisions made by of the Executive Committee of the Women's Memorial to the Fallen in the Great War, to avoid clashing with the League fund raising activities, placed the fund raising plans of the Cheer-up Society at a disadvantage. As early as 1920, Adelaide women working for the memorial garden, adjudged their plans, and the fund raising efforts of the League during Anzac week, to be more deserving than the usual observance of Violet Day on 4 August.

The Executive Committee of the Women's Memorial took steps to consolidate their decisions. Following instructions from the Executive Committee, Dorothy Gilbert wrote to the Lord Mayor, requesting confirmation in writing of the Council's implied permission, given on 12 April, to transfer a women's procession from 26 April to 4 August. Gilbert also requested the clarification of three separate points concerning matters planned for 4 August. One, permission to organise a women's procession, two, permission to lay the foundation stone of the memorial and three, confirmation of the permission already given to collect funds on 4 August at the memorial gardens. As requested, the Council wrote to the Committee of the Women's Memorial Fund granting the first two points and confirming the third.²⁸ A letter published in a local newspaper from 'A Sorrowful Onlooker' criticized the Women's Memorial Fund for their perceived mistakes. First, they forgot most women had already helped with memorials to their sons in the schools and churches to which their sons belonged. Second, there would have been no injury to the community, or Adelaide, if both the Women's Memorial Fund and the Men of the Church of England had erected crosses. Another perceived mistake was that the Women's Memorial claimed 'Violet Day as their particular property', despite the

²⁷ Mortlock, SRG 89, Executive Committee, 6 May 1920, Newspaper cutting, *Register*, 'Violet Day', 20 April 1920.

²⁸ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Cross of Sacrifice, Letter to Right Worshipful the Lord Mayor of Adelaide from D Gilbert, 23 April 1920; Enclosure for Town Clerk's Office, Docket number 1437/19, 27 April 1920.

Cheer-up Society having observed Violet Day for five years since 1915.

Continuing the ‘Sorrowful Onlooker’ asked, ‘would it not have been wiser, from woman to woman, to have asked the original movers regarding Violet Day to cooperate?’²⁹ As in other allied countries, the ramifications of grief management extended throughout all classes of the community, enabling those groups with access to the civic power base to achieve their objectives.

Individual names were important to the women, the names of those they wanted remembered being placed under the foundation stone of the Cross in Pennington Park East before its unveiling in 1922, in an urn covered in the Union Jack. The names in the urn included those of Allied, British and French fighters received the day the foundation stone was set in place. Describing the purpose of the names the Register reported:

The women who desired to assist in the movement brought offerings in little violet bags, and each contained the name of some loved one, who had given his life in the defence of womanhood and for all that it enshrined. Those sacred offerings now rest amid hallowed surrounding symbolical of their place for evermore in the hearts of Australian patriots.³⁰

A Crusader’s sword, especially imported from W Bainbridge Reynolds Ltd, London, became the focal point of the tall stone Cross of Sacrifice.³¹ The Cross of Sacrifice, a symbol reminiscent of traditional victory columns yet signifying sacrificial death, looked down the gardens laid out in the form of a cross to the ‘Apse’, where Baker suggested placing the ‘Altar of Remembrance’ or ‘War Stone’ designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, designer of, among other memorials, the London Cenotaph and the Australian National War Memorial in France at Villers-

²⁹ Mortlock, SRG 89, Newspaper cutting, ‘The Women’s Memorial’, from ‘A Sorrowful Onlooker’, pasted in book labelled Minutes of the General Committee, March 12, 1919 to Sept 1, 1920.

³⁰ ACA SPF 549A.01, Cross of Sacrifice and Mortlock SRG 89, *Register* 25 February 1922.

³¹ Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter from Bainbridge Reynolds Ltd, to Miss Gilbert, 14 October 1920.

Bretonneux.³² Carved on the Altar of Remembrance was the verse chosen by Kipling from the book of Ecclesiasticus, 'Their name liveth for evermore'. Baker suggested the rest of the garden should become a 'garden of remembrance'.³³

Originally the intention of the Women's Committee for the Fallen of the Great War was to provide a sacred place or open-air cathedral in which every religion would be free to participate in the service proceedings, including Jews and those who did not wish to take part in Christian ceremonies.³⁴ *The Advertiser* reported in 1922, that as requested by the Federal and State Governments, memorial services took place in Churches and at the Synagogue, on the Sunday and Saturday preceding Anzac Day. Catholic response was such that Catholics needed no special day to remember the dead, as priests raised prayers and masses each day for the souls of the dead. Even so, the officiating Catholic priest acknowledged it was a solace to know that 'their separated brethren who worshipped in other places were also meeting that day to offer their prayers to the great Father of all'. As Australians, Catholics offered 'deep sympathy to the sorrowing mothers, wives and sisters of their gallant dead.' On the same page, *The Advertiser* reported:

³² Spedding, Q S, (ed), *Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, Official Year Book, 1937 (Coronation Issue)*, (Sydney: RS & SILA (NSW Branch) 1937), p. 137.

³³ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Letter from H Baker, circa 1919.

³⁴ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Letter from H Baker to Women's Memorial Fund, 3 July 1919; Mortlock SRG 89, Women's Memorial to the Fallen in the Great War, D Gilbert, 18/2/1920.

At the Synagogue on Saturday morning the Rev. I. A. Bernstein referred to Anzac Day, and went through the memorial service for the dead, mainly on behalf of the young men of his own congregation, who had made the supreme sacrifice. He stressed the importance of making Anzac Day a day of special conciliatory service. He urged the Jewish community to show their sympathy by joining in the public services on Sunday.³⁵

Christian and Jewish clergy expressed and reinforced Australian identity acknowledging Empire service and sacrifice as part of Anzac week religious services.

Women working for the erection of the Women's memorial strove to include all faiths and sects in official commemoration ceremonies. Chaplains officiating at the unveiling of the memorial cross on Anzac Day 1922 were from the Church of England, Methodist, Church of Christ, Presbyterian and Congregational churches. The Women's Memorial Fund extended an invitation to the Rev. Father Murphy of Yorketown to take a portion of the service, which he declined owing to his appointment to the Mt Gambier parish.³⁶ The Order of Service for Anzac Day altered over time because of religious and political developments within Australian society. As discussed in detail below in chapter 8, these alterations include a change of national anthem and ecumenical adjustments within Christian denominations intended to achieve ecumenical fusion within Christian churches in a post Christian society.

Significantly, minutes record debate concerning the choice between a utilitarian or symbolic memorial. The Committee of the Women's Memorial to the Fallen in the Great War decided to build a memorial 'in the nature of a shrine, rather than a work of art pure and simple' or a utilitarian or institutional memorial such as

³⁵ *Advertiser* 1922, 24 April 1922, 'At the Cathedral', 'Service at the Synagogue', p. 10.

³⁶ *Advertiser* 24 April 1922, 'Women's War Memorial Ceremony', p. 9; Mortlock SRG 89 Women's Memorial correspondence from Ethel Wyatt to Rev Father Murphy, 15 February 1922, Reply from J D Murphy to Miss Wyatt 19 February 1922.

Memorial Hospital or War Memorial Drive.³⁷ As an example of an institutional memorial, Memorial Hospital, on Avenue Road, next to Pennington Gardens does not convey a message to the general public that it exists because of the donations of Methodist men, women and Sunday School children as a memorial to remember the dead of the Great War, while still serving the living. However, documents held by the Uniting Church Historical Society provide evidence that the Methodist Church intended the hospital as a utilitarian memorial. An outline of the scheme produced as ‘The Memorial Hospital Souvenir, 1919’, under the title of ‘Our Memorial Hospital’, stated:

The Hospital in its ultimate development promises to be one of the finest of its kind in Australia, and as the intention is that it shall be dedicated as a memorial to more than 1,000 young Methodists who made the supreme sacrifice in the Great War, it can well be realized that the enthusiasm behind the movement is great and worthy of the inspiration which gave rise to it.³⁸

The souvenir also asks ‘Is our Debt Understood as well as Remembered?’

Continuing:

On all hands there is this desire to express in tangible and symbolic form the gratitude of the living to the dead. We wish to pay our debts, and this in no mean spirit, but lavishly, promptly, handsomely.³⁹

Interestingly, the Women’s reasoning that in the future an institutional or utilitarian memorial would become forgotten as a memorial, might become a burden to future generations, or suffer neglect has been verified.⁴⁰

Concluding the Anzac March with mourning rituals under the trees at the Women’s Memorial provided the synergy necessary to solve the problem of various groups clashing over Anzac Day commemoration practices. On 15 December 1921, the Anzac Day Celebration Committee of the League took matters in hand, writing

³⁷ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Letter to Mayor from D Gilbert, 15 August 1919.

³⁸ Uniting Church Historical Society, ‘The Memorial Hospital Souvenir, 1919’, p. 4.

³⁹ Uniting Church Historical Society, ‘The Memorial Hospital Souvenir, 1919’, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Mortlock, SRG 89, Minutes General Committee, 12 March 1919.

to the Women's Memorial Fund offering to end the 1922 Anzac Day parade at the Cross of Sacrifice thus beginning a ritual that still forms part of South Australian Anzac culture.⁴¹ Before unveiling the Cross of Sacrifice in 1922, a women's procession, accompanied by the Salvation Army Band, preceded the League procession, accompanied by the League's official band and Scottish pipers. At the conclusion of the Anzac March 4,000 returned men took part in the memorial service.⁴² The Order of Service included three hymns, one of which, 'The Supreme Sacrifice - O Valiant Hearts', currently continues as part of the order of service. Other items continuing in modern Anzac Day orders of service are 'The Last Post', 'Reveille' and the national anthem.⁴³

The next year the Altar or 'Stone of Remembrance' designed by Lutyens, otherwise described as the 'war stone' or 'cenotaph' was unveiled on Anzac Day, complementing the Cross erected by the Women's Memorial Fund for the Fallen in the Great War. *The Advertiser* reported on 19 April 1923, that in its rough state, the granite for the Stone of Remembrance weighed 7 tons. Four huge draft horses hauled the 'jinker' carrying the stone.⁴⁴ The five and one half ton 'cenotaph' stands at the base of the memorial garden, however the Cross of Sacrifice is the focus of the spiritual rituals that conclude the formal part of Anzac Day remembrance service. *The Register* reporting on the Women's Memorial described the walk to the memorial as a pilgrimage:

⁴¹ Mortlock SRG 89, Letter from RS&SILA, 15 December 1921, Letter from RS&SILA to Miss Clayton, re Unveiling of Women's Memorial, Pennington Terrace, Nth Adelaide, 6 March 1922.

⁴² *Advertiser*, 'Women's Memorial Unveiled', 26 April 1922, p.7; 'The Women's Memorial', 26 April 1922, p. 8; ACA, SPF 549A.01 Cross of Sacrifice; newspaper cutting from *Register*, 26 April 1922; Mortlock SRG 89, Newspaper cuttings from *Advertiser*, p. 7,8.

⁴³ ACA SPF 549A-01, Cross of Sacrifice Pennington Gardens and Mortlock SRG 89. Unveiling Ceremony Women's Memorial to the Men who fell in the War, Order of Service, 25 April 1922.

⁴⁴ ACA, SPF 549A.01, *Advertiser*, 19 April 1923.

To lay flowers on the graves of the dead is the last offering of love, the first instinct of the living. And all through South Australia are women who will never lay one wreath for their sons except at this cross – for those who they love sleep under the poppies, or in burning sand, or on the grey coasts of Gallipoli. Do you wonder that women of South Australia made a memorial of their own?⁴⁵

The captain of the English eleven, Mr G. C. MacLaren laid a wreath in the form of a rising sun at the cross on Armistice Day 1922, a French Admiral paying a tribute on behalf of the fleet.⁴⁶ Just as the London Cenotaph provides a site for conducting various remembrance rituals, the Adelaide Cross of Sacrifice provides a focus for the rituals of remembrance on Armistice Day as well as Anzac Day.

The mnemonic garden of remembrance is rich in symbolism. Herbert Baker suggested enclosing the cruciform shaped garden within a hedge. The plant chosen was the olive, a symbol of peace. In 1923, the Women's Fund requested the Council plant rosemary, the herb of remembrance, along the edges of the garden's pathways.⁴⁷ By the 1960s, in the opinion of the War Graves Commission, the Women's Memorial, needed repairs and maintenance. With this chore undertaken by the State Government, and ongoing maintenance provided by the Adelaide City Council, the religious service concluding the Anzac march of ex-service personnel was able to continue within the 'sacred' precinct.⁴⁸ In 1972, the War Graves Commission agreed to maintain the plaque on the Cross of Sacrifice in Pennington Gardens.⁴⁹ In 1986, the League discussed the replacement of rose plantings with the Council's Landscape Architect. Spirit of peace roses now line Baker's apse; red

⁴⁵ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Cross of Sacrifice, Newspaper Cutting from *Register* 'The Women's Memorial to be completed for Anzac Day', 17 April 1923.

⁴⁶ ACA, SPF 549A.01, Photocopy of articles from *Register* 17 April 1923; Mortlock SRG 89, Letter to Mrs. Lendon from G C MacLaren, 13 November 1922.

⁴⁷ ACA, SPF 549A.01, From City Engineer to Town Clerk 15 May 1923; Mortlock, SRG 89, Letter from Town Clerk to Miss C Clayton, 19 May 1923.

⁴⁸ ACA, Copy of Minute from Digest, Council Meeting, 21 October 1963, Memo for the Town Clerk, Cross of Sacrifice, Repair and Maintenance (No 1437/19), 2 December 1963.

⁴⁹ League, State Board minutes, 4, Appeals & Trusts, (c), Services Cem. Trust, 17 April 1972.

and white roses fill the garden beds Baker suggested should be ‘arranged like the rows of graves facing the altar or war stone’.⁵⁰ In co-operation with the League, the Adelaide City Council has maintained the Women’s Memorial as an important site within Anzac culture and improved the symbolic mnemonic garden to the standard set by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

In contrast, War Memorial Drive in Adelaide does not provide a focus for an expression of Anzac culture on sacred ground. The Committees of the combined Women’s Memorial Fund distinguished between those killed and those enlisted, raising funds for the ‘cross of sacrifice’ in honour only of those killed overseas, while the Church of England Cathedral raised the Cathedral cross in memory of all who enlisted. Veteran organizations also recognized a debt owed to all who served overseas, working to distinguish the graves of veterans by lobbying for separate areas and marked headstones, or plaques, that named each individual deceased veteran, distinctively maintaining Australian ex-service identity on hallowed ground even within Australian cemeteries. Individually recognizing the names of war dead or war serving was not the object of Lord Mayor of Adelaide Mr. C. R. J. Glover who, when the Council considered the question of celebrating the ‘restoration of peace’, in 1919, initiated a peace memorial, now named ‘War Memorial Drive’. The idea for this carriageway and walk on the northern bank of the River Torrens gained popularity when members of the public voiced complaints over plans to celebrate peace over three days with ‘excessive expenditure on illuminations and decorations.’ *The Register* deemed boisterous displays inappropriate in deference to the feelings of parents and relatives of the 8,000 South Australians killed. Glover

⁵⁰ Photocopy of letter provided by Adelaide City Council, from Director of Parks and Recreation to Mr Hoffman, Secretary, Returned Services League of Australia, dated 3 July 1986 with enclosed diagram, Plan No. G86/P12/092; ACA, SPF549A.01, Letter from Herbert Baker, Delhi to Dorothy Gilbert, Adelaide, undated, refers to letters from Gilbert dated 3.9.19 and 1.10.19.

donated five hundred pounds as a contribution towards the construction of the first portion of War Memorial Drive, which began opposite Pennington Gardens at Avenue Road and followed the banks of the River Torrens to Frome Road. The first section opened officially by Sir Henry Galway on 30 October 1919, at which date the Secretary for Colonies raised the office of Mayor of Adelaide to the degree of Lord Mayor. The plaque erected at the opening, specifically mentions Glover as a donor jointly with ‘citizens’. With completion of the final section of the drive between Frome Road and Hackney Bridge in 1925, the first plaque naming the drive needed updating and replacing. Replacement of the first sign enabled Mr. Glover to take delivery of the original plaque for his personal museum. The Town Clerk first charged Glover for the original plaque, only to have the invoice remitted under later Council instructions.⁵¹ ‘Memorial Drive’ does not recognise the war service of named individuals.

Although War Memorial Drive along the banks of the River Torrens began as a celebration of peace and a utilitarian memorial in remembrance of those soldiers who had died, it does not imbue a sense of sacred ground or even feelings of remembrance. Therefore, more truthfully, its construction deserves designation as a monument in celebration of peace. In reality, the carriageway is a Council memorial designed to enhance and beautify the City of Adelaide. Although the reason given for the drive’s construction is that of remembrance of the fallen, the plaque attesting to the memorial’s significance recognizes the contribution of the serving Lord Mayor of Adelaide at the time of the signing of the Armistice and the

⁵¹ ACA 1918/3690 Town Clerk Peace Movement, *Advertiser* ‘A three Days’ Programme’, 12.12.18; *Register* 9 April 1919, ‘Peace Celebrations’; ACA 1919/0953, Drive Way around Torrens Lake – War Memorial Drive, Memo from Town Clerk to City Engineer, City Gardener, 7 April 1919; ACA, 1919/0953B, Drive Way around Torrens Lake – War Memorial Drive, Memo 6 November 1925; Memo to City Engineer, 9 November 1925; Typed paragraph for *Register, Advertiser, News*, ‘War Memorial Drive’, 28 October 1925.

desire of Adelaidians to enjoy the benefits of peace. Hurriedly constructed during Glover's period in office, with the drive's conclusion, industrial and manufacturing companies used the memorial carriageway in an effort to by-pass traffic congestion. Therefore, the Council passed By-Law No XLIV restricting the Drive's use, forbidding wagons, lorries, trolleys, drays, transport engines, traction engines, motor-buses, motor char-a-bancs, motor lorries or motor vans, road trains or any other commercial vehicle on any portion of War Memorial Drive.⁵² Restricting commercial use made the Drive a space set aside for the purpose of recreation, a utilitarian memorial celebrating peace bought at the expense of individual Australians' personal sacrifice.

Veteran's organizations sought to record personal sacrifice and acknowledgement of debt in burial plots set aside as A.I.F. Gardens of Memory. The League asked church leaders to take up collections on Anzac Sunday, as fund raising for the upkeep of soldiers' graves in West Terrace cemetery. The Soldiers' Welfare Combined Recommendations Committee initiated a movement that raised funds set aside for the layout and subsequent maintenance of the site in the West Terrace Cemetery for a 'Soldiers Burial Ground'. Negotiations made with the League ensured the proper maintenance of the graves, the objective being to create not just a burial ground, but also a sacred garden of memory. The Electricity Trust provided free lighting for the 'Cross of Sacrifice' situated in the 'garden cemetery', giving an added sense of spirituality to the A.I.F. section of West Terrace Cemetery.⁵³ Not all South Australian veterans lie buried in West Terrace cemetery.

⁵² ACA 1919/0953A, Drive Way around Torrens Lake – War Memorial Drive, By Law No XLIV, In respect of traffic on the War Memorial Drive, 30 June 1924.

⁵³ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 7, 21 Feb 1921, 'Dishonoring the Dead Neglected Soldiers' Graves', pp. 43-45; DG Vol II, No 8, 7 March 1921, 'Anzac Day details of celebrations', p. 15; League 4th State Council, 10 Feb 1921, Soldiers' Graves at West Tce; ACA 1919/0953, 11 Aug 1920; SB, 28 Sept 1948, AIF Cemetery Trust, SB, 30 March 1953, Lighting Cross, AIF Cemetery.

Many chose cremation or burial in local cemeteries throughout Australia. Eligible veterans are entitled to services provided by the Office of Australian War Graves located within the Department of Veterans Affairs. With the passing of time, there being no further land available at West Terrace, other cemeteries have set aside land for veteran burials, in particular at Derrick Gardens in Centennial Park Cemetery for the burial of WWII ex-servicemen and women. There are service graves in other cemeteries at Cheltenham and Enfield. Viewed as hallowed ground rather than sacred, the graves receive extra attention, especially from schoolchildren, during times of remembrance ceremonies such as Anzac Day and Remembrance Day.⁵⁴

League Councillors felt it was the duty of the public, not the Returned Soldiers, to arrange the erection of a State memorial, recognizing the major problem of the 'War Memorial Committee' was the fact the Committee was too big and unwieldy. Suspension of standing orders during the 24th State Council Meeting of the League in June 1926 enabled discussion of the then proposed State memorial by State Councillors. The League discussed possible utilitarian memorials with members speaking against proposals for an arch, the city bridge, a hospital, a war museum or a hall. Mr. Butler resolved the debate moving a motion carried unanimously that the memorial be in the form of a 'Shrine of Memory'.⁵⁵ The involvement of Parliamentarians and the decision to run a competition to choose the form of the memorial resulted in Anzac Day rituals developing before the completion of the official State Memorial. At the corner of North Terrace and

⁵⁴ League Annual Report 1972, 'Services Cemeteries Trust'; Commonwealth Department of Veterans Affairs pamphlets, Bereavement information, Services provided by Office of Australian War Graves; League minutes; League State Board 7 November 1944, p. 380; SB, 16 January 1945, p. 404; SB, Centennial Park Cemetery Inc., 13 February 1945; SB, Enfield General Cemetery, 5 January 1948; SB, World War II Cemetery, 22 January 1951; SB, WWII Cemetery, 13 November 1951; SB, WWII Cemetery, 15 June 1954; *Advertiser*, Melissa King, 'Young and old pay tribute to those who gave their lives children salute our war heroes', 12 November 12, 1999 p. 7.

⁵⁵ League 24th State Council Minutes, 8 June 1926, pp.295-297.

Kintore Avenue in what was the domain of Government House, the memorial envisaged by the League as a 'Shrine of Memory' was eventually built to honour South Australians who enlisted during World War I. Originally, the Government offered a one-acre block for the purpose of the memorial, but the actual size of the land set aside for this purpose was only half the amount first mentioned. Of great importance to the League was a 'permanent record of the men who paid the supreme sacrifice' but the small amount of land set aside constricted the size of any shrine built within that designated space.⁵⁶ The winning architect of the memorial competition, Mr Laybourne Smith, designed sculptured figures to occupy the centre of the front and rear facades of the memorial. Raynor Hoff, born and trained in England, sculpted the figures representing the 'Prologue' facing North Terrace, with 'the Epilogue of war,' on the reverse. Hoff's sculptured figures on the reverse of the Adelaide memorial represent the 'consummation of sacrifice.' The winged 'Spirit' symbolises 'Womanhood', and her sacrifice of son and lover: she supports a limp figure, a naked man, representing a dead hero. The passive 'Epilogue' did not raise the degree of controversy caused by 'The Crucifixion of Civilization', a plaster model of a nude woman on a cross, which Hoff designed for the Anzac Memorial in Sydney.⁵⁷ What did cause much debate within League circles however, was the fact that Laybourne Smith's design allowed no room for listing names on the outside of the edifice. Placing the names of those killed along the interior subterranean walls of the structure solved that problem.⁵⁸ Ultimately, placing the names in the interior

⁵⁶ League 24th State Council Minutes 8 June 1926, p. 296; ACA 1101/27 Woods, Bagot, Jory & Laybourne-Smith South Australian War Memorial, South Australia. Architectural Competition for a National War Memorial at Adelaide.

⁵⁷ ACA, 305C, National War Memorial, North Terrace, 19 September 1968 to 2 October 1975, pamphlet produced by the Returned Services League, The State National War Memorial, (Unveiled 25 April (Anzac Day) 1931, circa 1969; 305B, National War Memorial 22 January 1954 to 15 September 1968, *The Advertiser and Register*, 22 April 1931, 'Spirit of Sacrifice, Significance of War Memorial, Architect Explains'; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 147, 295, 309.

⁵⁸ League, 25th State Council Minutes, 12 October 1926, p. 315.

of the memorial, which the League envisaged as a shrine, created a larger problem for the League: desecration.

Built as the official State Memorial on what *The Advertiser* described as ‘no man’s land’, the memorial is the subject of Parliamentary legislation. For the League to have any influence on the use and treatment of the State Memorial, they must negotiate through State and Local Government bodies. The South Australian Government provided free railway passes enabling veterans from country areas to attend the opening of the State Memorial on Anzac Day in 1931. The Governor unveiled the memorial on the sixteenth anniversary of ANZAC, a time described as ‘the most memorable Anzac Day celebrated in Adelaide.’ *The Advertiser* believed up to 75,000 people participated in the unveiling ceremony, with 10,000 taking part in the annual procession and noted the presence of an amazing number of youth, representatives of the Scouts, Guides, Wolf Cubs, Brownies and Junior Legatees. League minutes record that the League ‘had to give way’ to the All Australian Exhibition and the Boy Scouts’ rally.⁵⁹ Describing the events of Anzac Day *The Advertiser* reported:

To them [youth] the spirit of Anzac was directed, years ago it seems now, so that they might carry on a tradition so hardily won. Their grand array must have added sparkle to misty eyes and braced up shoulders which are drooping now, tired and feeling the burden of having given the best years of their manhood.⁶⁰

Read in hindsight, that statement carries an ominous sense of prediction, or premonition of the forthcoming service of these youngsters soon caught up in the turmoil of the Second World War.

⁵⁹ ACA 305A, National War Memorial Reserve, *News*, 16 August, 1948; Minutes Sub Branch Conference 17 & 18 Sept 1931, p. 432; *Advertiser*, 27 April 1931, ‘Youth’s Great Tribute to Anzac Heroes’, p. 7; League, Fourteenth Sub-Branch Conference 16 & 17 September 1931, p. 427.

⁶⁰ *Advertiser*, ‘Youth’s Great Tribute to Anzac Heroes’, 27 April 1931.

After the official dedication of the State Memorial, the League had a continual problem trying to establish its spiritual dimension as a 'shrine'. In September 1931, the Attorney General, W. J. Denny, wrote to the Adelaide City Council requesting that the Council take over the maintenance of the memorial, a request the Council declined in October 1931. With Armistice Day fast approaching in November 1931, the Hon. M. McIntosh raised questions in the House of Assembly about the unkempt, uncared for state of the memorial reserve. *The Advertiser* published articles decrying the 'Neglected War Memorial Site Weeds Three Feet High'. Council eventually formally agreed to maintain the memorial reserve but refused responsibility for the memorial itself. Within a year League sub-branches complained about general public apathy shown towards the memorial and the lack of respect in general, urging an educational campaign to cultivate a spirit of respect like that engendered by the Cenotaph in London. Debate at League Conference centred specifically around concern associated with young people eating their lunch on the steps of the memorial, because the League wanted respect for the memorial to be that of a sacred or hallowed ground.⁶¹ As a result, the League lobbied State Parliament and the City Council in an effort to stop desecration of the memorial. At a City Council meeting, Councillor Johnson proposed a motion for a caretaker in an effort to stop the use of the memorial's interior chamber as a urinal.⁶² Unlike the imposing symbolism of the Melbourne Shrine, which stands at the apex of a rise imparting an aura of visual importance, the Adelaide memorial stands on level ground, not on a constructed mound as recommended by Mayor Simpson in 1915. The memorial in Adelaide provides a

⁶¹ ACA 305A, National War Memorial Reserve, Letter from Attorney General Office to Lord Mayor 24 September 1931, reply from Town Clerk 7 October 1931, Hansard, House of Assembly, 4 November 1931, *Advertiser* 6 & 7 November 1931; League, Fifteenth Sub- Branch Conference Minutes 14 & 15 September 1932 p. 447; p. 436.

⁶² ACA 305A, Copy of Rough Minutes City Council 24 January 1949.

striking vista, within the gardens along North Terrace, but in my opinion, Mr. Herbert Baker's doubts about the advisability of siting a memorial on North Terrace, reservations he had expressed in his letter to the Women's Memorial Fund in July 1919, were correct. The ambience of busy North Terrace, complete then, with a tram line, and part of the bustling CBD, did not offer the sense of serenity of a shrine, but attracted attention as a space within which to enjoy fresh air and sunshine when escaping from business offices during the lunch hour.

Council efforts to protect the memorial were unsuccessful because the competition winner, Mr Laybourne Smith, placed recognition of his individual creative ability above the League's desire that the community respect the memorial as sacred ground. When the League persisted with efforts seeking to enhance the significance of the State Memorial and impose a greater sense of reverence for war dead, the Adelaide city Council passed By Law LXIII on 23 January 1950, designed for the memorial's protection. Plans drafted for the erection of a notice board warning those using the steps of the memorial as a substitute park bench that they were liable to prosecution, went to the designer for his comments. Laybourne-Smith objected to the erection of a large notice board because it would spoil the line of sight of his architectural artwork and requested that any sign be as inconspicuous as possible.⁶³ A subsequent Council recommendation dated 19 November 1951 reads:

⁶³ ACA 305A C of A, By-Law No. LXIII in respect of the National Soldiers' Memorial, 23 January 1950; ACA 1101/27 Woods, et al, South Australian War Memorial, Memo for Docket, Parliamentary and Bylaws Committee, 9 October 1951, Digest Page 204, Council Meeting 22 Oct 1951.

It has been decided that a copy of the Bylaw dealing with the National Soldiers' Memorial is to be erected on an ordinary post in an inconspicuous place, adjacent to the Memorial following opinions from Mr Laybourne Smith and the Returned Sailors', Soldiers' & Airmen's Imperial League of Australia. The previous proposal to display the Bylaw in a metal frame in a prominent place has been abandoned.⁶⁴

The League did not achieve the degree of community reverence that it wanted for the 'sacred ground' of the State Memorial.

Although the State Memorial for Great War dead was unveiled on Anzac Day, dedication of an additional memorial recording the names of those who made the 'supreme sacrifice' during the Second World War took place on Remembrance Day, 1956. Messrs. Woods, Bagot, Laybourne-Smith and Irwin designed the WWII memorial, situated at the rear of the War Memorial Reserve, which records the names of 3,275 South Australians who died serving their King and Country during that war. After a Royal Salute and the hymn 'God of our Fathers, known of old', the Governor, Sir Robert George, unveiled the memorial. The ceremony included the 'Last Post' and 'Ode of Remembrance', the hymn 'Lead kindly light', 'Reveille', the 'Song of Australia', and national anthem with musical accompaniment by the Salvation Army Citadel Band.⁶⁵ Correspondence held in Adelaide City Archive files records that the beauty and significance of the State Memorial remained compromised by persons committing acts the League and some other South Australians considered sacrilege. During the period of the Vietnam War, in March 1963, the Town Clerk initiated a survey that recorded the age of persons sitting on the memorial steps. The survey illustrated that the majority of those cautioned were teenagers, suggesting that younger Australians were unaware

⁶⁴ ACA No, 1101/27, Woods, et al, Memo for Docket, Parliamentary and Bylaws Committee, 19 Nov 1951, Digest Page 265.

⁶⁵ RSL SA Branch Library, 'Unveiling and Dedication of World War II Memorial, 11 November 1956'.

of the memorial's symbolic significance to the veteran community.⁶⁶ In August 1964, Constable no 1533, questioned a middle-aged Lithuanian woman who refused to move from the memorial steps when asked to do so by an Inspector. The woman admitted she knew her actions constituted an offence. Subsequently women police dealt with the matter and the woman was committed to the Institution for the Insane at Parkside.⁶⁷ Even with the WWII memorial structure dedicated to South Australian war dead added to the memorial reserve in 1956, some South Australians who were either unaware or unwilling to recognize the memorial's spiritual and symbolic representation of the personal sacrifice of earlier generations of Australians, continued sitting on the memorial steps. During the 1990s, skateboarders utilised the memorial steps as a launching pad. Currently a third memorial naming Vietnam War dead stands in the memorial reserve, a memorial used by Vietnam Veterans to commemorate the battle of Long Tan.

The State Memorial remains a significant site for Anzac Day and Remembrance Day rituals. As we shall see in chapter 7, the memorial also provides a venue for multicultural commemorative rituals, a ceremonial site for indigenous, Anglo-Celtic, and new ethnic Australian cultural groups to commemorate war dead.⁶⁸ Currently dawn service at the State Memorial heralds the start of Anzac Day with that memorial providing the starting point of the Anzac march later in the morning. The foresight of Adelaide women and the planning ability of Mr. Herbert Baker, ensured that the Women's Memorial to the Fallen in the Great War, designed in the form of an open-air cathedral in a 'Garden of Remembrance', achieved a greater degree of ambience associated with sacred ground. Another reason for the

⁶⁶ ACA, 305B, National War Memorial Reserve, 22.1.54 to 18.9.68, inspection forms.

⁶⁷ ACA, 305B, National War Memorial, Report, 20 August 1964, memo to Town Clerk, 25 August 1964.

⁶⁸ ACA 305C National War Memorial North Terrace 19.9.68 to 2.10.1975, Services held at National War Memorial, North Terrace, 19 September 1975.

continued spiritual significance of the Women's Memorial was the offer from the League to assist the Women's Memorial Fund on the occasion of the unveiling of the Women's War Memorial on Anzac Day 1922. On 25 April 1923, the League arranged the conclusion of the Anzac Day procession at the Cross of Sacrifice. The Cross of Sacrifice, in the garden of remembrance designed to represent the graves of South Australian war dead buried overseas, continues to provide a setting for spiritual rituals of remembrance associated with Anzac culture on the morning of Anzac Day.

When the South Australian annual Anzac Day march, or pilgrimage, arrives at Pennington Gardens some veterans disperse, having already attended Requiem Mass at St Xavier's Cathedral or taken part in mourning rituals for dead comrades at dawn services. Others gather with families around the Cross of Sacrifice until they, too, have taken part in remembrance rituals played out in the singing of hymns, prayers, the bugle calls of 'Last Post' and 'Reveille', the 'silence' and National Anthem. Official mourning rites on sacred ground completed, Anzac Day offers an opportunity for making a further statement of Australian identity, providing a public holiday for an Australian celebration of survival in the participation of sporting events and veteran reunions. However, before South Australia could set aside Anzac Day afternoons for charity sporting events and veteran reunions, Anzac Day had to become a public holiday. Credit for the institutionalisation of Anzac Day as a South Australian public holiday lies with the RSSILA South Australian Branch and State politicians debating the *Holidays Act Amendment Act* in 1922.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Janice Pavils, 'The emergence of South Australian Anzac culture 1915-1925', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 89, Part 2, December 2003, p. 140.

Chapter 4.
'THE ONE DAY'
Institutionalisation of Anzac Day as a public holiday
and afternoon activities

As mentioned in chapter one, 'Honoring the Debt', the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee initiated the national institutionalisation of the 'Day', in 1916. Each Australian State observes Anzac Day in slightly different ways dependant upon the Act passed by each State for its observance as a public holiday. The League took responsibility for the institutionalisation of South Australia's Anzac Day in 1921 when it urged the Premier to declare Anzac Day a South Australian public holiday. The eventual outcome of League and Parliamentary debates concerning Anzac Day was a cultural change from the Great War recruiting aims of the military that Michael Reardon outlined in 1979.¹ Anzac Day is now 'the One Day' of the Australian year observed as a binary of sacred mourning as well as a celebration of life. Chapter 2 detailed the development of Anzac Day remembrance rituals carried out Anzac morning on sacred ground. The other side of the Anzac binary, the celebration of life and survival, which most overtly takes place on Anzac Day afternoon, also occurs at reunion dinners and concerts held over Anzac Week. Anzac Day, as part of Anzac Week, became the focus of fund raising activities for the relief of distressed ex-servicemen and women as well as a means of raising funds for a Building Appeal.

The *Holidays Act Amendment Act* assented to 21 December 1922, the same year as the dedication of Women's Memorial to the Men who fell in the Great War,

¹ Michael James Reardon, Honours Degree Thesis, 'Anzac Day in Adelaide, 1916 to 1922: from the first anniversary to a national public holiday', (Adelaide, University of Adelaide, History Department, 1979).

governs the observance of Anzac Day in South Australia.² The title of this Chapter, ‘The One Day’, is taken from *The Diggers’ Gazette* of 7 April 1921, and Hansard records of 1922 South Australian parliamentary debates that predate Alan Seymour’s play and novel about Anzac Day, *The One Day of the Year* by four decades.³ League minutes provide evidence of Sub-Branch Conference debates concerning appropriate morning rituals and afternoon fund raising activities for the observance of Anzac Day. In South Australia, the League worked to ensure the voluntary support and compliance of industrial and commercial organizations in the observance of Anzac Day, rather than legislate to make the ‘Day’ a ‘close holiday’, as in New Zealand and some other Australian States. ‘Anzac Day in New Zealand: 1916 to 1939’ (1981), written by Maureen Sharpe, outlines the sustained campaign of the RSA to make Anzac Day a ‘close’ holiday.⁴ This chapter illustrates the sequence from military sports to charity league football matches, racing, trotting and speedboat events throughout South Australia. Anzac Day afternoon developed into a time for maintaining contact with other Diggers at family functions, public houses and sporting venues.

During the twenty years between the two World Wars, other states passed various Acts to make Anzac Day a public holiday throughout Australia. The limitation of Anzac Day observance in each Australia State is officially controlled by the different Acts passed by each State Parliament, which vary according to State legislation enacted over a series of years, namely Western Australia 1919,

² *South Australia Official Reports of the Parliamentary Debates, Session 1922, Second Session of the Twenty-Fourth Parliament, From Thursday July 27 to Friday December 15, 1922, Holidays Act Amendment Act*, (Adelaide: R E E Rogers, Government Printer, 1922), p. vi.

³ *The Diggers’ Gazette*, Vol. II, No 10, 7 April 1921, ‘Anzac Day’, p.5; *Holidays Act*, pp. 2306-2307; Alan Seymour, *The One Day of the Year*, (London: Angus and Robertson, 1962), *The One Day of the Year*, A Novel, (London: Souvenir Press, 1967).

⁴ Maureen Sharpe, ‘Anzac Day in New Zealand 1916-1939’, *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol 15, No 2, October 1981, pp. 97-114.

Queensland 1921, New South Wales 1924, Victoria 1925, and according to Graham Seal, by 1927 in Tasmania. Western Australia allowed theatres to open with hotels, shops and factories closed all day and all racing and competitive sport prohibited. By 1937, the Queensland Act did not allow theatres to open, with hotels and shops remaining closed all day. Subjected to the *Bank and Bank Holidays Amendment Act*, Anzac Day in New South Wales received the same treatment as Easter Monday, with theatres and hotels open in the afternoon and shops closed all day, but allowing a military tattoo. In Victoria, Anzac Day was the equivalent of Sunday, with hotels, shops, and warehouses closed all day, sporting and racing prohibited, with a few theatres opened only at night. In Tasmania, shops closed all day, hotels opened after 12 noon and theatres opened at night. Carnivals controlled by the League and devoted to schoolchildren took place throughout the State in the afternoon. In 1937, the Federal Capital Territory was completely different from the States. At Duntroon, a 9 o'clock service took place at the grave of Major General Bridges, with a later service arranged by the Commonwealth Government held on the steps of Parliament House. The main service and parade organised by the Canberra Branch of the RSL was held at 11.30 am at Albert Hall. After the completion of the Australian War Museum, Anzac Day morning activities occurred at that venue.⁴

During the 1920s, the League, and South Australian politicians laid down the foundations of current South Australian Anzac Day functions. At the third State Council Meeting of the League held in September 1920, a motion was carried that 'Anzac Day should be set aside as a day of rejoicing and that the nearest Sunday

⁴ National Library of Australia, MS 389, K. Inglis, Box 11, 17.6.1998, File 1921, Statement of different Acts regulating the observance of Anzac Day; Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, Tasmania, p. 115; Q S Spedding, (ed), *RSL Official Year Book, 1937 Coronation Issue*, (Melbourne: RSL Federal Headquarters, 1937), pp. 141-142.

should be a day of mourning and sorrow.⁵ As we have seen, the League took responsibility for the organization of Anzac Day. In February 1921, *The Diggers' Gazette* advised readers of the decision made at the Fourth State Council Meeting, to stop holding button days on Anzac Day. Instead, a sub-committee of metropolitan councillors planned Anzac Day events and reported to the State Board. The meeting further decided that sub-sections would have the power to hold district services on Memorial Sunday. By March 1921, *The Diggers' Gazette* advised readers of the decision to hold a memorial service on Anzac Sunday at Elder Park, of an Anzac dinner on Saturday night and football matches on Anzac Day itself.⁶

Under a heading of 'Anzac Day', *The Diggers' Gazette* of 7 April 1921, set out a case in favour of observing Anzac Day as a national holiday:

It is greatly to be regretted that the Government cannot see its way to make Anzac Day a national holiday, for it is the one day of the whole year which returned soldiers look upon as the most glorious in its history, when Australia created for itself a name which will live for all time. It will probably be urged that at the present time Australia has more holidays than has any other country in the world. This is possibly so, but even assuming that we have more holidays than are good for us (and this we are not prepared to admit), there is no reason why one of our numerous public holidays should not be cut out in order to allow Anzac Day to become a national holiday.⁷

The Diggers' Gazette justified a national holiday on 25 April, not because the feat of arms at the Gallipoli landing was any greater than subsequent battles, but because sentimental interest meant the day was 'sacred' in the military history of Australia.⁸

The League was successful in having 25 April declared a public holiday for the next edition of *The Diggers' Gazette*, published 21 April 1921, praised the Premier for recognizing Anzac Day as a public holiday saying:

⁵ Third State Council Minutes, Anzac Day celebrations, 14 September 1920, p. 59.

⁶ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol. II, No 7, 21.2.1921, 'Anzac Day', p. 29; Fourth State Council Meeting, 10 February 1921, Consideration of Programme for Anzac Day 1921, p. 71; *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol. II, No 8, 'Anzac Day details of celebrations', p. 15.

⁷ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol. II, No 10, 7 April 1921, 'Anzac Day', p.5.

⁸ *Diggers' Gazette* 7 April 1921, p. 5.

The Premier did well in recognising Anzac Day a public holiday, following direct representations made to him by the League. It can now be hoped that for all time the 25th April will be celebrated in a fashion well worthy of the great historical event in Australian history, which took place six years ago.⁹

The Diggers' Gazette reminded readers that, regretfully, some of the men who made 25 April a 'sacred day', were in need of help and that others who served the Empire 'saving civilisation' need assistance themselves. The article continued:

During the coming week-end the Returned Soldiers' League will celebrate the sixth anniversary of Anzac Day. Though this, in effect, will be an actual commemoration of the battle which led to the framing of the word "ANZAC," it must not be taken as inferring that these events are merely a commemoration in honor of those soldiers who fell or who took part in that event. Anzac day can rightly be looked upon as "Soldiers'" Day – as a tribute to that gallant army of men who offered and who gave their lives in the Great War.¹⁰

Underlying the twofold purpose of Anzac celebrations *The Diggers' Gazette* described them as, first, the commemoration of the day 'Australia attained its military manhood', and second, a memorial service for 'gallant dead'. Sunday memorial services commemorated war dead, whilst Monday, the day of the procession, was a day of rejoicing set aside for the reunion of ex-servicemen.¹¹ The League added another dimension to mourning rites for war dead and fund raising functions for distressed soldiers. Ex-servicemen and women attended reunions as part of the rituals of Anzac Day, as a celebration of their survival and return home to Australia.

The May edition of *The Diggers' Gazette* described the Anzac Day celebrations from 23 April until the conclusion of the sports programme on Anzac Day 1921, as passing off 'almost without a hitch', and gave credit to the League writing:

⁹ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol. II, No 11, 21 April, 1921, 'Anzac Day', p.3.

¹⁰ *Diggers' Gazette*, 21 April, 1921, p.3.

¹¹ *Diggers' Gazette*, 21 April, 1921, p.3.

Practically from beginning to end, from the time of the re-union dinner until the conclusion of the football match on the Monday, the whole affair was under the sole charge of the Returned Soldiers' League. It speaks volumes for organization and efficiency that so successful a military undertaking as the parade of soldiers through the streets of Adelaide should have been carried out entirely [sic] by soldiers, the majority of whom, six years ago, were raw recruits.¹²

The numbers of those attending the annual 're-union dinner' filled the Exhibition Hall, while the procession of approximately 2,500 soldiers, exceeded all expectations and the attendance at memorial services was good. In addition to the Sunday service at Elder Park, the Catholic service at St Francis Xavier's cathedral was overcrowded and St Peter's congregation overflowed the Anglican cathedral. During the service at the Synagogue, the Rabbi noted that in most of Australia, Jewish soldiers outnumbered the average quota of enlisted 'eligibles'.¹³ When undertaking the organization of Anzac celebrations in 1921, the League injected a spirit of enthusiasm into the proceedings and demonstrated the latent potential inherent in the State Board's administrative ability to work for the common good of the League membership.

Although non-party political, the League endeavoured to work for ex-servicemen and women by gaining greater access to the institutional power base. The Board received a ruling from the League Council concerning policy for the 1921 South Australian general election. One policy was to supply each AIF candidate with a list of questions and publish their answers in *The Diggers' Gazette*. Mr C. P. Butler, D.S.O., Liberal Candidate for North Adelaide and Vice-President of the Returned Soldiers' League, wrote:

¹² *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 12, 7 May 1921, 'The Anzac Celebrations', p. 3.

¹³ *Diggers' Gazette*, 7 May 1921, 'Annual Re-Union Dinner', p. 7; 'Triumphal Procession', pp.12-15; 'The Day we Commemorate', pp.19-21; 'Catholic Soldiers' Service' and 'St Peters', p. 27; 'Synagogue Service', p. 31.

I do not wish the impression to go abroad that returned men want any special privileges or favors [sic] other than the carrying out of promises made to them when they enlisted. The really genuine returned soldier does not desire or expect any favors [sic] for having done his duty, but he does expect a grateful country to grant him the means of re-establishing himself in civil life if his war services have left him physically fit, so that he can prove himself as good a citizen in peace as he was a soldier in war.¹⁴

Subsequently, *The Diggers' Gazette* reported that only three Digger or soldier candidates were successful, Messrs. I. MacMillan, H. S. Hudd, M.C., and W. J. Denny, M.C., mentioned in chapter three as the 1931 Attorney General.¹⁵ The League viewed the election results as disappointing and afterwards saw a need to include more items of general interest in its official publication. Specifically *The Diggers' Gazette* set out to publish more articles designed to appeal, not only to the nurses who were part of the League, but also to the mothers and sisters of Diggers, in an endeavour to achieve a greater degree of patronage for the publication and promote League objectives.¹⁶

The League continued working to achieve the support of the family unit by providing greater opportunities for family entertainment on Anzac Day afternoons. At the fourth Annual Sub-Branch Conference of the League, held 15 and 16 September 1921, Messrs Smith and O'Connor, members of the Islington Sub-section, moved and seconded a scheme designed to bring Diggers and their families together for 'one day' with AIF sports and a picnic somewhere in or near Adelaide on Anzac Day.¹⁷ The motion was lost, when an amendment carried that left the matter in the hands of the Entertainment and Anzac Day Committee. Members of the Islington sub-section had initiated discussion centred on the appropriate family

¹⁴ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 10, 7 April 1921, 'The State Elections', p. 9.

¹⁵ *Diggers' Gazette*, 7 April 1921, 'The State Elections', pp. 9-11; Vol III, No 2, 7 June 1921, 'Parliamentary Elections', p. 43.

¹⁶ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol III, No 2, 7 June 1921, 'Getting Public Interest', p. 19.

¹⁷ Fourth Annual Sub-Branch Conference Minutes, 15 & 16 September 1921.

arrangements for the celebration of Anzac Day. At the eighth State Council Meeting of the League, the Council expressed a sense of alarm, because the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers and the Chairman of the Stock Exchange had articulated a desire to cut out Anzac Day as a public holiday.¹⁸ With the public holiday status of Anzac Day threatened, the League asserted its right to arrange and carry out Anzac Day celebrations, as well as maintain the 'Day' as a public holiday.

According to John Robertson: 'South Australia had generally celebrated Anzac Day on the nearest Sunday' and a proposal to reduce the number of public holidays 'opened the door to an Anzac Day holiday.'¹⁹ That statement is a simplification of the South Australian situation for although in some years memorial services did take place on Sundays, the procession, fund raising, and reunion dinners took place on different days. Three Australian born Diggers in the South Australian Parliament successfully argued the case for the observance of Anzac Day as a South Australian public holiday, when the Parliament acted to establish uniformity in respect of public holidays among the Australian States. On 15 December 1922, William Joseph Denny, born in Adelaide, argued that 'Anzac Day should be the one day of days in Australian history', during debate concerning the South Australian *Holidays Act Amendment Act*, (No 1547).²⁰ The Chief Secretary (Hon. J. G. Bice, a blacksmith) introduced the Act in an effort to establish uniformity in respect of public holidays among the Australian States. A similar Act, the result of a recommendation of the 1918 Premiers' Conference, had lapsed at the end of the 1920 Parliamentary session.' The 1922 Act, which sought to bring the schedule of public holidays into line with other states by striking out the holidays

¹⁸ Eighth State Council Minutes, 14 July 1922, Reference to Holidays – Anzac Day, p. 96.

¹⁹ Robertson, *Anzac and Empire*, p. 251.

²⁰ *Holidays Act*, p. 2306.

for the King's Accession and the Prince of Wales' Birthday, passed after a second reading. In the House of Assembly, Denny asked, "Are you going to insert Anzac Day instead?" Son of a publican, Denny, a solicitor, was educated at Christian Brothers' College and the University of Adelaide and worked as a clerk until he became editor of the Catholic *Southern Cross* in 1896. In 1898, he served as a Councillor on the Adelaide City Council, winning the West Adelaide seat in the House of Assembly in 1900. Admitted to the Supreme Court in 1908, he served as Attorney General and Minister for the Northern Territory in 1910-1912. The *Holidays Act Amendment Act* returned from the House of Assembly to the Legislative Council with an amendment adding a new clause, 2a, declaring the 25th day of April (Anzac Day) a public and bank holiday.²¹

Voicing a premonition, which proved to be correct in relation to racing, football and other sports, the Hon. D. J. Gordon, a South Australian born journalist and deacon of the Port Adelaide Congregational Church, objected to the amendment on the grounds:

If there is one day in the year, in addition to Good Friday and Christmas Day, that ought to be regarded as a holy day and not as a holiday it is Anzac Day. ... If there is one day in the year that should be set aside for remembrance it is April 25, and my idea is that the Sunday nearest to it should be observed for that purpose. If we make it a public holiday it will not be long before the racing authorities fix a race meeting for that day, and not long before football matches or other sports in season will be carried out. The whole populace will be engaged in keeping high holiday on the anniversary of the day when thousands of Australians were laying down their lives for this country.²²

A Committee consisting of the Chief Secretary, together with D. J. Gordon and W. G. J. Mills, a stud sheep-breeder, decided against the Assembly amendment to observe the day as a public holiday arguing: 'Anzac Day should be regarded as a

²¹ *Holidays Act*, p. 2306, 1639; *Holidays Act*, p. 1684, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol 8, (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1981), Denny, pp. 287-288; *Holidays Act*, p. 2289.

²² *AIDB*, Vol 9, (Adelaide: Melbourne University, 1983), Gordon, p. 51; *Holidays Act*, p. 2290.

sacred day and not a day of pleasure.²³ However, the Assembly insisted upon its amendment that Anzac Day be a public holiday. With the Legislative Council further insisting on its disagreement, the Chief Secretary requested a conference with the Assembly. The resulting recommendation being: ‘that the House of Assembly do further insist on the amendment and that the Legislative Council do not further insist on its disagreement thereto.’²⁴ Subsequently the Chief Secretary moved:

That the recommendation of the Conference be agreed to. This was the only possible course that was left to us in view of the further information received at the Conference that the Commonwealth Government had for the last two years observed Anzac Day as a public holiday, and that the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth had agreed to issue a proclamation making a public holiday of Anzac Day.²⁵

Gordon reluctantly conceded the up-to-date practical lesson, a result of unification in the form of Federation:

No matter how the State legislated in respect of Anzac Day, no matter what the expression of public opinion is in South Australia, the Prime Minister, by merely issuing a proclamation, can override any such legislation. He can stop all the wheels of Commonwealth activity in this State. Under the proclamation of the Commonwealth Government Anzac Day can be filled with festivities, football matches, and every other sport, with fireworks at night, and the bulk of the people will forget all about the great lesson that the day should teach. I very much regret the position, but it is inevitable.²⁶

The South Australian Legislative Council, agreed to Denny’s amendment because of decisions made by the Australian Prime Minister allowing Commonwealth Government employees a holiday on Anzac Day.

In the House of Assembly, Mr McMillan, born in Mannum and a Digger who represented the Albert District, read correspondence dealing with Anzac Day. One example was a telegram received from General Monash, which supported

²³ *ADB*, Vol 7, (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1979), Bice, p. 285; Vol 10, (Adelaide: Melbourne University, 1986), Mills, 519; *Holidays Act*, p. 2290.

²⁴ *Holidays Act*, p. 2291.

²⁵ *Holidays Act*, pp. 2291.

²⁶ *Holidays Act*, p. 2291.

Anzac Day as a public holiday. A further communication, received by the Rev. T. Percy Wood of Strathalbyn, was from the Churches of Christ Evangelistic Union that set out a unanimously carried resolution:

(a) That Anzac Day be known as Australia's National Day, and be observed only on April 25th, and that it be gazetted by Commonwealth and State Governments as a statutory public holiday. (b) That the day be observed in such a manner as to combine the memory of the fallen with rejoicing at the birth of Australia as a nation. That the morning be observed in a strictly solemn manner, and the afternoon be devoted to sports and carnivals of a national character, designed to inculcate into the rising generation the highest national ideals. Horse racing and gambling to be strictly barred.²⁷

Continuing, McMillan reminded honourable members that in 1921, during Anzac morning, hotelkeepers had voluntarily closed hotels, and intended to do the same on future Anzac Days. A further letter from the general secretary of the RSSILA revealed Commonwealth and State Ministers had adopted a resolution that:

[I]rrespective of the day on which it falls, Anzac Day should be observed on the 25th April each year, and that the holiday should be a uniform one throughout the States.²⁸

McMillan, concluded his speech in support of the amendment of Anzac Day as a public holiday by stating:

All the different women's organizations, which did such fine work in the war, are in sympathy with this movement. If there is one day in the calendar worth a place in the list of statutory holidays I claim that it is Anzac Day.²⁹

Denny advocated 'South Australia should set an example to the other States regarding Anzac Day' explaining Anzac Day should not be a day of sorrow and mourning alone, because the first anniversary of Anzac Day in France and Egypt had been celebrated with divisional sports, as well as services conducted by the padres.

²⁷ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 10, 7 April 1921, 'Mr. F. M. McMillan', p. 10, Howard Coxon, John Playford and Robert Reid, *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament 1857-1957*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985), 'McMillan', p. 148; *Holidays Act*, p. 2305.

²⁸ *Holidays Act*, p. 2306.

²⁹ *Holidays Act*, p. 2306.

The Attorney General, Sir Henry Barwell, still sought to impress upon Members of Parliament the necessity of observing Anzac Day on Sunday to preserve its sacred nature.³⁰ In answer, McMillan referred to William Burke, a murderer executed for suffocating his victims:

It is a deliberate attempt on the part of the Chamber of Commerce to burke the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia, the loyal bodies associated with that association, such as the women workers who did such noble and good work throughout the war period and since, and who are carrying on that good work at the present time by their tender and loving care of the maimed, ill, and distressed soldiers. ... It is the one day in the calendar that Australians should look up to with respect, and I implore this Committee to insist on the amendment.³¹

Mr Hudd, an Adelaide born chocolate manufacturer and another Digger, regretted the disagreement between the two Houses, seeing the amendment as an opportunity for South Australia to ‘take a lead on a question which I am certain would be followed by the other States.’ The Attorney General eventually moved agreement to the recommendation with the result that South Australia embraced the celebration of Anzac Day as a public holiday despite the objections of the Chamber of Manufacturers.³² The successful South Australian soldier candidates of the 1921 general election helped establish Anzac Day as a public holiday.

The Chamber of Manufacturers’ argument for a ‘silence’ on 25 April, rather than a public holiday, was one of obvious self-interest. Had Parliamentarians adopted the stance of the Chamber of Manufacturers and Anzac memorial observances taken place only on ‘Anzac Sunday’ at church services, it is unlikely that Anzac culture would have revived to the extent that it did during the 1980s and 1990s. The advent of Sunday trading heralded the devolution of Sunday sacredness. Increased numbers of Australians profess to practice no religion at all. If the

³⁰ *Holidays Act*, p. 2307.

³¹ *Holidays Act*, p. 2307.

³² Coxon, *Biographical Register SA Parl*, (1985), Hudd, p. 114; *Holidays Act* pp. 2307-2308.

Legislative Council had persisted and made Anzac Day a holy day like any other Sunday, 'the one day' would now be a day for trading and commercialisation just like any other Sunday in post Christian Australia. By having either the luck, or perhaps the foresight, to treat Anzac Day as 'sacred', in the same manner as the other religious high holidays of Good Friday and Christmas Day, the mornings of Anzac Day have retained the idealism and the sacrosanct nature that the soldier candidates sought, on behalf of the League, in 1922. The Act became one of a series of acts cutting British Empire ties and in doing so, replaced those ties with a new sense of Australian identity. The adoption of Anzac Day as a public holiday in the place of the King's Accession Day and Prince of Wales' birthday reinforced the popular notion that Australians obtained recognition as a nation among other nations, on the slopes of Gallipoli, rather than with the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1901. Although the new public holiday reinforced Australian identity, debates surrounding the manner in which Anzac Day should be celebrated mirrored arguments in Britain concerning the observation of Armistice Day.

League minutes record some of the debates surrounding the observance of Anzac Day giving insight into the various ways in which veterans felt the public holiday should proceed. At the twelfth State Council Meeting of the League in May 1923, veterans favoured the option of sacred mourning rites until noon and national sports in the afternoon. Messrs Menzies and Lawrence moved and seconded a motion suggesting a service at 11 am, with the afternoon of 25 April devoted to sports, because they felt that with services held on the Sunday before Anzac Day, as they had been earlier in the year, the 'Day' itself would develop into a holiday, and lose its significance. The Rev. T. P. Wood moved an amendment believing there was no possibility of improving upon the last Anzac Day, but the motion lapsed for

want of a seconder. Messrs Dalziel and Lawrence then moved, and seconded, an amendment to the effect that on Anzac Day, processions should proceed to, and pay tribute at the various monuments erected in honour of war dead. Subsequently, the rest of Anzac Day should 'be devoted to rejoicing at the achievement of the Australian soldier in raising Australia to a state of nationhood'. The motion further left the recognition of Anzac Day itself in the hands of Sub-Branches. The amendment carried and the motion was lost.³³ By 1923, the League had resolved that Anzac Day should begin with processions to monuments representing communal headstones, for the conduct of grief management rituals, and close with afternoon rejoicing.

Australian newspapers featured reports of international Anzac Day events. Recognition of Anzac Day took place in London, with services at the Cenotaph, Australia House and the church of St. Clement Danes. In 1925, *The Advertiser* reported extensively on British, Anzac Day events. Australian cadets in Sheffield telegraphed the High Commissioner for Australia in London, Sir Joseph Cook, who had served as Australian Prime Minister in 1914, advising him that they joined with him in spirit at the Anzac memorial service.³⁴ Workmen at the Australian Pavilion, Wembley, observed two minutes silence at 11 o'clock, as they bowed their heads and stood in memory of Anzac Day. Describing the ceremony of remembrance *The Advertiser* stated:

³³ Twelfth State Council minutes, 31 May 1923, p. 124.

³⁴ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1925, 'Anzac Day in England', p. 11; Paul Henderson, *Parliament and Politics in Australia*, (Melbourne: Heinemann Education Australia, Fourth Edition, reprinted 1987), p. 338.

There were remarkable scenes at the Cenotaph. The High Commissioners [of Australia and New Zealand] had to struggle through a vast crowd in order to place wreaths on it in honor of Anzac Day. Thousands of men and women from Yorkshire and from Wales had arrived to attend the Cup final, and wearing football colors, [sic] they ranged on both sides of the road. All were reverent and quiet, in contrast to their previous hilarity and excitement in journeying through the streets in charabanc and afoot. They dozed [sic] their weirdly-coloured hats, and there was a sudden silence and “cease fire” of rattles with the hushing of clamorous voices more impressive than any organised demonstration of respect. The crowd waited all the morning with bunches of flowers, including scores of buttonholes plucked impulsively from the lapels of their coats and dresses, which were laid at the foot of the Cenotaph.³⁵

Subsequently, Sir Joseph Cook, addressed discharged Diggers at Australia House and attended a memorial service conducted by the Bishop of Rockhampton at St. Clement Danes church.³⁶ In 1938, Australian cricketers, together with a large crowd, lined up before the Cenotaph, while two members of the Australian team, Messrs Bradman and McCabe, laid a wreath at the base. Fifteen hundred people attended a service of remembrance at St. Clement Danes church. Several of the cricketers, led by Messrs W. H. Jeanes and D. Bradman, sat in the front pew during the memorial service. Bradman referred to the solemn thoughts evoked by the team’s Anzac Day visit to the Cenotaph. “We hope trouble is far away”, he said, “but if the occasion arose, Australia would again stand shoulder to shoulder with the Empire.” To *The Advertiser* it was a sad reminder that this was the first team to visit England since the war that did not include a member of the AIF eleven.³⁷ Although Bradman alluded to the international situation and the possibility of another war, *The Advertiser*’s comment was a reference to the increasing age of Great War veterans. As we shall see in chapter 7, even though the United Kingdom

³⁵ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1925, ‘Anzac Day in England’, p. 11.

³⁶ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1925, ‘A Religious Service’, p. 11.

³⁷ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1938, ‘Celebration in London, Test Men Place Wreath on Cenotaph’, ‘Bradman Speaks on Anzac Day, Australia Would Again Stand With Empire’, p. 19.

does not observe Anzac Day as a public holiday, in London and at other English localities, Britons and Australians still conduct Anzac Day remembrance services.

In Australia during the 1920s, organizations in New South Wales representing ex-service personnel, were still actively arguing the case for the observance of Anzac Day as a public holiday. In April 1923, the RSL clashed with the Chamber of Manufacturers, the RSL President, Mr L. C. Elliott, declaring in Sydney:

[T]hose members of the Chamber of Manufacturers who only wished their doors to be closed for three minutes on Anzac Day, had either a very poor memory or a very paltry idea of nationalism. Last year the publicans decided to close their doors during the church services, and of their own volition would do the same this year without Government intervention. Anzac Day was a most important day to Australians as on that 'day' they mourned the loss of their 'heroes,' and celebrated the birth of Australia as a nation.³⁸

Subsequently *The Advertiser* reported that the Sydney Retail Traders' Association and Butchers' Association had decided to close their shops on Anzac Day. An article on the same page advised that with news reaching New Zealand that shops in some Australian States would remain open on Anzac Day:

It is considered in many quarters [of New Zealand] that Australia easily forgets her glorious dead. Shops and hotels will be closed. The same procedure will be observed throughout New Zealand, and the annual observance is likely to continue so for all time.³⁹

The same year, the Prime Minister, Mr Bruce, instructed that flags flown half-mast on Anzac Day during morning ceremonies commemorating the fallen, were to fly from the masthead after noon.⁴⁰ Although the Prime Minister's instruction related to all States, the commemoration of Anzac Day did not occur uniformly within Australian States. The following South Australian research serves as a case study representative of RSL Branch deliberations in relation to Anzac Day. It is important

³⁸ *Advertiser*, 18 April 1923, 'The question of closing factories', p. 12.

³⁹ *Advertiser*, 20 April 1923, 'Sydney Traders' Shops to Close'; 'Anzac Day in New Zealand', p. 12.

⁴⁰ *Advertiser*, 20 April 1923, 'Flags to be Half-masted', p. 12.

to realize that in its entirety it is not indicative of all Australian states, for some Australian States passed Acts that observed Anzac Day as a 'close' holiday, which meant that some business were unable to open, while some forms of entertainment were barred on Anzac Day.

Having achieved the institutionalisation of Anzac Day as a public holiday in South Australia, the League rejected attempts to enforce the observance of Anzac Day as a 'close holiday'. In 1930, a motion submitted through Council by the Prospect Sub-Branch, suggested Anzac Day should be made a 'close holiday'. Mr Menzies, a Vice President, argued the sacredness of Anzac Day would be lost if race meetings took place on Anzac Day, but a number of sub-branches, particularly those in rural areas, used the 'Day' for fund raising functions for the relief of distressed Diggers. When eventually put to the vote, the motion for a 'close holiday', was lost.⁴¹ The following year Prospect Sub-Branch once more brought up the subject of a 'close holiday', this time conjointly with Yorketown. The President, Mr W. F. J. McCann, argued that it was really a question of education, that what was required was the same sentiment prevailing at the end of the war. McCann saw no objection to afternoon functions, providing the funds raised were for charitable purposes. In conclusion, the Conference reaffirmed the method of observing South Australian Anzac Days and urged that the League should make every effort to prevent attempts by organizations or individuals to exploit the afternoon for profitable purpose.⁴² The State Board encouraged voluntary observation of Anzac Day rather than initiate further legislation that would enforce a close holiday.

⁴¹ Thirteenth Sub-Branch Conference minutes, 17 & 18 September 1930, By Prospect Sub-Branch, (through Council,) 'That Anzac Day in future be made a close holiday'.

⁴² Fourteenth Sub-Branch Conference minutes, 16 & 17 September 1931, Anzac Day, by Prospect Sub-Branch, (through Council).

The League worked with organizations representative of commercial, industrial and professional bodies to keep the mornings of Anzac Day ‘sacred’, lodging protests against some Anzac Day activities. In May 1933, the League resolved to advise the Licensed Victuallers’ Association that if their members did not obey the instruction to close hotels before noon, that the League, ‘may be compelled to move for a close holiday.’ At the following meeting, the State Board resolved to lodge a protest against the State Bank for holding a picnic on Anzac Day.⁴³ The State Board further considered withholding custom from any baker or shopkeeper infringing an agreement made with the Master Bakers curtailing Anzac Day bread supplies. In 1937, a petrol station donated profit made from the sale of petrol on Anzac Day, to the Distress Fund. The League refused to accept the donation under those circumstances. The President, and Immediate Past President, ordered the return of the cheque to the Prospect Sub-Branch, which had originally received the cheque.⁴⁴ Characteristic activities held on Anzac Day and supported by the League, were charitable sporting events that took place in country areas, and military sports held in Adelaide. Sub-Branches of the League held fund raising events in country areas on Anzac Day during the 1920s and 1930s, *The Advertiser* advising readers of functions in Anzac Day articles.⁴⁵ The League was actively engaged in negotiations with community organizations, while it monitored activities and worked to maintain the ‘spirit’ of Anzac Day throughout the State.

⁴³ State Board minutes, 3 March 1931, item 4, Anzac Day Arrangements; SB, 14 April 1931, 6, Closing of Hotels; SB, 2 May 1933, 27, Closing of Hotels; SB, 16 May 1933 10, State Bank picnic Anzac Day.

⁴⁴ SB, 16 March 1937, Master Bakers; SB, 6 April 1937, Master Bakers; SB, 20 April 1937, Master Bakers, SB, 18 May 1937, 22, Prospect Sub-Branch, re Sale of petrol on Anzac Day.

⁴⁵ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1929, ‘At Strathalbyn Sports and Concert’, p. 15; 26 April 1933, ‘State Cycling Record at Renmark’, p. 10, ‘Sports at Crystal Brook’, p. 10; 26 April 1936, ‘Anzac Day Sports, Ardrossan’, p. 19; 26 April 1939, ‘Anzac Services in the Country’, p. 6.

Travel arrangements made through the League enabled veterans from all over South Australia to attend Anzac functions in Adelaide. As revealed in 'Sacred Ground', in 1931, ex-members of the AIF, Navy, and Nurses, received an offer of free rail tickets on State and Commonwealth Railways, for the unveiling of the State Memorial. Some veterans travelled from as far away as Parachilna, Port Augusta, Quorn and Alice Springs. The railways allowed free travel to enable veterans to farewell the Governor Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven in 1932, and on the 20th anniversary of the Anzac landing in 1935. These concessions were indicative of conditions in other Australian states for in March 1937, the Department of the Interior, Canberra, received advice that special fare concessions in connection with Anzac Day celebrations also operated in Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria.⁴⁶ Australian Commonwealth Archive records show the recurrence of free travel from country areas to Adelaide on Anzac Day from 1936, the South Australian Centenary year, until 1970, with only two exceptions. The League abandoned the usual Anzac celebrations during 1942 and 1943, because of war conditions.⁴⁷ Veterans travelling to Adelaide during Anzac week could take advantage of free travel to attend other functions.

Military sports were organised in Adelaide, where various battalions competed for the Anzac Day shield between 1931 and 1937. Troops from Moonta, Gladstone, Jamestown, Orroroo, Victor Harbor, Goolwa, and Strathalbyn, participated in sporting competitions on Anzac Day, for the maintenance of physical fitness. Bad weather caused problems for the military sports at Wayville and a trotting meeting on the night of 25 April 1938, *The Advertiser* reporting:

⁴⁶ NAA, B300/1, Control Symbol 6045/15, Parts 1 & 2, Contents date range 1931-1945, Free passes to returned soldiers in connection with Anzac Day South Australia, Letter to Department of the Interior, from Commissioner's Office, dated 11 March 1937.

⁴⁷ NAA, B300/1, Control symbol 6045/15, Contents date range 1946-1966; 1967-1986 (At the time of research the 1971-1986 files were exempt from public access).

The unhappiest result of the rain was the cancellation of the military sports which were to have been held at the Showground in the afternoon and the trotting at night in aid of the Soldiers' Distress Fund, for which a State-wide appeal is being made.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, twelve thousand people attended a pageant held at Wayville on Saturday 23 April, the net proceeds going to the Soldiers' Fund. *The Advertiser* printed lists of donations to the Distress Fund Appeal, which included the Stock Exchange, Government Departments, law firms, primary and high schools as well as individuals. The Sailors and Soldiers' Distress Fund established 23 September 1937, had the support of a large section of the South Australian community in 1938.⁴⁹

Even so, the League and Australian Military Forces both effected alternative actions in respect of fund raising events and athletic competitions the following year. Although, the 'Distressed Diggers Fund' received a small donation from the 4th Military District Military and Athletic Competitions Association when the sports were cancelled in 1938, the State Board took out Pluvius insurance in 1939 and following years.⁵⁰ The Australian Military Forces policy regarding sports provided conditions for members' physical fitness, however, by the year 1939, another objective in relation to military sports emerged. An advertisement was prepared for broadcast on 5AN radio and insertion in *The News* and *The Advertiser*, that announced it was the policy of the Defence Department to 'encourage recruiting' as

⁴⁸ NAA, AP39/3/0, Anzac Day Shield 1931, 1933, 1934, 1937, Contents date range 1931-1937, List of towns from where troops travelled to complete in Anzac Day Sports, 25 April 1939; *Advertiser*, 26 April 1938, 'Bleakest Anzac Day March', p. 19.

⁴⁹ *Advertiser*, 'Stimulating Response to Soldiers' Appeal', 23 April 1938, p. 22; 'Soldiers' Fund £14,603', 25 April 1938, p. 14; <<http://www.sa.rsl.org.au/about/history.html>> Recent History.

⁵⁰ NAA, AP39/3/0, Anzac Day Shield 1931 -1937; 4th Military District Military & Athletic Competitions Association Annual report year ended 30.6.1938; SB minutes, 20 March 1939, 11, Anzac Day, Pluvius Insurance.

well as 'provide means to obtain physical fitness for its members.'⁵¹ The League took action that ensured the Distress Fund received monies budgeted for the relief of distress, irrespective of the detrimental effects of inclement weather on afternoon and evening activities.

Although some Australians during different periods since the 1920s associate Anzac Day predominantly with the public face of veteran reunions complete with revelry, two-up and boisterous, drunken celebrations, there was little reference to this type of behaviour in *The Advertiser* Anzac Day reports between 1915 and the 1950s. However, League minutes of the Sixteenth Sub-Branch Conference held 13 and 14 September 1933, record that the State Board had definitely decided to cease holding the Anzac reunion social because of the damage caused to the prestige of the League by the uncontrollable conduct of some of the men 'towards their guests'. Despite cancellation of the Anzac Social at the Keswick Drill Hall, the State Board desired that as many reunions as possible be held on Anzac Eve.⁵² Behind the scenes, League minutes record how hard the State Board worked to maintain the symbolism and significance of Anzac Day while at the same time fostering public acceptance and repayment of the 'debt of honor'.

After the Second World War, the League remained vigilant, guarding the spirit of 'the one day', but diverted some proceeds from charitable fund raising events into the provision of a utilitarian memorial. League minutes in February 1946, record a letter received from the Trustees of the Sailors and Soldiers' Distress Fund advising that they were not willing to give up the Anzac Day Appeal in favour of the League's Building Appeal for a 'living memorial'. The League offered the

⁵¹ NAA, AP39/3/0, Anzac Day Shield 1931 –1937; Pamphlet, Anzac Day competitions Wayville showgrounds, 25 April, 1939, Announcement, to be announced as often as possible up to midday, 22 April 1939.

⁵² Sixteenth Sub-Branch Conference minutes, 13 & 14 September 1933, p. 484.

Distress Fund the proceeds of Poppy Day in lieu of Anzac Day, and decided to approach the Government with a request for licences for additional charity and race meetings in November. Later the same month, the State Board considered a resolution from the Prospect Sub-Branch proposing the observance of Victory Pacific (hereinafter VP) Day as a public holiday. The Board considered the proposal undesirable and decided to take no further action. League minutes in December 1946, record that a letter from the Retail Storekeepers' Association asked 'that Anzac Day should always be observed on a Monday', instead of 25 April, but to veterans Anzac Day remained sacred, the Board advising the retail association that the League was 'definitely not in favour of their suggestion.'⁵³ The League jealously guarded the sacrosanct nature and fund raising potential of Anzac Day, against all those who intentionally or unintentionally encroached upon the established written and unwritten confines of the day.

In 1948, the League continued its support of the Legacy Club despite an attempted intrusion upon the League's Anzac Day fund raising efforts for the Sailors and Soldier's Distress Fund. A delegation from the Legacy Club met with the State Board in January 1948 to discuss the Legacy Club's Appeal, which was due for finalization on 16 April. However, in April, the League received advice that the Kooyonga Golf Club had arranged a fund raising competition in aid of Legacy on Anzac Day itself. Consequently, the League resolved that a letter be sent to the Legacy Club pointing out to them that Anzac Day was 'the one day of the year' which had always been, in sport and public life, regarded as solely devoted to the Sailors' and Soldiers' Distress Fund. The League drew attention to the fact that Legacy was breaking a rule regarding Anzac Day fund raising, a rule that had been

⁵³ SB minutes, 12 February 1946, 14, S & S Distress Fund; SB minutes, 26 February 1946, 25, VP Day as annual; SB minutes, 10 December 1946, 29, Anzac Day.

maintained for nearly thirty years. Despite the League's censure, the minutes recorded 'complete and utter sympathy with Legacy'.⁵⁴ Although the League's decision to prevent fund raising activities on behalf of Legacy appears harsh, it is important to note that when the delegation met with the board in January, Legacy had pointed out that they did not wish to encroach on the League's usual arrangements. The Legacy Club was aware of the League's proprietary claims regarding the 'ownership' of 'the one day'.

Answers to implied criticism of Anzac Day rituals and reunion activities appeared in the 1950s, in South Australia publications. On 28 April 1953, *The Advertiser* published an article entitled 'Victoria's Anzac Day Defended', in which the Victorian RSL President, Mr N. D. Wilson, answered criticism over Victoria's failure to fall into line with South Australia, with an 'observance' in the morning and sport in the afternoon. Wilson stated:

Opening the hotels would sabotage an observance that is as near perfect as it can be. ... With experience of methods in other States, Victorian returned servicemen, with few exceptions prefer to retain what they have.

Under a sub heading 'Proof', the article continued:

In other States, the hotels open at 1 p.m. but the criticism against the opening is far more trenchant and widespread than it is against the closing here.

I have press cuttings to prove that.

A suggestion that the march should be held in the morning is designed only to get the principal event of the day over as quickly as possible so that it shall not interfere with trade.⁵⁵

The 'sacred' nature of Victoria's Anzac Day was under threat by commercialism, however, whilst defending criticism against 'light heartedness' in South Australia the League's publication sought to impress upon readers the spirituality inherent in the remembrance of overseas war graves.

⁵⁴ SB minutes, 20 January 1948, 16, Anzac Day; SB, 13 April 1948, 17, Legacy Club Appeal; SB, 28 April 1948, 21, Kooyonga Golf Club; SB, 13 April 1948, 17, Legacy Club Appeal.

⁵⁵ *Advertiser*, 28 April 1953, 'Victoria's Anzac Day Defended', p. 3.

During 1959, *Sentry Go* endeavoured to justify the 'Day's' activities with an article entitled 'Here's Why Anzac Day Means So Much to Him'. Although ending with a reference to 'men and women who had the spirit of Anzac in them', the article deals only with the Anzac Day activities of men. *Sentry Go's* article claimed that under the cloak of light-heartedness, Anzac Day was a day of memories, and that along with the marching men, many more 'fellows' marched along with them metaphorically. Criticism that Anzac Day was a day for making 'whoopie', and glorified war to encourage service recruitment, was described as 'just utter rubbish!'⁵⁶ Nevertheless, despite Wilson's earlier criticism of South Australian Anzac Day commemoration and claims regarding the preference of Victorian members for a closed whole-day commemoration, *Sentry Go* reported in 1960 that:

The Anzac Day observance plebiscite vote in Melbourne was overwhelming for a close observance till 1 p.m., with restricted entertainment for the rest of the day. Forty per cent. of the RSL's 70,000 members voted – 21,933 for a change and 8,576 against. ... After 33 years of a closed whole-day commemoration, the RSL has changed to a half-day commemoration.⁵⁷

Traditional South Australian Anzac Day functions continued steadfastly after the Korean War, when demobbed, professional soldiers who had served in Korea were entitled to join the League membership.

During the 1960s, the League worked hard all year, particularly during Anzac Week and on Anzac Day afternoons, to ensure the success of the Anzac Appeal. Using the medium of charity speedboat meetings, racing, trotting and football events, which the League advertised in the 'department store columns' of *The Advertiser* each Anzac Day, the League raised money used to relieve distress among ex-servicemen and women.⁵⁸ Beneficiaries of the Anzac Appeal, were the War Veteran's Home at Myrtlebank, the WWII Services Welfare Fund, the AIF

⁵⁶ *Sentry Go*, Vol III, No 25, May 1959, 'Here's Why Anzac Day Means So Much to Him', p. 4.

⁵⁷ *Sentry Go*, Vol III, No 34, February, 1960, 'Vote carried for half-day', p. 1.

⁵⁸ *Advertiser*, department store advertisement columns, 25 April 1964, p. 15; 26 April 1965, p. 21.

Cemetery Trust and the Sailors & Soldiers' Distress Fund. Representatives of the South Australian State Board attended Anzac eve reunions, and endeavoured to ensure that any festivities ended at midnight on Anzac Eve, with businesses remaining closed until at least 12 noon on Anzac Day.⁵⁹

Overt criticism of veteran behaviour during Sydney Anzac Day commemoration ceremonies appeared in Alan Seymour's play *The One Day of the Year*, which the Adelaide Festival Board banned from the 1960 Festival of Arts. Major General Hopkins successfully prevented its production as part of the Festival because he considered the play derogatory to ex-servicemen. However, the Adelaide Theatre Group premiered Seymour's play on 20 July 1960.⁶⁰ Well known for disparagement of Anzac Day veteran reunions, the play used Anzac Day activities to highlight the 1960s 'generation gap'.⁶¹ The play depicted in vivid detail, the character of the working class 'larrikin' and returned ex-serviceman, Alf Cook. Seymour underlined the generation gap between the older generation of Australians who claimed Anzac Day as a 'sacred' day, and a younger generation of Australians who considered the spirituality of morning ceremonies hypocritical, because of the revelry associated with afternoon Anzac Day reunions and sporting events.⁶² Hughie talking about Anzac Day says:

⁵⁹ SB minutes, 10 July 1961, 3, Finance (a) Report: Allocation – Anzac Appeal: 1961 Anzac Appeal Allocation lists the following: AIF Cemetery Trust £5,000, War Veterans' Home £2,000, WWII Fund £2,500, WWII Interest payment £750, S & S Distress Fund £1,000; The Annual Report & Balance Sheet for the year ended 31 December 1961, provides the information that "Over the years the racing clubs have contributed more than £110,000, the SA Trotting Club more than £54,000"; SB, 16 April 1962, 14, Anzac; SB, 8 April 1963, (e) Sports Fixtures; 18, General Business, (j) Anzac Reunions, SB, 20.5.1963, (i) Service Stations.

⁶⁰ Russell Starke, 'Ravings,' One Day every year, <http://www.messenger.net.au/Pulse/htm/starke07.htm>; Davison, *Oxford Companion Aust History*, p. 583.

⁶¹ Alan Seymour, play, *The One Day of the Year*, (London: Angus and Robertson, 1962); Ian Ousby, *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988, 1933 edition), Alan Seymour, p. 848 and Graeme Davison, John Hirst, Stuart Macintyre, (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), Alan Seymour, pp. 582-583.

⁶² Seymour, play, *The One Day of the Year*, p. 21, 39, 56, 59, pp. 62-64, pp. 76-77, p. 92, 99.

Wacka – you’ve been brought up on the speeches. They say what it’s officially supposed to be. I’ve been looking at what it is. As far as I’m concerned, that’s all it is. A great big meaningless booze-up. Nothing more.⁶³

However, after the publication of the photographs, which he took on Anzac Day,

Hughie admits:

I feel as though I’ve been a priggish, hysterical kid, shooting his mouth off at something he’s never understood. I *thought* I understood, I’d read all the books. The books don’t tell you enough. [*He is struggling to make it clear to himself.*] It’s funny ... I still dislike it as much as I ever did. But I know what they *feel* about it now.⁶⁴

In October 1961, League minutes referred to *The One Day of the Year*, when the League received a letter regarding the play from the Council of Adult Education.⁶⁵ Superficially, Seymour’s play *The One Day of the Year* was a brutal criticism of Anzac Day afternoons, of Australian workers, of Australian leaders and Australian culture in general, but the play did attempt to depict the reasoning behind Anzac Day rituals.

Anzac Day observances remained a subject of scrutiny at the time of the Vietnam War for in subtle ways the executives of community groups reduced the commitment of their organizations to the Anzac Appeal as anti-war sentiment grew within Australia. The Football League stopped paying a percentage of charity match takings into the Anzac Day Appeal and instead nominated a set figure donation while the Royal Agricultural & Horticultural Society decided not to grant any concessions for future charity trotting meetings at Wayville.⁶⁶ At the State Board meeting in 1972, League Secretary, Mr K. W. Hoffman, pointed out that some unions had caused difficulties on Anzac Day, by forcing a long weekend with a holiday Monday on 24 April. Further problems developed over wine and bottle

⁶³ Seymour, play, ‘The One Day’, p. 78.

⁶⁴ Seymour, play, ‘The One Day’, p. 101.

⁶⁵ State Board minutes, 16 October 1961, General Business (a), *The One Day of the Year*.

⁶⁶ SB, 5 March 1962, (f) Football League; SB, 19 December 1966, 17, Anzac (a) Anzac Trotting.

shops hours of opening, with the League requesting the closure of such outlets on Anzac Day, during the same hours as those advocated by the Australian Hotels Association. It is worth noting that the League demanded Sub-Branches and clubrooms remain closed during the same period.⁶⁷ With Violet Memory Day commemorative services discontinued, the League relied on Anzac Day and Poppy Day for charity fundraising.⁶⁸ In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Anzac Day no longer commanded the same respect evident after World War II.

Alan Seymour's novel, *The One Day of the Year*, published in 1967, heralded a metaphorical revival of the 'day', for Seymour, has Alf Cook's son Hughie ask, "In all our talk against that day, did we ever visualize an alternative? If it were destroyed, wiped out, what would replace it?"⁶⁹ In the 1960s, the drunken behaviour of some veterans who returned home from Anzac Day afternoon functions obviously inebriated, was not recognised as a possible manifestation of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder related to the revival of traumatic memories while in the company of other Diggers.⁷⁰ Seymour's play and book stirred conservative South Australians into action. Minutes dated 22 April 1974, reveal that the League wanted an interview with the Minister for Education and planned to discuss flag procedures, the National Anthem and the book *The One Day of the Year*.⁷¹ The League was aware it had a generational problem and acknowledged the challenge posed by waning community support. As we shall see, the League made

⁶⁷ SB, 17 April 1972, 9, Anzac-Remembrance; SB, 19 February 1973, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, Opening of Wine & Bottle Shops on Anzac Day; SB, 19 March 1973, (c) Closing of Hotels.

⁶⁸ SB, 18 May 1971, 16, General Business, (f) Violet Memory Day; SB, 18 October 1971, 4, Appeals & Trusts, (d) Poppy Day Day.

⁶⁹ Alan Seymour, *The One Day of the Year*, A Novel, (London: Souvenir Press, 1967), p. 244.

⁷⁰ For further information on the trauma of war see National Library, MS 389, Papers, K Inglis, Box 3 of 25, Maurice Shadbolt, 'Voices of Gallipoli', in *The Australian* 5.12.1990, p. 11; Jack Kaines, 'The Voice of the Bursting Shell', in *The Advertiser* 25.4.1988, p. 15; Jeff Cook, 'Grandpa what did you do in the War', in *The Advertiser* 26.4.1995, p. 9 and Betty Peters, 'The life experience of partners of ex-POWs of the Japanese', in *Journal of the AWM*, Issue 28, April 1996,

<<http://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j28/j28-petr.htm>>

⁷¹ SB, 22 April 1974, 15, General Business, (d), English Book, 4th Year High.

administrative changes designed to include a younger generation of Australians in commemorative activities and fund raising promotions, changes that ensured the continuation of the Anzac Appeal.

In the 1979 journal article mentioned in chapter 1, Philip Kitley researched Anzac Day on a deeper level than Alan Seymour and drew on anthropological literature describing reunions in terms of afternoon 'rowdiness', quoting V. W. Turner's notion of 'communitas', which was: '[e]ssentially communitas is a relationship between concrete, historical, idiosyncratic individuals.' Kitley acknowledged Ken Inglis's suggestion there was 'a significant tradition of larrikinism in the AIF', reasoning 'that the larrikin spirit is still abroad.'⁷³ In reality, veteran reunions are part of Anzac culture, an opportunity to renew social contact with a group of former Diggers. In a parody of the 'Ode' to war dead recited on Anzac Day, 'Age shall not weary them/ nor the world condemn', the world did condemn the larrikinism and rowdiness of veterans, and age wearied surviving WWII Diggers, Korean and Vietnam Veterans, just as it did WWI Diggers.

After the institutionalisation of Anzac Day as a public holiday in South Australia, the League determined appropriate rituals for observing Anzac Day as the 'one day in the year, in addition to Good Friday and Christmas Day that ought to be regarded as a holy day'.⁷⁴ Consolidating the memorial services and processions formerly held during Anzac Week, the League set aside the morning of Anzac Day for the commemoration of war dead at substitute communal headstones and rendered Anzac Day as 'the one day of the whole year which returned Soldiers look upon as the most glorious in its history'.⁷⁵ The rituals of the Anzac Day procession

⁷³ Philip Kitley, 'Anzac Day Ritual', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 4, June 1979, p. 65; V W Turner in Kitley, 'AD Ritual', *JAS*, p. 66; Kitley, 'AD Ritual', *JAS*, p. 67.

⁷⁴ *Holidays Act*, p. 2290, The Hon D J Gordon.

⁷⁵ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol. II, No 10, 7 April 1921, 'Anzac Day', p. 5.

and morning services remained sacrosanct in South Australia, but in a series of developments, military sports progressed towards charity events in aid of disability support. Despite initial rejection, eventually the League accepted football, racing, and trotting as a means of raising finance for the Sailors' & Soldiers' Distress Fund and for the upkeep of soldiers' graves at the AIF Garden of Remembrance, West Terrace. Rejecting the option for legislating the 'Day' as a close holiday, the League sought voluntary co-operation from community organizations to retain the sacred nature of Anzac Day before noon. Subsequently, community organizations co-operated with the League in the organization of afternoon charity sporting events in aid of the Sailors' & Soldiers' Distress Fund. Definitely not confined to 'the One Day of the Year', minute books made available by the League provided evidence that planning and preparation for Anzac Day and the Anzac Appeal began in December. Discussions related to planning for the current year took place each month up until April, while the State Board received reports in relation to Anzac Day in May, June and July. State Board minutes sometimes contained a reference to Anzac Day and its relative concerns every month of the year.⁷⁵ Commemorative and sporting activities, fund raising events in both city and rural areas, and criticism of veterans' behaviour, are themes recurring in League minutes and media reports in relation to Anzac Day.

In retrospect, Alan Seymour contributed to the retention and renewal of Anzac culture because his play and novel provided the League with an impetus that lifted League members out of a period of apathy. RSL South Australian Branch leaders addressed perceived problems with the RSL's media image and the problem of smaller Anzac Appeal funds by adopting new strategies. *The Girl in a Million*

⁷⁵ State Board minute books held at RSL South Australian Branch. The Anzac Day Commemoration Committee organises Anzac Day and reports to the State Board.

Quest supplemented fund raising opportunities. Support for Churchill fellowships made League participation in community events more obvious within an altering Australian society.⁷⁶ The League took advantage of new technology and used it to produce the Anzac March as a televised media event. The following two chapters, 'Diggers and Slackers' and 'Widening the Ranks', illustrate in greater detail, the administrative changes the League made to media broadcasts, fund raising and community support programmes in order to sustain and renew the progressive spirit of Diggers in periods of decline. The League's efforts with regard to the organization of remembrance services for the commemoration of war dead, fund raising for distressed ex-servicemen and women, and reunions held on Anzac Day enabled the 'Day' to survive into the 21st century still reflecting an image of the Australian Digger as a dimension of Australian national identity.

⁷⁶ SB minutes, 19 April 1960, 7, Appeals (a) Anzac Appeal; League Annual Report 1965, First Girl in a Million Quest, (unpaginated); Annual Report 1964-1965, 'Churchill Doorknock', (unpaginated).

Chapter 5.
‘DIGGERS AND SLACKERS’
 The strength, decline and renewal of ‘Diggerhood’

In November 1919, in the first edition of *The Diggers’ Gazette*, the League delineated a policy relating to politics:

Without being party political we can be critical. We can discuss any and every subject in its political sense, and seek to find the solution of all those complex problems that beset us in these momentous days of reconstruction.¹

Historians have previously recorded some of the activities of the Returned & Services League of Australia and its antecedent bodies (hereinafter RSL). In the conclusion of his *The Politics of Patriotism: The Pressure Group Activities of the Returned Servicemen’s League* (1966), G. L. Kristianson noted that some of the Australian population disagreed with the RSL’s conservatism and found support among other Australians who had critical attitudes towards the RSL based on generational changes.² David Hood’s 1994 doctoral thesis discussed RSL conservatism and change before the Second World War.³ While historians generally accept the conservatism of RSL activities, my thesis is not concerned with RSL conservatism but with RSL decisions related to repayment of the ‘Debt of Honor’ and Anzac Day. M. McKernan and M. Browne edited *Australia, Two Centuries of War and Peace* published in 1988. In chapter 8, ‘The Power of Anzac’, Marilyn Lake wrote of RSL pressure on governments to keep recruiting campaign promises. Lake concluded:

¹ *The Diggers’ Gazette*, Vol I, No 1, 15 November 1919, ‘Political’, p. 27.

² G L Kristianson, *The Politics of Patriotism: The Pressure Group Activities of the Returned Servicemen’s League*, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1966), p. 255.

³ David Hood, ‘Conservatism and Change: the RSL and Australian Society, 1916-1932’, Adelaide: University of Adelaide, Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History, 1994.

Australia's repatriation policy was a response to the perceived power of the Anzacs and it confronted that power by focusing the soldiers' discontent on non-soldiers, be they unionists, 'slackers', 'eligibles', Bolsheviks, women or coloured workers.⁴

My research found that the 'discontent' of the League did not extend to all 'eligibles' and that concern for those of the unemployed within the ex-service community extended to the women and children of war dead and war serving. The League also lobbied for citizenship rights on behalf of indigenous ex-servicemen. This thesis does not attempt to record the history of the League, but rather to illustrate an evolving Australian identity through rituals concerned with the commemoration of war dead.

The emergence, consolidation, decline and renewal of Anzac Day reflects the League's changing perception of Australian identity. The responsibility for the organization of Anzac Day in South Australia belongs to the League; therefore, this chapter discusses some aspects of decisions made at League administrative level concerned with the political and patriotic dimensions of Anzac Day. As we have seen, in the past historians have described the RSL as a conservative institution; evidence exists that in periods of decline, such as the interwar depression and during the Vietnam War, the RSL was aware of, and responded to, changing influences within the Australian nation. The RSL put measures in place to assist members of the ex-service community when government and commercial organizations reneged on recruiting promises. In South Australia, the League dealt with issues concerned with 'Digger Candidates', unemployment and preferential employment. After WWII, League minutes record decisions concerned with war widows, 'living

⁴ Marilyn Lake, 'The Power of Anzac,' in M McKernan & M Browne, (eds), *Australia Two Centuries of War and Peace*, (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1988), p. 200, p. 222.

memorials', communists, indigenous ex-servicemen, and gender. When aware of decline in community support for its activities, the League made decisions that rekindled fund raising efforts in aid of the ex-service community. The League itself had an impact on the revitalization and resurgence of Anzac Day.

During the period between the First and Second World Wars, especially during the depression, the League found that the Government and community readily forgot the debt of honour taken up during the Great War. The League was 'strictly non-political, or rather, non-party, in its constitution', and saw itself as an organization in the 'vanguard of progress' looking to the future: it used the strength of its membership numbers within the state to concentrate efforts towards overcoming some of the problems faced by repatriated ex-servicemen and women.⁵ The implied strength of the League to mould its own destiny lies in the use of *The Diggers' Gazette* in 1921 as a forum for electioneering by 'Digger Candidates'. Although non-party political, the League believed 'Digger Candidates' more likely to protect the interests of returned veterans, than 'slackers'. As discussed in 'The One Day', the League allowed ex-soldier parliamentary candidates for the 1921 South Australian election a forum in *The Diggers' Gazette*. In March 1921, in an article entitled "'Slacker" Parliamentary Candidates', *The Diggers' Gazette* reported League policy as willing to advertise only returned soldier candidates, although not necessarily advocating Diggers vote for them. The article described 'slackers' as those who were 'eligible to go to the war, but who failed to do so', arguing that as 'slackers' did not act in their country's interest 'at the time of her hour of greatest need' they would not act responsibly 'in minor matters of public interest'. Eligibles who were unable to go to the front because of physical disability or other valid

⁵ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol I, No 3, 15 December 1919, 'Non-Partisan', p. 7; Vol II, No 3, 15 December 1920, 'Outlook for the Future', pp. 32-33.

reasons did not rate the classification of 'slackers'.⁶ Mr Vaughan, a previous South Australian Attorney-General, felt it necessary to publish a 'Personal Explanation' after having aspersions cast against his character in relation to his overseas service. One of his political opponents claimed that Vaughan took a comfortable headquarters job in England, when in fact Vaughan explained he was with the 'footsloggers' in the French trenches. Vaughan went on to declare:

I am in a position to fully protect in Parliament the interest of returned men, and to obtain the complete fulfilment of the public promises held out to them on enlistment - promises which till now have been only partially and inadequately fulfilled. I maintain that returned men should have the right, with other sections of the community, to direct representation in Parliament, and I am satisfied this can only be obtained by substituting for the present system of voting the system known as proportional representation, for which I stand. The Digger spirit is too valuable a national asset for us ever to allow its direct influence to be lost in those public affairs which are under the control of Parliament.⁷

The League sought returned-soldier representation in Parliament to present a case for veterans to gain recognition that the 'debt of honor' still required repayment in an effort to secure the promises made to soldiers during the period of the Great War.⁸

As depicted in the sketches of Otto Dix and George Grosz, during the 1920s Germany experienced unemployment problems in relation to war veterans and reduced war pensions.⁹ Likewise, the Repatriation Department reduced and cancelled pensions in Australia. In November 1920, *The Diggers' Gazette* published an article entitled 'Pension Cancellation' in which 'Millie' wrote:

⁶ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol III, No 2, 'Parliamentary Elections', 7 June 1921, p. 43; League minutes Fourth State Council Meeting 10 February 1921, resumed 11 February 1921, Ruling to the Board from Council on policy for approaching State Elections, p. 73; *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 8, 7 March 1921, "'Slacker' Parliamentary Candidates', p. 5.

⁷ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 10, 7 April 1921, 'The State Elections More Digger Candidates', pp. 9-11.

⁸ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 5, 21 January 1921, 'No Party Politics', p. 10.

⁹ Serge Sabarsky, *George Grosz The Berlin Years* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985); Eva Karcher, *Otto Dix 1891-1969 "I'll either be famous or infamous"*, (Hamburg: Benedikt Taschen, 1992).

The department [Repatriation] had decided that in the case of a man who had a pre-war disability its duty was done when the soldier had been reduced to the state which he would have been in had he never gone to the war. They claimed that the war had frequently been a contributing cause to a man's disability, but that had the man never gone to the war he would be in the same state of health as he was at the time his pension was cancelled. In other words, the only duty of the department was to see that any additional disability resulting from this "contributing cause" should be eradicated.¹⁰

Although unemployment and the reduction of war pensions occurred in both Australia and Germany, conditions in Australia did not seem to inspire Australian artists to produce works of the same ilk and social comment as Dix and Grosz. George Coates, an Australian artist living in London, did produce 'Intake of the Gallipoli Wounded at the 3rd London General Hospital', now at the Australian War Memorial and a wash drawing 'Chess Players in Hospital'.¹¹ Coates' work was calmly posed, each stroke of the brush used with the efficiency of a camera, unlike the strident urgency of Otto Dix and George Grosz whose works depicted human suffering and social inequality. As we shall see, decisions made by the RSL and the League contained the expression of social unrest within Australia.

During the interwar years, the depression exacerbated the problem of unemployment among the ex-service community, which resulted in protests on Anzac Day against unemployment. The Returned Sailors' & Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (hereinafter RSSILA), reacted to the problem of unemployment by setting up employment bureaus to assist veterans, war widows and dependants in finding employment. When reporting on the 1928 procession of returned men as the largest for some years *The Advertiser* stated:

¹⁰ *Diggers' Gazette*, 'Pension Cancellations', by 'Millie,' 15 November 1920, p. 10.

¹¹ Dora Meeson Coates, *George Coates His Art and His life*, (London: J M Dent and Sons, 1937) Illustrations, 'Intake of the Gallipoli Wounded at the 3rd London General Hospital', Australia War Museum; p. 96 and 'Chess Players in Hospital: Wash-Drawing for the *Gazette*,' p. 103.

As the long procession swung down King William-street to the strains of the bands cheers broke from the crowd. When the head reached Victoria-square a number of the unemployed sang “The Red Flag” and “Solidarity for Ever,” as the troops passed by. It was noticed that many of those so singing wore returned soldiers’ badges.¹²

Unemployment continued to cause concern in following years. Lieutenant Gen.

Legge, speaking at the Albert Hall commemoration service in Canberra, on 25 April 1932, wanted a strong stand made for soldiers who ‘were still being called upon to make sacrifices.’ Legge, referring to ‘Anzacs’ tramping the roads in search of work because they were starving for bread, continued:

As an aftermath of the Great War, ... there had been profiteering by many people combined with lavish expenditure, more especially by war shirkers. Returned soldiers had not received payment of the promises held out to them that their employment would be guaranteed.¹³

Under the sub-heading ‘Unemployed Returned Soldiers’ *The Advertiser* reported that:

Between the returned men and the citizen forces a body of unemployed returned soldiers had joined in the procession and they, in company with the units of the A.I.F., gave “Eyes Right” as they passed his Excellency, who returned the salute. At their head they carried a banner on which was printed, “Unemployed Returned Soldiers. We had a job in 1914-1918. Why not now?”¹⁴

Some veterans entitled to march with the Diggers in the Anzac Day procession chose to remain on the sidelines. *The Advertiser*, when reporting on the ‘march’ in 1932, noted that ‘[t]hose whose bitterness with existing conditions had prevented them marching were sorry they had not marched.’¹⁵ *The Advertiser* provided no evidence of regret on the part of the ex-servicemen who did not march, but the inclusion of the above statement suggests that a degree of bitterness existed amongst

¹² *The Advertiser*, ‘Honoring the Anzacs’, 26 April 1928, p. 13.

¹³ *Advertiser*, ‘Find work for the Returned soldier’, 26 April 1932, p. 10.

¹⁴ *Advertiser*, ‘Unemployed returned soldiers’, 26 April 1929, p. 13.

¹⁵ *Advertiser*, ‘Huge Crowd Pay Tribute to Anzac’, 26 April 1932, p.9.

the ex-service community because promises made during the Great War were reneged.

The South Australian Sub-Branch Conference and the League attempted to reduce unemployment amongst veterans, reacting to the building of the Australian War Memorial in different ways. In 1933, the South Australian Sub-Branch Conference passed a resolution against the building of the Australian War Memorial in Canberra, which was described by one delegate as a 'useless edifice', for the Conference considered the memorial a waste of funding given the thousands of unemployed returned soldiers seeking work. The Conference resolution was in direct opposition to the previous stance taken at the National Congress. The League's State Board suggested a solution and requested that the RSL Federal Office approach the Federal Government to ask for a limitation regarding those employed in connection with the construction of the War Memorial: the confinement of employment to ex-servicemen.¹⁶

Further extending the idea of the availability of specific employment for ex-servicemen only, League minutes record protracted dealings, beginning in 1935, relating to 'absolute preference in employment' for returned ex-soldiers and the proposed Anzac Highway memorial from Adelaide to Glenelg.¹⁷ Negotiations resulted in the League signing an agreement with three local councils, Unley, West Torrens and Glenelg, together with the State Government, that gave preference to unemployed returned soldiers seeking to work on the re-construction of Anzac Highway.¹⁸ Despite controversy over preference for ex-servicemen and letters to

¹⁶ 16th Sub-Branch Conference 13 & 14 September 1933, 'Australian War Memorial', p. 472; State Board minutes, 20 June 1933, 31, 'Canberra War Memorial', (Employment), p. 1430.

¹⁷ SB minutes, 19 February 1935, 18, Anzac Highway, correspondence and details of scheme submitted.

¹⁸ SB minutes, 29 November 1935, 5, Anzac Highway Committee; SB 17 December 1935, 5, Anzac Highway, commencement date 1937.

The Advertiser disagreeing with the preference clauses, with the help of Members of State Parliament and Local Government Councillors, the Agreement eventually became part of a Bill ratified by the Parliament.¹⁹

The RSSILA took steps to reduce unemployment among ex-servicemen. In 1937 the RSSILA *Official Year Book* reported on Preference in Employment:

Notwithstanding anything contained in the Industrial Arbitration Act, 1912, or in any Act amending the same, or in any award or industrial agreement made thereunder, every employer shall give preference in employment in any profession, business or industry to a returned soldier or sailor who is **capable of effectively performing the duties of such employment.** ...

There are employers who take pride in the fact that for every name on their honour rolls there is at least one returned soldier on their present staff.²⁰

By 1938, the *Official Year Book* advertised the services of the RSSILA's own employment service bureau, which operated throughout Australia, to help 'all ex-servicemen and their kin whenever and wherever possible.'²¹ The *RSSILA Official Year Book 1939* advised employers:

If you have a vacancy for a professional man, for an artisan – a job of any description – get in touch with the League, which will be happy to meet and satisfy your requirements immediately.

Dependable men with all variety of professional qualifications and attainments and hard-working experts in every trade are registered from day to day.

Also there are Soldiers' Widows, with many qualifications, seeking employment. Girls and youths, the children of ex-servicemen, are registered, too.

Males and females – of every age, who because of their service in war or who, as wives and children, have been sadly touched by war, must be specially privileged in the matter of employment.

The employer who is a returned man owes it to his comrades of 1914-1918 that they or their folk shall have a first consideration!

¹⁹ SB minutes 20 April 1937, 14, Anzac Highway, The State Secretary submitted the report of the Anzac Highway Reconstruction Scheme.; 20 July 1937, 10, Anzac Highway, Agreement signed.; 7 September 1937, 15, Anzac Highway, Report on visiting the House during the passage of the Bill through committee stage. Clause concerning preference and maintenance of gardens included.

²⁰ Spedding, RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1937, (Coronation Issue)*, 'Preference in Employment', p. 311. Emphasis given.

²¹ RSSILA, *1938 Official Year Book*, 'You Want a Job?' p. 101.

The employer who is not an ex-serviceman or woman owes it to the great record of those who served that they and their dependents shall have a special preference – surely?²²

In the same Year Book the South Australian Branch gave details of employment and advised:

During the 11 months ended 30/11/38, 578 position [sic] were obtained through the Employment Bureau. At present 907 ex-servicemen are on the books compared with 1,080 at January 1st, 1938 – a decrease of 173. One full-time and one part-time officer look after the interests of the unemployed. Registrations are made at the Bureau, Kintore Avenue, Adelaide.²³

The League extended the bonds of ‘diggerhood’ forged during the Great War into peacetime activities by forming employment bureaus in response to the Anzac Day protests of the unemployed among the ex-service community.²⁴ Because the League believed that Diggers had readily defended and identified with Australian interests, it looked to Diggers in Parliament to deal with reconstruction and repatriation problems and absolve the debt of honour incurred during the Great War.

The Defence issue of the RSSILA *Official Year Book 1939* listed ‘Diggers in Parliament’. Of the ten Diggers in the Senate, two ‘Digger Senators’ represented each state of Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales and Western Australia, with one ‘Digger Senator’ representing each State of Tasmania and South Australia. There were twenty-two Diggers in the House of Representatives. Two from Queensland, nine from Victoria, eight from New South Wales, with one each from Tasmania, South Australia and the Northern Territory. Although there were only two South Australian Diggers in the Commonwealth Parliament that was on a par with Digger representation from Tasmania and Western Australia. Individually in the State Parliaments New South Wales had 22, Victoria 21, Western Australia 19,

²² RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, (Sydney: RSSLILA, (NSW Branch), 1939), p. 132.

²³ RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, ‘Employment’, p. 247.

²⁴ *Diggers’ Gazette* Vol 1, No 20, ‘Bonds of Diggerhood’, 1 September 1920.

and Tasmania 15, a total of 77 Diggers. One Tasmanian Digger was the Leader of the Opposition while another was Minister for Lands.²⁵ On a national basis, South Australia had the smallest number of Diggers in State Parliament.

By the end of the Interwar period, there was a larger representation of 'Diggers' in the South Australian Parliament than the three ex-soldier candidates, namely, Denny, McMillan and Hudd, elected in 1921. The *Official Year Book 1939* records nine 'Diggers' in the South Australian Parliament. The nine 'Diggers' being the Premier Hon T. Playford, a fruit grower, two Members of the Legislative Council Hon E. D. A. Bagot and C. R. Cudmore, together with MPs Hon. A. W. Christian, J. A. Lyons, J. McLeay, C. J. D. Smith, H. D. Michael and Hon R. J. Rudall, Lawyer, Commissioner of Crown Lands.²⁶ With Diggers in parliament the League had achieved some measure of preferential employment on behalf of ex-servicemen, for in the section of the Year Book allocated to the South Australian Branch, under the heading 'Preference', appeared the following:

A State Regulation approved by the Executive Council with regard to Preference in Employment to ex-Service Men provides:

- (1) Where only one workman is required, a vacancy shall be filled by a Returned Soldier if available and suitable.
- (2) When two workmen are required a vacancy shall be filled by one Returned Soldier, if available and suitable, and one civilian.
- (3) Where more than the abovementioned are required, the vacancy shall be filled by approximately one-third Returned Soldiers, if available and suitable, and two-thirds civilians.²⁷

Preferential employment extended to members of the Australian ex-service community assisted repayment of the 'debt of honor' owing to Australian war dead and war serving.

²⁵ RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, 'Diggers in Parliament', pp. 161-163.

²⁶ RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, 'Diggers in Parliament', pp. 161-162; Howard Coxon, John Playford and Robert Reid, *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament, 1857-1957*, p. 182, p. 196.

²⁷ RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, 'Preference', p. 250.

Although officially Australians were British subjects, the *Official Year Book 1939*, considered the issue of dual nationality. Despite concern with this issue, European migrants to Australia who sought RSSILA membership and identification with the 'Anzacs' in the lead up to WWII achieved League membership status if naturalised British subjects. The 'Defence Issue' of the *Official Year Book* looked at the question of nationality stating that 'Southern Europeans and refugees from Germany and other European nations' were flooding into Australia. The Year Book saw inevitable complications in the 'little communities' springing up in Australia. Writing that in the past Australia and New Zealand had boasted they had no nationality problem, the report continued:

We have been, not Australian nationals in the British Commonwealth of Nations, but citizens of the Empire, claiming and enjoying British nationality exclusively. In South Africa, Canada, and the Irish Free State, however, the question of dual nationality arises and is sure to arise here too later on if precautions are not taken. ... Britain's view is that if a Dominion no longer wishes its nationals to remain British subjects, they can not continue to enjoy the privileges of British nationality. These privileges include passport facilities, protection in foreign countries and diplomatic representation through British embassies.²⁸

Some individuals with European backgrounds showed they were willing to proclaim publicly a sense of British Australian identity and sought membership of the League. Former Italian soldiers who applied for League membership for example gained acceptance provided they were naturalized British subjects.²⁹

The League remained vigilant with regard to affiliated groups of ex-soldiers within South Australian membership ranks. Desmond O'Connor in *No need to be afraid* 1996, describes the activities of Giuseppe Amerio who tried to convert the Adelaide Italian community to the fascist cause. As Secretary to South Australia's honorary consular agent for Italy, and Fascist Party trustee for South Australia,

²⁸ RSSILA, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, 'Grave Nationality Problems', p. 57.

²⁹ SB minutes, 18 April 1939, 21, Membership; 27 June 1939, 24, Membership.

Amerio could exert influence upon the outcome of applications to bring family members to Australia from Italy. When Italy joined the war against the allies in June 1940, police officers arrested known South Australian Fascists of both Italian and British nationality.³⁰ Following the arrest of two League members, former members of the Italian Army, for 'subversive activities' the League requested a return of the men's League badges.³¹ A third Italian was asked to return his badge after admitting he had been a member of a Fascist organization between the years 1927 and 1939. He had joined the Fascists to facilitate permission for his wife and daughter to leave Italy, because he wanted them to join him and his son in Australia. Having a number of brothers in the Italian forces he had no desire to fight for Australia against Italy. As a direct result of this case, in 1942 the State Board framed a resolution to the effect that any man who had been a member of the Fascist Party or any subversive society working against the interests of the British Empire could not hold League membership.³² Persons of dual nationality, or suspected foreign allegiance, were not the only men subjected to scrutiny and discipline. During the war period League minutes disclose greater numbers of interviews took place examining men for conduct not becoming a gentleman in the Club, with some men being suspended or expelled as a result of drunkenness or misbehaviour.³³

The second year of World War II saw a defining moment with the alteration of the RSSILA's name, a change that included returned Airmen trained at various locations throughout Australia, Canada, South Africa and England. The new name 'Returned Sailors, Soldiers' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia (South Australian Branch) Incorporated,' adopted in 1941, once again ignored League

³⁰ Demond O'Connor, *No need to be afraid Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996), pp. 143-146; pp. 173-174.

³¹ SB minutes, 9 July 1940, 26.

³² SB minutes, 12 October, 1942, 25.

³³ SB minutes, circa 1940-45.

membership dimensions in relation to the gender of nurses and ex-servicewomen. Despite the blatant omission in relation to gender in the change of name, the League resolved to advise the Sisters Sub-Branch that they considered the Sisters part of the Army. In effect, the League told the Sisters they were soldiers!³⁴

With the nation at war, the League requested that Federal Office recommend to the Government the abandonment of the usual Anzac Day holiday. In March 1942, the League resolved to cancel the central dawn service in Adelaide, but supported League representation at any dawn ceremonies arranged by Sub-Branches.³⁵ Subsequently, in April 1942, *The Advertiser* reported:

Several hundred citizens paid tribute at the National War memorial on Saturday to the memory of the men of Anzac who landed on the shores of Gallipoli 27 years ago. Though the march through the city was dispensed with, the simple service, held in brilliant sunshine, lost nothing in reverence and dignity. Among those present were members of the Second AIF and US forces.³⁶

The Advertiser reported on Anzac Day services in 1943, services labelled 'Quiet, Solemn Commemoration':

The commemoration centred largely round the service at the Cross of Sacrifice, Pennington Gardens. It was a simple one, concluding with the laying on the Cross of Sacrifice of hundreds of wreaths.³⁷

The Advertiser noted that other States had record attendances at Anzac services.³⁸ Abandonment of the procession in 1942 and 1943 underlined the commemorative aspects of Anzac Day rituals. Sunday 25 April 1943 coincided with Easter Sunday. League Sub-Branches still sold Anzac badges throughout the Anzac Appeal, raising funds for the growing ranks of ex-servicemen and women, a number of Sub-

³⁴ Hank Nelson, *Chased by the Sun*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 2002) pp. viii-ix; SB minutes 8 July 1941, 14, Alteration of Name; 19 August 1941, 27, Sisters' Sub-Branch re Change of Name.

³⁵ SB minutes, 20 January 1942, 13, Anzac Day; SB 3 March 1942, 11, Anzac Day, Badge Appeal, re Dawn Services.

³⁶ *Advertiser*, 'Simple but Dignified Anzac Ceremonies, Governor-General at War Memorial Service', 27 April 1942, p. 4.

³⁷ *Advertiser*, 'Anzac Day Services, Quiet, Solemn Commemoration', 26 April 1943, p.3.

³⁸ *Advertiser*, 'Services in Other States', 26 April 1943, p.3.

Branches holding local marches from various assembly points to places of worship.³⁹ Despite war conditions, it was still important enough to conduct commemorative rituals and place wreaths around metaphorical communal headstones in recognition of burial sites overseas, burial sites that now included the graves of those killed in World War II. Effectively, no celebration of life and survival took place because ongoing battles still required a successful conclusion.

The League had endeavoured to resolve the problem in relation to indigenous ex-servicemen and those with a degree of caste in 1942, by asking Federal Office to take up the matter of full civic rights for 'returned soldier aborigines'. In August 1944, Mr H. J. Milera requested that the League take further action regarding citizenship rights for indigenous returned soldiers. In an attempt to rectify the situation, the League resolved to ask the Premier to grant a permit under the Licensing Act to every indigenous returned soldier.⁴⁰ The League lobbied for civic rights for indigenous ex-servicemen but, as we will see below, this problem remained for post war Boards to find a solution.

After 1945, Australian politicians solicited the electoral support of WWII returned ex-servicemen and women because the 'New Diggers' were a formidable group within the Australian community. The March 1947 edition of *Back*, the magazine of the R.S.L., contained a cartoon that asked 'Why did he fall for the leader of the Band?' The band marched behind a banner, 'Jobs for Cobbers', and showed a civic leader standing on the saluting platform, in front of military officers asking them, "P-s-s-t, fellas, which hand do I salute with?"⁴¹ The same issue of

³⁹ SB minutes, 2 March 1943, 13, Anzac Day, Badge Appeal; *Advertiser*, 'Anzac Day Services. Quiet, Solemn Commemoration, Suburban Services', 26.4.43, p.3.

⁴⁰ SB minutes, 3 March 1942, 19, Federal Executive Meeting, re Aborigine Question; 29 August 1944, 27, Aboriginal Returned Soldiers.

⁴¹ *Back*, March 1947, 'Why did he fall for the Leader of the Band?' p. 3.

Back contained advertisements from both sides of the political spectrum.

Authorised by R. S. Richards, Trades Hall, Labour pledged:

A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY
LONG RANGE HOUSING PLAN
PROGRESSIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT
REMEMBER Labor has Given you
Better Pension Schemes
Rehabilitation Training, and
Stands for a Fair Deal for All⁴²

Alternatively, the Playford Government set out six points on which they stood for election: tax reduction, real preference for ex-servicemen, assured employment, increased social services, primary production improvement and development.

Authorised by A. S. Dunk, North Terrace, the advertisement carried the message

'TOM PLAYFORD HIMSELF IS A RETURNED SOLDIER AND HALF THE MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET ARE EX-DIGGERS.'⁴³ In seeking the vote of

veterans, essentially both advertisements gave examples of similar policies in relation to civilian ex-service men and women.

League minute books provide evidence that the main anxiety of the League after World War II concerned either housing or preferment in employment for ex-servicemen. Further items of worry were hospital and welfare, the comfort and treatment of veterans, and adequate pensions for war widows. All these problems were particularly pressing to ex-servicemen and women as they tried to settle down within the Australian community. Housing caused anxiety, because couples who had lived apart during war years, although anxious to get on with life and continue or begin families, first had to find suitable accommodation. Some ex-servicemen obtained housing loans. However, housing depended on building materials that

⁴² *Back*, March 1947, 'Ex-Service Men and Women', p. 19, emphasis given.

⁴³ *Back*, March 1947, 'Right! You're a Civilian Now', p. 47.

were in scant supply. Building materials were restricted and private construction limited to executives in new industries, the bulk of home construction carried out by the Housing Trust and War Service Homes Departments. Some people chose to build 'back-enders', which supplied rudimentary accommodation, relying on the progress of time to enable eventual completion of their home. Lack of suitable housing could be one reason for the high membership figures as Sub-Branches kept a watchful eye, enabling the State Board of the League to dispute cases where naturalized persons received housing and accommodation while veterans remained on Housing Department waiting lists. The South Australian housing situation in 1947 prompted the Mount Barker Sub-Branch to ask that the League approach the Federal Government 'to defer immigration plans until such times as our own people are properly housed.'⁴⁴ In August 1947, *Back* reported on a failing within the immigration system saying:

It is felt a census will reveal that in far too many cases the Government has been hoodwinked by nominators who, instead of keeping to the regulations and boarding those they sponsor, have been able, by means of the black market, to secure for them dwellings which should have been made available to Australians, preferably ex-servicemen and women.⁴⁵

League minutes record thirteen civilians fined for building without a permit in December 1948.⁴⁶ League concerns relating to veterans' housing extended to include war widows' accommodation.

Although war widows were ineligible for League membership, the League nevertheless maintained a watch on the living conditions of war widows and legacy children. Widows in Melbourne organized a protest against the meagre war widow's pension whereas the South Australian League helped with the organization of a button day for war widows to sell 'Monty' souvenirs. This effort to aid war

⁴⁴ SB minutes, 9 May 1944, 11, War Service Homes; SB 18 March 1947, 26, Immigration.

⁴⁵ *Back*, August 1947, 'Govt. Will Heed R.S.L. Points on Immigration', p. 6.

⁴⁶ SB minutes, 21 December 1948, Thirteen civilians fined for building without a permit.

widows took place in conjunction with Viscount Montgomery's visit to Adelaide in July 1947 to meet with returned men from the three services and the El Alamein Association.⁴⁷ In August 1947, *Back*, published an article, which favoured increasing the amount of war widows' pensions, arguing:

This article is a challenge to any Australian, from the Prime Minister to the basic wage earner, and it concerns the foulest piece of legislation in existence today – that which gives war widows a pension sufficient only to live and bring up their families in poverty. Every Australian, and particularly every Federal politician, should hang his head in shame. Men gave their lives for their country. Their country repays their families with a pig-slop allowance. To put the matter bluntly, it stinks.⁴⁸

In the face of Government neglect, the RSSAILA lobbied the Federal Government on behalf of the families of war dead.

Annual Reports and service magazines provide evidence that not only in Australia, but internationally, returned veterans from WWII preferred 'living memorials' in the form of libraries, memorial halls and hospitals serving the living, rather than the practice of listing the names of the serving and the dead on obelisks and pedestals so important to World War I veterans. In January 1948, *Back* introduced an article on 'Living Memorials' advising that a new spirit and a new idea had emerged among Anglo-Saxon peoples in relation to memorials. The article continued:

The type of project suitable for consideration as living memorials will vary with the locale. They could range from Memorial Halls in the smaller towns to large-scale urban community centres designed to accommodate large groups of people and activities.⁴⁹

Living memorials erected to memorialise the service of war dead and war serving provided practical benefits to the entire Australian community.

⁴⁷ SB minutes 8 July 1947, 26, Widows; SB 15 April 1947, A button day for War Widows; SB 24 June 1947, Visit of Viscount Montgomery; SB 5 August 1947, War Widows Craft Guild.

⁴⁸ *Back*, August, 1947, 'Pig-Slop Pensions To Widows Are Disgrace to Australia,' p. 9.

⁴⁹ *Back*, January, 1948, 'Living Memorials', p. 17.

Although some returned men chose not to become members of the League, other returned men faced expulsion from League membership because of political affiliations. In April 1948, the State Branch resolved to request the next Federal Executive to ban communists from being members of the RSSAILA throughout Australia.⁵⁰ Therefore, if we accept a link between Anzac culture and Australian identity it would be fair to say at that particular period, (minutes circa 1948-49), the League considered communists 'un-Australian'. The League defined a communist as a person who was a member of the Communist Party and, furthermore, the League ruled that 'the onus is on those laying the charge to prove that a man is a Communist.' Efforts made by the League to organise surveillance of Communist Sunday Rallies in the Botanic Park in October 1954 arose at the same time the League prepared to send Christmas parcels to Korea and Malaya.⁵¹ The need to send parcels to Asian countries where members of the Australian Forces served during the Korean War and Malayan emergency, accounts for the League's vigilante interest and subsequent attempts to prohibit active communists as League members. The League's outspoken attitude against communists as a political party goes against the precepts of their non-party political stance, but parallels the attitude of the League against fascists during WWII. This attitude seems more in keeping with the League's patriotic objectives during time of war than its non-partisan political policy.

During the 1950s, the State Board of the League had access to the South Australian political hierarchy on a regular basis. *New Australians*, reported *The Advertiser* in 1950, saw the Anzac Day March as 'passing people of all classes, united in fighting for one flag', yet the League as a lobby group had entrée to the

⁵⁰ SB minutes, 13 April 1948, 26, Communists; 19 July 1949, 17, Anti Communist Month.

⁵¹ SB minutes 3 August 1948, 20, Communists; 4 October 1954, 12, Gen Business, (a) Communist Sunday Rallies, Botanic Park.

highest echelons of power within South Australia. The same edition of *The Advertiser* also reported the Premier Tom Playford, 'who has not missed an Adelaide Anzac march', marching with the 27th Battalion.⁵² Photographed marching with the members of his old unit publicised the Premier's service qualifications and identified his Australian patriotism. League minute books record details of Parliamentary luncheons between 1951 and 1956. The luncheons provided a forum for League State Board members to meet with the Premier. 'Parliamentary luncheons' took place approximately once a month during 1951, 1952 and 1953; therefore, during this period the practice of the Premier meeting League representatives for consultation on a regular basis underlines the electoral implications cognisant with the ex-service community.⁵³ Although the League as a lobby group had a political advantage accessing politicians at Parliamentary luncheons, Brinkworth and Goolwa Sub-Branched protested in writing in 1953 against election advertisements in the magazine *Back*. Subsequently the State Board resolved to exclude party political advertisements from that magazine.⁵⁴

In 1953, the League, received information regarding the possibility of a visit to South Australia by a contingent of former Turkish enemies and made plans to welcome the delegation. The Federal Government financed the delegation's visit, with one Turk going to each State. Fêting the former enemy, the League made arrangements enabling the Turk's presence on the official Saluting Base during the Anzac march past of veterans. The Board left entertainment arrangements in the hands of the Secretary and President. Consequently, Mr Eastick, as State President went to the Woodside Camp and Migrant Centre with the Turkish delegate. Other gestures of friendship included a reception held by the Governor and Premier, and a

⁵² *Advertiser*, 'Anzac March Impresses New Australians', and photo caption 26 April 1950, p. 3.

⁵³ SB Minutes, circa 1951-56.

⁵⁴ SB Minutes 30 March 1953, (k) Election Ads in *Back*.

presentation of a flag. The enthusiastic reception afforded to this former enemy was noticeably different from feelings evident against Germans and Japanese. However if one projects into the 1980s for a comparison, by 1980 under the heading 'Hospital Visits' minutes record 'It was resolved that the League policy today is one of goodwill and friendship towards these people [ex-enemy] and that after 35 years they should be regarded as any other ex-service persons.'⁵⁵

Returning to the 1950s, we note the unresolved questions in relation to the full citizenship rights of indigenous ex-servicemen from World War II arose again in 1953. After a new act passed in 1954 regarding the serving of liquor, the board received the information: 'Aboriginal ex-servicemen can apply and get an exemption from the Act, and all Aboriginals coming to the Club will be privately interviewed and their exemptions sighted.' Questions relating to 'quarter' and 'half castes' remained a subject of investigation. Later in 1954, the Board received a list of ten Aboriginals granted permits received from the Aborigines Department. The State Board resolved to approach the Premier 'for the right to serve Aborigines at the RSL Club, on Anzac Day only, providing they are members of the League.' The President undertook to make a personal approach to the Premier.⁵⁶

Consequently, the Premier prepared to submit an amendment to the Act but was unable to grant concession to the League to serve indigenous ex-servicemen liquor on Anzac Day. Subject to discussion with the President of the Aborigines Advancement League in South Australia, (WWI returned soldier, Dr Duguid), and

⁵⁵ SB minutes, 5 January 1953, 15, (u) Turkish Delegation, Anzac 1953; SB 2 March 1953, (h) Federal Executive Meeting; SB 13 April 1953, Visit of Turk, Anzac Period; SB 27 April 1953, 12, Gen Business, (l) Turkish Delegation; SB 8 January 1951, 3, Business arising, (h) German Migration; SB 5 January 1953, (j) Proceeds of Sales, Japanese Embassy; SB 17 March 1980, 3, Hospital Visitation, (b) Hospital Visits.

⁵⁶ SB minutes, 30 July 1951, 13, Gen Business, (H) Federal Exec. Mtg. 4/9/51; SB 13 April 1953, (c) Citizen rights, Aboriginal ex-servicemen; SB 22 February 1954, 4, Club, (a) Report, Serving of Liquor - Aborigines; SB 20 April 1954, 4 Club, (a) Report, Serving of Liquor, Half & quarter Castes.

the Protector of Aborigines, the matter of amendments remained in abeyance.⁵⁷

Later the Board received the information that Aborigines and 'Half Castes' granted citizenship rights were still subject to the Licensing Act in South Australia. The Board left the matter aside for discussion with the Premier. At this stage the Board received the information that the effect of Section 2 of the Licensing Act 1934 was that 'only members of the Fighting Forces of World War I and prior Wars can obtain liquor', World War II members only being supplied at the expense of, and in the presence of a World War I member. Subsequently, the Premier advised the League it was unnecessary to alter the Act to allow rights to WWII members because the League could give the right to World War II men under its own rules and regulations. The Board also received advice in 1954 from the Premier that:

Any man who desires may have full citizenship rights, which entails the whole of the rights of any white man, but by that step he debars himself and his family from having native rights again.⁵⁸

Despite the League's attempts to obtain equal rights for all Australian ex-servicemen and women, State legislation forced indigenous ex-servicemen to choose between citizenship and 'native rights'. However, the League could determine its own policies with regard to non-indigenous ex-servicemen and women.

As we have seen above, after adopting the 1941 name change that included airmen, the League had found it necessary to advise the Sisters' Sub-Branch that that sub-branch was considered part of the Army, a move suggesting some insensitivity on the part of the RSSILA. However, when the RSL Victorian Branch asked women not to attend the Melbourne Dawn Service in 1953, the South

⁵⁷ Charles Duguid, *Doctor and the Aborigines*, (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972) p. 175; SB minutes, 3 May, 1954, 5, Club, (b) Serving of Aborigines – Anzac Day.

⁵⁸ SB minutes, 31 May 1954, 5, Club (a) Report, Serving liquor to Aborigines and 'Half Castes'; SB 15 June 1954, 4, Club, (c) Serving of liquor to Aborigines & 'Half Castes'.

Australian League resolved 'such proposal be vigorously opposed in this State.' In 1955, when a female member of the British Imperial Sub-Branch sought information regarding her right to drink in the RSL Club bar, State Board minutes record that the Returned Sisters and Returned Servicewomen members of the League had never exercised the right to drink in the RSL Club bar.⁵⁹ It is worth noting that in Australia at this time, conventionally women did not frequent hotel front bars. Australian culture customarily delineated women's presence to the 'lounge bar', therefore the League observed cultural standards regarding hotel bars and women that the Australian community generally accepted at that time.

In 1956, *Sentry-Go*, News-Magazine of the S.A. R.S.L. (Incorporating 'Back') began publication. The Editorial asked 'How do you like it?' and expressed the view that 'Sentry-Go' was a good name for it put the whole meaning of the RSL pledge 'The Price of Liberty is Eternal Vigilance' neatly and compactly. The editorial continued:

The League, too, has its measured beat – the whole province of ex-servicemen's affairs over which it maintains a sentry's constant vigilance.

...

Above all our readers do not want their magazine to stagnate, but demand constant improvements and progress.⁶⁰

Although *Sentry-Go's* mission was to avoid stagnation, the replacement of *Back*, a magazine published monthly from 1947 until 1956, with a bi monthly news-magazine indicated the League had already entered a period of reduced activity. Subsequently, the Annual Report and Balance Sheet of the RSSAILA SA Branch, for the year ended 31 December 1960, announced the final issue of *Sentry-Go* in

⁵⁹ SB minutes 16 March 1953, 4, Club, (c) Returned Sisters Sub-Branch; SB 27 April 1953, 12, Gen Business (m) Melbourne Dawn Service; SB 12 December 1955, 14, Gen Business, (r) Female members.

⁶⁰ *Sentry-Go*, Vol 1, No 1, October-November 1956, p. 2.

January 1961, because of inadequate support.⁶¹ The League's period of decline had become entrenched.

Aware of the decline in its community standing, League management and administrative decisions adopted different approaches as fund raising began in aid of the ageing veteran community. In January 1963, the League turned its attention to the provision of 'Darby and Joan' Cottages in suburbs and rural areas, for older married couples of the veteran community. Increasing age was changing the accommodation requirements of veterans. The League also expressed concern with what it perceived as an 'image' problem with a younger generation. Acutely aware of the 'image problem', the League organised 'The Girl in a Million Quest' in aid of the Darby and Joan Cottages Scheme.⁶² The 1964 Annual Report advised League members of the 'Churchill Doorknock' Appeal, an appeal used to collect funds for travelling fellowships that enabled young Australians to study overseas. *The Advertiser* coverage of 1964 Anzac Day activities announced that the Lord Mayor would crown the S.A. Girl of the Year and announce as the 'Star of the year, the quest entrant who raises the most money.'⁶³ In 1965, *The Advertiser* described the opening of the Darby and Joan Cottages on the Esplanade at Semaphore and reported:

The Leader of the Opposition, (Sir Thomas Playford), said yesterday that he could think of no more fitting memorial to servicemen lost at Gallipoli and on other battlefields than the provision of homes for elderly ex-service people.⁶⁴

The following year the Annual Report contained photographs of the Anzac Jubilee, and reported that the South Australian Garden of Remembrance, which provided

⁶¹ Annual Report and Balance Sheet, Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia, South Australian Branch (Incorporated), Year ended 31 December 1960, p. 11.

⁶² SB minutes, 14 January 1963, Darby & Joan Cottage Scheme listed under 'Committees.'

⁶³ Annual Report 1964, 'Churchill Doorknock', unpaginated; *Advertiser*, 27 April 1964 'Judges Choose S.A. Girl of the Year', p.3.

⁶⁴ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1965, 'Homes Fitting Memorial', p. 3.

burial sites for WWII ex-servicemen and women, was taking shape within Centennial Park Cemetery.⁶⁵ Previous Premier, Tom Playford, had become Sir Thomas Playford, Leader of the Opposition. The League's political advantage within the echelons of the parliamentary power base had begun to wane, along with natural attrition and the diminishing numbers of the ex-service community.

As discussed in 'The One Day', the 1960s and 1970s brought a sustained period of criticism and apathy from both within and without the League. This period roughly coincided with the development of the Vietnam 'Crisis' and extended into the Vietnam War and the immediate post Vietnam War period, a period when generational change confronted the RSL. We have seen in earlier chapters that the bodies of ex-servicemen and women who had volunteered and served as part of the British Empire remained buried overseas. In 1965, the League opted for the status quo, voting against the return to Australia of the bodies of men killed overseas. However, the families of some Australian soldiers killed during the Vietnam War wanted the men's bodies returned to Australia for burial. In 'The Digger's Grave', published in *Nation* in February 1966, Ken Inglis wrote that public donations enabled families to fly the bodies of some soldiers home. On 21 January 1966, the day after Robert Menzies announced his resignation as Prime Minister, the Liberal Government announced a change in policy. Inglis records the revised policy as '[b]odies of servicemen who were killed or died abroad might now be returned at public expense for burial, if it was practicable and if the next of kin requested it.'⁶⁶ The same year, the RSSAILA officially became the Returned Services League of Australia and the South Australian Branch experienced a

⁶⁵ Annual Report 1965, unpaginated.

⁶⁶ SB 20 December 1965, League not in favour of returning bodies to Australia of men killed overseas; National Library of Australia, MS 389, K Inglis, Box 4 of 25, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 January 1966, 'Policy Changed, War burials'; K. S. Inglis, 'The Digger's Grave', in *Nation*, 19 February 1966, pp. 14-15.

sudden, marked decline in League membership. The Annual Report noted all who took pride in the vigilant endeavours and public prestige of the branch must be concerned at a fall of 3,600 in membership over the year. Acknowledging the rising death rate of ex-servicemen, the branch recorded the loss of over 800 members annually, but stated potential membership was thousands above the then present membership of 28,000.⁶⁷ Concurrent with the decline in RSL membership and the advent of conscription for war service in Vietnam, generational changes within the community caused the Australian Government to repatriate the bodies of some Australian war dead for burial at home. Australian families had caused the Government to adopt American rather than British policy regarding the burial of veterans killed overseas. By means of this important change regarding the repatriation and burial of war dead, the Australian Government rejected British policy and progressed along the path of national identity.

In 1981, sixty-two years after the resignation of Mrs Seager as a Vice President of the RSSILA, South Australian Branch, Mrs Ainsworth, a Returned Sister, became a Vice President of the State Board.⁶⁸ Ainsworth's appointment heralded a period of renewal in League directional dimensions and introduced subtle changes to the Board's decisions. Mrs Wilma Egnar, a migrant, had restored the 'Digger figure' of the Mt Barker soldiers' memorial, after its damage by vandals. Restoration of the monument suggests a desire on the part of a migrant to be part of Australian and Anzac culture. Subsequently, Mrs Ainsworth used the State Board as a forum to record League appreciation to Mrs Egnar. Further extending the influence of Anzac culture, minutes record an invitation to Mrs Ainsworth to address school children at Nuriootpa. On a different occasion, she, together with

⁶⁷ Annual Report 1966, unpaginated.

⁶⁸ Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle, (Gen eds), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1988), p. 559.

another returned sister, Mrs Dodson, went to Hackham Junior Primary School to talk to students about Anzac Day.⁶⁹ This provides evidence that returned sisters participated in the education of South Australian children in relation to Anzac Day, a process begun by the League's Education Department Sub Branch and teachers who were members of the ex-service community.

The period of renewal and revival during the 1980s also saw the culmination of the long delayed identification of Anzac Highway as a 'living memorial'. In 1957, the League had begun negotiations with three local councils and the Highways Department for the erection of a plinth, arch, or some other suitable marker that would signify the memorial status of Anzac Highway. In 1984, the Glenelg Council refused to sanction the design that the League and Arts in Public Places Council favoured, because Glenelg Councillors found that particular design unacceptable, possibly a reaction to antiwar sentiments within the local community. After 30 years of negotiations, in 1988, with interest in Anzac Day increasing within the Australia community, the erection of the symbols designed to identify Anzac Highway took place on the median strip at both Keswick and Morphettville. Glenelg Council took a further 13 years until 4 March 2001, to approve an inclusive memorial dedicated to all military conflicts involving Australian troops and support services, at the Glenelg end of Anzac Highway. General Peter Cosgove unveiled the memorial, situated at the entrance to high-rise buildings on what was once a public car park. The memorial, identified as 'A Chorus of Stones', consisted of a collection of local granite, bluestone boulders and an audio commentary using the voices of South Australians who had served Australia, to outline the symbolism

⁶⁹ SB minutes, 21 April 1981, 14, Gen Business, (z) Mt Barker memorial; SB 19 May 1981, 14, Gen Business, (f) Mt Barker memorial; SB 15 March 1982, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Invitation to Speak Anzac Day; SB 19 May 1981, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (i) Anzac Address to school children.

inherent in the 'installation'.⁷⁰ The fact that all three local governmental bodies eventually identified Anzac Highway as a memorial proved the League was a persistent lobby group and that it was capable of achieving desirable outcomes not only for the RSL membership, but also for all returned veterans.

RSL and League magazines provide evidence that aspiring Federal and State parliamentarians of various political parties sought endorsement and acceptance by the ex-service community when contesting elections after the Great War and World War II. Subsequently the antecedent bodies of the Returned Services League and the South Australian Branch lobbied Members of Parliament and sought their help in the provision of services to the ex-service community to honour promises made when the Australian Government encouraged enlistment. The League set up an employment bureau for soldiers, war widows and their dependants' during the interwar years. In South Australia, 'turning points' with regard to both Anzac culture and a national sense of Australian identity developed when migrants applied for League membership. In South Australia, the League lobbied the Premier for citizenship rights for indigenous ex-servicemen and those with a degree of caste. League definition of those considered 'alien' or undeserving of RSL membership during war periods, and therefore required to return membership badges, together with those persons considered acceptable as League members, has a bearing on the League's perception of Australian identity. Therefore, acceptance of indigenous

⁷⁰ SB minutes, 2 September 1957, 15, General Business, (c) Anzac Highway; SB 18 May 1971, 16, Gen. Bus, (d), AH Memorial; SB 9 October 1964, 17, Anzac (f) AH memorial; SB 14 August 1967, 17, Anzac, (b) AH; SB 8 December 1967, 16, Anzac and Remembrance, (a) AH Memorial; SB 16 December 1968, 15, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) AH memorial; SB 15 September 1969, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) AH; SB 17 September 1973, 15, Gen Bus, (n) AH memorial; SB 17 December 1984, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) AH; SB 21 January 1985, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Highway; SB 22 September 1986, 8, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Identification AH; SB 20 October 1986, 8, Anzac-Remembrance (a) Identification – AH; SB 19 November 1986, 8, Anzac-Remembrance, (e) AH Identification; SB 15 December 1986, 9, Anzac-Remembrance (a) AH; SB 18 August 1986, 8, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Identification of AH; RSL Internet Site, Recent History, <http://www.sa.rsl.org.au/about/history.html>>.

Australians and different nationalities among the ex-service community within South Australian Anzac culture indicates a changing perception of Australian identity and RSL acceptance of indigenous and migrant groups on a national basis as the national Federal Executive body influenced League policies. The South Australia Branch of the RSL received national circulars on issues discussed at the Federal level, for example national circular 57/62 concerned citizen rights for Aboriginal Ex-servicemen, showing that the history of the League as it operated in South Australia is indicative of the issues discussed in other Australian branches of the RSL.⁷¹ Decisions taken by the League that improved its public image resulted in a period of renewal after the decline evidenced during and immediately after the Vietnam War. 'Turning points' also surfaced with League acceptance of the eligibility of various categories of units requesting permission to join the ranks of Diggers and nurses marching on Anzac Day, a dimension considered in detail in the next chapter.

⁷¹ SB minutes, 2 April 1962, Citizen rights for Aboriginal Ex-servicemen, national circular 57/62.

Chapter 6.
WIDENING THE RANKS
 The Anzac Day March

As illustrated in chapter 2, 'Honouring the Debt', in October 1915, the South Australian Anzac Combined Committee arranged a street procession, and raised funds for wounded soldiers. John Moses, in a 2002 journal article, argued that the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, which organised the national observance of Anzac Day on the anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing in 1916, wanted the 'Day' observed as 'Australia's All Souls' Day'. That year the Returned Soldiers' Association held a memorial parade on Sunday 30 April.¹ In 1917, the South Australian Branch of the Returned Sailors' & Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, (hereinafter League), obtained permission from the State War Council for a Button Day and procession on 25 April and arranged for the printing of 5,000 copies of hymns for distribution on Sunday 29 April.² Subsequently, the State War Council granted the League authority to raise funds for a Building Fund Appeal, through the period of 15 to 30 April 1918. There were three parades in 1918, a procession on Saturday 20 April, a memorial parade on 25 April, and a 'street pageant' on Friday 26 April in connection with the button day appeal for the League's residential club.³ In 1919, the League applied to the Adelaide City Council for permission to hold a procession of returned men on 'Gallipoli Day' 25 April. *The Register* described the 1920 procession, which took just 5 minutes to

¹ John A Moses, 'The struggle for Anzac Day 1916-1930 and the role of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol 88, Part 1, June 2002, p. 55, 58, 59; *Advertiser*, 26 April 1916, Public Notices, RSA, Memorial Parade, p.2.

² ACA, TCDKT 1917/1330, RS & SILA letterhead, from A E Tait, Secretary, to the Mayor, dated 12 April 1917; Inaugural Meetings of RSL minutes, Committee Meeting 11 April 1917, p. 147.

³ ACA, 1918/0293, RS & SILA letterhead, 21 January 1918; 1918/0801, RS & SILA, 23 March 1918; 1918/1413, Australian Military Forces, No 22, Memorial Parade Anzac Day; 1918/0801, Letterhead, Council of Control of Patriotic Street Sales, 5 March 1918; AMF, No 23, RS & S Building Fund appeal, 20 April 1918.

pass, as 'poor'.⁴ Subsequently in 1921, as chapter 3, 'The One Day' demonstrated, the League accepted responsibility for the organization of Anzac Day in South Australia. The League uses Anzac Day to commemorate war dead and to raise funds for the relief of distressed ex-service men and women and their families. Logically, fund raising in aid of those disadvantaged by war is not an activity that glorifies war; it actually highlights the misery caused by war. In 1946, the London and Adelaide victory marches celebrating the end of WWII did not take place on Anzac Day, but on 9 and 10 June respectively. The Adelaide Victory Day pageant did not follow the same route as the line of route on Anzac Day. The pageant, which symbolized the South Australian war effort, began in the South Parklands and dispersed at Victoria Drive, Frome Road and the Parade Ground.⁵ Therefore, I would argue that the annual Anzac Day march held in Adelaide is commemorative, not triumphalist: it does not celebrate victory nor glorify war.

As we saw in chapter 1, Ann Curthoys wrote that between the early 1960s and early 1980s periodically 'feminists, leftists, pacifists and others' criticised Anzac Day and 'it went into something of a decline'.⁶ While some South Australians used Anzac Day to protest against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War and against rape in war, various units continued to apply to the RSL for permission to participate in the Anzac Day march. This chapter chronicles the increasing inclusion and diversity of the South Australian Anzac Day march, which continued throughout the decline noted by Curthoys and other historians, until the

⁴ TCDKT, 1919/0424, RS & SILA, Memorial Hall Appeal, 13 February 1919; *The Register*, 26 April 1919, 'Gallipoli Memorial Parade', p. 2; 27 April 1920, p.2.

⁵ *Advertiser*, 3 June 1946, 'Victory Day March Arrangements', p. 7; 10 June 1946, 'Nine Million People see Parading Columns, London June 9', p. 1; 11 June 1946, 'Gay Night Scenes, ... Memorable March seen by 200,000, Pageant symbolic of S.A. War Effort', p.1.

⁶ Ann Curthoys, 'Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, December, 1999, Expanded Academic Electronic Collection: A57687441, Critical Essay, p. 12 of 26, full text copyright 1999 University of Queensland Press.

revival of interest in Anzac Day during the 1980s. I base this chapter on League minutes from January 1946 until December 1986, the year of the South Australian sesquicentenary. By that time, the League had weathered the onslaught against Anzac Day during the Vietnam War and the numbers of those participating in, and observing the march, was increasing during a period of revitalization. A case study of South Australian archival evidence does not provide proof of the same progression of inclusion and diversity in relation to the units marching on Anzac Day throughout all Australian States. Nevertheless, an extrapolation of the trend exhibited by the League represents the same acceptance by the Federal RSL of the increasing participation of migrants in Anzac Day commemorative observances as part of Anzac culture.

As we have seen in chapter 5, *Diggers and Slackers*, until the end of WWII, RSL membership was restricted to ex-servicemen and women who had been in active service overseas and who were British subjects, British either by birth or by naturalisation. The status of Australian civic identity in 1946 was that of British subject. In *Alien to Citizen* Ann-Mari Jordens writes:

Although by the mid 20th century most Australians would have regarded and referred to themselves as 'Australians', their nationality was solely that of British subject until 25 January 1949. The *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* created a new status of Australian citizenship, in addition to that of British subject. This change had not been brought about by any particular nationalistic pressure to create a new and different national status. It was imposed on an almost entirely indifferent Australian population from above.⁷

The RSL bases participation in the Anzac Day march on war service, not RSL membership, or civic identity. As Anzac Day is believed to be linked to Australian identity, it seems reasonable to suggest any resolutions that the Federal RSL and or

⁷ Ann-Mari Jordens, *Alien to Citizen Settling Migrants in Australia, 1945-75*, (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1997), p. 171.

the South Australian League make in relation to the ranks of those marching in the Anzac procession or memorial 'Church Parade', has some bearing on the RSL's perception of the Australian nation. Consequently, the march organized by the League on Anzac Day represents, in microcosmic form, an understanding of Australian national identity in terms of Anzac culture as interpreted by the League. Given that the RSL South Australian Branch is responsible for planning, financing and conducting the Anzac Day Appeal, which it uses to alleviate the distress of disadvantaged members of the ex-service community within South Australia, the State Board acts as the local custodian of national Anzac culture.

After the 'Old Diggers' had passed the 'torch' metaphorically to the 'New Diggers', the number of veterans taking part in the Anzac Day march reached its zenith in Adelaide in April 1946, the first Anzac Day march after the end of World War II. Comparisons in this chapter concentrate on the annual Adelaide Anzac procession because, as discussed in earlier chapters, 'Sacred Ground' and 'The One Day', from 1931, veterans throughout South Australia had access to free travel to Adelaide that enabled them to attend dawn services and participate in the annual 'Church Parade', in memory of war dead. Archival evidence and League minutes document the subsequent entry of diverse groups into the ranks of those marching in Adelaide, as Australian social policies altered in relation to migration. The League considered and made judgements on applications from groups of Australians and 'New Australians' seeking to join the ranks of ex-service men and women on Anzac Day. Likewise, the League adjusted or adapted the line of route of the Anzac procession to cater for the increasing age and disability of older units, despite controversy relating to the commemorative symbolism inherent in earlier routes. Regardless of problems in relation to expenses, the presence of children and

legatees amongst the marchers and the provision of suitable marching music, the procession survived the biggest obstacle of all, that of natural attrition, with the inclusion of younger veterans from Asian conflicts. Despite a continual downwards trend in the numbers of marchers participating in the annual Anzac Day march during the forty year period between 1946 and 1986, as mentioned in 'The One Day' only one march, that of 1971, was cancelled. The numbers of those marching in the Adelaide Anzac procession increased between 1982 and 1986, the 7,092 marchers taking part in the Adelaide procession on Anzac Day 1986 exceeding that of the 5,950 marchers who took part in the 1976 procession, a decade earlier.

1946-1955

In 1946, before the now traditional annual procession, the State Board appointed a sub-committee responsible for solving problems related to the Anzac Day march. Once the eligibility of units was established, 'Orders of the Day' were compiled giving due regard to official procedural preference. The sub-committee solved the problem of suitable march music when it utilized the services of a company, Nomis Amplifiers, to relay live band music over the line of route, and requested well-known tunes from selected bands. The League provided buses for disabled veterans entitled to take part in the procession but unable to march. Clarence Park Sub-Branch protested against the League decision that confined the eligibility of marchers to those veterans who had been on active service, which meant that men and women who served only in bases were not eligible to march. Subsequently, the League advised them that the conditions were the same as in previous years.⁸ However, *The Advertiser* on 25 April 1946 described members of the Australian Women's Army Service, who had 'served overseas or in areas north

⁸ State Board minutes, 12 February 1946, 20, Anzac Day; SB 12 March 1946, 5, Problems, Anzac Day; SB 26 March 1946, 17, Anzac Day; SB 9 April 1946, 5, Problems, Anzac Day, SB 29 Anzac Day March.

of Katherine' as eligible to take part in the march.⁹ Attempts to deal with problems regarding the provision of music, together with the needs of aged and disabled veterans participating in the Anzac march, occur repeatedly throughout League minute books.

Minute books and 'Orders of the Day' provide evidence that post World War II, the ranks of the Anzac Day procession widened metaphorically. Not only did the Anzac Day march include the recently returned 'New Diggers', from the Second World War, but also persons from varied cultural backgrounds marched in the parade of returned veterans from overseas theatres of war. *The Advertiser* on 26 April 1946 reported:

The number marching was a record for Anzac Day. Over 19,000 sailors, soldiers, airmen and members of the women's services, representing between 50 and 60 units with overseas service, took part. Nearly 130 returned sisters and other servicewomen – also a record number – were in the vanguard of the parade.¹⁰

Along the line of route, a crowd of 170,000 watched the parade as veterans marched along King William, Rundle and Charles Streets. The 'Church Parade' saluted the State Memorial, and the South African Soldiers Memorial on North Terrace, memorials listing the names of war dead from the Great War and Boer War. The marchers wheeled into King William Road, giving 'eyes right' as they passed the official saluting base at Victoria Drive, then continued to Pennington Gardens. This line of route was the same as pre-war, despite a move to shorten the route in 1936. Significantly, a crowd of 35,000 remained for the concluding memorial service at the Cross of Sacrifice.¹¹ The number of units that subsequently gained permission

⁹ *Advertiser*, 25 April 1946, 'March May be Record', p. 1.

¹⁰ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1946, 'Adelaide's Finest Anzac Tribute', p. 1.

¹¹ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1946, 'Adelaide's Finest Anzac Tribute', p. 1, 'Moving Scenes as Anzacs March', p. 3.

to participate in Anzac Day marches grew because of Australian immigration policies.

'Orders of the Day' demonstrate that in 1946 British Imperials, Canadians and New Zealanders marched in Adelaide on Anzac Day. The New Zealand delegation proved so successful that thereafter an interchange of visits took place between Australia and New Zealand each year during April. January 1947 saw the appointment of a committee commissioned to deal with Anzac Day. New Zealanders received preference, listed above British Imperial and Canadian units in Adelaide in the 1947 'Orders of the Day, as reciprocally Australians received preference in New Zealand', a symbolic acknowledgment of the significance of A.N.Z.A.C.¹² *Back*, magazine of the R.S.L., advised readers:

The purpose of the interchange of delegates is to commemorate the spirit of Anzac by having both Australians and New Zealanders in both countries on the day of Anzac observance. Part of the contingent which will come to Australia will stay in Adelaide, and will be entertained by the South Australian branch of the League.¹³

Assuming the British Imperials and Canadians would have observed Remembrance Sunday had they been in their own countries, their willingness to march in an Anzac Day procession implies acceptance of Anzac culture and a desire to participate in a ritual associated with Allied ex-servicemen and women.

Other Allies who had no British connections also applied to join the ranks of ex-servicemen and women marching on Anzac Day. Greek ex-servicemen used the legal services of Messrs. Nelligan, Angas, Parsons & Mitchell, for that firm advised the League of the formation of a Greek ex-service association and applied for

¹² National Archives of Australia, D292/5, 18/1/33, Ceremonial General Pt II, Anzac Day 1947-59.

¹³ *Back*, January 1948, 'News Flashes 50 Australians to Visit New Zealand,' p. 7.

League incorporation.¹⁴ Subsequently, among *The Advertiser's* photographs illustrating the 1947 Anzac Day march was a descriptive caption advising:

An Evzone, in his flaring fustanella (kilt) led the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Association contingent in the Anzac Day march yesterday. He carried the Greek Flag.¹⁵

By 1948, the number of sub-branches defined by nationality had increased, for the State Board approved the formation of a Greek Sub-Branch along the same lines as the British Imperial Service Sub-Branch.¹⁶

The units of eligible marchers grew as other groups sought permission from the League to take part in Anzac Day processions. The RSL Federal Executive Meeting held on December 1950 decided that returned servicemen from active service in Korea and Malaya were acceptable as members once their Army service ended.¹⁷ In 1951, the League decided to allow the participation of as many Australian Women's Army Service women as eligible and willing to march, but deemed the Citizen Military Forces' (hereinafter CMF), case not feasible.¹⁸ Ex-servicemen from the United Kingdom and the United States joined the march in 1951 for *The Advertiser* reported:

The crowd paid special tribute to the "Old Contemptibles" who headed the British Imperial Forces. The New Zealanders were followed by small contingents who served with the Canadian, Greek and United States armed forces.¹⁹

The 'Old Contemptibles' were British regular soldiers from the Great War who fought at Mons and Ypres.²⁰ The Rats of Tobruk requested the inclusion of a separate unit of the Polish Carpathian Brigade in May 1952. The Anzac Committee

¹⁴ SB minutes, 26 November 1946, 28, Greek Ex-Servicemen's Asscn.

¹⁵ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1947, photograph, 'Evzone in March', p. 14.

¹⁶ SB minutes 18 February 1948, 21, Greek Sub-Branch.

¹⁷ SB minutes, 8 January 1951, 5, Report on Federal Executive Meeting, 19.12.50.

¹⁸ SB minutes, 16 April 1951, (m) AWAS in Anzac March; SB 19 February 1951, 3, Business arising, (d), Mr V E Hugo – re CMF.

¹⁹ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1951, 'Crowds Pay Homage to War Dead', p. 1.

²⁰ RootsWeb: GREAT WAR-L Re: [WW1] 'Old contemptibles', <<http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/GREATWAR/2000-02/0950404127>>

subsequently decided that the unit should march with 'Allied Forces'.²¹ Despite League vigilance and control over the eligibility of marchers, page 3 of *The Advertiser* 27 April 1953 contained a photograph with the caption:

Mystery Woman of March. Who was the young woman in blue who marched in front of the men in the interstate units section of Saturday's Anzac march? Leading officials of the RSL asked the question yesterday. None knew and several admitted that they had been asking the same question themselves. Her identity was also a lively subject of discussion at the ex-servicemen's luncheon, which followed the march.²²

As ex-service personnel from both World Wars included persons from other Allied nations and interstate units, it seems understandable that migrants and interstate visitors wishing to become part of South Australian cultural life would seize upon an opportunity to remember their own war dead in overseas burial sites. Anzac rites provided migrants from Allied nations and interstate ex-service men and women with an opportunity to participate in the commemorative rituals of the South Australian Anzac procession and memorial services.

Attempts to deal with problems associated with the participation of Legatees and children within the ranks of Anzac Day marchers occur repeatedly throughout League Minutes. The problems created by the presence of children as march participants demanded attention when complaints surfaced from the Navy that the Legacy Boys at the front of the procession slowed the smooth progression of the march. The League made arrangements designed to overcome the problem by suggesting that older Legacy boys leave early before the main procession. Provision was made for younger boys unable to 'keep the step', to form up near the Saluting Base to form a Guard of Honour for His Excellency the Governor.²³

²¹ SB minutes, 26 May 1952, (q) Polish Carpathian Brigade; NAA, D292/5, 18/1/33, Ceremonial General Pt II, Anzac Day 1947-59; SB, 21 July 1952, (q), Anzac Ctee. Mtg.

²² *Advertiser*, 27 April 1953. 'Eyes Front'. P. 1; 'Mystery Woman of March', p. 3.

²³ SB minutes, 16 March 1948, 16, Anzac Day; SB, 13 April 1948, 15, Anzac Day; SB, 30 July 1951, Anzac Day Committee.

Further, the League imposed an age limit on legatees participating in the march. The League resolved to curtail the inclusion of children marching with parents and endeavoured to discourage the practice 'in every possible way.'²⁴ Legacy girls received a mention for the first time in 1954 when the Legacy club requested that the girls march the entire route. November of that year saw a provisional recommendation made for a trial in 1955 for girls able to 'keep up the step'.²⁵ The problem of Legatees and children participating in the Anzac march remained unsolved.

In addition to units from other nations joining the marching ranks, groups outside the three services that had served in battle zones, and whose contribution helped the war effort, wanted to join the procession. The Air Force Association wrote to the League regarding ex-merchant seamen with overseas service participating in the march, a suggestion the State Board duly submitted to the Anzac Day Committee, (hereinafter AD Committee).²⁶ A decade after the end of World War II, the 1955 'Orders of the Day' list nine units from other nations marching within the ranks of veterans, a Serbian unit being the latest group of ex-service personnel to join the marching ranks.²⁷ The following table illustrates the change in extent of other nationals who participated during the decade ended 1955.²⁸

²⁴ SB minutes, 27 April 1953, (p) Children in procession; SB, 3 May 1954, (o) Anzac Celebrations.

²⁵ SB minutes, 5 April 1954, (q) Anzac Day; SB, 31 May 1954, (d) Anzac Day; SB, 1 November 1954, (f) Anzac Day – inclusion Legacy girls in march.

²⁶ SB minutes, 16 May 1955, (K), Anzac Day.

²⁷ NAA, D292/5, 18/1/33, Ceremonial General Pt II, Anzac Day 1947-59.

²⁸ Compiled from NAA D292/5, 18/1/33.

Orders of the Day.	1946	1955
Old Contemptibles		x
British Imperials	x	x
Canadians	x	x
French		x
American		x
Greek		x
Polish		x
Serbian		x
New Zealand	x	x

In the decade between 1946 and 1955 French, American, Greek, Polish, and Serbian units widened the ranks marching with Australian ex-servicemen and women in Adelaide on Anzac Day.

1956-1961

The period between 1956 and 1961 was a stage of consolidation and review. The League used broadcast media as an educative tool and encouraged publicity of every possible description. *Sentry-Go* advised readers of new ideas for the 1957 Anzac march and explained:

A special message for children and newcomers to the State will precede the Anzac march this year.

It will be broadcast from National stations and amplified through the public address system along the march route in the city on April 25.²⁹

After each Anzac Day, the AD Committee endeavoured to improve march organization by holding meetings that gave the rank and file an opportunity to express any grievances. At an Anzac Day 'grouch' meeting, in 1957, complaints arose concerning the system of recorded march music. Central Command bandmaster, WO1 Colin Thomas advised the meeting that the music played on Anzac Day 1957 was the 'wrong music' advising that had the music used been:

²⁹ *Sentry-Go* Vol 1, No 4, April-May 1957, 'New ideas in Anzac march', 1957, p.1.

“Take Me Back to Blighty”, “Mademoiselle From Armentiers”, “Roll Out the Barrel”, or “The Quartermaster’s Store,” it wouldn’t have mattered if the tempo had been 101 paces to the minute or 151.” ... In Charles street, as the World I columns had swung into the street, old wartime marching tunes of this kind had come over the amplifier.

“These old chaps threw their chests out and sang their heads off”, he said, “and it wouldn’t have mattered if the tempo had been 200 paces to the minute”.³⁰

Thomas believed tempo mattered less than the provision of familiar old wartime marching tunes. Problems concerned with music continued during the following decade, although the introduction of a new recording of marching music temporarily provided a solution to the problem.

Changes over the line of route caused consternation and controversy at Sub-Branch level and within the AD Committee itself in the lead up to the next Anzac Day march. *Sentry-Go* reported the options as either straight down King William Street, or the retention of the existing route. *Sentry Go’s* editor covered the debate writing that:

Mr R. Somerville, an early speaker in the debate, opposed the “straight down King William street” motion because, he said, the 10,000 marchers normally able to pay their respects to the dead as they passed the National War memorial would now be denied this opportunity.³¹

Mr C. Armbruster argued at Sub-branch Conference that the meaning of Anzac Day was lost in by-passing the memorial. Mr E. Leckie favoured the straight down King William Street option for he believed that those attending the Dawn Service showed more respect than those who half-heartedly observed ‘eyes right’ at the North Terrace memorial.³² Mr Armbruster’s premise that the meaning of Anzac Day was

³⁰ *Sentry-Go*, Vol 1, No 5, June-July 1957, ‘Let’s retain march music “grouch” meeting’, p. 4.

³¹ *Sentry-Go*, Vol 1, No 7, Oct-Nov, 1957, ‘Why Committee cut March’, p. 3.

³² SB minutes, 5 August 1957, 14, Anzac Day, (a) Committee meeting, *Sentry-Go*, Vol 1, No 7, Oct-Nov 1957, ‘Why Committee cut March’, p. 3.

lost when marchers did not march past the State Memorial was partially correct for some symbolism attached to the significance of the march was indeed lost.

The December 1957 edition of *Sentry Go* reported on the 'furore' caused in limiting the options to either, straight down King William Street, or the status quo. Messrs. R. S. Somerville and T. G. Clark resigned from the Anzac Day Committee believing the Sub-Branch Conference had passed a vote of no confidence in that Committee. According to *Sentry-Go*, Mr Pritchard, the State Secretary, had argued that the route down King William Street was the most fitting or logical route. Further, Pritchard said the dawn service was the main Anzac Day service and that marchers could pay sincere and effective respects at the Cross of Sacrifice, a memorial Mr Pritchard incorrectly described as 'the oldest war memorial in the State' for he either forgot, or ignored, the obelisk erected by the Wattle Day League in 1915.³³ With the close of all debate, *Sentry Go* announced the shortened route, which was straight down King William Street. Saluting points included one at the junction of King William Road and North Terrace, which acknowledged both the Boer and State Memorials and another that recognised His Excellency the Governor at the saluting base. The City of Adelaide Regiment had an extra saluting point at the Town Hall, where it saluted the City of Adelaide Flag. A new music recording standardised all tunes at 110 paces to the minute. The report advised that the most important feature of the 1958 Anzac celebration was the added emphasis that the AD Committee placed on attendance at the dawn service, held at the State War Memorial.³⁴ In retrospect, the added emphasis on the dawn service at the State Memorial lessened the 'meaningful purpose' of attending the concluding service of the march at the Cross of Sacrifice.

³³ *Sentry-Go*, Vol 1, No 8, December 1957, 'Call for new March Talk fails', p. 1; SB minutes, 30 September 1957, 14, Anzac Day (b) Mr R S Somerville, (c) Mr T G Clark.

³⁴ *Sentry-Go*, Vol 1, No 12, 'Anzac Day Changes', April 1958, pp. 1-3.

ROUTE OF ANZAC MARCH

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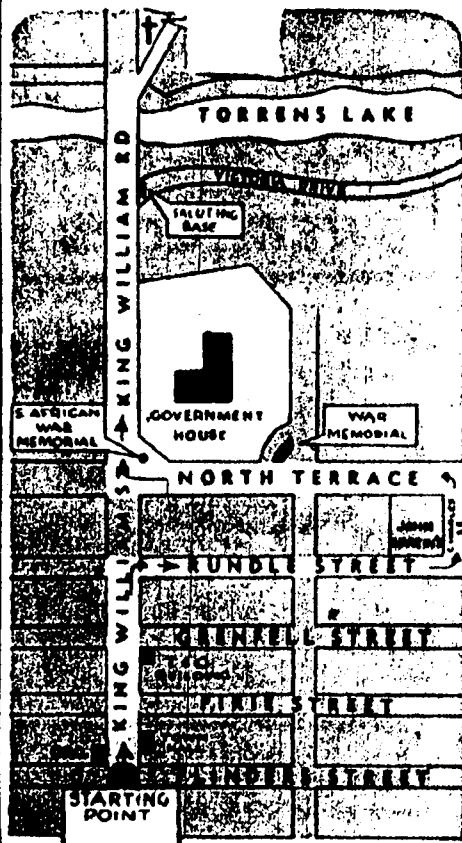


Anzac Day 1957

*They shall grow not old as we that are left grow
old.*

*Age shall not weary them nor the years
condemn.*

*At the going down of the sun and in the morning,
We will remember them.*



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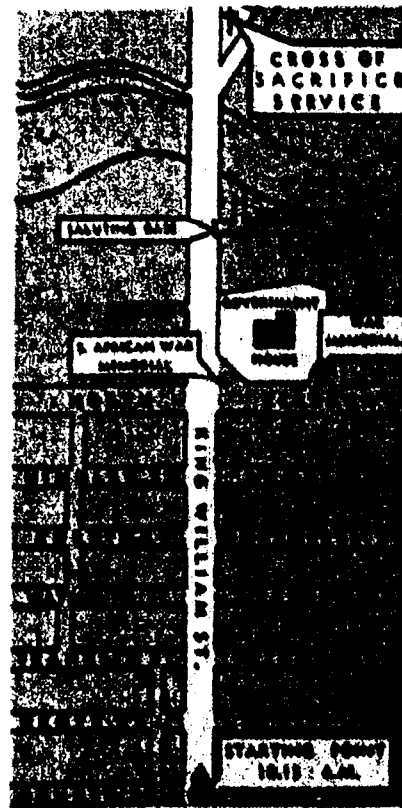


Anzac Day 1958

*They shall grow not old as we that are left grow
old.*

*Age shall not weary them nor the years
condemn.*

*At the going down of the sun and in the morning,
We will remember them.*



The shorter marching distance not only lightened the burden of the ageing ex-servicemen and women, but also removed a layer of symbolic significance from the Anzac procession. With only implied 'respects' made from the corner of North Terrace and King William Street, rather than an actual salute made to the State Memorial and the names of war dead it contained, the implied 'respects', did not pass on intact to younger generations the commemorative purpose of the Anzac procession. However, in the event, the May edition of *Sentry Go* reported that the numbers of marchers (11,075) had been the best in five years and that thousands watched the march, adding that few attended the usual post march 'grouch' meeting.³⁵ It had taken fifteen years from the time the League took over control of the Anzac procession in 1921 for a move to acknowledge the age of Great War Diggers and the need for a shortened route. War, controversy and the desire to conform to the traditional rites of Anzac mourning rituals, stopped any permanent shortening of the route for a further twenty-two years before the AD Committee bowed to the inevitable passage of time. The shortened route lessened the symbolic memorial purpose of the Anzac Day procession, which contributed to subsequent misinterpretation of the imagery of the Anzac Day procession.

A 'turning point' in relation to the Anzac Day procession and use of publication and educational media by the League occurred with the advent of television in 1960. Despatch Marshals concerned themselves with various aspects of the Anzac Day march to ensure not only a successful march in terms of ranks of veterans arriving at the Cross of Sacrifice, but also the smooth operation of the march as a televised production. Anzac Day RSL Assembly Sub-Committee reports

³⁵ SB minutes 3 March 1958, 14, Anzac Day, (b) Anzac parade, *Sentry-Go*, Vol I, No 12, April 1958, 'Anzac Day Changes', p. 1; Vol II, No 13, May 1958, 'Thousands watch Anzac Day March', p. 1.

provide evidence that Marshals required skills necessary to determine solutions for a number of problems for they had to estimate the correct spacing between units, and calculate the number of marchers marching abreast that was necessary to complete the march within a given time period. They had to arrange for the provision of buses – for cars broke down. The Despatch Marshals also had to ensure that there were no children among the ranks, for children slowed the rate of pace per minute. A further responsibility was the elimination of all halts during the procession, because during a halt there was nothing to televise.³⁶

In 1960, the march received full television cover on two of the three local stations, with partial cover on the third, a coverage that underlined the significance of the 'Day'. *Sentry-Go* reported:

This year's march would be the first to be televised. All three TV stations were planning extensive covers of the march and of the significance of the day.

The article continued

Mr. O'Brien said it was possible increased numbers of ex-servicemen would march this year, so that friends and relatives watching at home might see them on TV.³⁷

It is important to remember the public introduction of television technology had only just arrived in South Australia and seeing oneself, or friends and relations on television, was a novel experience. After the march, the State Board took action to prevent any recurrence of a 'Yugoslav' woman marching with the British Imperials.³⁸ It seems the State Board did not believe the woman was entitled to march with the British Imperials. Problems associated with the Anzac Day march

³⁶ AD RSL Assembly Sub Committee File, from 7 Nov 61 to 1 May 69.

³⁷ *Sentry-Go*, Vol III, No 36, April 1960, 'This Year's March', p. 1.

³⁸ *Sentry-Go*, Vol III, No 34, February 1960, 'SA March to be Televised', p. 1; Vol III, No 37, May 1960, 'Anzac Spirit is not Dimmed by Clouds', p.1; SB minutes, 2 May 1960, 14, Anzac Day (a) Report.

became easier to identify with the aid of new technology, because League officials could review the march on television.

The League inadvertently managed to create a further problem when it attempted to provide motorised transport for some ex-service women. December 1960 minutes anticipated a suitable conveyance for WWI Sisters in 1961, and promised a 'tactful approach' in this regard. The subsequent actions of Mr Lambert, Vice President of the State Board, strained gender relations. On Anzac Day Lambert told the Sisters that they must ride in the Jeeps provided.³⁹ One can imagine the extent of the Sisters' indignation when they received the information during the assembly procedure that they had no choice other than to clamber aboard a Jeep while dressed in skirts and stockings. Afterwards, the State Board referred a letter received from Mrs L. M. Hurst to the AD Committee. As a result, the WWI returned Sisters agreed to ride in vehicles, provided the League supplied a short stepladder for easy entry to, and exit from the transport supplied. Treatment given to male South African Veterans underlined unequal standards in relation to gender. Male South African Veterans assembled at North Terrace in 1962, and joined the march at the corner of King William Street and North Terrace, behind the vehicles carrying the WWI Sisters. The problem of 'motorising' the Sisters' ended amicably, for later minutes record the State Board received a letter from the WWI Sisters, which expressed thanks for the provision of transport.⁴⁰ Evidently Marshals thought the Sisters incapable of maintaining the pace throughout the procession and forced them to ride in the jeeps, while allowing the older South African veterans the opportunity to march a shorter distance.

³⁹ SB minutes, 12 December 1960, 14, Anzac (a) Report; SB, 1 May 1961, (c) WWI Sisters.

⁴⁰ SB minutes 1 May 1961, 12, Anzac (c) WWI Sisters; AD RSL Assembly SC 22 November 1961 Returned Sisters WWI; AD RSL Assembly Sub-Committee 22 November 1961, South African Veterans; SB minutes, 30 April 1962, 14, Anzac (c) WWII Sisters.

1962-1965 Vietnam Crisis – Regular Troops in Vietnam

Even though on 24 May 1962 Australia sent a small force of Army Instructors to assist the South Vietnamese Army, the Anzac Day march took place as usual in April 1963.⁴¹ With added emphasis placed upon attendance at the dawn service, the symbolism of the annual procession as a ‘church parade’ that actually concluded at the memorial service at the Cross of Sacrifice needed reinforcing. In 1963, Despatch Marshal, Mr Tidswell, noted ‘two comically dressed characters, riding bicycles at the rear of the march.’ Tidswell continued, ‘[a]s this is a sacred Commemoration March and not a CIRCUS PARADE could not the police have kept these ‘clowns’ off the roadway?’ The Despatch Marshal observed ‘the clowns’ near the cenotaph after the procession, describing one of the cyclists as looking like an ‘untidy, uncouth tramp’.⁴² With marchers continuing to ‘break away’ from units when they reached Pennington Gardens, Mr E. H. Smith, Deputy State President of the State Board, suggested that Unit Clubs have attention drawn to the fact that the Cross of Sacrifice Service was part of the march in an endeavour to get members to stay in the column.⁴³ It is understandable that those ex-servicemen and women who had already attended a dawn service or Requiem Mass at St Xavier’s Catholic Cathedral, would feel that as they had already paid their respects and honoured the war dead, they had no need to attend a further, secular, memorial service. The League used ‘Orders of the Day’ to continue the appeal to marchers to remain at the Cross of Sacrifice at the conclusion of the march for the remembrance service.

⁴¹ John Murphy, ‘Vietnam War’ in Davison, et al, *Oxford Companion Australian History*, p. 664.

⁴² AD RSL Assembly SC Anzac Commemoration March 1963 p. 1, p. 5.

⁴³ SB minutes, 13 April 1964, 17, Anzac.

'Orders of the Day' also specifically mentioned children: 'Unit commanders are requested to ensure that children do not march with the units.'⁴⁴

The increasing age of Legatees reduced the problem of small children unable to maintain the step, but the problem did not go away. Children persisted with their efforts to become part of the Anzac procession. The League required parents to drop out when a child attempted to join the march, with an exception in the case of a child leading a blind parent.⁴⁵ On 25 April 1964, *The Advertiser* advised readers that '[n]o children, except Legacy wards, would be allowed to march.'⁴⁶ The AD Sub-Committee's main concern was that the publicity given to children marching was likely to give others the same idea, with resultant 'shambles'.⁴⁷ Viewed by the media as interesting aberrations within the ranks, children unable to 'maintain the pace' or 'keep the step' disturbed the regular rhythm of the march. The AD Assembly Sub-Committee file contains a newspaper cutting from *The Mail* 2 May 1964, in which F W Darley, from Mount Gambier, stated that all returned servicemen should protest against a father and his four-year-old son dressed in military uniform complete with medal ribbons, in the Anzac Day parade. Alluding to a well-known children's entertainment, Darley further advocated that the RSL take drastic action to prevent mascots and impersonations galore from making the procession a 'Punch and Judy' show. He ended his protest with 'God Bless our Day.'⁴⁸ Darley wanted the premise enforced that Anzac Day was sacred to the memory of war dead, rather than a pageant providing entertainment for children, spectators and those watching the memorial ceremonies on television.

⁴⁴ NAA, D293/2, 23/4/4, Orders of the Day, 1961.

⁴⁵ SB minutes, 29 April 1957, 14, Anzac Day (Reports and comments).

⁴⁶ *Advertiser*, 25 April 1964, 'Cool for Anzac Observance', p. 1.

⁴⁷ AD RSL Assembly SC Anzac Day March 1964

⁴⁸ AD RSL Assembly SC, Anzac Day March 1964, newspaper cutting *The Mail*, 'Anzac Day incident', 2 May 1964, F W Darley, Mount Gambier.

According to John Murphy's contribution in the *Oxford Companion to Australian History* 1998, the Government announced conscription for service in Vietnam on 10 November 1964.⁴⁹ Regardless of the announcement, the plans for the Adelaide Anzac Day march went ahead as usual. New aspects introduced into march procedures enhanced the televised results and went some way towards addressing the League's 'image problem'. To aid the process of unit identification for commentators and viewers, school cadets carried yellow discs with name and unit in black letters on the left flank of the marching ranks in 1965. This successful innovation marked the centenary of the Army Cadet corps. On 1 May 1965, the Assembly Sub-Committee submitted a glowing report concerning the soldierly bearing and pride of the school cadets and recommended the use of school cadets as identity plate bearers in subsequent years, on the grounds the idea 'brought youth into this facet of RSL activities.' The Assembly Sub-Committee report declared the identity plates an unqualified success, their legibility over a distance allowing easier identification of units.⁵⁰ A recommendation for the use of school cadets on the basis that their participation brought youth into the Anzac Day march goes against the League's policy of discouraging the participation of children in the march. The apparent policy reversal provides a further example of the League taking positive steps to improve its 'image problem', while at the same time improving the technical production of the televised Anzac Day march.

The commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing drew attention to the increasing age of ex-servicemen and women. South African War Veterans advised they would not march in 1965; they preferred the provision of

⁴⁹ Murphy, in Davison, et al, *Oxford Companion Australian History*, p. 664.

⁵⁰ AD RSL SC report 1 May 1965.

vehicles.⁵¹ Highlighting the age of ex-service men and women on 27 April 1965

The Advertiser reported:

An Anzac Day marcher collapsed and died at the Cross of Sacrifice yesterday. ... He was attended by a doctor who had taken part in the march but was dead on arrival at the Royal Adelaide Hospital.

A number of other marchers and spectators collapsed during or after the march. They were taken to hospital or to their homes by ambulance.

The 200 St John ambulance men, nurses and cadets who lined the route reported an unusually large number of casualties among the crowd.⁵²

According to *The Advertiser*, the average age of the more than 4,000 WWI veterans participating in the jubilee march was 73. Notwithstanding the fact that more units applied for permission to take part in Anzac processions, natural attrition affected older units and forced their elimination from the marching ranks. 'Orders of the Day' 1965 no longer contain the Unit of Old Contemptibles. Additional units in the Anzac Jubilee March 'Orders of the Day' include in the section 'British Commonwealth Forces' one Maltese marcher, along with veterans from Korea and Malaya.⁵³ The following table illustrates the change in extent of other nationals who participated during the decade ended 1965.⁵⁴

⁵¹ SB minutes 8 February 1965, 17, Anzac (a) Transport – Sth African War Veterans.

⁵² *Advertiser*, 27 April 1965, 'Marcher Dies At Cross', p.1.

⁵³ AD RSL Assembly SC report.

⁵⁴ Compiled from NAA D292/5, 18/1/33, AD RSL Assembly Sub-Committee File.1961-69 and *Advertiser*, 24 April 1965, 'Anzac Spectacle at Oval', p.3.

Orders of the Day	1946	1955	1965
British Commonwealth Forces			
Old Contemptibles		x	
British Imperials	x	x	x
Guards Regiments			x
Canadians	x	x	x
Maltese			x
Allied Forces			
French		x	x
American		x	x
Greek		x	x
Polish		x	x
Serbian		x	x
New Zealand	x	x	x
Korea & Malaya Veterans			x

The Advertiser marked the 50th anniversary of the Gallipoli landing with a ‘Hannaford Cartoon’, drawn to represent the steps around the base of the State Memorial on North Terrace.⁵⁵



The media reflected anti-war concerns within the community and coupled Anzac Day with the Vietnam crisis. On 29 April 1965, the Menzies Government committed the first Regular Force to Vietnam. That year also saw the formation of the Save our Sons movement.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1965, Hannaford Cartoon, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Murphy in Davison, et al, *Oxford Companion Australian History*, p. 664.

1966-1972 – Vietnam War – Australian conscripts in Vietnam.

During the Vietnam War, Jane Fonda used her money and influence to foster Anti-War activities in America. The American anti-war images relayed on Australian television engendered similar responses among sections of the Australian population.⁵⁷ In South Australia, students John Schumann, a future Democrat candidate, Lynn Arnold, a future Labor premier, and Jon Chittleborough, a future museum director, marched against the war. Arnold spent time in Adelaide jail because of his actions as part of the protest movement.⁵⁸ Other historians have already addressed the Vietnam War and it is not the subject of this thesis.⁵⁹ However, in 1967, the League's Annual Report acknowledged that apathy knocked on the door, from both within and without the RSL.⁶⁰ Undoubtedly a fact engendering some apathy was the increasing age of veterans, evidenced by Boer War veterans and WWI sisters now taking part in the annual procession in Army Landrovers, while limbless and disabled members filled a number of buses. Controversies and criticism stirred up by the Vietnam War affected the RSL and veterans to a degree, in the same way community controversy affected soldiers returning from Vietnam. The apathy from inside and outside the League resulted from veterans feeling the depreciation of their standing within the Australian community. Literally forced to defend their own beliefs and the symbols upholding those beliefs, the League inhibited its response and attempted to maintain the status quo, yet struggled to combat desecration at memorials.

⁵⁷ Jane Fonda A.K.A. Hanoi Jane, <http://www.1stcavmedic.com/jane_fonda.htm>

⁵⁸ Barr Smith Special collections, MSS0049, John Tregenza, Papers 1949-1996, Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, Volume III and *The Advertiser*, 13 June 1998, Jeff Turner, 'Where are those Rebels?' pp. 4-6.

⁵⁹ For information about the activities of Australian protestors see Kenneth Maddock, 'Opposing the War In Vietnam – The Australian Experience', in John Dumbrell, (ed), *Vietnam and the Antiwar Movement*, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1989), pp. 137-149, and Greg Langley, *A Decade of Dissent, Vietnam and the conflict on the Australian home front*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992).

⁶⁰ Annual Report 1967 (unpaginated).

Changes in crowd control also affected the Anzac march. Thinning lines of spectators, allowed the League and City Council to use honour lines where possible instead of crowd barricades.⁶¹ The old guard changed metaphorically with the resignation of Col. Waite as Chief Marshal.⁶² Alterations to the layout of Victoria Square caused more work for the Assembly Sub Committee in the lead up to the 1967 march. A redesigned Victoria Square necessitated consultation and new assembly plans in co-operation with Police, the City Council and Metropolitan Tramways Trust. Noting a recurring halt each year at approximately that same site along the route of march, the Despatch Marshal concluded in the 1967 Assembly Sub-Committee report, that the Town Hall saluting point caused problems within the march, for the action of ‘eyes right’ carried out by the City of Adelaide Regiment caused halts to units following behind them.⁶³ ‘Orders of the Day’ in 1967 recorded the entry of Vietnam Veterans into the marching ranks.⁶⁴ As we have seen in ‘Honoring the Debt’, Vietnam Veterans did not receive a euphoric welcome home during the 1960s and 1970s.

The Committee for Vietnam Protest was active on Anzac Day 1968. On 24 April, *The Advertiser* reported that Anti-Vietnam students from the University of Adelaide had been criticised by Mr Eastick, chairman of the Anzac Day Committee and by Professor G. C. Harcourt, Professor of Economics at Adelaide University, the acting chairman of the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, because the Committee for Vietnam Protest intended to hold ‘silent vigils’ at the Anzac Day services. According to *The Advertiser*, Harcourt said it was ‘rather like spitting in Church’,

⁶¹ SB minutes, 21 March 1966, 17, Anzac Day (a) Report.

⁶² SB minutes, 14 June 1966, 17, Anzac (a) Col. Waite.

⁶³ SB minutes, 20 February 1967, 17, Anzac, (e) Preliminary Co-ordinating Mtg; AD RSL Assembly Sub Committee Report 1967.

⁶⁴ AD RSL SC Report 1967.

while Eastick described the student's plans as 'hypocrisy'.⁶⁵ *The Advertiser* on 26 April reported that the Committee for Vietnam Protest laid a wreath at the State Memorial after the dawn service, '[i]n memory of the fallen in the Vietnam War', and noted that the thirty members of the Committee for Vietnam Protest were absent from the remembrance service at the Cross of Sacrifice.⁶⁶ It would seem that the actions of the Committee for Vietnam Protest had little impact within League ranks, as the Annual Report did not refer to the protest. Nevertheless, the protests did register with the Vietnam Veterans. In his 1985, honours degree thesis, 'A forgotten Sacrifice: South Australian National Servicemen returning from the Vietnam War', Andrew Rice records that the men he interviewed found Adelaide receptions were less eventful than the Sydney reception where onlookers threw red paint during a 7RAR (Royal Australian Regiment) march, but overall it appeared to them 'that their sacrifice was unrecognised.' The majority of the men Rice interviewed had 'dismissed the protests because "it was a time that's what it was, a time. Protesting was something to do".'⁶⁷

Problems related to the Vietnam War, the Anzac procession and memorials escalated. January 1969 League minutes record that 'considerable publicity' followed when the State Memorial was splashed with pink paint. In April, League Secretary, K. W. Hoffman, reported on the possibility of further demonstrations at the Cross of Sacrifice and State Memorial. Preparing for that eventuality, members of the 2/48th Battalion and Rats of Tobruk Association, which expected more visiting 'Wild Flower Rats of Tobruk' from WA, made plans to mount a vigil throughout the night until the dawn service. The League sought the co-operation of

⁶⁵ *Advertiser*, 24 April 1968, 'Anzac Day Row "Like Spitting in Church,"' p. 1.

⁶⁶ *The Advertiser*, 26 April 1968, 'Dust no Bar to March', p. 1.

⁶⁷ Andrew Rice, 'A forgotten Sacrifice: South Australian National Servicemen returning from the Vietnam War', Adelaide, Honours Degree in History, University of Adelaide, 1985, p.8, 25, 24.

the police in this endeavour and devised plans for a double guard at both the State Memorial and the Cross of Sacrifice from 23 April.⁶⁸ Despite co-operation in relation to the memorials, the Police commissioner advised that he did not favour police cadets taking part in the march as disc bearers. The Commissioner felt it preferable for school cadets to carry the discs of any units needing assistance, deeming police uniform inappropriate in the Anzac march. He preferred seeing khaki uniforms rather than police uniforms.⁶⁹ In a bid to weather the continued criticism and apathy, in the 1969 Annual Report, the League asked members to ‘enlist a mate’ in 1970.⁷⁰ The League maintained its vigilance and considered the future.

Australian troops began withdrawing from Vietnam on 22 April 1970 when John Gorton was Prime Minister.⁷¹ Despite the controversy stirred up by the Vietnam War, other units applied for participation within the Anzac Day procession. Dunkirk veterans and the Royal Australian Regiment, both applied to the AD Committee seeking permission to march as a unit on Anzac Day 1970.⁷² In an endeavour to further shorten the route for WWI veterans, the League sought the opinion of members, this time suggesting North Terrace as an assembly point. Subsequently, the special sub-committee that investigated a shortened route for WWI veterans recommended no change to current march arrangements. However, the sub-committee did suggest shortening the end of the march, rather than the beginning. The following month, the State Board received the information ‘unit

⁶⁸ SB minutes, 20 January 1969, 14, Publicity, (a) War Memorial; SB, 21 April 1969, 15, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac arrangements.

⁶⁹ SB minutes, 19 May 1969, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (d) Police Cadets.

⁷⁰ Annual Report 1969, p.3.

⁷¹ Murphy in Davison, et al, *Oxford Companion*, p. 664; KT, Gorton, John Grey, p. 286.

⁷² SB minutes, 20 October 1969, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Dunkirk Veterans; SB, 19 January 1970, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) RAR Asscn.

clubs refused to accept any change at this stage.’⁷³ It would appear that although the State Board was advocating change to accommodate the increasing age and disability of ex-servicemen and women, membership at grass-roots level was unwilling to compromise or abandon established Anzac Day rituals.

A hiatus occurred in 1971, when the dawn service took place on Sunday 25 April, but the official Anzac march on the Monday public holiday did not. *The Advertiser* on 27 April 1971 reported that Mr Phillip Smith made a one-man protest against the abandonment of the march. Smith moved off punctually at 9.45 a.m. “leading a company of men I left behind.” Smith said “I felt also it was vital to march because those Moratorium people were meeting at Elder Park. ... Cancelling the march meant they were stronger than the Anzacs.” A Korean War Veteran joined him at Currie Street but they did not reach the Cross of Sacrifice. About eighty supporters of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign co-ordinating committee rallied in Elder Park against the war and conscription. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr O’Hair, said the rally had two purposes:

- To provide a medical aid fund which stressed the great suffering of the people of Indo-China.
- To draw attention to the real nature of Anzac Day in Australia and the political role of the RSL.⁷⁴

During the Vietnam War, some anti-war protestors projected an image of the Anzac Day procession, or ‘church parade’, as a victory march and a glorification of war. As we have seen, the South Australian WWII Victory pageant did not take place on Anzac Day and Mr Smith, ‘with his legs heavily bandaged because of war injuries’, was remembering the men he ‘left behind’.⁷⁵ There was also a common perception

⁷³ SB minutes, 15 December 1969, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac Ctee; SB, 19 January 1970, 15, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Ctee; SB, 16 February, 1970, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Minutes Meeting A/Day Ctee; SB, 20 July 1970, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Report.

⁷⁴ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1971, ‘Alone in an Empty City’, p.1; ‘Quiet anti-war rally in city’, p.6.

⁷⁵ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1971, p.1.

in Australia that the RSL membership consisted of conservative men from another era. Age may have wearied some of the remaining Diggers, and a number may well have been conservative, but there were others with enough energy and foresight to work for the continued observance of Anzac Day.

However, at that stage, the State Board endorsed the action of State President, Sir Thomas Eastick, who had abandoned the march because of inclement weather.⁷⁶ The unfavourable weather also thwarted tactics involving Legacy children. Earlier, legacy notices posted to war widows, sought the widows' co-operation in enabling greater participation of Legacy children in the march.⁷⁷ One can attribute the necessity for this approach to either apathy and or criticism, but the chances are the Vietnam War was also a cause. Perhaps, war widows dissuaded their children from marching with the Legacy unit. It is plausible that having already lost husbands, war widows may have endorsed the 'Save Our Sons' movement formed in 1965, as well as the moratorium street protests against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. Conceivably Legacy children were themselves members of the radical student movement and therefore unwilling to join the Anzac march.

Anti-war rallies did have an effect on the participation of young people in the Anzac Day march for the following year, the Cadet Brigade advised the availability of less than 100 cadets, instead of the usual 400, but was unable to provide an explanation for the reduced number.⁷⁸ National press statements relating to a 'Vietnam Day of Tribute' required alteration to suit the South Australian 'special status' situation in 1972, because the RAAF received permission for a

⁷⁶ Annual Report 1971, p. 14; SB minutes, 18 May 1971, 13, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Commemoration; SB, 18 January 1971, 15, Anzac-Remembrance, (a), Anzac Day arrangements.

⁷⁷ SB minutes, 19 April 1971, 13, Anzac-Remembrance, (b), Legacy participation in March.

⁷⁸ SB minutes, 17 April 1972, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (c) Anzac arrangements.

contingent of serving air force personnel to take up the position heading the march in recognition of its fiftieth anniversary. Serving army personnel, recently arrived back from South Vietnam, led the 2nd AIF units as a special tribute.⁷⁹ Andrew Rice's thesis records the feelings of the Vietnam Veterans he interviewed as:

The twelve National Servicemen went to Vietnam carrying with them the finest traditions of Australian soldiers, but came home to another Australian tradition – apathy and indifference. For years they felt neglected and that coloured their views on Australia and the Vietnam war. They have very definite views on government and society. For many years Anzac Day was the only time they felt their sacrifice was even half acknowledged.⁸⁰

Even though the Whitlam Government recalled the remaining 179 Australian troops from Vietnam and abolished conscription in December 1972, there remained a need for vigilance in relation to Anzac Day.⁸¹ Criticism forced the Federal body of the RSL to consider the future fate of Anzac Day. In South Australia, age and disability, especially in relation to the condition of WWI marchers pressed the League into endorsing proposed changes to the march after Australian Vietnam Veterans returned to Australia.

1973-1979

Despite dismal weather in 1973, those able to do so completed the march to the Cross of Sacrifice. Unhappily, others found the banner carrying army cadets and the pace of the broadcast music too fast, leaving the Annual Report to lament that 'age and stiffening joints caused dozens to drop out.'⁸² In an Appendix to Minutes dated 20 August 1973, the report of an Extra-Ordinary Meeting of National Congress in relation to Anzac Day, expressed the opinion of the National Executive that it very strenuously opposed the exclusion of Anzac Day from the national

⁷⁹ SB minutes, 20 March 1972, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Vietnam Day of Tribute; Annual Report 1972, p. 15.

⁸⁰ Rice, 'A Forgotten Sacrifice', p. 37.

⁸¹ SB minutes, 16 May 1972, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Day; SB, 16 October 1972, Anzac-Remembrance (a) Anzac Day march.

⁸² Annual Report 1973, p. 16.

scene.⁸³ In an endeavour to maintain the relevance of Anzac Day, the League investigated changes in relation to suitable marching music and considered using live bands but delayed their actual implementation because of an impending royal visit.⁸⁴ On the sixtieth anniversary of the Landing, sixty Gallipoli veterans paraded near the approaches to the 'Stone of Remembrance' forming an honour guard for Princess Anne who, together with Captain Mark Phillips, attended the service at the Cross of Sacrifice, before travelling to the Willomurra Quarter Horse stud at Kersbrook. The 'unfortunate condition' of members of the 1/10 Battalion, after marching from Victoria Square in 1975, elicited the comment: 'these members realised they could not march this distance.'⁸⁵ Age had indeed wearied WWI veterans. The next day *The Advertiser* reported the closure of the Australian Embassy in Saigon. The League's Annual Report disclosed the highest attendance for the decade.⁸⁶ In 1975, the closure of the Australian Embassy in Saigon did not stop the presence of royalty at Anzac Day functions from boosting attendance figures.

Despite problems related to age, music and increased costs, as always, there was some objection to any change in Anzac Day rituals from the participants. Despite financial difficulties, letters received from 10th Battalion Assoc, the 27th SA Scottish Regiment and Partially Blinded Sub-Branched all wanted the 'Anzac Day march retained in its present form.'⁸⁷ Other service organizations offered help, but approaches to possible sponsors willing to contribute towards or share expenses

⁸³ SB minutes, 20.8.1973, Appendix to minutes, Report on Extra-Ordinary meeting of National Congress, ANZAC DAY.

⁸⁴ SB minutes, 2 September 1974, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Bands; SB, 17 June 1975, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (c) Anzac March; SB minutes, 21 May 1974, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Day, letter from Nomis Electronic; SB minutes 20 January 1975, 10, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Bands; 26 February 1975, 10, Anzac-Remembrance, - Live Bands; Annual Report 1975.

⁸⁵ SB minutes, 20 May 1975, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Day.

⁸⁶ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1975, 'Princess talks with Veterans, Children', and 'Anzac Day Pull-out at Saigon Embassy', both p. 1; Annual Report 1975.

⁸⁷ Board minutes, 22 June 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac March.

proved futile. The Air Force Association was willing to consider some contribution, while the Deputy Premier, Mr Corcoran, an ex-serviceman himself, requested the League make a specific submission for the Government consideration. On the other hand, the City of Adelaide expressed concerns against ratepayers bearing any costs for Anzac Day expenses. The League had remarks made by the President published in the daily press, with the specific intention of 'acclimatising' people to the fact that 'sooner or later something would have to happen to the form of the Anzac observance', and placed the matter on the Sub-Branch Conference agenda. Despite examination of the problem, the 1977 Annual Report advised readers that financial assistance was unavailable to the League for Anzac Day. Subsequently, the League resolved to trace the history of the League's original acceptance of Anzac Day expenses. Sub-Branches expressed a willingness to support the appeal for Anzac Day costs.⁸⁸ The question of live bands versus the current charge for amplification remained a matter for final decision.

Significantly, notwithstanding all the supposed apathy and criticism, increasing numbers of units applied to participate within the ranks of the Anzac Day march or requested special status. The British Commonwealth Occupation forces and British Ex-Service-Women's Association requested and gained inclusion in the march in 1976 and 1977.⁸⁹ The 27th Battalion approached the State Board wanting special consideration for the 1977 Anzac Day in celebration of its centenary. Consequently, the 27th Battalion was in the vanguard of the 1977 procession.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁸ SB minutes, 20 April 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance (a) Anzac arrangements; SB, 18 May 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Day; SB, 17 July 1978, 9, Anzac-Remembrance (a) Financial assistance for conduct of Anzac Day; SB, 18 September 1978, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac Expenses; SB, 21 August 1978, 9, Anzac-Remembrance (a) Anzac Day expenses.

⁸⁹ SB minutes, 13 September 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac March; SB, 23 November 1977, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, British Ex-Service Women's Asscn.

⁹⁰ SB minutes, 18 February 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac Day Committee; Annual Report 1977.

City of Adelaide Squadron gained approval to march as a unit and received the right of freedom of the City of Adelaide. Another organization that made application for inclusion to march as a unit was the 58th Searchlight Battery. A further request for inclusion came from the SA Women's Ex-Land Army in 1978.⁹¹ SA Ex-Land Army women would not have been on active service; as the RSL relaxed eligibility conditions for participation in the annual procession, more groups applied.

1980-1986

By the 1980s, community attitudes towards Anzac Day had ameliorated, but problems persisted. The British Legion gained approval to march at the rear of the British Imperials, while the surviving 'Dambusters' marched as a 'special group.'⁹² Attendance at the Cross of Sacrifice remained a problem: the symbolism of the remembrance service required further reinforcement because Australian culture had become increasingly secular. The RSL Assembly Sub-Committee added a rider to the 1980 'Orders of the Day':

The Commemorative service at the Cross of Sacrifice is the meaningful purpose associated with the whole March arrangement. An appeal is made for marchers to remain for this service.⁹³

The following year, Prince Charles was a 'drawcard' at the Adelaide dawn service, when he placed a wreath on the State Memorial before flying to New South Wales. Attendance at the dawn service proved to be the largest for many years.⁹⁴ Despite the report of a good attendance at the Cross of Sacrifice commemoration service, the 1981 Annual Report commented again on the Anzac Day Committee's disappointment that many participants of the march chose not to remain for the

⁹¹ SB minutes, 15 January 1979, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Requests to March as Units; SB, 22 November 1978, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) SA Women's Ex-Land Army.

⁹² SB minutes, 21 January 1980, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) British Legion in Anzac March; SB, 20 February 1980, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a), Anzac Day, Dambusters.

⁹³ AD RSL Assembly SC file Anzac Commemoration march 1980.

⁹⁴ *Advertiser*, 25 April 1981, 'Chilly Dawn for Prince', p. 3.; 27 April 1981, 'Prince's Security Worried Police', p. 8.

service that the Committee viewed as an integral part of the 'Day's' arrangements.⁹⁵ The Assembly Sub-Committee report continued to appeal for marchers to remain for the commemorative service at the Cross of Sacrifice.⁹⁶ Lack of spiritualism in a post-Christian society had eroded the memorial's symbolism.

As we have seen in 'Diggers and Slackers', the scales of gender balance moved ever so gently when Mrs Ainsworth, became a Vice-President of the League's State Board in 1981. One of Ainsworth's first actions was to organize an invitation to a WWI Sister to review the Anzac march from the official Saluting Base.⁹⁷ The same year, *The Advertiser*, reported that 200 women attempted to join the Canberra Anzac march in protest against women raped in war.⁹⁸ Women's groups in Adelaide attempted to draw attention to women's suffering during war yet seemed unaware that women had erected the Cross of Sacrifice, or that the symbolism of that memorial represented women's sacrifice during war, albeit the loss of loved ones and family members. Anzac eve 1982, *The Advertiser* reported that members of the International Women's Day Collective together with Women against Rape in War had withdrawn support for a 'women's march'. Anyone who marched would do so illegally.⁹⁹ As we have seen in 'Sacred Ground', women had obtained permission from the Adelaide City Council to march on Anzac Day in 1922, and arrived at the Cross of Sacrifice before ex-servicemen and women. In 1982, the women originally scheduled a march from Victoria Square half an hour after the Anzac march commenced. The Adelaide City Council invoked the Public Assemblies Act, which prevented the women marching legally before midday.

⁹⁵ Annual Report 1981, unpaginated.

⁹⁶ AD RSL Assembly SC File.

⁹⁷ SB minutes, 19 January 1981, Vice President E H Ainsworth (Mrs); SB, 16 March 1981, 9, Anzac-Remembrance (f) Saluting Base.

⁹⁸ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1981, 'Women in March Protest: 64 Face Charges', p. 3.

⁹⁹ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1982, 'Women's Groups Say No', p. 3.

Apparently, the women's groups were ignorant of the extent and duration of the Anzac march, which did not conclude until after 11 a.m.

Had the women known about wreath laying procedures at the Cross of Sacrifice, they may have achieved one of their aims, which was to place wreaths on the memorials. *The Advertiser* reported that onlookers destroyed the wreath placed on the North Terrace memorial and that Police removed a second wreath placed by the women 'during the service of remembrance at the Cross of Sacrifice'.¹⁰⁰

Archived Orders of Service and *The Advertiser* march bulletins regularly provided information related to the placement of wreaths. The 1940 Order of March provided the information:

Under no consideration will flowers be permitted to be placed on the Cross until after the Service, other than the official wreaths placed by His Excellency the Governor, the State President of the League, and other official representatives. Those of the public who cannot wait until the placing of the official wreaths may place their tributes in charge of the party of V.S.D's [sic] especially detailed – who will attend to the placing of them after the ceremony.¹⁰¹

Likewise, instructions for the 'Anzac Day March Assembly' published in *The Advertiser* 25 April 1981 provided the information under a sub-heading 'Placing of Wreaths' that there would be only one official wreath placed at the Cross of Sacrifice by the Governor. Those wishing to place wreaths on the cross were free to do so after the official party had left.¹⁰² Any member of the public had the right to place wreaths on the memorial after the official ceremony. However, the women's groups did achieve media publicity that drew attention to the object of their protest, which was to remember women raped during war.

Through the media of film, *Gallipoli* (1981), renewed and stimulated interest in Australian history as Australians realized that *Gallipoli* not only depicted the

¹⁰⁰ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1982, 'Women's Wreaths Taken by Police, Bystanders', p. 16.

¹⁰¹ ACA, 1259/28 Anzac Day Procession, Order of March date stamped, 'rec 24 April 1940.'

¹⁰² *Advertiser*, 25 April 1981, 'Anzac Day March Assembly', 'Placing of Wreaths', p. 6.

waste and sacrifice of young Australian lives, it also showed the experiences suffered and endured by the ex-servicemen who marched on Anzac Day. The Director of *Gallipoli*, Peter Weir, described himself as feeling ‘overwhelmed by an emotion’ he could ‘only partly understand’, after a visit to Anzac Cove. Weir wrote ‘It wasn’t only pity at the waste of it all but also a sense of discovery – *it did happen, they did die, we do have a past.*’¹⁰³ In an introduction to David Williamson’s screenplay, Bill Gammage, advisor to *Gallipoli* writes of the extras, men from Port Lincoln and Adelaide:

They were curious about the film, and in asking about it some showed what seemed to me massive ignorance about Gallipoli. One was surprised to learn that we were filming the First World War not the Second, another that Anzac was in Turkey and that Australians fought Turks there, a third that Anzac Day was based on real events. Most had never heard of the Nek, or Lone Pine, or the light horse.¹⁰⁴

Subsequently, Keith Dunstan referred to *Gallipoli* and Anzac Day in an article describing life with his V.C. father who served in the 7th Battalion. Dunstan wrote that his mother dreaded Anzac Day because that was the only day of the year when his father maybe had a little too much to drink.’ Concluding the article Dunstan wrote:

In 1981 I was in California and I went to see the premiere of the movie “Gallipoli”. It was almost the exact story of the 7th Battalion. It was all too much for me. My wife and I left the theatre crying.¹⁰⁵

Mr Morrissey, a State Board Vice-President was alert to the possibilities provided by the film industry and expressed the hope that the outcome of the film *Gallipoli*, might be of help to Anzac Day.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Bill Gammage, (text), David Williamson, (screenplay), Peter Weir, (preface), *The Story of Gallipoli*, (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1981), p.5, emphasis.

¹⁰⁴ Gammage et al, *The Story of Gallipoli*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Keith Dunstan, ‘Our Life with the V.C.’, in *The Independent Monthly*, July 1989, p. 16.

¹⁰⁶ SB, minutes 28 September 1981, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (m), Film - Gallipoli.

It would appear *Gallipoli* did help with Anzac Day for more groups sought incorporation within the ranks of marching veterans, filling the gaps left by those units no longer capable of marching. New units appeared on the 'Orders of the Day'; the United Nations Forces plus Regular Army and Reserve Units, while the 50th Battalion Club ceased to exist. The South Australian Yankalilla 3/9 Light Horse Association received permission to participate in the 1982 march, but with the stipulation that permission was for 1982 only.¹⁰⁷ Correspondence received in 1984 put revival firmly on the agenda as multiculturalism permeated through the layers of Australian culture. A letter from the Associazione Nazionale Partigiani Italiani de Liberazione in Australia requested participation in the Anzac Day march. The State Board agreed in principle 'that those members of the Association who were eligible for League membership would be entitled to march.' Evidence submitted by the group proved their membership consisted of Italian ex-servicemen, who had enlisted after the downfall of Mussolini and his government and fought with the Allied Forces. Without giving any reason for the Serbian stance, League minutes record that Serbians were 'upset' because Italian partisans participated in the Anzac march.¹⁰⁸ According to Ralph Churches, who escaped from German imprisonment in Yugoslavia with the help of Slovene partisans in 1944, most WWII Serb ex-service men in Australia marching in the Anzac Day march are ex-Chetniks, Serb guerrillas who wished to restore Serb King Peter II to the throne in Yugoslavia. During WWII, the Chetniks also fought against the partisans. In *Europe* (2000), Norman Davies writes that the Royal Yugoslav Government fled to

¹⁰⁷ AD RSL Assembly Sub Committee, Orders of the Day, 1982; SB minutes, 18 May 1982, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (d) 50 Bn Club; SB, 19 April 1982, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (d) Arrangements – Anzac March, SA Yankalilla 3/9 Light Horse.

¹⁰⁸ SB minutes, 20 August 1984, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Letter from President, ANPI de Liberazione in Australia; SB, 20 February 1985, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b), Letter from Associazione Nazionale Partigiani Italiani in Australia; SB, 15 April 1985, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b), Anzac Day Arrangements.

London and ‘Hungarians, Bulgarians and Italians all took chunks of the carcass.’¹⁰⁹

When the League gave Italian ex-servicemen permission to participate in the Anzac march, it stirred tensions between European migrants that related to old nationalistic rivalries, but the Anzac march adapted to change and continued.

Women became more active in League organizational roles and gained a higher profile in the Anzac Day procession. In 1985, Mrs Ainsworth informed the State Board of the organizational skills displayed on Anzac Day by Miss Campbell of the Returned Sisters Sub-Branch. Subsequently, the Board decided to extend an invitation to Miss Campbell to act as a future Anzac Marshal.¹¹⁰ Showing a greater acceptance of female participation, the State Board agreed to encourage a request from the Girl Guides Association asking for an opportunity for greater involvement at the Cross of Sacrifice. This stance demonstrates the change in League sensibilities regarding gender. Forty years earlier, the League considered that the only young people capable of Anzac Day participation were Legacy boys.¹¹¹

League decisions allowed more recognition of ex-servicewomen’s contributions to the Anzac Day march.

The year of the State’s sesquicentenary, 1986, units from America and Vietnam joined the ranks. The National Guard Band from Texas, which was also celebrating its anniversary, participated in the march, while a contingent of South Vietnamese took part at the rear of Group 9. The League’s Annual Report recorded that for the first time in thirty years, 17 live bands, both brass and pipe, situated at

¹⁰⁹ Ralph Churches, letter to J Pavils, 15 September 2000; For more information see Ralph Churches, *A Hundred Miles as the Crow Flies*, (Adelaide: R F Churches, 1996), Chapter 6, ‘Précis of Partisan History’, pp. 81-89 and Norman Davies, *Europe*, (London: Pimlico, 1996), reprinted with corrections 1997, p.1010.

¹¹⁰ SB minutes, 15 April 1985, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac Day Arrangements, Returned Sisters on Anzac Day.

¹¹¹ SB minutes, 17 March 1986, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) 1986 Anzac Day; SB, 19 February 1986, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) 1986 Anzac Day progress report; SB, 14 April 1986, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a), 1986 Anzac Day; SB, 22 September 1986, 8, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Letter from The Girl Guides Assn.

intervals among the participating units, accompanied the Anzac Day march in Adelaide.¹¹² The use of live bands enabled even more community groups to participate in the Anzac procession. In December 1986, the Demobilised Sailors, Soldiers & Airmen's Association advised of their inability to participate in any further Anzac marches. Correspondence received from the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam, requested permission for a place of honour in the 1987 Anzac march in order to mark the Training Team's 25th anniversary.¹¹³

The anti war mood had receded in America. During an America TV show in 1988 Jane Fonda apologized:

Not just to Vietnam veterans in New England, but to men who were in Vietnam who I hurt, or whose pain I caused to deepen because of things that I said or did.¹¹⁴

In 1998, Jeff Turner of *The Advertiser* interviewed a number of Vietnam anti-war protestors, among them 'the songwriter' John Schumann, 'the charity chief' Lynn Arnold and director of the National Motor Museum, Birdwood, Jon Chittleborough. Schumann said:

I was opposed to the war, but I was never against the men who fought there. I was always very embarrassed about those protestors who directed their abuse at our soldiers. They had only been doing their job.

Lynn Arnold, alleged 'If the circumstances were the same today, I would have an obligation to say my piece.' John Chittleborough, believed:

We were right and we were lucky. I still get choked, looking at the Vietnam vets marching on Anzac Day. The ones who survived were stuffed by the experience. While we were still fighting, I met army officers who believed the government had lied to them. They saw the war as a mistake.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Annual Report 1986, 3-4 July 1987, unpaginated.

¹¹³ SB minutes, 15 December 1986, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac Day 1987, Demobilised Sailors, Soldiers & Airmen's Assn, Australian Army Training Team Vietnam.

¹¹⁴ Jonah Goldberg, <<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/johah062300.asp>>

¹¹⁵ Barr Smith Special collections, MSS0049, John Tregenza, Papers 1949-1996, Volume III and *Advertiser*, 13 June 1998, Jeff Turner, 'Where Are those Rebels?' pp. 4-6.

Both Schumann and Chittleborough recognised that akin to the Australian volunteers of previous conflicts, the Vietnam Vets were doing a job, a job that entailed sacrifice and suffering. Anzac Day continues to acknowledge sacrifice and service on behalf of the Australian nation.

There has been a downwards trend in the numbers of marchers participating in Anzac processions during the forty-year period, 1946 to 1986, but, as age and infirmity thinned and levelled ex-service units and caused ex-service men and women to leave the ranks on Anzac Day, new units filled the gap because of changing circumstances within Australia and overseas. Government immigration policies led to an increase in the numbers of multicultural units that participated within the annual Anzac procession. The League also adopted different criteria in relation to marchers' eligibility within procession ranks. The participation of children in the Anzac Day march presented a conundrum. On the surface, it appeared that in the interests of ensuring the continuation of the Anzac Day march the presence of children should be encouraged. On a deeper level, the League understood that to maintain the symbolic significance of a march in remembrance of war dead, the children marching should be confined to those whose ex-service father or mother was dead, or, alternatively, the children of veterans who were unable to march unaided. Pragmatically, after having virtually eliminated the presence of children from the marching ranks, the League increasingly looked to cadets as unit bearers, and the support of scouts and guides at the Cross of Sacrifice memorial service.

The 1960s period of criticism arose from conflicting passions internationally, and more particularly from opinions within the American and Australian nations during the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, Vietnam Veterans, both

Australian and Vietnamese, increased the numbers of those marching on Anzac Day. The relatives of Vietnam Veterans joined those watching along the line of route and helped increase attendance figures for the Anzac Day march. Throughout waves of immigration, Asian conflicts and Australian peacekeeping initiatives, the State Board of the League, worked with and through the Anzac Day Committee to maintain the implied symbolic obligation in relation to the 1915 'Debt of Honor'. After the end of the Second World War, the League accepted the responsibility handed on to them by the ex-service men and women of the Great War, to uphold the concept that the main objective of the Anzac Day march was a memorial 'Church Parade', that concluded on the 'Sacred Ground' around the Cross of Sacrifice. The League's vigilance ensured that the Anzac Day march did not present the image of a pageant, but reflected instead an Anzac cultural image as a dimension of Australian national identity.¹¹⁶ At the same time, as part of the remembrance connection, the League participated in the commemoration of Armistice Day each November until 1945. In November 1946, the League followed the British example and observed Remembrance Sunday, at which time the League used 'Poppy Day' as a fund raising opportunity and further supported the needs of disadvantaged Old and New Diggers and extended the influence of Anzac culture.

¹¹⁶ AD SC meeting 27.2.2001.

Chapter 7.

HAREFIELD AND THE REMEMBRANCE CONNECTION

Anzac Day in Britain, Armistice Day and multicultural remembrance in Australia

The commemoration of war dead is a multicultural practice. In Australia, Anzac Day developed into a ‘home grown’ public holiday commemorating the sacrifice and service of Australian ex-servicemen and women to the Australian nation. As argued above, in South Australia, in 1915, Anzac Day emerged from grass roots concern about honorary debt repayment to the fallen and maimed from the Gallipoli Landing. Since the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing, Britain also remembers war dead on Anzac Day. This chapter begins with an outline of the continued observance of Anzac Day in Britain, with particular reference to the Anzac Cemetery in Harefield, a Middlesex village situated on the outskirts of Greater London. In 1919, Armistice Day began as a British observance by command of King George V. Armistice Day, 11 November, officially proclaimed and promulgated throughout the British Empire, primarily recognized the sacrifice of life during war in the service of the British Empire and the achievement of victory. In the remainder of this chapter, I consider the results of my research concerning the observance of Armistice Day in Australia. In conjunction with Armistice Day, the Poppy Day Appeal raises funds for those in the ex-service community disadvantaged by war. As we have seen in chapter 1, rituals concerned with commemoration of war dead take place globally, although in countries other than Australia and New Zealand, Allied rituals concerned with international commemoration of war dead more generally take place in November, and relate to the Great War Armistice. After World War II, migrants from other nations transposed their own cultural remembrance rituals to Australia. In South Australia, some migrants observed remembrance rituals at the State Memorial.

Although the funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier took place on Remembrance Day, a day with empire connotations, observers at the funeral linked the identity of that Unknown Soldier with Anzac Day, the dominant day in Australia for the commemoration of war dead. After observing the funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier on 11 November 1993, Ken Inglis wrote in an article entitled 'Reflections on the Unknown Soldier':

After the last of the prayers the service men and women begin to march from the parade ground. For the first time we do something not prescribed in the program. We clap. We applaud spontaneously, first the horses and their riders, then the services' contingent, then the band, as it sets now the regular brisk pace for 'The Road to Gundagai' and tunes from the Great War. John Lahey interprets nicely in the *Age* our sudden change of mood, as smiling and chatting accompany applause: 'It was as if we had all shed a burden'. Remembrance Day has taken on the mood of Anzac Day.¹

As we shall see, in Australia, Anzac culture absorbed the rites of Armistice Day and Remembrance Day, subsuming the global and empire connotations of remembrance into a celebration of national identity.

Some Australians who answered the Empire call to arms during the Great War have burial sites in Britain. The history of the Union Jack that once belonged to Harefield Village School highlights the South Australian connection with global remembrance rituals implicit in Anzac Day as described in 'Widening the Ranks', whereby Allied veterans join the Anzac March and commemorate fallen comrades. The Union Jack displayed in Adelaide High School's 'War Memorial' foyer has special significance because of the Anzac Cemetery adjacent to the parish church of St Mary the Virgin in Harefield. The Imperial War Museum, London holds an enlistment poster reading 'South Australians, Fall in! We want you at the front, Come and Help, Enlist at Once'. The poster projects the patriotic fervour of the

¹ Ken Inglis, 'Reflections on the Unknown Soldier', in *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 24, April 1994, p. 6.

coo-ee marches illustrated by both a Union Jack and a 'bushman' dressed in AIF uniform calling 'coo-ee'.² Patricia Kaye in *Under an English Heaven* (1993), described the 'Coo-ee' march of William Thomas Hitchen of New South Wales in 1915 as the first of many such recruitment marches and wrote that Hitchen:

[O]n his own initiative, marched to Sydney from his home town of Gilgandra, a distance of 150 miles, picking up volunteers on the way. Their ranks had swollen to 263 by the time they reached Sydney, having started with just 26 men.³

Another Australian from New South Wales, Mr Charles Billyard-Leake, who with his wife Letitia, resided in Britain, offered his property, Harefield Park to the Australian Ministry of Defence for use as a convalescence hospital to house the inevitable casualties from Gallipoli and the battlefields of Europe during World War

I.⁴ On Anzac Day 1916, *The Advertiser* reported:

General Sir Wm. Birdwood, Commander in Chief of the Australian forces, accompanied by Lady Birdwood and his son and daughter, were the guests of Mr. Billyard Leake to luncheon at Harefield Convalescent Hospital on Easter Sunday.⁵

The report continued with a description of Birdwood's inspection of the hospital, which was then under the control of Colonel Hayward and Acting Matron Pratt of Melbourne.⁶ Some Australians hospitalised at Harefield did not survive their injuries, while others succumbed to influenza.

Sir Francis Newdigate Newdegate, a former Governor of both Tasmania and Western Australia, made provision for the burial of the Australians who died while in the Australian Military hospital at Harefield. Newdegate, a Member of Parliament, donated a parcel of land next to the Harefield church of St Mary's as a

² Imperial War Museum, London SA Coo-ee poster, photograph held by J Pavils.

³ Patricia Kaye, *Under an English Heaven*, (Harefield: Patricia Kaye, 1993), p. 4.

⁴ Kaye, *English Heaven*, p. 1.

⁵ *The Advertiser*, 'General Birdwood, Visit to Harefield, Inspecting the Wounded', 25 April 1916, p.

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⁶ *Advertiser*, 'General Birdwood', 25 April 1916, p. 5.

cemetery for the burial of Australian war dead.⁷ Upon the death of the first Australian soldier, the headmaster of the village school lent that school's Union Jack to drape the coffin of the dead Australian when the funeral cortège carried the soldier from the hospital to the Australian Military cemetery. Thereafter that same Union Jack draped the coffins of the succeeding dead from the 1st Australian Auxiliary Hospital, Harefield.⁸ 'Digger' Bill Hitchen, who responded to the Empire call for help with the 'Coo-ee' march, died on 3 September 1916. His burial site lies 'under an English heaven' in Harefield, just one of the Australian soldiers who died in Harefield Hospital. Also buried in the cemetery is an Australian nurse, a victim not of the war but of the influenza pandemic of 1919.⁹ In Britain, the people of Harefield cared and provided for Australian injured and ensured that Australian war dead received appropriate burial services.

Recognizing that the symbolism imbued in the Harefield School's Union Jack would resound and strike a chord with grieving Australians, the Village headmaster forged a link that grew with succeeding generations. With the end of the Great War, the headmaster, Mr. Earnest F Jeffery, offered the Union Jack to Lt. Colonel C. Yeatman of the Australian Army Medical Corps, the last commanding officer of the 1st Australian Auxiliary Hospital, in exchange for a replacement Union Jack from an Australian school. On his return to Adelaide, Lt. Colonel Yeatman gave the flag to the South Australian Schools Patriotic Fund, previously known as the Children's Patriotic Fund, which eventually arranged for an exchange of flags between Harefield and Adelaide High School. The Fund also supplied Harefield

⁷ Kaye, *English Heaven*, p. 3, 6.

⁸ Kaye, *English Heaven*, p. 4.

⁹ Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Casualty Details William Thomas Hitchen, Service No. 1677, <http://www.cwgc.org/cwgcinternet/casualty_details.aspx?casualty_389531>; Kaye, *English Heaven*, p. 4, 3.

School with an Australian flag.¹⁰ The connection between Harefield and Adelaide High School began with an exchange of the British Union Jack.

Australians received information relating to the Anzac Cemetery at Harefield from Government and League sources. In 1920, a booklet was prepared under instructions from the Australian Minister of State for Defence, Senator G. F. Pearce, which was entitled 'Where the Australians Rest'. A description of Harefield provided the information:

The 1st Australian Auxiliary Hospital at Harefield, 22 miles north-west from London, stands on high ground, 2 miles from Denham Railway Station. Half-a-mile down the village roadway, nestling in the green valley, is Harefield Cemetery, where 200 Australian soldiers are buried. Noble trees guard the graves. Here there are 48 stone and marble scrolls, in memory of Australians. Six are to men who served and suffered on the stern heights of Gallipoli. These uniform stone memorials were erected "as a token of respect" by the dead soldiers' comrades in hospital.¹¹

The Diggers' Gazette, in 1921, published a letter received from Mrs Venning of Rickmansworth, because it was of interest to 'comrades and relatives'. The letter provided the information that:

Anzac Day was gloriously fine here, and there was a very nice service at Harefield Church, and every Anzac grave was decorated with flowers by the school children. Quite a number of people came from town and a few of the old boys who live at Watford and round about. The Aussie graveyard is in excellent condition.¹²

The same year Sir Francis Newdegate and Charles Billyard-Leake erected an obelisk with a symbolic Rising Sun carved in bas-relief. The inscription on the memorial read:

¹⁰ Kaye, *English Heaven* p. 5.

¹¹ Senator G F Pearce, Minister of State for Defence, *Where the Australians Rest, A Description of many of the Cemeteries overseas in which Australians -- including those whose names can never now be known -- are buried*, 1920, p. 58.

¹² *Diggers' Gazette*, 'Diggers' Graves at Harefield', 7 July 1921, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 29.

To the
 Glory of God Who
 Giveth us the victory
 And in memory of Brave
 Australian soldiers
 Who after taking
 Part in the Great
 War now Rest in
 Harefield Churchyard¹³

Although the central obelisk thanked God for victory, the memorial was in remembrance of Australian soldiers who had served the Empire, and was the centre of Anzac Day ceremonies.

League minutes recorded during the interwar period disclose the continued link between Adelaide and Harefield. It seems reasonable to suggest that knowledge of the Harefield connection was of benefit to Adelaide High students because in 1936, students from Adelaide High School won medals from the League as prizes in the Anzac Essay competition.¹⁴ Minutes also reveal that Mr. W. J. Adey communicated with the South Australian League in 1937, reporting on his visit to Harefield. Adey advised that the lettering of some headstones at Harefield Anzac cemetery needed attention.¹⁵ The League referred the matter on to Federal Headquarters. In 1939, another two Adelaide High School students received medals in the Anzac Essay competition. On that occasion, Mr Greenham, formerly of the Agent-Generals Office in London, addressed the students of Adelaide High informing them of the Anzac ceremonies sponsored in England by Harefield

¹³ The Harefield Calendar 2003, April 2003, 'Anzac Day,' photograph by R G Neil; Slide transparency photographed by J Pavils in November 2000 provides the information: This memorial is erected by/ Sir Francis Newdegate K.C.M.G/ Now Governor of Western Australia/ And formerly of Tasmania/ Honorary Colonel Eleventh Battalion/ Commonwealth Military Forces/ And Charles Arthur Moresby Billyard-Leake Esq/ of Harefield Park/ A.D. 1921.

¹⁴ State Board minutes, 12 May 1936, 11, Anzac Day Essays.

¹⁵ State Board minutes, 5 January 1937, 25, Mr W J Adey – re Harefield Cemetery.

School.¹⁶ The League and Adelaide High School maintained the Empire link with Harefield School and the Anzac cemetery during the period between WWI and WWII.

As a student of Adelaide High School in 1946, Mr William Pearce, Hon. Archivist, attended school assemblies where the school displayed the Harefield Union Jack. Pearce provided evidence that the connection with the British school was maintained, not only on Anzac Day, but with 'pen friend' correspondence between the pupils of the two schools and broadcasts to Australia of the annual ceremony carried out in the Anzac Cemetery at Harefield on Anzac Day.¹⁷ In 1946,

The Advertiser reported:

An Anzac Day service of special interest to South Australians, from the Village of Harefield, Middlesex, England was broadcast from Station 5CL at 4.45 a.m. yesterday. ... The special service has been held annually since 1922 at the parish church of Harefield, where an Australian General Hospital was situated in the First World War. ... The broadcast commentator said that with the exchange of flags after the 1914-18 war, an exchange of letters began between the children of Harefield school and Adelaide High School.¹⁸

The bond between the two schools extended to the provision of individual food parcels to all the teachers and children of Harefield School when food rationing existed in Britain during and after the Second World War.¹⁹

Australian War Memorial files provide evidence that the link between Australia and the Anzac cemetery in Harefield grew at a federal level. The personal files of Gavin Long held in the Australian War Memorial contain minutes of the Australian Battlefields Memorial Committee recording a proposal by the Reverend K. T. Toole-Mackson of Harefield Parish Church, which suggested the

¹⁶ SB minutes, 16 May 1939, 10, Anzac Day, (b) Anzac Essays.

¹⁷ W Pearce, letter on Adelaide High School letterhead to J Pavils, dated 14.9.2000; W Pearce, 'A Glimpse of Harefield', in *Adelaide High School Magazine*, August, 1946, p. 26.

¹⁸ *The Advertiser*, 'Link with England; Village Anzac Service Broadcast', 26.4.1946, p.3.

¹⁹ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1946, p. 3; *Adelaide High School Magazine*, 'News of the School', Harefield and Holland, August 1946, p. 2; *Advertiser* 26 April 1946, p. 3; *Advertiser*, 'Individual Food Parcels For Britain', 5 June 1946.

establishment of an Australian memorial chapel within St Mary's Church itself. Brigadier Brown, Secretary-General, Imperial War Graves Commission and Secretary & Executive Member of the Australian Battlefields Memorials Committee, supported the suggestion because in addition to the 11 o'clock Anzac Day memorial service, a church memorial service took place in the early morning timed to coincide with 11 o'clock Australian services.²⁰ In 1950, *The Advertiser* reported:

In driving snow, 140 children from the Harefield, Middlesex, village school marched half a mile to the Australian war cemetery in the parish churchyard today and placed bunches of gay colored [sic] flowers on the graves of 110 Australian buried there during World War I.

The Children were carrying out a 29-year-old ceremony.

Later in the day the Bishop of London (Dr Wand) dedicated a 16th century chapel in this 13th century church to the World War I, Australian soldiers, who were nursed at Harefield Park Hospital.²¹

The Harefield Parish Church honoured the Anzacs by the dedication of the Anzac-Breakspear Chapel.²² The link between Australia and Harefield extended to New South Wales in 1950 when Mrs Robert Walton of Sydney presented a further Australian flag to the Harefield School in memory of her nephew, Australian test cricketer and Airman, Ross Gregory. According to *The Buckinghamshire Advertiser*, Gregory had received his R.A.F. training at Ruislip and 'was shot down in Burma in 1942.'²³ The RSL National Executive continued to support the Australian Chapel of Remembrance within Harefield parish church, forwarding a donation to Harefield in 1960. State Branches proportionally contributed to the

²⁰ Australian War Memorial, AWM67, 13/63, Suggested Australian Memorial – St Mary's Church, Harefield, England, p. 3; AWM 67, 13/62, Minutes of Meeting of the Australian Battlefields Memorial Committee, dated 1 July 1948 give details for Brigadier A E Brown as (Secretary & Executive Member), Secretary-General, Imperial War Graves Commission, (Anzac Agency).

²¹ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1950, 'Ceremony at English War Cemetery', p. 3.

²² Kaye, *English Heaven*, p. 8

²³ *Buckinghamshire Advertiser*, 'Headmaster Dies After Leading Flag Gift Service', 8 December 1950.

RSL donation of five hundred pounds.²⁴ Officials and school children continued to observe the link between Australia, Adelaide and the Anzac cemetery in Harefield after WWII.

In Adelaide during 1977, Adelaide High School transferred the honour boards originally in the old Adelaide Girls High School hall in Grote Street, together with important historical artefacts such as the Harefield Union Jack, to the present campus on West Terrace. League State Board minutes of 18 November 1981 recorded the tabling of a letter from Adelaide High School requesting the replacement of the Harefield Union Jack.²⁵ Despite the adoption of an Australian flag as a national symbol, Adelaide High School wanted to replace the Union Jack previously given to the school in unique circumstances. The South Australian League did not recognize any incongruity in the appeal for a 'Jack' as the Board approved the request in May 1982. The League duly presented a new Union Jack to Adelaide High 'to be hung in a place of honour in the school.'²⁶

By 1986, some Harefield villagers had left Britain and maintained the link from Australia. On 26 April 1986 *The Advertiser* reported:

The unfurling of a crumpled and fading Union Jack in Adelaide yesterday highlighted a little-known link between a small English village and Australian diggers. ...

As a mark of respect for the village, a number of its former residents, now living in Australia, were allocated a special place between the guest dais and the saluting base on King William Street for the Anzac Day march.

Representing the village that befriended ailing Australian servicemen the group gathered at Adelaide High School after the procession to honor [sic] the Union Jack and its memories.²⁷

²⁴ SB minutes, 31 October 1960, 17, General Business, (d) National Executive; SB, 9 January 1961, 19, General Business, (g) Australian Chapel at Harefield.

²⁵ Adelaide High School Letterhead, 14.9.2000, from William Pearce Hon. School Archivist to J Pavils; State Board minutes, 18 November 1981, 14, General Business, (k) Union Jack Replacement.

²⁶ SB minutes, 18 May 1982, 14, General Business, Union Jack.

²⁷ *Advertiser*, 26 April 1986, Kirsten John, 'Our diggers still remembered in a English Village, A faded flag joins hearts in loving memory', photocopy supplied by Adelaide High School.

Subsequently, the League library and Adelaide High School received video recordings of the Anzac ceremony, which depicted village children placing both flowers and Australian flags among the headstones.²⁸ Through the auspices of Revd Andrew Gandon, Vicar of Harefield Parish Church, Mr O. P. Q. Whitman of Harefield, provided me with the information that:

Apart from the Service on Anzac Day, we also hold a 2 minutes silence in the Australian Cemetery at the 11th hour of the 11th month every year. Both these events are regularly attended by Australians.²⁹

In both Australia and Britain, educational, religious and civic institutions maintain the Harefield Anzac Day connection.

A connection with Anzac Day remains at other sites in the United Kingdom. Ken Inglis in *Sacred Places* writes that the bodies of another 142 Australian soldiers and two nurses, victims of the 1919 influenza pandemic lie in the cemetery of the parish church of St John the Evangelist, Sutton Veny, Wiltshire. The Australian Defence Staff in London arrange an Anzac Memorial Service at Sutton Veny on Anzac Day or the nearest Sunday, while the High Commission for New Zealand attends a further commemorative service at the parish church of St Mary in Walton-on-Thames, the burial site of twenty New Zealand soldiers and one nurse. The commemorative services at the parish churches of Harefield, Sutton Veny and Walton-on-Thames are not the only ceremonies held in the United Kingdom that concern the Gallipoli landing. Commemoration services also take place on Anzac Day in Westminster Abbey. Since 1995, Battersea Park, London has provided the site for an Anzac Day dawn service held beside a Great War memorial to the men of all forces. Adjacent to the memorial stands a RAAF memorial stone dedicated in 1995 and a bronze bas relief of the Gallipoli battlefield erected by Australian Ross

²⁸ Adelaide High School letterhead, letter to J Pavils from William Pearce, 14 September 2000; RSL Adelaide Library, Video of Anzac Ceremony, Harefield Anzac Cemetery.

²⁹ Letter from Patrick Whiteman addressed to J Pavils, 14 January 2001.

Bastiaan, one of many bas reliefs erected internationally by Bastiaan to record the history of Australian battles of both the First and Second World wars.³⁰ Geoffrey Moorhouse in *Hell's Foundations*, published 1992, details the social history of the English Town of Bury after the impact of the Gallipoli Campaign. In Lancashire, Bury commemorates the 'Lancashire Landing' at Gallipoli on the nearest Sunday to 25 April as Gallipoli Sunday. Moorhouse argued that in Bury, of Gallipoli Sunday and Armistice Day, the two major anniversaries resulting from the Great War, 'it was Armistice Day that was virtually forgotten first.'³¹ As in Bury, where Gallipoli Sunday commemorates Lancashire war dead and a localized concept of identity, in Australia attendances at Armistice Day observations began to lapse at a greater degree than those of Anzac Day, which commemorates Australian war dead and has connotations with an Australian concept of national identity.

Anzac Day observances in memory of Australian and New Zealand war dead in the United Kingdom differ from the memorial services held there on Armistice Day. On Armistice Day, the British are not only remembering Empire fallen, but also celebrating a victory, the Armistice signifying Britain and the Allies' triumph on World War I battlefields. The Empire remembrance connection, originally unambiguous, now shrouded by time, lies at the heart of Armistice Day observances. The Australian War memorial, erected to preserve the memory of Australian war dead, opened on Armistice Day 1941.³² Although both Anzac Day and Armistice Day symbolically commemorated Australian war service, both

³⁰ Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 257; Australian Defence Staff (London), Letter from Nicola J Iles, Australian Defence Staff, London to J G Pavils, 14 May 2001; *Advertiser*, 'Anzac Day in England', 27.4.1925, p. 11, Irene R. Sandells, *The Church of Saint Mary Walton-on-Thames, A History*, (Hersham: Thames Offset printing, 1992), p. 49, Order of Service, 1914-1918 In Memory of New Zealanders Buried at Walton-On-Thames, 25. 4. 1999; Battersea Park memorials, photographed 6.11.2000.

³¹ Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Hell's Foundations*, p. 159.

³² Michael McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990*, (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 1991), p.2.

commemorative days remained separate in communal memory. In Britain and Australia in 1946, Armistice Day officially became Remembrance Sunday. Subsequently, in Australia the observance of Remembrance Day reverted to 11 November. During the period of the Vietnam War, as had occurred with the observance of Anzac Day, anti-war sentiments within the Australian community resulted in a withdrawal of institutional support from Remembrance Day activities. Subsequent promotional initiatives conducted by the RSL helped sustain the survival of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day at the expense of separate commemorative observances recognizing the sacrifice of Australians who served the nation during the Second World War. The funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier took place on Remembrance Day 1993.³³ Paul Keating, as Prime Minister of Australia, appropriated the rituals of Remembrance Day and brought them under the umbrella of Anzac culture with the symbolic burial of the Unknown Australian Soldier in the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial. The Keating Government symbolically brought home Australia's war dead and metaphorically provided Australians with their own sacred burial site in the heart of the nation, a burial site that supplemented the grave of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey.

Armistice Day remembered war dead who had fought for the Empire under the Union Jack and recognized that the sacrifice of their lives had ultimately achieved victory. The first anniversary of the Great War Armistice saw the installation of Armistice Day, which originated because of instructions from King George V to authorities throughout the British Empire. In South Australia, the Chief Secretary's Office, Adelaide, disseminated the King's commands by circular

³³ Funeral Service for the Unknown Australian Soldier, Australian War Memorial, 11 November 1993, Order of Ceremony.

number 570. The King desired the cessation of work for two minutes to enable people to concentrate in reverent silence on those who gave their lives to achieve a 'glorious victory'.³⁴ The second anniversary of the Armistice provided the stage setting for the funeral service of the Unknown Warrior, buried in Westminster Abbey, the body exhumed from a French battlefield deemed representative of all those warriors of the British Empire whose bodies lay in unnamed graves, unknown burial sites or beneath the sea. In Australia, the Governor-General received a cablegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated London, 2 November, 1920 stating:

It has been decided that on Thursday November 11th, being the second anniversary of armistice, cenotaph in Whitehall shall be unveiled by His Majesty the King and that as part of the ceremony on that day there shall be buried in Westminster Abbey an unknown British warrior whose body shall be taken from amongst those buried in France. Every precaution will be taken to prevent his identity being known. Coffin will be brought to cenotaph where it will be met by the King attended by representatives of the whole Empire. There will be short service at cenotaph consisting of singing of hymn "Oh God our help in ages past" and the Lord's prayer. This service will be so timed that unveiling of cenotaph takes place at 11 a.m. exactly after which there will be two minutes silence followed by "Last Post". Wreaths will then be laid by His Majesty, the Prime Minister, and representatives of the Empire. Funeral procession then will proceed to Abbey where funeral service will take place, body being buried in a grave in the nave of the Abbey. It is proposed just as last year there should be during the two minutes silence complete suspension of all normal business, work and locomotion throughout United Kingdom, that thoughts of all may be concentrated on reverent remembrance of the glorious dead.³⁵

The same day, in Paris, the French buried an unknown soldier at the Arc de

Triomphe.³⁶ In London, according to David Cannadine:

³⁴ National Archives Australia, Series D958/0, Control Symbol S1919/5808, Contents date range 1919-1919, Title Instructions re-observance of two minutes silence on Armistice Day, Circular No 570, Chief Secretary's Office, Adelaide, 10 November 1919.

³⁵ NAA, Series B300/1, Item 6064, Armistice Day Celebrations, Decode of Cablegram received by H.E. the Governor-General from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated London, 2nd November, 1920, 7.40 p.m.

³⁶ Ken Inglis, 'Entombing unknown soldiers', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No. 23, October 1993, p. 4.

[B]y the end of the week, it was estimated that one million people had visited the Cenotaph and the graveside, and that no less than 100,000 wreaths had been laid either in the Abbey or in Whitehall.³⁷

In Britain, the bereaved sought solace from grief by performing funeral rites at the symbolic communal headstone of Great War dead, the Cenotaph, and at the burial site of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey.

The British Unknown warrior buried in Westminster Abbey was seen as a representation of all those who served the Empire and ultimately achieved victory.

The Diggers' Gazette, reported that the Empire stood in silent reverence as a token of humility and then continued:

Whence came this unknown warrior - from the whirl of the Empire's capital, from the snowy lands of the Canadian North, from the illimitable veldts of Africa, from the neighboring [sic] New Zealand plains, or from our own Sunny Land - the world will never know. But that immortal soldier who now rests silent amongst other glorious dead represents those millions of loyal soldiers and citizens of the Empire who sprang to her aid when the Mother Country called them.³⁸

On 11 November 1920, Australians, as part of the British Empire, observed Armistice Day in response to King George V's instructions for reverent remembrance of war dead and an achievement of 'glorious victory'.

During the Interwar period in Australia changes made to Armistice Day rituals attempted to maintain and enhance the tradition begun in 1919. In 1927, the Prime Minister's Department requested leave for veterans to attend Armistice Day Services.³⁹ This short period of leave was necessary because State Governments did not legislate for public holiday status on Armistice Day as they had for Anzac Day. With the completion of the South Australian State Memorial on North Terrace

³⁷ David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in *Mirrors of Mortality Studies in the Social History of Death*, Edited by Joachim Whaley, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981), p. 224.

³⁸ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol. II, No. 1, 15 November 1920, p. 9.

³⁹ NAA, B300/1, Item 6064, Title Commonwealth Railways, Armistice Day Celebrations, Prime Minister's Department Memorandum for The Secretary, Department of Works and Railways, signed by P E Deane, Secretary, dated 4 November 1927.

in 1931, Armistice Day services shifted from the Adelaide Town Hall to the State Memorial in an endeavour to replicate the United Kingdom service held at the London Cenotaph. During interwar years, three services took place on Armistice Day in Adelaide; an 11 am service, a 3 pm service, and an evening torchlight procession. The League abandoned the evening torchlight procession in 1933.⁴⁰ In Britain, proponents of the inter-war peace movement used white poppies on Armistice Day in 1933, for they wanted to oust the red poppies and their symbolism of blood sacrifice on Great War battlefields.⁴¹ I found no evidence of the deviation relating to white poppies in South Australia. Remembrance observances underwent further adjustments in Adelaide. During 1935, the League eliminated the 3 pm service from Armistice Day proceedings. As early as 1938, the South Australian League defended Armistice Day services held at the State Memorial from criticism, claiming that the intent of the memorial service was not a deliberate, studied humiliation of the German nation.⁴² Although the three remembrance services held in Adelaide on Armistice Day ultimately reduced to the memorial service held at the State Memorial, those changes endeavoured to reproduce the service held at the London Cenotaph, a memorial that symbolically represented all Empire war dead from the Great War.

By the end of the 1930s, the RSL no longer imported poppy facsimiles from France, as discussed in 'Honoring the Debt', for the RSL called tenders for Australasian produced poppy facsimiles. The number of poppies sold in South Australia rose from 17,088 in 1930 to 48,896 in 1937. From my reading of League

⁴⁰ Thirteenth Sub-Branch Conference minutes, 17 & 18 September 1930, 22, Armistice Night Service; Sixteenth SB Conference minutes, 13 & 14 September 1933, 55, Armistice Day Service and SB minutes, 17 October 1933, 8, Armistice Night Service.

⁴¹ Gregory, *The Silence of Memory*, p. 152.

⁴² SB minutes, 5 February 1935, 31, Armistice Day Services; SB, 7 November 1938, 13, Armistice Day.

minutes, it appears that there was less sub-branch support for the Poppy Day Appeal than the Anzac Appeal, because sub-branches had less control over the distribution of the appeal proceeds as Poppy Day sales incurred a royalty, which the State Branch then forwarded to the Federal RSL. State Board minutes record correspondence with the Federal RSL between 1931 and 1934 relating to an alleged liability regarding poppy royalty payments. At the same time, the League Board endeavoured to reduce the price of poppies, together with a proportional reduction of the poppy royalty. In April 1934, minutes record that the League had paid the amount owing to Headquarters for the poppy royalty in full. During May, the League again requested adjustments to a disputed amount of poppy royalty.⁴³ The League conducted prolonged negotiations with the RSL to clarify the disputed situation in relation to the federal levy placed upon the sale of poppies.

Changes to Armistice Day observances occurred overseas when Britain was again at war with Germany during the Second World War. In Canberra, the observance of Armistice Day took place on Tuesday 11 November 1941 with the opening of the Australian War Memorial by Governor-General Lord Gowrie. The Prime Minister, Mr Curtin, authorised an appeal to the public to co-operate in paying the tribute of two minute's silence at 11 o'clock. The Prime Minister's Department allowed Returned Soldier officers time off to attend Armistice Day ceremonies on Wednesday 11 November 1942.⁴⁴ In Britain, King George VI gave

⁴³ SB minutes, 28 April 1931, 13, Poppy Supplies; The Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, *Official Year Book, 1939, Defence Issue*, p. 92; League Sub-Branch Conference 17 & 18 September 1930, 59, Poppy Day Sales; SBranch Conference 14 & 15 September 1932, 44, Poppy Day Fund; SB 5 January 1931, 4, Poppy Royalty; SB 23 June 1931, 18, Poppy Sales; SB 31 October 1933, 9, Poppy Day Appeal; SB 5 December 1933, 6, Poppy Royalty; SB 19 December 1933, 9, Poppy Royalty; SB 9 January 1934, 7, Poppy Royalty; SB 23 January 1934, 4, Poppy Royalty; SB 20 February 1934, 3, Poppy Royalty; SB 20 March 1934, 20, Poppy Royalty; SB 3 April 1934, 9, Poppy Royalty; SB 8 May 1934, 5, Poppy Royalty.

⁴⁴ McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit*, p. 2; NAA, B300/1, 6064, Commonwealth Railways, Armistice Day Celebrations, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Armistice Day Plans', 1 November 1941; Prime Ministers Department Memorandum to The Secretary, Department of the Interior, 4 November 1942.

instructions that Armistice Day observances should take place locally, with poppy collections on 11 November itself and dedication services on a Sunday. The King nominated Sunday 7 November 1943 and Sunday 5 November 1944 as the days of dedication and remembrance in Britain. However, *The Argus* advised Australians in 1943 and 1944, that Prime Minister John Curtin had decided to adopt the same practice as in previous years.⁴⁵ During World War II, Curtin continued the observance of Armistice Day on 11 November in Australia, in spite of instructions from King George VI relegating the observance of Empire war dead to a Sunday.

With the end of the Second World War, Remembrance Sunday officially superseded Armistice Day in both Britain and Australia, an initiative authorized by King George VI. Although Armistice Day 1918 was also essentially a spontaneous victory celebration as the pent up emotions of the Great War years were released with the silencing of the guns, Remembrance Sunday 1945 retained the connotations of remembrance rather than any recognition of victory. As argued in 'Widening the Ranks', the celebration of victory at the end of WWII took place on neither Anzac Day nor Armistice Day, but in June 1946.⁴⁶ In *The Silence of Memory*, Adrian Gregory provides the information that 11 November 1945 fell on a Sunday enabling authorities to observe Remembrance Sunday on the actual date of the 1918 Armistice. The remembrance rituals observed on that Sunday in 1945, eased the general populace into an acceptance of Remembrance Sunday in Britain. In Australia, the Prime Minister received procedural advice from His Majesty's

⁴⁵ NAA, D292/5, Control Symbol 18/1/13, Contents date range 1930-1959, Cabinet Office Department of Defence, 28 October 1939; B300/1, Item 6064, Commonwealth Railways, Armistice Day Celebrations, contains memorandums from Prime Minister's Department, 27 October 1939, 28 October 1940, 3 November 1941, 4 November 1942, 4 November 1943, and newspaper cuttings from *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Armistice Day Plans 1 November 1941', *Argus* 29 October 1943, 'Armistice Day Observance', *Argus*, 2 November 1944, 'Armistice Day Observance'.

⁴⁶ *Advertiser*, Monday 10 June 1946, p.1; *Advertiser*, Tuesday 11 June 1946, p. 1; SB minutes, 4 June 1946, 17, Victory Parade; NAA, D292/5, 18/1/62, Department of Navy, Ceremonial General, Victory Day March & Celebrations, Orders for the Day.

Government in the United Kingdom and passed that advice on to Australian Premiers and Commonwealth Departments.

The Secretary of the Commonwealth Railways received the following circular, originally intended for all Premiers, from the office of the Prime Minister, dated 9 August 1946:

With reference to the future celebration in Australia of Armistice Day I desire to inform you that the Commonwealth Government has indicated its approval of the procedure suggested by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, namely

- (a) National Remembrance, Thanksgiving and Dedication should in future be concentrated on a Sunday.
- (b) This Sunday should be that before 11th November (unless either 11th November or 12th November is a Sunday) and it should be known as Remembrance Sunday.

The British Government's proposal contemplated that the Cenotaph ceremony and two minutes' silence at 11 am should be observed on this Sunday.

In presenting the above proposal for the concurrence of the various Dominion Governments before submission to His Majesty the King it was stated that the British Government had consulted the parties chiefly interested in the United Kingdom including representatives of Churches and of the British Legion with regard to fixing in the future a Day of Remembrance to commemorate those who fell both in the late war and the war of 1914-18. It was also stated that it had been found extremely difficult to suggest any one day specifically connected with the late war which would be regarded as generally suitable for this purpose. The general feeling of the parties consulted had been that for this reason and in view of the association of the present date (11th November) it would be very undesirable at this time to propose a change to any other season of the year.⁴⁷

The Australian Government circulated instructions for the observance of Remembrance Sunday in Australia because of decisions made in the United Kingdom by His Majesty's Government after consultation with church representatives and the British Legion. Despite Curtin's encouragement for the continued observance of Armistice Day during WWII, the Australian Government

⁴⁷ NAA, B300/1, Item 6064, Armistice Day Celebrations.

followed British directives and Australians observed the formal commemorative observance honouring British war dead from both WWI and WWII, on 10 November 1946, as Remembrance Sunday.⁴⁸

In conjunction with the observance of Remembrance Sunday, the RSL in Australia maintained the practice of selling poppy facsimiles to raise money for the Poppy Day Fund and held Poppy Day on Friday 8 November 1946. The League decreed Poppy Day collections covered both 'old' and 'new' diggers. Amounts raised from the sale of poppies provided immediate relief and succour to needy members of the ex-service community, including ex- Imperials and New Zealanders who received equal treatment with Australian ex-servicemen and women. The Poppy Day Fund also disseminated local help to widows. Such help took the form of wood for winter. Urgent and necessitous cases received clothes, and the League in South Australia donated amounts to local charities likely to help ex-service personnel, especially during the Christmas season. As mentioned above, South Australian sales of poppies returned a royalty to the federal RSL. With the passing of time, the League called tenders for the production of locally produced poppies for Armistice Day.⁴⁹ *Back* reported in 1947 that:

Many of the convenors and sellers on Poppy Day have worked for the appeal for 25 years, and there have been no greater supporters of the fund than members of the Sailors, Soldiers, and Nurses' Relatives Association. A band of volunteer workers, headed by Mr Cyril Baxter, of Henley Beach, has made more than half a million poppies in their spare time in the last five years.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ B292/5, Item 18/1/73, Ceremonial General, Naval Remembrance Day, Unclassified, From Admiralty to A.G.M. 019A (B1), Typed G.B. 1130K/1/11/46.

⁴⁹ SB minutes, 7 May 1946, 24, Poppy Day; SB, 16 January 1945, 20, Poppy Day; SB, 27 March 1945, 18, Poppy Royalty; RSL, *Official Year Book 1939, Defence Issue*, Poppy Day Fund, p. 250; SB 4 November 1945, 15, Poppy Day Fund; SB, 20 June 1933, 28, Blanket Appeal; *Back* November 1947, 'Poppy Day on November 7 Will Aid Distressed Families', p. 32.

⁵⁰ *Back*, November 1947, 'Poppy Day on November 7 Will Aid Distressed Families', p. 32.

Poppy Day took place on 7 November 1947. State Board Minutes record that the League approved a Poppy Day Trust Deed in 1948, which allowed the inclusion of benefits to personnel of the Merchant Navy, who by virtue of their service, were eligible for membership of the RSL.⁵¹

The divergence of South Australia's observation of Remembrance Sunday from that of the United Kingdom began in 1950 when the League expressed the desire to revert to the normal practice of observing Armistice Day at the eleventh hour, of the eleventh day, of the eleventh month. Superseding Remembrance Sunday, Remembrance Day celebrations in South Australia returned to the anniversary of the Great War Armistice on 11 November 1950.⁵² On 28 November 1950, the State Board received a report concerning Remembrance Day advising that the Premier would ask for League co-operation and request councils and corporations to commemorate Remembrance Day.⁵³ Subsequently, the League resolved to notify the South Australian Premier, Sir Thomas Playford, that they believed the 11 o'clock Remembrance Day ceremony needed classification as a civic responsibility.⁵⁴ The League did not take up responsibility for Remembrance Day as it had for Anzac Day.

In South Australia, by 1951, it was the responsibility of local government to organize the civic observance of Remembrance Day. The National Australian Archives hold evidence that, nationally, Australia had reverted to Remembrance Day observances on 11 November by 1952. League minutes revealed the Premier had made a press statement that 'made it clear that the responsibility of these

⁵¹ SB minutes, 5 January 1958, 16, Poppy Day Trust Deed; SB 20 January 1948, 20, Poppy Day Trust.

⁵² SB minutes, 1 May 1950, 27, Armistice Day; SB, 13 November 1950, 14, Remembrance Day.

⁵³ SB, November 1950, [new League secretary – no item numbers], Remembrance Day.

⁵⁴ SB, 17 September 1951, Remembrance Day.

functions rests with the local government.⁵⁵ In 1952, the Naval Board circulated a memorandum concerning leave to attend Remembrance Day ceremonies, which passed on the following advice received from the Prime Minister's Department:

I desire to inform you that the Prime Minister has directed that ex-service personnel in the Commonwealth Service, the efficiency of whose work will not be affected or whose absence will not be detrimental to the public interest, shall be allowed time off on the morning of Remembrance Day (Tuesday, 11th November, 1952) for such period as is necessary to attend Remembrance Day Ceremonies, and that, in addition, Commonwealth Officers, other than ex-service personnel, whose services can be spared under the conditions set out above, may also be granted time off to enable them to attend Remembrance Day Ceremonies.

I am to add that the arrangements set out in the preceding paragraph will apply similarly in future years when Remembrance Day (11th November) occurs on a normal working day.

The official Commonwealth Remembrance Day Ceremony will be held at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, on Tuesday 11th November, 1952 commencing at 10.30 a.m. and terminating shortly before 11.15 a.m.

A period of two minutes silence commencing at 11 a.m. should be observed as far as possible by Commonwealth officers who are required to remain on duty on Remembrance Day.⁵⁶

Remembrance Day in Australia had reverted back to the date of the original Armistice Day, 11 November, with the Prime Minister allowing ex-service personnel time off to attend the morning Remembrance Service.

In Australia, the messages of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day were converging. In October in 1954, *Back* had proclaimed in an article concerning Remembrance Day:

⁵⁵ SB, 15 October 1951, Remembrance Day; SB, 26 November 1951, (z) Remembrance Day observances.

⁵⁶ NAA, D292/5, Item 18/1/13, Ceremonial General, Armistice Day Ceremonies, Armistice Day and Remembrance Day, Commonwealth of Australia, Department of the Navy, Circular Memorandum No. 80, 3 November 1952.

It is almost 36 years since the Armistice Day of 1918, and yet even to those who have no personal memory of that day it has its own particular message, a reminder that **THERE IS A DEBT WHICH CAN NEVER BE REPAID**. Despite the fact that since that day there have been three other Armistice Days – Europe V.E., Pacific V.J. and the Korean Armistice Day, the exact dates of which many cannot recall – almost everyone, old and young, knows that November 11th, 1918, was the Armistice Day of the First World War. ... The thing that really matters is **THAT WE SHALL SHOW THAT WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THEM.**⁵⁷

The reference to ‘a debt’ in the above message echoes the debt of honour associated with the first patriotic button days held in South Australia in 1915 that heralded the emergence of Anzac culture, before the inception of Armistice Day.

The remembrance connection in relation to those killed during times of war extends beyond Britain and the old empire. In South Australia, after World War II, migrants from various national groups contacted either the RSL and its antecedent bodies, or the Adelaide City Council, requesting permission to place wreaths on the State Memorial. As cultural groups, ‘New Australians’ had already become part of Anzac culture and marched in the Anzac Day procession, a facet discussed in the last chapter. Cultural groups unable to join the ranks marching on Anzac Day, either because of insufficient numbers to muster the strength of a unit, or because they had not served with Allied forces, sought permission to use the State Memorial for their own memorial services. The Serbian Cultural Club requested approval to lay a wreath on the State Memorial on 28 June 1952, as did the Legation of Philippines on 6 October 1952.⁵⁸ Edwardstown Sub Branch protested against the use of the memorial by Ukrainians for a service commemorating a famine.

However, after discussion with the Town Clerk, the State Board received assurances the service was primarily for commemoration, the famine was of secondary

⁵⁷ *Back* ‘Remembrance Day, November 11’, October 1954, p.4. Emphasis given.

⁵⁸ SB minutes, 23 June 1952, (o) Serbian Cultural Club; SB 29 September 1952, 12, Gen Business, (n) Legation of Philippines.

concern.⁵⁹ Records in the National Archives of Australia reveal the Consul of the Netherlands observed the Netherlands ‘National Day of Remembrance in honour of all those who fell in the second world war either in the Armed Forces or the Underground Movement’, on Friday 4th May, 1956.⁶⁰ However, later that year, the League objected when Hungarians wanted to march to the State Memorial in memory of those killed in ‘street riots’.⁶¹ Evidence exists that multicultural groups continued to seek permission to observe rituals in connection with their own national history.

Despite objecting to remembrance services related to Hungarian ‘street riots’, the League did endeavour to facilitate the participation of migrants in remembrance rituals. League minutes record the State Board’s decision to open a Field of Remembrance in association with Remembrance Day.⁶² The 1954 Field of Remembrance featured both the cross of sacrifice and the poppy emblem. Although the poppy was an international symbol of remembrance, the League made efforts to explain its significance to ‘New Australians’. *Back* reported on the field of white crosses near the State Memorial where members of the public could place a poppy cross as a personal tribute to ‘a dear one’.⁶³ The first edition of *Sentry-Go* in 1956, reported that the RSL Hospital Committee, which was responsible for the organization of the Field of Remembrance, had decided to make the white ‘poppy

⁵⁹ SB, 20, July 1953, 12, General Business: (c) Service by Ukrainians at War Memorial.

⁶⁰ NAA, D292/5, 18/1/13, Ceremonial General, Armistice Day Ceremonies, letter dated 18 April 1956 from Consulaat der Nederlanden voor Zuid Australie, to Resident Naval Officer, Department of the Navy, Birkenhead.

⁶¹ SB, 12 November 1956.

⁶² SB minutes, 6 July 1953, 7, Appeals (f) Sale of Crosses, Armistice Period; SB, 15 June 1954, 7, Appeals, (c) Poppy Day publicity; SB, 20 September 1954, 7 Appeals, (e) Use of White Crosses.

⁶³ SB, 3 September 1956, (e) Remembrance Day; *Back*, October 1955, ‘The Field of Remembrance – Adelaide’, p. 2.

crosses' a permanent feature of Remembrance Day.⁶⁴ In December 1959, *Sentry-Go* reported:

Go reported:

Attendants of the field reported that many German migrants had asked for crosses to plant in memory of friends or relatives who died on war service. One German woman, came with her twin four-year-old daughters to plant a cross for her ex-service husband, who died in Australia since the family's arrival here.

Another German migrant said he had been held in a concentration camp in World War II. He, too, planted a cross in memory of departed comrades. So great was the interest in the field this year that 600 crosses went in within half an hour of Lady George opening it.⁶⁵

The League's decision to develop the 'field' adjacent to the State Memorial further enabled the inclusion of German migrants within Remembrance Day rituals.

In the decade between 1962 and 1972, Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War forced subtle changes to Remembrance Day observances, just as it had affected changes to Anzac Day. In a memo dated 1 April 1966, a report to the Commonwealth Railways suggested alterations to what had become the traditional practice of stopping passenger-carrying trains for the Remembrance Day two-minute silence. Taking note of the date of the memo, may lead one to question the motives behind the memo's initiation, but it is unlikely that the author of the memo, N. F. Buaby, the Chief Traffic Manager of the Commonwealth Railways, Port Augusta, intended it as an April fool's joke! The memo compared Remembrance Day and Anzac Day, pointing out that the same passenger carrying trains did not stop for the silence on Anzac Day. The Chief Traffic Manager, wrote:

From the point of view of observance by railway systems, whose activities extend far outside the metropolitan areas, there appears to be something to be said for concentrating upon a real recognition of Anzac Day, which is by far the nearer to the hearts and minds of most of the people.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *Sentry-Go*, October-November 1956, 'Poppy Crosses to be Lasting Token', p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Sentry-Go*, December 1959, 'Poppy Day a success', sub-heading 'Migrants,' p.3.

⁶⁶ NAA, B300/1, Item 6064, Armistice Day Celebrations, Commonwealth Railways, Anzac and Remembrance (Armistice) Days: Observance of, dated 1 April 1966.

Subsequently the Commonwealth Railways put arrangements in place for passengers to observe the ‘silence’ while trains continued moving.⁶⁷ The Commonwealth Railways were not the only institution to make changes regarding Remembrance Day. Other institutions joined in the retreat and reduced support for Remembrance Day. The Army abandoned the provision of an Honour Guard at the North Terrace memorial. In 1970, the Police Department notified the League that in future, the provision of buglers for Remembrance Day observances would result in a charge for such services, plus any travelling time.⁶⁸ Although the above changes by the various Commonwealth and State Government institutions do not indicate a complete withdrawal of support for the civic Remembrance Day observance, they do indicate an awareness of anti-Vietnam War protests within the community and a desire to ‘sit on the fence’ during periods of controversy.

During the Vietnam War, Anglican clergymen took action both for and against the continuation of Remembrance Day rituals in Australia. The Reverend A. V. Maddick, who conducted a weekly ‘question box’ on faith and morals in *The Anglican*, queried whether the remembrance service should continue given the number of migrants living in Australia, especially those from Germany and Italy. Maddick’s article concluded with the following:

War is horrible, but a sad day for our nation it would be if with thankfulness for the past, and dedication to the future, we came to a time when we could no longer stop and say, “at the going down of the sun, and in the morning we will remember them”. ... In thankfulness, in sympathy, in dedication we have this yearly opportunity to pause together – Australians and new Australians – knowing that while the sword did divide, it is under the Cross, and imbued with its spirit, that true and lasting peace may come.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ NAA, B300/1, Item 6064, Armistice Day Celebrations, Commonwealth Railways, Observance of Anzac and Remembrance (Armistice) Days, 12 May 1966.

⁶⁸ SB minutes, 19 December 1966, 19, General Business, (f) Remembrance Day, 16 October 1967, 17, Anzac and Remembrance Days, (a) Remembrance Day, 19 October 1970, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Police Buglers.

⁶⁹ National Library, MS 389, Ken Inglis papers, Box 10 of 25, Reverend A V Maddick, ‘I’d Like to Know: A Weekly Question Box on Faith and Morals’, in *The Anglican*, November 16, 1967, p.5.

In 1972, the Anglican Archbishop of Perth resigned from the RSL because of the use of war memorials and memorial services. The Rev John Hazelwood equated war memorials with the glorification of war and memorial services as ‘quasi-religious activities’ while he linked the poppy, the international symbol of sacrifice, with drugs and heroin.⁷⁰ Hazelwood was correct in his assessment of memorial services, which had become ‘quasi religious’ or more secular, a trend that I will illustrate in detail in the next chapter. However, a verse from South Australian Leon Gellert’s poem ‘Poppies’, provides evidence that a poet linked poppies with death on overseas battlefields as early as May 1915, long before Australia had obvious community problems with drugs and heroin for Gellert wrote:

But when the charge was done, they found him there
 Deep in the redness, where he made his stand,
 With withered poppies in his twisted hair,
 And poppies in his hand.⁷¹

I have already argued that despite the term ‘war memorials’, Australian memorials venerate not war, but the names of war dead and war serving. The memorials are part of the ‘Cult of the Fallen Soldier’, as argued by George Mosse, in *Fallen Soldiers* (1990).⁷² The reasons given by Hazelwood for his resignation indicate the gulf between the Vietnam War protest movement and the actual significance of memorials in conjunction with the remembrance of war dead.

Irrespective of community protest during the Vietnam War and continued anti war feeling throughout the 1970s, multicultural community groups continued to commemorate war dead. The National Aborigines Day League sought, and

⁷⁰ National Library, MS 389, Ken Inglis papers Box 1 of 25, ‘Dean quits RSL’, marked ‘A’, 6.12.72; ‘RSL says criticism by Dean “ignorant, puerile”’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13.11.72; State Board minutes, 18 December 1972, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (d) Statement by Archbishop of Perth on Remembrance Day, National circular 98/72.

⁷¹ Leon Gellert, *Songs of a Campaign*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson), 1917, ‘Poppies’, May 1915

⁷² George L Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

subsequently received permission for, a memorial service at the State Memorial in 1961.⁷³ In 1974, the League showed concern about some multicultural groups' use of the State Memorial for the League forwarded a letter to the Adelaide Town Hall protesting about the intentions of the Cyprian Society, which wanted to conduct a protest march as well as placing a wreath at the memorial.⁷⁴ At the State Conference of the Naval Association of Australia in 1975, a motion was carried expressing concern about the many and varied groups obtaining permission from the Adelaide City Council to hold services at the State Memorial. The Council subsequently compiled a schedule, dated 19 September 1975, which listed organizations that conducted services at the memorial during 1973 and 1974.

SERVICES HELD AT NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL, NORTH TERRACE.

Organisation	1973	1974	Docket
RSL Women Indoor Bowls Assoc	12.3.		14/67
Greek Orthodox community	25.3.	25.3.	363a/64
Royal Consulate of Greece	25.3	31.3	363/64
RSL		25.4	22/69
Air Force Assoc.		28.4	133/66
Aust. American Assoc.		4.5	56/66
Baltic Council	17.6	16.6	126/64
Czechoslovakian Society		20.8	
39's Association	1.9	7.9	125/65
Maltese Council	9.9	8.9	57/68
Naval Assoc.		4.10	135/60
Old Comrade	6.10		
Greek Consul		3.10	363/64
RSL	4.11	11.11	23/69
HJ 19.9.75 ⁷⁵			

An examination of the requested dates for use of the memorial provides evidence that apart from the League's requests for use of the memorial on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day, other groups used the memorial at various times of the year, for their own cultural purposes. Some of the commemorative rites and rituals may form

⁷³ SB minutes, 1 May 1961, 16, Gen Business, (a) National Aborigines Day, Annual Report 1966, unpaginated.

⁷⁴ SB 2 September 1974, 15, Gen Business, (e) March by Cyprian Society.

⁷⁵ ACA 305C, National War Memorial, North Terrace, 19.9.68 to 2.10.1975, Schedule for information only, not a copy of the original schedule.

part of the 'Cult of the Fallen Soldier', but the Baltic Council used the memorial in June to commemorate the massacres, and mass deportation to Siberian labour camps, of peoples from the Baltic States, perpetrated by the Russian Government in 1941.⁷⁶

Community memory concerning the original reasons for the two distinctive commemorative days of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day appears to have waned after the Vietnam War, for in 1975, the Archbishop of Adelaide sought to discuss the future of Remembrance Day with the South Australian League with a view to consolidating Remembrance and Anzac Day celebrations. With the future of Anzac and Remembrance Days remaining an issue in 1976, the ABC produced an Anzac Requiem at the Adelaide Town Hall in November. The actions of the ABC evidenced some confusion about the significance of each observance, it being more appropriate to have an Anzac Requiem on Anzac Day. The South Australian League sought to encourage participation in commemoration observances by Australian youth by providing free tickets to the ABC Anzac Requiem in November 1976. Meanwhile, at a State Board meeting held later in November, the League decided to ignore the placing of wreaths by protesting students during the Remembrance Day ceremony at the State Memorial, feeling that any protest by the League against student activities would only prolong adverse publicity.⁷⁷ Under siege, the League worked to maintain the significance of both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day.

⁷⁶ See Norman Davies, *Europe A History*, (London: Pimlico, 1996, reprinted with corrections 1997), p. 1009.

⁷⁷ SB minutes, 20 October 1975, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Remembrance service; SB, 18 May 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance; SB, 22 June 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (d) Anzac Requiem; SB, 18 October 1976, (b) Anzac Requiem; SB, SB, 19 July 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (c) Anzac Requiem; SB, 17 November 1976, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Remembrance Day – wreath placed by students.

The League did refuse some requests for permission to place wreaths on the State Memorial by members of the South Australian community because of political implications, a move that appears consistent with the RSL being non-party political. Enquires made by the League into an incident in 1978 when Czechoslovakians used the memorial for a political anniversary, revealed the City Council had given its approval.⁷⁸ The League's Secretary reported his opposition to a request from the IRA to place a wreath on the State Memorial in June 1981, because of its political nature. On 17 August 1981, the League President reported on a 'situation' on 6 August 1981, when the SA Hiroshima Committee had conducted a vigil and 'draped' figures on the memorial. The President had contacted the Lord Mayor, who also expressed displeasure at the vigil. The acting Town Clerk did not grant permission, but the Police received advice not to take any action. Consequently, the State Board sent a strong letter to the Lord Mayor, which expressed the Board's complete disgust. The bombing of Hiroshima does not have any party-political implications, but the WWII memorial contains the names of some service personnel killed by Japanese forces. The actions of the SA Hiroshima Committee did have a direct impact on Australians still suffering from the effects of Japanese actions during WWII. League minutes of August 1981 record that the Town Clerk advised Polish veterans that they needed the RSL's agreement for them to place a wreath at their likely protest meeting. Alternatively, the Korean and South East Asian Forces Association sought and gained League approval to place a wreath on the memorial 27 June 1982. Despite different national groups having to seek permission to use the memorial for commemoration services, the Greek community objected to the suggested erection of an 'Ethnic monument' in June 1982, and continued to utilize

⁷⁸ SB, 21 August 1978, Czechoslovakians.

the State Memorial, suggesting that multicultural groups preferred to utilise that memorial for their own cultural remembrance rituals.⁷⁹

In South Australia, the League sought to continue the observance of both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day with good publicity. Minutes record a decision against any special publicity for Victory Europe or Victory Pacific Day; the State Board decided any promotional publicity should centre on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day.⁸⁰ Controversy enveloped Remembrance Day in 1985 because of a political event that had occurred on 11 November in 1975, when the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, had dismissed the Whitlam Government.⁸¹ Consequently, members of the Australian Labor Party associated Remembrance Day not only with remembrance of war dead, but, additionally, with the anniversary of the 'dismissal'. On the tenth anniversary of the dismissal *The Canberra Times* took Gough Whitlam to task over the promotion of his 1985 book *The Whitlam Government 1972-1975*. *The Canberra Times* accused Whitlam of taking over the whole stage on Remembrance Day, consuming and demanding attention by making the anniversary day his, rather than the 67th anniversary of the Armistice. *The Canberra Times* referred to eleven letters in the Melbourne Age condemning Whitlam's 'usurpation of Remembrance Day' and also reported on criticism of the ABC's 'Four Corners' programme, 'Lest We Forget' screened on Remembrance Day about the Whitlam dismissal rather than the memory of the thousands of dead sustained during World War I. President of the NSW RSL Sir Colin Hines described the ABC *Four Corner's* programme 'Lest We Forget', as disgraceful and scurrilous, while

⁷⁹ SB minutes, 18 June 1981, 14, Gen Business, (p) IRA & Wreath on Memorial; SB 17 August 1981; 14, Gen Business (l) Use of War memorial 6/8/81; SB 17 August 1981, (r) Polish Veterans; SB 15 March 1982, 14, Gen Business, (a) Wreath Placing War Memorial; Sb 17 June 1982, 14, Gen Business, (f) Proposed erection Ethnic Monument.

⁸⁰ SB, 16 January 1984, Anzac Visit to New Zealand.

⁸¹ Graeme Davison et al (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University, 1998), 'Dismissal', p. 190.

according to *The Australian*, the ‘RSL Chief’, Bruce Ruxton, endeavoured to correct the media’s misconceptions about the reasons for Australian’s observation of Remembrance Day, by reminding them “It’s Remembrance Day not Whitlam Day.”⁸² The dismissal of the Whitlam Government by the Governor General became a further community memory, providing another dimension to the observance of Remembrance Day in Australia.

During his interview with *The Australian* in 1985, Ruxton had claimed that the crowds at the Melbourne Shrine were the largest in thirty years. However, the number of people attending Remembrance Day services in Australia had fallen according to newspaper articles collected by Ken Inglis and held in the Australian National Library. The decline in numbers attending Remembrance Day services parallels the decline in numbers attending Anzac Day services from 1969 until 1973 as detailed in chapter 6 of this thesis.⁸³ During 1986, the National Office of the RSL looked at the possibility of designating Anzac Day as Australia’s national day of remembrance. When passed on to the Prime Minister, the request received the reply that the Commonwealth Government did not have the Constitutional power to declare national days. Each State and Territory would have to make such a change individually. As outlined in chapter 4, ‘The One Day’, different State Acts control the manner in which each Australian state celebrates Anzac Day. The success of any attempt to designate Anzac Day as Australia’s national day of remembrance requires changes made to each individual State and Territory Act governing the

⁸² Gough Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government 1972-1975*, (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1985); National Library, MS 389, Ken Inglis papers, Box 1 of 25, *Canberra Times* 14.11.85, ‘The Whitlam Government 1972-1975’, Box 11 of 25, *Canberra Times* 13.11.85, ‘Programme title criticized’; Liz Glasgow and AAP, ‘It’s Remembrance Day not Whitlam Day’, in *The Australian*, November 12, 1985, p.2.

⁸³ Ken Inglis papers, MS 389, National Library, Box 1 of 25, The Returned Services League of Australia, 55th Annual Report of the National Executive 1970 for the year ending 31st December 1970. Remembrance Day, p. 16; Box 11 of 25, SMH, 12/11/94, CT 24.11.1971, Box 10 of 25, Sunday Telegraph, November 14, 1965, ‘Too busy to spare two grave minutes’.

observance of Anzac Day. In reality, commemoration services on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day feature common rituals but League minutes disclose that a smaller amount of administrative effort is necessary on the part of the League in the organization of Remembrance Day, even though the RSL actively promotes the Poppy Day Appeal. A study of relevant orders of service shows that the secular commemoration services held on both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day in Australia, are similar in that 'Last Post', 'the Silence', 'the Ode' and 'Reveille' are common attributes.⁸⁴ Although religious and veterans' institutions had suggested the consolidation of Remembrance and Anzac Days, the two days remained as separate commemorative days for the commemoration of war dead.

Supplying evidence of a revival of interest in remembrance services, the Rats of Tobruk and the Greek Association both sought permission to hold a commemorative service at the State Memorial on the same day in 1986. The Greek Association agreed to hold an early service, afterwards removing their wreaths to allow the Rats of Tobruk to hold a second service. Subsequently, the Adelaide City Council requested the State Board to determine that no two services could take place the same day in future, except by mutual timing agreement.⁸⁵ As outlined above, because the League was non-party political, it prescribed the parameters of remembrance activities based upon the political intentions of ethnic bodies using memorials erected for the commemoration of Australian war dead, but, apart from the aspect of censorship related to political intent, the League encouraged multicultural participation in remembrance services.

⁸⁴ SB minutes, 14 July 1986, 10, Anzac-Remembrance, Anzac Day – National Day of Remembrance; Various Orders of Service for Anzac Day and Remembrance Day, from both the Australian War Memorial, Canberra and RSL, Adelaide held by J Pavils.

⁸⁵ SB minutes, 20 January 1986, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Conduct of Services, State War memorial.

Until the 1993 funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier, the burial site of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey served as representative and inclusive of Empire dead in the sense that the British Unknown Warrior buried in November 1920 also represented Australia's Great War dead. In 1993, Ken Inglis recorded that between 1921 and 1975, funeral services for Unknown Soldiers had taken place globally in countries ranging from the United States of America, across Europe, in Moscow and Saigon. The 1920s style funeral service conducted in 1993 for the burial of the Unknown Australian Soldier, brought solace to still grieving relatives of Australian war dead lying in unnamed or unknown burial sites throughout the world. The card placed next to a Digger's hat and red rose inscribed with the words 'To My Dear Son Mark Finally home for Christmas' was evidence someone had received a sense of closure, and identified with the Unknown Australian Soldier. Governor-General Bill Hayden dropped a sprig of wattle onto the Unknown Australian Soldier's coffin when the coffin lay in the Hall of Memory, on 11 November 1993, despite Prime Minister Paul Keating and other official guests wearing the traditional Remembrance Day poppy in their buttonholes.⁸⁶ The red buttonholes, symbols of blood sacrifice in Gallipoli or European battlefields, were juxtaposed against the yellow and green of the wattle, which mirrored the earlier symbolism of Wattle Day, and followed 'Banjo' Patterson's poem to the archetypal Australian Anzacs:

And with Australia's flag shall fly
 A spray of wattle bough,
 To symbolise our unity,
 We're All Australian now.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Slide of Digger's hat, rose and card held by Simon Berry of Charles Berry & Son Pty Ltd; Video, Peter Tobin, Producer and Director, 'The Return of the Unknown Soldier', 1993.

⁸⁷ Rosamund Campbell and Philippa Harvie, (selectors), *A Literary Heritage 'Banjo' Paterson*, (Sydney: Weldon, 2000), Poems and prose by A.B. Paterson first published prior to 1 May, 1969, pp. 150-151.

The wattle tribute from Governor-General Bill Hayden drew attention to the national identity of the Unknown Australian Soldier.

Although veterans and Government institutions observe Anzac Day internationally as part of remembrance rituals related to the commemoration of war dead, Anzac Day has developed an association with Australian national identity. Adelaide High School wanted the Harefield Union Jack replaced in the 1980s, because the 'Jack' was associated with Australian war dead buried in Britain. The request for a replacement flag provides evidence in the form of material history that South Australians wanted to remember Australian lives sacrificed overseas in the preservation of Empire ties and Australian democracy. Australia had progressively weakened formal ties with Britain, and adopted new national symbols in the form of an Australian flag and anthem, but school children in both Harefield and Adelaide remembered the Australianness of the soldiers and nurse buried in Harefield Anzac cemetery. Australia and New Zealand still maintain a connection on Anzac Day with the burial sites of Australians and New Zealanders buried in Britain suggesting that successive Australian Governments have wanted to underline Australia's and New Zealand's participation in two world wars by continuing rituals begun in 1916 that commemorate the Gallipoli Landing, even though that military operation ended in defeat.

Originally, Armistice Day was a victory celebration. King George V subsequently used the anniversary of the Armistice to incorporate remembrance of Empire war dead. The observance of silence on Armistice Day began in Australia in 1919 because of decisions made by a British King to commemorate the deaths of those who had given their lives to achieve a 'glorious victory'. After the end of Second World War, the Australian Government approved the procedure suggested

by King George VI that 'national remembrance, thanksgiving and dedication' should occur on a Sunday. Remembrance Sunday superseded Armistice Day and commemorated the dead from both WWI and WWII. During the 1950s, Australia subsequently reverted to holding annual 'Remembrance Day' observances on 11 November, on the anniversary of the Great War Armistice. This decision indicates a progression in the concept of national identity away from British ties, because in the United Kingdom the British continued to observe Remembrance Sunday.

In South Australia, the League endorsed the use of the State Memorial by multicultural groups for remembrance ceremonies, provided the reason for the ceremonies was not of an overt political nature. The League also encouraged migrant participation in the Field of Remembrance, which began in 1954 in conjunction with Remembrance Day. Despite community protest during the Vietnam War, multicultural groups continued to apply to the Adelaide City Council for permission to use the State Memorial. The continued desire of various multicultural groups to use the official South Australian memorial suggests that although community concern over Federal Government, Vietnam War, conscription policies reduced numbers at Remembrance Day ceremonies, migrants still wished to remember the dead from European wars. League and Adelaide City Council approval given to multicultural groups for use of the State Memorial suggests acceptance on the part of both the League and Council that various multicultural groups formed part of the Australian community.

The funeral service and burial of the Unknown Australian Soldier at the Australian War memorial on Remembrance Day 1993 ensured the continuation of Australian Remembrance Day observances into the twenty-first century. However, community memory is no longer cognizant that the observance of Remembrance

Day originated by the command of King George V. Australians no longer observe Remembrance Day in memory of Empire war dead, for Australia has subsumed the original significance of empire remembrance into Anzac culture and absorbed Remembrance Day. Anzac Day and Remembrance Day are synonymous in having the same function of commemorating war dead. Anzac Day remains a truly Australian observance evolved by Australians and the veteran survivors of the horrors of war, not only as grief management in an effort to bring closure to the relatives of war dead, but also as a celebration of life, survival and return to Australia. As we shall see in the next chapter, memorial services based on tenets of Judaeo-Christian religious spirituality during, and immediately after the Great War, progressively developed into secular civic services.

Chapter 8.
GOD SAVE AUSTRALIA
 Religious, civic and secular spirituality

The title of this chapter, 'God Save Australia', is a designation derived from contracting the titles of a previous and a current Australian national anthem, 'God Save the King/Queen' and 'Advance Australia Fair', and signifies variations in commemorative services for Australian war dead. Anzac Day remembrance services have progressed from a predominately Judaeo-Christian religious spiritualism to civic services, or alternatively, a form of secular spiritualism based on a concept of Australianness derived from plurality and landscape. This progression provides insight into the development of inclusive Anzac Day remembrance services. As we have seen, in South Australia, religious and quasi-religious services took place on Anzac Day and during Anzac Week during WWI. Religious services at the synagogue and various denominational churches and quasi-religious services at Wattle Grove and the South African soldiers' memorial. In addition, the RSA and League held civic memorial services, which took place at Elder Park, or the Parade Ground, on Anzac or Memorial Sunday. Singing the national anthem, 'God Save the King', at religious services was a patriotic gesture signifying loyalty to King and Empire that at the same time called upon a primarily Christian God to bless the endeavours, and maintain the safety of Australian men and women fighting overseas.¹ In South Australia, the interwar years saw the introduction of a further two Anzac Day civic services, the remembrance service at the Cross of Sacrifice and dawn services. Originally, Anzac Day commemoration services followed Judaeo-Christian funereal rituals practiced not only within

¹ *The Methodist Hymn Book*, (London: Hazell, Watson and Viney), Australasian Edition, 1904, For the King and Nation, Hymn 971, p. 809, God save our gracious King;/Long live our noble King;/God save the King!/Send him victorious,/Happy and glorious,/Long to reign over us:/God save the King!

Australia and New Zealand, but overseas in Europe, particularly Britain, Belgium and France, and the Middle East, as well as in Canada and the United States of America. While Australian servicemen and women were serving overseas during WWII, the Australian War Memorial (hereinafter AWM), was dedicated in Canberra. After both WWI and WWII, attempts to bring a body of an unknown Australian 'warrior' back to Australia proved unsuccessful. This chapter also endeavours to isolate political forces brought to bear upon the established rites and rituals that became traditional aspects of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day ceremonies. After the Vietnam War, the Whitlam Labor Government introduced a period of rapid political change. Part of that Government's agenda was the breaking of ties with Britain, and the British monarchy. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam strengthened the sense of Australian identity within the Australian nation when Army bands played 'Advance Australia Fair' on Anzac Day. In 1993, at the time of the Keating Labor Government, the secular spiritualism of the civic memorial service at the funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier provided a turning point in Australian identity and Anzac culture. This chapter attempts to deal with the spirituality of the various religious, quasi-religious and civic ceremonies associated with Anzac culture, at some of which the old and current national anthem was, and is, sung.

As we have seen, the Brisbane ADCC influenced first anniversary celebrations of Anzac Day throughout the Australian States. Item (2) of the published 'fuller statement' accompanying the ADCC's introductory letter to the Mayor of Adelaide dated 28 February 1916, asked '[t]hat all the religious bodies be requested to observe the day by such religious services as each such body shall

decide.² Subsequently, in South Australia *The Advertiser* 'Religious Notices' for 25 April 1916 referred to services at St Peter's Cathedral, at Pirie Street Church Adelaide, the Methodist Church Parkside and a United Commemoration Service at the Adelaide Town Hall. Services at St Peter's Cathedral offered Holy Communion during the morning of 25 April, with Rev. G. H. Jose, MA, Deputy Senior Chaplain AMF, preaching at the evening service, which a detachment of the Military Forces attended. The advertisement specifically stated 'No cards have been issued for this service, THE SEATS ARE FREE', and provided the information that the South Australian Soldiers' Fund was the beneficiary of the collection. Subsequently, the Anzac Souvenir issued under the authority of the Premier, Hon Crawford Vaughan, MP, reported the complete occupation of the seating accommodation.³ The Council of Churches arranged a United Commemoration Service at the Adelaide Town Hall, with reserved seats available for returned soldiers and the relatives of the fallen, naming Chaplain Colonel McPhee as preacher. Patriotic funds received monies left after expenses. Pirie Street and Parkside Methodist churches advertised evening services, Pirie Street's collection in aid of wounded soldiers. Pirie Street Church provided a programme of suitable Requiem music that included Handel's 'Dead March' in 'Saul' and Chopin's 'Funeral March'.⁴

On Sunday 30 April 1916, the League's antecedent organization, the RSA, organized a civic service, a memorial parade on the Parade Ground, King William Road, inviting relatives of fallen comrades to the service.⁵ *The Register* reported

² Adelaide City Archives, TCDKT 1916/1145, Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Brisbane), Letterhead, Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, from David J Garland Hon. Secretary, to His Worship the Mayor of Adelaide, 28 February 1916; Plan of Observance of Anzac Day, Tuesday, 25th April, 1916.

³ *Advertiser*, Religious Notices, 25 April 1916, p. 2; ACA, TCDKT, 1916/1145, Letterhead, The Council of Churches of South Australia to His Worship the Mayor of Adelaide, 15.4.1916; Mortlock, Z Pamphlet Anzac Souvenir, 940.425 A637, Anzac Day Commemoration, 25.4.1916, p. 22.

⁴ *Advertiser*, Religious Notices, 25 April 1916, p. 2.

⁵ *Advertiser*, Public Notices, 26 April 1916, Returned Soldiers' Assocn, Memorial Parade, p. 2.

that every detail of the ceremony inspired a hallowed and lasting memory of Australian feats at Gallipoli, and the price that individual Australians paid for their bravery. During the service of memorial and intercessions a crowd consisting of soldiers, returned soldiers and civilians, 'who obviously had lost loved ones at the front' prayed:

Bless, O Lord, our King and Empire and all our leaders. Give courage and victory to us and our Allies. Protect those who are in danger. Give help to our wounded, recovery to the sick, rest and peace to the dying, comfort to the mourners. And in Thine own good time grant us all abiding peace. For Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

After Chaplain Capt G. H. Jose, MA, read the lesson from Hebrews XI: 34,

Chaplain Col J. C. McPhee gave the sermon, advising his audience that:

Not one of their heroic dead had fallen in vain. A new life must rise from the red sowing of this white seed. He appealed to them to be prepared as the war dragged on, and when peace came, to run without weariness and walk without fainting in the way that God would lead.⁶

After its inception as the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, the South Australian branch proclaimed itself a non-sectarian organization, but nevertheless, during the Great War its antecedent body sanctioned Army Chaplains who promulgated Christian beliefs and doctrines at civic memorial services for fallen soldiers.

Overseas memorial services conducted on the anniversary of Anzac Day during interwar years, took place in various towns and cities of Britain and Europe, Anzac Day being but one facet of the 'cult of the fallen soldier'. Australian Diggers marched in London in 1919, the first Anzac Day after the end of hostilities. Later Sir George Pearce wrote in *The Advertiser* that English authorities did not see eye to eye with this observance at first, believing that Australians should be content to take part in the Victory march. Pearce wrote:

⁶ *The Register*, 'Memorial and Intercession', 1 May 1916, p.4.

But we thought differently. Especially was Mr Hughes emphatic and insistent. We wanted our Anzac Day observance, an Anzac Day observance of our own kind with our own men in the greatest city of the Empire which they had crossed the oceans to defend.⁷

In 1919, the Australian Prime Minister insisted on the observance of Anzac Day in London. Pearce found Hughes's insistence a more appropriate recognition of Australian war service, than an Empire victory march.

The League followed the example of the antecedent RSA and continued civic memorial services in the 1920s. *The Diggers' Gazette* of March 1921 advised its readers of the decision to hold a memorial service at Elder Park on Anzac Sunday in connection with the appeal for £5,000 needed for the maintenance of soldiers' graves at Light Oval cemetery. *The Diggers' Gazette* further advised that the League would approach various Church Councils with a request to reserve the proceeds of one collection on Memorial Sunday for the appeal.⁸ At the League Anzac service held at Elder Park on 24 April 1922, with an attendance of approximately 5,000 people, the service included an additional tribute in memory of 'departed heroes'. The exploits of the aviator Sir Ross Smith, an ex-serviceman, received special attention following Smith's death in 'another great flying adventure.' *The Advertiser* reported:

In his honor comrades of the great war in uniform had the second button of their tunics draped in black, and those in civilian attire wore a piece of black ribbon at the back of their badges. The utmost sincerity was demonstrated by preachers and public alike.⁹

The League continued organizing civic memorial services during the period between the two world wars.

A 1922 initiative was the quasi-religious service of remembrance at the unveiling of the Cross of Remembrance in Pennington Gardens. After the

⁷ *Advertiser*, 'Grandest Day of Them All', 25 April 1938, p. 14.

⁸ *Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 8, 7 March 1921, p. 15.

⁹ *Advertiser*, 'In Memory of Anzac, Solemn Service, Big Crowd at Elder Park', 24 April 1922, p. 10.

dedication of the cenotaph, or stone of remembrance, the following year, that particular 'open-air cathedral' became the setting for a non-denominational spiritual observation of Anzac Day in Adelaide. A further initiative of the interwar years was the civic Anzac Day dawn service. With the beginning of the commemorative dawn service at Unley in 1931, early morning focus shifted to the suburbs with that service soon extending to the then outer suburban areas of Rosewater, Semaphore, Brighton and Burnside. Country areas followed suit. *The Advertiser* in 1931 reported that 'mystically at dawn', more than 1,000 people attended the picturesque service held at the Garden of Honor, Unley, advising readers that as the first rays of the sun climbed over the hills, a more inspiring sight could not be imagined, than that of hundreds of people standing with bowed heads.¹⁰ Either the mystique of the picturesque outdoor service, or the symbolism of commemoration services emulating the conditions of the first landings at dawn on 25 April 1915, appealed to a wide section of the community, with the result dawn services extended throughout the South Australian community. Communications from the Secretary of the 10th Battalion AIF Club and Goodwood and SW Districts Sub-Branch in 1934, suggested organising dawn services at the State Memorial, a suggestion passed on to the League's Anzac Day Commemoration Committee.¹¹ On the twentieth anniversary of Anzac Day, *The Advertiser's* radio stations, 5AD Adelaide and 5PI Crystal Brook, broadcast the 6 am dawn service at the Unley Soldiers' Memorial Gardens of Honor.¹² *The Advertiser* reported:

¹⁰ *Advertiser*, 'Worshippers at Dawn', 27 April 1931, p.7.

¹¹ League State Board minutes, 7 August 1934, 26, Dawn Service.

¹² *Advertiser*, 'We Will Remember Them', 25 April 1935, p. 8.

More than 1,000 people attended the dawn service at the Soldiers' Garden of Honor at Unley. The memorial arch was flood-lighted. The St. Augustine's Church of England choir, accompanied by the Salvation Army Band sang the opening hymn 'O Valiant Hearts.'¹³

Meanwhile, two or three hundred people attended the dawn service at the State Memorial.¹⁴ The next year, 1936, dawn services took place at the Rosewater memorial and at Semaphore. By 1937, *The Advertiser* advised the dawn service at the State Memorial was 'the central service of the State', but that similar services took place in the suburbs and rural districts.¹⁵ Broadcasting dawn services was more inclusive, allowing people in country areas to participate in the civic memorial service: civic dawn services in country and suburban areas put Anzac Day commemoration services within reach of greater numbers of Australians.

Church leaders endeavoured to make Anzac Day services accessible to all Australians regardless of religious or denominational affiliations. In Brisbane in 1937, the Rev Father F. S. Barry, addressing 600 returned men after Mass at St Stephen's Cathedral appealed for understanding regarding future Anzac Day celebrations. The article reported Barry as saying:

[T]hat public meetings in commemoration of Anzac Day should be public meetings and not camouflaged religious gatherings, so that Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, Christian and unbeliever should be able to attend as Australians.¹⁶

Although in Melbourne in 1938, Archbishop Mannix attempted to follow Father Barry's Brisbane appeal, some clergymen objected to non-denominational or ecumenical services. Following Archbishop Mannix's advice that Roman Catholics

¹³ *Advertiser*, 'Widespread Celebration of Anzac Day, Dawn Services', sub-heading 'More than 1,000 People At Unley', 26 April 1935, p.18.

¹⁴ *Advertiser*, 'Widespread Celebration of Anzac Day, Dawn Services', sub-heading 'Ceremony at State War Memorial', 26 April 1935, p.18.

¹⁵ *Advertiser*, 'Many Attend Services at Dawn', 27 April 1936, p. 15.

¹⁶ *Advertiser*, 'Anzac Day Falls on Easter Sunday in 1943', 27 April 1937, p.20.

should participate in the Anzac commemoration service, fewer men fell out of the ranks of the Melbourne Anzac Day procession upon reaching the Shrine. The report of the service attributed Mannix's recommendation to the change in the form of the service to a 'semi religious, un-denominational ceremony'¹⁷ But in 1939, the sectarian divide continued, for Protestant clergymen who objected to the changed format left the ranks of the Melbourne procession as they approached the shrine. Attaining the support of the Catholic Archbishop caused the disaffection of some Protestants.¹⁸

In Adelaide, in 1939, the League held a significant service at the State Memorial, North Terrace, designed to provide a tangible link between the missing in overseas battlefields with mourners in South Australia. The focus of the service was a memorial tree from Villers-Bretonneux, France. Before organizing the memorial service, the State Secretary of the League conferred with the City Gardener regarding the most suitable spot for replanting the tree in Adelaide, choosing the State Memorial from three possible sites, the other two being the Cross of Sacrifice and the AIF cemetery at West Terrace. Quarantine authorities gave permission for the use of French soil when replanting the memorial tree, soil taken from the spot where the King and Queen of England met the President of France the year before.¹⁹ At the unveiling of the gum tree from France, the French wife of an Australian soldier placed a wreath of flowers in the French tri-colour. Rev. A. L. Bulbeck addressed the gathering after hymns and a prayer for the fallen. He drew attention to the significance of the student's figure in the State Memorial, pointing

¹⁷ *Advertiser*, 'March in Clouds of Red Dust', 26 April 1938, p. 20.

¹⁸ *Advertiser*, '20,000 Returned Men in Melbourne Parade', 26 April 1939, p.6.

¹⁹ State Board minutes, 18 October 1938, 21, Villers-Bretonneux Memorial Tree; SB, 13 March 1939, 27, Villers-Bretonneux Memorial Tree; SB, 21 March 1939, 8, Villers-Bretonneux Memorial Tree.

out that the figure commemorated youth. 'Youth, he said, must carry on work left unfinished.'²⁰

Civic and religious services held during the period of the Second World War ensured the dissemination of Anzac culture locally, nationally and overseas. The Second World War gave a younger generation of Australian servicemen and women an opportunity to pay respect at overseas burial sites out of reach of the average Australian. G. E. Harriott, special correspondent with the Second A.I.F, reported in *The Advertiser*:

Long before dawn thousands of soldiers assembled at the Jerusalem and Gaza war cemeteries for simple but solemn ceremonies in remembrance of the Anzacs of 25 years ago. ...

A special morning service was held at the Beersheba War Cemetery, where many light horsemen are buried.

Two hundred and fifty members of the Second A.I.F. and a band marched through Tel Aviv, attended a service, and laid a wreath on the Australian memorial pillar at Hayarkon River. ...

A feature of the Jerusalem commemoration was a march through the streets of 600 Australians. They were led by the pipe band of a famous Scottish regiment, and with them marched detachments of British and Scottish regiments and the R.A.F., and also Jewish and Arab veterans of the last war.²¹

One wonders what effect memorial services held in war cemeteries during war, had on men longing to return to Australia and their loved ones. Perhaps the services stimulated a desire for sacrifice on behalf of the nation, or alternatively, stimulated the will to live life to the fullest degree. Overseas service during the Second World War provided Australian servicemen and women with an opportunity to join with British service personnel and old allies at Anzac Day services commemorating war dead.

With Australian servicemen and women serving overseas more South Australians attended local commemorative services honouring war dead. Charles

²⁰ *Advertiser*, 'Gum Tree from France', 26 April 1939, p. 7.

²¹ *Advertiser*, 'Second AIF Honors Predecessors', 26 April 1940, p. 27.

Birks & Co's store advertisement in *The Advertiser* on 25 April 1941, exhorted everyone to join a crusade and put everything into the struggle.²² *The Advertiser* described the annual civic service at Pennington Gardens in 1941 reporting:

Never before has there been such a crowd as that which joined in the service of remembrance at the Cross of Sacrifice. There was a deeper atmosphere of reverence this year than in previous years, and even the crowds in King William street stopped near the amplifiers, which had provided the music for the march and listened.

Hymns and a prayer were followed by "Stand Fast" and "Last Post," and then the entire crowd observed one minute's silence and joined in the recital of Binyon's "They shall Grow Not Old." This was followed by "Reveille," the National Anthem, and the Benediction.²³

The official party at the Cross of Sacrifice included the Premier Mr Playford, and the Governor-General Lord Gowrie. During WWII, political and commercial sectors actively supported the observation of Anzac Day.

Representative of all Australian States, the official opening of the AWM, took place in Canberra on 11 November 1941. Lest anyone doubt that the memorial honoured the 'Anzac tradition', that aspect of Australia's history featured in an opening speech. The Right Honourable Lord Gowrie, Governor General, and the Honourable Prime Minister John Curtin gave addresses to the assembled gathering. His Excellency the Governor General prophesied that, with peace, many citizens would visit the Shrine. Some to revive memories of lost loved ones, others to conjure visions of 'a happier and saner world', but all would declare 'never again, never again.'²⁴ Although officially 11 November 1941 was Armistice Day, to Curtin as Australian Prime Minister the symbolic War Memorial signified Anzac. The AWM gave:

²² *Advertiser*, Charles Birks & Co, 25 April 1941, p.1.

²³ *Advertiser*, 'At the Saluting Base', 26 April 1941, p. 16.

²⁴ AWM Series 27, Item No 623/19, Official opening of the Australian War memorial at Canberra 11 November 1941.

[C]ontinuity to the Anzac tradition; it gives uninterrupted to the basic impulses of this nation; it provides for all time to come, to generations that will inhabit this land, the place where they may have brought before them in the most conspicuous way the legends of their country and come to know something of the deeds that kept their freedom unimpaired.²⁵

The Australian Prime Minister endorsed the Anzac tradition using the Anzac legend to reinforce the concept of democratic freedom gained by individual service and sacrifice on behalf of the nation.

God and the nation became part of the rhetoric at civic memorial services during the Second World War, with the original Anzacs used as an example of bravery and sacrifice in the service of the nation. The Anzac Day march dispensed with, *The Advertiser* placed greater emphasis on the attendance of persons in positions of authority, rather than crowd attendance, at the 1942 State Memorial service, publishing accompanying reports of ‘Company of Great Nations’, and ‘Anzac Spirit Needed’.²⁶ In brilliant sunshine, His Excellency, the Governor-General Lord Gowrie, together with the Governor, Sir Malcolm Barclay-Harvey, and Lady Muriel Barclay-Harvey, attended by Brig-Gen. Anderson, Cpt. C. R. Duncan, and Cmdr R. C. Warden, accompanied by the State President of the RSL, arrived on foot at the State Memorial North Terrace on 25 April 1942. Members of the US forces and Second AIF attended the service. All present stood to attention while the 4th District Military Band played the national anthem that began the ‘simple but dignified Anzac ceremonies’. Senior Chaplain H. H. Coles in his introductory address said that:

²⁵ AWM, Series 27, Item No 623/19, Official opening of the Australian War memorial at Canberra 11 November 1941, p. 3.

²⁶ *Advertiser*, 27 April 1942, ‘Simple but Dignified Anzac Ceremonies, Governor-General at War Memorial Service’, p. 4.

[T]hey remembered with pride those who made and maintained, and were still maintaining, the glorious traditions for which Anzac stood. Their observance was of national value, for it provided a rallying point in these great days, and it challenged them to go forth undaunted with the same courage, endurance, and comradeship which were embodied in those whom they were remembering that day. They could hold their heads a little higher and thank God that they belonged to the same race that bred those men and to the country that sent them forth.²⁷

At a time when Australia was subject to Japanese bombings, 'Land of Hope and Glory', sung by Miss Gwen Collett, added a new choral item to the repertoire of Anzac Day music. Rover Scouts, accompanied by members of the Air Force and Army held the annual Vigil of Remembrance at the State Memorial.²⁸ Anzac Day provided a rallying point in the War.

As noted by Richard Ely in his 1985 journal article, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered?', Australians turned more overtly to religious spiritualism in times of crisis.²⁹ The United States of America, had entered hostilities after the bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941, therefore visiting American troops, together with the Chief of the United States Army and Major-General Allen received invitations to the Sunday service held in 1942.³⁰ The Catholic Archbishop of Adelaide, Most Rev Dr M. Beovich, presided over solemn Requiem Mass. In attendance was a congregation of troops home from abroad, returned soldiers from the Great War, uniformed nurses and women of the auxiliary services, and uniformed children from patriotic guide and scout groups. In preaching the sermon, the Rev Father W. Cantwell, 2nd AIF chaplain spoke of:

²⁷ *Advertiser*, 'Simple But Dignified Anzac Ceremonies', 27 April 1942, p. 4.

²⁸ *Advertiser*, 'Placing of Wreaths', 27 April 1942, p. 4.

²⁹ Richard Ely, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered?' in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No 17, November 1985 p. 52.

³⁰ State Board minutes, 14 April 1942, 12, Anzac Day, Sunday Service.

[T]he great comradeship of the 1st AIF, and of the need not to forget their sacrifices and suffering. A united effort now, he said, animated by the Anzac spirit, would indeed stem the enemy. No sacrifice would be too great to purchase freedom and liberty. Associated with all effort must be humble prayer to God to remove the scourge of war and bring peace to the earth.³¹

Likewise, faith and Christian assurance linked to the original Anzacs provided a sermon topic at St Peter's Cathedral. Taking as his subject 'God' and those 'gone before', when conducting the Requiem Eucharist, the celebrant and preacher, Bishop of Adelaide (Right Rev B. P. Robin) took the sermon text from St Paul's second letter to the Corinthians, chapter 5, verse 1:

For we know that if our earthly house of *this* tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.³²

Robin preached:

In these days, ... such faith amounting to knowledge and the sense of a home not of earth it brought was indeed valuable. In Christian assurance this Anzac Day they gave thanks for those gone before.³³

The promise of a home not of this earth may well have brought solace to those whose loved ones lay under the sea, and under the foreign soil of overseas burial sites.

Anzac Day 1943 fell on Easter Sunday. The RSL debated the merits of holding Anzac memorial services on Easter Sunday, with the Primate of the Anglican Church and the Apostolic Delegate, eventually coming to the decision the League would observe Anzac Day on 25 April. The RSL left the State Branches to make their own arrangements regarding Anzac observances. Abandoning all AIF unit reunions and cancelling the march, the League held a 3pm commemoration

³¹ *Advertiser*, 'Cathedral Services', 27 April 1942, p.4.

³² *The Bible*, authorised King James Version printed by authority, (London: Collins, 1950), New Testament, 2 Corinthians, chapter 5, verse 1, p. 170, emphasis.

³³ *Advertiser*, 'Cathedral Services', 27 April 1942, p.4.

service at the Cross of Sacrifice. Rev. H. G. Hackworthy gave the address, after which the SA Caledonia Pipe Band played 'Scottish Lament'.³⁴ In delivering the address Hackworthy preached:

Anzacs, Tobruk Rats, and their fellows do not belong to differing generations; they are of the immortals. ... From Gaba Tepe to Fisherman's Hut each grain of sand in Anzac Cove is sacred. ... Anzac lives in the glorious deeds of those who are of the new generation of Australia. They call to us from the battle fronts of the world, not to an act of empty memory, but to a life of dedication and devotion to the ideals for which they count the world well lost.³⁵

Memorial services took place in most suburbs, with large afternoon gatherings in connection with RSL sub-branches. The confluence of Easter Sunday and Anzac Day provided an opportunity for religious and civic leaders to underline a nexus between Christian service and self-sacrifice in preservation of the nation.

As mentioned above, Easter Sunday and Anzac Day occurred on one and the same day in 1943 although not synonymous in intent, the first being a celebration of Christ's resurrection and the second having a component that commemorated war dead and the survival of returned veterans. The State Board nominated League representatives to attend Adelaide Cathedral and suburban church services on Anzac Day. The State Secretary, Mr F. E. Reynolds, and Mrs Reynolds, attended North Adelaide Baptist Church. Requesting that representatives go to a service at Maughan Church on 25 April, the League promulgated the church's invitation to all Metropolitan Sub-Branches.³⁶ A Scripture lesson read in Greek by a Minister of the Greek Orthodox Church (Dr C. Palsovannis), followed by an English translation was a highlight of the Maughan Church evening Anzac Day service. Although the League organized an Anzac Day civic service, it made every endeavour to organize

³⁴ *Advertiser*, 'Cross of Sacrifice Ceremony', 24 April 1943, p.1.

³⁵ *Advertiser*, 'Anzac Day Services', 26 April 1943, p.3.

³⁶ State Board minutes, 13 April 1943, 14, Functions; SB, 16 March 1943, 15, Anzac Day.

League representation at Christian churches when Anzac Day and Easter Sunday occurred on the same day.³⁷

On Anzac Day 1945, with the end of the war in sight, South Australians recognised the service of older generations of soldiers, the contribution of indigenous veterans to the war effort, and the plight of captured Australians languishing in overseas prison camps. After the dawn service at the State Memorial *The Advertiser* reported on a number of significant wreaths laid at the base of the memorial. One in memory of those who died in the Boxer Rebellion, another placed by ex-AIF veteran, Gordon Rigney, on behalf of indigenous returned soldiers from Point McLeay Mission, while a third among the notable wreaths was one from six ex-Japanese prisoners of war inscribed:

In Loving memory of our cobbers who fell at Malaya and Singapore, and to our mates who have died in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps.³⁸

The League recognised a new dimension within Australian war service; extensive periods of imprisonment endured by Australian servicemen and women incarcerated in German and Japanese prisoner-of-war camps. As recorded in chapter 2, the League, through its magazine *Back*, gave notice of an account rendered added to the 'Debt of Honor'.

Writing in *The Advertiser* on Anzac Day 1945, Mr E. R. Greer described a previous commemoration service held on Malta. A description indicative of the spread of Anzac culture throughout Europe, the Middle East, Asia, the Pacific, Canada and America. Greer reminded returned sailors, soldiers and airmen of the simple but moving commemoration services held 'in the Western Desert, Libya, Palestine, Malta, North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Great Britain, Burma, the Pacific

³⁷ *Advertiser*, 'Anzac Day Services Tomorrow', 24 April 1943, p.1.

³⁸ *Advertiser*, 'Dawn Services in City and Suburbs', 26 April 45, p. 5.

Islands, America, Canada and on many strips of foreign soil.' Thinking of Malta, as he had experienced it two years earlier, Greer wrote:

It was the 28th anniversary of a memorable day in 1915, when our fathers and our kinsmen from across the Tasman stormed the beach-heads of Gallipoli.

We had been previously instructed that all Australian members of the services on Malta would be given leave to attend an Anzac Day service at the Malta War Memorial in Florianna. ... On arrival at the memorial I was impressed by the large attendance of Allied sailors, soldiers and airmen, civilians, priests, men from the Greek navy, from Mauritius, and Lascara in their indigo seamen's overalls. I even caught a glimpse of a little sunburnt man, in an Egyptian tarbush, standing next to an American Negro. All had come to pay silent tribute to the gallantry of the men of Gallipoli.³⁹

Greer also noted the occurrence in 1945 of services in Germany and other countries that previously suffered under Nazi tyranny. The Second World War completed the globalisation of Anzac culture and confirmed it as part of the 'cult of the fallen soldier'.

Initiatives designed to repatriate the body of an Unknown Australian Warrior from an overseas burial site proved unsuccessful. In 1946, the League advised the RSL Federal Office that it agreed with the proposal for the burial of an Unknown Warrior in Canberra.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, minutes held at the AWM reflect that although Naval, Military and Air Boards offered no objections to the proposal, Mr Cox from Treasury expressed a view that favoured 'only one Unknown Warrior for the Empire.' Further complicating matters, the ACT Branch of the RSL requested any re-burial take place at a shrine outside War Memorial Buildings in order that visitors to Canberra had access to the burial site 'at other than the prescribed hours' for the AWM of 10 am to 4.30 pm. The meeting left the matter in abeyance, in order to ascertain the views of the AWM.⁴¹ Returning to the subject of the Unknown Warrior in 1947, a letter to the Australian Battlefields Memorial

³⁹ *Advertiser*, E R Greer, 'An Anzac Day on Malta', 25 April 1945, p.6.

⁴⁰ State Board minutes, 2 July 1946, 16, Federal Executive Meeting.

⁴¹ AWM 67, Item No 13/62, Minutes Tuesday 30 July 1946.

Committee advised the status of the proposal was that of an old one having been put forward immediately after the 1914/18 war, in 1926 and in 1938. Returned soldiers did not support the earlier proposals, believing the unknown warrior buried in Westminster Abbey 'was more truly symbolical of Australia's sacrifice than a burial in an Australian capital would be.' The letter continued:

The Hall of Memory in the Australian War Memorial, the completion of which has been delayed by the 1939/45 war, and which, it is estimated, will take about five years to complete, has been treated as a cenotaph – "A sepulchral monument to those who are buried elsewhere" – and not as a mausoleum. It therefore stands for all Australians who lost their lives through the wars, past and future, which the Memorial commemorates.

Deeming it impossible to select remains representative of Australians who served in Gallipoli, Palestine or Europe during the Great War, or North Africa, Greece, Crete, Syria, Malaya, Papua, New Guinea or Borneo during the Second World War the Board of the AWM advised 'that it could not see its way to concur in the proposal.'⁴² Four attempts to bring an unknown warrior home to Australia had failed.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the League made every effort to accommodate the views of various Heads of Churches in relation to service sheets and hymns used for extant civic services. Questions raised in 1951, relating to services suitable for all denominations received the answer that the only services acceptable to all religions, were those of a non-denominational nature, conducted by laymen.⁴³ To this end, the Reverend Perry and Archdeacon Bulbeck received instructions to submit a list of laymen available for non-denominational service duties.⁴⁴ Mount Gambier Sub-Branch suggested the investigation of possible modifications to the combined service in 1958, while Port Adelaide Ministers changed the Anzac

⁴² AWM Series 67, Item No 13/63, Minutes, Unknown Warrior: Subtended letter to Australian Battlefields Memorials Committee, dated 11 January, 1947.

⁴³ State Board minutes, 5 February 1951, 17, General Business, (f) Anzac Services.

⁴⁴ State Board minutes, 19 February 1951, 3, Business Arising, (j) Speakers for Anzac Celebrations.

Service, resulting in a resolution from the State Board that the Secretary personally approach the Mayor of Port Adelaide and initiate discussions with him regarding the actions of the ministers.⁴⁵ The RSL Anzac Sunday memorial service featured as an Anzac commemorative service until the 1960s, when it ceased in order to encourage larger attendances at local sub-branch services. A resolution in 1961 sealed the fate of the Anzac Sunday service, which was discontinued, with steps taken to impress upon suburban sub-branches that the service was given up in their interest, therefore their full co-operation was expected to ensure local Anzac services grew bigger and better.⁴⁶

Mr Eastick, a Past President of the South Australian League, discussed with Bishop Gleeson the question of Roman Catholic participation in civic memorial services in 1964. Reporting to the State Board, Eastick advised that he considered Roman Catholic clergymen's full co-operation attainable given the provision of slight changes. Subsequently the Board confirmed the suggestion of two immediate changes, with others to follow in 1965.⁴⁷ League minutes record the tabling and approval of proofs for redesigned service sheets in 1965.⁴⁸ Subsequently, the League's 1965 Annual Report extended grateful thanks to all denominations for participating in the deeply religious Anzac commemorative observance program.⁴⁹ In 1966, League minutes recorded that a Roman Catholic Priest officiated at the dawn service, and a Baptist Padre at the Cross of Sacrifice.⁵⁰ Negotiations took place with the Council of Churches during 1967 and 1968, concerning suggested

⁴⁵ *Sentry-Go*, Vol II, No 17, September 1958, p.1; League minutes, 9 March 1959, 14, Anzac, (a) Anzac Service.

⁴⁶ State Board Minutes, 6 February 1961, 14, Anzac, (b) Anzac Sunday Service.

⁴⁷ State Board minutes, 2 March 1964, 17, Anzac, (a), Report.

⁴⁸ State Board minutes, 1 March 1965, 17, Anzac, (d) Service sheets.

⁴⁹ Annual Report 1964-1965, Unpaginated.

⁵⁰ State Board minutes, 21 March 1966, 17, Anzac Day, (a), Report.

alterations to the Anzac hymn sheet.⁵¹ Although the League gained the support and participation of the Roman Catholic Church in Anzac services, in 1969 the League faced new problems, with the refusal of Strathalbyn Ministers to participate in Anzac memorial services because the League supported the Vietnam War.⁵² Padre Whereat undertook enquiries into the Strathalbyn situation and after forwarding a letter to the local Anglican Priest, assumed the matter satisfactorily concluded. Typical of the period of apathy and criticism noted in previous chapters, the Vietnam War caused problems regarding civic religious services.⁵³ The style of the hymn sheet became the subject of debate again in 1972, when the League referred the matter to the Anzac Day Padres, authorising them to place any change before the Heads of Churches.⁵⁴ The League worked hard to gain the approval and acceptance of various denominations to ensure spiritual significance in accordance with Christian principles when addressing the spirituality of civic Anzac commemoration services.

The election of a Federal Labor Government in 1972, under the leadership of Edward Gough Whitlam, who served with the Royal Australian Air Force at Gove during World War II, triggered a time of division between the Federal Government and the RSL concerning memorial services and the national anthem. The first warning of an impending 'battle' appeared in South Australian League records as an 'Appendix' to League minutes dated 20 August 1973. Reporting on an extraordinary meeting of RSL National Congress, Eric Smith, the State President, advised the State Board that the RSL National Executive accepted that

⁵¹ State Board minutes, 16 October 1967, 17, Anzac & Remembrance Days, (b) Anzac Day; SB, 15 January 1968, 16, Anzac, (b) Anzac Hymn Sheet.

⁵² State Board, 19 May 1969, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (g) Strathalbyn S/B – Service.

⁵³ State Board, 20 October 1969, 14, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Anzac Day Observance – Strathalbyn.

⁵⁴ State Board, 18 September 1972, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Anzac Hymn Sheet.

the national anthem was the appropriate anthem for ceremonial occasions. The National Executive had voted against the idea of using 'The Song of Australia', as the Australian national anthem. Tasmania abstained, but all other States favoured 'Advance Australia Fair'. The final determination regarding the use of the anthem was the ultimate responsibility of the RSL National Congress. Evidently, the RSL National Executive decided on 'Advance Australia', having little knowledge of the 'Song of Australia' composed and written in 1859 by two migrants to South Australia, Berlin-born intellectual Carl Linger and English-born poet, Caroline Carleton.⁵⁵

In December 1973, a Staff Reporter of the *Sydney Morning Herald* described Gough Whitlam as aiming for the introduction of 'New Nationalism', because Whitlam promoted 'Advance Australia Fair' as a rival Australian national anthem to 'God Save the Queen'.⁵⁶ Primarily, Anzac Day and Remembrance Day civic memorial services continued to include the 'Queen' as the national anthem. The subject appeared again in League minutes, in the lead up to Anzac Services for April 1974: the League faced a quandary, schools already having received instructions to use 'Advance Australia Fair' as the national anthem. Subsequently, reporting on Anzac memorial services, *The Herald* advised that bands played 'God Save the Queen' in six states, even though 'Advance Australia' was successful in achieving a vote of 51.4% in a government-run poll of 60,000 people. The article drew attention to the omission of 'God Save the Queen' from the poll and pointed one of the requisites of a successful anthem was the ability to move the spirit

⁵⁵ State Board minutes, 20 August 1973, Appendix, Report Extra-ordinary Meeting of National Congress, dated 15 August 1973, National Anthem, p. 5, report signed by Eric H. Smith, State President.; Robert Nicol, *At the End of the Road*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994) p. 52, Song of Australia, <<http://www.southernaustralianhistory.com.au/song.htm>>.

⁵⁶ National Library of Australia, MS 389, K Inglis, Box 1 of 25, Newspaper clipping, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Whitlam's aim for "new" Aust', 4 December 1973.

deeply, by striking a chord in people's hearts, as well as having fundamental and universal acceptance. Though some recognized 'God Save the Queen' as 'outdated jingoism', the commentary posed the question - was an anthem reminding Australians that Captain Cook sailed from 'Albion' using 'true British courage' to a country 'girt by sea' any better? In conclusion, the report declared the 'attempt to dictate a new and dubious replacement is becoming a farce. God Save Us All!'⁵⁷

As the choice relating to both anthems remained the prerogative of those persons organising ceremonies, confusion reigned supreme. *The Bulletin* in May 1974, published a letter placing the blame for the 'Anthem Squabble' squarely on the shoulders of the Prime Minister. A correspondent, T. S. Gleeson, wrote that '[c]ontroversy and division will continue,' because introducing the question of the national anthem in such a haphazard way, with no official status attached to either 'Advance Australia Fair' or 'God Save the Queen', encouraged Australians to use both songs as national anthems.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the League maintained the conservative 'status quo' for in November, the Secretary, Mr Hoffmann, advised of the pleased reaction to the playing and singing of 'God Save the Queen' at the Remembrance Day service.⁵⁹ Eventually making an unambiguous decision, the Prime Minister acted, curbing the Army's ability to continue playing the 'Queen'. In 1975, Whitlam issued instructions that Australian Army Bands cease playing 'God Save the Queen', thus defeating any intentions of the RSL to use Army Bands to continue playing 'God Save the Queen' as the national anthem at Anzac Day or Remembrance Day commemoration services.⁶⁰ The Prime Minister instructed the

⁵⁷ NLA, MS 389, Papers, K Inglis, Box 1 of 25, *Herald*, 26 April 1974.

⁵⁸ NLA, MS 389, Papers, K Inglis, Box 4 of 25, *The Bulletin*, 11 May, 1974, T F Gleeson, Revesby, NSW, 'Anthem Squabble'.

⁵⁹ State Board minutes, 18 November 1974, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (a) Remembrance Day.

⁶⁰ NLA, K Inglis, Box 1 of 25, David McNicoll, 'Gough's order angers Army', in *The Bulletin*, 19 April, 1975, p. 29.

Minister for Defence, who likewise instructed the Army, 'that *God Save the Queen* must not be played again, except in special circumstances'. *The Bulletin* reported in April 1975, that the order stunned and angered the army because it meant the withdrawal of permission for any service band to play the 'Queen' at Anzac Day functions. The prevention did not apply to police bands and pipe bands. Passing judgement, the author, David McNicoll, concluded '[f]or a man of his undoubted intellect Whitlam does some incredibly stupid things.'⁶¹ However, the Prime Minister's instructions to the Army to cease playing 'God Save the Queen', except in special circumstances, did not solve the issue of the national anthem.

Controversy continued, but with the Army gagged regarding its ability to render the old anthem, the new anthem gained a stronger grip along the path to 'New Nationalism'. Later, a roundup of Anzac Day ceremonies in State Capitals the same year judged the result 'a fair advance for the anthem *Advance Australia Fair*.' Brisbane played only 'Advance Australia Fair'. In Sydney, 'God Save the Queen' featured twice, once for the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Mr Justice Street, the second time for his departure, after 'Advance Australia Fair'. Melbourne, Adelaide and Hobart exclusively selected 'God Save the Queen'. In Canberra, a military band played 'Advance Australia Fair' as the national anthem at the AWM, whereas 'God Save the Queen' accompanied the departure of Sir John Kerr, as he left the memorial.⁶² In another step towards 'New Nationalism', League minutes of April 1984 record musical arrangements on Anzac Day; for the Vice Regal Salute, eight bars of the first verse of 'Advance Australia Fair', with hymn 'God Save the Queen', no 707, from the Anglican Hymn book, used to conclude

⁶¹ NLA, K Inglis, *The Bulletin*, 'Gough's order angers Army', 19.4.1975, p. 129.

⁶² NLA, K Inglis, *SMH*, 26 April 1975.

each memorial service.⁶³ Surrendering to the inevitable, two years later in 1986, the League agreed to reproduce from the Yellow Pages telephone directory, the words of the national anthem 'Advance Australia Fair' for circulation to sub-branches.⁶⁴ Having to resort to the Yellow Pages for reproduction of a national anthem highlights the inadequate institutional procedures adopted to promote community acceptance of the new anthem as an important symbol of Australian identity. Holding a partial plebiscite that completely omitted the old anthem, rather than a constitutional referendum that offered a choice of both old and new, resulted in a large proportion of Australians having no say at all in the decision to change the national anthem.

Eventually reaching a compromise, the RSL retained 'God Save the Queen' as part of South Australian civic remembrance services by relegating its status to that of a hymn on orders of service.⁶⁵ Including both 'Advance Australia Fair' and 'God Save the Queen', on RSL orders of service, achieved two objectives. 'Advance Australia' confirmed the patriotic nature of the RSL in recognizing the changing symbolism of Australian identity. The 'Queen' gave older veterans a chance to preserve the traditional rituals of Anzac culture by singing the anthem symbolic of their Empire service. Gough Whitlam concentrated on symbolism and changed the national anthem used on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. During a civic memorial service held on Remembrance Day 1993, Paul Keating gave an eulogy that changed Australian spiritual direction in terms of identity, at the burial,

⁶³ State Board minutes, 16 April 1984, 9, Anzac-Remembrance, (b) Report on Anzac Day 1984 arrangement and National Anthem.

⁶⁴ State Board, 17 March 1986.

⁶⁵ Returned Services League of Australia, South Australian Branch, Anzac Day 1990, Service of Remembrance at the Cross of Sacrifice, Order of Service, item 8, 'God Save the Queen', (Sung by all present).

not of an 'unknown warrior', but of the 'Unknown Australian Soldier' at the Australian War Memorial.

The funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier moved Australia further along the path to the concept of 'New Nationalism' because it harnessed the latent force of Anzac culture. A task force consisting of a tri-service bearer party provided by the Australian Defence Force, went with funeral director, Rob Allison, a WWII veteran, the Australian War Memorial's Director, Brendon Kelson, and Dr Richard Reid, co-ordinator of the project, to France, to supervise the exhumation of remains from burial sites of unknown soldiers of Australian origin. On exhumation, the chosen body still had items of Australasian military clothing and equipment. In the tradition of the 'cult of the fallen soldier', British, Commonwealth and French officials ensured that the body was treated with respect and due ceremony until officially handed over to Australian representatives. The skeletal remains, selected from four graves opened in Adelaide War Cemetery, France on All Souls Day 1993, still included pieces of AIF uniform, gas mask and brass boot fastenings. The headstone, when replaced over the empty grave, had a plaque placed in front of it that linked the site with Canberra, described in a video produced by the Funeral Directors' Association as the 'soul of the nation'.⁶⁶

Funeral rites rich in symbolism provided a spectacle built upon the links forged in France and Flemish battlefields of the Great War. The casket, draped in the Australian flag and 'dressed' with a bayonet, and Digger's slouch hat, lay in state in France. It was the centre of ceremonies attended variously by the Duke of Kent, his lapel complete with the symbolic red poppy of Flanders fields, Officers

⁶⁶ Interview with Simon Berry 30 October, 2001 at 200 Magill Road Norwood, South Australia. 5067. Mr Berry holds slides and a video recording of proceedings in France, Sydney and Canberra relating to the burial of the Unknown Australian Soldier, 11 November 1993 and Neil McPherson, Public Affairs, Australian War Memorial, 'Australia's Forgotten Funeral', in *Australian Funeral Director*, September, 1993, p. 19.

from all Commonwealth countries, the Prefect of the Somme and Mayor of Bullecourt, before its eventual transfer to a Qantas 747 Jumbo named 'Spirit of Remembrance'. On arrival at Sydney airport a Guard of Honour of Australian servicemen and women, together with French sailors from a French frigate berthed at Woolloomooloo, paid their respects as the casket underwent transfer from the jumbo jet to a Hercules C130 aircraft that ferried it to Canberra. During a period of 'lying in state' for three days (7-11 November) in Kings Hall, 4,000 people laid flowers around the casket before a ceremonial state funeral.⁶⁷

The spiritual ritual intrinsic with 'lying in state' had connotations with Easter, the greatest symbolic celebration of the Christian calendar, and mirrored a Christlike association already manifest in the 'cult of the fallen soldier', the three days between the crucifixion of Christ and His resurrection. George Mosse, in *Fallen Soldiers*, wrote that at the burial ceremony of the French Unknown Soldier, 'the heart of Léon Gambetta, the leader of the last-ditch stand against Prussia, was taken from the Panthéon and placed opposite the casket of the Unknown Soldier.' Ken Inglis, in a 1993 article 'Entombing unknown soldiers', added to Mosse's research:

The casket containing the heart of Gambetta was laid in the Pantheon, to lie on a catafalque under the centre of the dome for 3 days and then be sealed into a crypt.⁶⁸

The Australian Funeral Directors' Association took great pains to ensure that the symbolism and spirituality of a 1920's style military funeral was faithfully re-

⁶⁷ Berry, 30 October 2001, and McPherson, *Aust Funeral Director*, September, 1993, p. 19. Also Australian Funeral Directors Association, 'Return home of the Unknown Australian Soldier November 1993', Video produced and directed by Peter Tobin 1993, held by Simon Berry of Charles Berry & Son Pty Ltd, 200 Magill Road, Norwood, 5067.

⁶⁸ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, p. 94; Ken Inglis, 'Entombing unknown soldiers', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 23, October 1993, p. 7.

enacted in Canberra. Simon Berry of Charles Berry & Sons Pty Ltd, Norwood South Australia, as President of the Australian Funeral Directors' Association, was responsible for funeral arrangements for the Unknown Australian Soldier.

Underlining the important significance of the occasion to all Australians, as the burial took place in Canberra, other Australians watched the funeral ritual screened at Adelaide University's Bonython Hall. Australia took up a position on the World stage, displaying the ceremonial, symbolic importance attached to Australian sovereignty by the return of the Unknown Soldier to the land that had sent him overseas.⁶⁹

As the funeral cortège made its way from King's Hall to the forecourt of the Australian War Memorial, the actions of representatives from ex-service organizations lined up along Anzac Avenue, showed respect, as well as an awareness of the symbolic importance of the funeral, as they intoned a famous line from Binyon's Ode. Leaving Kings Hall at 9.26 a.m., accompanied by a guard dressed in various heritage uniforms from the Boer War to Vietnam, the cortège proceeded in slow march up Anzac Avenue. Simon Berry, leading the procession, heard the unforgettable beat of one drum, the sound of feet shuffling to attention, the words 'Lest we Forget'. Prime Minister Paul Keating was one of eight pallbearers. The Mayors of Villers-Bretonneux and Ypres attended in acknowledgement of the Allies' 'Debt of Gratitude'. In Adelaide, at Bonython Hall, people moved to the State Memorial on North Terrace to take part in the South Australian Remembrance Day ceremony, as the funeral party of politicians and officials moved up the stairs to the Hall of Memory, in Canberra. Berry, supervising proceedings in the Hall of Memory, observed the actions of World War

⁶⁹ Berry, 30 October 2001, and McPherson, *Aust Funeral Director*, September, 1993, p. 19.

I Digger, Robert Coomb, who had 50 seconds to perform the task of applying soil from Pozieres to the coffin: Coomb winked at Paul Keating, held out a quivering hand, sprinkled the soil in the form of a cross and said “Welcome home mate”.⁷⁰ The sprinkled soil fell onto the casket where, whether intended or not, the juxtaposition of the bayonet laying across the casket’s name plate formed the image of the cross that symbolises Christian sacrifice.⁷¹ From the day of the funeral until workmen sealed the grave with a red granite slab three or four days later, some 24,000 people laid flowers in the Hall of Memory, which Berry described as a ‘believable and sacrosanct place of peace’. The literal symbolism of the funeral proceedings was ‘very powerful stuff indeed’. A narrator concludes the video recording *The Return of the ‘Unknown Soldier’ November 1993*, produced and directed by Peter Tobin, with:

This Young Australian soldier
Had lost all
He had lost his identity
But in losing both
Had now gained national immortality.⁷²

Paradoxically, the Unknown Australian Soldier, having lost his identity, symbolically provided all Australians with a metaphorical conversion, transforming the focus of civic memorial ceremonies from London, the heart of the British Empire, to the symbolic centre representative of Australian identity, the nation’s capital, Canberra. As Prime Minister, Paul Keating said in delivering the eulogy:

⁷⁰ Simon Berry, 30 November, 2001.

⁷¹ Aust Funeral Directors Assoc, ‘Return home of the Unknown Australian Soldier November 1993’, Video produced and directed by Peter Tobin 1993.

⁷² Berry, 30 October 2001; Aust Funeral Directors Assoc, ‘Return home of the Unknown Australian Soldier November 1993’, Video produced and directed by Peter Tobin 1993.

The Unknown Australian Soldier whom we are interring today was one of those who, by his deeds, proved that real nobility and grandeur belongs, not to empires and nations, but to the people on whom they, in the last resort, always depend.

That is surely at the heart of the Anzac story, the Australian legend which emerged from the war. It is legend, not of sweeping military victories, so much as triumphs against the odds, of courage and ingenuity in adversity. It is a legend of free and independent spirits whose discipline derived less from military formalities and customs than from the bonds of mateship and the demands of necessity. It is a democratic tradition, the tradition in which Australians have gone to war ever since.⁷³

In so doing, Keating appropriated Remembrance Day into Anzac culture.

The Funeral Service 'Order of Ceremony' for the Unknown Australian Soldier provides eminently obvious, evidence of the omission of any reference to Christ or a Christian God in the civic service sheet. Although Psalm 23 of the Old Testament features as a hymn in the 'order', Jesus Christ of the New Testament no longer enjoys the same encompassing, tangible link to Australian identity evident in sermons delivered during the two world wars or interwar years. The Prayer of Remembrance called upon 'Eternal God/ Creator and sustainer of all things', 'God of all time', 'God of eternity', 'God of each person', and 'God of every generation'. Archdeacon Bruce Horton, Amy Chaplain, read the Prayer of Committal offered to 'Creator God', 'God of eternity', 'Almighty God', and 'God of the living, God of the dead'.⁷⁴ The prayer of dedication encompassed a 'God of yesterday, today and forever', calling upon that God to:

⁷³ Funeral Service of the Unknown Australian Soldier 11 November 1993, Eulogy delivered by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Honourable P J Keating, MP, unpaginated. Copy supplied by Simon Berry.

⁷⁴ Aust Funeral Directors Assoc, 'Return home of the Unknown Australian Soldier November 1993', Video produced and directed by Peter Tobin 1993.

Grant us the willingness to live by this ideal.
May Australia advance in fairness and in the service of humanity.

Spirit of this ancient land
Bless, preserve and keep us,
now and always. AMEN.⁷⁵

After singing an amended version of 'Advance Australia Fair' with all reference to 'Albion' and 'Captain Cook' deleted, a prayer for Australia called upon 'God of the Southern Cross', 'God of the outback, God of the cities', finally praying:

To the 'Eternal God'
the God of the Dreamtime,
the God of the present,
the God of the future,
the Great Spirit of this ancient land,
be glory and praise for ever.⁷⁶

As recorded by Ken Inglis in 'Reflections on the Unknown Soldier', (1993) '[t]he "Prayer for Australia" invokes among other Gods "the God of the Dreamtime".⁷⁷

What had begun as a 1920s style funeral with pomp and ceremony ultimately reflected a multicultural sense of Australian identity.

A study of the dimension of spirituality in religious and civic memorial services connected to Anzac culture reflects the decline of Christian symbolism and involvement in Anzac Day and Remembrance Day memorial services and an indelible change in Australian identity. In changing the focus from a Christian God and singing a national anthem that called upon God to save an overseas monarch, Australia's national anthem now omits any reference to God, calling upon all

⁷⁵ Funeral service for the Unknown Australian Soldier, Australian War memorial, 11 November 1993, Order of Ceremony, unpaginated, Psalm 23, Prayer of Remembrance, Prayer of Committal, Prayer of Dedication.

⁷⁶ Funeral Service, AWM, 11 November 1993, Order of Ceremony, Unpaginated, A Prayer for Australia, copy supplied by Simon Berry.

⁷⁷ Ken Inglis in 'Reflections on the Unknown Soldier', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 24, April 1994, p. 6.

Australians to utilise nature's gifts for the advance of the Australian nation.⁷⁸ The funeral service for the Unknown Australian Soldier, conducted at the time of Paul Keating's Labor government, used Anzac culture not only to appropriate Remembrance Day but also to incorporate an indigenous 'God of the Dreamtime' into civic memorial services. The funeral service completely changed the original concept of Anzac memorial services that linked a Christian God to sacrificial service for preservation of the nation.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ As printed on Funeral Service for the Unknown Australian Soldier, 'Advance Australia Fair.'
 Australians all let us rejoice,/For we are young and free;/We've golden soil and wealth for toil;/Our
 home is girt by sea;/Our land abounds in nature's gifts/Of beauty rich and rare;/In history's page, let
 every stage/Advance Australia Fair./In joyful strains then let us sing,/Advance Australia Fair.
 Beneath our radiant Southern Cross/We'll toil with hearts and hands;/To make this Commonwealth
 of ours/Renowned of all the lands;/For those who've come across the seas/We've boundless plains to
 share;/With courage let us all combine/to Advance Australia Fair./In joyful strains then let us
 sing,/Advance Australia Fair.

⁷⁹ Funeral Service for the Unknown Australian Soldier, Australian War memorial, 11 November
 1993, Order of Ceremony. Copy supplied by Simon Berry.

Chapter 9.
AUSTRALIAN BRITONS
Individual memory and identity

In chapters 2 to 8 of this thesis, I draw on archival, institutional and media resources to illustrate changes in the concept of Australian identity relating to collective memory and commemoration of war dead on Anzac Day and Armistice Day. As argued by David Thelen, and quoted in my introduction, memory is ‘intertwined with the basic identities of individuals, groups, and cultures’.¹ This thesis therefore also requires research that provides a composite picture derived from the concept of Australian identity relating to individual memory and commemoration of war dead on Anzac Day and Armistice Day from named individuals. My thesis provides specific examples of the interchange ability of Australian British identity during WWI and then illustrates the increased Australianness of named individual WWII ex-POWs. This chapter will ascertain whether examples of personal memory mirror the same changes in conceptions of Australian identity and collective memory as exhibited by institutional, media and community sources.

The WWI section of this chapter deals specifically with South Australian authors William Denny (1872-1946), Charles Duguid, (1884-1986) and Adelaide born Stella Bowen (1893-1947), together with correspondence written by Caroline Cooper (1871-1961). The remaining section of the chapter studies works by and about WWII Australian ex-servicemen and women. South Australians Edwin Broomhead (1910-1985), and Ralph Churches, (born 1917) were both prisoners of the German Army. Broomhead published his recollections, *Barbed Wire in the*

¹ Thelen, ‘Memory and American History’, in *Jnl of American History*, Vol 75, No 4, March 1989, p. 1117.

Sunset, in 1944, while Churches waited until 1996, before writing *A Hundred Miles as the Crow Flies*.² I use 1942 sources concerning the Selarang Barracks Square incident in Singapore, and later references to the same incident to bring to light concepts of Australian identity. Likewise the experiences of Vivian Bullwinkel, (1915-2000) provide further evidence of changing perceptions of Australian identity for Bullwinkel shared prisoner-of-war experiences with Betty Jeffrey, (born 1908) author of *White Coolies* first published in 1954.³ Norman Manners published a biography of Vivian Bullwinkel, in 1999.⁴ Comparison of these sources discloses differences in national consciousness between experiences recorded in the 1940s and 1950s as compared to those documented in the 1990s. The time difference highlights variations in recollected personal experiences that portray a transformed sense of national identity provided by a new national anthem, multiculturalism and the inclusion of an indigenous 'God of the Dreamtime' in Remembrance Day liturgy; changes discussed in the last chapter, 'God Save Australia'. During the 1980s and 1990s, ex-POWs were prolific writers of memoirs related to their experiences during WWII. Those memoirs provide examples of Anzac culture in recorded observances of Anzac Day and Armistice Day remembrance services undertaken while in captivity. Recorded examples of Anzac Day services conducted in Prisoner of War camps (hereinafter POW camps) provide evidence that Australian POWs had inculcated the rituals of Anzac culture. Anzac Day services provided Australian POWs with a sense of national identity in the midst of dehumanising experiences.

² Edwin N Broomhead, *Barbed Wire in the Sunset*, (Melbourne: The Book Depot, 1944); Ralph Churches, *A Hundred Miles as the Crow Flies*, (Adelaide: R F Churches, 1996).

³ *The Advertiser*, 24 July 2000, Peter Hackett, 'Farewell nurse, pal and hero', p. 29; Betty Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1954, Reprinted January 1958).

⁴ Norman G Manners, *Bullwinkel*, (Victoria Park, Hesperian Press, 1999).

It is reasonable to accept that a concept of dual identity, which was that of Australian Britons/British Australians, did exist in Australia at the time of the Great War. As discussed in chapter 2, 'Honoring the Debt', the Australian Wattle Day League endeavoured to nurture the seeds of Australian identity along with the wattle trees planted in memory of Australian war dead at Wattle Grove in Adelaide's parklands during the Great War. One of the objects of the Federal Wattle Day League called upon 'all the people' to proclaim themselves as Australian and 'Australian Britons'.⁵ Bill Gammage and Joan Beaumont have previously published work dealing with Australian identity and the Great War. John Carroll edited *Intruders in The Bush, The Australian Quest for Identity* in 1982, which featured the work of Bill Gammage. In chapter 4 'Anzac', Gammage relates Australians' sense of identity to their ability to 'claim difference or commonality as it suited them' to British heritage.⁶ In *The Evolution of Australian Foreign Policy 1901-1945* (1989), Joan Beaumont wrote that Australian Prime Minister Alfred Deakin spoke of Australians as 'independent Australian Britons' and that during the period of the Great War Australian nationalism 'was a dual one, embracing without any sense of contradiction, loyalty to Australia and Britain.'⁷ My first example of Australian consciousness in relation to individual Australian British identity during WWI, a time when there was no Australian citizenship, comes from *The Diggers*, written by British subject, South Australian, William Denny, who was awarded the Military Cross for his actions in France where he was severely wounded at Ypres.

⁵ Mortlock pamphlet, Zpam 369.294 S731, 1913, W J Sowden, Australian Wattle Day League, *Outline history of the wattle blossom celebration in Australia*, 1913, p.12.

⁶ John Carroll, (ed), *Intruders in the Bush*, (Oxford: Oxford University, 1982) second edition 1992, Chapter 4, 'Anzac,' by Bill Gammage, p. 58.

⁷ Joan Beaumont, *The Evolution of Australian Foreign Policy, 1901-1945*, (Melbourne: Australian Institute of International Affairs, (Victorian Branch), 1989, p. 3, 6.

This thesis has already discussed Denny's arguments in 1922 for observing Anzac Day as a public holiday in chapter 3, 'The One Day'. Denny's designation in 1919 when he wrote *The Diggers* was that of Capt. W. J. Denny, M.C., M.P., Ex-Attorney-General for South Australia. He recorded his observations of the Great War 'from an Australian point of view'.⁸ Referring to Australia as 'the Commonwealth' Denny wrote:

The inhabitants of the Commonwealth are almost exclusively British. With the exception of the few German settlements there are few alien areas or quarters so common in the United States and England. And so it was perhaps to be expected that the Australians would rise immediately to the danger which threatened the civilization not only of their race, but of the world.⁹

Denny found some experiences he underwent in England 'astonishing', in particular the deference paid to those in a position of wealth despite their obvious lack of personal attainments or qualities. Bemoaning the fact that 'the peoples' suffered and died for the aggrandisement of Kaisers, Czars and Emperors, Denny believed Australian democracy, united with other democracies, had a duty to prevent any reoccurrence of the 'catastrophies' rulers of the earth had inflicted upon their subjects.¹⁰ Although acknowledging Australians as British, South Australian born, Denny portrayed a consciousness particularly Australian, actively labelling some aspects of English culture detrimental.

Charles Duguid, born and educated in Scotland, established himself in private practice in Adelaide in May 1914, and subsequently joined the AIF. In 1916, Duguid was in army camp as a Medical Officer. Duguid, O.B.E., M.A., MB, Ch.B., F.R.C.S. (Glas.) F.R.A.C.S. recorded his wartime experiences in *Doctor and*

⁸ W J Denny, *The Diggers*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), introduction.

⁹ Denny, *Diggers*, p. 11.

¹⁰ Denny, *Diggers*, p. 232, 291.

the Aborigines (1972). Signifying his identification as Australian, Duguid uses a personal pronoun when referring to Australia:

But hundreds and then thousands of Australia's young men were going to the front, and it seemed that the war would swallow up as many men as we could send to it.¹¹

'Willie', Duguid's brother, was already in Egypt, having joined the Australian 8th Light Horse Regiment. Together with Light Horse reinforcements and Lieutenant Kelly of the 3rd Light Horse, the Doctor sailed for Egypt in February 1917 aboard Transport A6. Describing himself as 'thinking of Rene and of home', coupling 'home' with his wife in Adelaide, Duguid reported to AIF Headquarters, Cairo. From there, he travelled by train to the Australian Stationary Hospital at El Arish, via Kantara East. Here Duguid found old school friends from Scotland and was delighted to hear that most of the soldiers spoke with Ayrshire and Glasgow accents.¹² Although Australia was home, Duguid also identified with the accent associated with his native land.

Displaying his humanitarian instincts and philosophy, Duguid's autobiography highlights the interaction of various nationalities serving under the umbrella of the British Empire. After the first battle for Gaza, Duguid treated the injured, whom he described as mostly Welshmen and East Anglians. Referring to men from other nations the Doctor wrote:

The British Army in the desert consisted of men from many parts of the United Kingdom and what was then the British Empire. Amongst them were a number of British West Indians, and many of our fellows affected to despise them as "niggers." But when I went to a church service held one evening in their lines, I found that I had no such feelings.¹³

¹¹ Charles Duguid, *Doctor and the Aborigines*, (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972), p. 60.

¹² Duguid, *Doctor*, 1972, Frontispiece, pp. 60-62.

¹³ Duguid, *Doctor*, p. 63; p 66.

Although serving with the AIF Duguid had obvious empathy with men from Scotland and specifically mentioned the many Scots among the wounded infantrymen from the disastrous Gaza action – ‘Highland Light Infantry, Scottish Rifles, Royal Scots Fusiliers, and King’s Own Scottish Borderers’.¹⁴ Worrying about his brother Duguid wrote:

I knew that my brother Willie’s regiment of Light Horse had been one of those engaged on 19 April and had become increasingly anxious about him. On 22 April I heard that he had fallen, but I had to pick up the story of his death little by little. I knew that some men of the 8th and 9th Australian Light Horse Brigades were in a nearby Casualty Clearing Hospital, so in the evening I asked the Colonel in charge if I could see them. I had listened to what the Light Horsemen had to tell me for some time when the Colonel intervened and took me away. ... My grief, especially for my parents in Scotland, made sleep impossible. Next day the news of Willie’s death was confirmed. For weeks afterwards, messages came to me from all ranks of his regiment, and some of them added a little more to the story.¹⁵

Exhibiting a Scottish Australian consciousness in relation to identity, Duguid’s perception of his Australianness in relation to nationality extended beyond Australia to include the land of his birth in recognition of his Scottish heritage and culture. Duguid’s concept of his individual identity was the dual identity of an Australian Briton.

Presbyterian Dr Duguid worked to alleviate the misery of indigenous Australians. Sir Mark Oliphant, former Governor of South Australia, concluding the ‘foreword’ of Duguid’s book *Doctor and the Aborigines* after crediting the awakening interest of institutions, government and people generally to the continued work of Duguid, wrote:

However, this Scot, this compassionate medical man, must know in his heart that he has done more for the Aborigines of his adopted country than any other person, living or dead.¹⁶

¹⁴ Duguid, *Doctor*, p. 68.

¹⁵ Duguid, *Doctor*, p. 69.

¹⁶ Duguid, *Doctor*, Foreword by Sir Mark Oliphant, unpaginated.

Although Oliphant referred to Duguid as a Scot, he significantly recorded the magnitude of the Doctor's humanitarian work in relation to his identity as an Australian among indigenous Australians. This thesis has already noted Duguid's position as President of the Aborigines Advancement League in South Australia in chapter 5, 'Diggers and Slackers'. Notwithstanding, the interchangeability of Australian Briton or Australian Scots identity evident in the life history of Dr Duguid and the obvious patriotism demonstrated by Captain Denny in relation to Australian identity, the two men were both British subjects. Despite Duguid, being an Australian Scot of the Protestant Presbyterian faith and Denny, Australian born and educated in the Catholic faith, both men exhibited Australian consciousness as part of their Great War service for the British Empire.

South Australian women living overseas at the time of the Great War, also provide evidence of Australian British identity, while recording their individual feelings during that period. Caroline Ethel Cooper was born on Christmas Day 1871 at North Adelaide and lived in Germany between 1914 and 1918. Cooper's letters, written to her younger sister, South Australian, Emmie Bevan Carr, on a week-by-week basis, describe wartime conditions in Leipzig. In a letter dated 22 November 1914 Cooper wrote:

I think we as a race are rather apt to think we have certain divine prerogatives, but in having an over good conceit of ourselves we have certainly got a dangerous rival now in Germany, which is sitting with a halo round its head and an absolute monopoly of right in both hands. ... But our little circle here has honestly tried to look at things during the last four months from various standpoints – we have English, German, Hungarian Polish and Turkish for our nationalities – that is mixed enough to help one to be a little broadminded. And it staggered me rather to find Fr. Sander riding a patriotic high horse, and yet not able to grasp that if my letters were written from an opposite standpoint I had an equal right to that standpoint.¹⁷

¹⁷ Decie Denholm, (ed), *Behind the Lines One Woman's War 1914-1918 The Letters of Caroline Ethel Cooper*, (London: Jill Norman & Hobhouse, 1982), 22 November 1914, pp. 42-43.

Letter 20A, dated 12 December 1915 relates a story of Germans and Englishmen fraternising on Christmas Day 1914. In the introduction to *Behind the Lines*, Editor Decie Denholm introduces the probability that Cooper acted as a British spy. Deholm concludes that Cooper remained British, even though she had divided personal loyalties and felt nothing justified war.¹⁸ Adelaide born Cooper mentions the Australians at Gallipoli but continually refers to herself as an Englishwoman and an enemy of the Germans.

Artist Stella Bowen, who was living in London during the same period and spent her time meeting with other writers and artists, described herself as ‘a half-baked young colonial.’ Even so, Bowen felt proud when Ezra Pound’s wife, Dorothy, ‘pronounced that “the little Australian was quite charming!”’¹⁹ Bowen writing about her group of friends says: ‘we remained in a state of rather confused pacifism.’ Bowen admitted she ‘suffered the usual torments and uncertainties of young people who don’t go with the crowd’, but felt nothing justified the constant killing and wounding of soldiers.²⁰ Both Cooper and Bowen exhibited interchange ability between concepts of Australian and English, or British identity when writing about their lived experiences during the Great War. Ultimately, my research leads me to agree with Gammage and Beaumont for the memoirs of individual Australians provide examples exhibiting interchange ability in relation to the sense of their individual identity during the Great War.

The four authors discussed above did not include the observation of Anzac Day as part of their war experience. In comparison, Australian authors writing of World War II experiences did refer to Anzac Day. As Editor of *Australia’s War*

¹⁸ Denholm, *Behind the Lines*, 22 August, 1915, p. 95; 12 December 1915, pp. 114-116, Introduction, p. 2, 3.

¹⁹ Stella Bowen, *Drawn From Life Reminiscences by Stella Bowen*, (London: Collins Publishers, 1940), p. 63, 49.

²⁰ Bowen, *Drawn From Life*, pp. 58-59.

1939-45, Beaumont included 'The Writers' War' by David Walker in which Walker discussed four novels written about WWII Australian authors and the way those writers depicted aspects of Australian identity.²¹ Following David Walker's work with novels, I rely on examples of Australian individual consciousness related to a sense of personal identity and Anzac Day, recorded in non-fiction. In my reading, I have not come across the use of this source by historians in any attempt to establish a concept of Australian identity. Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton edited *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* (1994), the introduction claiming that we share memories relevant to our own identity while incorporating memories central to our society, outside our lived experience.²² Australians incorporate their personal experience of Anzac Day within their consciousness of Australian identity, for individuals inculcate personal memories within the memories reflected as a component of national identity. Australian ex-POWs proved to be among the most fertile writers in relation to WWII experiences and expressions of Australian identity. However, there is a noticeable difference in the tenor of their writing with regard to that sense of Australian identity, dependant upon the period during which the author literally wrote down and published the memoirs, for by the 1990s Australian writing exhibited a greater sense of Australian identity than previous decades. This feature of Australian individual memory seems rational given the introduction of Australian citizenship for the Australian born with the passing of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948)* in 1949.²³

²¹ Joan Beaumont, *Australia's War, 1939-1945*, (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), Chapter 7,

'The writers' war', by David Walker, pp. 136-161.

²² Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, (eds), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, (Melbourne: Oxford University, 1994), p.1.

²³ High Court of Australia, *Sue v Hill* [1999] HCA 30, (23 June 1999), p. 39 of 95,

<<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/au/cases/.../30.html?query>>

My primary sources are a document recorded during Japanese captivity and memoirs published during the 1940s and 1950s, while my secondary sources are from the 1980s and 1990s. By the 1990s, most ex-POWs had retired from the paid work force, and had more opportunity to write and publish recollections of their captivity. The comparison of memoirs produced during these two periods, demonstrates the change in Australian consciousness and identity between the introduction of Australian citizenship in 1949 and the year 2000. A tape recording provided a further resource. Phillip Satchell of ABC radio interviewed Mr Bill Schmitt, Hon Secretary of the Ex-POW Association of South Australia on 12 October 2001. During the interview, Schmitt pointed out that any experience of imprisonment under the Japanese was quite different from that of imprisonment under the Germans because Japan was not a signatory to the Geneva Convention.²⁴ In May 2001, the Howard Government 'acknowledged the unique hardship and suffering endured by Australians in Japanese PoW camps.' All Australian service personnel and civilians interned by Japan during WWII, and their surviving widows/widowers, still living on 1 January 2001, were entitled to receive a one-off ex- gratia payment of \$25,000.²⁵ Some thirty-six percent of Australian soldiers taken prisoner by the Japanese died in captivity. In comparison, only four percent of Australian soldiers held as prisoners of Germany and Italy died while incarcerated.²⁶

One obvious result of Japan's failure to sign the Geneva Convention was a decision to execute any recaptured prisoner who escaped from Japanese custody.

²⁴ Media Monitors, Bill Schmitt, Mornings with Philip Satchell, 891 ABC, 1005, 12.10.2001.

²⁵ Department of Veterans' Affairs, Bruce Scott MP, Minister for Veterans' Affairs, Media Release, 'Coalition Govt Acknowledges Ordeal of Ex-PoWs of Japan', 22 May, 2001, <<http://www.dva.gov.au/media/aboutus/budget/budget01/budget2.htm>>

²⁶ Percentages relate to figures given by Lionel Wigmore in *The Japanese Thrust*, (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1957), p. 642.

During the interview with Satchell, Schmitt alluded to the results of one particular break out, which resulted in the execution of two Australian and two British soldiers recaptured after a failed escape attempt, which provided a deterrent to any intending escapees. At the time of the execution in 1942, Japanese soldiers had crowded a large number of prisoners into the Barrack Square at Selarang, and had to that stage unsuccessfully demanded that the prisoners sign a paper confirming that they would not escape.²⁷ The execution of Corporal Breavington (1904-1942) and Private Gale (1919-1942), both members of the AIF, together with two English 'Other Ranks' took place on 2 September 1942, during the prisoners' confinement in Selarang Barrack Square.²⁸ After the execution, Australian Dick Francis, (born 1912) a sergeant in General Headquarters, wrote down the story of the execution of the four POWs from the Australian point of view. Subsequently hidden in Singapore, the retrieval of the document took place after Japan's surrender to Allied Forces.²⁹

Francis recorded:

An Indian Officer who was in charge of the Sikh party and who is a holder of the Kings Commission took a rifle from one of the firing party & stood opposite Gale. The firing party received their first order and knelt. British Officers immediately saluted their men which was acknowledged. Brevington then walked to the other men and shook hands with them. ... Lieut OKusaki gave the order to fire and all 4 men fell. However Brevington sat up & said "You've shot me through the arm" please shoot me through the heart. The Indian Officer who was a member of the firing party again fired & Brevington was then hit through the leg. He cried, "For Gods sake shoot me through the heart". The Indians fired again & each per body received 6-8 shots. Subsequently the firing party moved forward to the bodies & fired approx 5 shots into each. The Indian Officer then threw his rifle to one of the Sikhs and exchanged it for his walking stick.³⁰

²⁷ Media Monitors, Bill Schmitt, Mornings with Philip Satchell, 891 ABC, 1005, 12.10.01.

²⁸ Media Monitors, Bill Schmitt, Mornings with Philip Satchell, 891 ABC, 1005, 12.10.01.

²⁹ Bill Schmitt to author, 29.10.2001.

³⁰ Dick Francis, Execution of 4 POW by Japanese, Cpl Brevington, Pte Gale (both AIF) and 2 English OR, Sep 2nd 1942, Photocopy supplied by Mr Bill Schmitt, Hon Sec, Ex-POW Association of South Australia Inc. Spelling used by Francis in the photocopy supplied by Mr Bill Schmitt is different from that recorded in the official history, *Australia in the War of 1939-1945, Series One Army, Volume IV, The Japanese Thrust*, by Lionel Wigmore, (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1957). Francis used the following spelling: Cpl. Brevington, island of Colombo, Capt. McCauly

That execution forced a decision from prisoners-of-war that ended the Selarang Barracks Square incident. Ultimately it saved the lives of other prisoners of war in the square where men had already died from dysentery in the cramped unhygienic conditions.³¹

As a consequence of the execution, the Australian Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Galleghan, recognised the foolishness of escape attempts and the Japanese document was signed under duress by the prisoners.³² Francis recorded a tale typical of Australian Diggers, bravery in the face of indefensible odds. The manner in which his report concentrates on the actions of the AIF men, referring to the actions of the 'British Officers' merely as an aside in the story, underlines his perception that the English Officers were different from AIF Officers. The actions of the Indian Officer appear dastardly, given the fact that he was a holder of the King's Commission. The Australian's description in relation to the actions of the rebel Sikhs leads to the conclusion that apart from the fact they turned against the British Empire by siding with the 'Great Nipponese', the Indians inflicted unnecessary anguish upon the doomed Breavington. Finally, as requested by their captors, the men confined in Selarang Square lined up and signed a non-escape form.³³ Don McLaren, born at Islington, South Australia, on 25 December 1922, recorded in his diary 3 September 1942 '[i]f I live to be a million, I will try and

whereas Wigmore used the spelling as Cpl R E Breavington, island of Colomba, both note p. 523 and Capt N G Macaulay, note p. 522.

³¹ Don McLaren, *Mates in Hell The secret diary of Don McLaren, POW of the Japanese 1942-45*, (Adelaide: Seaview Press, 1998), p. 31. McLaren's original diary held by the Mortlock Library of South Australia.

³² Francis, Execution of 4 POW by Japanese, 2.9.1942.

³³ Tim Bowden, *Changi photographer George Aspinall's record of captivity*, (Sydney: ABC Enterprises & William Collins Pty Ltd, 1984), pp. 90-93.

accept a Jap, but I will never ever accept a Sikh.’³⁴ Writing of the men’s capitulation in signing the non-escape form McLaren recorded:

Let’s be honest, we had no alternative. What good would a great heap of dead bodies be to anyone. The bastards set up this bloody table and the queue was enormous. The wording, as I mentioned before, read “*I, the undersigned*,” so you put your name in that blank space. Well it was a complete farce. My name is Don McLaren, and I signed “Donald Duck,” no bull shit. The Japs must have had some idea that not every sixth or seventh man was either “Ned Kelly” or “Mickey Mouse.”³⁵

McLaren’s diary entry, written with the inclusion of indicative Australian profanities and colloquialisms contains an element of subversive, frustrated, anger and makes distinctions in relation to the nationality of his foreign captors and the traitorous Sikhs.

Likewise, Australians captured in the Middle East also made distinctions between the nationalities of fellow prisoners and their captors, the Axis powers, between members of the British Empire and men of the German front line, German Nazis and Italian ‘Fascisti’.³⁶ Edwin Broomhead M.A., B.D., M.Phil., completed recording his experiences as a POW in *Barbed Wire in the Sunset* in 1944. A Methodist Minister born in Adelaide, Broomhead’s memoirs read like a travel diary when describing some aspects of the natural environment. He included details of his experiences as a medical orderly working with wounded Germans, Italians, Britons and Indian Hindus in Derna, his forced labour under the ‘Nazi’ bully and ‘cad’ at Tripoli, and religious services held in German and Italian POW concentration camps.³⁷ Realizing that the ‘Jerries’ were not ‘getting their own way’ when injured German soldiers from Tobruk were brought into the wards, Broomhead described himself and fellow medical orderlies as ‘less jubilant’ when

³⁴ McLaren, *Mates in Hell*, 1998, p. 30.

³⁵ McLaren, *Mates in Hell*, 1998, p. 31.

³⁶ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, pp. 26-27, 146.

³⁷ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 26-27.

injured British soldiers arrived at the camp. Describing the reactions of 'our own' wounded men Broomhead wrote:

But for them, our presence was a godsend. To hear British voices! Consider what that means to men who are not only wounded and in pain, but who are also suffering from the mental distress and apprehension of capture. They have been hurt, some grievously, and they have been taken prisoners, separated from friends and from all possible connection with home, with the grim incertitude of the concentration camp ahead! For two or three days maybe, they have been surrounded by enemy personnel, have heard only strange incomprehensible tongues. Then the first great gates close behind them – hospital gates, but they are the gates of a prison. But, from under the trees in the dark courtyard, come figures in familiar uniform, come sounds of English speech, come friendly voices. Voices that hospital experiences and fellowship in distress make very tender.

Tough old Ken Day, digger from the last war, approaches. "Ow are you doing, cobber? All right, eh?"

Gordon Rooney, the churchman, fusses up like a kindly old secretary-bird, "Hullo, mate. Wait just a minute and we'll have you inside with us."

British voices, British friends. And, in a few minutes, they are carried in and put to bed in the British ward.

So many men spoke in those days of the uplift of spirit they felt on hearing and meeting us there, that it would seem that our capture was the work of Providence.³⁸

Although a prisoner, Broomhead counted his British compatriots in captivity as a blessing from God.

Broomhead, recorded feelings of euphoria at finding himself in British company during his period of imprisonment as a medical orderly, yet while subsequently working as a labourer, he began to make distinctions amongst his fellow prisoners in relation to nationality, exhibiting a preference for a mixture of men from Britain and Australia. Leaving the hospital situation, Broomhead described the depression caused by working to a state of exhaustion while in German captivity, under brutal Nazi Kommandants. The prisoners had no time for rest or relaxation, for they were continually exhorted to "Heraus! 'Raus!" – "Move" or Keep going!" Afraid of breakdown and collapse Broomhead prayed

³⁸ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, pp. 32-33.

‘How long, O Lord?’ Describing the groups of working prisoners as ‘slave gangs’

Broomhead records:

The spirit in which the men endured those hardships was worthy of everything that is best in British tradition. There were at first more than four hundred of us; the Indians were soon removed, leaving Australians, British and a few Sudanese. ... [F]inally, our numbers settled down to roughly three hundred – about 120 Australians and about 180 British. We who had started as a mixed collection of strangers, an odd group here, an individual there, with strain and quarrel not infrequent, became welded into a community to whom the trite phrase “one big family” really could apply.

We grew in that pit of common hardship, to be extraordinarily attached to one another; sterling friendships have been formed for life; the invidious distinction between “Aussie” and “Tommy” was completely forgotten. I have worked in the gangs with both British and Australian lads, and I know that a mixture of English and Australians is one of the finest in the world. And like most of us from the Tripoli days, I have a very deep affection for the lads of “the lost three hundred.”³⁹

It is evident that deprivation and hardship led to mutual interdependence between British and Australian compatriots who shared a common British cultural heritage.

A new German Kommandant granted permission for the prisoners to conduct Christian and civil rituals enabling the maintenance of British cultural traditions. Men in the sick room wrote hymns on odd sheets of paper while the healthy were away working. Using the hymn sheets during the rituals of Divine Service Broomhead records that in the words of the old proverb ‘in for a penny in for a pound’, he encouraged the ‘boys’ to stand and sing the national anthem. The sound of the prisoners singing ‘God Save the King’ in the evening twilight at Tripoli elicited an astounding reaction. Broomhead records:

The German interpreter who was at the service sprang to attention. That was perhaps understandable enough, as we were doing the same. But the indisputable fact is that in the German canteen outside the prison walls, where the Kommandant and all the guards were relaxing after their evening meal, they too sprang to attention and remained so during the singing of our National Hymn.⁴⁰

³⁹ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁰ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, pp. 72-73.

Subsequently required to discontinue the rendition of the national anthem of the British Empire, the prisoners sang an Empire song, 'Land of Hope and Glory' instead.⁴¹ On 11 November 1941 the prisoners obtained permission 'to observe the holy silence at 11 a.m.'.⁴² As POWs, Australians and Britons observed traditional Armistice Day rites while in the German prison camp, but as we shall see, only the 'Anzacs' marched on Anzac Day.

Transferred from Middle Eastern to European camps, Australian and New Zealand prisoners demonstrated Anzac Day rituals to their Empire compatriots and 'Fascisti' captors.⁴³ Although originally captured by German soldiers, Broomhead's subsequent transfer from Tripoli on 6 January 1942 took him along the coast and across the waters of the Mediterranean Sea to Sicily, from a German to an Italian POW camp, which appeared a rest camp, after his sojourn with the Germans.⁴⁴ Recording an instance when the prisoners illustrated to the 'Colonello' of the *Campo Di Concentramento* that they were still soldiers Broomhead wrote:

On Anzac Day, 1942 – the 25th April, sacred to the memory of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps and our national blood-baptism at Gallipoli, 1915 – we, following in the footsteps of our fathers in our quiet way, observed the National Day. There were now about fifty Australian and about two hundred New Zealanders in camp.⁴⁵

Continuing with his description of Anzac Day 1942 Broomhead detailed the parade held in the camp compound; the improvised saluting base, the organization of a choir and the borrowed Italian bugle. Also borrowed by the commemorating

⁴¹ Land of Hope and Glory, Words by Arthur C Benson: Dear Land of Hope, thy hope is crowned, God make thee mightier yet! On Sov'ran brows, beloved, renewed, Once more thy crown is set. Thine equal laws, by Freedom gained, Have ruled thee well and long; By Freedom gained by Truth maintained, Thine Empire shall be strong. Land of Hope and Glory, Mother of the Free, How shall we extol thee, who are born of Thee? Wider still and wider shall thy bounds be set, God, who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet; God, who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet. © 1902, Boosey & Co Ltd.

⁴² Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 73.

⁴³ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 176.

⁴⁴ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 81.

⁴⁵ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 127.

‘Anzacs’ parts of equipment and uniforms ‘from all and sundry.’ With English and South African prisoners around the sides, the Italians beyond the wire watched the parade. Navy and Air Force representatives stood on the saluting platforms together with Empire representatives, Indian, Canadian, South African and Imperial Armies, while in front of them all Captain Padre Mitchell took the salute. The surviving ‘Anzacs’ of Sidi Rezzeg, Greece, Crete, and Libya marched past the base where Mitchell received their salute.

Given the limitations imposed by their captivity the Australian and New Zealand prisoners organised a stirring commemorative service true to the rituals of Anzac Day. Describing that Anzac Day Broomhead wrote:

It was the triumph of our little broken bands. Still soldiers! For ever and a day! Some had been prisoners for more than a year, all had passed through squalor and hardship to their present camp, but all marched that day with the flawless precision of Imperial troops. To those of us who stood and watched them march past, the sight was one for triumph and tears. Many parades would be held on that day in various parts of the Empire, to commemorate the glorious dead – not the least impressive was the parade of the captives in the prison-camp at Chiavari in Italy.⁴⁶

Traditionally, the prisoners followed the parade with a dedication, sang remembrance hymns, prayed and listened to Broomhead’s short address. Binyon’s Ode followed the two minutes silence, after which came the bugle calls ‘Last Post’ and ‘Reveille’.⁴⁷ Progressively developing throughout Australia, New Zealand and the British Empire since 1915, Anzac ritual had firmed to the extent where it provided incentive to the prisoners of war who found their sense of identity reinforced in the comfort of the established ‘liturgy’ of the Anzac service.

Unlike Australian POWs of the Japanese who, dependent upon when they received news of the Japanese surrender, remained captive until sometime around

⁴⁶ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 128.

⁴⁷ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, p. 128.

15 August 1945, as a prisoner-of-war of the Axis powers Broomhead was more fortunate; his repatriation took place before the end of the war. Written after his release from an Italian POW camp, the book reveals Broomhead denied his Australian citizenship because he had always wanted to visit England. Broomhead recorded:

All Australians were to return home via the Middle East; all Englishmen were to return to the Old Country by way of France, Spain and Portugal. And I was an Australian! But – to see England! Possibly even the King! To cross Europe – IF ONLY I WERE AN ENGLISHMAN! The little Italian colonel saw me. “Ah, Pastore!” he said, “You go to Egypt! You are Australian.” I gave him two packets of tea that had NOT been used before. “No, Signore!” I said, “I go to England!” And it was so! I crossed Europe to England for four ounces of tea!⁴⁸

Successfully bribing the Italian colonel, Broomhead pursued his ambitions as an Australian British subject, and visited the ‘Old country’, hoping to see his King. Broomhead was ordained in England by arrangement with the British Methodist Conference in 1943.⁴⁹ Although he acknowledged his Australianness and carried out the rites and rituals of Anzac culture, Broomhead’s sense of personal identity was a dual one, which also led him to acknowledge that his Australian identity encompassed a British element.

Australian women also saw prisoner-of-war experiences in terms of Australian and British Empire connections. Betty Jeffrey shared her imprisonment under the Japanese with other Australian women and published a record of their experiences in *White Coolies* in March 1954. The title draws attention to the Sisters’ degradation in terms of colour, as well as their reduced occupational status. Reprinted six times in 1954, the book underwent a further four reprints between 1955 – 1958, an indication of the interest of the Australian community in the

⁴⁸ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, 1944, pp. 146-147.

⁴⁹ Information concerning Edwin Broomhead’s ordination supplied by Rev George Potter, Secretary, The Historical Society of the Uniting Church in South Australia, 29 October, 2003.

experiences of women ex-POWs.⁵⁰ Jeffrey specifically mentions two South Australians, Jean Ashton, senior sister of the 13th A.G.H. and Vivian Bullwinkel. Bullwinkel was the sole survivor of a group of servicemen and twenty-two Australian Army Nursing Service sisters. Japanese soldiers bayoneted the servicemen near Muntok, then forced the nursing sisters to walk into the sea, where the Japanese machine-gunned the women from the beach. Although injured, Bullwinkel struggled ashore once the Japanese had left. Together with a wounded English serviceman she discovered a few days later on the beach, Bullwinkel gave herself up to a Japanese officer who later brought them to join Jeffrey's group in jail. Jeffrey wrote:

What a wonderful relief it must have been for that poor girl, only in her twenties, to see familiar faces after going through a hell like that! Vivian's companion was desperately ill and was put into the crude hospital here. He died a few days later. After we heard this story we decided then and there never to mention it again; it would not do for it to go back to Japanese ears. The subject was strictly forbidden.⁵¹

In writing the account of the massacre, Jeffrey recognised the relief of British prisoners of the Japanese finding themselves among compatriots in the midst of foreign captivity, in the same manner that Broomhead detailed the relief of British prisoners upon finding themselves amongst other Britons in the Middle East.

Culturally the Australian Army Nursing Sisters captured in Asia continued observing the rituals of Australian and British heritage for they sang in a choir, joined community singing concerts each week, continued to observe Christian rituals on Sundays and celebrated Christmas. An English missionary, Miss Dryburgh, accompanied the singing, organised the glee club and the church services every Sunday. Dryburgh composed songs and hymns. One particular hymn that the

⁵⁰ Betty Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1954), Reprinted 55,56,57, 1958 edition.

⁵¹ Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, 1958, pp. 23-25.

prisoners first sang on 5 July 1942, continued as part of the repertoire each Sunday. Reminiscing, Jeffrey believed she would never forget hearing people of all colours and creeds singing 'The Captive's Hymn' and supplied the words of the hymn as:

Father, in captivity
 We would lift our prayer to Thee,
 Keep us ever in Thy love,
 Grant that daily we may prove
 Those who place their trust in Thee
 More than conquerors may be.

Give us patience to endure,
 Keep our hearts serene and pure,
 Grant us courage, charity,
 Greater faith, humility,
 Readiness to own Thy will,
 Be we free, or captive still.

For our country we would pray,
 In this hour be Thou her stay,
 Pride and selfishness forgive,
 Teach her by Thy laws to live,
 By Thy grace may all men see
 That true greatness comes from Thee.

For our loved ones we would pray,
 Be their Guardian night and day,
 From all danger keep them free,
 Banish all anxiety.
 May they trust us to Thy care,
 Know that Thou our pains dost share.

May the day of freedom dawn,
 Peace and Justice be reborn,
 Grant that nations, loving Thee,
 O'er the world may brothers be,
 Cleaned by suffering, know rebirth,
 See Thy Kingdom come on earth.⁵²

Although Dryburgh included 'nations' rather than any particularly nationality, 'our country' having no specific identity, the words of the hymn convey a sense of Western Christian ideology in calling for a rebirth of 'Thy Kingdom' on earth.

⁵² Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, 1958, pp. 44 – 48.

The prisoners maintained Christian rituals. In December 1942, they held a combined English and Dutch service and the Australians sent gifts to Australian servicemen.⁵³ On 25 April 1943 Jeffrey recorded:

Anzac Day, remembered for the first time in Palembang. We had a service for all Australians in camp at our house; the choir came, too, and helped us. We found this service very hard to take.⁵⁴

Without the pomp and ceremony of the Anzac march, remembering loved ones during the Anzac Day service while in Japanese captivity, did not have the same uplifting effect on the Australian nurses as it had on the 'Anzacs' observing Anzac Day in Italy. Nevertheless the commemorative service in the Australian nurses' house underlined the importance of the service in establishing a sense of personal identity while suffering imprisonment amongst a mixed group of prisoners from other nations.

However, while referring to prisoners from other nations in terms of their specific nationality, Jeffrey differentiated between them and Australians, sometimes referring to the group of Australian nurses only as 'Australians' and at other times including the Australian contingent as one with British prisoners. On 18 November 1944 Jeffrey recorded in her diary:

Three Englishwomen died during that time [a week of night duty]. Today two more British women are unconscious and two hundred and ten are down with this peculiar fever in the blocks, most of them British. Why are *we* getting it more than the Dutch? *We* are certainly much thinner.⁵⁵

With news of the war's end, the nearer the group of Australian nurses came to freedom and home, the more Jeffrey deals with her release in terms of her Australianness. To Jeffrey, the sight of the rising sun badge on two young Australian paratroops did the Australian nurses more good than anything that they

⁵³ Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, 1958, pp. 55-61.

⁵⁴ Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, 1958, p. 55, 75.

⁵⁵ Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, 1958, pp. 143-144. My emphasis.

had experienced since the Allies arrived in the camp on 7 September 1945. Her Diary entry of 11 September 1945 records the questions asked of ‘Bates, from Thornbury’ and ‘Gillam, from Perth’:

We told them we had heard that “the King of America” was dead – this from a Chinese when we were out water-carrying one day. Did it mean Mr Roosevelt had died? Who won the war? Who won the football final in Melbourne? Will we be home for the Melbourne Cup? Is the Royal Family O.K.? Is the *Queen Mary* still afloat? We were interested in this because most of us had sailed to Singapore in her in 1941. The answer came pat, “Yes, they both are.” How and where are the 8th Division prisoners? Who is Prime Minister of Australia? Is Mr Churchill still Prime Minister of England? What are the latest songs?⁵⁶

Highlighting British Australian heritage, the women’s questions betray their national consciousness, illustrated by the questions asked when endeavouring to catch up on four years of news from Australia and her Allies. Published in the 1950s, Jeffrey’s diary of the Australian Army Nursing Sisters’ captivity was the first account of the women’s sufferings while in captivity. After directly living through the turning point in Australia British relations commensurate with the fall of Singapore, Jeffrey’s account of the Australian Army Nursing Sisters’ imprisonment under the Japanese shows a changed perception in her consciousness regarding British Australian relations that is different from that of Edwin Broomhead, since Americans feature in parts of Jeffrey’s diary. Written after the fall of Singapore, the Francis’s document recording the execution of the two AIF servicemen and two English Other Ranks illustrated a similar perception of difference permeating the relationship between English and Australian Officers held captive by the Japanese in Selarang. Even though Broomhead was desperate to get to England, Australian memoirs produced during and immediately after the Second World War do not exhibit the same degree of interchange ability of Australian

⁵⁶ Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, 1958, pp. 190-191.

British or British Australian relations as illustrated in the memoirs of Australians who lived through the Great War. WWII memoirs used in this chapter as primary sources exhibit a greater awareness of individual concepts of Australian identity and contain written descriptions of Anzac Days while incarcerated.

As mentioned above, secondary sources produced after the 1980s regarding captivity as POWs, informs my comparative research relating to Australian ex-POWs of Germany and Japan during WWII. Two separate memoirs provide further information concerning the Selarang Barracks Square incident, Indian soldiers and Lieut-Colonel Galleghan, when recording personal memories of prisoner-of-war experiences. In 1984, Tim Bowden wrote the text accompanying George Aspinall's photographic record of captivity under the Japanese, which devoted a chapter to 'The Selarang Barrack Square Incident'.⁵⁷ Aspinall, born 1923 in New South Wales, believed that by 1 September 1942 there were 15,400 men in a barracks suitable for housing one battalion; 1,900 Australians and the rest British.⁵⁸ Bowden chronicled that Aspinall recalled:

I remember groups of men standing around discussing what had happened, and getting descriptions from some of the people who had witnessed the executions. Everybody was very quiet, and most of the groups were standing facing where the Japanese and Indian Sikh guards were. Up at one end of the square, the open end we used to call it, near a clock tower, there was a group of Indian Sikh rebels who had gone over to the Japanese and were now called the Indian Independent Army or some such name. They were manning machine guns. Now the machine guns only appeared the day of the executions, I think the Japanese thought that something might happen when we heard about the killings, and they mounted three machine gun posts. Along the perimeter road that ran around the back of the barracks buildings were quite large concentrations of Japanese soldiers and some had automatic weapons.⁵⁹

Remarking that unarmed men do not need many armed men to keep them in place,

Aspinall remembered there was an air of hidden tension and deep hostility.

⁵⁷ Bowden, *Changi Photographer*, 1984, pp. 82-93.

⁵⁸ Bowden, *Changi Photographer*, 1984, p. 82.

⁵⁹ Bowden, *Changi Photographer*, 1984, p. 90.

Following the deaths of two men, Lieut-Colonel Galleghan explained the advisability of the Australians signing the document under duress, particularly out of consideration for seriously ill hospital patients. Galleghan took a vote of hands on the issue and Lieut-Colonel Holmes did the same with the British troops.⁶⁰ Consequently, the men lined up and signed the documents. Some men signed their own names but a lot signed as 'Bob Menzies', 'Ned Kelly', 'Jack Lang' and even 'Judy Garland'. Providing further information Aspinall added an explanation; the prisoners called one of the Changi Concert Party's female impersonators 'Judy Garland'.⁶¹ Signing the names of well-known Australian figures, albeit as nom-de-plumes to nullify the non-escape declaration, nevertheless signified Australian identity as well as an act of defiance.

Members of the Second AIF, who grew up in Australia after the Gallipoli landing in 1915, expected to observe Anzac Day rituals whatever the circumstances. Another example of an Australian ex-prisoner of war referring to Lieut-Colonel Galleghan and Australian rituals observed during captivity occurs in the writings of Guy Baker (born 1918). In *More Lives than a Cat*, published in 1998, Baker records that Galleghan took charge of all Australian troops and eventually became second in command to Lieutenant Colonel E. B. Holmes, who commanded all British and Australian troops in Malaya. To Baker:

Very definitely Galleghan kept Australians on their toes. He held parades and he reviewed his troops at special times, occasions like Australia Day and Anzac Day.⁶²

Recalling a march that left early one Sunday morning to avoid the hot rays of the sun at noon Baker wrote:

⁶⁰ Bowden, *Changi Photographer*, 1984, p. 90.

⁶¹ Bowden, *Changi Photographer*, 1984, p. 90.

⁶² Guy Baker, *More Lives Than a Cat*, (Strathfield: Consensus Books, 1998), p. 170.

What a day this was going to be! And it was Sunday too! More importantly it was Anzac Day!
I can never before remember Australian troops failing to observe Anzac Day and it was unusual, too, for a Church service not to be held on a Sunday.⁶³

Baker conveyed his amazement and his Australian identity, by recording the lack of Australian traditional ritual, an omission that focused a particular march in his memory because of the inability to observe customary Sunday and Anzac Day rituals.

Ralph Churches signalled his identity for readers in the title of his memoirs *A Hundred Miles as the Crow Flies*, (1996) a crow being Australia's colloquial label for South Australians. Written for relations, especially his nephews, as an exercise to pass on the story of his escape in 1944 from German captivity, Churches described his readership as 'eclectic' given '[o]ne of our colleges bought 20 copies as an English text for Seniors. Not surprisingly, it has been translated into Slovene.'⁶⁴ Besides preserving the story of Churches' escape from German imprisonment, the 'Crow Flies' supplied the information that No SX 5286 Private Ralph Frederick Churches of the AIF received 'the British Empire Medal (Military Division) in recognition of gallant and distinguished services in the field'.⁶⁵ On a deeper level 'Crow Flies' further labels Churches a 'high achiever'. Although the title of Churches' narrative indicated his achievements and Australian identity, Churches used the presence of British troops as a means of encouraging fellow escapees to persevere in their flight from the Germans when a number of his fellow escapees expressed disillusionment with the apparent lack of structure in the escape strategy.⁶⁶ Reaching comparative safety behind Allied lines, Churches ensured that Allied forces accepted their credibility as Allies by referring to the blanket identity

⁶³ Baker, *More Lives*, p. 198.

⁶⁴ Handwritten note from Ralph Churches to author December 2001.

⁶⁵ Churches, *Crow Flies*, 1996, p. ii.

⁶⁶ Churches, *Crow Flies*, 1996, pp. 92-94.

of the group, rather than volunteering individual nationalities. The group of escapees included twelve Australians, nine New Zealanders and seventy troops from the United Kingdom.⁶⁷ Upon reaching Italy in September 1944 and returning to the 'real world' Churches designated the nationality of the group of successful escaped prisoners-of-war he had led out of captivity as some English, and 'we're all British.'⁶⁸ Although claiming himself as British, Churches records that he was soon identified as Australian by a British Colonel because of his forthright manner and use of Australian epithets when answering back during a debrief.⁶⁹ Ralph Churches does not march on Anzac Day because the RSL does not permit the men who helped him escape from imprisonment to participate in the Anzac Day march.⁷⁰ As an ex-POW Churches's sense of Australian consciousness exhibits a further dimension, a sense of Australian identity containing an 'ex-prisoner-of-war component' rather than recognition of any sense of another heritage or cultural dimensions.

Using Norman G. Manners' 1999 biography, *Bullwinkel*, as a research tool provides further insight into aspects of Australian identity considered in Jeffrey's *White Coolies* in relation to Vivian Bullwinkel. Manners compiled the biography at a point when Bullwinkel's community service had received acknowledgment, in particular by the Red Cross, which awarded her the Florence Nightingale Medal. Writing of Bullwinkel's survival from the Japanese massacre and the death of Kingsley, the English survivor, Manners states:

⁶⁷ Churches, *Crow Flies*, 1996, pp. 173-174.

⁶⁸ Churches, *Crow Flies*, 1996, p. 143.

⁶⁹ Churches, *Crow Flies*, 1996, p. 153.

⁷⁰ Ralph Churches, letter to J Pavils, 15 September 2000.

Together they had shared the horror, the hunger, the pain and the despair of their adversity and had fought, as two human beings, to retain the dignity of their race.⁷¹

When describing the identity of the Englishman and Australian the author relates the tale in terms of the survivors' shared race rather than their individual nationality, but, in the final analysis, in death, Kinsley's identity became that of 'British soldier'.⁷²

As Bullwinkel's biographer Manners refers to '[t]he Australian group' as an isolated unit, and gives an account of Betty Jeffrey's, and her friend Iole Harper's, endurance in the sea after the sinking of the *Vyner Brooke*, the ship in which they fled from Singapore. Echoing Jeffrey's assumption of Bullwinkel's relief upon finding familiar faces, Manners relates Jeffrey's and Harper's relief at hearing the broad Australian accents of Jennie Greer and Beryl Woodbridge, thus recognizing the two women they had assumed to be Malay and 'natives', as Australian, stating: '[a]t last they were back amongst Australians and the occasion felt like a good old-fashioned homecoming.'⁷³ Manners established the women's identity in terms of Australian nationality and later outlines their reaction to the taunts of 'a crowd of local people' encouraged by Japanese soldiers to heckle the Australians. Describing the incident Manners wrote:

⁷¹ Norman G Manners, *Bullwinkel the true story of Vivian Bullwinkel, a young Army Nursing Sister, who was the sole survivor of a World War Two massacre by the Japanese*, (Perth: Hesperian Press, 1999), p. 109.

⁷² Manners, *Bullwinkel*, 1999, p. 110.

⁷³ Manners, *Bullwinkel*, 1999, pp. 110-113.

This infuriated the Australian Sisters who, spontaneously, responded with booing and catcalls. The reaction they got from the crowd was more than they had hoped for. The locals stopped jeering and stood stunned, mouths agape, as the white women hurled abuse at them and even stuck their tongues out in a most unrefined and crude manner. The Japanese renewed their efforts in an endeavour to get the crowds to demonstrate but with little result for the people had become sullen and silent, still shocked by the white women's outburst.

As the convoy picked up speed after leaving the scene of the demonstration the Sisters, their spirits restored, burst into laughter at the memory of the shocked look on the faces of the people and the incensed guards, who began shouting and hitting out at the totally bewildered natives.⁷⁴

This aspect of the narrative takes on the familiar recklessness of Australian

larrikinism, seemingly out of place given the Sisters' prisoner-of-war status.

Manners draws the reader's attention to the Sister's colour and unladylike

behaviour, by highlighting their 'whiteness' in the face of Asian derision. Although

working as labourers, metaphorically the Sisters 'turned the tables' on their intended

tormentors, by rejecting the depressed behaviour of browbeaten 'ladies'.

Spontaneously resorting to unseemly behaviour inferred that degradation had not

subdued the Australian Army nurses.

Adelaide newspapers proclaimed Bullwinkel's South Australian identity at war's end, but, when continuing her life history Manners wrote:

There was a desire she had been harbouring for some time since her release from prison camp and that was to visit England.

Not only were there relatives to look up but she had always wanted to visit the places of historic importance and, if possible, play in the snow. ...

When she mentioned her plan to Betty [Jeffrey], it was enthusiastically received and the two began their savings campaign with an objective of sailing for London some time in 1950.⁷⁵

Biographically Manners presents us with the same conundrum in relation to

Australian Britons and British Australians as Broomhead's memoirs did in *Barbed*

⁷⁴ Manners, *Bullwinkel*, 1999, pp. 114-115.

⁷⁵ Manners, *Bullwinkel*, p. 202.

Wire in the Sunset. Despite completing the biography from an Australian point of view fifty years after Bullwinkel's captivity at the hands of the Japanese, the narrative expresses an Australian consciousness of British roots and history conjointly existing with Australian identity.

Unlike memoirs and biographies dealing with Great War participants, the WWII chronicles lack any mention of Celtic ancestry or denominational origins, although the Rev. Broomhead identified himself as 'a Protestant'.⁷⁶ This aspect reflects the increased secularism of Australian culture. Although many Australian institutions have ceased claiming any identification with British Australianness and embrace multiculturalism, the individual writings studied concerning the predominately Australian born, ex-servicemen and women who served Australia in the Second AIF, claimed a blanket identity under an umbrella of the British Empire when dealing with Allies and resonate with a consciousness acknowledging British Australian roots and identity. However, in the cases of memory relating to imprisonment in Changi and Thailand where Australians had a greater chance of survival under Australian leadership, the recollections of ex-prisoners-of-war illustrate a greater awareness of division between British and Australian culture. This awareness mirrors actual statistical records concerning British Empire survival rates from Japanese POW camps in terms of national proportions, and therefore the secondary sources may reflect a combination of memory and known recorded data. Interestingly, in the same way that Australian veterans from the Gallipoli landing added the extra identifying dimension of 'ANZACs' to their personal consciousness of Australian identity, Australian survivors from German and Japanese POW camps

⁷⁶ Broomhead, *Barbed Wire*, p. 32.

during the Second World War include a further identifying factor of an 'ex-POW component' to their sense of Australian identity.

Chapter 10.
BALANCING THE LEDGER
 Heritage, local history, memory.

This thesis began with the theme of ‘Honoring the Debt’, and it seems only fitting that a later chapter should summarise any debt repayment by ‘balancing the ledger’, in terms of acknowledgment of that debt. Any attempt to summarise the state of this particular ledger balance must be a metaphorical estimate from imprecise resources. Even though monetary debt repayment began in South Australia at grass root level in the form of patriotic button days raising money for wounded soldiers in 1915 and continues under the auspices of the Returned Services League as well as the Department of Veterans’ Affairs, this exercise will not assess monetary debt repayment. As an alternative, this chapter considers symbolic community acknowledgements of the allegorical debt in the form of material history. As discussed in chapter 5, ‘Diggers and Slackers’, in 1948, *Back* published an article entitled ‘Living Memorials: Use Vision When Planning Your War Memorial Make It a Living symbol’, stating that:

A new spirit and a new idea have emerged among Anglo-Saxon peoples, a desire for a form of memorial which will still express timeless gratitude for unselfish devotion to the defence of our ideals, while at the same time serving the living.¹

‘Balancing the Ledger’ assesses the fate of some WWI and WWII ‘honour rolls’ and monumental soldiers’ memorials against the community recognition of ‘living memorials’ in 2001, as an accounting method designed to discover what South Australians have chosen to remember of the ‘debt of honor’.

In 1967, the League conducted a ‘Survey of War Memorials situated in the State of South Australia’ (hereinafter League Survey). Additionally, the League

¹ *Back*, ‘Living Memorials Use Vision When Planning Your War Memorial. Make It a Living Symbol’, January 1948, p. 17.

maintains a correspondence file begun in the 1980s relating to memorials. 'Australia Remembers', a commemorative programme carried out during the term of the Keating Labor Government in 1995 heightened community awareness of commemoration of war service during the early 1990s. The Howard Liberal Government subsequently launched a further commemorative programme, 'Their Service Our Heritage', (hereinafter TS-OH), 'to commemorate the service and sacrifice of veterans of all wars and conflicts in which Australia has been involved since Federation.'² A booklet, 'Memories & Memorabilia', written and researched for the Department of Veterans' Affairs further stated that:

Their Service Our Heritage is the Federal Government's commemorative programme which, in the lead-up to the centenary of Federation in 2001, provides all Australians with the opportunity to acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to those who served in the defence of Australia's freedom.³

Hence, survey data compiled by the League in 1967 provided a basis enabling an assessment concerning acknowledgement of the original 'debt of honor' consequent upon recent 'debt reminders', even though the debt has gravitated in terms of ethics from one of 'honor' to one of 'gratitude'.

The 1967 survey, together with the results of my field studies, one conducted in a rural area and a second within the metropolitan area, provides a methodological approach to a system of 'creative' accounting. Whilst this particular accounting model is unlikely to satisfy the audit standards of the National Institute of Accountants, historically it will provide some insight into Anzac culture and material history indicative of South Australian public memory. Memorials figuratively represent Australian collective memory of war dead and war service.

² Ian McGregor, Frances Eltridge and Karen McGregor, Principal Consultants, *Commemorative Program Research*, Project No 4433, prepared for Ms Kerry Blackburn & Mrs Lyn Witheridge, Commemoration Branch, Department of Veterans' Affairs, 26 May 1998.

³ Dr Richard Reid and Dr Gordon Forth, *Memories & Memorabilia*, (Canberra: Department of Veterans' Affairs, undated,) back cover.

Creating significant commemorative sites within local communities partially solved the problem of the absent corpse, not only for Australians but also for the nationals of other countries. Chapter 1 outlined international, national and local research concerning war memorials.⁴ In *Sacred Places* (1998), Ken Inglis records that during 'Australia Remembers 1945-1995' some people requested money for memorials. Inglis continued:

These requests usually came from places where the makers had opted for a utilitarian form, and where their opponents had been proved right: the memorial had disappeared both from the landscape and from collective memory, or survived as an amenity whose commemorative character was no longer recognized.⁵

My South Australian research found that not only were some utilitarian memorials no longer recognised as memorials, but also that other soldiers' memorials have been stored in museums, lost, recycled, or vandalised.

A generation of British Australian children grew up in the 1940s in an ambience of Anzac legend and traditions, part of the evolution of a cultural ritual that stamped the mould of Australian identity. Material history in the form of stained glass windows, soldiers' memorials and honour rolls naming those who enlisted for the two world wars, were part of the landscape of the countryside and the streetscape of Australian towns and cities. A part of life and identity absorbed in the atmosphere of Australian lifestyle, the memorials provided a focus on Anzac Day and Armistice/Remembrance Day for the community respect accorded to the sanctity and sacredness of significant sites commemorating war dead. Not

⁴ For instance, Alan Borg, *War Memorials From Antiquity to the Present*, (London: Leo Cooper, 1991); Alex King, *Memorials of The Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998); *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 34 (2) 1999, J Bartlett & K M Ellis, 'Remembering the Dead in Northop, First World War Memorials in a Welsh Parish', pp. 231-242; Lawrence D Kritzman, (ed), Translated by Arthur Goldhammer, *Realms of memory: The Construction of the French Past*, Volume II: Traditions, Under the Direction of Pierre Nora, (New York: Columbia University, 1997), Antoine Prost, 'Monuments to the Dead', pp. 307-330;

⁵ K S Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1998), p. 413.

completely duplicating the civic honour rolls, church honour rolls recorded the names of ex-Sunday school scholars and church members who joined the forces. Honour rolls marked the names of those who had died overseas 'to keep Australia free' for those Australians left behind, maintaining the country while others fought. Patriotic duty lay in maintaining the might of the British Empire. The practice of naming war dead on headstones, honour rolls and soldiers' memorials, took place not only in Australia, but also throughout the British Empire, the direct result of burying Empire dead where they fell. As we have seen, American families had the choice of bringing the bodies of their war dead back to America for burial, a practice that only began in Australia during the Vietnam War.⁶ Grieving relatives in Australia, particularly at the time of the Great War, wanted the account of their personal sacrifice in the death of loved ones recognised by the community. The narrative inherent in the litany of names on local honour rolls and soldiers' memorials provided a 'stop-gap' measure, an allegorical 'debit note', filling the void of an empty grave. It allowed closure of sorts, enabling local communities to face the future in the belief the names of loved ones would be remembered forever, their deeds and their sacrifice living on in the tangible records of a grateful country.

Tangible records exist in the form of documents in the AWM in Canberra and the pay records of ex-servicemen and women in the Australian Archives. Figuratively speaking, the names listed in official State Memorials exist as symbolic invoices; the AWM provides a list of names in its cloisters itemizing a symbolic national account. As older church and civic buildings make way for newer structures, as community assets become part of the narrative that encompasses

⁶ John R Gillis (ed), *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994), Chapter IX 'The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War,' p.172; NLA, MS 389, Ken Inglis papers, Box 4 of 25, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29.6.1965, 'Request on bodies of soldiers'; Box 10 of 25, 22.1.1966, 'Policy changed! War burials'.

urban infill and medium density housing, monuments, honour rolls, stained glass windows and soldiers' memorials disappear. Some re-appear in new or different buildings, recycled, having lost their original significance within a different environment. As discussed in chapter 1, Graeme Davison noted the loss of Australian heritage and the fate of old or redundant churches in *Use and Abuse of Australian History* in 2000, particularly in relation to church buildings and soldiers' memorials. Concluding 'Use and Abuse' Davison wrote:

Political conservatives, who once sought to learn from the past, have now redefined themselves around radical programs of deregulation, privatisation and outsourcing that are hostile to the preservation of institutional memory.⁷

I agree with Davison for the recent accounting strategies he names above, together with policies of urban infill and local council amalgamations, place heritage, local history, and material evidence of community memory at risk. The compilation of any record listing the full extent of Australian memorials relating to war service is virtually impossible because local memorials have already been lost, forgotten, moved or destroyed by those elements within religious, local government and commercial organizations that no longer recognise the 'debt of honor'.

Council information compiled in response to the 1967 League Survey was incomplete and contained errors. The League Survey consisted of a request for information from the then existing district councils, city corporations, and town corporations. One city, Port Pirie, four town corporations, those of Burra, Colonel Light Gardens, Murray Bridge and Renmark, together with twenty-four district councils chose not to reply. Those that did reply supplied information relating to 'type of memorial', 'location', 'responsible body' and 'general comments'.

Although the information supplied in some cases was imprecise and subject to

⁷ Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 2000), p. 275.

errors and omissions, it did document an attempt to record existing memorials at a given point of time. Illustrating the imprecise and unreliable nature of the 1967 survey, the Corporation of the Town of Glenelg replied:

Council at its meeting on 24th October 1967 formally received your letter with regard to the location of various war memorials. I have been directed to advise that there are no memorials within the Town of Glenelg.⁸

Even so, documentary evidence exists in the Holdfast Bay History Centre that Glenelg Mayor Hon. H. Tassie MLC, did unveil a 'Honor Roll' on Sunday 8 November 1925. The Glenelg Sailing Club had a 1914-1918 'Roll of Honor' and there was a large 'Honor Roll' billboard outside the Glenelg Town Hall, a temporary structure that listed the names of enlisted men from the Glenelg District circa 1940-1941. The billboard supplied the information '[y]ou have to meet your pals when they return' and '[t]here is still room for your name on this Board.'⁹ Notwithstanding an acknowledgment that the survey conducted by the League is not one hundred percent accurate, nonetheless it supplies evidence of community recognition regarding commemoration of war dead during the late 1960s at the time of the Vietnam War.

A study of the results of research I conducted in both rural and metropolitan areas in 2001 reveals differences from the League's 1967 survey. Information relating to the 'Copper Triangle', supplied by the Corporations of the Towns of Moonta, Wallaroo and the District Council of Kadina to the League in October and November 1967, and in the metropolitan area by the Corporation of the City of Port

⁸ Department for Environment & Heritage, Government of South Australia supplied a photocopy of *Survey War Memorials Situated in the State of South Australia*, compiled by State Secretary S A Branch, The Returned Services League of Australia, 1967, unpaginated, information supplied by Corporation of the town of Glenelg, Information recorded 25 October 1967.

⁹ Holdfast Bay History Centre, Brighton, 28-1519-1, Honour Roll – Glenelg, Programme of Unveiling Ceremony, Glenelg Honor Roll, Sunday 8th November, 1925, Mayor, 28-1518-1, Honour Roll, Glenelg Sailing Club, Roll of Honour 1914-1918, (Photo taken when attached to Kiosk on old Jetty); 28-1520-1, Honour Roll – World War II circa 1940, Glenelg District Honour Roll, 28-1520-2, Honour Roll – World War II circa 1941 Glenelg District Honour Roll (To promote enlistment).

Adelaide in March 1968 inform this chapter. On 24 October 1967, the Corporation of the Town of Moonta listed one monument at Blanche Terrace Moonta, the responsible body, the RSL. Moonta supplied the further information that the date of erection was 1920 and the monument was 'well looked after'.¹⁰ In October 2001, the pedestal monument erected in 1920, on which stood a representative Digger with slouch hat and rifle, in memory of 'Moonta's Heroes of the Great European War 1914-1919', further supplied the information that it also memorialised:

[M]emory of the fallen World War 2 1939-1945
 [M]emory of the fallen Malaysia, Korea and Vietnam and all other
 Australians who have fallen in the service of their country.
 Australia Remembers 1945-1995¹¹

The updated Moonta monument included the fallen from WWII, Asian wars and the 1995 Keating Labor Government 'Australia Remembers' initiative. Community acknowledgement retained and maintained the Moonta memorial situated in the grounds of the bowling club, as community acknowledgement of the 'debt of honor'.

My research in the Moonta area also disclosed items not included in the original survey. Near the bowling club, at the entrance to an adjacent park stood 'The Percy Beaglehole', a slab laid atop two pedestals, one pedestal labelled 'Moonta Soldiers' the other 'War Memorial'. In nearby Moonta Mines, the local museum displayed the 1914-1919 'Roll of Honor for Valor' of the Moonta Mines Public School, while the Moonta Mines Methodist Sunday School Museum also displayed a 'Roll of Honour' for King and Country. Confusingly the spelling on rolls varies between 'honor' and 'honour', nevertheless despite the variation in spelling, the intention to recognise the service of those named on the rolls is in no

¹⁰ League survey, Corporation of the town of Moonta, 24 October 1967.

¹¹ Monument, Blanche Terrace, Moonta, October 2001.

doubt.¹² In spite of the general decline in the Moonta Mines area in relation to institutions, the school and Sunday school museums maintained rolls relating to the commemoration of those of their former pupils who served Australia in times of war.

The second town of the Copper Triangle, Wallaroo revealed similar care of the town's memorials. The Corporation of the Town of Wallaroo recorded information on 17 October 1967 concerning three types of memorials, all reported to be in good condition. The RSL was responsible for the RSL Club in Elizabeth Street erected in 1919. An arch located outside the Town Hall, erected in 1923 was the responsibility of the Council. A memorial committee was responsible for a park and playground erected in Elizabeth Street in 1963.¹³ In October 2001, research conducted at the Soldiers memorial arch, 1914 1919, decorated with the Australian coat of arms, provided the information:

This Memorial Arch
Was Erected
Through the Efforts of
The Ladies of
The Wallaroo Cheer Up
Society and Local Branch
R.S.S.I.L.A.
Supported by the Public.¹⁴

Inside the arch itself, a commemorative plaque remembered men who served Australia during the 1939-45 War, while a side panel commemorated Vietnam and the Corvette HMAS Wallaroo. Literally from Gallipoli, a rosemary bush, the herb of remembrance, planted 15 August 1995, recognised the 'Australia Remembers'

¹² Photographs taken in Moonta and Moonta Mines, October 2001 held by author.

¹³ League survey, Corporation of the Town of Wallaroo, 17 October 1967.

¹⁴ Arch, Town Hall, Wallaroo, October 2001.

initiative.¹⁵ A 'living memorial', the RSL Club memorialised the 1939-1945 War, and further advised:

Life to be sure is not much to lose
But young men think it is and they were young
Their name liveth for evermore.¹⁶

Located opposite the RSL Club, the only resemblance to a park and playground in Elizabeth Street served as the site of a pre-school centre.¹⁷ Wallaroo had retained and maintained the memory of Wallaroo citizens who had served the Australian nation during war. Likewise, it had responded to a national initiative and participated in the 'Australia Remembers' programme. Wallaroo's memorial arch and 'living memorials' reflected treatment commensurate with community acknowledgement of the 'debt of honor'.

Kadina, the largest community within the Copper Triangle, evidenced maintenance of community memorials, and also exhibited instances of memorial restoration and recycling. On 17 October 1967, the District Council of Kadina advised the League of the existence of four memorials: two monuments, a roll of honour, in good condition, and a 'living memorial', the Kadina Memorial High School. The Kadina District Council was responsible for the monument in Victoria Square, Kadina and the roll of honour in the Kadina Town Hall, whereas the school was the responsibility of South Australian Government and the monument situated at Railway Terrace South, Paskeville came under the jurisdiction of the Paskeville RSL. My field study provided the information the school erected in 1923 'in honor of the men of Kadina and District who served in the Great War 1914-1919', was still in use. With a Digger standing atop the apex, the arch, erected in recognition of those who fell in the Great War, in addition included the names of those who served

¹⁵ Arch and surrounds, Town Hall, Wallaroo, October 2001.

¹⁶ RSL Club, Elizabeth Street, Wallaroo, October 2001.

¹⁷ Pre School Centre, Elizabeth Street, Wallaroo, October 2001.

during the 1939-1945 War. The Paskeville Soldiers memorial in honour of 1914-1919 was unveiled on 16 November 1921. Fascinatingly, the Kadina Town Hall contained not one Roll of Honour relating to 1914-1919, but two. One 'Roll of Honor' for King and Empire suitably decorated with the Union Jack, together with an Australian red ensign and coat of arms, listed those 'Faithful unto death', the second 'Roll of Honour' decorated with the rising sun of the AIF, together with naval and air force insignia presented by T. H. McKay Esq. Also presented by McKay, a roll of honour in memory of servicemen and women who served in Malaysia, Korea and Vietnam. The Kadina Lions Club had restored the rolls.¹⁸ Enquiries elicited the information that the recycled honour rolls had originally been in the RSL Hall.¹⁹ All three communities of the Copper Triangle had maintained and updated memorials, whilst in the largest Council district, a community service organization had restored and rehung honour rolls in a space available to the whole community illustrating a community desire to remember war dead.

Turning to the metropolitan area for a comparison, the Corporation of the City of Port Adelaide supplied the League with the following information on 27 March 1968. The existence of three halls used as RSL Sub-Branched and situated in Semaphore, Largs North and Rosewater. The Port Adelaide response also listed a number of monuments: a granite monument and clock on the foreshore at Semaphore, a stone monument at Largs North, a granite monument and drinking fountain at Rosewater, and a marble monument on Birkenhead reserve. Lastly, a reserve, a stone memorial with brass plaque, and the Mothers and Babies Health Association Centre, located at the I.C.I. oval, Fletcher Road, Birkenhead.²⁰

¹⁸ Photographs of Kadina school dedication plaque, Memorial Arch and Honour Rolls, October 2001, held by author.

¹⁹ Information desk, Kadina Council, October 2001.

²⁰ League survey, Corporation of the City of Port Adelaide, 27 March 1968.

Research conducted in 2001, to discover the fate of memorials dedicated after both the First and Second World Wars to Portonians, persons who grew up in Port Adelaide, confirmed that RSL sub-branches and monuments still exist at Semaphore and Largs Bay, but that changes have occurred at Rosewater and Birkenhead.

The Largs Bay stone monument, together with Semaphore's monumental angel and clock memorial, still honoured the national debt. Lieut.-Col. L. O. Betts, President of the Semaphore and Port Adelaide Branch of the League officially unveiled and dedicated Semaphore's monumental angel and clock memorial on Empire Day, 24 May 1925. The *Port Adelaide News* reported that in his address to the assembly gathered around the statue of the 'angel of peace', with 'symbolical palm in hand', Betts said:

He hoped that the story would always be told of the ideals for which their gallant men had given their lives, and of the deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice performed. They, too, had to remember the heartaches and the anguish of the women at home waiting for the men to return. Many had lost their loved ones through the awful war. It was indeed fitting that a statue of peace surmounted the monument. There were no militarists in the country, and he hoped that the peace of the world would never again be disturbed during their lifetime.²¹

Nevertheless, Australian culture, particularly in metropolitan areas, has changed, become more inclusive, and provided a space for diverse religions and multiculturalism. Evidence to support the above view exists in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, particularly in the suburb of Rosewater and the surrounding working class district. The ways in which the local community had either retained or recycled community assets belonging to Christian churches and the veteran community provides a link between the 'Heroes of the Great War', 'living memorials' and an invigorated community resulting from changing lifestyles and urban infill. Material evidence within the local community indicates changing

²¹ *Portonian* Vol 19, No 2, 'Semaphore War Memorial', June 1991, pp. 5-6.

Australian attitudes to the material evidence commemorating war dead within cultural institutions that form a part of contemporary Australian identity.

As in the case of Glenelg, Moonta and Kadina, the comparative study of Rosewater memorials relating to war dead and war serving provided evidence that more memorials existed than those recorded in 1968 by the local council, both in the form of honour boards or rolls and 'living memorials'. Accounting policies of economic rationalisation and asset sales, put honour boards in former industrial, banking and church buildings at risk. Mergers at Local Government level also resulted in the loss of material history in the form of soldiers' memorials, irrespective of whether those memorials existed as honour rolls, or 'living memorials'. Various honour rolls and 'living memorials' dedicated after both WWI and WWII, with the aim of immortalizing the memory of local soldiers who died overseas have not survived into the twenty-first century. Despite renewed interest in Anzac culture, evident in the growing number of Australians at Anzac Day observances as shown in chapter 6, 'Widening the Ranks', and evidence of memorial updating in rural areas in response to the Federal impetus of the 'Australia Remembers' programme, metropolitan honour rolls and soldiers' memorials continue to undergo removal, recycling and loss.

In the working class suburb of Rosewater, Grand Junction Road provides access to both Port Adelaide and the industrial zones clustered around the port. In 2001, Rosewater still had a number of homes constructed of pressed tin sheeting situated in 'Tin Town', and was the site of the first Housing Trust doubles, or maisonettes, built in 1937. In a short section of Grand Junction Road, I studied three former community assets in detail as a field study symptomatic of the wider Australian community. The original function of those particular buildings was as

the Rosewater District Council Chambers, the Primitive Methodist Church and the Ottoway Congregational Church.²² The original use of all three community buildings in Rosewater changed because of subsequent annexure, sale, and leasing arrangements. After the Great War, all three buildings contained memorials recognising the war service of local community members in the form of names listed on honour rolls; two buildings had 'living memorials' in the form of stained glass windows. The fate of the honour rolls and stained glass windows in these three buildings revealed different perspectives in relation to the retention and maintenance of commemorative memorials.

The recent policy of economic rationalism resulting in local council mergers supposedly took place because of fiscal policies designed to reduce costs, but conversely resulted in councils made up of elected members from much wider geographic areas. Councillors are not necessarily conversant with each suburb's local history, yet they have the power to make decisions affecting the loss or retention of material history. In 1899, the Port Adelaide Council annexed the Rosewater District Council.²³ Local residents objected to development plans for the old Rosewater District Council chamber building in 1990. Despite the objections, the re-development resulted in the chamber's division into two-storey home units. The land around the building was the site of a further twenty-one units built as a Strata Corporation project jointly developed as Community Housing by the Port Adelaide Central Mission, The South Australian Community Housing Authority and

²² McDougall & Vines, *Greater Port Adelaide Heritage Survey*, (Norwood: McDougall & Vines, 1989), p. 47, 190, 195, pp. 192-193; Mortlock Library, Z pamphlet, 287.930994231, R818, Rosewater Uniting Church, *Rosewater Uniting Church Centenary, 1878-1978*, p.1.

²³ Steve Nickolls, 'Mavis Delves into Rosewater History', in Port Adelaide Library, L.H. Ros 1. 9.3.1977.

the City of Port Adelaide Enfield.²⁴ The transom above the old Council Chamber doorway bore the name and emblem of the Alberton & Rosewater RSS & AILA Sub Branch, despite its use as home units.²⁵ As recommended in the Greater Port Adelaide Heritage Survey 1989, the original building underwent conservation and restoration.²⁶ There was no place for honour rolls in housing designed to be 'affordable medium density' urban infill, therefore The Port Adelaide Council put the honour rolls belonging to the League sub-branch, and the 'Rosewater Womens [sic] Memorial 1914-1918 Roll of Honor' into storage.²⁷

The same Heritage Survey also recommended the conservation and restoration of the Primitive Methodist Church.²⁸ In contrast, the story of the former Chapel was quite different. Subsequent denominational unions and mergers eventually ceased in 1977 with the building passing to the Uniting Church. Cement rendering plastered over the foundation stone of the original building, blocked out the chapel's dedication as a religious institution on sacred ground. Research elicited the information that no one connected with the former congregation knew the whereabouts of the honour roll dedicated to the memory of Church members and ex-Sunday School scholars who served in the Great War. The honour roll did exist, because an article recording its existence appeared in the *Port News* of June 1917 stating that thirty-five names were on the roll at that time, and that the photographs of fourteen members of the Sunday School listed on the roll, were unveiled during

²⁴ *Portside Messenger*, 'Historic hall to become youth housing', 6 June 1990, p.7; Theresa Rockley, 'Hall Plan Off', Wednesday 10 October 1990, p.1; 'Housing plan for RSL Hall "unstoppable"', 17 October 1990, p.7.

²⁵ SA Land Information System, 12 April 2001, 59 Grand Junction Rd, Rosewater, Strata Corp No 13071; According to site plaque, the project opened 24 February 2000, photograph held by author as is photograph of the Alberton & Rosewater RSS & AILA sub branch transom.

²⁶ McDougall, *Heritage Survey*, 1989, p. 192.

²⁷ Affordable medium density as per Planning, Port Adelaide Enfield Council April 2001; Storage as per former Councillor Rex Serle June 2001.

²⁸ McDougall, *Heritage Survey*, 1989, p. 193.

the Church Anniversary Service.²⁹ The leadlight and stained glass windows, dedicated at the Church Jubilee Celebrations in 1928, were no longer in the building.³⁰ Two had been re-used at Wesley House, a home for the aged, and the remainder installed at Trinity Uniting Church, in nearby Alberton.³¹ In 1984 the congregations of Yatala, Rosewater and Ottoway Uniting Churches, amalgamated to form Trinity Uniting Church.³² The Uniting Church policy of amalgamating congregations resulted in parishioners no longer conversant with earlier local parish history. This was evident because the symbolism of windows depicting a cross, intersected with a wreath of leaves bearing the messages 'Greater Love than This Hath no Man' and 'Lest we Forget', the old accounts of 'self-sacrifice', had become recognised by the congregation as a memorial to earlier church members.

My research found four windows originally dedicated to 'heroes of the Great War'. The *Port Adelaide News* reported on the Jubilee Celebrations in 1928 when the President of the Conference gave an appropriate address. Mr Fred Pocock, the Sunday School Secretary, presented one of the leaded stained glass windows as a memorial 'to the heroes of the Great War'. The church centenary pamphlet listed stained glass windows as dedicated individually to Arthur Jennings and Cecil Pudney, 'killed at war', while Mesdames Weaver, McLaurin, Bottomley, Stephens and Read jointly erected a window in memory of their sons, who 'made the supreme

²⁹ *Port Adelaide News*, Vol 4, No 44, 'Rosewater Methodist Church Photographs Unveiled', 15 June 1917, p.11.

³⁰ Mortlock, Rosewater Uniting Church Centenary, p.3; Uniting Church Alberton, Invitation card, Rosewater Methodist Church Jubilee 1878-1928, 17-20 November 1928, Thanksgiving Service, 17 November 1928, Memorial windows will be unveiled during the service; *Port Adelaide News*, Vol 16, No 15, 'Rosewater Methodist Church Jubilee Celebrations', 23 November, 1928.

³¹ Photographs taken at Wesley House and Alberton Uniting Church in 2001 held by the author.

³² Eric Thompson, *The Uniting Church in Australia, The Origin and First Ten Years of Trinity Uniting Church - Alberton, 30/10/1983 - 0/10/1993*, (Adelaide: Carmel and John Clare, 1993), pp. 1-6, 35-38.

sacrifice in the Great War 1914-1919.’³³ The 1977 Uniting Church merger of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist Churches was for the Methodists a second merger, the first merger in the early 1900s being that of the Bible Christians, Primitive and Wesleyan Methodists. Mergers, we know, result in surplus buildings, surplus equipment, and surplus officers. After the 1977 merger, the Bosna & Hercegovina Muslim Society SA purchased the defunct Uniting Church Buildings on Grand Junction Road, Rosewater. The Bosnian group subsequently re-sold the building. Parishioners from the old Rosewater Uniting Church believed the honour roll, together with memorial plaques to Church pioneers remained in the building. The subsequent occupier denied any knowledge of their existence.³⁴ Unavailable to either church members, or the public, the material history encapsulated in the honour roll, and the photographs of 1917, no longer provided evidence of the personal sacrifice of Rosewater ‘heroes of the Great War’.

Material history embedded in honour rolls, plaques and memorial windows in former church buildings was, and is, particularly at threat within the Uniting Church because of parish amalgamations. Retention and recycling of some honour rolls and memorial windows does take place. The fate of the congregational assets lies with the individual congregations themselves. The make-up of the Rosewater congregation changed because of the impact of Commonwealth and State Government immigration and housing policies upon that community. In the more affluent district of Parkside, the Epworth Uniting Church building survived with a heritage listing, which preserved its leadlight, stained glass windows, flying buttresses and honour rolls. Other congregations donated honour rolls to historical

³³ *Port Adelaide News*, Vol 16, No 15, ‘Rosewater Methodist Church Jubilee Celebrations’, p.2;

Mortlock, *Rosewater Uniting Church Centenary*, p.5.

³⁴ McDougall, *Heritage Survey*, 1989, p. 193; SA Land Information System, 12 April 2001, 63 Grand Junction Road, A Psorakis.

societies and museums.³⁵ Unable to display all donated honour rolls because of limited space, some honour rolls became inaccessible to the general community. Research at Rosewater and the Uniting Church Historical Society proved that stained glass windows re-appeared elsewhere, saved for future generations, possibly for their antique value, but also because of their intrinsic value.³⁶ At the time of the church centenary in 1978, in a booklet produced as part of centenary celebrations, the Rosewater Uniting Church congregation still recognised the original purpose of the memorial windows.³⁷ By the year 2001, the 'living memorial' windows from the Rosewater Uniting Church had lost their original significance because of their repositioning. 'To fit into the new location', the windows were reconditioned and enlarged either side. The alterations resulted in the dismantling of the dedication panels at the base of the windows. The dedication panel of Pudney's memorial window, installed together with three other dedication panels in Trinity's foyer, provided no clue that specifically identified the window to which it once belonged.³⁸ Consequently, the parishioners at Alberton were no longer aware of the original reason for the windows' dedication. The significance of some windows erected in commemoration of those killed during war no longer evident, the windows became merely memorials to earlier church workers.

Unlike the forgotten Rosewater Uniting Church honour roll, the beauty of the memorial windows survived, even if the significance of their purpose appeared

³⁵ Rosemary Mitchell, *Epworth Uniting Church, Parkside 1884-1984*, (Morphett Vale, Rosemary Mitchell, 1984); In particular, the Uniting Church Historical Society, the Repat Museum at Repatriation General Hospital, Daw Park and the Army Museum of South Australia, at Keswick Barracks, Keswick, Maritime Museum, Port Adelaide.

³⁶ The Uniting Church Historical Society, Memorial Service, Madge Memorial Church, Adelaide, Order of Service, 24.10.1943 for Memorial window dedicated to Leslie John Crowther KIA 24 September 1943, now at Blackforest Uniting Church.

³⁷ Mortlock, Rosewater Uniting Church Centenary, pp. 3, 5.

³⁸ *Outreach*, The Uniting Church in Australia, Alberton Port Adelaide Parish, Vol 15, No 8, 'Windows', p.15; Vol 15, No 9, October 1985, 'Trinity'; Vol 15, No 10 November 1985, 'Trinity', p.11; Vol 15, No 11, December 1985, p.11.

forgotten. If, in considering the situation at Rosewater, one looks to debates after WWII concerning the benefits of utilitarian memorials versus statuary and names, utilitarian memorials did not guarantee the implied vision of their commemorative purpose remained in the Australian psyche as material history that provided a higher degree of community significance within Australian Anzac culture. The debates after WWII were really a legitimate forum of the arguments for utilitarian memorials that surfaced after the Great War in the form of protests on Anzac Day, when some returned men wanted their memorial to be employment and the promised better life.³⁹ The Veteran community maintained the traditions of Anzac Day and Armistice Day, now called Remembrance Day. The celebration of Victory Europe and Victory Japan days palled against the continued significance of Anzac Day. After World War II, some memorials had additional names placed on them, but the proliferation of utilitarian memorials had no place for names.⁴⁰ Even so, in established cities and suburbs some Churches continued the tradition of honour rolls.

The number of different memorials where the name of each individual ex-serviceman and woman appeared, varied, but in the case of war dead buried overseas, the memorial sites multiplied. Take as an example, the first name listed in the *Port News* regarding the photographs unveiled during the Church Anniversary Service in 1917 at the former Rosewater Methodist Church. From Chad Street, Rosewater, W. F. L. Dodson, 10th Battalion A.I.F., killed in action Wednesday 19

³⁹ *Advertiser*, 26.4.1928, 'Honoring the Anzacs', p. 13; 26.4.1929, 'Unemployed returned soldiers', p. 13.

⁴⁰ Utilitarian memorials took the form of church halls, lichgates and porches, memorial ovals, memorial hospitals and RSL Memorial Halls.

September 1917, aged 29 years, buried Hooze Crater, Belgium.⁴¹ The former lieutenant shares a headstone in Cheltenham Cemetery with his mother; his name appears with others who made the supreme sacrifice on the Rosewater Women's Memorial at Rosewater Oval, a memorial updated by the Veteran Community in the 1990s, with a plaque listing subsequent wars. That particular memorial was also updated at its unveiling. Adjacent, stands a memorial drinking bowl unveiled the same day in 1922, listing the names of those who had died since returning home.⁴² Dodson's name appears again, next to that of his brother A.J. Dodson, on the 'Rosewater Womens [sic] Memorial Roll of Honor', which names all those who enlisted from the Rosewater District. W.F.L. Dodson's name makes further appearances listed at his former school, Alberton Public School, the State Memorial, and on the walls of the cloistered forecourt of the Hall of Memory at the AWM.⁴³ The lieutenant's name also appears in Appendix III, roll of Honour (Deaths in France) of the History of the 10th Battalion A.I.F., The Adelaide Rifles, and nowadays, on the Commonwealth War Graves Commission site on the Internet.⁴⁴ Metaphorically, local soldiers' memorials and honour rolls serve as debit notes recording the national debt of honour owed to those who died serving Australia in overseas' wars because National memorials took longer to materialize. Dedication of the South Australian State Memorial did not occur until April 1931; the AWM, opened on Remembrance Day 1941, dedication of the Hall of Memory took place,

⁴¹ *Port Adelaide News*, Vol 4, No 44, 'Rosewater Methodist Church, Photographs Unveiled,' 15 June 1917, p. 11; WFL Dodson, Lieutenant, 10th Bn., Australian Infantry, AIF, 19 September 1917, <<http://yard.ccta.gov.uk/cwgc/register/nsf/wwwcreateservicedetails?openagent&457872>>

⁴² *The Advertiser*, 26 April 1924, 'Rosewater Women's Memorial Garden, Dedicated on Anzac Day,' p. 16; *Portonian*, Vol 13, No 3, September 1985, 'Women's War Memorial, Rosewater Reserve,' p. 3.

⁴³ Photographs of Rosewater Womens Memorial Roll of Honor and Alberton Public School held by author.

⁴⁴ Arthur Limb, *History of the 10th Battalion AIF 1914-1918 Egypt, Gallipoli, France, Belgium*, (London: Cassell and Company, 1919), p. 96: Internet, Commonwealth War Graves Commission as above.

24th May 1959.⁴⁵ Local honour rolls became a tangible reminder of the national debt of honour owed to war dead buried overseas.

Parishioners who oversaw the recording of the debt of honour at Rosewater are themselves dead. Some have burial sites at nearby Cheltenham cemetery, part of the former Council district. Headstones erected to former British Australian pioneers lie in storage at Cheltenham cemetery, the names on the replacement headstones those of the first wave of Middle European immigrants to become part of Multicultural Australia.⁴⁶ Population demographics in the former Rosewater District changed noticeably after the two World Wars. Various ethnic groups moved into, and continue to move into, the Rosewater area, the first influx, British migrants, were temporarily housed by the Commonwealth Government in the former Rosewater wool stores. British families moved out from the hostel and purchased land in the surrounding area.⁴⁷ Displaced persons from Europe, and later Asian immigrants, also radiated out from Pennington Hostel a few kilometres along Grand Junction road.

Aptly named, Grand Junction Road displays the invigorated multicultural community at Rosewater as a junction of many cultures. In the days when the carriageway was a link transporting local farm produce between the Adelaide Hills and Port Adelaide the businesses along Grand Junction Road used to be those of Peoplestores Ltd, Graves & Sons Butchers, and the C.P.S. grocery store. In 2001,

⁴⁵ *Advertiser*, 'Youth's Great Tribute to Anzac Heroes', 27 April 1931, p. 7; Michael McKernan, *Here is Their Spirit A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990*, (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1991), p.2; Australian War Memorial AWM 27, 623/17-623/21, 'The Governor-General's address on the occasion of the dedication to day of the Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial', dated 24 May 1929.

⁴⁶ Cheltenham cemetery, for example, Section A, Roadway B, Path 4 1st Right (East) Twelve persons buried on the above site between 9th December 1876 and 31st May 1958. Five with the surname 'Garnaut' and seven with the surname of 'Duffield'. Two older headstones replaced by headstones bearing the names Ignacioneck 1/90, Sisa 24/1/90 and Makapoba 5/2/90.

⁴⁷ Port Adelaide Library Local History folder, LH ROS 1B40001 BU Rosewater Woolsheds, "'Batling Britons" planning reunion', 6.2.1980.

new signs on the old bank building advertised Bridal Wear. Rosewater businesses were named Saigon Plaza, Wing Chun Kung Fu Academy, Bida France. The local fish and chips shop sold Lebanese sweets. John Gritzalis & Associates prepared tax returns and women in Muslim headwear served in Robin's Deli. A-Dong Restaurant served Thai, Chinese and Vietnamese food; the pillars abutting the car park entrance featured Ming blue, porcelain lions. The Salvation Army still ran a family store but the name of 'Sutton', the family that once owned the local 'Home Service Stores' no longer featured as a business but as a memorial oval to Eric Sutton who died as a Prisoner of War on the Burma Thailand Railway during WWII.⁴⁸ Eric Sutton was a Councillor and Alderman of Port Adelaide before his enlistment in the second A.I.F. The Port Adelaide Council Chambers previously contained a memorial plaque naming Sutton. The plaque read:

In Memory
of
Alderman Eric Erskine Sutton
Who died in Thailand
Whilst a Prisoner of War, on July 14, 1943.
His Duty Nobly Done
Councillor, December 1930 to June 1939.
Alderman, July 1940 to June 1942.⁴⁹

William Henry Gilbert, in the City of Port Adelaide Mayor's Report 1945-1946, wrote:

I accepted the plaque on behalf of the City Council and said: "We shall guard it reverently in honour of the faithful and devoted life to whose memory it is erected."⁵⁰

Removal and storage of the plaque in Sutton's memory took place during building renovations carried out after the merger of Port Adelaide and Enfield Councils in

⁴⁸ Ron Hoskin, *Early Recollections of Ron Hoskin*, (Adelaide: Ronald Bruce Hoskin, 1996), Part 2, Rosewater, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Port Adelaide Enfield Council supplied a photocopy of the plaque; The Commonwealth War Graves Commission gives E E Sutton's date of death as Sunday, 4th July 1943, age 42. Sutton's burial site is in Thanbyuzayat War Cemetery, Myanmar.

⁵⁰ William Henry Gilbert, *90th Year, City of Port Adelaide Mayor's Report 1945-1946*, pp. 12-13.

the 1990s. Enquires elicited the information that eventually the merged Council plans to place the plaque in the Rosewater Football Club Buildings on the memorial oval.⁵¹ Resituating the plaque within Rosewater will link the story of Sutton's death in Thailand to the community asset named in his memory.

'Living memorials', advocated by some members of the veteran community as expressions of timeless gratitude, do not guarantee remembrance of war dead in perpetuity any more than monumental soldiers' memorials. Rosewater had retained the Eric Sutton Memorial oval, but in the larger council area of Port Adelaide Enfield, the LeFevre Peninsula Memorial Trust Playground and Health centre commemorating Port Adelaide industrial companies former employees, who gave their lives in WWII, no longer enjoyed its previous significance. The memorial plaque on the former oval known as the I.C.I. Reserve & Playground stated:

The LeFevre Peninsula Memorial Trust Inc. Playground and Health Centre dedicated to the memory of those employees of the subscribers who gave their lives in World War II 1939-1945.⁵²

Harold Moore, Mayor of Port Adelaide in 1950-1951 reporting on Baby Health

Centres wrote:

The other centre at the I.C.I. Reserve, Peterhead, is for the Peterhead Branch, and forms part of a memorial to commemorate employees of Industrial Companies on Le Fevre Peninsula who gave their lives for King and Country in World War II.⁵³

The backyard of the Baby Health Centre forming part of the memorial, opened in 1951 by Lady Mawson, did contain some playground equipment.⁵⁴ Redeveloped,

⁵¹ Information supplied by Port Adelaide Enfield Council.

⁵² The memorial listed the subscribers as: 'Adelaide Cement Co Ltd, Adelaide Chemical and Fertilizer Co Ltd, Adelaide Stevedoring Co Ltd, Asbestos Cement Pty Ltd, Caltex Oil (Aust) Pty Ltd, Colonial Sugar Refining Co Ltd, Commonwealth Oil Refineries Ltd, Cresco Fertilizers Ltd, Electricity Trust of South Aust, Ford Motor Co of Aust Pty Ltd, General Motors - Holdens Ltd, ICI Alkali (Aust) Pty Ltd, ICI Employees Social Club Inc, Mothers & Babies Health Assoc, Oldfields Bakery Ltd, Shell Co of Aust Ltd, Sleigh H C Ltd, Vacuum Oil Pty Ltd, Wallaroo - Mt Lyell Fertilizer Ltd. Officially opened 5th May 1951'.

⁵³ Harold Joseph Moore, *95th Year, City of Port Adelaide Mayor's Report 1950-1951*, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Moore, *95th Year, City of Port Adelaide Mayor's Report 1950-1951*, p. 19.

urban infill replaced the reserve listed as a memorial by the Corporation of the City of Port Adelaide on 27 March 1968, and detailed in a 'Land Evaluation and Need Study 1985'.⁵⁵ The plaque attesting the purpose of the memorial survived, shifted to the edge of the housing estate, but was not visible to traffic or pedestrians on Fletcher road where the former Baby Health Centre had a sign advising it was a Child and Youth Health Centre.⁵⁶

My research conducted in the area now termed 'Greater Port Adelaide', shows that 'living memorials' from the WWII survive, their significance preserved in the memory of those persons who are aware of the historical links. For example, older community members are aware the memorial oval commemorates Eric Sutton who died while a POW.⁵⁷ But, until such time as the Port Adelaide Enfield Council actually transfer and rededicate the memorial plaque previously in the Council chamber, there is no material evidence on the memorial site to associate the living memorial with WWII or Anzac culture. Likewise, the Baby Health Centre does not conclusively fulfil the vision of a memorial expressing 'timeless gratitude for unselfish devotion to the defence of our ideals, while at the same time serving the living', the statement made in the 1948 League magazine article.⁵⁸ Depreciation in terms of community recognition has reduced the value of the reserve as a living memorial.

The final community building in the Greater Port Adelaide field study, the former Congregational Church at Ottoway, now the Junction Community Centre, had a stained glass leadlight window honouring war dead. It contained two church

⁵⁵ *Portside Messenger*, '\$10m housing estate plans for Peterhead', 26 July 1989, p. 5; League Survey, Corporation of the City of Port Adelaide, 27 March 1968; Port Adelaide Library Local History Section, 'Land Evaluation and Need Study 1985, Reserve Plan Folio', LH 711.580994231 Vol 3, ICI Reserve & Playground, 37 Trust Tce., Peterhead Sheet 39, DRG no 24.

⁵⁶ Photograph of plaque May 2001, held by author.

⁵⁷ Hoskin, *Early Recollections*, 1996, Part 2, Rosewater, p. 9; Rex Serle, June 2001.

⁵⁸ *Back*, January 1948, p.17.

honour rolls both labelled for the 'Heroes of the Great War' even though one was for the First World War and the other for the Second. In 2001, the Community Centre also housed the honour rolls removed from the old Rosewater District Council Chambers. The honour rolls from the former RSL Hall hung in the Junction Community Centre where migrants attended English classes and other ethnic groups, such as Casa Chile, Filipino Seniors, and those attending Vietnamese dance and exercise met.⁵⁹ The recycling of these honour rolls took place because of the actions of former Councillors.⁶⁰ Members of an older cultural group cared enough to do something about retaining the rolls to ensure that the story they told remained available and a part of the local community. Preservation of the rolls made them part of the new invigorated multicultural community, which incorporated the symbolism of earlier Australian Britons or British Australians, as a dimension of Australian Anglo Celtic core culture. Councillors who had served an earlier generation with volunteer work in local government, remembered the stories of an even older generation, and took heed of the Rosewater Women's memorials which admonished: 'God Keep their Memory Green' and 'Let those who come after see to it that their names be not forgotten'.⁶¹ Beliefs, memory and commemorative practices forming a dimension of Australian Anglo Celtic core identity had been recycled as a backdrop to a multitude of cultural activities at the Junction Community Centre.

Research in Greater Port Adelaide provided evidence 'living memorials' from the 1920s in the form of stained glass windows had a partial retention rate,

⁵⁹ Pamphlet relating to Junction Community Centre May – July 2001, supplied by Junction Community Centre, Grand Junction Road, Ottoway; Photographs of windows and honour boards taken 2001, held by author

⁶⁰ Rex Serle and Ron Hoskin to author, 2001; Chris Chereda, Mara Kolomitsev and Kathy Pivetta, *The Building within the Triangle Junction Community Centre Formerly the Ottoway Congregational Church*, (Adelaide, Seaview Press, 2001), p. 16, 34.

⁶¹ Rosewater Womens Memorial, 1914-1919 Roll of Honor, photographed 2001, held by author.

with the symbolism of their original dedication as soldiers' memorials lost. The two 'living memorials' dedicated since 1945, remained extant, but did not wholly reflect the vision of the intended original symbolism. Conversely, Great War rolls of honour from two of the three buildings surveyed had survived, obvious examples of Anzac culture. Despite local cost cutting exercises, the ambience of the surviving honour rolls hanging in the Junction Community Centre provided a sense of identity for Australians into the twenty first century. The field study conducted in relation to memorials in the rural Copper Triangle provided evidence that those communities placed more value on their monuments and 'living memorials' than did the institutions operating within multicultural Greater Port Adelaide. The rural communities had responded to the expanding national interest in Anzac culture. Nevertheless research conducted in Rosewater also provided evidence that the continued residence of older Australians in suburban areas undergoing processes of increasing diversity in relation to ethnicity, recycling of community assets and urban infill also elicits a positive response from some sections of the Australian community.

My field studies related to the rural Copper Triangle and metropolitan Greater Port Adelaide are but a small indication of loss, recycling, storage and restoration that has occurred in relation to material and 'living memorials' throughout Australia. Communication with local museums elicited the information that some museums held honour rolls in storage or as part of exhibitions. The Army Museum at Keswick held a number of former Sunday school honour rolls; the National Motor museum possessed a WWI honour roll, whereas the Maritime

Museum's catalogue listed a number of rolls in storage.⁶² The Historical Society of the Uniting Church in South Australia was another repository storing honour rolls, as was the National Railway Museum.⁶³ A League file revealed correspondence about forty-two other cases concerning South Australian memorials, some related to the dedication and unveiling of new memorials, but the majority concerned removal, loss, damage, or vandalism. Some memorials suffered removal and subsequent relocation after community lobbying. In the case of one Council, memorial gates mistakenly auctioned, cost a much higher figure to re-purchase and install at a more convenient location. Living memorials in the form of avenues of trees had lost significance when dedication plaques were lost or the intention of their original significance vanished with subsequent replanting of different varieties.⁶⁴ The small sample taken within South Australia as a case study indicates a loss of material history in connection with the commemoration of war dead throughout Australia, a reduction in local community acknowledgement of the 'debt of honor', particularly in the case of 'living memorials'. In metropolitan areas, some residents no longer remember, and have no connection with, the individual names listed on honour rolls and memorial windows.

However, in contradiction, under the impetus of the 'Australia Remembers' and 'TS-OH' commemorative programmes', evidence exists of resurgent national acknowledgement of a debt of gratitude 'to those who served in the defence of Australia's freedom.'⁶⁵ In May 1995, Rod Sawford, Member for Port Adelaide

⁶² Site visit Army Museum Keswick; letter from Wolfgang Warmer, Guides Volunteer, National Motor Museum, dated 19 February 2002; Search result, South Australian Maritime Museum Artefact Collection, provided by Bill Seager September 2001, pp. 1-3.

⁶³ Site visit Uniting Church Historical Society, photographs taken at site, letter from Rev'd George Potter, Secretary, The Historical Society of the Uniting Church in South Australia dated 5 February 2002; letter from A D Presgrave, Archivist, National Railway Museum, dated 31 January 2002.

⁶⁴ Returned & Services League of Australia (S.A. Branch) Inc., Adelaide, Memorial File. (See Appendix IV.)

⁶⁵ Reid and Forth, *Memories & Memorabilia*, back cover.

unveiled the T.C. Derrick memorial at Glanville. Lt Thomas Currie Derrick V.C., D.C.M., A.I.F. (1914-1945) received the Victoria Cross for gallantry beyond the call of duty. The annual memorial service of the Ex-POW Association of South Australia took place in August 2001 at Prince Alfred College Chapel. Adjacent to the chapel, stood a SA POW memorial relocated from Prospect in 1999.⁶⁶ The Hon Trish worth MP, Federal Member for Adelaide and the Lord Mayor, Mr Alfred Huang, officially opened the Adelaide 'Pathway of Honour' at the rear of Government House on 24 January 2001.⁶⁷ Various battalion memorials line the pathway, which runs between King William Road and Kintore Avenue. On 11 September 2001, at Doxiadis Reserve St Agnes, Trish Draper MP unveiled a monument commemorating the men who fought on the Kokoda Track during WWII.⁶⁸ At rural Kapunda, the dedication for the Kapunda War Memorial Garden and memorials for World War II Nurses and others that specifically recognized Vivian Bullwinkle, Capt. Nancy Wake and Capt. Jean Ashton, took place on 23 September 2001.⁶⁹ The Church of Saint Margaret of Scotland, located on Port Road, Woodville held a service of rededication for the Memorial Lychgate, 11 May 2002.⁷⁰ These South Australian activities represent but a small sample of renewed recognition of the debt of gratitude espoused in the national 'TS-OH' programme.

⁶⁶ *Advertiser*, 19 February 2000, p. 9; *Barbed Wire and Bamboo*, Vol 52, No 1, February 2000, front cover, Prince Alfred College Prep students celebrate Remembrance Day 1999. Service at the newly located SA POW memorial in College grounds; Bill Schmitt, Secretary, Ex-POW Association of South Australia, March 2000.

⁶⁷ Media Release, The Hon. Trish Worth MP, Member for Adelaide, 24 January 2001.

⁶⁸ *Makin News and Views*, Edition Nineteen, August 2002.p.3; Letter dated from Ben C Martin, St Agnes, addressed to Whom it may concern, dated 21 January 2002.

⁶⁹ Kapunda Centenary Celebrations, Dedication for Kapunda War Memorial Gardens and World War II Nurses and Others, Sunday 23 September 2001, Hymns & Anthems; photographs held by author.

⁷⁰ The Anglican Parish of Woodville, Order of Service, The Church of Saint Margaret of Scotland, A Service of Rededication for the Memorial Lychgate, 11 May, 2002; photographs held by author.

Many more examples throughout Australia are available on the Department of Veterans Affairs Internet site.⁷¹

Overall, attempts metaphorically to ‘balance the ledger’ in relation to the allegorical ‘debt of honor’ resultant from overseas war service by Australian war dead and war serving, demonstrated continuing acknowledgment of an existing debt. Significantly, more memorials seem to have survived a decline in interest in Anzac culture evident during the Vietnam War, than have been lost. Anzac culture, exhibited in the form of memorials and other commemorative practices, provides material evidence that some Australians still acknowledge a debt owed to those who served the nation during times of war, a debt established by earlier generations of Australians. If one attempts a reckoning capable of representing or recognizing the state of the nation’s debt for death on overseas battlefields and the war service of Australian citizens, field studies informing this chapter provides evidence of depreciation to the intrinsic value of ‘living memorials’ and honour rolls, dedicated at a local community level, in acknowledgement of that debt. This is an indication some religious, local government and commercial institutions believe in a reduction of the debt.

Therefore, the premise arises that the Anzac spirit evident in the sense of self-sacrifice for the benefit of the nation no longer occupies the same iconological position it once did in the idiom of Australian identity. Anzac culture has changed to accommodate an evolving sense of Australian identity, that now accepts diversity and blending of cultures. Australians who take part in Anzac Day commemorative services paying homage at memorials at the beginning of the twenty first century, are no longer predominately from a British Australian background. Australian

⁷¹ <<http://minister.dva.gov.au/media/speeches>>

British ancestry merges with the ancestry of naturalized Australians from multicultural backgrounds providing Anzac rituals with representation from many cultures in line with the fastest growing ethnic group within the Australian population itself, those acknowledging mixed ancestry. Since the Federal Government 'Australia Remembers' and 'TS-OH' commemorative programmes, acknowledgement of the national 'debt of gratitude' has supplanted local community remembrance of named individuals. Nevertheless, the former 'debt of honor', now 'debt of gratitude', remains a dimension of Australian Anglo-Celtic core culture, an 'investment' in the national 'balance sheet' that still pays a dividend in terms of national identity.

Chapter 11.
THE 'PILGRIMAGE TRAIL'¹
 Closure, remembrance, civil religion

Towards the end of the twentieth century, Australian newspaper and television news reports on Anzac Day drew attention to increasing numbers of Australians travelling to Gallipoli for the dawn service and to other significant sites at overseas war cemeteries and memorials. This final chapter deals with different journeys characterized as 'pilgrimage' within Anzac culture. Pilgrims make a pilgrimage in the religious sense of the word, when travelling to a sacred place as an act of religious devotion. Persons travelling overseas for respectful or sentimental reasons, as in the case of parents or loved ones visiting the grave of a son or relation, also make pilgrimages. Some ex-servicemen and women make pilgrimages for nostalgic reasons; revisiting a site of former incarceration as in the case of ex-prisoners of war, or to particular battlefields fought in or occupied as part of military service. Australians make a pilgrimage to significant sites such as Gallipoli for nationalistic reasons in the sense of a civil religion. 'Pilgrims' undertaking this quest range from Prime Ministers to ordinary Australians.² Travel Agents also label commercial package tours designed to educate the participants, as well as provide a degree of entertainment, as 'pilgrimages'. Some journeys labelled as a 'pilgrimage' more realistically need classification as tourism where the tour merely stopped at a significant site. Nevertheless, with regard to tours travelling to memorials, war cemeteries and various types of 'shrines', one must recognize a degree of spiritualism in the sense that a journey that included sites venerating war

¹ DVA, The Hon Bruce Scott MP, Minister for Veterans' Affairs, Media Release, 25/99, 'Sandakan Memorial Opened', 18 March 1999, p. 1 of 2,
 <<http://minister.dva.gov.au/media/media/mar99/memorial.htm>>

² *The Canberra Times*, James Grubel, 'A new generation gathers at Gallipoli to pay respects to Diggers', 26 April 2000, p. 1.

dead is dissimilar from a tour that exclusively offered entertainment as a holiday attraction.

Intellectually, there has been another category of Anzac pilgrimage in Australia since 1915, a pilgrimage of the mind or psyche. In celebration of various anniversaries, official pilgrimages travelled to overseas battlefields in Europe and the Middle East, particularly Gallipoli, and to war cemeteries in Asia to countries such as Korea, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam. Other pilgrimages did not require overseas travel. Thousands of Australians made an annual 'pilgrimage' to dawn services, to Anzac processions and to memorial services held at the Cross of Sacrifice in Adelaide, the eternal flame in Brisbane, the Shrine in Melbourne, the Cenotaph in Sydney, memorials in Hobart, Perth and Darwin or the tomb of the Unknown Australian Soldier in Canberra. Lee Sackett recognised this aspect of Anzac Day observations in 'Marching into the Past: Anzac Day Celebrations in Adelaide' (1985) writing:

Thus, Anzac Day morning they [men and women involved in the occasion] leave their families, friends, and the day-to-day routine behind; move into and through a field dominated by quasi-military relationships and forms; only to quit this and rejoin the rest of the population in the afternoon or evening. The outcome is that actors resume the roles they earlier had stepped out of much like pilgrims returning from a quest – emotionally recharged. In suggesting this I am inverting a claim made by Turner. He has observed that pilgrimage has many of the characteristics of ritual. Importantly, for him, the former, like the latter, necessitates the abandonment of normal and familiar surrounds for those of another modality. But if pilgrimage is ritual-like, the obverse must also be true. Certainly Anzac Day celebrations have a pilgrimage-like quality; only through them instead of travelling to a distant sacred site in the company of strangers, ex-Diggers in a way journey back in time in association with mates of longstanding. In this crusade they vicariously recapture and re-experience what was for them the immensely wrenching and transformative period that was their wartime service.³

³ Lee Sackett, 'Marching into the Past: Anzac Day Celebrations in Adelaide', in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No 17, November 1985, pp. 20-21.

These annual pilgrimages, in reality, are only part of an even greater pilgrimage movement that takes place not necessarily on Anzac Day, but also Remembrance Day and other significant anniversaries. As recorded in chapter 5, 'Diggers & Slackers', in Australia some communists and pacifists tried to disrupt annual pilgrimages in the form of Anzac processions. In decrying the meaning of Anzac culture, in chapter 8, 'God Save Australia', some clergymen claimed that Anzac culture glorified war, predicting the gradual demise of such commemorative ceremonies, prophesying that they would appeal less and less to younger generations, as the men and women of the generations who lived and played a part during the hostilities died. With nobody left to remember, or mourn the millions who died in what was advocated as a war to end all wars and a war to improve life for following generations, there was no place for battlefield or memorial pilgrimage, whether real or imaged. To date this prophecy has proven to be fallacious.

The pilgrimage 'cult' embraces countries in different hemispheres, encompassing all those who still remember the dead of wars of the last century, as part of what George Mosse termed 'the Cult of the Fallen Soldier'. There were so many men slaughtered in the First World War, governments sought to ease the suffering of the bereaved by erecting monuments recognising the patriotism and sacrifice of war dead in both home countries and on overseas battlefields. The United States of America gave parents the option of returning the bodies of American dead to the United States, offering the opportunity to conduct pilgrimages to those mothers who chose to leave their son's body in an overseas war cemetery.⁴ Where government action was slow in coming, Australian communities erected and made their own memorials as described in chapter 3, 'Sacred Ground'. Some

⁴ G Kurt Piehler, Chapter IX, 'The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War', in Gillis, John R, (Ed), *Commemorations The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 177.

communities both intended and depicted those monuments as ‘shrines’, expecting the occurrence of pilgrimages as iterated by the Governor-General at the opening of the Australian War Memorial. Globally there are monuments erected honouring war dead: as noted by Ken Inglis, some Australian monuments record the names of returned ex-servicemen and women as well.⁵ Every year, in addition to the thousands travelling to the nearest country town or nearest city to visit the memorials where official ceremonies take place on Anzac Day, there are also ‘pilgrimages’ made to local cemeteries, to the burial sites of ex-servicemen and women, particularly by school children. Headstones of veterans in local cemeteries are the subjects of individual recognition and not necessarily only on Anzac Day, some forms of memorialisation occur on Remembrance Day or other anniversaries, such as Victory Europe or Victory Japan Day. Having discussed my research in detail throughout this thesis when dealing with Anzac processions and previously mentioning visits to cemeteries, this chapter only briefly touches on ‘pilgrimage’ within Australia, concentrating on journeys to overseas significant sites.

The number of proposed journeys to visit battlefields and war graves makes one want to try to understand the underlying grief that must have driven the need for overseas pilgrimage. This chapter endeavours to achieve an explanation for the continued ritualistic travel of Australians to overseas war cemeteries that in the case of Anzac Cove, Prime Minister John Howard, described as almost becoming ‘a rite of passage as an Australian young man or woman.’⁶ It is something that could not have happened to such a great degree if there had been a body to bury in Australia; to place at rest in a grave tended by loved ones. At the time of writing, bodies of

⁵ Ken Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 1998), p. 181.

⁶ Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Veterans’ Affairs Policy Launch, Epping, Sydney, p. 4 of 4, 13 October 2001, <http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/22107/20011109/www.liberal.org.au/M.../p_mvtpol13oct.ht>

Vietnam Veterans brought home for reburial in Australia have not received quite the same treatment or inspired the same behaviour, although some Vietnam Veterans have returned to Vietnam to visit former prisons, war graves and memorials. The extent of Australian mourning and 'pilgrimage' rituals within Anzac culture must be a reaction to the fact that grieving families of the dead from the two World Wars could not conduct a funeral. Therefore, unable to achieve closure conducting that last rite of passage, they did all they possibly could metaphorically to lay Australian war dead to rest, to ease the burden of loss. With no survivors from the generation that lost children in the Great War to verify the above theory, later generations can only ponder the reasons and try to understand the compulsion to make a pilgrimage following the trail of war dead, and the erection of multiple memorials to Australian war dead buried in foreign lands. Whatever the cause, whether religious ritual or nationalistic rites of patriotism, evidence supports a desire to 'pilgrimage' and conduct metaphorical last rites repeatedly to ensure remembrance of war dead, irrespective of the location of the actual burial site holding human remains.

This case study of South Australian Anzac culture must now diverge from predominately South Australian archives and records to include archival sources representative of South Australia held at the Australian War Memorial, the Australian Archives and National Library in Canberra. Except for a few individually recorded journeys, the bulk of recorded overseas pilgrimage took place either under the auspices of the RSL and its antecedent organizations or, alternatively, the Australian Government. The support of the Australian Government was, and is, crucial for expediting the supply of required documentation in relation to passports and visas necessary for entry into some overseas countries. Although initially the Australian and British Governments saw

visits to war graves as the financial responsibility of the individuals who undertook that quest, that perception changed by 1965. Australian Prime Ministers and Parliamentarians recognised diplomatic and trade benefit resulted from visits to significant sites overseas, becoming increasingly supportive of veteran initiatives to organise tours along what has become a well-worn trail to overseas battlefields and war cemeteries.

With the end of the Great War, European battlefields, where the majority of the war dead lay buried, were a site of 'pilgrimage' undertaken by the relatives of the combatants of both the victorious and the defeated nations.⁷ Michelin & Cie., France, produced illustrated guides of the 1914-1918 battlefields, available to British travellers at booksellers, Michelin Stockists, and the Michelin Tyre Co., London.⁸ Evidence exists that during the interwar period, Australian civilians instigated numerous attempts to visit war graves but there is little evidence that many reached their goal. Attempts to organise tours by Australian tourists to Europe in 1919 did not receive the description of 'pilgrimage' by the organizer. Rev C. T. Forscutt of the Bexley Ladies College, Rockdale, aware of the efforts of the Americans in caring for the graves of their men, inserted a notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in January 1919 suggesting Australian tourists tour European battlefields. In a letter addressed to Mr Johnson of the Commonwealth of Australia, Homes and Territories Department, Forscutt claimed he received heartbreaking letters from mothers wanting to go to the battlefields, providing the cost was reasonable.⁹ Attempting to get a reduction in costs, Forscutt wrote:

⁷ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, p. 152-155.

⁸ Michelin & Cie, *Ypres and The Battles of Ypres*, (France: Michelin & Cie, 1919), cover.

⁹ National Archives of Australia, Series No, A1/15, Item No 1919/2785, C T Forscutt – Australian Tourists Tour to Battlefields, Extract from *Sydney Morning Herald* 2 January 1919; letters dated 2 January 1919, and 7 January 1919, Signed C Forscutt to Mr Johnson.

I am sending you this clipping so you might use it with Mr Watt or anyone who might have a say if possible in April or May to obtain some large steamer cheaply from the federal Government so as to make it possible we would only need to be dropped off at Naples.¹⁰

Herein lies a financial problem insurmountable to some prospective travellers during interwar years that included the Depression.

The cost of conducting tours to overseas war graves deterred some Australians who wished to visit Europe, particularly mothers, but in the case of one South Australian, a public appeal defrayed expenses. *The Diggers' Gazette* in March 1921 reported on the planned visit to England of Sammy Lunn, 'a maker of merry rhymes', and credited Lunn, who had collected over £8,000 for Diggers during the war period, with meeting the majority of outgoing and incoming troop transports. Mindful of Sammy's sacrifices on behalf of the Diggers, League representations resulted in Lunn receiving a MBE. Subsequently a public appeal contributed a sum of £425 enabling Lunn, together with Mrs Lunn, to holiday in England and France where 'the Diggers' pal', planned to put a wreath on the grave of every South Australian soldier. This example instances a recurring theme concerning travel undertaken by Australian civilians to overseas battlefields. Lunn's trip was one of dual purpose, for it encompassed travel to burial sites as well as a holiday.¹¹ South Australian ex-servicemen and women were instrumental in assisting Samuel Lunn to France for respectful and sentimental reasons.

War historian C. E. W. Bean recognised war graves in Gallipoli and Palestine provided a travel destination for the bereaved.¹² Consequently acting on

¹⁰ NAA, Series No, A1/15, Item No 1919/2785, C T Forscutt – Australian Tourists Tour to Battlefields, letter dated 2 January 1919, Signed C Forscutt to Mr Johnson.

¹¹ *The Diggers' Gazette*, Vol II, No 1, 15 November 1920, 'Sammy Lunn Appeal Fund', p. 21; Vol II, No 9, 21 March 1921, 'Farewell to Sammy Lunn Visit to Battlefields', p. 19.

¹² NAA, Series No A458, Item No L337/7, Defence, Pilgrimage to Soldiers Graves, Gallipoli, 1921-1928, Memorandum for The Secretary, Prime Minister's Department Melbourne, from Acting Official Secretary in Great Britain for the Commonwealth of Australia, dated 12 January 1921.

Bean's concerns relative to graves in Gallipoli and Palestine, in January 1921, the Acting Official Secretary in Great Britain for the Commonwealth of Australia forwarded a memorandum to the Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, Melbourne. The letter requested an estimate of the possible number of Australian relatives and visitors to Gallipoli and Egypt, given the probable availability of accommodation and transport facilities.¹³ In October of the same year the Prime Minister, (the Hon W. M. Hughes), received a letter from Mrs M. R. McMillan of Melbourne who wished to visit the grave of her son. Jane McMillan wrote:

Now that the Commonwealth has its own line of Passengers Steamers does it intend making a special concession in fares for the mothers of fallen soldiers so that they may visit the graves of their sons - Australia was unique in the war, the distance being so great – this of course meant an added anxiety during the fighting – and now expensive fares will prevent many mothers from going to France and Egypt.

My own son was Killed in Action and so, I feel justified in asking this question.¹⁴

Replying to Mrs McMillan, the Prime Minister's private secretary advised that the Government Line of Steamers had limited accommodation and no special concession as she requested.¹⁵ Unwilling to accept the reply as final, McMillan suggested the Government overcome the problem in the near future adding: 'I say the near future because naturally these women are not young.'¹⁶ By October 1921, the Prime Minister had written documentation that mothers of fallen soldiers wished to visit the graves of their sons, but the Government refused to provide any financial help to Australians wanting to visit war graves in France and Egypt.

¹³ NAA, Series No A458, Item No L337/7, Defence, Pilgrimage to Soldiers Graves, Gallipoli, 1921-1928, Letter dated 12 January 1921.

¹⁴ NAA, Series No A458/1, Item No L337/7, Defence, Pilgrimage to Soldiers Graves, Gallipoli, 1921-1928, Letter to The Hon W M Hughes, Prime Minister from Jane McMillan, dated 29 October 1921, Mc Millan's under lining.

¹⁵ NAA, Series No A458, Item No L337/7, Defence, Pilgrimage to Soldiers Graves, Gallipoli, 1921-1928, Letter dated 4 November 1921.

¹⁶ NAA, Series No A458, Item No L337/7, Defence, Pilgrimage to Soldiers Graves, Gallipoli, 1921-1928, Letter dated 14 November 1921, 'near' underlined in original letter.

Evidence reveals that by November 1927 proposed visits to overseas battlefields had received the label of 'pilgrimage'. A letter from the Prime Minister's Department, Canberra addressed to Royston T. Cahir, Esq., Barrister and Solicitor of Chancery House, Melbourne refers to a previous letter of 29 November 1927 regarding a proposed Pilgrimage to Gallipoli. The Department advised Cahir that Turkish Authorities had expressed a willingness 'to grant facilities required in connection with visas for the party.' The letter continued:

Whilst this is a clear indication of the Turkish Government's general approval of the Pilgrimage proceeding, the British Ambassador at Constantinople has seen fit to convey a warning to the organisers of the tour as to the advisableness of observing any formalities which may be imposed by the Turkish Government and mentions that despite definite assurances given to the St. Barnabas Expedition to Gallipoli from London last year, that Pilgrimage met with considerable difficulty and inconvenience.

The Turkish Government received advice that the Pilgrimage would depart Australia in April 1928. The British Ambassador at Constantinople was to arrange with the Turkish Government 'for the visa-ing of the Pilgrims passports.' In another example of dual purpose in relation to pilgrims undertaking overseas travel the letter continued:

In discussing the proposed Pilgrimage, the British Ambassador touches upon the question of the possibility of a certain number of Armenians, domiciled in Australia, desiring to take advantage of the Pilgrimage to visit Gallipoli. In this connection Sir George Clark points out that the Turkish Consular Authorities would refuse such Armenians visas, pending reference to Angora and possibly lengthy delays might follow. The Ambassador therefore considers it appropriate to warn you in this connection and it is suggested that Armenians should be discouraged.¹⁷

In the 1920s, the act of conducting a pilgrimage to Gallipoli was fraught with difficulties needing the support of the Imperial Government, the British

¹⁷ NAA, Series No A1/15, Item No 1934/7024, Pilgrimage to war graves – passport question, Letter from Prime Minister's Department, Canberra to Royston T Cahir, Esq., Melbourne. Undated, but refers to 'my letter to you of the 29th November, 1927.'

Ambassador at Constantinople and Turkish Authorities before receiving any necessary visas and 'Pilgrim passports'.

Achieving satisfactory outcomes in relation to touring France and Flanders proved easier for the British Legion than Service bodies in Australia. Archives record the delegation of Captain John F. Robins, RAN, patron of the RS&SILA, as representative for the High Commissioner during a special pilgrimage to France and Flanders arranged by the British Legion in co-operation with the Empire Service League in 1928.¹⁸ However, the 'Battlefields Tour 1929' was touted as the first opportunity for both New Zealanders and Australians to join an organised tour to the battlefields and cemeteries of Gallipoli, 'although organised tours have been arranged from the old country.' The United Services Association organised the tour through Messrs Burns, Philp & Co, agents in Australia for the London and North Eastern Railway Co. An application form on the back of the information booklet required details of the 'Cemetery Desired to Visit and Particulars', requesting the name, number, cemetery, grave number and other particulars, construing this tour as one undertaken for respectful, sentimental and nostalgic reasons. On 4 June 1929, Burns Philp wrote to Captain C. E. W. Bean thanking him for 'a considerable amount of information' valuable in finalising 'arrangements for the Party of Pilgrims, leaving Australia on the SS "Baradine"'.¹⁹ A handwritten note supplies the information that from the PM's file it appeared a 1928 Pilgrimage 'fell through' and a pilgrimage consisting of 86 members, 48 women and 38 men took its place.

¹⁸ NAA, Series No A458, Item No L337/7, Defence pilgrimage to France and Flanders, British Legion in co-operation Empire Service, Letterhead, Commonwealth of Australia, Australia House, London, Memorandum to The Secretary, Prime Ministers Department Canberra, from the Official Secretary, dated 2 August, 1928.

¹⁹ AWM38, 3DRL, 6673, Item 225, 'Battlefields Tour 1929', Booklet, The Battlefields and War Graves Gallipoli, Reproduced from the BP Magazine.

Given the opportunity, women did visit war graves for in this case they made up fifty-six percent of the pilgrims travelling to Gallipoli.²⁰

Attempting to organise an Anzac Pilgrimage through the auspices of the Australian War Memorial, J. L. Treloar communicated with C. E. W. Bean in January 1935 suggesting a pilgrimage to Gallipoli, Palestine and France as a celebration to mark twenty years since the end of the war. At that time, Treloar was Director of the Australian War Memorial and stationed in Melbourne, for the AWM was still under construction.²¹ Concurrently, Bean had yet to complete *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*.²² Treloar advised Bean he used the word Anzac as an indication of the inclusion of New Zealanders. Treloar nominated General Chauvel, Sir Henry Gullett and Bean, as chief guides and speechmakers, adding he hoped for some sort of executive position for himself. Again, the suggestion of dual purpose arose, for Treloar also proposed attending a test match, preferably in Yorkshire or Lancashire to allow barracking, which he considered out of place at Lords! A further suggestion was to visit Germany and 'finally bury the hatchet', while another possibility was that of paying respects to former comrades in Canada, the United States and New Zealand. However, the most critical decision concerned the limiting of the pilgrimage to ex-servicemen and women or including others such as wives and children, mothers and fathers. Realising that particular problem required careful debate, Treloar added that his preference was for ex-servicemen and women, with the possible addition of fathers

²⁰ NAA, Series No A1/15, Item No 1934/7024, Pilgrimage to war graves – passport question, handwritten note dated 28/5[1929].

²¹ K S Inglis, 'A Sacred Place The Making of the Australian War Memorial', in *War and Society*, Vol 3, No 2, September 1985, pp. 99.

²² Graeme Davison, John Hirst, Stuart Macintyre, (Eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, (Melbourne, Oxford University, 1998), p. 66.

of fallen soldiers. Again, as in the case of Jane McMillan, a bureaucrat did not understand the need for mothers, wives and children to assuage grief.

Australians 'pilgrimizing' overseas had different characteristics from French, Belgian, German and English pilgrims visiting war graves, because secondary features included aspects of going 'home', visiting relatives or attending Empire ceremonies. Although suggested pilgrimages usually advocated observing significant anniversaries in relation to Anzac or the Armistice, 1936 provided a different opportunity for a proposed pilgrimage with dual objectives, the King's coronation.²³ The 'Coronation Issue' of the *Official Year book of the Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia 1937* reported Battlefield Pilgrims to war graves on French Battlefields numbered approximately 250,000 annually. Reflecting the ease of ability to conduct pilgrimages, French nationals made up 70% of the pilgrims, Belgians 10%, German 6% and British 3%.²⁴ The unveiling of the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial provided an opportunity for the League to successfully nominate Mr R. B. Jacob, a former Past President and Vice President of the South Australian Branch, as a representative of the ex-servicemen and women of Australia when His Majesty King George VI unveiled the memorial on 1 July 1938.²⁵ The League endorsed South Australian representation at the official opening of the Australian memorial in France.

The Advertiser provides evidence that before the conclusion of the Second World War, Australians desired to visit war graves related to WWII. Organized 'pilgrimages' after the war were far more likely to be successful than pre-war attempts, but there is evidence that, given the opportunity and provided with

²³ League State Board minutes, 17 February 1936, 34, King's Coronation Suggested Pilgrimage.

²⁴ Q S Spedding (ed), *The Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (Federal Headquarters), Official Year Book 1937, (Coronation issue)*, (Sydney: NSW Branch, 1937), p. 221.

²⁵ SB, 5 April 1938, 12, and 19 April 1938, 11, Unveiling of Villers-Bretonneux Memorial.

financial assistance, more mothers and war widows wished to travel to war cemeteries. It is impossible to provide details of all pilgrimages organised by and on behalf of Australians since 1945. My research has found evidence of over 100 'pilgrimages'. Some journeys referred to as a 'pilgrimages' in League State Board minutes relate to travel to South Australian cemeteries, and interstate journeys on significant occasions. As during the interwar period, a significant number of 'pilgrimages' took place to old battlefields and war cemeteries in the Middle East and Europe, nevertheless by 1953 there is evidence of pilgrimage to New Guinea. During the 1960s, the incidence of pilgrimage extended to Malaya and Indonesia, while in the 1970s former POWs ventured on the pilgrimage trail in South East Asia and veterans returned to Greece and Crete. Korea, the location of the 'forgotten war', joined other significant sites on the pilgrimage trail during the next decade. The same decade provided another instance of pilgrimage within Australia as veterans returned to the Northern Territory for the 40th Anniversary of the Bombing of Darwin. By the end of the twentieth century, Vietnam veterans had also returned to sites of former incarceration and battlefields.²⁶

Official delegations journeyed to war cemeteries conducting inspections and commemorative services endowed with Christian ritual, for the Order of Service for a dawn service at Gallipoli provides evidence of both secular and religious rites linked to Anzac Culture. Lieut-General Sir Leslie Morshead led an Australian Delegation to Gallipoli for the dawn service on Anzac Day and then continued on to Tobruk for the unveiling of the Australian memorial at the Tobruk Siege Cemetery 30 April 1948. The Beach Cemetery, Gallipoli, was the venue for the Anzac ceremony of remembrance during which Sir Leslie gave the address. Judging the

²⁶ (See Appendix V.)

purpose of the delegation from the tone of the epilogue leads one to the conclusion the journey to this significant site took place for nationalistic reasons in the sense of a civil religion. However, by interpreting the site of the Beach Cemetery at Gallipoli as a 'sacred place', there were also elements of Christian religious devotion. The rendition of 'The Lord's Prayer' by Sir Leslie Morshead, the Benediction, and the words of 'Anzac Day' wherein the dead are likened to Christ, in that their death enabled other Australians to live redeemed lives, are rites of the Christian faith. Therefore, this journey to Gallipoli had dual purposes for although on the surface, the Delegation's purpose was secular and nationalistic, it used Christian rites as a model to assuage the grief of mourners.

In August 1951, thirty-three years after war service in Europe, Mr A. C. Sharp, member of the 45th Battalion Reunion Committee, wrote to Mr Bob Sinclair, Honorary Secretary, of the 45th Battalion, AIF Reunion Association in August 1951 describing the 14 day visit to France and Belgium taken with his wife and son while on a trip to Britain. Describing the Menin Gate Memorial, Sharp recorded:

Quite a number attend each night and I felt each time strangely moved at this unforgottenly [sic] moment. For 5 nights I never missed attending, and it is something long to be remembered. Remember Laurence Binyons [sic] lines "At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them". Perhaps that is why I stood at the Gate each evening.²⁷

Although Sharp's letter does not convey a sense of religious spiritualism by reference to Christ or Christianity, his patriotism informs a civil religion wherein the recitation of Binyon's Ode stimulated a ritual response, 'We will remember them!'

In 1955, the Prime Minister's Department became involved with a pilgrimage in an official capacity. The December edition of *Back* contained an

²⁷ AWM27, 670/2, Description of a visit to Australian Battlefields in France and Belgium by Mr A C Sharp late 'B' Company 45th Battalion AIF (Extract from letter dated 23 August 1951), p. 1.

advertisement for a 'World Commemoration Tour' that incorporated a landing party on the Gallipoli beaches on 25 April, 1955 and attendance at the unveiling of a Turkish memorial to war dead. The complete tour extended over five months and visited not only Middle Eastern countries, but also European countries and the United States of America.²⁸ League Minutes recorded South Australians Messrs Joyce and Wilson as 'pilgrims' for the 1955 Gallipoli pilgrimage.²⁹ The Prime Minister's Department was in a quandary by 24 March 1955 because, officially, they had no knowledge of the RSL Gallipoli pilgrimage. Neagle, General Secretary of the RSL, believed that General Erdelhun, Chief of the Turkish General Staff, mistakenly thought three Australian Generals were members of the pilgrimage. Consequently, Neagle asked for the appointment of Sir George Holland as Commonwealth representative for the Turkish visit. A letter addressed to the Prime Minister (Robert Menzies) advised:

It is recommended that Sir George Holland be appointed as Commonwealth representative covering the visit to Turkey and secondly that a suitably [sic] gift be purchased as a memento from the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth to the Prime Minister of Turkey.³⁰

Menzies arranged for Holland to present the Turkish Prime Minister with a gift. In September 1955, the Prime Minister received a cablegram from Arthur Fadden, Deputy Prime Minister, Treasurer and Leader of the Country Party, regarding an extensive tour of the Gallipoli area by an Australian Delegation. Fadden reported:

²⁸ *Back*, Advertisement, 'World Commemoration Tour', December 1954, p. 7.

²⁹ League State Board minutes, 21 February 1955, 14, General Business, (e) Fed Executive meeting, Gallipoli Pilgrimage.

³⁰ NAA, Series No A462/16, Item No 448/12, War and defence – Pilgrimage of ex-servicemen to battlefield at Gallipoli, Prime Minister's Department, The Prime Minister, Gallipoli Pilgrimage, dated 24 March 1955, p.2.

I was struck by the many sincere and spontaneous expressions of amity with Australia. "We were enemies but we are now good friends" was voiced again and again. Particularly as the visit was arranged at short notice and on an informal basis the experiences of the day with its overflowing measure of hospitality were more moving than I can express. It was a high compliment to Australia and a clear reflection of the high regard for our country in this area.³¹

Although not intended as a 'pilgrimage', because Fadden was in Istanbul for a meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, his moving experiences during the Australian's delegation tour to war graves and memorials gave him a greater appreciation of the connotations of the Gallipoli campaign and its significance within Turkish - Australian relations.³²

In 1960, Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, and W. Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, travelled to London and placed wreaths on the Cenotaph on Anzac Day.³³ In 1961, the Government adhered to principles already set, refusing assistance for a pilgrimage to Malaya and Thailand by members of the 2/19 Battalion AIF Association. When refusing the request, the Minister for Defence, Athol Townley, quoted a letter from the Prime Minister to the Rats of Tobruk Association, which stated:

You will no doubt appreciate that over a period the Government receives many requests for assistance to commemorate important events of this nature. Although each case is considered on its merits, the Government has decided that it should not sponsor or assist the financing of the great majority of the proposals put to it. Exceptions include the unveiling of War Memorials. ...

I do, however, wish you and the members of your Association who will be making the pilgrimage a successful and enjoyable journey.³⁴

³¹ NAA, Series No A462/16, Item No 448/12, War and defence – Cablegram from Australian High Commission, London, 2355, Unclassified, For the Prime Minister from Fadden, dated 21 September 1955, Received 22 September 1955.

³² Australia's Prime Ministers, Fadden, Treasurer 1949-58, <<http://primeministers.naa.gov.au/meetpm.asp?pmld=13&pageName=after>>

³³ *Sentry-Go*, 'Anzac Observance in London', May 1960, p. 3.

³⁴ NAA, Series No A1838, Item No 1516/6/206, Part I, Letter from Athol Townley to Hon. J O Cramer, dated 17 July 1961.

The Australian Government maintained its attitude that visits to overseas war graves did not merit financial assistance.

However, Governmental policies regarding financial assistance for pilgrimage to significant sites overseas did begin to change in the 1960s. With the fiftieth anniversary of the Gallipoli landing approaching, the RSS & AILA began planning for suitable commemoration procedures to mark the occasion, making a request for financial assistance in the form of a subsidy to meet the expenses of Gallipoli veterans and their dependants or next of kin, for a key feature of the commemoration, a Gallipoli pilgrimage. Acknowledging the organization of such a pilgrimage as extremely complex and fraught with many difficulties, the RSS & AILA saw it as an event open to all interested parties necessitating a framework of inter-Governmental liaison between Australia, New Zealand and Turkey. The letter continued:

We realise, particularly in the fourth request, [units of the Australian Fleet participating in the Pilgrimage] that we are asking for something quite unusual. It is felt however that this is an occasion that is something special in Australia's brief history. It is not just a tribute to the men who served on Gallipoli, it is an undertaking that can give new life and new stimulus to the whole of the Anzac tradition. It can be used to make an impact on young Australians. It could, if properly conducted, stimulate feelings of patriotism and by so doing contribute to recruiting and to the willingness and the enthusiasm with which Australians could be asked to respond to a need for greater personal effort and sacrifice in the interests of the nation.³⁵

The same object of sacrifice in the interest of the nation evident in that letter follows the trend of sermons and addresses given by clergymen to earlier generations of Australians, but in this event, there is no mention of Christ or Christianity. Instead, the author of the letter, the National Secretary, A. G. W. Keys, mentioned the high hopes of the RSS & AILA of the development of the pilgrimage 'into a unique

³⁵ NAA, Series No A463/63, Item No 1963/2297, Part I, Anzac Jubilee 1965 – Pilgrimage to Gallipoli, Letter to the Prime Minister Rt Hon Sir Robert Menzies from A G W Keys, National Secretary, RSS & AILA, dated 11 November, 1963, pp. 1-2.

demonstration of national feeling.' In touting the Gallipoli pilgrimage as a base upon which to build national feeling, a base for strengthening personal effort and sacrifice, Keys, as National Secretary of the RSS & AILA, advocated patriotism based on Anzac and a national civil religion. Paradoxically, at the time of the Vietnam War, a war accompanied by moratoriums stirred up by issues of unfair conscription policies, veterans of the voluntary first and second AIFs advocated the basis of a civil religion capable of cementing the core of the Australian national identity.

The suggested injection of new life into the Anzac tradition and its supposed impact on young Australians must have resonated within Canberra's corridors of power because, despite the earlier claim that the Government did not financially support pilgrimages, the planned journey's significance was enough to change Governmental policy to the extent of granting a subsidy towards its cost. Further, the Government directed Qantas to grant a 30% group travel concession.³⁶ In NSW the State Executive agreed 'that the subsidy be devoted to assisting original Anzacs', specifically those unable to meet the cost of the pilgrimage. The Prime Minister's Department gave responsibility for all arrangements and the actual distribution of the provided grant £20,000 to the RSS & AILA, although veterans from two other organizations expressed a desire to become part of the pilgrimage. Before the Prime Minister received Key's requests, the Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs sought representation in any contingents proceeding to Gallipoli for the Anzac Jubilee Anniversary, while on 13 July 1964 the Gallipoli Legion of Anzacs requested financial assistance for members to visit and pay homage to their

³⁶ NAA, Series No 1838/1, Item No 1516/6/206, Part 2, Protocol – Visits abroad by Australians – Pilgrimage by the Second, Nineteenth AIF Battalion & others to Gallipoli, marked 'confidential' p. 1 of 3, undated, but refers to other correspondence dated November 1963 and 11 September 1964.

dead 'lying almost forgotten in a foreign country Gallipoli.'³⁷ A special circular dated 25 July 1964, addressed to Secretaries of RSS & AILA Sub-Branched advised the itinerary included calls at 'Tobruk, Alexandria, Cairo, El Alamein, Beirut and the Greek Islands culminating at Gallipoli on 25 April.' The NSW Returned Servicemen's League elected a committee to investigate the many requests received for assistance.³⁸ South Australia's allocated proportion of the grant was enough to cover the fares for four persons.³⁹ The Federal Government provided financial support for the 1965 RSS & AILA pilgrimage to the Middle East and Gallipoli.

The Government's grant of financial assistance for veterans to return to Gallipoli did not receive unqualified support from all relevant Commonwealth Departments. J. M. Wark, Assistant Secretary, Commonwealth Treasury, advised Treasury rejected any extension of the tour to Second World War battlefields stating that those battlefields had nothing to do with Anzac.⁴⁰ The Department of External Affairs expressed misgivings relating to the terminology 'pilgrimage'. Referring to the past behaviour of Australian troops in Arab countries, the Department of External Affairs warned of possible difficulties and endeavoured to change the object of the RSL's 'project' from one of pilgrimage, to that of tourism. A 'confidential' report regarding the RSL Gallipoli Pilgrimage addressed to 'The Minister' signed by J. R. Rowland, Acting Senior Assistant Secretary, Africa and Middle East Section, advised:

³⁷ NAA, Series No A463/63, Item 1963/2297, Part I, Anzac Jubilee 1965 – Pilgrimage to Gallipoli, Letter to Prime Ministers Department from S H Stocker, Hon State Secretary of the Australian Legion of Ex Service Clubs, dated 21 May, 1963; Letterhead Gallipoli Legion of Anzacs, (Newcastle Branch), addressed to Rt Honourable J McEwen MP, Acting Prime Minister, dated 13 July, 1964.

³⁸ NAA, Series No A463/63, Item No 1963/2297, Part I, Special Circular, Returned Servicemen's League (N.S.W.), Circular No. 36/64, File No C60, 92, dated 25 July 1964.

³⁹ League State Board minutes, 25 May 1964, 18, Anzac, Gallipoli Pilgrimage.

⁴⁰ NAA, Series No A463/63, Item No 1963/2297, Part I, Letterhead Commonwealth Treasury, Reference Number SL 63/4549, addressed to Prime Minister's Department, from J M Wark, Assistant Secretary, dated 6th April, 1964.

We see certain possibilities of difficulty in the project in that some of the Governments concerned, particularly the Arab ones, may not necessarily regard the Pilgrimage as favourably as the R.S.L. may expect; memories of our troops in Egypt, for example, may not be entirely happy ones. For this reason, we think that the project would be best presented to the Arabs as essentially a tourist enterprise.⁴¹

Possibly Rowland was referring to 'the battle of the Wassa', which occurred in April 1915, when 'mostly drunk' Australians 'threw furniture into the street and set fire to it.'⁴² In the report, Rowland proposed his Department brief the pilgrimage leader, Sir Raymond Huish, Deputy National president of the RSL and State President of the Queensland Branch, together with another possible pilgrim, Sir William Spooner, before their departure overseas.⁴³ Despite bureaucratic concerns, the 1965 return to Gallipoli proceeded under the leadership of Sir Raymond Huish.

As with other official anniversary pilgrimages, RSL National Office accepted nominations from the South Australian Branch. League minutes record seventeen South Australians taking part in the 1965 Gallipoli Pilgrimage, making particular mention of Messrs P. Auld and J. Gordon.⁴⁴ Ken Inglis, one of those taking the RSL tour around the Middle East and Gallipoli, recorded some of his experiences during the pilgrimage in *The Canberra Times*.⁴⁵ The same year the Commonwealth Government offered five couples from each State the opportunity to visit Canberra for the Anzac celebrations.⁴⁶ Five South Australian couples, together with a returned sister and war widow, Mrs A. S. Blackman undertook a pilgrimage to Canberra where Anzac Parade, now the site of major memorials, was officially

⁴¹ NAA, Series No 1838/1, Item No 1516/6/206 Part 2, marked 'Confidential' undated, p.2.

⁴² Robertson, *Anzac and Empire*, p. 59.

⁴³ NAA, Series No 1838/1, Item No 1516/6/206 Part 2, marked 'Confidential' undated, p.3.

⁴⁴ League State Board Minutes, 8 February 1965, 19, General Business (q) Mr P Auld; 22 March 1965, (d) Gallipoli Pimgrimage, [sic].

⁴⁵ NLA, MS 389, Box 3 of 25, K S Inglis 'Anzac Pilgrims a Self Portrait', in *The Canberra Times*, 25 April 1966, p.2.

⁴⁶ SB, 8 February 1965, 19, General Business, (i) Canberra Pilgrimage.

opened as part of the anniversary celebrations.⁴⁷ With the help of the Commonwealth Government, Australians marked the 50th anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing by making pilgrimages to overseas WWI battlefields, war cemeteries and the national capital, Canberra. Government attitudes towards veterans and relatives wishing to visit overseas war graves had undergone subtle changes.

By 1965, pilgrimages to visit the burial sites of dead servicemen of WWI and WWII in overseas war cemeteries had become established practice, part of a national civil religion recognising the valour and sacrifice of Australian volunteers in the service of the British Empire and Australia. At the time of the Vietnam War, various Australian pilgrims ventured to the Middle East, Asia and Europe. Parliamentarians took the opportunity to visit sites connected with Australian prisoners-of-war as well as Gallipoli. Ex-Prisoners-of-War and Members of Parliament Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes and Mr Thomas Uren travelled to Ambon for the Dedication of the war cemetery in 1968, where 800 British ex-servicemen, mainly from the Navy and Royal Air Force, together with a lone Canadian and New Zealander were buried with Dutch and Indian Allied servicemen from WWII. Nine 'Gull Force' ex-prisoners-of-war, former defenders of Ambon were guests of the War Graves Commission.⁴⁸ The pilgrimage trail extended to sites of former captivity enabling ex-members of the second AIF to pay respects at the graves of those Australians who had succumbed to malnutrition and the brutal treatment of their captors. As ex-servicemen, some politicians returned to war cemeteries as pilgrims, rather than representatives of Government delegations.

⁴⁷ League State Board minutes, 22 March 1965, (e), Canberra Pilgrimage; 1965 Annual Report 1964-1965, unpaginated.

⁴⁸ National Library of Australia, MS 389, Ken Inglis papers, Box 10 of 25, *SMH*, 'Cemetery for Island War dead dedicated Ambon', 3 April 1968.

Politicians continued their involvement in overseas pilgrimages and war widows sustained their desire to visit war graves, for in April and May 1968, Mr Les Irwin, Member of Parliament, led a party of WWI Diggers and forty-three war widows on a four-week journey to European battlefields. Secretary-Manager of the Third Division AIF Remembrance Pilgrimage 1968, organised by 9th Brigade AIF Veteran's Association, subsequently thanked the Rt Hon P. M. Hasluck, MP, Minister for External Affairs as joint patron of the 'Remembrance Pilgrimage', which included a private audience with his Holiness Pope Paul VI, writing:

Special mention must be made of the Reception and cooperation extended to us in France, which was our chief sphere of operations. Sir Ronald Walker and Lady Walker, and the First Secretary, Mr John Piper, had made careful and detailed arrangements with the French Government and local authorities for joint ceremonies and functions, and these extended from the impressive and colourful pageant in Paris to the northern areas and battlefields, with Amiens and Armentieres as bases. Mr Piper had visited these places and made or inspired plans to enable the Pilgrimage to achieve a maximum success in its mission of remembrance. Later, we hope to have you, Mr Minister, as a honoured guest at an exhibition of our Pilgrimage colour film which, we hope, will give a graphic picture of our travels and exterior ceremonies and inspections.⁴⁹

The patronage of the Minister for External Affairs allowed the Australian pilgrims the chance to achieve a sense of *communitas* and ensured the success of their remembrance quest.⁵⁰ I use the Latin word '*communitas*' deliberately, wanting to convey the abstract connotations of community as they relate to communion, fellowship and a sense of common identity.

The Australian Government and its agencies supported the 1968 'Battle of the Somme Pilgrimage' ensuring the journey to France was a considerable success,

⁴⁹ NAA, Series No 1838/362, Item No 25/1/3/25 Part I, France – Battle of the Somme pilgrimage, Letterhead Third Division AIF Remembrance Pilgrimage 1968, Letter to Rt Hon P M Hasluck MP, Minister for External Affairs, from Fred J Cahill, Secretary-Manager, dated 4 June 1968.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume 1, A-M, 1991, community, II, 7, p. 455; For more information on '*communitas*' see Jennifer de Freitas, 'Heritage Tourism as Secular Pilgrimage', A Thesis in the Department of Communication Studies Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University Montreal, Quebec, Canada, May 1998, pp. 27-28.

despite the visit's occurrence at a time when radical students protested in Australia against the Vietnam War. Prime Minister John Gorton, himself an ex-serviceman who served in the Air Force during WWII, published a message stating that the presence of the Australian veterans in Villers-Bretonneux was a reminder that Australians, like the French, had not forgotten.⁵¹ The help of the Minister for External Affairs and the presence of Les Irwin gave the pilgrimage significance at the highest levels of overseas governments in Washington, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv. Australian ambassadors and staff arranged receptions, and introductions to representatives of official and public bodies, diplomats and media personnel.⁵² This pilgrimage included a 'pilgrimize' component in the specific religious sense of the word in terms that 'pilgrims' journeyed to Rome for private audience with Pope Paul VI. In November of the same year, a combined contingent of one hundred and ninety men from New Zealand and Australia travelled to France and took part in celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice.⁵³ The Government supported 'Pilgrimage Trail', extended to Europe.

In 1972, business interests recognised the commercial benefits inherent in maintaining battlefield tourism. RSL Group Travel received \$10,000 from Pam Am to establish a travel office at national headquarters.⁵⁴ Visiting significant sites on specific anniversaries became a feature of future pilgrimages within Anzac culture. Veterans travelled to El Alamein in 1972 for the 30th Anniversary of that battle.⁵⁵ April 25 1975 marked the 60th Anniversary, the Diamond Jubilee, of Anzac Day, for

⁵¹ NAA, Series No A1838, Item No 25/1/3/25(I), Message from the Prime Minister of Australia, Gorton, dated 6 May 1968.

⁵² NAA, Series No 1838/362, Item No 25/1/3/25, Part I, Letter to Hasluck, MP, from Cahill, dated 4 June 1968.

⁵³ NLA, MS 389, K Inglis papers, Box 10 of 25, *The Canberra Times*, 'Australians visit France', 19 November 1968.

⁵⁴ State Board minutes, 21 August 1972, 16, General Business (a) RSL Group Travel, National Circular 76/72.

⁵⁵ NLA, MS 389, K Inglis papers, Box 1 of 25, *SMH*, 'Reminders of El Alamein', 18 October 1972.

which the RSL arranged a pilgrimage to Gallipoli.⁵⁶ *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported on 26 April 1975 that this time the veterans met in Turkey, without the backing of their government, one veteran declaring the Australian Government had no part in commemorating the Anzac landing because the Australian RSL alone supported the visit to honour the dead.⁵⁷ Historian Patsy Adam Smith, author of *The Anzacs*, joined Australian veterans on a pilgrimage marking the 60th Anniversary of the Armistice, during which Mr Alderman, the Australian Minister for Veterans Affairs, made a speech at Villers-Bretonneux on Armistice Day 1978. A party of eight South Australians toured with this group.⁵⁸ Another historian, Hank Nelson, travelled to Thailand with a party of former Australian Prisoners-of-War in 1982, forty years after the fall of Singapore, and recorded the group's experiences in a journal article for the *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*.⁵⁹

Australian members of Parliament continued to attend Anzac Day services throughout Asia and the Middle East. Ex-Prisoners-of-War who worked on the Burma Thailand Railway during its construction, the Minister for Local Government and Administrative Service, Mr Uren and Liberal Senator Sir John Carrick attended an Anzac Day service at Kanchanaburi Lawn Memorial cemetery, Thailand in 1987. Diplomatic representatives of New Zealand, Britain, Thailand and Turkey heard the address given by the Australian Ambassador to Thailand, Mr Richard Smith in the presence of fifty former prisoners-of-war. Senior Australian and British Ministers remembered war dead as the Last Post was rendered by a

⁵⁶ NLA, MS 389, K Inglis papers, Box 4 of 25, *SMH*, 20 April 1974; *The Bulletin*, 'A big year for war veterans and their descendants in 1975', 3 August 1974; *SMH*, 'Return to Gallipoli', 12 April 1975.

⁵⁷ NLA, MS 389, K Inglis papers, Box 1 of 25, *SMH*, 'Anzacs land again without Govt help', 26 April 1975.

⁵⁸ NLA, MS 389, K Inglis papers, Box 1 of 25, *SMH*, 'Back to their Battlefields', 12 October 1978; 'Memories and Matilda in Northern France', 13 November 1978; 'Patsy Adam Smith', 6 January 1979; League State Board minutes, 16 October 1978, South Australian party to Tour Europe.

⁵⁹ AWM, *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 3, October 1983, Hank Nelson, 'Travelling in Memories: Australian Prisoners of the Japanese, forty years after the fall of Singapore', pp. 13-24.

Turkish trumpeter at Gallipoli, where the Australian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Bowen, representing both Australia and New Zealand, laid wreaths of bay leaves at Allied and Turkish memorials.⁶⁰ Furthermore, although commemorative Anzac Day observances continued in Britain, Australian Prime Ministers increasingly ventured to Gallipoli and took part in international memorial services.

Whereas earlier Australian Prime Ministers William Hughes and Robert Menzies had observed Anzac Day in London, and Joseph Lyons had previously observed Anzac Day in Belfast, the 75th anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing was notable for the presence of Prime Minister Robert Hawke at Lone Pine, and his speech concerning the re-interpretation of the Anzac tradition.⁶¹ The Hon. R. J. L. Hawke, AC, MP, in the presence of 47 original Anzacs, said in his memorial speech on 25 April 1990.⁶²

It is not in the waste of war that Australians find the meaning of Gallipoli – then or now.

I say “then and now” for a profound reason.

For the meaning of the Anzac tradition, forged in the fires of Gallipoli, must be learned anew, from generation to generation.

Its meaning can endure only as long as each new generation of Australians finds the will to re-interpret it – to breathe, as it were, new life into the old story; and, in separating the truth from the legend, realise its relevance to a nation and a people, experiencing immense change over the past three-quarters of a century.

In the continuing quest for the real meaning of Anzac, our way is lit by the shining presence here today of the little band of first Anzacs, who have returned.

This is, for all of us here, and for all our fellow Australians at home, an honour, an experience, an emotion, which goes beyond words.⁶³

⁶⁰ NLA, MS 389, K Inglis papers, Box 11 of 25, ‘Stress placed on peace at War memorials Abroad’, 27 April 1987.

⁶¹ William Hughes, Mortlock, Z pamphlet 940.425, A637, Anzac Souvenir and *Advertiser* 24 April 1916, ‘Australian Heroes honoured in London’, p. 7; Robert Menzies, *Sentry Go*, May 1960, p. 3; Joseph Lyons, *Advertiser*, 26 April 1935, ‘Service in London, Mr Lyons Places Wreath on Belfast Cenotaph’, p. 18.

⁶² RSL Library, Adelaide. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation, 75th Anniversary Commemoration of the Landings at Gallipoli, April 1990, p. 4.

⁶³ RSL Library, Adelaide, C of A, Delegation to the 75th Anniversary Commemoration of the Landings at Gallipoli, April 1990, Canberra, Appendix 1, Speech by the Prime Minister, Hon. R.J.L. Hawke, AC, MP, Lone Pine Memorial, Gallipoli Peninsula, Turkey, 25 April 1990, pp. 35-36.

The speech delivered by Hawke referred to a quote from Bean as recognizing the meaning of Australian mateship wherein lay the genesis of the Anzac tradition, and at the heart of the tradition a commitment. Hawke continued:

It is that commitment, now as much as ever – now, with all the vast changes occurring in our nation, more than ever – it is the commitment to Australia, which defines, and alone defines, what it is to be an Australian. The commitment is all.⁶⁴

The Prime Minister's speech recognized the relationship between Anzac culture and Australian identity. However, after stating the meaning of Anzac only endured as long as each new generation re-interprets it, Hawke delivered a speech that defined the tradition of Anzac as a commitment to mateship, with no reference at all to women. Unlike Prime Minister Hughes, who recognised the sacrifice of women and unlike of the Anzacs' Australian contemporaries, who believed that the 'debt of honor' extended to the relatives and dependants of ex-service personnel. Hawke re-interpreted the Anzac tradition only in terms of the 'cult of the fallen soldier' leaving out a large part of the original concept of Anzac culture. Reporting on the makeup of pilgrims who undertook the 1990 Gallipoli Pilgrimage, the RSL Handbook noted the presence of one World War I Nurse with the 58 World War I Veterans who returned to where the Anzac spirit was born, together with eight war widows of World War I Veterans and eight war orphans. Despite the words of Prime Minister Hawke, the RSL remembered to honour all aspects of the original 'debt of honor'.⁶⁵

Also present at Gallipoli in 1990, was an Australian Parliamentary Delegation, which ultimately recommended the maintenance of commemorative services on Gallipoli. The Parliamentary Delegation consisted of Senators M.A.

⁶⁴ RSL Library, C of A, Appendix 1, Speech by the PM, Hawke, Lone Pine, 25 April 1990, p. 37.

⁶⁵ *RSL Handbook*, 75th Anniversary Issue, 1991, A publication of the Returned and Services League of Australia Limited, (Sydney Macarthur Press, 1991), p. 9.

Colston, Leader, D.J. Hamer, Deputy Leader, B.R. Burns, Messrs D.M. Connolly, MP, T.A. Fischer, MP, Leader of the National Party of Australia, L.J. Scott, MP, and P.N. Gibson, MC Secretary to the Delegation and the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. The report deemed the presence of the delegation at the Anzac Commemorative service as ‘a singular honour and an experience of quite extraordinary dimensions’, because the Anzac tradition had related to four generations of Australians of all religious, racial, socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds; the Anzac tradition said what it meant to be ‘Australian’. Using figures from the 1986 census, the report also acknowledged the presence of 37,000 people in Australia who claimed Turkish ancestry, while a second generation calculated at between 80,000 and 150,000 lived mainly in Sydney and Melbourne.⁶⁶ Turkish sons and daughters in Australia reciprocated and amplified the presence of Australian sons in Turkey.

Noting the presence of representatives from Turkey, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, India and Pakistan who attended the International Ceremony that began with the laying of wreaths, the Delegation expressed appreciation on behalf of the Parliament for the RSL’s role in organising the Anzac service of remembrance at Gallipoli for many years.⁶⁷ Further, the Delegation recommended:

⁶⁶ RSL Library, C of A, Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to the 75th Anniversary Commemoration of the Landings at Gallipoli, April 1990, Canberra, p. iii; p. 4; p. 7.

⁶⁷ Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation, Gallipoli, April 1990. p. 18.

[T]hat the Minister for Veterans' Affairs take active steps to ensure that the RSL is assisted in maintaining its administrative role in the organization of commemorative services on Gallipoli in the years ahead. In addition to the Dawn Service organised by the RSL each year, the Delegation sees a need for formal Australian Government involvement, through the Australian Embassy in Turkey, in organising an annual Service of Remembrance at the Line Pine Memorial each ANZAC day. Particularly following the immense national interest generated by the 1990 commemoration at Gallipoli, it is imperative that future arrangements be appropriately and formally supported by the national Government.⁶⁸

Subsequently the Minister for Veterans' Affairs complied with the recommended formal involvement of the Australian Government in the organization of commemoratives services not only on Gallipoli, but also at other significant sites overseas.

Realizing that commemorative anniversaries related to war dead and war service would occur repeatedly, the Department of Veteran Affairs began a small section in 1996 that dealt specifically with a programme known as 'Their Service our Heritage', a section that grew into a Branch employing over twenty people. The Branch within the Department of Veterans' Affairs deals not only with pilgrimages, but also with school and community education.⁶⁹ Members of Parliament and the Australian Prime Minister have continued attending commemorative services as part of Anzac culture. The Deputy Prime Minister, together with the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, Bruce Scott, and a representative group of Vietnam Veterans visited Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia in 1996.⁷⁰ Prime Minister John Howard attended the opening of the Hell Fire Pass Museum in Thailand on 24 April 1998. Giving the opening address Howard said:

⁶⁸ Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation, Gallipoli, April 1990. p.30.

⁶⁹ Interview with Mr Healey, Department of Veterans Affairs, Canberra, April 2000.

⁷⁰ Veterans' Affairs Media Releases, Press release, Sept96-vietna1.htm, Vietnam Veterans visit strengthens Australia-Vietnam relationship, 93/96, 11 September 1996.
<<http://minister.dva.gov.au/media/press/sept96/vietna1.htm>>

This Memorial is dedicated to the memory of every man and woman whose heroism was marked by their survival in the face of outrageous brutality and terror and to every individual who sought to deliver them from servitude. ... At this sacred place, we affirm that Australia will never forget acts of courage made on behalf of its people.⁷¹

John Howard's speech recognised that the umbrella of Anzac culture covered both men and women, and the sacredness of land literally imbued with courage and sacrifice intrinsic to the 'Cult of the Fallen Soldier'.

Increasing numbers of international pilgrims attended Anzac Day Dawn Services at Gallipoli. Consequently, in the year 2000, a new ANZAC Commemorative Site was inaugurated to provide more space than had been available at Ari Burnu, the previous location of the Anzac Dawn Service. Prime Ministers John Howard from Australia and Helen Clark from New Zealand, unveiled the Anzac Commemorative Site. Australian Minister for Veterans' Affairs, Bruce Scott, together with the National President of the New Zealand Returned Services Association, Mr David Cox MBE, and the National President, Returned and Services League of Australia, Major General Peter Phillips AO, MC, took leading roles in the service, as did both the Australian and New Zealand Defence Force Chaplains. The service also recognised indigenous Australians and New Zealanders with a Didgeridoo Calling performed by Robert Slockee, and a Karanga, a Maori Call to Gathering, performed by Corporal Una Tarau.⁷² Opposition Leader Kim Beazley was another Australian Parliamentarian present at the dawn service.⁷³ Officially travelling as the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard journeyed from Turkey to France to meet French officials. While in France

⁷¹ Hellfire Pass Museum Opening, The Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP, Address at the Opening of the Hellfire Pass Museum, 24 April 1998.

<<http://www.pm.gov.au/media/pressrel/speech/1998/musmed.htm>>

⁷² ANZAC 2000, Dawn Service-Order of Commemoration, pp. 3-5 of 7,

<<http://www.embaustralia.org.tr/anzac/anzac2k.htm>>

⁷³ *The Canberra Times*, James Grubel, 'A new generation gathers at Gallipoli', 26 April 2000, p. 1.

for the period 26-29 April, even though surrounded by pomp and ceremony, he made a personal pilgrimage to memorials in the WWI battlefields of the Somme, where both his father and grandfather served in the AIF.⁷⁴

Earlier Australian Prime Ministers saw the London Cenotaph as a vehicle for honouring war dead and visits to war cemeteries as a journey for private individuals. Since 1919, more Australian individuals wished to undertake pilgrimages to war graves than had either the opportunity or the financial means to achieve their objective. Parliamentarians and later Prime Ministers recognised overseas war cemeteries as a focus for Australian consciousness or identity. The ‘hallowed grounds’ of Gallipoli and later battlefields have become the basis of pilgrimage as a rite of passage of an Australian civil religion that recognises sacrifice of Australian blood in the service of the nation.⁷⁵ Although Australians used ‘pilgrimages’ for dual purposes, for part of their ‘pilgrimage’ related to activities as tourists for purposes of entertainment, travelling from Australia to overseas war graves and battlefields has provided many Australians with a sense of *communitas*. Having achieved their quest, spiritually moved by emotional experiences once they reached their goal, ‘pilgrims’ have returned to Australia with a deeper sense of national consciousness and appreciation for the sacrifice of earlier Australians in service of the British Empire and the Australian nation.

Although modern commemorative visits to significant sites are not identical to medieval pilgrimages to a sacred site of religious significance, ritualistic journeys resulting in a psychological, emotional experience do have a spiritual component. Gallipoli, European and Asian battlefields, sites of former incarceration, and

⁷⁴ Dennis Shanahan, Villers-Bretonneux, ‘Howard Anzac trip a personal pilgrimage’, *Weekend Australian*, April 29-30, 2000, p.8.

⁷⁵ Prime Minister of Australia News Room, Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Speech at the National RSL Congress, Melbourne, 5 September 2001, p. 2 of 3.
 <<http://Pandora.nla.gov.au/par/10052/20020221/www.pm.gov.au/news/spec.../speech1217.ht>>

Australian war cemeteries overseas have become imbued with a sense of spiritualism in that they are perceived by some Australians as 'sacred ground'. Jennifer de Freitas argues that visits to heritage sites are secular pilgrimage.⁷⁶ Travelling to sites perceived as sacred or hallowed ground in the context of Australian heritage, pilgrimages to overseas battlefields and burial sites can be interpreted as part of an Australian civil religion that is a dimension of the Anglo-Celtic core culture holding Australians from diverse backgrounds together as a nation. Australian identity and consciousness has achieved redirection away from Britain to Australia via the battlefields of the Middle East, Europe and Asia.

⁷⁶ de Freitas, 'Heritage Tourism as Secular Pilgrimage', 1998.

CONCLUSION

Many Australian historians have joined in a debate concerning the work of C.E.W. Bean and the beginnings of the myth or the legend of 'Anzac' connecting the military history of A.N.Z.A.C. to a sense of Australian national identity. Few historians have completed any substantial body of research into the actual beginnings of Anzac Day in Australia as a part of Australian culture. Ken Inglis has written both internationally and nationally about the significance of soldiers' memorials at which community groups hold remembrance services on Anzac Day, and delved into the core of Anzac tradition. Placing the Anzac Day public holiday in Australia within the context of international and national rituals related to war dead, soldiers' memorials, and pilgrimage to overseas battlefields, as a South Australian case study of Anzac culture informs our understanding of the national observance of Anzac Day.

In South Australia, Anzac Day spontaneously emerged in 1915, during the Great War, from the practice of conducting patriotic button days in aid of wounded soldiers and was an acknowledgement of mourning within the Australian community. Patriotic days recognised a community debt owed to those who had made sacrifices on behalf of the nation and those suffering loss because of war dead, a sense of loss that was exacerbated because of the official British policy of burying Empire war dead on overseas battlefields. The Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee organised the national observance of Anzac Day on the anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing on 25 April 1916 as Australia's All Souls Day. The South Australian Branch of the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia took responsibility for the organization of Anzac Day in South Australia in 1921. After WWII, the League recognised that the Australian

Government owed a further debt, particularly to those Australians who had endured periods of enemy imprisonment in service of the Australian nation. The Korean War became the forgotten war. The debt of gratitude owed to ex-servicemen and women who served in Vietnam officially went unrecognised until the 1980s and 1990s. Vietnam Veterans received a belated welcome home to Australia in 1987. Anzac Day began as a means of honouring the debt owed to those who had made sacrifices during the Great War. It continued in remembrance of Australian war dead and as fund raising disability support for wounded soldiers.

The use of patriotic days for grief management and disability support illustrates some of the emotional history of Australian women left mourning war dead. Soldiers' memorials erected on sacred ground were surrogate burial sites. South Australian women organised the Garden of Remembrance in Pennington Gardens Adelaide and arranged the inclusion of Sir Reginald Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice, unveiled on Anzac Day 1922. On Anzac Day the following year, the Women's Memorial Fund arranged for the dedication of Sir Edwin Lutyens's Stone of Remembrance, or Cenotaph. Australian women knew they were unlikely to visit the burial sites of Australian war dead in overseas war cemeteries. South Australian women wanted the cross and stone, which were symbols of remembrance erected in overseas war cemeteries, erected in Adelaide to provide a site of mourning on sacred ground in memory of the men who had been killed in the Great War. The League subsequently arranged for the Anzac Day procession to conclude at the Women's Memorial to the Men who fell in the Great War. The co-operation of the Women's Memorial Fund and the League in the 1920s enabled the continuation of memorial services at the Cross of Sacrifice. The South Australian Government unveiled the State Memorial on Anzac Day 1931. Currently in Adelaide, the Anzac Day march

begins at the State Memorial and concludes at the Cross of Sacrifice in Pennington Garden, which is the site for the League's Anzac Day remembrance service.

The South Australian *Holidays Act Amendment Act* institutionalised Anzac Day as a public holiday in South Australia in December 1922. Debates conducted at RSL sub-branch level determined that the mornings of Anzac Day should be set aside for processions to proceed to soldiers' memorials where remembrance services took place. Afternoon activities mirror the rejoicing return of ex-servicemen and women to Australia and reflect the Diggers' sense of national identity. Military sports conducted on Anzac Day afternoon increasingly became charity fund raising events. These events, held throughout South Australia, included football matches, racing and trotting carnivals and speedboat racing. The League used funds raised through charity sporting events to support disadvantaged members of the ex-service community. Popular culture in the form of Alan Seymour's play *The One Day of the Year* (1962) heralded a period of criticism concerning the activities of some ex-servicemen and women on Anzac Day afternoons. During the 1960s and 1970s, at the time of the Vietnam War, the Anzac Day Appeal went through a period of decline when community groups reduced their support of charity fund raising events organised by the League. In South Australia, the State Board of the League was aware of generational problems illustrated in *The One Day of the Year*. The League made subsequent decisions specifically designed to include younger generations in Anzac Day processions and League fund raising activities.

Despite promises made to servicemen by the Australian Government during recruiting drives, on return to Australia ex-servicemen and women found that they had to lobby the government and members of parliament to achieve some repayment of the 'debt of honor.' On Anzac Day during the 1920s, ex-servicemen protested

against unemployment. RSL policy was non-party political but the executive used the implied strength of the bonds of 'Diggerhood' to alleviate distress within the veteran community. During the Depression, the RSL lobbied for preferential employment for ex-servicemen and women and set up an employment bureau to help veterans and their families, war widows and legacy children find employment. The League unsuccessfully lobbied for citizenship rights for Aboriginal ex-servicemen. Decisions made by the League regarding dual nationality and conditions of membership reflect Australian civic identity. The League accepted veterans who migrated to Australia from allied countries as members. However, the League required the return of membership badges from those the League adjudged Italian fascists during WWII, and denied membership to members of the Communist Party during the Korean War, decisions that provide insight into aspects of League patriotism. After a period of decline in the 1960s, the League adopted fund raising procedures that co-opted the support of young Australians when it organised the Girl in a Million Quest and supported Churchill fellowships. Veterans from Asian conflicts renewed the strength of 'Diggerhood'.

'Orders of the Day' and League minutes provided information related to the inclusion of multicultural groups within the ranks of ex-servicemen and women marching on Anzac Day. Although the bulk of Allied migrants come from the old British Empire, Americans, Dutch, French, Greeks, Italians, Poles, Serbs, and Vietnamese also take part in the Anzac Day March reflecting the Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic and New Ethnic structure of the Australian population. Despite cancellation of the Adelaide Anzac Day March in 1971 because of inclement weather, radical student groups concerned with conscription policies and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War, continued an organised protest at Elder Park. On Anzac Day

1982 Women against Rape in War unsuccessfully tried to place wreaths on the State Memorial and the Cross of Sacrifice. During the 1980s ex-servicewomen increasingly played a part in Anzac Day march organization and League administrative roles. Popular culture in the form of the film *Gallipoli* heralded a revival of interest in 'Diggerhood' and Anzac Day, as Australians realized the extent of the suffering and sacrifice of the remaining ex-servicemen and women who still participated in the annual Anzac Day march. The Vietnam War, which occurred at the time when the RSL faced criticism and apathy from both within and without, held the seeds of renewal for Anzac Culture. Some of the men who served in Vietnam over the decade between 1962-1972 eventually joined the ranks of ex-servicemen and women marching on Anzac Day. The relatives of Vietnam Veterans joined other spectators of Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic and New Ethnic descent along the line of route of the Anzac march where people from many cultures help maintain Anzac traditions and Anzac culture.

Anzac Day rituals are pluralistic and take place internationally, the Church of St Mary's the Virgin, Harefield, being one international site that holds Anzac Day services. Each Anzac Day Harefield villagers attend a memorial service, which takes place in the adjacent Anzac War Cemetery. The Harefield church also holds a Remembrance Sunday service in the same cemetery. Anzac Day reflects Australian identity because Anzac Day emerged from Australian grass roots organizations. Subsequently, Australian State Governments passed Acts that institutionalised Anzac Day as an Australian public holiday. Australia remembered Empire war dead on Armistice Day in 1919, because of the command of King George V. After WWII, King George VI approved the observance of Remembrance Sunday in place of Armistice Day. In South Australia, in 1951, Premier Sir Thomas Playford

authorised the observance of Remembrance Day at 11 am on the 11th November. Australia reverted to observing Remembrance Day on the anniversary of the WWI Armistice, whereas, Britain continued to commemorate its war dead on Remembrance Sunday. In South Australia, migrants from various nations applied to the Adelaide City Council and gained permission to conduct their own cultural remembrance rituals at the State Memorial. The desire of multicultural community groups to conduct rituals of remembrance at a soldiers' memorial naming Australian war dead is indicative of a desire to blend remembrance rituals, yet still project a sense of Australian identity, a desire that mirrors the interchangeability of early Australian identity.

The observance of Anzac Day has become more culturally inclusive. Successive Australian Governments, both Labor and Liberal, through the Prime Minister's Department and Department of Veterans' Affairs, utilize Anzac Day to foster a sense of Australian consciousness. During the 1970s, the Whitlam Government adopted an alternative anthem, which eventually replaced 'God Save the Queen' as the national anthem. 'Advance Australia Fair' progressively became the national anthem played at Anzac Day remembrance services after Gough Whitlam issued orders forbidding the Army to play 'the Queen'. Religious services originally conducted in remembrance of war dead on Anzac Day, have increasingly become civic services embracing multiculturalism. The League amended Anzac Day service sheets after consultation with religious leaders, a move that gained the approval of representatives of Protestant and Catholic faiths. Although Anzac Day remembrance services in Australia are civic services, members of the clergy occasionally refer to Christ. Anzac Day services in Australia are therefore more inclusive than formerly, but still contain elements that stem from the Christian faith.

However, prayers given at the funeral of the Unknown Australian Soldier in Canberra on Remembrance Day 1993 presented Australians with a completely new perception of 'God', and included a 'God of the Dreamtime'. The funeral officially changed the notion of Australian identity away from Britain and focussed Australian national consciousness squarely in Canberra.

'Australian Britons' reveals that the memoirs of individual Australians who lived during the Great War demonstrated the interchange ability of British Australian identity. Given that Australian citizenship did not come into effect until 1949 this interchange ability of Australian Britons is readily reconciled. Australians who experienced the Great War did not define themselves in the same manner that the POW experience defined those who suffered imprisonment because of war during World War Two. A study of memoirs written about the life experiences of Australian ex-prisoners of war during WWII, demonstrates that Australian WWII ex-servicemen and women had inculcated the rituals of Anzac Day and Armistice Day. Observing the rites of those two days while incarcerated by enemy forces provided Australians with a sense of identity. Books written by and about WWII ex-POWs illustrate that the sense of the men's mateship and women's friendship, derived from Christian principles via the traditions of 'Anzac', resulted in Australian POWs having a greater sense of community while confined than other national groups of POWs. The memoirs of former ex-servicemen and women, who served as part of the British Empire, demonstrate a growing sense of Australianness.

'Balancing the Ledger', summarises the results of field studies carried out in the rural Copper Triangle and suburban Greater Port Adelaide concerning heritage and local history issues since the introduction of policies of urban infill, privatisation, and mergers in local government and religious institutions. The

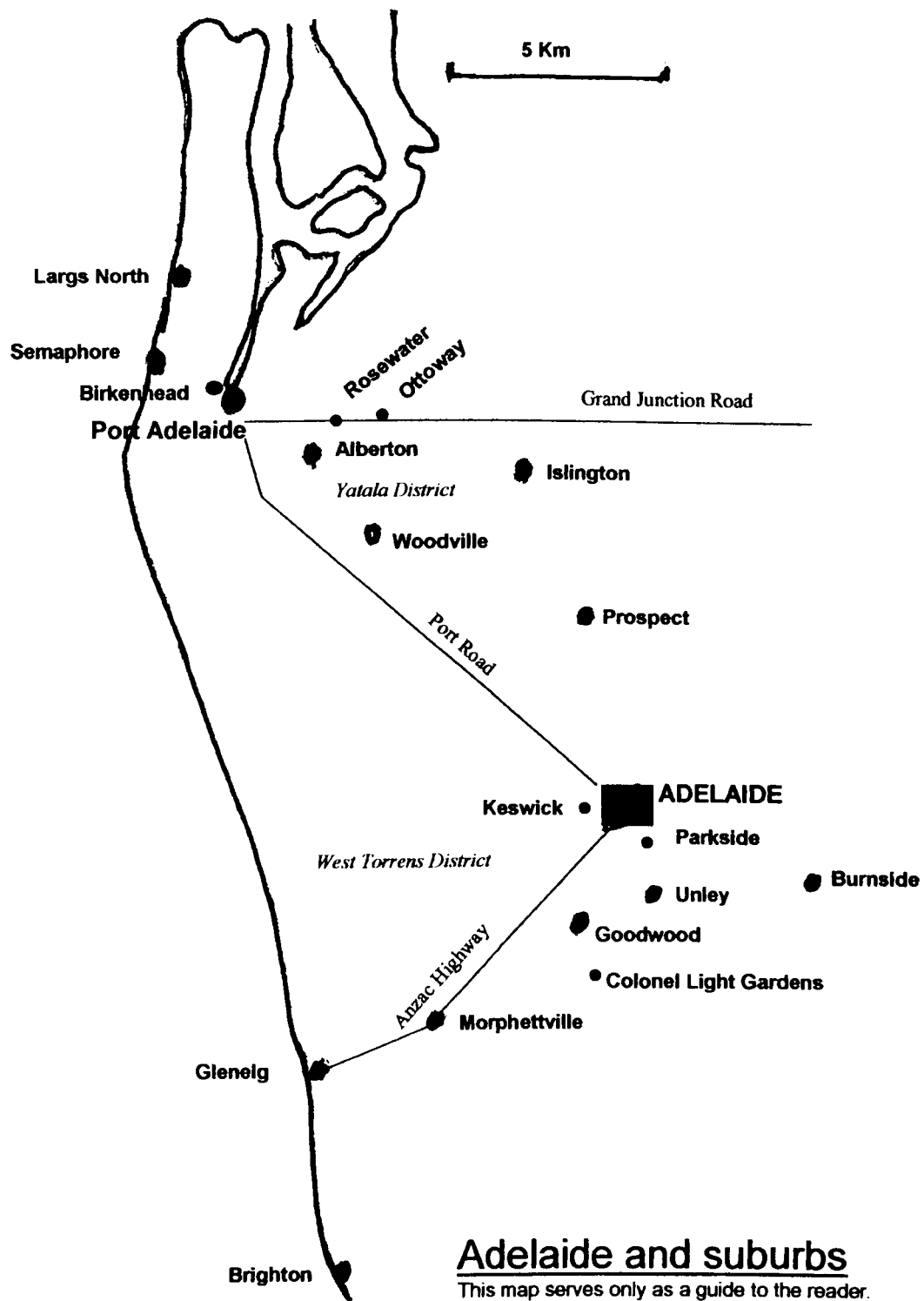
research, which was carried out after Government initiated commemorative programs 'Australia Remembers' and 'Their Service –Our Heritage' during the 1990s, gauged the extent to which institutions still honour the 'debt of gratitude'. Recycling soldiers' memorial stained glass windows as memorials to earlier church workers indicates some Christian congregations no longer wish to be openly associated with the original 'Debt of Honor'. Although some soldiers' and living memorials have been recycled, placed in museums or vandalised, overall it appears more memorials have survived than have disappeared. Those that survive still form a nucleus of community sites providing a focus for mourning rituals carried out on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day as part of Anzac culture and form part of the Australian landscape. National acknowledgement of a 'debt of gratitude' has superseded private grief and mourning linked to individual names at local soldiers' memorials. Under the direction of the Federal Government, the commemorative programmes 'Australia Remembers' and 'TS-OH', provide an impetus fostering a resurgence of Anzac culture and expanding national interest in the 'debt of gratitude'.

A gradual change in Government policy allowed pilgrimage to significant sites overseas to become a ritual of an Australian civil religion. Earlier Australian Prime Ministers, Hughes and Menzies observed Anzac Day in London. Initially, Australian Governments considered the financial burden of travel to overseas battlefields and war cemeteries the responsibility of individuals. This policy changed in 1965 when the Menzies Government subsidized travel that enabled the participation of some ex-servicemen and women in the RSL organised pilgrimage to Gallipoli. Prime Minister Robert Hawke gave an address at Lone Pine, Gallipoli in 1990. Acting upon the recommendation of the delegation that accompanied him, the

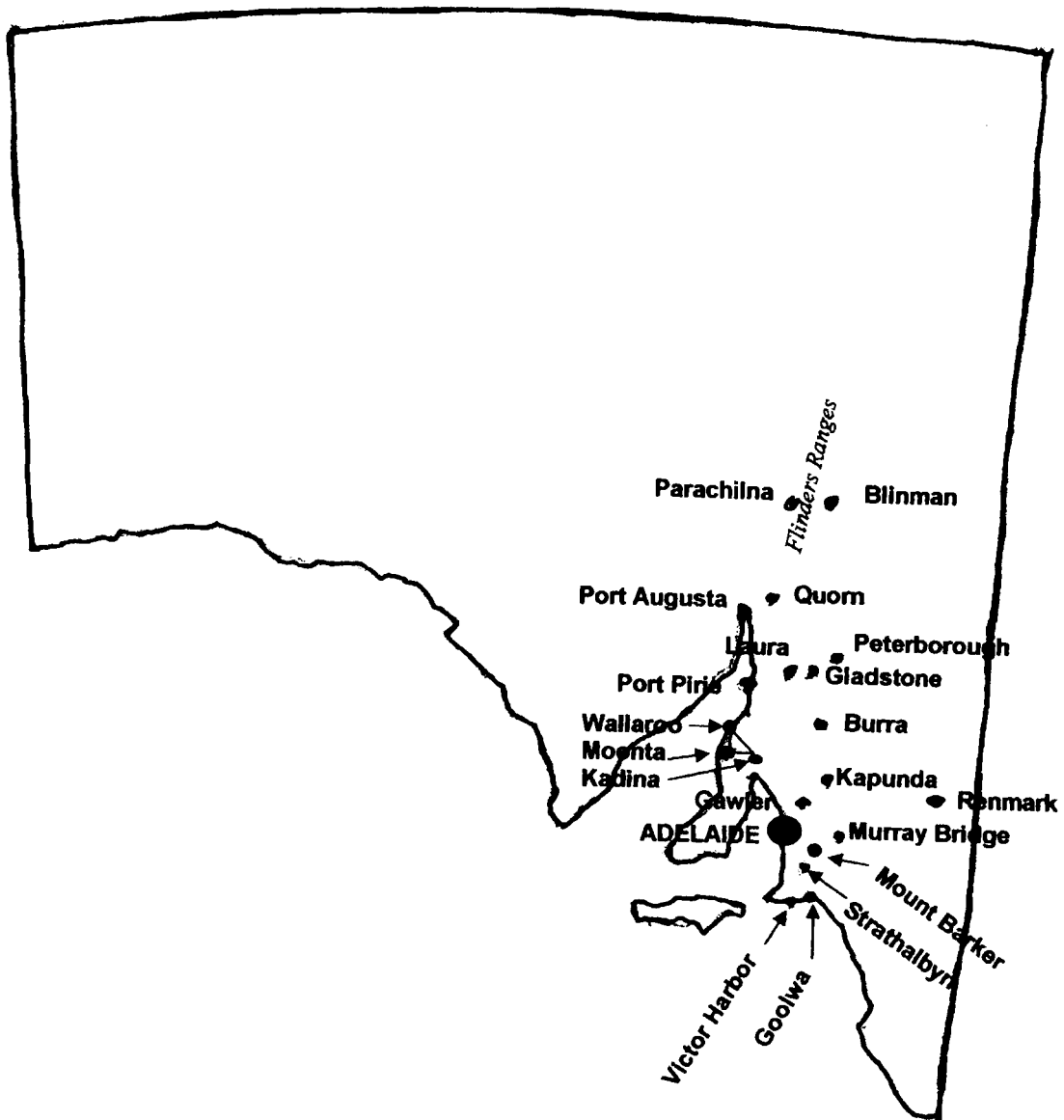
Federal Government, through the Department of Veterans Affairs supports the commemoration of Australian war dead on Anzac Day at significant sites overseas. In the year 2000, the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, John Howard and Helen Clarke, opened a new ANZAC commemorative site just past Ari Burnu. The site accommodates the increasing numbers of Australians and New Zealanders who travel to Anzac Cove each Anzac Day for Anzac services. The sense of *communitas* experienced by 'pilgrims' in the heightened sense of communion, fellowship and common identity is an attribute of an Australian civil religion. Australian cultures have combined to produce commemorative rituals, that link local Anzac culture with multiple identities co-existing as 'Australians'. Honouring the Debt on Sacred Ground pays a dividend in terms of Australian national identity. The changes made to Anzac Day rituals since 1915 reflect an evolving sense of Australian identity.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps



SOUTH AUSTRALIA



This map serves only as a guide to the reader.

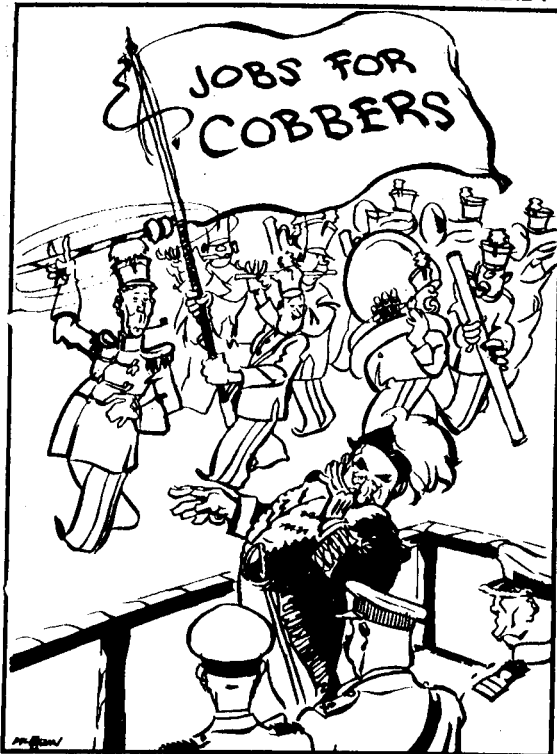
Cartoons¹



ACCOUNT RENDERED

Goodchild in "The News"

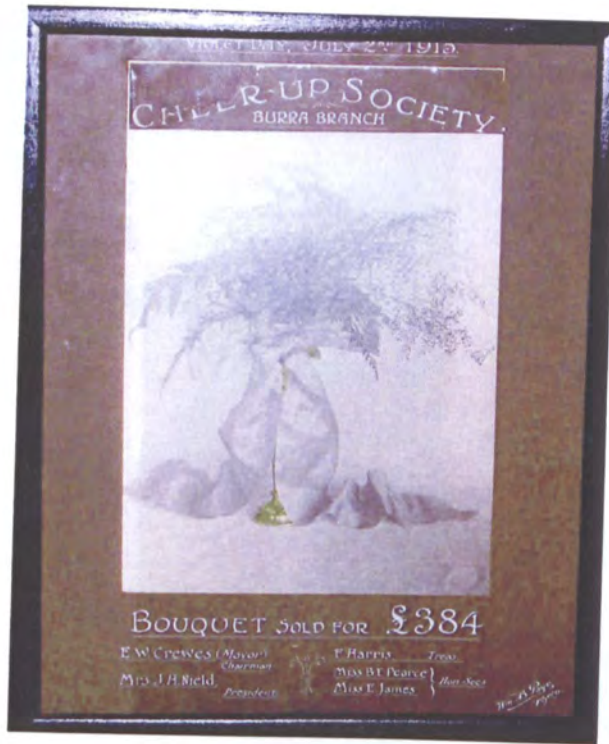
WHY DID HE FALL FOR THE LEADER OF THE BAND?



BACK — March, 1947. "Poon, fellow, which hand do I salute with?" Page Three

¹ Back, August 1947, p. 7; Back, March 1947, p.3.

Photographs



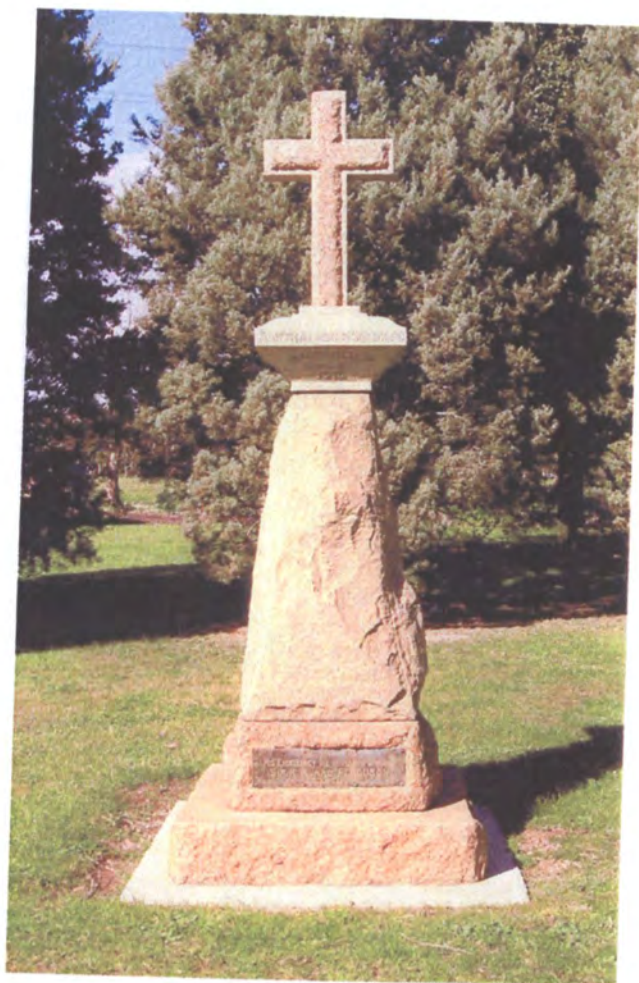
Violet Day 2 July 1915, Photograph held at Banking and Currency Museum, Kadina.



Mt Barker 'Digger'



Poster, Imperial War Museum



Top:
 Granite Obelisk for
 Australasian Soldiers,
 Dardanelles, April 25th
 1915, unveiled by
 His Excellency the
 Governor General Sir R.
 Munro Ferguson, Wattle
 Day, Sept. 7th 1915.
 The stone cross was
 added on 25 April 1918.

The monument is now
 situated opposite the
 Trades and Labor Council
 building, South Terrace,
 Adelaide.

Bottom:
 Examples of
 patriotic buttons sold to
 raise funds on Violet,
 Wattle and Anzac Day.

Photos: Pavils collection.





State National War Memorial,
North Terrace, Adelaide.

Top: The 'Prologue' facing North Terrace. The sculptural group comprises the student, the farmer and the girl, symbolical of the Youth of South Australia.



Bottom: The reverse side of the Memorial represents the 'Epilogue', wherein stricken youth portrays the tragedy of war sacrifice.

Source ACA, 305C, RSL pamphlet.

Photographs: Pavils collection.



Kadina Arch with 'Digger'



Wallaroo Soldiers Memorial

ANZAC DAY

"We will remember them"

SUPPORT THE ANZAC DAY BADGE APPEAL

which augments funds established to assist Ex-Servicemen of World War I and World War II and their dependants in their declining years or in times of need and of stress.

Support these ANZAC DAY CHARITY SPORTING FIXTURES

THIS AFTERNOON

League Football

- At 2.30 p.m.
- Port Adelaide v. North Adelaide, Adelaide Oval.
- Glenside v. South Adelaide, Glenside Oval.
- Norwood v. Sturt, Norwood Oval.
- West Torrens v. White Adelaide, Thebarton Oval.
- Woodville v. Central, Woodville Oval.

Charity Race Meeting

At Morphettville, conducted by the combined metropolitan racing clubs. The first race starts at 1.30 p.m.

TONIGHT

Trotting Meeting

At Morphettville, commencing at 7.15 p.m.

DAVID JONES

ANZAC DAY 1964

War Leaves Suffering


HELP THE R.S.L. RELIEVE WAR SUFFERING

Give Generous Support To The

Anzac Day Appeal Buy a Badge 6d. to £1

Today, Australia commemorates the 49th Anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing of British, The Anzac Day Appeal is a national appeal for financial support for the relief of the suffering of the Ex-Servicemen of World War I and World War II and their dependants in their declining years or in times of need and of stress.

DAVID JONES



ANZAC DAY

They shall grow not old as we that are left grow old: Age and weariness, they nor years shall come between us: We shall remember them, we and in this memory.

orders of the day . . .

GROUP NO. UNIT
 1. The Party
 2. Cadet Corps Party
 3. General Services
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 5. General Services
 6. General Services
 7. Returned Sailors (W.W.I.)
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A.I.F. (World War I)
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BRITISH COMMONWEALTH FORCES
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ALLIED FORCES
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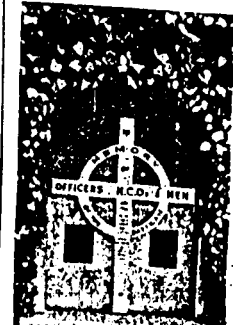
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DAVID JONES

We will remember



today and always

Anzac Day


We will remember with deep gratitude those ex-servicemen and women who suffered, and gave their lives in the cause of democracy, in World Wars I and II.

AND we resolve with all our power to uphold and zealously guard that freedom and British way of life, which through their sacrifice we enjoy today.

MILLER ANDERSON

Anzac Day 1964

The Anzac Day 1964 is a day of remembrance for the fallen of the Anzac legend. It is a day when we remember the brave men and women who served our country in the two world wars. It is a day when we remember the sacrifices they made for our freedom and our way of life.



Orders of the Day

- Starting Time: 10.00 a.m.
- Route: From the Anzac Memorial to the Anzac Memorial.
- Music: The Anzac Day March and the Anzac Day Song.
- War Widows: A special service for the widows of the fallen.
- Limbsless Ex-Servicemen: A special service for the limbsless ex-servicemen.
- Saluting Base: A special service for the saluting base.
- Placing of Wreaths: A special service for the placing of wreaths.
- Respect for COLOURS: A special service for the respect for colours.
- This Afternoon charity Race Meeting: A special service for the charity race meeting.
- League Football Matches: A special service for the league football matches.
- Saturday Evening: A special service for the Saturday evening.

JOHN MARTIN'S of South Australia

APPENDIX I

Anzac Day March: Numbers Marching 1946-1986

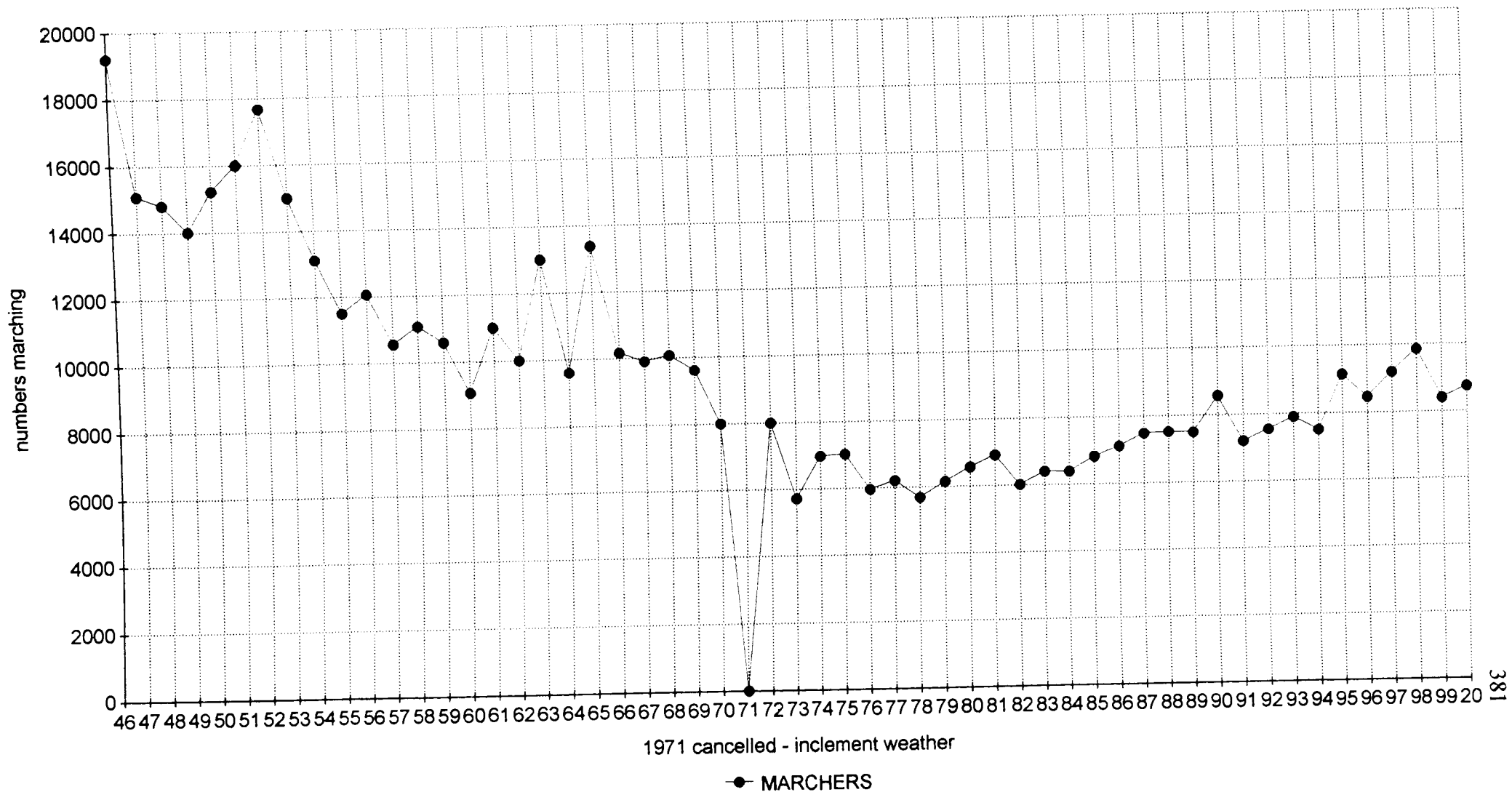
Year Marchers

- 1946 19200 Australian veterans plus British Imperials, Canadians, New Zealanders: 170,000 people paid homage.
- 1947 15084 NZ contingent, British Imperials, Canadians. Greek ex-servicemen.
- 1948 14805 Older Legacy boys before main procession. British Imperial, NZs, Canadians and Greeks.
- 1949 14018 Broadcast of the March.
- 1950 15218 Not just a march, it is a tribute to the Fallen.
- 1951 16000 British, Canadians, Greek, Americans for first time as separate unit. AWAS Eligible.
- 1952 17669 Old Contemptibles, British Imperial, NZ, Canadian, French, American, Greek, Polish. Korean Men. Ex-Service women.
- 1953 15000 Mystery Woman.
- 1954 13100 Old Contemptibles, British Imperial, NZ, Canadian, French, American, Greek, Polish. No 24 City of Adelaide Squadron.
- 1955 11496 Old Contemptibles, Brit. Imp. Canadians, French, American, Greek, Polish, Serbian, New Zealand. Navy lead WWII Section.
- 1956 12064 Music tempo too fast. Guards Regiments. Legacy Girls on trial re marching ability.
- 1957 10550 Total ban on the carrying of two man banners. Vote to retain recorded march music.
- 1958 11075 March route straight down King William Street. Guards Regiments. Special Notices, Children.
- 1959 10584 Completely successful march. Special Notices children.
- 1960 9050 Inclement weather affected numbers marching: 1st televised march: Centenary 10th Bn Adelaide Rifles.
- 1961 11000 Canadians, French, American, Greek, Polish, Serbian. WWI Sisters motorized. No Children with service units.
- 1962 10000 Anzac Sunday well supported. Orders: Special Notice, Children not permitted to march with Service Units.
- 1963 13000 General public whole heartedly joined with RSL. Boy marched with 3rd Light Horse.
- 1964 9581 Official count at Saluting Base per Tidswell report. Father & Son marched with RAE, son as mascot in miniature uniform.
- 1965 13382 Turkish Veterans visited. American, Korean, Malaya, Maltese.
- 1966 10167 Wooden barriers replaced by honour lines: Discs carried by school cadets.
- 1967 9898 Landrovers: Boer War Veterans & WWI Sisters. Maltese. Children not permitted to march with service units. Vic Square changes.
- 1968 10080 Vietnam Veterans.
- 1969 9600 Police Commissioner not in favour of Police Cadets marching.
- 1970 8000 Dunkirk Veterans, RAR & 58th Searchlight Battery request permission to join marchers.
- 1971 0 cancelled because of weather: Dawn Service held on Sunday 25.4.1971, 3,000 attended.
- 1972 8000 Serving air force personnel headed march, Orion fly-past, 3rd Btn RAR, led 2nd AIF Units. Less than 100 cadets available.
- 1973 5700 Dismal weather: one of smallest turnouts on record. Pace of broadcast music too fast.
- 1974 6950 Shortened Route.
- 1975 7001 60 Gallipoli veterans paraded near Stone of Remembrance: Princess Anne at Cross of Sacrifice.
- 1976 5950 Greater formal participation. Assistance sought for march expenses.
- 1977 6200 27th Battalion in vanguard of march. British ex-Service Women requested permission to join march.

- 1978 5673 Unpredictable weather. SA Women's Ex-Land Army.
- 1979 6134 Approval City of Adelaide Squadron to march as Unit. Given Freedom City of Adelaide.
- 1980 6551 Contingent of 'Dam Busters'. British Legion to march behind British Imperials.
- 1981 6890 British Legion marched to rear of British Imperials. Mrs Ainsworth appointed Vice President. WWI Sister on Saluting Base.
- 1982 6011 RAANC Association & UN Forces. Live Bands. 3/9 Light Horse Association permission for 1982 only.
- 1983 6388 Growing number of viewers.
- 1984 6374 Dismal weather with excellent parade.
- 1985 6804 Sir Donald Dunstan (HE Gov of SA) led march. Italian Ex-Servicemen joined, Serbians expressed dismay.
- 1986 7092 South Vietnamese marched under their own flag. Live Bands. National Guards Band from Texas. SA Jubilee 150.

APPENDIX II

ANZAC MARCH 1946-2000



APPENDIX III
**EXAMPLES OF DEDICATIONS ON VARIOUS
SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SOLDIERS' MEMORIALS**

Roll of Honor
Old Scholars & Teachers
Alberton Public School

Birkenhead
To Perpetuate the Memory
of the
Harbors Board Employees
Who fell in the Great War

Kadina
To the Memory of Those who Fell in The Great War.

Kadina Memorial High School
Erected 1923
In Honor of the men of Kadina and District
Who Served in the Great War
1914-1919.

The LeFevre Peninsula Memorial Trust Inc.
Playground and Health Centre
Dedicated to the Memory of
Those Employees of the Subscribers
Who gave their Lives in World War II

Macclesfield
Lest We Forget
This stone was erected by the residents
of Macclesfield in memory of the Boys
who give their lives in the Great War
1914-1919.

Mallala
In Honor of Ten Men
Who Died in Defence
Of Home and Liberty.

Moonta
Moonta's Heroes of the Great European War

Parkside Baptist Church
Soldiers Memorial Porch

Rose Park
Fallen Soldiers Memorial Trees

Rosewater
Chad Street memorial
God Keep Their Memory Green

Rosewater Womens Memorial
1914-1919
Roll of Honor
Erected as a tribute of pride
By the Women of Rosewater
In Honor of the Men
Who Enlisted from the District
In the Great War 1914-1919
Let those who come after see to it
That their names be not forgotten

St Mary's
Women's Memorial Playing Fields
In Honoured Memory of the
South Australian Army Nursing Sisters
Who Lost Their Lives in the
cause of Humanity on Banka Island
February 1942.
1914-1919

Strathalbyn's Tribute
To
Her Heroic Dead
Their Grave is the Undying Memory of the
Generations that come After them
1939-1945

Strathalbyn's Tribute
To
Her Heroic Dead
They died that we might live
may we ever live – worthy of them

Woodville
Lych Gate, St Margaret's
In memory of the Sons of
This Parish who Enlisted for
Active Service in the Great War

Kapunda
Soldiers Memorial Hall
Fallen Soldiers Monument¹

¹ J Pavils holds photographs of all the above memorials.

APPENDIX IV
RSL (SA) Memorial File

No.	Date	Item	Status	Site	
1	1983	Memorials	dedicated	Adelaide Airport	Adelaide
2	1997	War Memorial	update	Tanunda	Tanunda
3	1997	Memorial gates	removed	RAAF Base	Mallala
4	1998	Gates Dukes Highway	relocation	Soldiers Memorial Park	Coonalpyn
5	1998	Old honor roll	discovered	Primary School	Morgan
6	1998	Railways Sub-Branch	relocated	Honor Rolls Railway Str	Adelaide
7	1998	Memorial Hall	sold	Hindmarsh	
8	1998	Claymakers Union	stored	Council	
9	1998	Honor Rolls	relocation	Karoonda East Murray	
10	1998	Memorial Library	rename	Mitcham Library	
11	1998	Six trees	replace	Glebe Road	
12	1998	Plaques	install	Burbidge Road	
13	1999	Memorial Board	burnt	Club fire	
14	1999	Honor Roll	unveiling	Prince Alfred College	Adelaide
15	1999	Honor Roll	restoration	Riverton Sub-Branch	Tarlee
16	1999	Honor Roll	storage	Tubemakers of Aust	
17	1999	Foundation Stone	removed	Baptist Union church	Hackham
18	1999	Monument	removal	Road intersection	Mallala
19	1999	Horse trough	disturbed	time capsule	Barmera
20	1999	Honor Rolls	removed	Memorial Hall	Bruce
21	1999	Memorial	request	Sandakan silence	
22	2000	Nominal Roll	Internet	Gulf War Veterans	
23	2000	Honour Rolls	sale	ANZ Banking Group	Adelaide
24	2000	Monuments	wrap	Driller Jet Armstrong	
25	2000	State War Memorial	desecration	North Terrace	Adelaide
26	2000	Memorial Gates	accidentl sale	Norfolk Road	Marion
27	2000	Memorial Oval	rated	Bowling Club	Woodville
28	2000	War memorial	moved	restored, re-opened	Coromandel Valley
29	2000	Honor board	lost	Town Hall	Adelaide
30	2000	Volunteer's roll	disappeared	Town Hall	Adelaide
31	2000	Nurses roll	disappeared	Town Hall	Adelaide
32	2000	War memorial	relocate	Uniting Church	Tungkillo

RSL files June 2001

42 cases

11 new

31 removed, lost, accidental sale
disappeared, smashed, desecrated

33	2000 War memorial	unveil	Anzac Plaza	Glenelg
34	2000 War memorial	unveil	RSL	Kapunda
35	2000 Eternal flame	incorporate	State War Memorial	Adelaide
36	2000 Scholarship	feasibility	Vivian Bullwinkel	Broken Hill
37	2000 Trees	festival	WWII	Hamley Bridge
38	2000 Cherry trees	plantation	National Park	Belair
39	2000 Memorial	appeal	Vietnam Veterans	Broken Hill
40	2000 Memorial	unveiling	medical services	
41	2001 Plaques	smashed	Donald Bradman Drive	Hindmarsh
42	2001 Bugle	gift	Villers Bretonneux	Bullecourt

Anzac Charts: rsl memorial file

APPENDIX V

No.	Date	Proposer/Pilgrim	Destination	Title	Reference
1	1919	Rev C T Forscutt(NSW)	France	Tour to Battlefields	NAA,A1/15, 1919/2785
2	1921	Samuel Lunn (SA)	France	Visit to Battlefields	<i>Diggers Gazette 3/21</i>
3	1921	Jane McMillan (Vic)	France and Egypt	Visit graves of sons	NAA, A458/1, L337/7
4	1926	Ernest Atkins (Vic)	Hazebrouck, France	return to battlefield	AWM, PR00613
5	1927	George Dodson (SA)	Belgium	visit to son's grave (x 2)	Letter fm E Shurrock
6	1928	Chas E Peel	Gallipoli	(Battlefield & War Graves)	NAA,A458/1, L337/7
7	1928	Imp Ex-Service Assoc	Gallipoli,Europe	(Pilgrimage Amalgamated)	NAA,A1/15, 1934/7024
8	1928	Assn of RS & S Clubs NSW	France	Armistice 10th Anniversary	NAA,A1/15, 1934/7024
9	1928	British Legion	France, Flanders	Special Pilgrimage	NAA, A458, L337/7
10	1929	Burns Philp & Co	Gallipoli	Battlefields Tour 1929	AWM38,3DRL6673/225
11	1933	Mypolonga Sub-Branch (SA)	Gallipoli	Anzac 25th Anniversary	Minutes 13-14 Sept1933
12	1934	Gallipoli Pilgrimage Council(V)	Gallipoli	Anzac 20th Anniversary	<i>Advertiser 25.4.1934</i>
13	1935	Mypolonga Sub-Branch (SA)	Gallipoli	Pilgrimage Battlefields	Minutes 22.1.1935
14	1935	King Edward VIII	Gallipoli	Paid homage	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
15	1935	J L Treloar	Battlefields, USA, NZ	Anzac Pilgrimage	AWM38,3DRL6673/696
16	1936	Advertiser 17.2.1936 (SA)	King's Coronation	Suggested Pilgrimage	Minutes 17.2.1936
17	1936	HMAS Australia & Sydney	Gallipoli	Memorial Service Kalia	Advertiser 23.4.1936
18	1936	<i>Lancastria</i>	Galipoli Salonica	Pilgrimage	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
19	1938	Mr R B Jacobs (SA)	Villers-Bretonneux	Memorial Unveiling	Minutes 19.4.1938
20	1945	Advertiser circa 3.7.1945(SA)	Battlefields	Visit to Battlefields	Minutes 3.7.1945
21	1947	Alec Horne (SA)	France, Belgium	Visit to Battlefields	Back, Aug 1947
22	1948	Battlefield Memorial Committee	Gallipoli, Tobruk	Australian Delegation	AWM67, 13/62
23	1949	West Croydon & Kilkenny (SA)	War Cemeteries	Pilgrimage War Cemeteries	Minutes 19.7.1949
24	1950	Ansett Travel Service	Canberra	Pilgrimage tours	Minutes 7.8.1950
25	1950	Mr Kent	Gallipoli	Visited graves	AWM67, 13/62
26	1951	Dr C E W Bean	Pozires-Ypres	Visit battlefields	AWM,3DRL6673/405
27	1951	Mr A C Sharp	France, Belgium	Visit battlefields	AWM27, 670/2
28	1953	Mr Forde (SA)	Menin Gate, France	Visit	Minutes 19.1.1953
29	1953	League	New Guinea, Middle East	Pilgrimage	Minutes 11.5.1953
30	1954	Mrs E J Harris (SA)	Malta	Unveiling Memorial	Minutes 8.3.1954
31	1954	League	El Alamein	Unveiling El Alamein	Minutes 20.9.1954

APPENDIX V

No.	Date	Proposer/Pilgrim	Destination	Title	Reference
32	1955	Widows (SA)	war graves	Pilgrimage War Cemeteries	Minutes 3.10.1955
33	1955	Arthur Fadden MP	Gallipoli	Guest Turkish Govt	NAA,A462/16,448/12
34	1955	Sir George Holland	Gallipoli	RSL Pilgrimage	NAA,A462/16,448/12
35	1955	G A Ringer	Bomana	War cemetery	Back October 1955
36	1956	George Bolton (SA)	Amiens Cemetery	Curator: Atkins ex SA	Minutes 14.5.1956
37	1957	Australian soldiers	Tyne Cot, Belgium	Guard of Honour	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
38	1957	Messrs Wakelin&Loudon(SA)	Gallipoli France Belgium	Revisit WWI battlefields	<i>Sentry Go Dec 1957</i>
39	1959	National Executive	Overseas	Battlefields Pilgrimage	Minutes 9.2.1959
40	1959	Elizabeth Nicholas	WWI	Battlefields visit	Sentry Go Feb 1959
41	1960	Messrs Mulherin,Gray&Niff(SA)	World Tour	RSL World Tour & Pilgrimage	Sentry Go July 1960
42	1960	National Office	New Guinea	Battlefields & Cemeteries	Minutes 12.12.1960
43	1960	Pat Grudge (SA)	Pont D'Archelles	Visit brother's grave	Sentry Go March 1960
44	1960	Prime Minister Menzies	Cenotaph London	Laid Anzac wreaths	Sentry Go May 1960
45	1961	Sir William Oliver	Tobruk	20th Anniversary Tobruk	NAA,A463/63,1960/5216
46	1961	Kings Tourist Agency	World	Tour	Minutes 12.12.1960
47	1961	Salient Circle	Ypres	Visit to Ypres	Minutes 9.1.1961
48	1961	2/19th Btn	Kanchanaburi Malaya	revisit & place memorials	NAA,A1838,1516/6/206p1
49	1962	Col Waite (SA)	England 60th Anniversary	South African war veterans	Minutes 19.3.1962
50	1962	Boomerang Travel Ltd	Somme & Ypres Salient	Visits	Minutes 19.3.1962
51	1962	Papua-NG Branch	Port Moresby	Pilgrimage:next-of-kin	Minutes 19.3.1962
52	1963	Roger Fair	Gallipoli	visit graves:Memorial Service	NAA,A1838/1,1516/6/206P1
53	1963	Ansett-ANA	Paupa New Guinea	tour	Minutes 14.1.1963
54	1963	National circular	World Wars	Pilgrimage for war outbreak	Minutes 2.9.1963
55	1965	Gallipoli Legion of Anzacs	Gallipoli	Visit & pay homage	NAA,A463/63,963/2297P1
56	1965	Messrs.Auld&Gordon + 15SA	Gallipoli	Pilgrimage	NAA,463/63,963/2297P1
57	1965	AustLegion Ex-Service Clubs	Gallipoli	Anzac Jubilee Anniversary	NAA,A463,1963/2297P1
58	1965	5 couples, sister, widow (SA)	Canberra pilgrimage	Anzac celebrations	Minutes 8.2.1965
59	1965	Mrs & Miss de Silva	Lae	Papua NG war cemeteries	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
60	1965	Mrs Jacobs	Bomana	Visit Bomana Cemetery	Minutes 6.9.1965
61	1965	Ex-servicemen	El Alamein	Appeal for peace	Photocopy
62	1966	National Executive	El Alamein	25th Anniversary	Minutes 16.5.1966

APPENDIX V

No.	Date	Proposer/Pilgrim	Destination	Title	Reference
63	1966	25,000 visitors	Verdun	50th Anniversary	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
64	1966	'Karlsruhe' 'Braunschweig'	Jutland	50th Anniversary	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
65	1967	Mr & Mrs Eastick (SA)	Middle East El Alamein	overseas tour	Minutes 17.4.1967
66	1967	Brig Brown	Gallipoli	50th Annvy C'wlth war graves	Minutes 17.4.1967
67	1968	National Executive	Back to Kokoda	Kokoda ceremony	Minutes 19.2.1968
68	1968	Report	Sabah	visit	Minutes 19.2.1968
69	1968	Messrs Hughes & Uren MPs	Ambon	Dedication war cemetery	Minutes 18.3.1968
70	1968	WWI veterans	Battlefields: USA	50th Anniversary Armistice	NAA,A1838/362,25/1/3/25 P1
71	1969	WWI Light Horse	Israel	Anzac in Israel	Minutes 21.7.1969
72	1970	Members	WWI	Pilgrimage	Minutes 20.4.1970
73	1971	Members	Lone Pine, Gallipoli	Pilgrimage	Minutes 18.1.1971
74	1971	Mr Fleming	Singapore Cemetery	Holiday visit	League Minutes
75	1971	Members	South East Asia	Road of Return: POWs	Minutes 21.6.1971
76	1971	Citizens of Burnside(SA)	Mont St Quentin	Visiting party	Minutes 21.6.1971
77	1971	Chris Hurford MHR (SA)	Lone Pine	Visit	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
78	1971	Queen Elizabeth: H G Kippax	Lone Pine	Visit	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
79	1972	50th Btn members	AIF cemetery	Pilgrimage	Minutes 20.11.1972
80	1972	Veterans	El Alamein	30th Anniv Pilgrimage	NL, MS389, K Inglis
81	1973	David L Graham	Gallipoli, France	Pilgrimage	AWM,AAWM:3DRL/6006
82	1975	R V Bowner	Gallipoli, Turkey	60th Anniversary Tour	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
83	1977	WWII Veterans	Greece Crete	Tour of Remembrance	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
84	1978	Ex-Servicemen:P AdamSmith	Europe	60th Anniversary Armistice	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
85	1980	members	Gallipoli	VIP International Travel P/L	Minutes 17.3.1980
86	1981	members	Korea, Kapyong, Nth Africa	Tours	Minutes 19.1.1981
87	1982	members	Darwin	40th Anniversary Bombing	Minutes 17.2.1982
88	1982	Tom Morris	Singapore Kanchanaburi	Return to POW sites	AWM,AAWM:PR83/068
89	1983	Dr Hank Nelson	Thailand	Travel with former POWs	AWM Jnl 3, Oct 83
90	1985	Professional men (SA)	Ypres	working study tour	Minutes 15.4.1985
91	1985	RSL	Gallipoli	70th Anniversary Landing	RSL Report to BCEL 1986
92	1985	R C Gabriel	Ambon	Pilgrimage	AWM,AAWMPR87/053
93	1987	POWs	Thailand	Anzac Day gathering	NL, MS 389, K Inglis

APPENDIX V

No.	Date	Proposer/Pilgrim	Destination	Title	Reference
94	1987	Senior Aust Ministers	Gallipoli	Wreath Laying Anzac Day	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
95	1987	Kokoda Trail veterans	Bomana	Anzac Day service	NL, MS 389, K Inglis
96	1990	Aust Parliamentary Delegation	Gallipoli	75th Anniversary Delegation	RSL Library:Report
97	1993	Staff AWM	Gallipoli, Western Front	Study Tour	AWM Display 2000
98	1993	WWI Veterans	Western Front	75th Anniversary last battles	DVA
99	1995	Richard Reid	WWII: Papua NG, Borneo	Up North	Jnl AWM #27, Oct 95
100	1996	Bruce Scott MP	Education: projects	Their Service our Heritage	DVA Branch
101	1996	Dr Simon Cameron (SA)	Gallipoli	Trip: Presenting the Past	Lecture 14.4.2000
102	1996	Andrea Alexander (Vic)	Thailand, Singapore	Visit Changi, Burma Railway	Travel record
103	1996	Vietnam Veterans	Vietnam, Singapore	Return	DVA Internet
104	1998	Prime Minister John Howard	Hell Fire Pass Thailand	Dedication	Press Release Internet
105	1998	Howard Pope Adelaide	Le Hamel, France	Dedication new memorial	DVA
106	1999	Michelle Cunningham (SA)	Sandakan, Borneo	Dedication comm site	DVA
107	2000	Prime Minister John Howard	Gallipoli: Villers-Bretonneu	Visit to Aust Memorial	ABC News + Internet
108	2000	McCain	Vietnam	Prison & memorial	SBS News

Key: Bold type in 'Reference' indicates proof pilgrimage took place

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- 1919/0953B Drive Way around Torrens Lake – War Memorial Drive
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