

Anzac Rituals – Secular, Sacred, Christian

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Philosophy.*

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Abstract

This thesis will argue that Australia's Anzac ceremonial forms emerged from Christian thinking and liturgy. Existing accounts of Anzac Day have focussed on the secular and Western classical forms incorporated into Anzac ritual and ignored or minimised the significant connection between Christianity and Anzac Day. Early Anzac ceremonies conducted during the Great War were based on Anglican forms, and distinctive commemorative components such as laying wreaths at memorials and pausing in silence, as well as the unique Australian 'dawn service' tradition which began ten years after war's end, have their antecedents in religious customs and civic rites of the time.

Anglican clergy played the leading role in developing this Anzac legacy - belief in Australia in the 1910s and 1920s remained predominantly Christian, with approximately half of believers being Anglican adherents - yet this influence on Anzac ritual has heretofore received scant acknowledgement in academic and popular commentary which views Anzac Day's rituals as 'secular', devoid of religious tradition and in competition with it.

Sydney's Anzac Day in 1916, the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, and the ceremonies that followed through to 1919, illuminate the significant role of the city's Anglican leadership in early Anzac ceremonial remembrance practice. The history, adoption and adaptation of elemental Anzac commemorative motifs of wreaths, silence, and dawn reveal their roots in Biblical theology and church approaches to mourning, challenging the secularisation hypothesis. Parallels between the story of the emergence of the Dawn Service in Sydney and that of the New Testament record of the discovery of Jesus' empty tomb will provide context for this exploration.

Christian design motifs and inscriptions will also be noted in significant public memorials, adding to the argument that Christianity was the principal cultural repository for responding to the disastrous consequences of the Great War. This study will explain the deep current of Biblical thinking in Anzac commemoration and reveal how Anzac public remembrance is not only 'sacred' in a 'secular' formulation, as is commonly assumed, but also, fundamentally, Christian.

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I dedicate this thesis to their memory, with deep gratitude and affection.

Acronyms

ADCC	Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (Brisbane)
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
ANMEF	Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force
RSA	Returned Soldiers' Association
RSL	Returned and Services League
RSSILA	Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League
SDM	Sydney Diocesan Magazine
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald

Note

All references sourced from internet locations have been accessed and checked on 18 March 2020, prior to submission.

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Introduction

There is overwhelming evidence that remembering the Great War in Europe entailed a return to traditional practices of mourning, embedded in classical, romantic, and religious images and languages.

Jay Winter¹

The Government has decided to invite the heads of the churches to hold a memorial service at some hour to be arranged on 25th April [1916] throughout the length and breadth of the State.

NSW Premier William Holman²

This thesis argues that much of the scholarship on Anzac Day has obscured the critical importance of Christian thinking and practice in shaping Australia's commemorative tradition and early development of Anzac Day rituals. In a context of unimagined national shock, Australians did what Jay Winter found to be the case in Europe. They returned to 'traditional practices of mourning', particularly to Christian language and symbols, modes of religious expression that they found recognisable, made sense and were believed by many to be efficacious.

The historiographical tradition with respect to Anzac Day has been that Anzac Day is fundamentally secular, drawing on classical motifs to ennoble Anzac sacrifice. Christianity has been seen as marginal to the core symbolic frames shaping commemoration, having little influence on the form of Australia's national day of remembrance. Instead, the secular Anzac tradition developed its own sacred tropes making Anzac a 'secular religion'.

Anzac Day commemoration began during the Great War. Throughout the War and in the immediate aftermath a widespread outpouring of grief occurred in response to the battlefield loss of life and the lifelong scarring of many who had served in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). This grief, felt not only by family members but by

¹ Jay Winter, *War Beyond Words: Languages of Remembrance from the Great War to the Present* (Cambridge University Press; 2017), p. 206.

² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 March 1916, p. 10.

whole communities, mingled with a growing national self-worth generated by stories of the AIF's heroic endeavours. A tradition quickly emerged, bringing together these twin sentiments in an annual day of remembrance, aimed at sustaining a commitment that the sacrifices of the Great War generation would not be forgotten. 'Anzac Day' was named for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, the ANZACs, who in their valiant landing at Gallipoli in the early hours of 25 April 1915 had instilled pride even amidst familial and community-wide suffering.

The focus of the argument will be an examination of the first Anzac Day commemoration in 1916 in Australia's largest city, Sydney. The leadership of the Sydney Diocese of the Church of England, especially the Archbishop and the Dean, ensured that traditional religious modes of expression were central to Anzac Day practice. Moreover, the theological and liturgical stance of its leadership shaped much of the liturgy of Anzac Day and its ceremonial components. The Sydney Diocese of the Church of England has its foundations in British Empire civic Protestantism, a form of Christianity that emerged from the Reformation, firmly transplanted to the colony in New South Wales through the Evangelicalism of its early settler chaplains, and it was this Evangelical expression of the Protestant Reformed tradition that remained the distinctive heart of Sydney Diocesan thought and custom during the Great War.³ It was to have a tremendous bearing on the traditional practices that were brought together in Anzac Day ceremonial ritual, ensuring their recognition, comprehension and efficacy.

The historiography of Anzac Day has largely ignored this substantial contribution made by Christian leadership and the involvement of Church of England leaders in Anzac Day. Geoffrey Serle, has claimed that 'The churches had little to offer in terms of high culture and relatively little intellectually', sheeting this home to 'the strength of the Nonconformists, the growing evangelical dominance over the Church of England, and the confined missionary outlook of Catholicism with its largely

³ Stuart Piggin and Robert Linder describe it thus: 'Evangelicalism is a Christian movement, a family of faith, focussed on the Gospel, and demonstrably continuous with the... New Testament and with the Protestant Reformation', (p. 23). In Australia, it was 'evangelical Anglicanism, especially in its oldest and most robust manifestation, Sydney Anglicanism,' that 'set the agenda in (Australian) evangelical history' (p. 40). Stuart Piggin and Robert D. Linder, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History 1740-1914* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing; 2018).

uneducated laity'.⁴ Serle echoed the scholarly consensus that had emerged in the immediate post-Second World War period, a consensus that searched for an understanding of Australian identity and consciousness within frames that did not involve religion. But this anachronistic turn in scholarship obscures the efficacy of religious belief during the 1910s and 1920s. The position taken by academic and cultural commentators is that veterans and governments were the principal agents in the creation of Anzac Day.⁵ And equally that these agents were intent on forging a 'Classical' and 'secular' tradition. This widely-held and oft-repeated position neglects the central role of clergy leaders of the time, and runs counter to Winter's claim for 'overwhelming evidence' that traditional forms of mourning like those found in the Christian religion were the predominant mode for responding to the grief resulting from the Great War.⁶

This neglect of the critical involvement of Christians in the early performance of Anzac Day means that the symbolism embodied in the core elements of Anzac ritual, the elements that distinguish an Anzac commemoration from other mourning rituals, is not properly understood. The gestures of wreath-laying and the formal observance of silence, framed by bugle calls and poetry readings, seem to modern eyes to be secular, but all bear significant religious meaning. The unique Australian timing of war remembrance at dawn was a part of the Christian repertory of the early decades of the twentieth century. Sculptures and texts at major war memorials invoked Biblical heritage surrounding acts of tribute in Christian messaging. This cultural repository was understood by those drawing on its symbolism. But

⁴ Geoffrey Serle, *The Creative Spirit in Australia: A Cultural History*, 2nd edition (Melbourne: Heinemann; 1987), p. 22.

⁵ For example, K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, 3rd edition (Melbourne University Press; 2008), first published in 1998; Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin; 1975); Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches, 1914-1918* (Sydney and Canberra: Catholic Theological Faculty and Australian War Memorial; 1980). Tom Frame described their work as characterising 'Anzac Day as a form of civil religion capturing a secularised spirituality'. See Tom Frame (Ed.), *Anzac Day: Then and Now* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2016), p. 195. The work of John A. Moses, spanning two decades, is the exception – see for example, John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins: Canon D. J. Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration* (Canberra: Barton Books; 2013).

⁶ Winter has written authoritatively and extensively on collective memory, particularly that which emerged in response to the Great War. See, for example, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press; 1995, 2nd edition: 2015), pp. 5 and 225-227; and *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (Yale University Press; 2006). His view, quoted above from his 2017 publication *War Beyond Words*, has remained unchanged through more than two decades of study of memory and twentieth century conflicts.

Australia's Anzac Day scholarship has established a 'common knowledge' around the Day's formation that ignores this heritage. This 'common knowledge' has become accepted as the 'secular' account of the Day's origins. This account, it is argued here, is anachronistic. Accounting for *Christian* leadership in the formation of Anzac ritual better fits both the social context and the historical record.

Sydney's Archbishop John Wright and Dean Albert Talbot, a Gallipoli veteran, led much of the ceremonial components of the first Anzac Day commemoration in Sydney on 25 April 1916 and in subsequent years. Their particular theology and churchmanship had an integral and lasting effect on both community-wide marking of the Day and what lay at its core, the constituent parts of its unmistakable rituals. At a time when almost every Australian believed in God, and nearly fifty per cent were adherents of the Church of England, its particular liturgical patterns were embraced by Australians in the midst of grief. In the early decades of the twentieth century the Christian beliefs and forms, expressed by Sydney's Anglican leadership, knitted together grief and hope. These beliefs and forms generated respect for heart-rending loss, along with the tribute it rightfully deserved for its selflessness. They were also an expression of confidence in the future for a nation in mourning and in the prospect of reunion upon Jesus' return when the faithful would be raised to renewed life.

To date, academic studies of the early days of Anzac ritual have focussed on Melbourne and Brisbane, and to a lesser extent, Adelaide.⁷ A number of historians

⁷ Melbourne: Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Cambridge University Press; 2009), C. Ansell, *Some Aspects of the Celebration of Anzac Day in Melbourne up to 1939* (Thesis, Monash University; 1975), Janice C. Sullivan, *The Genesis of Anzac Day: Victoria and New South Wales 1916-1926* (Thesis, University of Melbourne; 1964); Brisbane: Mark Cryle, *Making 'the One Day of the Year': a Genealogy of Anzac Day to 1918* (Doctoral thesis, University of Queensland; 2015), John A. Moses, 'The Struggle for Anzac Day 1916-1930 and the Role of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (2002); Adelaide: Janice Pavils, *Anzac Culture: A South Australian Case Study of Australian Identity and Commemoration of War Dead* (Doctoral thesis, University of Adelaide; 2004) published as *Anzac Day: The Undying Debt* (Adelaide: Lythrum Press; 2007). For New Zealand, see Scott Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour: New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2002), pp. 185-200. Broader reflections can be found in: Mark McKenna, 'Anzac Day: How did it become Australia's national day?', in Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Eds.), *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2010), pp. 110-134; Frame, *Anzac Day: Then and Now*; and Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: the unauthorised biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2014).

have viewed developments in Melbourne in the years before 1927, where the seat of Australia's Federal Government was located prior to the building of a new capital in Canberra, as fundamental to what was happening in the rest of Australia. Serle, for example, has argued that Anzac Day only began taking shape after 1925 when Melbourne held its first veterans' parade under the leadership of Sir John Monash.⁸ But a reading of media reports and ex-service community organisations' papers shows that in other capitals, particularly Brisbane and Sydney, Anzac Day had already taken hold and its traditions were firmly set during the war itself.

The Brisbane experience has been comprehensively examined by John Moses, who has identified the extensive planning and organisation of that city's Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC) in devising the day's program and its ritual components. Moses, whose research is historiographically unique in its examination of the influential role of Anglican clergy, has argued that Brisbane's rituals influenced what developed and became customary throughout Australia, although as proposed here it was the Sydney format that was far more influential on what later became the national Anzac Day ritual. In contrast, there has been no equivalent scholarly treatment of early Anzac Day commemoration in Sydney.⁹ The work of Tanja Luckins is one exception, focussing on the place of women in Anzac Day ceremonies, but her scope is limited to this aspect of Sydney's Anzac commemoration, not the overall shape of the evolving Anzac Day tradition in Sydney.¹⁰

The role of civil society in organising the day's program in 1916 was particularly evident in Sydney with the Anglican Church joining with nascent ex-soldier groups and government. Whilst the latter focussed on recruitment opportunities afforded by Anzac Day during the war, the Returned Soldiers Association (RSA), which was soon to become the national advocacy powerhouse known initially as the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA), and later as the Returned and Services League (RSL), took responsibility for establishing marches and parades of soldiers. The Church of England, assisted by leaders of other churches, determined the content and form of the Anzac ceremonial liturgy. Each of these elements was

⁸ Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash: A Biography* (Melbourne University Press; 1982/2002), p. 464.

⁹ Recent national studies of early Anzac Days such as Frame, *Anzac Day: Then and Now*, and Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, merely skate across the surface of developments in Sydney.

¹⁰ Tanja Luckins, *Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss in the Great War* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books; 2004).

present on 25 April 1916. Recruitment initiatives enjoyed a prominent place in proceedings throughout the war years, but it was large public religious ceremonies and marches that became fundamental to Anzac Day in succeeding years.

The RSSILA and the Church of England have not received substantial academic attention in relation to Anzac Day. The former received brief mention in an RSL publication to mark its seventieth anniversary in 1986, *Lest We Forget*, which included a chapter recounting the RSA and RSSILA involvement in the day.¹¹ G. L. Kristianson's history of the first fifty years of the RSSILA is unfortunately cursory in its treatment of Sydney, perhaps a product of the NSW RSA not joining the new national movement until a year after it had been formed by the other States' organisations.¹² Primary research on the early periods of the RSAs and the RSSILA is still to be undertaken, an unusual lacuna in our nation's historical record.¹³

The Church of England has fared a little better. Although general histories of the church do not offer insight into Anzac Day, there is emerging recognition of the Anglican role, present in wartime and then in early Anzac remembrance practice. Church services were conducted by all denominations in the first days and weeks of hearing news from Gallipoli. By the time the first memorials were being constructed during the war, prayers, hymns and clerical addresses were common features of remembrance. In particular, two Anglican priests have received attention and, in the absence of more detailed accounts of Anzac Day across Australia, large claims have been made about their founding roles. Canon David Garland, an Anglican priest in Brisbane, took an early leadership role in the establishment of Anzac Day in Queensland and its forms through the ADCC which first convened in January 1916. Rev. Ernest White, Anglican priest in Albany, Western Australia, is proudly credited

¹¹ Peter Sekules and Jacqueline Rees, *Lest We Forget: the History of the Returned Services League 1916-1986* (Sydney: Rigby Publishers; 1986).

¹² G. L. Kristianson, *The Politics of Patriotism: The Pressure Group Activities of the Returned Servicemen's League* (Canberra: Australian National University Press; 1966). The RSSILA was formed in 1916. Although representatives from NSW attended planning meetings in 1916, the NSW RSA did not join officially until March 1917. See Part I for further detail.

¹³ Martin Crotty agrees, noting that 'there are no comprehensive histories of the RSL', p. 53 in '“What more do you want?”: Billy Hughes and Gilbert Dyett in late 1919', *History Australia*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2019), pp. 52-71. See also Crotty's detailed survey of RSL membership statistics and politics in its first thirty years: Martin Crotty, 'The Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, 1916-1946', in Martin Crotty and Marina Larsson (Eds.), *Anzac Legacies: Australians and the Aftermath of the Great War* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing; 2010), pp. 166-186.

by locals as the 'father' of the dawn service in that State.¹⁴ As will be shown in this thesis, Sydney's Anglican Archbishop John Wright and Dean Albert Talbot, who had served as a senior chaplain at Gallipoli, led Sydney's Anzac Day in 1916, and played a constant role for another two decades.¹⁵ Their leadership ensured that throughout the war and into the inter-war years, Christian liturgy, language and symbolism shaped remembrance occasions and specifically the more formal war memorial unveiling ceremonies and, eventually, the Anzac Day Dawn Service which emerged in the late 1920s.¹⁶

An examination of the hand of Wright and Talbot in the evolution of Anzac Day in Sydney from 1916, hitherto unexplored, reveals new perspectives on Australia's traditions of Anzac Day. Among these traditions are the laying of wreaths, the period of silence, and the practice of commencing Anzac Day with a ceremony at dawn, which together are what makes Anzac Day recognisable, even then and especially some one hundred years later. Without text or speech, silent gestures and symbols like wreaths and the dawn service, can easily be separated from the cultural context that once made them self-evident. They each have everyday meaning, even a certain ubiquity throughout human history and across cultures, that has eased their unmooring from Christian interpretations.¹⁷ But there has been little change in these essential elements of Anzac liturgy *despite* the passage of time and the changing face of Australian culture - which, in its outlook, is more evidently multicultural and secular.¹⁸

Stuart Ward, in a comparison of commemoration in Ireland and Australia, argues that "The Australian myth of Gallipoli has also passed through several iterations over the last hundred years, despite the outward appearance of timeless observance and

¹⁴ Note, however, that the first Dawn Service in Western Australia was held in Perth in 1929. Albany's first Dawn Service was held in the following year.

¹⁵ Darren Mitchell, 'What Dean Talbot Did Next: The Return of Chaplain Colonel Talbot to Sydney in 1916', *Lucas*, Series 2, No. 12 (December 2018), pp. 97-116.

¹⁶ More detail on the origins of the dawn service tradition will be provided in Chapter Five of this thesis. Chaplains from other denominations were also present at Anzac Day ceremonies, but did not have the same influence on their forms as those from the dominant Anglican Church.

¹⁷ Bradley Billings, 'Is Anzac Day an incidence of "Displaced Christianity"?', *Pacifica*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2015), p. 239.

¹⁸ Bruce Kapferer, *Legends of the People, Myths of State: Violence, Intolerance, and Political Culture in Sri Lanka and Australia* (New York: Berghahn Books; 1988, Revised Edition: 2012), p. 150.

ritual'.¹⁹ Temporal distance allows each generation to invest a resilient myth such as Anzac with its own emphases, ones that today suit a 'secularism' that seemingly precludes the presence of religion. But, even in the midst of shifts of meaning, the persistence of specific rituals of collective memory into the twenty-first century should give pause for thought. It could also be said that the 'timeless observance and ritual' of Anzac Day through its more than one hundred years of history has occurred despite the Gallipoli myth passing 'through several iterations'.²⁰ By examining the 'origins' of these unchanging elements, which lie at the heart of Anzac liturgy, we better understand the period of their emergence in Australia's history and what people of that period thought was important and meaningful.

Anzac Day Historiography

The work of Ken Inglis has proved seminal in establishing Anzac Day as 'secular'. His argument was that 'the presence of denominational Christianity was not required for Anzac commemoration'.²¹ Many others have repeated and extended his thesis. Inglis was first writing in the 1960s and 1970s when conventional elements of the spirit of earlier times had become inaccessible in the face of a post-Second World War academy that was developing a secularising spirit of its own. In a survey of Anzac historiography, Frank Bongiorno, Rae Frances and Bruce Scates have noted that Inglis' doctoral studies, published in 1963 as *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, were supervised by socialist scholars.²² 'To a new generation of social historians (in the 1960s) influenced by Marxism, multiculturalism, feminism and the new social movements generally' write Bongiorno, Frances and Scates, 'social divisions seemed to matter more than evidence of a common identity or shared culture'.²³ Given the deep influence on Inglis of a lens of conflict, it is unsurprising

¹⁹ Stuart Ward, 'Parallel Lives, Poles Apart: Commemorating Gallipoli in Ireland and Australia', in John Horne and Edward Madigan (Eds.), *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution 1912-1923* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy; 2013), p. 35.

²⁰ Alfred Radcliffe-Brown noted, in an examination of rites and social systems, that 'as a rule we find that while the practice was rigorously fixed, the meaning attached to it was extremely vague, and the same rite was explained by different people in different ways'. 'Religion and Society' in Adam Kuper (Ed.), *The Social Anthropology of Radcliffe-Brown* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; 1977), p. 106.

²¹ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 436-437.

²² K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; 1963).

²³ Frank Bongiorno, Raelene Frances and Bruce Scates (Eds.), 'Labour and Anzac: An Introduction' in *Labour and the Great War: The Australian Working Class and the Making of Anzac* (Sydney: Australian Society for the

that the unifying force of religious motifs, specifically those of Christianity, do not feature strongly in his work.²⁴

In a later essay, Bongiorno claims that ‘religiosity causes discomfort’ to revisionist historians.²⁵ These words apply particularly to many scholars working in the field of Anzac Day who overlook the influence of religion on the emergence of Anzac ritual forms. The absence of the role of religion in the Australian Great War historiography has been noted by some historians.²⁶ The search for an explanation that avoids reference to religious tradition represents the consensus of generations of academic scholarship. Such interpretation of Anzac is not surprising when Australian historiography, hampered by what Alan Atkinson calls ‘a deep strain of bigotry’, has little regard for Christianity.²⁷

Wayne Hudson has written that ‘the weight of historical opinion has probably inclined to the view that Australian religious thought was not of great importance’.²⁸ This was Michael McKernan’s view, that the thoughts of church leadership were ‘banal and commonplace’ and that ‘a discussion of Australian theology or ethics in

Study of Labour History; 2014), p. 6. Note that the ‘secularising’ spirit is not a form of Marxism only: an equivalent tenet can also be found in a ‘secular Liberalism’.

²⁴ Brian H. Fletcher singles out Inglis for this neglect: ‘Mainstream historians, such as Professor Ken Inglis, when explaining the decision to perpetuate the Anzac legend and annually commemorate the fallen on Anzac Day, have largely overlooked the contribution made by Anglicans to both’. *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia: Church, Society and Nation* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Broughton Publishing; 2008), pp. 116-117.

²⁵ Bongiorno notes in ‘In This World and the Next: Political Modernity and Unorthodox Religion in Australia, 1880-1930’, *Antipodean Modern: ACH* 26 (2006), pp. 191-192, other areas of historical inquiry that proffer, inaccurately, a social history of Australia without acknowledging the influence of Christianity, and belief in it, held by individuals that are the subject of study, specifically referencing Marilyn Lake’s *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (1999) as a ‘strikingly secular interpretation of Australian feminism’ highlighting how ‘the secular approach to the history of feminism has not only led to the marginalisation of spirituality, but to the exclusion of some feminists whose activities were dominated by spiritual concerns’. The same conclusion can be made in relation to Anzac historians.

²⁶ ‘Religion - Australia’, *1914-1918-online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, an open access knowledge base under the supervision of the Freie Universität Berlin. The article ‘Religion - Australia’ was posted at <http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net> on 7 January 2019, authored by Daniel Reynaud under the section editorship of Professor Peter Stanley, University of NSW.

²⁷ Alan Atkinson, ‘Review of Michael Gladwin’s “Anglican Clergy in Australia 1788-1850: Building a British World”’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (September 2015), p. 452 – ‘History-writing in Australia has long featured a deep strain of bigotry, a belief that religious commitment involves a kind of false consciousness, a vacancy of mind not worth inquiring into.’

²⁸ Wayne Hudson, *Australian Religious Thought* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing; 2016), p. (ix). See also, Bruce Kaye in the introduction to his edited volume *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (Melbourne University Press; 2002), referring to the Bicentennial of 1988 and the Centenary of Federation in 2001, stated that ‘not for the first time in Australian historiography, religion did not feature very prominently in the writing’, p. (xi).

regard to the war would make a very slim volume indeed'.²⁹ A consequence of this position is that the imprint of Christianity on Anzac Day has been ignored, and our distance in time and in spirit from Anzac Day's nascent manifestations has not been properly appreciated. This is particularly the case with those who wrote about Anzac in the footsteps of the post-Second World War generation of historians. 'Most historians', says Judith Brett, 'writing in the secular second half of the twentieth century have preferred to see religion as a somewhat awkward fellow traveller of class interests, rather than as an agent in its own right, endowing people's political commitments with moral conviction'.³⁰

According to Joan Beaumont, this ongoing absence also means we lack a sophisticated understanding of the Anzac tradition:

The Anzac legend, myth or spirit, as it is variously called, has already attracted considerable attention from historians, but we know comparatively little about the processes by which it gained such a hold in the Australian imagination and political culture. We lack a sophisticated understanding of how the memory of the Great War has changed over the past one hundred years and the role that individuals and organisations have played in effecting this evolution.³¹

A 'sophisticated understanding' requires detailed examination of the acts of memory, the formal rituals by which the collective memory that we label Anzac is made manifest, as well as the part played by the individuals and organisations in 'effecting this evolution'. In its earliest manifestations, the components of Anzac Day had to be imagined.³² It is only by understanding the centrality of Christian practice in 1910s and 1920s Australia that we can understand the phenomenon of Anzac Day that arose in those decades. Helen Irving has argued that the 'eyes of the past' are

²⁹ McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, pp. (i)-(iv), specifically referencing Presbyterian and Catholic 'theologians', if, in Australia, 'that grand title can be rightly applied'.

³⁰ Judith Brett, 'Class, religion and the foundation of the Australian party system: a revisionist interpretation', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, No. 1, p. 45, quoted in Bongiorno, 'In this world and the next', p. 180.

³¹ Joan Beaumont, 'Introduction: Remembering the First World War', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (March 2015), pp. 1-2.

³² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso; 1983), p. 10: 'If the nationalist imagining is so concerned with [death and immortality], this suggests a strong affinity with religious imaginings'.

accessed by asking a series of questions: 'What is it these historical subjects were trying to achieve? What did they think about themselves and their world? What choices were they confronted with, and why did they choose one thing rather than another?'.³³ To understand Anzac, it will be necessary to take cognisance of what people at the time thought 'about themselves and the world' and why they chose 'one thing rather than another'.

It was civic leaders, veterans of earlier wars, and families that first formed organisations in each State to care for wounded Gallipoli veterans returning to Australia.³⁴ As the war progressed, returned servicemen and the bereaved gradually became more involved in community efforts to ensure the sacrifices on the battlefield would never be forgotten. Among the civic notables were church leaders and among the returned soldiers were chaplains, including Dean Talbot of Sydney.³⁵ The impact of the war was widespread. Almost half of eligible males had signed up and of the 330,000 who served overseas, some 62,000 were to die, another 150,000 were wounded, with many of these suffering long years of ill-health and high rates of premature death.³⁶ It is not surprising then that a myriad of groups formed to meet the needs of veterans.³⁷ These needs were not only related to the body and mind – health, friendship, repatriation support, compensation, education and the like. As

³³ Helen Irving, 'Celebrating Federation', *The Sydney Papers*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Autumn 1998), p. 34.

³⁴ Sekules and Rees, *Lest We Forget*, p. 21.

³⁵ In 1913, the Australian Army Chaplains' Department was established under the leadership of four Chaplains-General: one Anglican, one Roman Catholic, one Presbyterian and one Methodist. The Department was the responsibility of the Army's Assistant Adjutant General, and there was a further informal link with the British Principal Chaplain, but, in the absence of defined rules, the chaplains-general and the chaplains operated with a level of freedom, both from the Army leadership and the British chaplaincy department. The only specific expectations were responsibility for church parades and burials, and to not be at the frontline. In each State Senior Chaplains in the four denominations as well as other Protestant denominations could be appointed. At brigade level four chaplains were proportionally allocated according to the 1911 census resulting in two Anglicans, one Roman Catholic and one 'Other Protestant Denomination'. Archbishop Wright, as Primate of Australia, selected the Archbishop of Perth, The Most Rev. Charles Riley, as the Anglican Church's Chaplain General and, in his capacity as Archbishop of Sydney, selected Dean Talbot to be Senior Chaplain in NSW. According to Michael Gladwin, chaplains in the Australian Army made a contribution in the Great War that was 'profound and enduring'. *Captains of the Soul: A history of Australian Army chaplains* (Sydney: Big Sky Publishing; 2013), pp. 83-87. Robert Linder estimates that of the 414 clergy who served, 'at least 195, or forty-seven percent, were Evangelicals'. *The Long Tragedy: Australian Evangelical Christians and the Great War* (Adelaide: Open Book; 2000), p. 125.

³⁶ David Noonan, 'War Losses – Australia', *1914-1918-online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War* <http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net> (2 June 2016).

³⁷ Stephen Garton lists eleven other active organisations in the post-War period, some representing the broad interests of returned servicemen and nurses, others focussed on welfare, as well as relatives' support groups and political action groups. The list is far from exhaustive. See, *The Cost of War: Australians Return* (Oxford University Press; 1996), p. 52.

witnesses to death on the battlefield their needs also related to the spirit. In this area there was common interest with those on the home front who had suffered loss. The death of a comrade was also the death of someone's father, brother or husband. Attention to body, mind and spirit was necessary in response to the breadth and depth of war's burden. Consequently, co-operation was the mark of Anzac Day. Governments worked with churches and the small RSAs, together planning and taking overall responsibility for individual components of the Day. It was unremarkable that the church, and in particular the Church of England, was expected to lead ceremonial observances on the day, with the RSAs looking after marches of veterans, and government providing in-kind support. Other kindred organisations focussed on fund-raising.

Churches were at the forefront of an early initiative that was to have lasting effect. Soldiers' recreation rooms and club facilities were one means to extend the camaraderie of the battlefield to the home front and to ease the return from war. The Soldiers' Tent - as it was known, although it was a substantial structure - on the grounds of St Andrew's Church of England Cathedral was among the first, opened in March 1916.³⁸ Business leaders and philanthropists too, joined with servicemen in ensuring the needs of returnees were met. A host of civilian fund-raising organisations had planned, collected and distributed support since the war's earliest days but increasingly jostled with returned men who, as their numbers grew, wanted a greater say about their own affairs. It was not until later that the veterans themselves moved to take leadership of the RSA and eventually created their own federated national movement, the RSSILA.³⁹ As the early histories of the RSSILA attest, it was coincidentally these soldiers' rooms and clubs that provided the fertile ground for veterans to organise themselves.⁴⁰ But before this impulse towards

³⁸ The pioneering Soldiers' Club, instigated by physician and activist Dr Mary Booth, opened earlier, on 3 June 1915. See, Bridget Brooklyn, 'The Soldiers' Club, 1915-1923', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 64 (2000), pp. 177-186.

³⁹ State RSA representatives from NSW, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia first met together in Melbourne on 3 June 1916 when they resolved to form a national body. Although NSW representatives attended further meetings in 1916 of the newly established Central Council of the RSSILA, and one representative, S. Buckleton, was briefly a Vice President, the NSW RSA did not formally join the national body until March 1917. See RSL Archives at the National Library of Australia: Dr Loftus Hills (1927) *The RSSILA: Its Origin, History, Achievements and Ideals*, pp. 2 and 5; MS6609, Series 22, Box 515: League History (unsorted papers, dated between 1915 to 1936); MS6609, Series 22, Box 611[82]: Minutes of the Central Council and Federal Executive 17 September 1916 – 8 March 1939.

⁴⁰ Dr Loftus Hills, *The RSSILA*, 'Special club rooms, for the use of returned soldiers solely, laid the foundations of the organised endeavours of the returned soldiers of Australia.', p. 1. The NSW Returned Soldiers' Association

national unification in 1916, preparations had begun for the first Anzac Day commemoration, and it was the church leadership which became responsible for the Day's *public* ceremony.

The most important and influential historian of the Anzac legend remains Ken Inglis. He established a tradition of seeing religion as marginal in the creation of the legend, regularly emphasising the secular nature of its symbols and practices. In *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (first published 1998/3rd edition, 2008) Inglis devoted considerable attention to considering the meanings of the memorials and, to a lesser extent, the ceremonies conducted at them. He concluded that the Christian church had little to do with what carried the most meaning for mourners. Noting the 'rarity of the cross as a monumental form' and 'the scarcity of biblical inscriptions on memorials', Inglis surmised that 'They [organisers of ceremonies] might even keep clergymen off the platform altogether... from a feeling that the presence of denominational Christianity was not required for Anzac commemoration and might even impede it'.⁴¹

Inglis routinely made claims about the lack of influence of Christian leaders and Christian thought on memorial design and symbolism, as well as Anzac commemoration language and practice.⁴² In a 1960 reflection written for a weekly newspaper Inglis claimed that the RSL and Anzac tradition are 'possible substitutes' for the church and religion, basing this observation on RSL welfare systems of visitation of the old, infirm, and those veterans and families in need, as well as on their rituals. Systematic visitation programs and new systems of community ritual were seen as being in competition with the traditional offerings of the church. One ritual was noted - that observed at 9.00 pm at evening RSL meetings and similarly daily in clubs - when all present stood for the recitation of an Ode of Remembrance and responded by repeating its last line, 'We will remember them', followed by all pausing for silence before proceedings or entertainment resumed. Inglis saw this as

(RSA) began in Dr Booth's Soldiers' Club on 25 September 1915. 'Returned Soldiers' Association of NSW Records, 1916-1917', MLMSS 8607, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.

⁴¹ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 436-437.

⁴² K. S. Inglis, 'Anzac, the Substitute Religion', in Craig Wilcox (Ed.), *Observing Australia 1959 to 1999* K. S. Inglis (Melbourne University Press; 1999), pp. 61-70. Originally published in *Nation*, 23 April 1960.

'a ritual devised by and for people who are not really convinced by orthodox Christian assertions about what happens after people die'.⁴³

Inglis noted in passing that 'Protestant ministers of religion officiated at the earliest Anzac services' but did not study this involvement.⁴⁴ In 1999, Inglis revealed that he 'was drawn to observing the spiritual and cultural encounters between formal religion and whatever it was that Australians commemorated on war memorials and the rituals enacted around them'.⁴⁵ It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that he did not seek to expand in subsequent academic work on the actual 'rituals enacted around' memorials.

In essays such as *The Anzac Tradition* (1965)⁴⁶ and *Return to Gallipoli* (1966),⁴⁷ Inglis initially concluded that Anzac Day had little relevance for a nation growing independent of Empire and searching for its own identity in an increasingly secular West. He questioned some of the cult-like tendencies he had observed in Anzac Day practice but remained unconvinced of religious dimensions to Anzac. Inglis could only find in the Anzac spirit the development of a secularised 'sacred' legacy.

In a paper delivered to the ANZAAS Conference 1977, 'Monuments and ceremonies as evidence for historians',⁴⁸ Inglis cited two moments in Anzac history that he termed a 'work in progress' in studying Anzac ceremonies, both of which involved challenges by the RSL to church leadership over Anzac Day observance. The first occurred in 1938 in Melbourne when the State RSL proposed changes to the Anzac Day Service at the Shrine of Remembrance to ensure it was a 'civic' commemoration and not a religious service. The second occurred in 1956 in Sydney when the NSW RSL wished to change the destination of the veterans' march from the traditional gathering place in the Domain, where clergy then conducted a ceremony, to the Anzac Memorial in Hyde Park, where the ceremony was presided over by the RSL.

⁴³ Inglis, 'Anzac, the Substitute Religion', pp. 69-70. However, it could reasonably be argued that rather than establishing a new ritual, this 'invented tradition' in veterans' clubs was drawing on the members' experience of the military which itself embodies ritual.

⁴⁴ Inglis, 'Anzac, the Substitute Religion', p. 67.

⁴⁵ Inglis, 'Anzac, the Substitute Religion', p. 62.

⁴⁶ K. S. Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition' *Meanjin*, 100 (March 1965).

⁴⁷ K. S. Inglis, 'Return to Gallipoli', *Australian National University Historical Journal*, No. 3 (October 1966).

⁴⁸ Published in Wilcox, *Observing Australia*, pp. 117-133.

These moments, Inglis contended, open a way to examine 'points of conflict' that would make Anzac rituals sites of contest rather than sites of collective unity.⁴⁹

Inglis later acknowledged that *Sacred Places* had not examined the rituals as forecast. He had in fact chosen to 'look at the ceremonies from the vantage point of the monuments rather than as I once planned, the other way round.'⁵⁰ Throughout *Sacred Places*, Inglis frequently remarked on the absence of Christianity from memorial imagery, design and the rituals that occurred at the memorials. His discussions of the major memorials in Sydney and Melbourne did not incorporate their obvious Christian elements. But the rituals examined by Inglis were rarely more than memorial unveiling ceremonies and, as he noted himself, were his subject of inquiry only 'from the vantage-point of the monuments'. There was only cursory, and occasionally dismissive, treatment of the early years of Anzac ritual.⁵¹ Inglis' commitment to a secular reading of Anzac received support from two influential works in the 1970s and 1980s – Bill Gammage's survey of AIF soldiers' diaries and Michael McKernan's examination of the churches and their chaplains.

Gammage, in his path-breaking 1974 study of soldiers' diaries, claimed that 'the average Australian soldier was not religious... Most Australians found little in war to prompt consideration of a higher divinity'.⁵² Also taking up this theme of an ineffective Christianity, McKernan, in *Australian Churches at War* (1980) stated that 'The majority of the soldiers remained quite indifferent to religion... The bulk of the AIF were not committed church people'.⁵³ Evoking further the spirit of Inglis' thesis,

⁴⁹ Wilcox, *Observing Australia*, pp. 127-132. Inglis first related these two stories more than a decade earlier in 'Anzac and Christian – Two Traditions or One?', *St Mark's Review*, No. 42 (November 1965), pp. 3-12. The stories were the seed of a potential project that Inglis never pursued. Alistair Thomson also attributed Anzac's 'secular liturgy' and its omission of Christian references to the success of veterans' action through the RSSILA. See Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford University Press; 1994; 2nd edition, Monash University Publishing; 2013). Thomson, commenting on popular support for Anzac Day after the war, states, 'While the churches sought to retain Christian observances, on several occasions the RSSILA tried, with varying success from State to State, to omit Christian references in Anzac Day services and replace them with a secular liturgy emphasising nation, empire and digger' (p. 154). The citation for this statement is Inglis, 'Monuments and Ceremonies' (1977). Inglis viewed the 1998 first edition of *Sacred Places* as the work that evolved from these lines of research – Wilcox, *Observing Australia*, pp. 115-117 and 132-133.

⁵⁰ K. S. Inglis, 'Remembering Anzac', an essay prepared for the collection edited by John Lack, *Anzac Remembered: Selected Writings of K. S. Inglis* (University of Melbourne; 1998), p. 246.

⁵¹ Bruce Scates contends that *Sacred Places* 'considered the Day's symbolism and performance only in so far as they related to the unveiling of memorials'. See Bruce Scates, et al, 'Anzac Day at Home and Abroad: Towards a History of Australia's National Day', *History Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 7 (2012), pp. 527-528.

⁵² Gammage, *The Broken Years*, pp. (xiv)-(xv).

⁵³ McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, pp. 131, 134.

McKernan, in a later study, criticised both the churches and their wartime chaplains: the challenges of wartime 'exceeded their capabilities... clergymen failed to convince people they were relevant ... and their message received little attention at all'.⁵⁴

In recent years, however, the work of Gammage and McKernan has undergone challenge, most notably in studies by Daniel Reynaud, Colin Bale and Robert Linder. Reynaud's extensive archival research, involving, like that by Gammage, more than one thousand digger diaries, concluded that approximately one third spoke about faith and a range of moral questions.⁵⁵ These findings challenge the easy assumptions that lie at the foundation of Gammage's claims about soldiers' beliefs. Bale has said that 'the fact that soldiers rarely mentioned religion in their diaries and letters does not necessarily mean disinterest', noting that two-thirds of the files of personal effects returned to next-of-kin included religious items, primarily printed literature.⁵⁶ Similarly, the involvement of clergy in support of the bereaved continued the personal 'contact with the consoling and comforting ministries that churches provided', which makes sense of why so many chose gravestone epitaphs that expressed religious messages.⁵⁷ Bale, in an examination of almost twelve thousand gravestones on Gallipoli and the Western Front, found that more than one third of the epitaphs include a devotional expression of a religious message and suggested that, given the AIF chaplains' active ministry of consolation to grieving families, this finding is not surprising.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Michael McKernan, *Padre: Australian Chaplains in Gallipoli and France* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin; 1986), pp. (i)-(iv), 178.

⁵⁵ Daniel Reynaud, *Anzac Spirituality: the First AIF Soldiers Speak* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing; 2018). This research has been followed up with *The Anzacs, Religion and God: The Spiritual Journeys of Twenty-Seven Members of the AIF* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing; 2019).

⁵⁶ Colin R. Bale, 'In God we Trust: The Impact of the Great War on Religious Belief in Australia', in Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson (Eds.), *Donald Robinson Selected Works: An Appreciation* (Sydney: Australian Church Record/Moore College; 2008), p. 307. Amanda Laugesen, in *'Boredom is the Enemy': The Intellectual and Imaginative Lives of Australian Soldiers in the Great War and Beyond* (Farnham: Ashgate; 2012), claims 'Of all the books soldiers read while at war, the New Testament stood as the most widely owned and possibly the most widely read', p. 40. See also Michael Moynihan (Ed.), *God on Our Side* (London: Secker and Warburg; 1983), p. 82: 'In most padre's accounts of their experiences at the front, there is a tendency to concentrate on events and to take for granted the spiritual aspects of their ministrations.'

⁵⁷ Bale, 'In God we Trust', p. 311.

⁵⁸ Colin Bale, *A Crowd of Witnesses: Epitaphs on First World War Australian War Graves* (Sydney: Longueville Media; 2015). Bale's exhaustive study is to be preferred to that of John Laffin, *A Guide to Australian Battlefields of the Western Front 1916-1918* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press and Australian War Memorial; 1999, 3rd edition), p. 169, in which little attention is paid to the religious sentiments in epitaphs which variously refer to God, the cross, sacrifice, faith and heaven as identified by Bale.

In a similar vein, Robert Linder has illuminated another dimension, that of the chaplain reports of 'a spiritual hunger among the troops' and Charles Bean testifying to 'officers reading and discussing the Bible'.⁵⁹ As Linder put it, 'a reconsideration of the evidence in the context of the nature of Australian religious faith in the period 1914-1918 rather than from a more recent perspective might lead to different conclusions'.⁶⁰ The examination by Reynaud and Bale of soldiers' beliefs and on their families' choice of epitaphs provide substantial responses to Linder's plea for revision of an anachronistic 'more recent perspective'.⁶¹

The positions of Inglis, Gammage and McKernan, however, have remained influential. Their conclusions about the lack of appeal or efficacy in Christian forms of mourning after the Great War have found expression in many quarters. Both Pat Jalland and Bart Ziino, leading historians of Australia's responses to death, argue that Christianity's influence on mourning practice waned quickly after the Great War. Jalland borrowed Inglis' general conclusions about Christianity to support her contention that families' inability to visit the graves of dead soldiers meant that they were turning from traditional forms of memorialisation and instead looking for 'a public display of commemoration and mourning' as though conducting ceremonies in the civic square, by definition, precluded Christian forms.⁶² Jalland also repeated

⁵⁹ Linder, *The Long Tragedy*, p 46. Reynaud concluded that more recent literature has challenged Gammage's assumptions - 'Religion - Australia', *International Encyclopedia of the First World War – 1914-1918*-online. Linder also notes that 'Gammage's assessment of the place of religion is not consistent with the evidence as presented in his own book' which is 'replete with religious imagery and references to Christianity', p. 14.

⁶⁰ Linder, *The Long Tragedy*, p. 15. Linder continues, 'the surprising reality is not that many men lost or modified their Christian commitment while on active service but that, amidst the horrors of modern warfare, so many maintained a vibrant faith until death or demobilisation', p. 16. See also Hugh Chilton who has emphasised a mistaken anachronism in Australian historiography where 'perceptions of present irrelevance [of the church] seemed to have also shaped a presumption of past irrelevance'. Hugh Chilton, *Evangelicals and the end of Christian Australia: nation and religion in the public square, 1959-1979* (Doctoral thesis, University of Sydney; 2014), p. 13.

⁶¹ For further insight into chaplains, in addition to Moses, various, on Canon Garland in Brisbane, see for example, Michael Gladwin, *Captains of the Soul: 'the chaplains' relationship with the men of the AIF was on the whole more positive, and the soldiers' religious instinct deeper, than most historians have allowed*, p. 83; Bradly Billings, *For God, King and Country: The Anglican Church and Community During the Great War* (Melbourne: Morning Star Publishing; 2016); Meredith Lake, *The Bible in Australia* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2018); Daniel Reynaud, *The Man the Anzacs Revered: William 'Fighting Mac' McKenzie, Anzac Chaplain* (Warburton, Victoria: Signs Publishing; 2015). For consideration of British chaplains, see Edward Madigan, *Faith Under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2011) and Patrick Porter, 'Beyond Comfort: German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War, 1919-1929', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (October 2005), pp. 258-289.

⁶² In *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History 1840-1918* (Oxford University Press; 2002) Jalland states, inter alia, that 'Christian ritual seemed increasingly inappropriate' (p. 325). Jalland cites Inglis, from *Sacred Places*, in support of her discussion of memorial culture: 'It is difficult to see the public war memorial movement giving significant help to all such mourners'.

Gammage's claim stating that 'most soldier's accounts of the war sent to their families at home were secular.'⁶³ Similarly drawing on Inglis, Ziino, in his study of how Australians coped, in the absence of bodies, with widespread grief following the Great War, mourning at a distance as it were, expressed doubt that Christian practice could offer the consolation demanded by such a tragedy in a time of decline in attachment to religion.⁶⁴

Carl Bridge, the author of the entry on Anzac Day in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, echoed Inglis' themes in describing Anzac ceremonies as 'classical', 'stoical' or 'pagan'.⁶⁵ Graeme Davison, in the *Cambridge History of Australia*, is less strident and provides the reader with relevant Inglis citations when describing Anzac ceremony as, by the 1920s, already 'secular', but he does not provide a clear explanation for stating that this secularism is based in 'classical' forms.⁶⁶ Davison's claim that 'stoic silence' and 'solemn remembrance' are two motifs warranting description as classical, rather than Christian, is an argument that will be contested in this thesis.

The resort to classical foundations for interpreting the Anzac legend is traced by Jenny Macleod to the artist Sidney Nolan and the writer George Johnston who spent time together in Greece in the mid-1950s, travelling throughout ancient lands in search of their own spurs to imagination.⁶⁷ The results were Johnston's novel about the Great War's legacy *My Brother Jack*, published in 1964 with a cover adorned by one of Nolan's paintings, and Nolan's immense *Gallipoli* series, numbering over 250

⁶³ Jalland, *Australian Ways of Death*, p. 311.

⁶⁴ *A Distant Grief* (University of Western Australia Press; 2007). Ziino stated that 'Attendance at church services had been in decline, particularly among Protestant denominations, and even among those who remained many were unable to draw sufficient consolation through the strength of their faith', pp 21-22. Two sources are identified: Jalland as described above and Inglis, *Sacred Places*.

⁶⁵ Carl Bridge, 'Anzac Day' – *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, Second Edition (Oxford University Press; 2008). References include: 'the spiritual thrust of the (Anzac) ceremony is classical and stoical', 'the... reason for building public war memorials for Anzac ceremonies on municipal rather than church property was the need to... keep the clergy... at arm's length', and 'the Anzac Day liturgy has always verged on the pagan'. There are no citations but, in these statements, there are clear echoes of Inglis' language.

⁶⁶ Graeme Davison, 'Religion' in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of Australia, Volume 2: The Commonwealth of Australia* (Cambridge University Press; 2013), pp. 215-236. Davison, citing Inglis, *Sacred Places*, writes, 'Clergymen played a part in the first Anzac commemorations but by the 1920s the ceremonies had assumed a secular form based on classical, rather than Christian, traditions. Stoic silence, rather than stirring song, solemn remembrance rather than patriotic celebration, were its hallmarks. Civil religion – the binding rituals of the nation – had begun a slow separation from British Christianity.', pp. 225-226.

⁶⁷ Jenny Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester University Press; 2004), pp. 216-218.

items, some 180 of which had appeared in a 1965 documentary narrated by Johnston. These two works have enjoyed a sustained influence on Australians' memory of the Great War. Nolan particularly had taken inspiration from a visit to Troy and his discussions with Johnston about Homer's *Iliad* as well as Alan Moorehead's 1955 *New Yorker* article which extolled Gallipoli's shared geography with Homer's stories. Johnston says Nolan's poetic imagination saw Anzac and 'that much more ancient myth of Homer's... as one, saw many things fused into a single poetic truth lying, as the true myth should, outside time'.⁶⁸ Nolan's work, undoubtedly familiar to Inglis, fostered in artistic circles an acquaintance with the power of an Ancient Greek lens to illuminate the experience of the Australians at Gallipoli. Here we may glean an insight into Inglis' own inquiries into Anzac that were undertaken in a modern era that anachronistically absents religion not only from these Greek sources themselves, but also from the development of Anzac symbol and inscription.

Inglis and others sought to locate Anzac in 'classical' tradition, in a 'secularism' traced to Ancient Greece, rather than to Australia's then prevailing culture and how, in Irving's words, that culture may have thought of itself and its world. But the attempt to separate the religious from the public domain not only leads to a confusion about what is the nature of the sacred but also seeks to remove any religious connection from acts of collective memory.⁶⁹ Although acknowledging in *Sacred Places* that 'Christianity had a complex relationship with the cult of Anzac', Inglis believed that 'few of the artefacts devised for the cult of Anzac did invite congregations to take comfort from orthodox Christian declarations about life, death and the hereafter'. Instead, he argued 'the quest for the right words and images for life and death took makers back to pre-Christian Greece'.⁷⁰ This approach echoed Manning Clark's 1986 conclusion that 'Anzac Day was becoming the central event in an Australian secular religion'.⁷¹ The 'secularising' shift relies on non-transcendent assumptions to explain things said, done and thought in past times, to 'slough off the

⁶⁸ *Art and Australia*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (September 1967), quoted in Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli*, pp. 216-218.

⁶⁹ This attempt was also inconsistent with Ancient Greek thought and practice, where the sacred and the secular were inseparable. As Nancy Evans states, the 'political life and religious life were fully integrated in fifth century Athens.' *Civic Rites: Democracy and Religion in Ancient Athens* (University of California Press; 2010), p. 242.

⁷⁰ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 436-437.

⁷¹ C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, Volume VI: The Old Dead Tree and the Young Tree Green, 1916-1935* (Melbourne University Press; 1987), p. 16.

transcendent' in historical record.⁷² Inglis was convinced of this trajectory, particularly in the English church of the nineteenth century and extrapolated his convictions to the Anglican Church in Australia in the 1910s and 1920s, the period of Anzac ritual formation and consolidation. It is no surprise that in labelling Anzac as a 'civil religion', a term that became commonplace to describe Anzac Day,⁷³ Inglis would draw on the assumption of an earlier 'decline' that, in his view, had resulted in the absence of any effective Christian presence even in Anzac's nascent years.⁷⁴

This appeal to alternative, classical, traditions was an attempt to recast Australia's Anzac Day as a 'secular' tradition, an expression of civil religion, which is termed 'sacred' only in the sense that what it represents is untouchable, its nomenclature worthy of unique legal protection.⁷⁵ In their survey, Bongiorno, Frances and Scates, noting these two strands of thinking, the sacred and the secular, that have emerged in the study of nascent Anzac Days, concluded that 'we still await a fully convincing account' of their intertwining.⁷⁶ It is the contention of this thesis that the sacred and the secular are entwined in Anzac Day, not merely as a new hybrid 'secular sacred' that has little to do with traditional religious forms, but one that situates and retains sacred forms in civic space.⁷⁷

⁷² Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press; 2007), p. 543.

⁷³ Frank Bongiorno, 'Remembering Anzac: Australia and World War I', in Anna Maerker, Simon Sleight and Adam Sutcliffe (Eds.), *History, Memory and Public Life* (London: Routledge; 2018), pp. 183-207. Bongiorno remarks that 'It has now become customary to think of Anzac as a 'civil religion' whose history is interwoven with the decline of traditional religious observance', (p. 189). His footnotes refer to pages in Inglis' *Sacred Places* that discuss civil religion, the term Inglis preferred - see, 'Kapferer on Anzac and Australia', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, No. 29 (December 1990), pp. 67-73 - although Inglis also used the terms 'civic or secular religion' (see 'Reflecting on a Retrospective', in Frame, *Anzac Day: Then and Now*, p. 19).

⁷⁴ Moses asserts that for all its consideration of the sacred, 'the thrust of [Inglis'] *Sacred Places* is avowedly secular'. See John A. Moses, 'Was there an Anzac Theology?' *Colloquium*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2003), p. 4.

⁷⁵ The sacred status of the new acronym was confirmed through 'secular' means in the 1920 national legislative initiative to restrict use of the word, *Protection of the Word 'Anzac' Act 1920*. The States had their own debates during the 1920s concerning the 'holiday' status of Anzac Day: what would be permitted, and what would be prevented, or considered taboo, as profaning the 'sacredness' of the Day. For a discussion of the differences between the States, see Kevin Blackburn, *War, Sport and the Anzac Tradition* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2016), pp. 50-54.

⁷⁶ Bongiorno, Frances and Scates, *Labour and the Great War*, p. 15. See also, Stephen A. Chavura, John Gascoigne and Ian Tregenza, *Reason, Religion and the Australian Polity: A Secular State?* (London: Routledge; 2019), pp. 170-172.

⁷⁷ Inglis was penning much of his early research on the relationship of Anzac to religion in the 1960s when W. Lloyd Warner (*American Life: Dream and Reality*, University of Chicago Press; 1962) and Robert N. Bellah ('Civil Religion in America', *Daedalus*, Vol. 96, No. 1, Winter 1967) had popularised Rousseau's term 'civil religion' in describing America's memorial days and other public ceremonies. What emerged from the work of these two sociologists was that 'civil religion' is a composite of beliefs of a given age and is therefore an idea in itself that can be traced throughout human existence. 'Civil religion' is not just a product of a post-Christian world, but is

This distinction is being increasingly contested by more recent scholarship. Frank Bongiorno, in an important reflection, has noted that ‘the distinction historians often assume between ‘secular’ and ‘sacred’ might be misleading when applied in contexts where political actors did not think in such terms themselves’.⁷⁸ The word ‘Anzac’ received the appellation ‘sacred’ early. In December 1915 the *Melbourne Argus* quoted an army officer referring to Gallipoli and Anzac as ‘sacred’ and the term was being routinely applied by 1916.⁷⁹ For the RSSILA, Anzac had become a sacred memory indicating wide adoption of such language once reflection on the whole of the Dardanelles campaign was possible. It also referred to sacred places and sacred practices.⁸⁰

The idea of the ‘sacred’ in ‘increasingly de-Christianised societies’ is considered by Gordon Lynch.⁸¹ Resisting the notion that the sacred and the secular can be conveniently separated, Lynch, accepting that ‘we live in more secular times than previous generations’, argues, however, that ‘we do not live in a de-sacralised age.’ Beginning his analysis with an examination of Emile Durkheim’s *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, published in 1912, Lynch argued that Durkheim provides the most helpful guide to understanding the sacred, a term that ‘is used today without clear theoretical underpinnings’. He sees in Durkheim the beginnings of a

traceable throughout history. In this formulation, Anzac Day can be seen as a unifying day founded on shared beliefs, a ‘civil religion’, not a secular ritual devoid of religious content. Among those who have built on the ideas of both Warner and Bellah, see Robert D. Linder, ‘Civil Religion in Historical Perspective: the Reality that Underlies the Concept’, *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn 1975), pp. 399-421; and Jonathan Ebel, *G.I. Messiahs: Soldiering, War and American Civil Religion* (Yale University Press; 2015). In relation to Anzac Day, see John A. Moses, ‘Anzac Day as Australia’s “civic religion”?’’, *St Mark’s Review*, No. 231 (April 2015), pp. 23-38.

⁷⁸ Bongiorno, ‘In this world and the next’, p. 179.

⁷⁹ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 15 December 1915. See also, Jo Hawkins, *Consuming Anzac: The History of Australia’s Most Powerful Brand* (University of Western Australia Press; 2018); and Graham Seal, ‘Anzac: The Sacred in the Secular’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 91 (2007), p. 137.

⁸⁰ Hilary Carey, quoting Inglis, noted that the conduct of Anzac Day services at non-church sites such as cemeteries or memorials not only was an attempt at finding ‘common ground’, but also established ‘new sacred spaces in the Australian landscape’. Hilary Carey, ‘Religion and Society’, in Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward (Eds.), *Australia’s Empire* (Oxford University Press; 2001), p. 207. But this comment misunderstands a crucial difference between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. It privileges the sites over the rituals performed at those sites, placing reliance on ‘spatial criteria’ to determine whether a ceremony is a sacred act or a secular one? For Protestants, the notion of sacredness is found in the use to which something is put, not because the location itself is somehow sacred. The latter nomenclature is a result of a ‘consecration’, or setting apart, a Roman Catholic tenet, but although war memorials and cemeteries have a sacred air about them, in Protestant thinking they are only sacred if ceremonies of a particular nature are held at them. Protestants could therefore conduct religious services in any public space.

⁸¹ Gordon Lynch, *The Sacred in the Modern World: A Cultural Sociological Approach* (Oxford University Press; 2012).

particular intellectual lineage that illustrates how certain acts and objects when present within a symbolic or mythical context, for example, a ritual performance, provide not only an experience which through regular observance elevates participants into a greater conception of society and its structures, but also 'a shared sense of being a part of the shared community and its governing myths'.⁸²

Lynch finds in Durkheim tools for understanding how to conceptualise the promotion of common ideals and stories that bind a society. In Durkheim's view, these 'systems of emblems' are necessary for 'society to become conscious of itself' and are 'indispensable for continuation of this consciousness'.⁸³ The shared ideals and stories represent the things of most value, the sacred elements of a society or nation. In this conception, Anzac Day can be considered a sacred day, one that unified a nation during and after war.

Anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, who claimed Durkheim as an influence, commented in 1926 when taking up his post as the first professor of anthropology in Australia, at the University of Sydney, that the form of patriotism expressed on occasions such as Anzac Day was the nation's 'totem'.⁸⁴ The 'totemic', the 'Durkheimian sacred' stories and their representation as emblems that he had observed in societies such as those of indigenous Australians - the subject of both Durkheim's and Radcliffe-Brown's research - was also evident in other societies in the power and attraction of patriotism. This spirit of patriotism that binds society becomes the civil religion of a nation's founding myths. The symbols enacted in public performance are in accordance with a cultural script on declared days of practice.⁸⁵

⁸² Lynch, *The Sacred in the Modern World*, pp. 2-9.

⁸³ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Oxford University Press; 1915), p. 176. Quoted in Jon Davies, 'War Memorials', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 40, No. S1 (May 1992), p. 126, translation from Encyclopaedia Americana edition (1982) of Durkheim, p. 231.

⁸⁴ *SMH*, 21 July 1926, p. 16.

⁸⁵ Radcliffe-Brown's Inaugural Lecture at the University of Sydney in 1926 connected the 'modern public spirit of patriotism' with its 'counterpart in Totemism' differing only in their complexity. This analysis was extended in Radcliffe-Brown's address to the Fourth Pacific Science Congress in 1929 titled 'The Sociological Theory of Totemism'. Copy held at University of Sydney Fisher Library. Earlier, Radcliffe-Brown had claimed in 'The interpretation of Andaman Island ceremonies' that 'the ceremonial customs are the means by which the society acts upon its individual members and keeps alive in their minds a certain system of sentiments. Without the ceremonial these sentiments would not exist, and without them the social organisation in its actual form could not exist.' Originally published in 1922, included in Adam Kuper (Ed.), *The Social Anthropology of Radcliffe-Brown* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; 1977), p. 97. The literature on these connections is now extensive but see, in particular for an understanding of how Durkheim's theories assist in

The cultural meaning that provided foundation for understanding the Day's activities already existed. What emerged was recognisable and effective because it drew on the familiar British civic Protestantism of the time. The rituals devised sought to console, but they also aimed to gird a commitment to a secure and peaceful nation. These two modes, of mourning and of patriotic resolve, of looking backwards, and forwards, were conjoined in the Anzac Day ceremonies during and after the war. The individual's sacrifice was captured into a larger story of Australia, one understood by early organisers as essential in providing comfort to the grieving and in grateful acknowledgment to the dead and the returned, furnishing hope for the living in a better future and the opportunity to enjoy the freedoms afforded victors.

Thesis Outline

In Part I the foundational role of Sydney Anglican leadership in the development of Anzac Day will be considered. A detailed description of Anzac Day in Sydney in 1916 will demonstrate that much of what is familiar to those attending Anzac Day ceremonies today is recognisably present in that first Day commemorating the anniversary of the landing of the Anzacs at Gallipoli. The leading Anglican clergy in Sydney, Archbishop Wright and Dean Talbot, worked closely with government and veterans' organisations as a triumvirate, each equally responsible for the success of the Day, and Christian mourning rites became the core of Anzac Day repertory. The continuing influence of Wright and Talbot will be highlighted through a chronicle of

appreciating their intertwining, Jack Goody, 'Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1961), pp. 142-164; Steven Lukes, 'Political Ritual and Social Integration', *Sociology*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (May 1975), pp. 289-308; and Jeffrey Alexander, *Performance and Power* (Cambridge: Polity; 2011). A number of later scholars of anthropology have investigated more deeply the ritual elements of Anzac Day and, by doing so, have perceived the Christian heritage of the Day. Richard Ely noted that 'the first celebrants had little trouble finding just what to do and say' - Richard Ely, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered?', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 17 (1985), p. 58. Although Ely's question - invention or discovery - imposes duality, his settling on Anzac Day as emerging from existing practices paradoxically entwined a number of paired notions that are often viewed as separate from each other: British and Australian, sacred and secular, are each essentially conjoined on Anzac Day rather than in tension. Philip Kitley identified the deep Christian repository that is evident and persists, at least until 1977, the year of his comparative study with the first ceremonies in 1916 in the Queensland town of Toowoomba - 'Anzac Day Ritual', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1979), pp. 58-69. More recently, Barry Morris has cited the deep roots of the Anzac ritual in Judeo-Christian belief, noting especially the Last Post and Reveille and their association with death and 'the awakening to a better world', allied with Binyon's Ode. See, Kapferer, *Legends of People, Myths of State: Violence, Intolerance and Political Culture in Sri Lanka and Australia* (New York: Berghahn Books; 2012), pp. 352, 359. The lead set by these works of anthropology, identifying the Christian foundations of Anzac ritual, have not been followed by historians of Anzac Day.

Anzac Days and related events in 1917 through to 1919, finishing with the first anniversary of Armistice Day that year. This provides a seminal point to conclude our consideration, for it marks the attempt to establish across the British Empire a day on which, together, the victory in the Great War could be commemorated, a competing occasion to Anzac Day, as it were, with its own ritual elements vying for a special place on the commemorative calendar. The successful establishment of Anzac Day as Australia's day of commemoration owes much to its formative period during the War, the particular forms initiated by Wright and Talbot enabling it to prevail.

Ritual elements of Anzac Day are the subject of Part II. The gestures of wreath-laying and observing silence, as well as the motif of dawn, have foundations in Christian thought and practice of the time. Core to Anzac Day, and related ceremonies of wartime mourning throughout the world, were the presentation of floral tributes in the form of wreaths and the observance of silence, which will be considered in Chapters Three and Four respectively. The former had enjoyed wide public acceptance in the evolution of public mourning practices in the nineteenth century through to the pre-war years of the twentieth century. The employment of wreaths is therefore not surprising. But given the era in which they emerged, the circular floral display symbolised a specific view of the cycle of birth, life and death, and of the life to come.

As a silent gesture within a formal ritual structure, wreath-laying is partnered with a further gesture of silence, a prescribed one or two-minute observance, the latter practice having been utilised in church services and public displays of mourning in the years before the Great War. The pre-history of both gestures shows their appropriateness within public settings devised by clergy. The framing of the temporal silence between bugle soundings with their origins in military protocols, along with a reading from a poem that further extolled the sacrifices of soldiers, established eschatological interpretations for these ritual elements. Placed within public ceremonies designed to pay tribute to the dead, and provide comfort and hope to the living, their unique religious, military and civic dimensions affirmed their appropriateness.

Together, the laying of a wreath and the observance of silence are at the heart of the Dawn Service origin story. The ceremony at dawn, which is a unique contribution to international repertoires of wartime remembrance practice and is the subject of

Chapter Five, emerged formally in Sydney in 1928. The story behind its origin has a mythical form and an ordinary reality. Rivalry between ex-service groups throughout the 1920s points to an accidental establishment of a new formal public ceremony which was then quickly taken up across Australia. Far from spontaneously emerging in different parts of the nation, or without official instigation, the dawn service tradition began in Sydney. An origin story also emerged providing a parallel with New Testament reports of Jesus' empty tomb, the apex of the Christian account of his death and resurrection.

Christianity was deeply embedded in the Australian settler culture, before, during and after the Great War, inevitably shaping Anzac liturgy. Our distance from the early decades of the twentieth century has contributed to the loss of symbolic understanding of commemorative practice, memorial inscriptions and sculptures. Part III will provide examples of ceremony design and symbolic interpretation at national war memorials that manifest this loss. Close readings of the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne and the Anzac Memorial Building in Sydney, both unveiled in 1934, but conceived in detail several years earlier, will demonstrate how interpretations by later generations have precluded access to the perceptions of their symbols and inscriptions held by audiences for these memorials in the late 1920s and early 1930s. A recent ceremonial 'innovation' at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra will alert us to the dangers inherent in this loss of understanding. Further, a 'modernisation' of a suburban memorial will illustrate how misinterpretation is also occurring at local levels.

If the Australian serviceman and his family were irreligious then the evidence would show that they did not turn to the solace and guidance offered by Christianity. But Anzac mourning practices do not reflect this 'lack of faith'. The Australian 'master narrative', that is, the Anzac legend, has in Paul Connerton's words been 'sustained by the ritual performances' of Anzac Day.⁸⁶ During and in the immediate aftermath of the Great War, the predominant mode for offering mitigation of grief was that of a Christian liturgy, and it is to Christian liturgy that we find the Australian community

⁸⁶ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press; 1989), p 70: 'What, then, is being remembered in commemorative ceremonies? Part of the answer is that a community is reminded of its identity as represented by and told in a master narrative... An image of the past, even in the form of a master narrative, is conveyed and sustained by ritual performances.' Compare these comments to those of Radcliffe-Brown: without these performances the social organisation, the 'imagined community' would not exist.

turning after reports of losses on the battlefield, and over time as more settled forms of Anzac ritual evolve. Those charged with designing and leading the early ceremonies were leaders of the Church of England in Australia. The challenge of seeing religion 'as an agent in its own right' is taken up by this thesis. Anzac Day ceremonial is sacred *and* secular, and also, Christian.

Part I

Sydney Anglicans and the First Anzac Days

Chapter One

Wright and Talbot

The leadership of the Church of England Diocese of Sydney, far more than any other Christian denomination, played a critical role in establishing Sydney's first Anzac Day commemorations on 25 April 1916, setting foundations for the Day in ensuing years. Understanding the emergence of Anzac Day and its forms of commemoration is only possible if this involvement is appreciated. A close examination of the two leading figures in the Church of England hierarchy in Sydney and in early Anzac Days is critical in understanding the importance of Anglicanism in shaping the form and content of Anzac Day.¹

The Archbishop of Sydney, and the Primate in Australia, The Most Rev. John Wright (1861-1933), and the Dean of Sydney, The Very Rev. Albert Talbot (1877-1936), were routinely called upon to organise ceremonies, prepare liturgies, give addresses, and co-ordinate other Protestant churches in providing for people in Sydney to join together on special occasions.² When it fell to them to perform this role for the nascent Anzac gatherings these occasions were inevitably infused with Christian thought and practice. Such gatherings were expected to be presided over by Christian leadership, and the pre-eminent Christian leaders were those of the Church of England which had by far the most adherents and an Empire legacy of civic authority.

As Primate, Wright presided at meetings of all dioceses in Australia known as the General Synod. Although not a position of legal authority over other dioceses, the role then, as now, enjoyed national prominence and a recognised seniority amongst bishops and individual dioceses. As Dean, Talbot ministered to a large and influential city. In reality, a Dean ministered from the Cathedral across the diocese as the Archbishop's 'executive right hand'.³ The positions could be described as 'first among equals'. Wright and Talbot were leaders of the Church of England in the largest city

¹ The Church of England in Australia did not take the name Anglican Church of Australia until 1981. The nomenclature 'Church of England' will generally be used although occasionally 'Anglican' will be employed for the sake of brevity or to avoid convolution.

² A Primate is the senior bishop of the Church of England in Australia.

³ *SMH*, 5 July 1912. Wright's description at Talbot's installation.

in Australia. Their imprint on Anzac Day was substantial, expected and welcomed. It was also distinctive and influential. As well as being the largest diocese numerically and financially, Sydney Diocese already bore the markings of a distinctive theology and churchmanship. Sydney had retained a low-church practice and evangelical theology distinct from high-church and Anglo-Catholic alternatives which had emerged within the Church of England as challenges to the Protestant Reformation. Wright and Talbot were thus also the de facto leaders in Sydney of civic Protestantism, the theology and practice that marked the Church and a majority of the population in the United Kingdom and among its Empire populace during the early part of the twentieth century.

The core beliefs of evangelicalism, the prevailing theological position in Sydney with origins in the Protestant Reformation, involved an emphasis on reconciliation between God and humanity being effected solely by Jesus' death and resurrection, reliably and comprehensively revealed through the Scriptures, the Word of God. The Sydney Diocese, although not monochrome, had, in practice, resisted two significant trends that arose in the nineteenth century, one from within the church and one from without, enabling it to retain an evangelical emphasis into the twentieth century.

First, a nineteenth-century movement within the Church of England to restore certain Roman Catholic traditions, known as the Anglo-Catholic movement, had not gained a substantial foothold in Sydney. The movement's desire to return to priestly mediation between God and believers was at odds with the Protestant catchcry of the 'priesthood of all believers'. Roman Catholic belief in the real presence of Jesus in the sacrament of the Eucharist (or Holy Communion) was inimical to the Protestant emphasis on the sacrament being solely an act of remembrance of Jesus' once and for all time act of redemption. Protestant stands were influential in Sydney and upon taking up his appointment as Archbishop in 1909 Wright had moved quickly to quell the wearing of certain priestly garments. The clerical vestment known as the chasuble that, in Anglo-Catholic Eucharistic observance, reified Jesus' presence and a priest's mediation of this presence to the congregation, was at the heart of the entanglement between Wright and St James' parish in the city, the earliest church building standing. It was a parish with much influence, but the new Archbishop resisted its creeping recourse to Counter-Reformation practices and, in the process,

made, as Stephen Judd says, ‘an Evangelical affirmation of the Reformed character of the Church of England’.⁴

Secondly, intellectual movements outside the wider church were encroaching on long-held tenets of belief. Developments in biological science, particularly the theory of evolution, for some, had prompted doubt about original sin and the uniqueness of humanity. Further, the application of trends in textual criticism to the Bible had the effect of challenging belief in the veracity of the Scriptures. The historicity of miracles recounted in the Bible was also placed in doubt, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus. Acquiescence by some believers to these challenges had resulted in what became termed ‘liberal theology’, a set of positions that sought to soften Biblical truth claims.⁵ The Diocesan leadership in Sydney, largely educated in British universities and thus well-versed in these trends, absorbed both literary criticism and biological propositions without forsaking commitments to the miraculous dimensions of Jesus’ birth, his ministry and his life after death, nor to a distinctive human-kind that bore the curse of original sin and its consequent separation from God.

The responses of Wright and Talbot to these challenges - the assertion by Wright at the outset of his ministry in Sydney of the evangelical ascendancy against those wanting to return to a Roman Catholic past, and the active intellectual defence of the Scriptures by Talbot against those ready to embrace the march of a ‘secular’ scientific rationalism – were to have their effect on how both viewed Anzac Day. The personal papers of Wright and Talbot do not appear to have survived and so the task of understanding how they saw their role depends on their public statements available in glimpses through official records and the snippets printed in newspapers, church journals and veterans’ organisation magazines. John Ryan, in his examination of Wright’s first ten years as Archbishop (1909-1919), added that the search for biographical detail about Wright was also hampered by his ‘personal aversion to

⁴ S. E. I. Judd, *Defenders of their Faith’: Power and Party in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1909-1938* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Sydney; 1984), p. 150. Judd provides a detailed account of the clash on pp. 133-158.

⁵ For explanations of these trends in this time in history, see Geoffrey Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism: The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond*, A History of Evangelicalism, Volume 4 (London: InterVarsity Press; 2016), Chapter Nine: Modernism, liberal evangelicalism and fundamentalism; and Martin Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled: Responses of Evangelicals in the Church of England to Ritualism, Darwinism and Theological Liberalism, 1890-1930* (Cumbria: Paternoster Press; 2003).

publicity'.⁶ But both men were routinely in the public eye and reports of their words and actions give us a glimpse of their substantial role in Anzac Day.⁷

As heirs of the Protestant Reformation, rather than the nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholic reaction, and being confidently Evangelical, not liberal in theology, shaped Wright and Talbot's engagement with the devastation of the Great War. Both men were influential in shaping Anzac Day liturgy beyond the Diocese of Sydney and beyond their own lifetimes. In 1915, when Great War commemorative practice was emerging, the predominant mode for offering mitigation of grief was that of a Christian liturgy. These beginnings and the ongoing presence of Christian liturgical forms in Anzac ceremony are at odds with the historiography on the secular origins of Anzac.

The influence of Wright and Talbot was more than a grudging nod to a spiritual succour in times of crisis, the civilising 'secular' model of church history and belief, though it was certainly a *spiritual* leadership. Their involvement was not merely tokenistic support for the proponents of an Empire nationalism, the creation of an Australian 'civil religion', as asserted by Geoffrey Serle and Ken Inglis. Rather, it was a thoughtful, sophisticated shaping of people's hearts and minds, a work that acknowledged mourning and the need to console, honour, and remember, but simultaneously enfolded grief and death in a hope expressed as encouragement for the work of national reconstruction and in the emphatic assertion of transcendent realities.

During and after the war both men remained confidently Evangelical. The intellectual challenges posed in the physical and biological sciences, and in textual hermeneutics, did not shake Wright or Talbot in their theology or practice, any more than did the war itself. Their sermons and writings indicate a familiarity with contemporary trends in the academy and an ability to resist what was unhelpful for

⁶ John Ryan, *The Australian Career of John Charles Wright Archbishop of Sydney (1909-1933): The First Ten Years* (Honours Thesis, University of Sydney; 1979), accessed at Donald Robinson Memorial Library, Moore Theological College, Sydney. This view was also affirmed by Judd, *Defenders of their Faith*, p. 11.

⁷ On the value of working through press articles to understand the emergence of Anzac Day forms, see Lisa Waller and Simon Holberton, 'Early reminders: Anzac Day in three Victorian country newspapers 1916-1925', *Australian Journalism Review*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (July 2015), pp 51-62. Waller and Holberton's survey leads them to conclude that 'churches were an important locus of activity for Anzac Day remembrance', with their special services 'extensively reported' (p. 56), and that school celebrations were 'in fact quite tightly scripted' (p. 58). Both findings affirm the importance of the church and the state (in relation to school activity) that, along with press reporting, 'played a significant role in the formative period 1916-1925' (p. 59).

understanding God's word and world. This confidence in approach also served them both in responding to challenges within the church, enabling them to remain robustly Evangelical Anglicans. The ubiquity of the resurrection theme in the ministry of Wright and Talbot, a cornerstone of their theology, helps explain the peculiar 'two-halves' format of Anzac Day, a morning of solemnity and an afternoon of celebration, and its meaning from the Day's inception in wartime in 1916 through the first post-war decade.

But despite the open and increasingly strident voices of criticism, of which educated elites were certainly conscious, the turn throughout Australia to the leadership of the Church of England for the organisation of Anzac Day's commemorative ceremonies was unremarkable. Throughout this period, an explicit 'process of adjustment to modern knowledge' was occurring, but without direct impact on belief or public commitment.⁸

The absorption from modern intellectual developments of what helped illuminate the sacred Scriptures and rejection of what negated them was always a difficult balancing act. But Evangelical Protestants were clear-eyed in their presentation of Gospel essentials with an eagerness to test everything against its tenets, including new scientific and hermeneutic developments. Protestant Churches in Australia gradually came to terms with evolution, the most substantial challenge to belief arising from modern science, and with 'higher criticism', the new approach to studying the Bible.⁹ In facing up to these developments Walter Phillips noted that, 'Protestants adhered to their belief in the divinity of Christ and the incarnation and did not reject miracles, especially the central miracle – the resurrection of Christ'.¹⁰ Leaders within

⁸ Walter Phillips, 'The Defence of Christian Belief in Australia 1875-1914: The Responses to Evolution and Higher Criticism', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1977), p. 405.

⁹ Phillips, 'The Defence of Christian Belief in Australia 1875-1914', pp. 408, 410, 414.

¹⁰ Phillips, 'The Defence of Christian Belief in Australia 1875-1914', p. 418. This approach is visible in Talbot's Moorhouse Lectures delivered in 1933 and published as *Church of England Divines and the Anglican Tradition* (Sydney: The Endeavour Press; 1934), pp. 241-242, where he identified 'three great movements that had a bearing upon Church life and thought' in the latter half of the nineteenth century and to which it was necessary for the Church to 'adapt' and to 'define its attitude': Physical Science, Historical Criticism, and Socialism. In considering the measure of this response, he quoted Canon (later Bishop of Durham) Brooke Foss Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1870, and no doubt an influential voice during Talbot's studies thirty years later at Cambridge. Westcott's leadership in these endeavours was acknowledged by Talbot and, in his quotation of Westcott, an insight is offered into Talbot's own approach in melding Christian thinking and practice with the contemporary intellectual challenges of his era. Westcott stated, 'In the action of these forces, then, we must find the Divine message to ourselves... The resources of the earth, material and moral, are now laid open to us: the history of the past is disclosed with increasing fulness: the obligations involved in the solidarity of mankind are everywhere felt. We must face these new conditions of

Protestantism in Sydney as well as in their own church, Wright and Talbot were confident public figures offering carefully reasoned positions in response to these challenges.¹¹

Both Wright and Talbot studied for the priesthood at Oxford and Cambridge respectively. Before setting out for the farthest reaches of the Empire they were already leaders among equals in Manchester, a background and experience that shaped their understanding of and response to Anzac.

Ministry in the United Kingdom

Before taking up the appointment to Sydney, Wright served as a Cathedral Canon under the Right Rev. E. A. Knox, DD, the staunchly evangelical Bishop of Manchester, a lifelong mentor and friend. Wright was born in Bolton, Lancashire, the son of a clergyman, and attended Manchester Grammar School followed by Merton College, Oxford where he was tutored by Knox whilst obtaining a BA (1884) and MA (1887).¹² Whilst in Manchester Wright had cultivated his own evangelical churchmanship credentials through his instrumental role in the early days of the Group Brotherhood. Talbot was also a member of this movement of younger clergy open to exploring new ideas.¹³ ‘Disgruntled evangelicals’ as Martin Wellings labels them,¹⁴ churchmen in the Church of England unhappy with a choice between reactionary or accommodating options in responding to developments in modern thought, had begun in 1906 the movement initially known as the Group Brotherhood. Begun by half-a-dozen clergy, known as the ‘Liverpool Six’, they sought a more considered means by which the gospel could be commended to a modern world. Further groups were quickly established in other centres beyond Liverpool, including in Oxford and Cambridge. A conference was held in Woolton, Liverpool, in 1907 at which Wright, as Canon, presided and he is credited with suggesting the

labour without prejudice and without reserve.’ Talbot also identified approvingly the influence of Westcott’s 1866 publication *The Gospel of the Resurrection* in which the historical and Scriptural evidence for the resurrection miracle is outlined and identified as the essential foundation for social unity. See Talbot, p. 245.

¹¹ Phillips, ‘The Defence of Christian Belief in Australia 1875-1914’, p. 405.

¹² Stephen Judd and Brian Dickey, ‘John Charles Wright’, in Brian Dickey (Ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association; 1994), pp. 412-413.

¹³ Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism*, p. 86.

¹⁴ Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled*, p. 290.

name when referring to the gathering as a 'band of brothers'.¹⁵ His charge to the gathering was to navigate challenges to traditional Evangelicalism on seemingly every front: 'in Biblical scholarship, church life, social questions, and the presentation of doctrine'.¹⁶ Given Wright's leadership in the early days of the movement, it is important to note that, according to Wellings, it was classically Evangelical at this time. 'It must be emphasised again that the Brotherhood was not particularly 'liberal' at this stage', referring to its stated commitment to Scripture as 'the true, full and final revelation of God's will and the ultimate source of doctrine'. The Liberal Evangelical character of the organisation, ascribed to it by some commentators, was not evident until its later incarnation as the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement (AEGM).

Wellings is particularly critical of anyone who 'consistently [and mistakenly] read[s] the Liberal Evangelicalism of the AEGM back into the origins of the Group Brotherhood'.¹⁷ By 1923, when the nomenclature Anglican Evangelical Group Movement was adopted, the movement was more clearly Liberal in outlook, much more ready to welcome critical analysis of the Scriptures that would entertain doubts about its authority and completeness as a revelation, as well as the miracles it reports. Detailed background to the AEGM is important for our analysis as Australian commentators on Talbot including Ken Cable,¹⁸ John McIntosh,¹⁹ and Marcia Cameron,²⁰ have concluded, wrongly, that Talbot held Liberal views because of his association with the Group Brotherhood. Wright is spared some of these aspersions but is nonetheless considered in the same breath as suspect for bringing

¹⁵ The connection can be made although it is not definitive – the idea of brotherhood was used at the time to describe any collection of clergy and the notion of Groups, a name commonly given to such informal gatherings, was also a burgeoning movement referring to informal but regular meetings held outside the liturgical patterns of daily and weekly services.

¹⁶ A. J. Tait, 'The Group Movement: Its Origins and Early Years', *Bulletin*, Vol. 2 (October 1933), p. 16, referenced in Colin Bale, 'Albert Edward Talbot (1877-1936): The Second Dean of St Andrew's Cathedral', in Edward Loane (Ed.), *Proclaiming Christ in the Heart of the City: Ministry at St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney* (Sydney: St Andrew's Cathedral; 2019), p. 95.

¹⁷ Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled*, p. 312.

¹⁸ Ken Cable, 'Talbot, Albert Edward (1877-1936)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne University Press; 1990): Talbot 'held liberal views... and joined the Group Brotherhood'.

¹⁹ John A. McIntosh, *Anglican Evangelicalism in Sydney 1897 to 1953: Nathaniel Jones, D. J. Davies and T. C. Hammond* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock; 2018), p. 62 - described Talbot as a young Liberal Evangelical, on the basis that this was how the Group Brotherhood later designated themselves'.

²⁰ Marcia Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney: Anglicans in a Time of Change 1945-2013* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock; 2016), pp. 23-24 - repeats McIntosh's claims, further interpolating Talbot as 'not a robust Evangelical' who was 'regarded by Sydney Evangelicals as disturbingly liberal'. In repeating McIntosh's claims Cameron provides the reference of p. 358 in his book, but there is no such page.

Talbot into a significant leadership post in the Diocese.²¹ On the contrary, Wright and Talbot were firmly Evangelical and took up their ministry in Australia well before the liberal turn of the AEGM.

Born in Salford, Lancashire into a dairying family, Talbot shared with Wright a schooling at Manchester Grammar School, where he demonstrated an early intellectual prowess.²² Finding work firstly as a real estate agent, Talbot eventually made his way to Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Known as 'a man of academic distinction', he excelled at university taking multiple honours and scholarships. He was typically lauded in British and Australian press: 'It is not often that the theoretic and the practical faculty are so happily conjoined as they will be in the new Dean'.²³ His renown was forged among the 'fashionable', as Curate of St Margaret's Whalley Range, and the 'workmen', as Rector of Stowell Memorial Church. He had taught Empire missionaries at the Church Missionary Society in London and been involved with Wright in the early days of the Group Brotherhood.²⁴ Like Wright, the move to Australia at the age of 36 was at a cost to any personal ambitions Talbot may have harboured in the 'old surroundings' given his wide experience and leadership gifts. But, as Talbot saw it, 'the working man is very much the same all the world over'.²⁵ The formation of Church of England Men's Society (CEMS) chapters and liturgical

²¹ Cameron describes Talbot as a 'moderate Liberal' as he 'associated professionally and on a friendship basis with Dr Samuel Angus' whom, she recounts, some Christians in Sydney regarded as a 'pagan philosopher', p. 26. Talbot's association with Samuel Angus stemmed from his membership of Sydney's Heretics Club, perhaps modelled on the Groups, but possibly also on the infamous organisation of the same name at Cambridge. Classics Professor Jane Harrison was the leader of the Cambridge Heretics group as well as of the Cambridge Ritualists, an academic movement that also drew on and extended W. Robertson-Smith's and Durkheim's ideas. These three eminent theorists were essential markers on the contemporary intellectual landscape in archaeology, ancient history, theology and anthropology. The Sydney Heretics Club was an invitation only grouping of ten leading church and university figures committed to exploring the world of ideas. Talbot had been the first non-foundation member of the Club, joining in 1916 and served an 'on-rotation' term as President in 1924. He was himself to present annual papers with titles focussed on his interests in social problems of the day (consistent with his appointment by Archbishop Wright as chair of the Diocesan Social Problem Committee). He also presented on 'The Idea of Atonement in the Old Testament' (13 March 1919) and 'Did God Institute the Eucharist?' (22 April 1926). Without doubt, Talbot was well versed in contemporary and historical thinking about sacrifice, the latest studies on its origins and antecedents in primitive civilisations, as well as contest about the related church rituals.

²² Bale, 'Albert Edward Talbot', pp. 91-93.

²³ *SMH*, 6 April 1912, quoting from *The Guardian* newspaper in Manchester. Talbot's list of academic achievements at the University of Cambridge across his Bachelor (1904) and Masters (1908) studies included an open scholarship and the Thorpe Scholarship of Emmanuel (College), two firsts in theology and three prizes in Hebrew and Greek along with the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship. See also, Talbot's scholastic record, Emmanuel College Archives, reference 1901T01.

²⁴ Cable, 'Talbot, Albert Edward (1877-1936)'; Stephen Judd, 'Albert Edward Talbot', in Dickey (Ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, p. 363.

²⁵ An interview with *The Sun*, 4 July 1912, the day of his arrival in Sydney.

innovation involving Sunday afternoon men's services, were passions of the new Dean, as they were for Bishop Knox, who shepherded Wright's career in England and whose writings and practices were to continue to inform both Wright and Talbot in their work in Sydney.²⁶

Sydney

Canon John Wright of Manchester won the election for Archbishop of Sydney in 1909 and was quickly installed at Canterbury Cathedral before embarking for duty. As a protégé of Bishop Knox, Wright's credentials for leading the avowedly evangelical diocese of Sydney were not in doubt. According to Judd, Knox, 'a mentor of evangelicals throughout the world, had great confidence in Wright's abilities'.²⁷ However, neither Ryan nor Judd, provides any insight into why Wright took up the calling. Wright himself put it simply: 'I believe it to be the call of God, and that is why I am here', although he suggested that this call was irresistibly presented because of the unanimity of the Synod election and the collective urging to accept the invitation issued by Australian bishops.²⁸ Highlighting his 'wise judgment, breadth of view and moderating influence', the *Herald* noted that there was sacrifice involved for someone of Wright's calibre - who would have enjoyed 'excellent hopes of preferment' in England, but nevertheless saw the appeal of leading 'the Church in an

²⁶ Wright dedicated his only book-length publication, *Thoughts on Modern Church Life and Work* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.; 1909) to Knox with the words, 'sometime my Rector, afterwards my Bishop, always my counsellor and friend, ... with affectionate gratitude.' In 1923, Wright recommended to the Diocese a new Knox publication, *On What Authority?*, a defence of the Evangelical position by someone 'who has remained evangelical after giving serious consideration to modern criticism of the Old and New Testaments'. The *Sydney Diocesan Magazine* noted that Knox 'clearly shows how a keen student may pay full respect to the achievements of modern scholarship, and yet remain... a convinced evangelical in Churchmanship'. Commended by Wright in *SDM*, 1 January 1923, p. 4; reviewed on pp 15-17. Note should also be made of Knox's *The Glad Tidings of Reconciliation* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.; 1916), a book again highly recommended by Wright, in which he made clear his commitment to a propitiatory understanding of the atonement, that Christ died for sins on the Cross in which 'there is a very true and real propitiation' (p. 228), which 'although we cannot fully explain how it happens does not negate the teaching of the New Testament that death born of sin's power must be defeated by blood sacrifice'. Knox concludes emphatically, 'Take away God's hatred of sin, and the Cross becomes a wasteful shedding of blood, unredeemed even by the glory of martyrdom' (p. 227). This publication was issued during the war, suggesting an underlying dissatisfaction on Knox's part with the association of battlefield blood with Christ's sacrifice.

²⁷ Judd, *Defenders of their Faith*, p. 104.

²⁸ *SMH*, 'New Archbishop: Arrival and Welcome', 15 November 1909, p. 6; 'Enthronement at St Andrews', 18 November 1909, p. 11.



MOST REV. DR. WRIGHT.

A portrait taken by "Talma" especially for the "Sydney Mail" shortly after the Archbishop's arrival on Saturday morning.

(Source: *Sydney Mail*, 17 November 1909, p. 34)

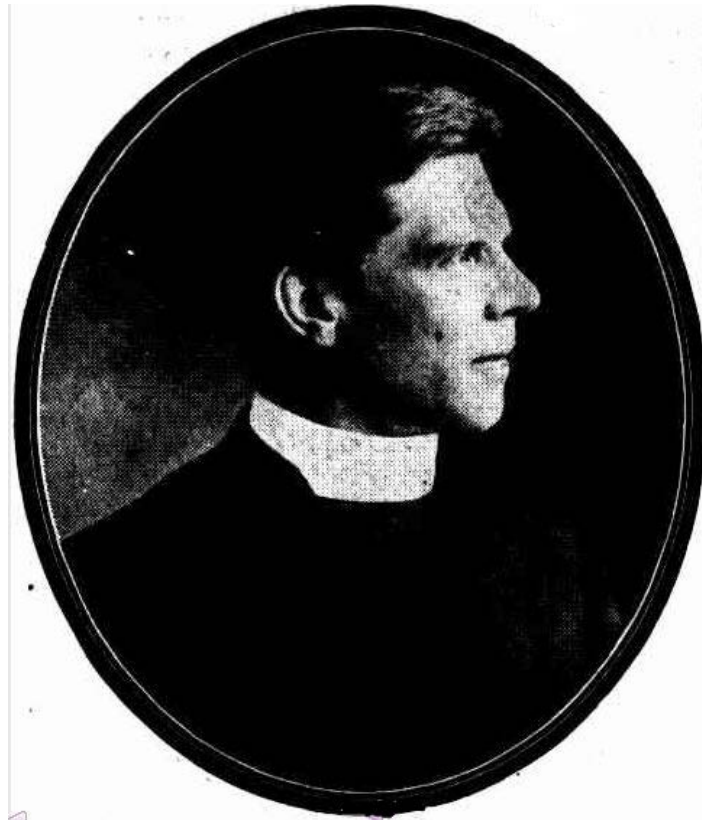
outpost of the Empire.'²⁹ He was to preside for twenty-four years until his death in office in 1933, leaving an indelible mark: managing growth (the number of parishes increased by 50 per cent),³⁰ strengthening diocesan administration (Church property and insurance was centralised, the Home Mission Society established), enhancing the independence of the Diocese (Moore Theological College debts were eradicated and more local clergy trained), and securing key leadership positions. Among these was the creation of an Assistant Bishop position in 1926 (there was no episcopal assistant for a diocese larger numerically and financially than any other in Australasia). But importantly Wright, soon after arrival, filled the long vacant position of Dean of St Andrew's Cathedral which provided the support he needed to lead a growing city.

Rev. Albert Talbot was a friend of Wright from their service together in the Diocese of Manchester. Wright recounted how he was at Circular Quay early on Thursday 4 July 1912 to greet Talbot, who had accepted Wright's invitation to take up the position of Dean. The Archbishop's eagerness to welcome Talbot, coupled that week with misty mornings that had clouded the harbour, caused him to be anxious for the RMS Otway's arrival in port, for he had 'boldly arranged' formal proceedings for 10.30 that morning.³¹ There was to be no time wasted once Talbot had accepted the posting to Sydney. Sydney was a rapidly expanding Diocese with its attendant strains and challenges of growth and the appointment of a new Dean was an essential step in providing leadership. Filling the position of Dean, which had been vacant since 1902 because of the State Government's withdrawal of funding for the role, was no doubt a long-held desire of many in the Diocese. Wright secured a stipend and accommodation and, with Talbot's appointment, was able to define the coming years of his episcopate. A friend from northern England was now at his right hand.

²⁹ *SMH*, 13 November 1909, p. 12.

³⁰ Judd, *Defenders of their Faith*, p. 337.

³¹ *SDM*, 1 August 1912, p. 3.



The Very Rev. Albert Edward Talbot, c. 1912.

(Source: National Archives of Australia, <https://discoveringanzacs.naa.gov.au/browse/gallery/64759>)

Following the morning ceremony of installation as Dean and as Archdeacon for the Sydney region, attended by more than one hundred clergy of the Diocese and some representatives from further afield, Talbot was hosted by the Cathedral laity at dinner that evening. The next night, he was given a public welcome in the Cathedral's Chapter House by the Archbishop and various leaders of the Cathedral's ministries.

Talbot's list of thanks included apt remarks recognising the Church of England Men's Society (CEMS) represented by some sixty parishioners. Noting that 'the work of the CEMS was dear to him and would receive his fullest support',³² Talbot was signalling the focus of his calling to Sydney and presaging the closeness to many men that wartime would deliver to him. His ministry directions were those of Wright, who had

³² *SDM*, 1 August 1912, p. 8. Church of England Men's Societies had emerged in the late nineteenth century at the initiative of Rev. William Temple (later Archbishop of Canterbury) and Rev. E.H. Knox (later Bishop of Manchester and Wright's mentor). CEMS were designed to provide a fellowship for men that would encourage their spiritual devotion and family commitment. See also, Howard Le Couteur, 'Where are all the Men?: An Attempt by the Anglican Church in Australia to Counter Secularisation at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century', in Christopher Hartney (Ed.), *Secularisation: New Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge University Press; 2014), pp. 68-89.

recruited him from a working-class parish in Salford, Manchester, to strengthen the church's appeal among men.

People in New South Wales remained Christian: according to Walter Phillips in his analysis of Census data, 'people without religious belief or affiliation made up only 1.3 per cent of the population in 1891 and their numbers fell by half in the next decade.' Additional analysis of church attendance records shows an increase of 8 per cent in adult churchgoing in the fifty years 1850 – 1900.³³ A certain 'social respectability' played its part in these expressions of belief, but a 'secularisation' argument can hardly be employed in the decades leading up to the Great War to posit declining attachment to church. Wright's view on the matter was put at a large rally in early 1914: 'It is sometimes said that the men of Australia are sitting light to religion. I don't quite think it. I think there is a great deal of religion in them, but I sometimes think they might let a little more come to the surface'.³⁴

The data indicate that this attachment remained especially strong in the area of civic rites. In 1900, clergymen performed 97.3 per cent of marriages, an actual increase over 1860 (93.9 per cent).³⁵ More important for consideration of the religious influence on public commemoration during and after the Great War, funerals

³³ Walter Phillips, 'Religious profession and practice in New South Wales, 1850-1901: The statistical evidence', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 59 (1972), p. 388. His examination of church attendance during the decades 1850 to 1900 as a percentage of the adult population, that is people 15 years and above (when schooling was completed), shows that there was an increase in churchgoing of eight per cent in the fifty years, from 36.5 per cent of all adults to 44.5 per cent of all adults, although with a marked rise around 1870 towards 60 per cent which declined rapidly but was on the increase again after 1890. His conclusions generally were that churches held on to their adherents during the latter part of the 1800s despite the challenges to faith of this era but had not necessarily made inroads into the population beyond their regular reach. There has been little detailed analysis that supports declining church commitment in the decade after the War. The absence of a national census between 1921 and 1933, and the difficulty of collecting reliable church statistics has contributed to this lacuna in our understanding. Post-War, nominal adherence 'remained high' according to David Hilliard, and one indicator that is available, Sunday School enrolment figures, does not start declining until early 1930s. Among the factors unrelated to the War that contribute to 'a detectable slackening of active involvement in church life and a perception that the level of weekly churchgoing was falling off', are the growth in competing Sunday options: the cinema, outdoor sport, and family picnics facilitated by rising car ownership. See, David Hilliard, 'Australia: Towards Secularisation and One Step Back', in Callum G. Brown and Michael Snape (Eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World: Essays in honour of Hugh McLeod* (Surrey: Ashgate; 2010), p. 81. See also, Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia: A cultural history of religions* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin; 1996), pp. 113-119.

³⁴ *SDM*, 1 February 1914, p. 8.

³⁵ Phillips, 'The Defence of Christian Belief in Australia 1875-1914', p. 403. In making assessment of the sustaining power of Christian belief, at least as it was expressed by churchgoing, Phillips considers marriage data. If people were turning to the church to be married, then there remained a commanding social role for the church amidst even indifference. Phillips offers some possible explanations for the increase – clergy could not conduct marriages outside churches until after 1894, in Victoria at least, but in 1860 there were not clergy in all parts of settler Australia, as was increasingly the case by the late nineteenth century, p. 400.

provide a compelling insight into the turn to the Christian church for wartime consolation.³⁶ Phillips remarks, 'there is practically no information on secular funerals which probably would have been regarded as scandalous and must have been rare'.³⁷ Decline or not, the church remained the almost universal conductor of death rites. This was even more so with public displays of respect in the face of the death of a monarch, or an eminent soldier, and ultimately with the pervasive loss of life during the Great War.³⁸

There was a widespread acceptance of Christianity in belief and practice, and a developing unity as a nation after Federation. But in 1914 Australian states and their capital cities retained much of their unique character born of more than a century as separate colonies as well as the limitations of available transport and communications technologies in uniting settlements aggregated substantially in disparate urban centres. As Bruce Kaye notes, 'the colonies were from the beginning different socially, politically and economically'. These differences 'played a strongly negative role in the slow development of a national identity', and a similar regionalism was at work in churches as well.³⁹ Each colony worked on preserving its particular identity, evident not only in politics and religion, but in acts of commemoration. Recounting how South Australia persisted with its own 'national song and commemoration day', Bob Birrell details the low proportion of state populations that at the time of Federation in 1901 had moved across State borders. This was as low as five per cent in South Australia's case, and not much more in Victoria (six per cent) and NSW (eight per cent).⁴⁰ The physical connections made in the assignment of the AIF to the Gallipoli campaign, comprising separately raised state-based units, only slowly evolved into an *Australian* force, which eventually helped fashion a national rather than a state patriotism. But in relation to

³⁶ Pat Jalland, citing Litton, notes a simplification of funeral customs caused by the War, based on a shortage of resources such as horses, and a public 'undercurrent' against conventional Victorian era 'grandiosity'. See, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford University Press; 1996), pp. 371-372. However, it was these embellishments of nineteenth century funerals, especially in the absence of a body, that underwent change as a result of the war. The ceremonial forms remained based in traditional church liturgies.

³⁷ Phillips, 'Religious profession and practice in New South Wales, 1850-1901', p. 399.

³⁸ A conclusion also reached by James Obelkevich: 'where the church was unrivalled was in its public rites and ceremonies'. See, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1976), pp. 304-305.

³⁹ Bruce Kaye, *The Rise and Fall of English Christendom: Theocracy, Christology, Order and Power* (London: Routledge; 2017), pp. 260, 262.

⁴⁰ Bob Birrell, *Federation: The Secret Story* (Sydney: Duffy and Snellgrove; 2001), p. 98.

commemoration at home, separation and isolation persisted. Wright, reflecting on his first year in Sydney towards the end of 1910, wrote: 'The patterns of colonial settlement and the geographical isolation of those nineteenth century colonies meant that the diocesan polity rather than the national or provincial (state) ones developed as the primary unit.⁴¹ Wright and Talbot both worked within a specific State context (New South Wales) but their endeavours in relation to Anzac Day were to have national significance.

Within three days of his arrival, Talbot preached for the first time in St Andrew's Cathedral on a text from Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, Chapter 1, verse 23, 'we preach Christ crucified'. In speaking of the power of the Cross, 'the supreme manifestation of heavenly love' that brought an end to human sin, he 'struck ... the note that is to govern his ministry in Sydney'.⁴² Quickly, the new Dean stamped his personality and leadership on the Diocese. Wright noted his 'pleasant, yet unassuming manner, and his transparent kindness of heart', and the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine's* reporter wrote that he 'spoke easily and with a touch of humour' (at the public welcome), and 'in a clear, ringing voice that easily reached to the remotest corner' (delivering his first sermon in the Cathedral).⁴³

The Dean's arrival was timely. Within a fortnight a men's missionary from the United Kingdom, another Mancunian Rev. John E. Watts-Ditchfield, was farewelled from the same Sydney wharf. Watts-Ditchfield had been invited to Sydney by Wright in an attempt to undo some of the damage caused by an earlier missionary, Rev. H. S. Woollcombe.⁴⁴ Woollcombe, who had travelled extensively throughout Australia and New Zealand in 1909 and 1910 promoting the new CEMS movement, had proved a divisive figure, accused by some of carrying a torch for the Anglo-Catholic Ritualists, a claim based merely on allegations that some chapters were 'secret ritualistic societies'. Well-founded or not, the allegations were enough for suspicion to

⁴¹ As quoted in Judd, *Defenders of their Faith*, p. 5: J. C. Wright to R. T. Davidson, 20 December 1910, in 'Australia', *Davidson Papers*.

⁴² *Daily Telegraph*, 8 July 1912, p. 11.

⁴³ *SDM*, 1 August 1912, pp. 4, 7 & 8.

⁴⁴ Rev. H. S. Woollcombe's message on behalf of the new CEMS movement was extensively reported in 'CEMS: Rev. H. Woollcombe's Ideals – Eliminating Divisions – An Enemy of Tattersall's', *SMH*, 9 August 1909, p. 8. A response to his critics was reported in *The Watchman*, 19 August 1909, p. 7. Note can also be taken of the Sydney evangelical luminaries who attended his meetings, including Archdeacons Boyce and D'Arcy Irvine, local CEMS Chairman Rev. W. L. Langley, and Rev. R. B. S. Hammond, a renowned inner-city clergyman, *SMH*, 19 October 1909, p. 8, and 10 May 1910, p. 4. Archbishop Wright was careful to praise the movement, and not necessarily the messenger, in his first interview with the *SMH*, 15 November 1909, p. 6.

accompany Woollcombe's journey and had not endeared him to many in the firmly evangelical Sydney diocese.⁴⁵ It had remained the practice even in Wright's early years for the Diocese to rely on powerful leaders from Britain to promote renewal. Acting to soothe divisions over Woollcombe's visit and simultaneously acknowledge the corrective Watts-Ditchfield had brought, Wright described the latter's ministry as 'an effective supplement to that of Mr Woollcombe' acknowledging that he had 'approved himself to men of all schools of thought', 'laid deep and firm the foundation of men's work for God in our ancient Church,' and 'bound the church together'. Wright was intimating that old divisions were to be put aside. But, more importantly, Wright was now eager to develop independence from Britain. A new nation should wean itself from dependence, 'one result must surely be that we shall prove that we have now the power under God to go forward by ourselves'.⁴⁶

National independence required independent church structures. Essential was the agenda Wright foreshadowed for the Provincial Synod (all dioceses in the state of NSW), the first to be held since 1907. In 1912, with Talbot's arrival, Wright could focus on pressing administrative needs of the growing church. An essential item on his agenda was prompted by Diocesan expansion visible in the burgeoning number of new buildings, for which establishing an insurance fund of its own would mark a maturing, vital diocese.

Before the year was out, two acts of Wright made clear the direction of Talbot's leadership responsibilities. First, at the Diocesan Synod that followed shortly after the provincial gathering Wright's address called for moral witness and public service in responding to the 'social problem' of the day, the proper balance of relations in industry and the workplace. In a side meeting chaired by Wright on 4 October, a series of papers were presented on a wide range of social topics including socialism, the working man, and the church's response. From this gathering emerged an elected

⁴⁵ Howard Le Couteur, 'Where are all the Men?', pp. 82-83, 85.

⁴⁶ *SDM*, 1 August 1912, p. 4. Watts-Ditchfield's later comments about Australia - 'its growth in materialism and love of pleasure' - were reported widely, and widely criticised, in the general press, no doubt confirming in Wright's mind his decision to draw a line under overseas missionaries. Wright's actions can also be seen as consistent with evangelical Anglican approaches to mission work more generally that view missionary endeavours as planting a seed for the growth of independent local churches. See Robert Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications; 2007) for a helpful explanation of this approach in practice in Australia, pp. 106-109. Kenny explains, 'the task of the mission was to make itself redundant', and in its place a native church would grow, which at root was 'the fundamental difference between Protestant and Roman theology', the latter insisting that individual congregations could not exercise the level of autonomy essential to the concept of an indigenous church.

Committee, notionally under the leadership of the Archbishop but in practical terms led by the next most senior member, the Dean.⁴⁷ Secondly, Wright acted on the determination to foster independence with the appointment of a home-grown missionary, the Rev. Everard Digges La Touche from the Diocese of Grafton, to give lectures and conduct missions in Sydney and its vicinity. Digges La Touche operated under the supervision of a committee of three chaired by Talbot and including the CEMS Chairman, the Rev. W. L. Langley.⁴⁸

Within a few months, Wright had set Talbot over key areas of ministry ranging across the social, intellectual and gospel needs of the growing diocese. As a result, Wright found himself free to attend to international obligations, for four months in mid-1913, time which enabled him to meet with King George V. On his return he wrote:

I must express my deep personal obligations to my dear friend the Dean of Sydney for all that he has done as my Commissary in administration of the diocese during my absence. I gave expression to this my heartfelt sense of indebtedness to him at the great welcome meeting in the Concordia Hall, and the loud applause with which my words were received shewed conclusively that I was voicing the sentiments of the clergy and laity of the diocese.⁴⁹

In Judd's view, both Wright and Talbot were evangelical bulwarks on a tumultuous intellectual battlefield. Wright acted as 'a constraint upon theological liberalism in the Brotherhood' and it is possible that his departure for Sydney in 1909 precipitated the 'progressive shift' that later marked the Movement.⁵⁰ He also believes that in relation to Talbot it is 'unfair and inaccurate to assume a consonance of belief between men like Talbot... and the Liberal Evangelical leaders in England'. Talbot in fact demonstrated his conservative evangelical position on numerous occasions that called for unshakeable stands on 'the Fundamentals of belief... and the Thirty-nine Articles'.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *SDM*, 1 November 1912, pp. 21-23.

⁴⁸ *SDM*, 1 December 1912, p. 7.

⁴⁹ *SDM*, 1 August 1913, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Judd, *Defenders of their Faith*, p. 121. Judd's thesis contains an analysis of the Group Brotherhood on pp. 115-121.

⁵¹ Judd, *Defenders of their Faith*, pp. 391-392. The Thirty-nine Articles are the set of beliefs that define the Church of England. Article IV declares that Jesus 'did truly rise again from death, and took again his body,

In contrast to the liberal drift among UK clergy at the time, Talbot's sermon to the 1913 Sydney Synod, delivered only a few months after arriving, asserted evangelical commitments to personal salvation and the integrity of Scripture in the face of modern interpretive challenges, particularly those aimed at belittling the Old Testament as only a primitive revelation of God's design.⁵²

A close reading of Talbot's strong critical review of *Foundations*, a collection of essays about the need for Christian belief to catch up to modern thought, including its contributors doubting the historicity of the miracles, suggests that any involvement he and Wright had with the Group Brotherhood did not lead him to embrace the turn towards liberalism. The review, published in the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine* a few months after the Synod sermon, highlighted Talbot's strengths. It was well known that Talbot had excelled during his studies at Cambridge, especially in Hebrew and theology. He was undoubtedly equipped to meet the challenge of 'literary criticism', the application of rationalist modes of thinking to the Scriptures and in particular its attendant unequivocal dismissal of stories of miracles. In Talbot's review, two books are compared and contrasted: *Foundations*, seven essays by Oxford theologians seeking to defend the impact of modern textual techniques on traditional interpretations of Scriptures, and *Some Loose Stones*, a rejoinder, by another Oxford academic, a son of Bishop Knox.⁵³

Talbot focussed on the key question, noting the particular challenge mounted by the *Foundations* contributors to the resurrection of Jesus. Orthodox views asserted the truth of the Gospel accounts of Jesus physically rising from the dead after three days in a sealed tomb. The risen Christ appeared firstly to the women who made a customary dawn visit to the tomb to anoint Jesus' lifeless body, and then to a myriad

with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature; wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last day.'

⁵² Talbot's personal copy of Samuel Driver's *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark; 1909, 8th edition), a standard text for theological students and clergy at the time, contains extensive marginalia presumably in his hand, exhibiting his familiarity with these issues and Driver's conclusions that developments in archaeology and literary criticism do not impede belief in the authority of the Scriptures or Christology. Rather, working with new tools available from these intellectual developments illuminated the past as it is recorded in the Old Testament. Talbot showed a specific interest in the source for the records of the priestly law, and the formulaic ritual language style of these parts, in the first books of the Bible, the Hexateuch, including an extended engagement with 'sacred sites' terminology (p. 117) and the missing *Book of Jasher*, referred to in the Old Testament Book of Joshua, Chapter 10 verse 12, a national collection of songs celebrating the deeds of the worthy Israelites (p. 121). Copy held at Moore College Library.

⁵³ Published across two issues: *SDM*, 1 May 1914, pp. 12-15, and 1 July 1914, pp. 14-17.

of followers in the days and weeks that followed. In Talbot's mind, the resurrection was physical, and did not involve some form of 'spiritual body' as suggested by modern criticism, which posits that the physical body was removed at some earlier point in time by the Roman authorities. Apart from the evidence supplied in the four Gospels, based substantially on eye-witness accounts, Talbot quoted from Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians - 'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed', and 'the dead shall be raised incorruptible and we shall be changed' - as establishing for Christian belief a solid ground not only in the miraculous but also in something that, as he saw it, could also be understood in scientific terms. He considered this by a synthesis of observation and theology. The body, he suggested, undergoes change during our lifetime, and yet remains our body. 'Our body, even in this life, is continually changing and yet it preserves its distinctive form'.

Teasing the liberal claim to be scientific, Talbot also appealed to empirical method. The statement that the body changes but remains a recognisable person was a simple observation, a tenet of science. It was a fact that was straightforwardly observed. And further, coupling this observation with theology, 'the Resurrection gives a vital connection and a real continuity between this life and the next, and this gives an eternal significance to all our work here.' The body in resurrected form will retain the distinctive imprint of the earthly life. Paul's Corinthian epistle provided the connection between the physical reality of the body in this world and the future body in the next. From such Scriptural foundations, Talbot steered a confident course between the Scylla of scientific rationalism and the Charybdis of increasing scepticism as he urged readers to have confidence in the revelation contained in the Scriptures. Throughout the review the solid rock of the bodily resurrection of Jesus as attested by the Scriptures was for Talbot, as with Paul, the essential belief for Christians.

In a few months Talbot demonstrated ideas and views that would have further resonance at key moments in his work as a Chaplain to the Armed Forces and upon his return to positions of authority in Sydney. His affection and insight for the needs of men, demonstrated in his prompt affirmation of CEMS, characterised his work on the battlefield. His immovable commitment to a bodily resurrection as the hope for humanity also marked his ministry in significant ways and suggests the beliefs he

held before the war were those of the man who came back from the war ready to lead Sydney's first Anzac Day commemoration on 25 April 1916.

The Outbreak of War

The descent into war on 4 August 1914 brought forth from Wright and Talbot a mixture of yearnings for peace and for a righteous justice. Ecumenical prayer services were initiated, commencing in the Cathedral on Friday 7 August at 1.00 pm, a practice that continued for the war's duration. These lunchtime opportunities to turn to God in humble dependence, called United Services of Intercession for the Cessation of the Present State of Warfare, were structured by a special War Litany created by Wright.⁵⁴ Talbot's sermon at the inaugural service tackled head-on the dilemma which confronted the Empire, including Australia. The nation was now at war against an aggressor. Australians may prefer not to be at war, but peace must be 'with honour'.⁵⁵ It was a message that he was to reiterate at the sixth weekly service on 11 September, shortly before his departure from Sydney, when he preached from Amos 5, noting that the Day of Judgement awaited Germany as 'one of darkness because the great nations of the world are agreed that in the present war Germany is entirely in the wrong'.

Talbot was appointed Senior Chaplain for the Second Military District (the NSW unit of the AIF) by Wright who had also recommended the Bishop of Perth as Chaplain General. Talbot, as Senior Chaplain, held the rank of Colonel and was the principal agent for the Church of England in ministering to the growing armed forces shortly to embark for overseas deployment. The work would be no sinecure, Wright noted drily after receiving reports later from the Front.⁵⁶ But his right-hand man was now absent. War was to affect all corners of society.

The rapid and confident delegation to Talbot of substantial areas of ministry meant that his absence as Senior Chaplain in the war's early years had profound significance for Wright and for the Diocese. Talbot's departure in September 1914 for service as Senior Chaplain in the Australian Army clearly led to professional and

⁵⁴ Further examination of this liturgy and other war liturgies is undertaken in Chapter Four - Silence.

⁵⁵ *SDM*, 1 September 1914, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁶ *SDM*, 1 September 1915, p. 4.

personal costs for Wright. Talbot served overseas from September 1914 to March 1916. No evidence has been left by Talbot as to why he took up the chaplaincy. The Diocesan missionary Rev. Digges la Touche was considered vital to the work of the Diocese and had been refused appointment as a chaplain, so he went to war as a soldier. Perhaps in the ready commitment of both Talbot and Digges la Touche there was a hint of why any clergyman would volunteer to go. A sense of duty, and a devotion to ministry among men wherever they were, may be sufficient explanation. They also signal enough of the likely intentions of someone of Talbot's standing, who was called specifically to lead the work among men just as he had done in Manchester. In any case, there was no expectation in 1914 that this would be a long war.



Talbot in Chaplain's uniform. (Source: *The Soldier*, 15 September 1916)

Wright and Talbot were united in thought, deed and sentiment, but they were about to be separated not knowing for how long. Talbot quickly married. Like many men, he joined 'the steady flow of military weddings' marrying, just prior to departure, 19 years old Adrienne Vert of Lancaster, who had 'hurried out from home' with her mother, Mrs Hope Vert, and younger sister Bernice.⁵⁷ On their way to honeymooning briefly in Cronulla, the newlyweds travelled via Randwick barracks since Talbot's priorities included addressing recruits. Before departure, Talbot expressed to the Cathedral congregation his wish to 'be permitted to worship again with them all in the Cathedral that was so dear to him, and to deliver other messages from this Cathedral pulpit'.⁵⁸ It was a venture into uncertainty and danger about which Talbot held no misty-eyed romance. He was determined and aware that as Senior Chaplain he needed to be with the men at the fighting line.

Talbot was busy visiting the recruits at the camps in Randwick, Liverpool and Holsworthy, preaching, conducting services, including a military funeral, and exhorting the first contingent soon to depart, the Australian National Military Expeditionary Force (ANMEF). The ANMEF, raised within a fortnight of the declaration of war, before the new Australian Imperial Force was established, saw Australia's first engagement with the Germans at New Britain in Papua New Guinea. They also experienced Australia's first casualties. Talbot sailed from Albany with the First Division on 1 November and Adrienne returned to England as quickly as she had ventured to Australia for the nuptials, and stayed with family for the duration of Talbot's service overseas. His report of the voyage from Sydney to the Gulf of Aden noted that funerals were conducted at sea as some succumbed to illness en-route.⁵⁹

Representatives of the British Association, a learned society formed in 1831 to encourage engagement in science, visited Australia at the outbreak of war and attended the Cathedral whilst in Sydney. Wright's mind was drawn to the relationship of science and religion, taking some comfort that the tour might help to overcome the 'preponderance of ignorance' and the 'presumption of infallibility', referring to the extremities of contemporary theological disputes. Science was no

⁵⁷ *Clarence and Richmond Examiner – Grafton edition*, 10 September 1914, p. 2. There is, however, evidence that the family was in Sydney at an earlier date with Adrienne's younger sister Bernice, born in 1900, recorded in the *Freeman's Journal*, 25 June 1914, p. 29, as performing that month at the Repertory Theatre, Sydney.

⁵⁸ *SDM*, 1 October 1914, p. 15.

⁵⁹ *SDM*, 1 February 1915, pp. 7-9.

longer misunderstood, nor religion misinterpreted. But Wright remained troubled by the 'Social Problem'. The Social Problem Committee, which he had established under Talbot's leadership, was hampered by the urgency of the war effort but it had pressed on with a series of lectures on subjects such as 'Has the Gospel a social bearing?' and 'Can democracy work without religion?' The issues that were being provoked by socialism - that of the worker and capital relationship, and a more equitable distribution of goods - remained important dimensions of ministry with intellectual challenges such as these demanding, in Wright's view, attention side-by-side with war's exigencies.

Addressing the Diocesan Synod of 1914, on 28 September, with troops already dead and wounded from the brief campaign in New Britain, Wright declared 'our dominating responsibility at this time is to lead our people through these trials closer to God'.⁶⁰ It was a message for clergy, but it contained a plea for all. A people and a nation must be encouraged not berated, consoled not admonished.

From the start of 1915, with Australia's troops now stationed in Egypt, Wright established a custom of beginning the new year during the war with a Day of Solemn Prayer and Intercession to be held on the first Sunday in January, for which he prepared another Special Form of Service. The Archbishop's constant injunctions were to prayer. In his pastoral letters, there was no fire of righteous indignation against an enemy. Instead he focussed on the troops, expressing pride in their 'heroic valour' and 'tenacity against overwhelming odds' as well as issuing cautionary notes to find 'the truest patriotism' in a turn to God. The impact at home was acknowledged as involving 'sacrifices on the altar of patriotism and in defence of our hearths and liberties'.⁶¹ The 'tyranny that threatens liberty' was clearly to be repelled, but this was constantly balanced with the plea to persevere in prayer.⁶²

By the time news was at hand of the disaster unfolding at Gallipoli, Wright emphasised the lessons learnt, 'the bitterness of war' and yet the 'story of our heroes' fall can never be forgotten'. The mixture of pride and grief in remembrance was already evident and suggests that such a response was not out of the ordinary. Those

⁶⁰ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the Third Ordinary Session of the Sixteenth Synod*, 28 September-1 October 1914, p. 35.

⁶¹ *SDM*, 1 January 1915, p. 4.

⁶² *SDM*, 1 March 1915, p. 5.

who had experienced the sacrifice of sons needed both comfort and affirmation, as did a nation if it were not to forget its debt of gratitude for the benefits obtained. In fact, in a further sign of how Wright desired the whole effort to be enveloped in prayer, he suggested every day at noon a silent prayer be offered, wherever one was: 'O God give our Empire victory, if it be Thy will, but first of all by Thy Holy Spirit teach our conscience the right attitude to Thyself'.⁶³ In pleading for the nation's deliverance Wright was inviting Australians to acknowledge God's hand in the hearts of all people and in the affairs of nations.

Unexpected in the early days of the Dardanelles campaign was the death of Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges, from wounds received at Gallipoli on 15 May 1915. At the time of his wounding by a sniper Bridges was in command of the First AIF. Following his death, Bridges was initially buried in Alexandria, Egypt, where 'the coffin, with a wreath lying on top, was lowered into the ground'.⁶⁴ In the absence of a body back home, the scheduled Empire Day services in Melbourne at St Paul's Cathedral and in Sydney at St Andrew's Cathedral, both on 26 May, became surrogate opportunities for the public at home to mourn the loss not only of Australia's general, but also of all those who had lost their life in the first month at Gallipoli. In Wright's view, the concentration on one soldier's death whilst the war remained to be won was an exception not the rule, but there was no doubt that it was a welcome act of commemoration for many Australian families wrestling with the sudden dread of news from the front, albeit being able to situate the death of the nation's military commander and other loved ones in a necessary context of Empire defence.⁶⁵

A few months later, the Federal parliament moved for his body to be returned, and following Prime Minister Fisher's agreement, and Lady Bridges' concurrence, his coffin was brought home for burial at Duntroon Military College, which Bridges had established. Until the return of the Unknown Soldier in 1993, he was the only soldier of the Great War whose body was repatriated to Australia. Another memorial service with casket in situ occurred at St Paul's on September 2, and then a further ceremony was held at St John's in Canberra the next day, presided over by Wright. A funeral

⁶³ *SDM*, 1 September 1915, p. 5.

⁶⁴ C. D. Coulthard-Clark, *A Heritage of Spirit: A Biography of Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges KCB CMG* (Melbourne University Press; 1979), p. 180.

⁶⁵ *SMH*, 24 May 1917, p. 7; *SMH*, 31 May 1917, pp. 9-10.

procession was made through crowds to his final resting place overlooking Duntroon, declared by Wright as 'his last resting place until the Resurrection Day'.⁶⁶

Talbot did not land at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915. He was aboard the transport ship the *Derfflinger* with 'a dress circle view of the Landing'.⁶⁷ He was close enough to witness the daring of the AIF and the fate that consumed many, enemy shells landing around the vessel and flying across the decks. Later that day the *Derfflinger* was a makeshift hospital vessel soon overwhelmed with wounded. With medical units on shore Talbot, and fellow Sydney-sider Roman Catholic chaplain Father Edmond McAuliffe, did double duty dispensing drugs and bandaging wounds. Eventually the ship left the Dardanelles for the safety of Alexandria, but some soldiers did not make it out of the strait and each night Talbot and other chaplains conducted burials at sea. In Egypt, wounded were exchanged for fresh troops to return to the peninsula.⁶⁸

Talbot finally went ashore in early May and was provided a dugout, known as *The Deanery*, eight feet by five feet in a trench system 'less than 100 yards from the firing line'.⁶⁹ The whistle of bullets and the screaming of shells could be plainly heard.⁷⁰ Talbot wrote happily of the food, and of the baptisms and communion he was able to perform (every Sunday in a neighbouring dugout), and warmly of the soldiers in his care. He was salutatory of 'the tremendous sacrifices (for) their King and their Country' but also sent a sobering message. 'War, as we see it at the Front, is a terrible thing, and nothing could, I believe, justify it to the Christian mind except the firm conviction that we are fighting in defence of great and high international principles'. Like Wright he implored fervent prayers 'for the speedy success of our arms and the triumph of those principles that we believe to be essential to the peace and righteousness of the world'.⁷¹ Talbot offered both justification and assurance to his

⁶⁶ *SMH*, 4 September 1915, p. 13. See Chapter Three - Wreaths for a more detailed report on the reinterment.

⁶⁷ Major P. Goldenstedt, 'Sydney Padres recall Gallipoli', *The Sun*, 22 April 1934, p. 39.

⁶⁸ 'In the Fighting Lines – News from the Dean, Gallipoli June 24th, 1915', in *SDM*, 1 September 1915, pp. 6-9.

⁶⁹ *SMH*, 6 March 1916, p. 8.

⁷⁰ *SDM*, 1 September 1915, p. 8. These comments echo Talbot's letter to his Alma Mater Emmanuel College at Cambridge University dated 11 July 1915: 'Last evening for instance several shells went screaming by at a distance of only a few yards whilst one burst on the bank just behind us whilst we were singing the last hymn but the service went on uninterruptedly to the end.' Copy held in Emmanuel College Archives, file reference Col 24.1.1: T3, Letters to P. W. Wood.

⁷¹ *SDM*, 1 September 1915, p. 9.

home congregants. He and Wright knew that there was a fine line to tread between conscience, morale and war's realities.⁷²



A Chaplain in His Dug-out.

(Source: *Sydney Mail*, 27 October 1915, p. 29)

Confrontation with the realities of war became a daily occurrence for Talbot: tending to the anxieties of those about to leap from trenches, providing succour to those who had suffered wounds, and burying the dead. Among them was fellow Sydney clergyman the missionary Digges La Touche, killed the same day, 6 August 1915, that Talbot was wounded at Lone Pine. Lone Pine was the scene of a legendary battle of the Dardanelles campaign, four days of bayonet charges and close fighting in trenches. Australians were awarded seven Victoria Crosses for bravery, the most for a single engagement. The ground won on the first day was held despite enemy counterattacks which left casualties of more than 2,000 Australians and some 7,000

⁷² Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism*, p. 125; and Reynaud, 'Religion - Australia', *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, <http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net> (January 2019).

of the Ottoman forces. Talbot recounted: 'I shall never forget as long as I live, seeing the 4th Battalion coming out of the trenches. The men looked like a thin line of spectres'.⁷³

On Gallipoli, chaplains were as close to the front line as they were to be at any time during the war. This situation was a product of geography, not policy. Talbot was the senior Anglican Chaplain with the AIF on the peninsula. British Chaplain-General, Rev. A. C. E. Hordern, a high-churchman of 'a generally broad outlook', and 'the friend and helper of all' had little say over the Australian chaplains in the Gallipoli campaign.⁷⁴ In general terms, to this point in the war, chaplains were subject to the British policy that proscribed venturing to the frontlines, out of fear of being either in the way or ill-equipped, and prescribed a focus on the work 'after the attack' – writing home on behalf of the living and the dead and providing a decent burial. The reality of the beaches and hills of Gallipoli was such that there was little space free from the line of fire. Chaplains, once allowed to disembark, and although non-combatants, found themselves amidst shifting battle lines nestling within dugouts with only short periods of time between conducting a communion service and praying with the soldiers before attacks, and then between those same soldiers falling wounded or dead and the chaplains assisting with the ambulance service. Talbot's experience at Lone Pine was an example of the necessity of battle overriding good intent.

Recounting this experience some seventeen years later for the RSSILA journal, *Reveille*, Talbot chiefly remembered the fog of close combat. In closer proximity to the men than to the officers, Talbot recalled that 'we guessed that a move was imminent'. Having celebrated Holy Communion the previous evening in the

⁷³ Quoted in Ronald J. Austin, *The Fighting Fourth: A History of Sydney's 4th Battalion 1914-1919* (McCrae, Victoria: Slouch Hat Publications; 2007), p. 80.

⁷⁴ Linda Parker, "'Each read each other's soul": British and ANZAC Chaplains at Gallipoli', in Rhys Crawley and Michael LoCicero (Eds.), *Gallipoli: New Perspectives on the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force 1915-1916* (Warwick: Helion and Company; 2018), p 587. John A. Moses and George F. Davis record Hordern's theology as 'quite distinctively Anglo-Catholic' based on a sermon delivered to Commonwealth troops in Egypt on Anzac Day 1916. But in the account of the sermon made by John Treloar and written up in his diary, as indeed is noted by Moses and Davis, Hordern is recorded as stating that the ceremony was a 'commemoration' of those who had lost their lives at Gallipoli, and a 'foreshadowing of the Great Resurrection Day', which are distinctively not Anglo-Catholic emphases. Nor, as is claimed by the authors, are they, or the hymn that followed the sermon, 'On the Resurrection Morning', 'in accordance with the pattern that Canon Garland had recommended'. See John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins: Canon D. J. Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration* (Canberra: Barton Books; 2013), pp. 181-185.

Shrapnel Gully dugout that, in anticipation of the next morning's attack, had become the ammunition dump, Talbot on the day of the assault carried provisions to the front line, 'my pockets full of biscuits, a pudding in a tin, in one hand, and a bottle of something or other – it wasn't ginger beer – under my tunic, under each arm', but did not get far before being grazed by a Turkish bullet. What he remembers is crawling the rest of the way until he 'dropped into a hole that was filled with wounded' amidst 'continually exploding shells'.⁷⁵



"The Deanery" at Anzac.

Another "snap" of the Dean of Sydney and his cleverly-constructed Deanery. One day an enormous shell fell in front of him as he was seated at work, but fortunately failed to explode.

(Source: *Sydney Mail*, 27 October 1915, p. 29)

Two images of the battlefield stand out in his memory: the wounded and the fallen. The men emerging from trenches who 'looked like a thin line of spectres' and burying the dead in mass graves, a task he set about with Father McAuliffe. Not knowing the denominational allegiances of many of the men, they recited their separate prayers in turn over all the graves. With the Lone Pine engagement lasting four days, the urgency of battle demands meant that Talbot was required to manage his wounds

⁷⁵ A. E. Talbot, 'Lone Pine: A Padre's Memoirs', *Reveille*, 1 August 1932, p. 32.

and he did not in fact report them until 12 August. Ronald J. Austin records that the Australian fatality rate was 34 per cent with officer deaths even higher at 45 per cent. The numbers involved, some 600 bodies including Turkish bodies, required 'deep communal pits'. Talbot learned from a list prepared by the burying party that Digges La Touche was among them. Here, at Brown's Dip Cemetery, close to his 'Deanery', he conducted the funeral of his colleague in arms and in the cloth. Talbot conducted evening commemorative services over the trench graves four days after the fighting ceased and later at the Brown's Dip cemetery.⁷⁶ The experience in time sapped Talbot's endurance although, in a lighter story told in later years, he would laugh about the seriousness of his 'thin red line', miraculously 'saved by his ... belt buckle deflecting the bullet'.⁷⁷ Shortly afterwards, the fighting line shifting closer, he needed a new dugout, and the day after his move to a fresh 'Deanery' the old one was lost to shelling.⁷⁸ Within days of reporting wounded, he accompanied others on a hospital transport headed for the 3rd Australian General Hospital in Mudros, from where, by October, he was heading to England, exhausted, as many chaplains had become at Gallipoli.⁷⁹

Indeed, it was recognised, ultimately, 'that conditions (at Gallipoli) rendered previous instructions redundant', and 'each chaplain must use his own discretion'.⁸⁰ The Gallipoli experience also saw chaplains working closely not only with troops in action but also with each other. When it came to burying the dead, it was not always obvious who would have desired a Catholic or Protestant ceremony. Catholic chaplains, despite the legends that developed, were not necessarily braver than others. Their theology required them to offer confession to dying men and the last rites over the dead put them closer to harm, but at Gallipoli all chaplains found themselves close to battle lines with only off-shore ambulance stations providing some measure of safety.

A report of Talbot working with Methodist chaplain James Green is often cited as an example of denominational differences being surmountable in the face of war. Talbot also demonstrated comfort working across the camps in the Church of England.

⁷⁶ Austin, *The Fighting Fourth*, p. 81.

⁷⁷ David W. Cameron, *The Battle for Lone Pine: Four Days of Hell at the Heart of Gallipoli* (Camberwell, Victoria: Viking; 2012), p. 293.

⁷⁸ *SMH*, 6 March 1916, p. 8.

⁷⁹ See Talbot's Service record held in the National Archives of Australia, NAA: Series Number B2455.

⁸⁰ Parker, ' "Each read each other's soul": British and ANZAC Chaplains at Gallipoli', p. 592.

British chaplain Rev Keith Best's diaries report collaboration between them on the troop ships.⁸¹ This collaboration was not surprising as some two-thirds of chaplains were Oxbridge or Trinity College Dublin graduates bespeaking of common class, culture and education. But many had also served in working-class parishes, such as Talbot in Salford, Manchester.⁸²

Talbot's absence from the Synods of 1914 and 1915 would have been keenly felt by Wright. He made an immediate impact at his first Synod in 1913, when he preached the sermon to open proceedings. By 1915, Wright's Synod address, delivered on 6 September, expressed a shared anxiety about the war's continuance, especially given this was only a few days after news of the death of Digges La Touche and the wounding of Talbot at Lone Pine reached Sydney ears.⁸³ If anyone in the Diocese felt distant from war's realities, then that news removed any doubt that ministry would be affected.

An extended war was now in Wright's view an 'opportunity to get right with God', not only for churchgoers but also for a nation whose duty included national repentance. It was a time when, in words used by a *Sydney Morning Herald* writer, 'nothing is to be wasted... neither the pity, nor the sorrow nor the mourning', if all could be awakened as 'a sobered, strengthened, and more intelligent people'. Future solidarity 'springs not from singing the National Anthem together, but in common admission of entire dependence upon God with readiness to obey him.' These entreaties bespoke an indifference to 'War Sermons', as he termed them, and an interest in an ordeal 'not to be endured in vain'.⁸⁴

It was at the 1915 Synod that the Sydney position against prayers for the departed, a firm stand expressly attributed to Wright, was categorically demonstrated. Prayers for the dead involved a belief in purgatory, a special place of further cleansing of the

⁸¹ Gavin Roynon (Ed.), *A Chaplain at Gallipoli: The Great War Diaries of Kenneth Best* (London: Simon and Schuster in association with the Imperial War Museum; 2011); Green quoted in *The Methodist* 14 August 1915.

⁸² Edward Madigan, *Faith under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2011), pp. 67-69. Madigan analysed 723 chaplain's files from which 474 were found to be educated at the three universities.

⁸³ Motions of condolence and gratitude, respectively, were carried during deliberations. Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the First Ordinary Session of the Seventeenth Synod*, 6-13 September 1915, pp. 59, 79.

⁸⁴ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the First Ordinary Session of the Seventeenth Synod*, 6-13 September 1915, pp. 40-45.

soul between death and hopeful passage to heaven. It was, and remains, a specific Roman Catholic doctrine that required the living to pray for God's mercy on the departed. The continuing prayers for the dead, according to this doctrine, are an essential responsibility of the living and, in Protestant belief, have the effect of rendering a person's eternal destination uncertain. For Protestants, this belief was anathema. It spoke of the guilt that was in their view a trademark of Roman Catholic belief, which diminished the central place of God's grace in a person's ultimate destiny. Salvation, in Protestant doctrine, was solely dependent on God's saving act of grace through the death on the cross and resurrection to life of his Son Jesus and, on this grace, Christians had assurance that they would be in heaven, not purgatory, when earthly existence had come to its end.

A motion deploring the steps being taken in England to authorise such intercession on behalf of the dead, outlawed by Church of England history and articles, was passed 86-7 following an attempt to amend a motion, also successful, that criticised in strong terms proposed changes in the United Kingdom to the Service of Holy Communion. Both the question of prayers for the departed and the communion service alterations were flashpoints for continuing discord within world Anglicanism between an Anglo-Catholic restoration movement and the Evangelicals. Sydney knew where it stood, and Wright had galvanised the evangelical Diocese in response.⁸⁵

However, Wright and the Catholic Archbishop in Sydney, Michael Kelly, occasionally found themselves in united cause. The recruitment initiatives of 1915, for which State Governments were enlisting church support, were a case in point as was the Universal Service League which enjoyed their patronage as joint Vice-Presidents. But attempts by Wright to incorporate the Catholic Church in his Special Days of Intercession that were to commence the year from 1916 came to nought. First, Kelly was cool on the idea of a public holiday to enable wide attendance at special services,

⁸⁵ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the First Ordinary Session of the Seventeenth Synod*, 6-13 September 1915, pp. 88-90. Consistent with what Peter Sherlock has described as 'a shift away from the need to escape the despair of Purgatory through prayer with a renewed emphasis on the assured hope of resurrection' as a result of the Protestant Reformation, the prohibition on prayers for the dead ensured that commemoration services that emerged in Sydney in 1916 focussed on remembrance of the dead and their example. See, Peter Sherlock, 'Grief and Glory: The Commemoration of War in Seventeenth-Century England', in S. Downes, A. Lynch and K. O'Loughlin (Eds.), *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2015), p. 171. See also, Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 – c. 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum; 1992), p. 28.

within each denomination's own churches, and then subsequently with Wright's further entreaties to join the broadcasting of the purpose of the special Sunday. Michael McKernan puts this down to Catholics' mortal obligations to attend mass in any case.⁸⁶ Kelly could have chosen to contribute to the focus of the Sunday but did not. Wright was later to feel more stubborn on the question of unity, articulating very carefully that the Anglican Church had to expand its education remit to counter 'Catholic doctrine'.⁸⁷

Wright's 1916 Pastoral Letter that accompanied the distribution of the special service orders to other Dioceses and to his own clergy in Sydney belied the weariness and uncertainty of war, noting that 'the end is at present apparently far away' and that all must 'endure with patience and resignation'. Nevertheless, daunting new perils, as yet unknown, needed to be faced with penitence and hope. The letter ended with 'the ancient promise, 'The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our Refuge', echoing Kipling's hymn *The Recessional*. Undoubtedly, Wright would have rejoiced at reunion in March 1916 with Talbot who was, through his battlefield experience, equipped to share the leadership of not only Anglican members and adherents but the wider community of Sydney.

In early 1916, Talbot wrote of serving as the Senior Chaplain at Mudros West Rest Camp on Lemnos to all Allied units and soldiers, noting that there were Canadian hospitals as well as Australian ones, including the 3rd Australian General Hospital where he was on duty. But he was responsible for 'arranging all services and funerals' for the island which was also home to Turkish prisoners. He left the Mudros Hospital Base shortly thereafter for leave in the United Kingdom before returning to Sydney. Initially, Wright reported that he would be returning to Sydney on furlough 'before he again takes up his arduous task'.⁸⁸ But Talbot, welcomed home on 7 March at the Cathedral by, among others, historian Manning Clark's father, Charles H. W. Clark, who spoke on behalf of the congregation, chose to remain in Sydney.

Quick to resume leadership in Sydney, by 10 March Talbot was presiding over the arrangements for an imminent General Mission to the Diocese, preaching to the

⁸⁶ Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-1918* (Sydney and Canberra: Catholic Theological Faculty and Australian War Memorial; 1980), pp. 91-92.

⁸⁷ *SDM*, 1 September 1918, p. 4.

⁸⁸ *SDM*, 1 March 1916, p. 5.

special meeting of clergy that followed that, as in John 17:1, 'Christ's hour had come, the war presented a unique opportunity to unify the church and to appeal to unbelievers'.⁸⁹ The mission proved to be all too revealing of 'an impenetrable mass of godlessness and sin larger than any of us imagined' at home, leading Wright to doubt 'the Nation to be worthy of the price' being paid on the battlefield.

Perhaps it was this urgent opportunity at home that prompted Talbot to resign his commission. He was discharged officially on 18 March 1916, although he continued Senior Chaplain of the NSW Military District. An early initiative overseen by Talbot upon return was the erection of the Soldiers' Welcome Tent - although it was a substantial structure - adjacent to the Cathedral, the centrepiece of Anglican commitments to the welfare of returning soldiers. The building and other similar social spaces set aside for the comfort and recuperation of veterans were the seedbed for the creation of the Returned Soldiers' Association and the Association of Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Clubs, the two principal ex-service organisations in NSW which were to play leading roles in Anzac commemoration in the 1920s. Talbot had quickly become involved with caring for returned veterans, raising funds for those overseas, and tending to community grief. Initially, this had been the task of philanthropists, businessmen, and community leaders. Indeed, as early reports of Gallipoli casualties were being transmitted, sport, vaudeville and newspaper tycoon Hugh D. McIntosh was the President of the RSA in NSW.⁹⁰ Shortly after his return, Talbot was elected as a Vice President, and within weeks he laid lasting foundations for the marking of Anzac Day, foundations that entwined the Gallipoli catastrophe with theological tenets to honour the fallen, comfort the bereaved and instil hope in an anguished nation. The Archbishop's right hand had returned. There was work to be done on the home front that required Talbot's leadership, intellect and common touch.

⁸⁹ *SDM*, 1 April 1916, pp. 8-10.

⁹⁰ Returned Soldiers' Associations had been established in each State and were the forerunners to the establishment, later in 1916, of the national body, the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA), which is now the RSL. The NSW RSA did not join the national organisation until 1917.



Staff and students at Moore Theological College, 1918.

Dean Talbot is in the front row third from the left, to the right of Archbishop Wright.

(Source: Samuel Marsden Archives, Moore Theological College)

By Anzac Day 1916, the leadership of Wright and Talbot commanded church-wide and civic respect in Sydney. Wright's consistent provision of comfort and affirmation to those at home dealing with war's reverberations was now allied with Talbot's first-hand experience of its horrors. Fittingly, government and community would turn to them to fashion the first Gallipoli anniversary commemoration. Imbued with the theological assuredness of evangelicalism, a confident form of civic Protestantism, their hope in the resurrection was unswayed by the ineluctable passage of war. It was to prove an essential theme during and after the war as Anzac Day and its distinctive liturgical elements emerged and developed in Sydney.

Chapter Two

The Making of Anzac Day

The first anniversary of the Gallipoli landings was formally marked across Australia, in London at Westminster Abbey, and in Egypt where Australian troops were stationed. But the deeds of the Anzacs had already begun to be crowned with both honour and sorrow before 25 April 1916. Throughout 1915 a number of ceremonies and activities had proclaimed the actions of Australian and New Zealand soldiers at the Dardanelles and despaired at the losses. The new acronym ANZAC was propelled into common nomenclature. As the first reports of casualties at Gallipoli had been absorbed, various dates, including Empire Day, 24 May, which became 'Belgian Day' that year, were occasions for raising funds in aid of the invaded country that brought Australia, along with other Empire nations, into the War.¹ The traditional Empire Day services in Melbourne and Sydney's Anglican cathedrals, held on Sunday 26 May 1915, also remembered Major General Bridges whose death had amplified awareness of the perils at Gallipoli.² At Brisbane's Cathedral a Requiem Eucharist for the Fallen was conducted on 10 June 1915. Given its broader focus on more than one man, John A. Moses has suggested that this ceremony warrants recognition as the first Anzac Service.³

In Adelaide, Australia's first civic memorial to the Anzacs, the Dardanelles Memorial, was unveiled on 7 September 1915.⁴ The city of churches' Eight Hour Day parade on 13 October was turned over to a celebration of the Anzacs and termed 'Anzac Day', perhaps the first such designation.⁵ It was marked by a familiar parade of floats and

¹ Gareth Knapman, 'Anzac: Celebration or Commemoration?' in Tom Frame (Ed.), *Anzac Day: Then and Now*, (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2016), pp. 33-34.

² *SDM*, June 1, 1915, p. 4. Empire Day was first marked in 1905 to promote remembrance and celebration of the British Empire.

³ John A. Moses, 'Anglicanism and Anzac Observance: The Essential Contribution of Canon D. J. Garland', *Pacifica*, No. 19 (February 2006), p. 61.

⁴ *The Advertiser*, 8 September 1915; *Daily Herald*, 8 September 1915. New memorials were rare during the war and so old memorials to forgotten wars - the British soldiers obelisk at Anglesea Barracks, erected in 1850 in memory of twenty-four lives lost in the New Zealand Wars, probably the first war memorial erected in an Australian colony - and to recent ones - the South African War of 1898-1901 - served as sites of new remembrance, as places for laurels and wreaths to adorn on the first commemoration of Anzac Day. For a discussion of this practice, see Richard Ely, 'The first Anzac Day: Invented or discovered?', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 17 (1985), p. 49.

⁵ Janice G. Pavils, *Anzac Day: The Undying Debt* (Adelaide: Lythrum Press; 2007), p. 2.

also served as a fund-raising occasion, as did most days of recognition in 1915, with troops still at Gallipoli. By the time of the first anniversary of the landing, Archbishop Wright was moved to preach about a new word, 'Anzac', that ought to live for all time, and how it evoked the Australian spirit of 'old stock (that) was still the same under new skies'.⁶

Wright had sought not to have a memorial service during the war. He viewed war's end, when the sum of the losses would be known, as the appropriate time to recognise the totality of the sacrifice. Although an exception was made in 1915 for Major General Bridges, who as leader of Australian forces in Gallipoli could be seen as representing all those serving in the AIF,⁷ there were midway through 1915 few hints of the groundswell that would see the first anniversary of the Anzacs' landing in the Dardanelles take on national importance. Bridges was commemorated within an existing framework of national Empire Day services, already well established in the civic and ecclesial calendar.⁸

The trust given to Anglican forms and leadership on Empire Day and invoked in the civic responses to the death of Queen Victoria and King Edward in the previous generation, was repeated on 25 April. A new emphasis was to be knitted into well-rehearsed performances. Traditional days like Empire Day served to ennoble reflection on national character and national standing. 'It ought to be a repetition of Empire Day, with a new note added' said the editor of Tasmania's *Daily Post*.⁹ When it emerged in 1916, Anzac Day was to be an expression of 'national public culture'.¹⁰ This national public culture was civic Protestantism, a pervasive attitude and belief system that governed not only private behaviour but public affairs.¹¹

⁶ *SMH*, 26 April 1916, p. 11. Note Wright's use of 'under new skies' not 'heavens'. In Wright's mind, Australia is a new land, but its inheritance of civic Protestantism remains the overarching *heavenly* realm. The use of this phrase can be contrasted with Neville Meaney (Ed.), *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia* (Melbourne: Heinemann Educational Australia; 1989), p. 2, which by interpolating 'stars' into 'heavens' broadens the meaning beyond what would have been understood by the phrase at the time. In relation to 'civic Protestantism', see Note 11 below.

⁷ *SDM*, 1 June 1915, p. 4.

⁸ Ely suggests that 'rhetorical and ceremonial repertoires... were not stretched' in the marking of Empire Day 1915. While the campaign in the Dardanelles continued, the Anzac landings at Gallipoli were 'sensational rather than the sacred, news rather than legend'. 'The first Anzac Day', p. 53.

⁹ Quoted from *The Daily Post*, 20 April 1916, in Ely, 'The first Anzac Day', p. 58.

¹⁰ Hugh Chilton, *Evangelicals and the end of Christian Australia: nation and religion in the public square, 1959-1979* (Doctoral thesis, University of Sydney; 2014), p. 73.

¹¹ Civic Protestantism describes the view at the time that Australia, as a nation within the family of British nations, was a polity and people predominantly Protestant in belief and character, unified around a non-

Anzac Day 1916

Despite these early notes of Anzac Day as we have come to know it, the first anniversary of the Gallipoli landing sparked considerable cultural, political and religious innovation in crafting rituals to commemorate the sacrifice of so many in war. Wright and Talbot were central figures in shaping the Sydney and, as argued later, the Australian form of Anzac Day. From the Cathedral's pulpit, the principal and oldest Cathedral in Australia, the Archbishop and the Dean expressed a culture of belief and hope based in a civic Protestantism that found its expression in the Evangelical gospel of Christianity. The principal government leaders, the Premier and Governor, and, when in Sydney, the Prime Minister and Governor General, attended services at St Andrew's Cathedral for the marking of important occasions.

During the war, Wright, as Primate, and Prime Minister Billy Hughes worked in lockstep to establish National Days of Prayer. The liturgies for these occasions were set by Wright and found their implementation not only through Talbot's leadership at the Cathedral but also in other Protestant denominations. Genuine ecumenism was thus expressed, albeit still without Roman Catholic agreement or participation. But as Moses has argued:

for them [the Christians who inspired Anzac Day] nations were spiritual communities, despite the denominational pluralism. So, Anzac, far from being a myth of male nation building, was intended to be an intensely solemn national requiem, designed to call all men and women to humble repentance and to remind them of the sovereignty of Almighty God over the nations.¹²

Moses connects the civic realm with prevailing Christian culture. The backdrop to this culture was a belief in God's sovereignty over all nations despite the

denominational Empire Protestantism that shaped laws, as well as individual practices and communal expressions such as national commemorations. For an analysis relevant to this thesis, see, Stephen A. Chavura, John Gascoigne and Ian Tregenza, *Reason, Religion and the Australian Polity: A Secular State?* (London: Routledge; 2019), Chapter 8: 'Civil Religion: from civic Protestantism to Anzac Day', pp. 163-181.

¹² John A. Moses, 'Anzac Day as Religious Revivalism: the Politics of Faith in Brisbane, 1916-1939', in Mark Hutchinson and Stuart Piggin (Eds.), *Reviving Australia: Essays on the History and Experience of Revival and Revivalism in Australian Christianity* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity; 1994), p. 181.

uncertainties prompted by war and the inevitable loss of life. Christian language and symbolism were potent expressions for remembrance and hope. In Sydney, it was the evangelical Anglican leadership that joined civic necessity with personal sentiments and ritual capacity. The public expressions of Anzac remembrance that took shape in the hands of Wright and Talbot, from the first day of commemoration, were moulded from evangelical Anglican liturgical forms.

The conception of an 'Anzac Day' being marked on 25 April 1916 across Australia has been attributed by Moses to Canon David Garland, the Secretary of Queensland's Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC).¹³ Whether motivated by a desire to bring a nation together, or possibly to diminish the pageantry and interstate rivalry that pervaded various fund-raising days (including Victoria's attempt to turn 17 December 1915 into an 'Anzac Remembrance Day', ironically less than a week before the evacuation of Australian troops from the peninsula),¹⁴ Garland wrote to all States inviting agreement on marking the Gallipoli sacrifices on the same anniversary day. Garland's intent was to introduce and embed a greater degree of respect as he saw it, into the whole day. He believed that parades, feasts, and even fund-raising that had been a feature of the various special days throughout 1915, would distract from the truer purpose of the day, to commemorate in solemn fashion the deeds on the battlefield.

The Brisbane Committee's overtures did not mean that other States were neglecting 25 April or needed its prompting to mark the day. Brisbane's chief object was reported by the *Sydney Morning Herald* as 'commemoration of our fallen heroes and for the honour of our surviving soldiers'. Anzac Day's character was to be expressed by forbidding funds being raised and by no 'rejoicing'.¹⁵ The *Herald* ventured no opinion on how Brisbane's approach might apply in Sydney. Indeed, the organisers in Sydney defined commemoration of the dead and the living more broadly. As well as honouring the fallen, it was to be inclusive of practical support for those serving overseas and those who had returned. It was also forward-looking, seeding an Anzac Memorial Fund to provide a lasting built testimony. Significantly,

¹³ John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins: Canon D. J. Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration* (Canberra: Barton Books; 2013), pp. 79ff.

¹⁴ Knapman, 'Anzac: Celebration or Commemoration?', pp. 46- 47.

¹⁵ *SMH*, 1 March 1916, p. 14, and 9 March 1916, p. 5.

Sydney's Anzac Day was to sanction rejoicing, based in a hope for the nation's future that wartime sacrifices would secure.

In Sydney, an Anzac Day Executive Committee had been appointed, chaired by Hugh D. McIntosh, who was briefly the President of the NSW Returned Soldiers' Association (RSA). McIntosh too, had hoped it would be a 'national' day, casting aspersions on Melbourne authorities for their lack of preparation.¹⁶ There is evidence that the NSW Government acknowledged the correspondence from the Queensland Premier T. J. Ryan,¹⁷ but before waiting for a response as to what other States were doing, and for the Commonwealth Government to express its view, Premier William Holman invited 'the heads of churches to hold a memorial service at some hour to be arranged... in Martin-place' (sic).¹⁸ The time eventually appointed was 12 noon and the venue the Domain. This was one among many events planned for the day.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported on Anzac eve that 'The day's proceedings are to start at 9 o'clock, when every train and tram in the State will be brought to a standstill in order that the passengers may give three cheers for the King, the Empire and the Anzacs'. Anglican and some Protestant churches were to hold mid-morning services.¹⁹ At St Andrew's Cathedral, Talbot organised a service to mirror that being held in Westminster Abbey, including similar Bible readings and hymns.²⁰

A parade of returned soldiers, many in cars, would follow, led by bands through city streets towards the Domain for, at midday, 'the most impressive moment of the day' when 'Every man, woman and child is asked to stand still for one minute, no matter

¹⁶ *The Mirror of Australia*, 22 April 1916, p. 2, referring to criticism of McIntosh's comments which he had made at an earlier date whilst on a visit to Melbourne.

¹⁷ State Records website: NSW Premier's Office Minute dated 25 February 1916 and reply from Queensland Chief Secretary dated 24 March 1916, to telexed request from NSW Premier seeking information on replies from other States. <http://nswanzacentenary.records.nsw.gov.au/in-remembrance/the-first-anzac-day-1916>

¹⁸ *SMH*, 29 March 1916, p. 10.

¹⁹ The Anglicans held their Anzac Day service at 10.45am to enable sufficient time to move from St Andrew's Cathedral to the Domain. The Pitt St Congregational Church hosted Methodists and Baptists at 1.15 pm, the Presbyterians met at 10.30 am, and the Salvation Army held meetings at 10.00 am and in the mid-afternoon – all intentionally designed not to clash with the Domain proceedings at 12 noon. However, the Catholic Church held a ceremony at St Mary's Cathedral at 12.15 pm, presumably to meet the needs of those who may have felt unable to attend a 'united' ceremony, particularly one with a religious flavour outside a church. This intent, true or otherwise, illustrates the Catholic Church's non-involvement in the formation of national Anzac commemoration practice. See *SMH*, 25 April 1916, pp. 9-10 for listings.

²⁰ *SMH*, 26 April 1916, p. 11. At Westminster Abbey, 'the shrine of the illustrious dead', in a short service attended by the King, a eulogy of the Anzac Roll of Honour was read by the Dean; the hymn *The Recessional* included at the request of the Australians; and an Australian wreath in the shape of a boomerang laid at the altar.

where they may be'.²¹ Talbot had been requested to organise this gathering, which was attended by 60,000 people. Presumably, there were few, if any, Roman Catholics present as a Mass had been organised for 12.15 pm to ensure that restrictions on joining with non-Catholics in worship were observed. The Lord Mayor hosted a luncheon for soldiers, and a program of entertainment in the afternoon was organised by theatre company J. C. Williamson. Further performances and street illuminations in the evening were staged for the enjoyment of veterans and to aid recruitment initiatives.²²

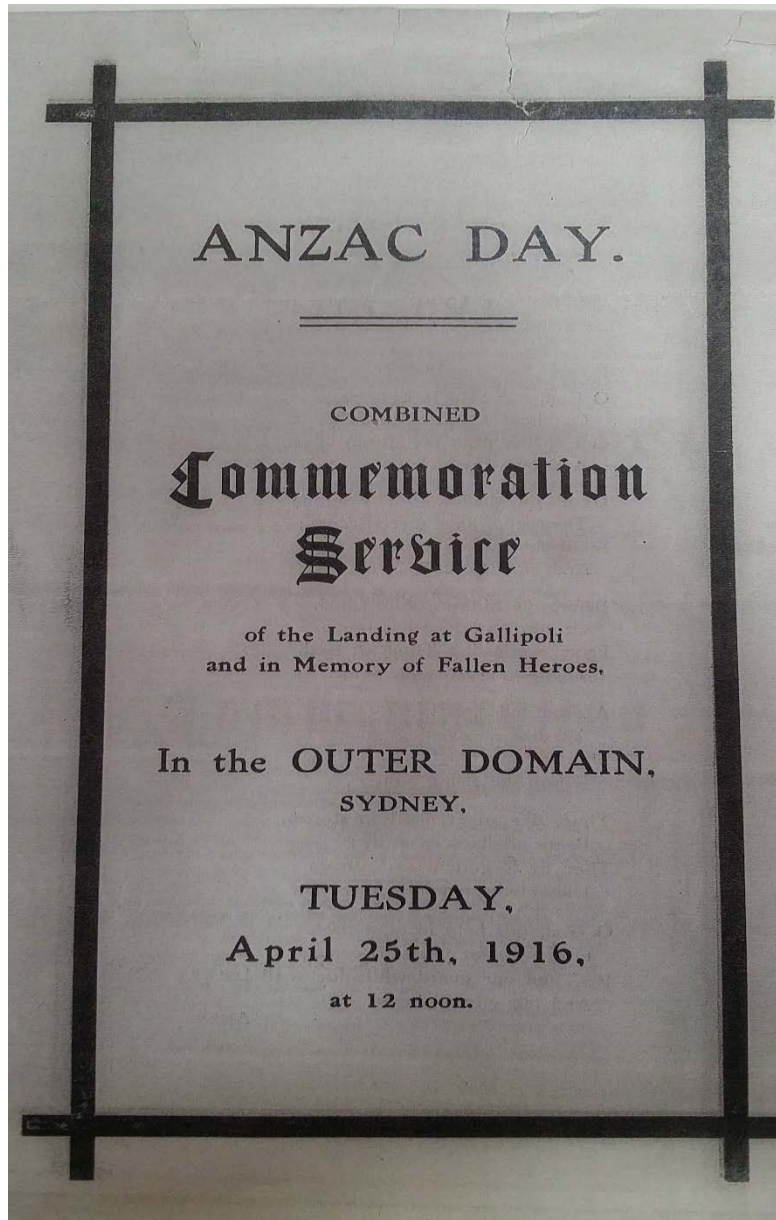
Sydney's observance of Anzac Day was remarkably different from that in Brisbane. Commemorative foundations laid that day in Sydney emphasised these differences and revealed the leadership role played by Talbot in establishing Australia's Anzac commemoration traditions. Two notable distinctive elements were, first, the decision to hold a public combined service to which all were invited, and for which no equivalent proposal was made in the suggested program issued by Garland. And secondly, the contentious division of Anzac Day into two halves, a morning of solemnity and an afternoon of celebration, a feature that was in clear contrast to the Brisbane ADCC's plea for a full day of solemnity. These two explicit cornerstones of Anzac commemoration laid in Sydney in 1916 have prevailed to the extent that they remain a feature of Anzac Day across Australia today.²³

The public combined service in the Domain, organised by Talbot, had an ecumenical flavour but was under clear Anglican leadership. The provision of a single occasion for the city to gather, after individual denominational church services and the march of veterans had been held, marked a crucial difference from the program gazetted by the Brisbane ADCC which prescribed only morning denominational services followed by an afternoon military parade to a saluting base at the General Post Office.

²¹ *SMH*, 24 April 1916, p. 6.

²² *SMH*, 11 April 1916, p. 4. Some writers (Eric Andrews, '25 April 1916: First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 23 [October 1993], p. 13; Ely, 'The first Anzac Day', p. 48) mistake the contribution of J. C. Williamson Ltd with the organisation of the whole of Anzac Day, which was clearly in the hands of competing Tivoli showman, Hugh McIntosh, who was also briefly, later in 1916, President of the NSW RSA. More recently, Carl Bridge has mistakenly attributed organisation of the Domain service to J. C. Williamson, in his entry on Anzac Day for *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, 2nd edition (Oxford University Press; 2009).

²³ D. N. Jeans claimed that, in Sydney, 'The first anniversary of the Anzac landing at Gallipoli called forth what was to be Australia's full repertoire of overt responses to the Great War.' D. N. Jeans, 'The Making of the Anzac Memorial, Sydney: Towards a Secular Culture', *Australia 1938 Bulletin*, Vol. 4 (1981), p. 48.



The program for the first Anzac Day Commemoration Service, Sydney, 1916.

(Source: Samuel Marsden Archives, Moore Theological College)

At precisely 12 noon in Sydney's Domain Talbot enjoined all present 'Heads bare, for a moment, for the fallen'.²⁴ 'Work of all classes' was suspended for one minute at

²⁴ The gesture shares a literal similarity to South Africa's later inaugural occurrence of commemorative silence, also at midday, organised in Cape Town on 14 May 1918 - an eyewitness account, attributed to A. D. Donovan, noted that 'every man's head bared, as if by one single gesture'. See 'The 2 minutes silence; an eyewitness account of South Africa's unique gift to Remembrance' in *The Observation Post*, accessed at <https://samilhistory.com/2017/11/02/the-2-minutes-silence-an-eye-witness-account-of-south-africas-unique-gift-to-remembrance/> on 14 November 2018. See also Chapter Four – Silence.

noon, to synchronise with the commencement of the Domain service where everyone present stood in silence.²⁵ This moment of city-wide silence was listed in press announcements in advance and in the official program. The commencement of the service with a minute of silence, bidden not by prayer but by an injunction of respect, the baring of heads, set the stage. Colonial Secretary The Hon. George Black MLC, Vice President of the Anzac Day Committee, later recounted how the silence had transformed ‘as though in whispers through half-closed lips’, as the crowd as one had taken up the hymn *Abide with Me*, followed by *Lead Kindly Light*, before the official opening hymn, *O God Our Help in Ages Past* was struck up by the band.²⁶

The Presbyterian Moderator read the Scripture lesson and the Methodist President the prayers. The address was delivered by Wright with Talbot as the ‘Master of Ceremonies’.²⁷ As Moses intimates, there was ‘a culture deeply embedded in the Australian community that was quintessentially Anglican’, even though the platform was ecumenical. Rudyard Kipling’s *Recessional* and *The Dead March* from George Frideric Handel’s Oratorio *Saul* were played, and The Last Post was sounded on bugle, all well-known musical signals of a tradition of civic mourning that had emerged in the nineteenth century.²⁸

Archbishop Wright, speaking from the dais arrayed in colours of national mourning according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*,²⁹ stressed the need for pressing on, ‘doing our part until the work is done’. This work was for peace both in this world - the immediate need to remain brave and single-minded in order to prevail over the enemy - and in the world to come - towards the ‘Kingdom of Righteousness’ and the peace of ‘Resurrection Day’ the occasion of reunion with the dead who rested at Gallipoli. Wright’s earthly message was to be enlisted in the recruitment drives that were a feature of the first commemorative Anzac Day, and his words of comfort and invocation in the succession of remembrance occasions that were to come. Wright and Talbot exercised pastoral leadership within, to repeat Moses, a ‘quintessentially

²⁵ *SMH*, 18 April 1916, p. 4.

²⁶ *The Soldier*, November 20, 1924, pp. 53-54.

²⁷ *SMH*, 25 April 1916, p. 9.

²⁸ Refer to Chapter Four of this thesis on Silence.

²⁹ *SMH*, ‘United Service – A Great Scene – Archbishop’s Panegyric’, 26 April 1916, p. 11.



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

H16136

Archbishop Wright addresses the crowd in Sydney's Domain, Anzac Day 1916.

(Source: Australian War Memorial)

Anglican culture' that had both expected and appreciated their leadership.³⁰ The Domain functioned as a sizeable open-air venue for the whole community, not merely as a parade ground for soldiers or as a platform for dignitary pomp. Tanja Luckins notes how it had 'special meaning for women, ... this sense of a shared experience... that suggested a kind of holy or sacred bonding'.³¹ Mourning crowds of women were seen and heard, contrary to assertions 'that grief was publicly invisible and inaudible'.³² Away from the confines of a building, tens of thousands of people

³⁰ Moses and Davis note that even in Egypt on 25 April 1916, the ceremony was led by the local Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem and the senior chaplain, also Anglican, a signal of 'the hegemony of Anglican culture throughout the Empire at that time', *Anzac Day Origins*, p. 185.

³¹ Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War* (Fremantle: Curtin University Press; 2004), p. 94.

³² K. S. Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne University Press; 2008, 3rd Edition), p. 98. Luckins, *The Gates of Memory*, p. 105, criticises Inglis for this assertion, at least in the context of Sydney's Anzac Days.

could join in remembrance. The result was a new formal community ritual, a public ceremony of collective mourning and pride, marking a Day bearing the imprint of 'Anzac', itself a new word that, as Wright had earlier pronounced, 'ought to live for all time'.

The second distinctive element of Sydney's inaugural Anzac Day program that was also 'to live for all time' was the shape of the Day itself. What is evident, and deliberate, is that the Sydney morning was to be devoted to solemnity with the afternoon and evening to something more joyous. Talbot, in contrast to Garland, endorsed the Sydney adoption of a half-day of solemnity. Civic authorities and the RSA also held strong views on the matter. These views were confusingly articulated at times, unsurprisingly at a time of inaugurating a new tradition,³³ but settled quickly and in advance of the actual day, into an agreed 'half-day' approach in Sydney. The approach can be understood also as the fulfilment of a Good Friday/Easter Sunday arc of death and resurrection characterised in the language of Wright and Talbot.³⁴

As preparations advanced and public announcements were issued, stumbles were made before the right note was struck. Consistent with his later active promotion of conscription, Premier Holman saw the Day not only as an opportunity for fund-raising for an Anzac Memorial Hall, including a Soldiers' Club, as desired by the RSA, but for 'a record in the way of recruiting'. This was to occur after 'marking the solemn nature of the anniversary' as though the religious ceremony and the fund-raising were of a different essence from recruiting. It seems collection tins were respectful if the cause itself was.³⁵ The City Council's controversial decision to spend £1,000 to illuminate the Town Hall that night, to lure and entertain potential recruits, supported the Premier's intentions.

³³ It could be said that the first Anzac Day commemorations in 1916 are an 'invented tradition' in the vein of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's argument in *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press; 1983), although, as is apparent from this thesis, it was an intentional work of fusing existing ideas and practices into a fresh expression of ritual in the face of unprecedented circumstances.

³⁴ As well as the symbolic connection with Easter, the two halves of Anzac Day mirror a traditional practice associated with the formal Anglican ceremonies of Dedication observed annually on the Saint's Day after which the parish building was named. According to Hazlitt's dictionary of national faiths and popular customs, 'The morning is spent for the most part at church... in commemorating the saint or martyr, or in gratefully remembering the builder and endower. The remaining part of the day is spent in eating and drinking'. W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore: A Dictionary* (London: Reeves and Turner; 1905), pp. 172-175.

³⁵ *SMH*, 29 March 1916, p. 10, and 25 April 1916, p. 9.

The RSA, however, was reported to have linked commemoration and recruiting as the serious elements. This conundrum of what a 'celebration without frivolity' could look like was found to be sufficiently perplexing to the *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial writer that the paper cast its lot with the 'men at the front with their memories and scars' and those 'who would prefer a solemn church service to a gala day'.³⁶ The RSA sought to defend its approach, stating in a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 19 April that it would be 'unbecoming to celebrate such a day by street pageants and hilarity; it would be equally unfitting to make the day one of mourning... of national sackcloth and ashes'.³⁷ The eventual 1916 program in Sydney balanced these sentiments. The solution was a program devoted to solemnity in the morning that transitioned into a modest form of celebration in the afternoon and evening.

Illustrative of the different conception of morning and afternoon are Sydney's two instances of brief silence, the most solemn of rituals, both of which occurred in the commemorative first half of the Day, at 9.00 am and at 12 noon. Across the program for the afternoon and evening there was no mention in news reports of a period of silence being observed, either at the Lord Mayor's Luncheon or at the evening concert.

This pattern contrasts starkly with that gazetted in Queensland by the ADCC, which made a public call for a one-minute silence to be observed during evening meetings which it hoped would be held in every town across the State, precisely at 9.00 pm.³⁸ Silence was also a significant part of the morning religious services in that State, with the local press reporting that 'soldiers and civilians, attending together, mourned the dead and paid a tribute of silent respect', and of the afternoon military marches where an unspecified period of 'solemn silence' included a firing of three volleys and the bugle sounding of *The Last Post*.³⁹ The utilisation of silence across the full program, morning, afternoon and evening, conformed with the Queensland

³⁶ *SMH*, 8 April 1916, p. 16.

³⁷ *SMH*, 19 April 1916, p. 11.

³⁸ 'Anzac Day 1916: Plan of Observance of Anzac Day' issued by the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee.

³⁹ *The Queenslander*, 29 April 1916, p. 36; *Brisbane Courier*, 25 April 1916, p. 7. The day's observance in Brisbane reflected Otto's concept of the 'numinous', a sacred atmosphere in an otherwise quotidian realm. See Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day Origins*, pp. 15-17, 22-24, and 32-35.

Committee's expressed desire to see the whole day devoted to solemn commemoration.

The contrast between Sydney and Brisbane and the disputes ahead in every State, particularly in the post-war years, over whether Anzac Day should be a half or full day holiday, are apparent. Again, the NSW RSA, through President Lieutenant Colonel Owen on Anzac eve, made clear that the program had three aims: commemoration of the fallen, fund-raising for a memorial in their honour, and recruitment to replenish gaps inevitably caused by their deaths. These three objects were settled upon as the core of the 'Anzac Day movement' as he named it, which had now been inaugurated.⁴⁰ Messaging was finally synchronised with the co-existence of previously disparate, and seemingly discordant, elements in Sydney now cleverly entwined by repeated calls in the press for the approach to the day to be one of solemnity whether one's lot was joy or mourning. It was to be 'a day of glory, yes, but a day of sorrow also'.⁴¹

Lending his support to the diverse program for the day, Talbot indicated that having united in a solemn service of prayer, 'he could see no possible objection to any form of rational entertainment in the afternoon and evening'.⁴² The press had termed the day another 'Australia Day', albeit one without the festive display of cultural or racial pride. It was the almost universal involvement that made it worthy of the designation 'national' day. The soldiers' parade in Sydney was marked by handclapping but not cheering, with the sobering reality of modern warfare's brutality plainly visible in the incapacity and evident physical trauma of the returned men. The tinkling sound of moneyboxes was not so much an intrusion as a prompt for heartfelt offerings of gratitude. During the Lord Mayor's luncheon, Premier Holman made promises not only to the fallen, but to those who had returned, that 'a debt of gratitude would be paid' as 'a first claim upon the revenues of the State'.⁴³

Although the Brisbane ADCC had written to all other State premiers in early February 1916 inviting action to mark Anzac Day on similar terms to those being devised for Queensland, NSW was making plans of its own. Whether these initiatives

⁴⁰ *SMH*, 24 April 1916, p. 6.

⁴¹ *SMH*, Editorials on 25 and 26 April 1916, pp. 8 and 11 respectively.

⁴² *SMH*, 21 April 1916, p. 8.

⁴³ *SMH*, 'Town Hall – A Memorable Scene', 26 April 1916, p. 12.

were prompted by Brisbane's invocation or from some other impulse, what evolved for that first Anzac Day commemoration differed in each jurisdiction. Adelaide was the closest in conception to Sydney where, as Mark Cryle explains, 'the government combined forces with the churches and patriotic organisations to produce the commemoration'.⁴⁴ It was also the only other State capital where a combined ceremony took place, in Queen Victoria Square, with various speeches by dignitaries prior to a parade of troops and a march of veterans. In Perth, as in Brisbane, there was no combined service, and the Church of England Cathedral service was followed by a troop review and a luncheon for veterans.

The greatest contrast was the planning in Melbourne and in Hobart which both instituted an Anzac Week, with various fundraising activities, church services and military parades spread across numerous days, making it difficult to gauge the level of public support for 25 April. On that day at least, without official imprimatur or encouragement, it was left to Melbourne's Church of England Cathedral to join with the RSA to conduct a service, and across Victoria Protestant churches 'were at the forefront' of organising opportunities for honouring the fallen.⁴⁵ Perhaps the church and the RSA could sense that the lead taken in Sydney should be followed in view of Hugh McIntosh's earlier rebuke for Melbourne's lack of preparation. In Hobart, it was decided to mark Anzac Day on Friday 28 April to avoid Easter Tuesday, and wreaths were laid at the South African Soldiers' Memorial. The latter practice may not seem out of place in the absence of Great War memorials, but it was not reported to have occurred in other capital cities. 'Despite the efforts of Garland's committee in Brisbane to publicise their model', Cryle notes, 'clearly it had little impact in far-off Tasmania in 1916'.⁴⁶ One could also conclude that even in Sydney, the closest capital to Brisbane, events had their own trajectory and, in the end, were more enduring than those promulgated by the ADCC.

The model of solemnity in the morning and a form of rejoicing in the afternoon and evening, inaugurated in Sydney, was connected theologically to the death and resurrection motif in Anzac commemoration employed by Wright and Talbot. It was a concept that lay at the foundation that emerged in Sydney's Anzac Day 1916 and

⁴⁴ Mark Cryle, *Making the One Day of the Year: a Genealogy of Anzac Day to 1918* (Doctoral thesis, University of Queensland; 2015), p. 126.

⁴⁵ Cryle, *Making the One Day of the Year*, p. 134.

⁴⁶ Cryle, *Making the One Day of the Year*, p. 138.

explains the regular turn to Scriptural descriptions of the Passover such as that in Exodus 12. It was a concept also that lay behind the language of first fruits, a term that had been used by the RSA and the Premier as early as 1916, as well as by the church leadership, its repetition suggestive of its cultural currency.

One prominent use of the term can be found in the RSA's commemorative booklet issued for the 1916 anniversary of Anzac Day, in which the soldiers who had perished at Gallipoli are referred to as 'These died for us', as 'the first great fruitage of Australian nationhood'.⁴⁷ This connection of death with 'first fruitage' was clearly a biblical reference to 'first fruits', the setting aside of the first harvests as a thank-offering for the blessings of God's material provision that sustained life in the temporal world, as well as for the blessings to come in eternity. In 1 Corinthians 15:20 Jesus is referred to as the *first fruits* of humanity's ultimate salvation: 'but Jesus Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep'. The RSA writer goes on to say, 'after a year of varied fortune, we remember, and not with tears alone'.

The reference to 'not with tears alone' signified a desire to incorporate both grief and pride. It also provided a salient connection between the sacrifice of Australian men and women in the Great War and the sacrifice of Jesus. That year, Easter Sunday was 23 April when many would have heard in sermons that death was given context and meaning by the resurrection from the dead, with the ultimate hope that suffering would end in the life to come. Ringing in many Sydney-siders' ears was the message that sacrifice is therefore not the end but, in a collective sense, the symbol of the resurrection to come. 'The ancient Christian drama of death and resurrection' provided obvious analogies.⁴⁸ The Anzac story, in the formulation outlined in the RSA's published tribute, ended not with sacrifice but with a realisation that new life could emerge from suffering and death, and that those who had fallen on the battlefield were the *first fruits* of this hope. As Archbishop Wright said in his 1916 Anzac Day sermon in St Andrew's Cathedral, referring to the sacrifices of Gallipoli,

⁴⁷ Echoing the words in the Holy Communion liturgy, 'He died for us'. See, 'Anzac' in *In Memoriam: Anzac Day April 25th 1916* (Sydney: Returned Soldiers' Association; 1916).

⁴⁸ Ely, 'The first Anzac Day', p. 58.

‘many sons of Australia sleep till the Resurrection Day’, a conviction he reiterated to the crowd at the Domain.⁴⁹

Archbishop Wright and the RSA writer, viewing Anzac Day as a day of commemoration, agreed with Talbot. Their language echoed Talbot’s confidence that honouring the dead in the morning should be followed by rejoicing in the afternoon because we know their death will not be in vain. Talbot was shortly to be elected President of the RSA, and the booklet’s language was suggestive of his involvement, if not Talbot’s own hand in its preparation.

These instances also aligned with the concept, articulated by Premier Holman, who spoke at the afternoon luncheon hosted by the Lord Mayor, about the ‘debt of gratitude’ and its ‘first claim upon the revenues of the State’. Although not specifically using the term first-fruits, Holman’s choice of words suggested a common parlance, a concept that could easily be understood by an audience of veterans and families of the fallen.

At the beginning of the Anzac commemoration tradition in Sydney, the connection to the death and resurrection of Jesus was plain. In a sermon at the principal church gathering on the first Anzac Day commemoration, the theological emphasis is significant but, in the context of evangelical leadership, not surprising. When unmistakably Scriptural language declaimed from the pulpit found further expression in the publication of the veterans’ movement marking the occasion, and in speeches at the civic luncheon hosted by the political leadership of city and state, a unity of intent and practice was apparent on Anzac Day 1916 in Sydney. The sacrifice of individuals, families and indeed nations, would ultimately be remembered as a trial of fire that will be transformed by the dawn of a certain hope on resurrection day. From this early point, Anzac Day in Sydney conveyed the full story of Easter, both a Good Friday of mourning and an Easter Sunday of rejoicing. The insistence on a solemn morning and a grateful afternoon and evening, the careful placement of silence in the mournful half of the day, and the use of ‘first fruits’ language, leaves little doubt about the roots of that first Anzac Day in Sydney in theology consistent with a day of glory and of gratitude, of mourning and of remembrance.

⁴⁹ *SDM*, 1 May 1916, p. 6.

Importantly, the resurrection theme was in direct contrast to the idea that Anzac Day would be a 'solemn national requiem', or as Canon Garland had expressed it, drawing on the requiem traditions of Anglo-Catholicism, an Australian 'All Souls' Day'.⁵⁰ The appellation 'All Souls' Day' and the term 'requiem' were significant signals of the differences between Brisbane and Sydney on how Anzac Day should be marked. Seeking to label Anzac Day as Australia's 'All Souls' Day' was a theological statement about those who had died in war. In Catholic doctrine, All Souls' Day is devoted to prayers for the souls of those in purgatory, emphasising uncertainty about eternal fate. In other words, it involved prayers for the dead, which were not sanctioned in the Anglican Church, and about which Archbishop Wright and the Sydney Diocesan Synod had been very clear in denunciation. A 'requiem' is in fact a 'Mass for the Dead', a Roman Catholic service to pray for the souls of the dead. In contrast, Anzac Day in Sydney was an occasion for remembering and giving thanks for all those who have died.⁵¹ It was this intent, that was behind the consistent focus of both Wright and Talbot on thanksgiving for sacrifice, a confident assertion that the full story of sacrificial death includes resurrection hope.

Although none of the instances of first fruits language can be directly attributed to Talbot, his presence was actual, in the case of Wright's Cathedral sermon and the Lord Mayor's luncheon, or incorporeal, in the case of the RSA publication. Talbot's position on the future bodily resurrection was clear from reports of his sermons.

⁵⁰ Moses, 'Anglicanism and Anzac Observance', p. 75.

⁵¹ All Souls' Day is celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church on 2 November as a day of prayer for dead souls in purgatory. This is not the same as the celebration of All Saints' Day on 1 November which commemorates collectively the Church's heroes of the faith and which is marked by Anglicans as well as Roman Catholics. Although the two occasions could be termed 'Days of the Dead', their difference is a key to understanding the divergent approaches of Anglo-Catholics like Canon Garland and Evangelicals like Archbishop Wright and Dean Talbot as to how Anzac Day should be marked, a point acknowledged by Moses, 'Anglicanism and Anzac Observance', p. 73: 'Consider what might have resulted had Garland been an Evangelical'. Carl Bridge's entry on 'Anzac Day' for *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, acknowledges that Easter in 1916 falling just before Anzac Day gave the day's 'language of sacrifice, birth and rebirth deep sacerdotal undertones.' Bridge is right to see Anzac liturgy and language referencing the Easter story of sacrifice and resurrection, but the reference to 'sacerdotal' is misplaced. Sacerdotal forms are Roman Catholic not Protestant and describe the sole authority of the priest in representing the people in offering a sacrifice, which is clearly not relevant to the conduct of Anzac Day ceremonies, even where they have an Anglo-Catholic flavour. Bridge's 'Catholic' interpretation of Anzac Day extends to a further comment that the marches of veterans are 'a sort of secular *stations of the cross*', a claim that is commonly repeated by Joan Beaumont in describing the Australian Remembrance Trail across the Western Front, (for example, 'Commemoration in Australia: a Memory Orgy?', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (2015), p. 538; and 'Australia's Global Memory Footprint: Memorial Building on the Western Front, 1916–2015', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (2015), p. 63), but which again mistakenly connects a Good Friday practice, the Stations of the Cross, with the whole of the Anzac (and Easter) story of death *and* resurrection.

Even before his departure for the war, preaching at the United Service of Intercession for the Cessation of the Present State of Warfare on 11 September 1914, Talbot selected as his text Amos 5, focussing on The Day (of Judgement) which would be one of darkness for Germany,⁵² perhaps a suitable rallying sermon in the early days of battle, but also with its own hint of the afterlife of resurrection day.

In a report to the Diocese while on the troopship journeys from Albany to the Middle East in November 1914, Talbot referred to soldiers who had succumbed to pneumonia en route and had been buried in the Indian Ocean: 'We committed their bodies to the deep in certain hope of the resurrection, when the seas shall give up their dead', words taken directly from the *Book of Common Prayer's* Order for the Burial of the Dead, and based on Revelation 20:13.⁵³

As in 1915, Empire Day, 24 May, was used again in 1916 for the commemoration of those who had enlisted and featured another connection to war remembrance as it did in 1915 when Major General Bridges' death was the focus. St Andrew's Cathedral's Choir and School Roll of Honour was unveiled by Wright and Talbot, and the service was directly connected to the first Anzac Day ceremony in Westminster Abbey by the singing of the hymn *Ascribe unto the Lord*, which had been sung on 25 April 1916 when the Empire had given thanks for the Anzacs.

The second anniversary of war's declaration prompted official services firstly on the actual day, 4 August, which was a Friday and so the regular lunchtime prayer service was given special emphasis, and then on the following Sunday which also was the first anniversary of the Lone Pine battle, providing an apt occasion for the Dean's leadership of commemoration. The annual Seamen's Service was held on another Empire-themed day which persisted through and beyond the war – Trafalgar Day on 21 October with the Archbishop characteristically basing his sermon on Nelson's last prayer.⁵⁴

Anzac Day was a new day on the commemorative calendar, but in 1916 reservations were expressed. Victoria and the Federal Government, as well as Tasmania, were

⁵² *SDM*, 1 October 1914, p. 11. Amos 5:20 – 'Shall not the Day of the Lord be darkness, and not light? Even very dark, and no brightness in it?'

⁵³ *SDM*, 1 February 1915, p. 8.

⁵⁴ *SDM*, 1 November 1917, pp. 12-13. Nelson's prayer is a plea for humility to mark his character after victory, the defence of country being a faithful service entrusted to him by God.

slow to realise its import and the public support for it, believing that it was likely there would be more illustrious exploits ahead, even some marked by victory rather than defeat. It was understandable that the other dates would still have their place.⁵⁵

In the persistence of other ceremonial dates, a clear attachment to Empire was visible, but as much as anything all these occasions suited a church leadership that was historically and theologically committed to the rhythms of a liturgical calendar.⁵⁶ The addition of another in the form of Anzac Day, 25 April, became in some ways unremarkable, even if the scale of the occasion and what it sought to remember was like nothing before seen in Australia, and at a time when the direction of the war remained uncertain.

The keeping of festival days was sometimes a controversial matter amongst evangelicals keen to put incontrovertible distance between their purist sense of the Gospel and any seemingly obligatory, that is 'ritualist', observance of liturgical days. Addressing this question in his Moorhouse Lectures, Talbot cited the eminent puritan Richard Hooker who, Talbot believed, 'shews that as God has hallowed certain places with His special presence, so by His extraordinary works He has sanctified certain times.' In Hooker's words, quoted by Talbot, 'they are the splendour and outward dignity of our religion'.⁵⁷ In this declaration, we can intuit Talbot's comfort with the establishment of an Anzac Day that hallowed both a place – a memorial - and a time – dawn – ensuring it became a 'hallowed' day dignifying 'our nation'. In Talbot's mind, Anzac Day's commemorative ritual was no mere hopeful expression of liturgy in a nominal but outwardly Christian society, where such rituals could be emptied of meaning. Keeping in step with Reformation-Protestant-Evangelical heritage, a defence situated in a reliance on Hooker, made a robust

⁵⁵ Queensland Chief Secretary's reply 24 March 1916 to NSW Premier Holman outlining the position of other States. <http://nswanzaccentenary.records.nsw.gov.au/in-remembrance/the-first-anzac-day-1916>

⁵⁶ In addition to the Calendar in the Book of Common Prayer, annual commemorations of historical significance, for example, the Gunpowder Plot (5 November 1605) and the Great Fire of London (2 September 1666), known as 'State Services', which had civil authority through Royal Proclamation as well as ecclesiastical, were included in the liturgical year until their official observance was discontinued in 1859. See Rev. John Henry Blunt (Ed.), *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer, being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England*, 7th Edition (London: Rivingtons; 1876), p. 578. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 265, states that a new form of public holiday, Bank Holidays, dated from 1871.

⁵⁷ Talbot, *Church of England Divines*, p. 162.

establishment of a new day badged with 'the new acronym' a natural step for Wright and Talbot.

Having influenced or endorsed the format of the 1916 program in Sydney, Talbot's stature in the veteran community was further and promptly elevated. Being called 'Dean Talbot' was a sign both of his position and of affection, as though Dean was his first name. *The Soldier* noted Talbot's ability to maintain order through meetings 'inclined to be somewhat stormy', amid the 'rough weather' of the early months of the RSA - meteorological euphemisms standing in for what was evidently a rambunctious and rowdy atmosphere. As more soldiers returned from the front, agitation for soldier leadership soon overwhelmed even illustrious entertainment impresarios and fellow-travellers like McIntosh. Returned men demanded leadership by their own, and by September, Talbot was their unanimous choice, elected President by acclamation. Again, *The Soldier* reported excitedly that he was 'carried out shoulder high amidst great enthusiasm'.⁵⁸ A newspaper profile acclaimed his intellect – 'probably the finest... that can be pointed to in Australia' – and his leadership responsibility for the Domain Service – 'huge... wonderful... and unique in character'.⁵⁹ As RSA President, Talbot became even more remarkably positioned to determine the details of the second anniversary of the Anzac landings.

Challenges for a New Tradition

By the second anniversary, Talbot was carrying responsibilities for leadership of the veterans' involvement on the day, as well as the St Andrew's Cathedral Service and the public ceremony which on this occasion moved from the Domain to the Sydney Showground to accommodate better the expected crowds. Both *The Soldier* and the local press continued in 1917 to foster the importance of Talbot's standing, conferring legitimacy by routinely referring to him as 'there at Gallipoli', and 'present at the landing'. Talbot had issued a personal entreaty to the public to be involved in the day's arrangements, as 'Australia's great opportunity to honour the men who fought and who fell on that ever memorable 25th of April'. *The Soldier* also pressed all its

⁵⁸ *The Soldier*, 15 September 1916.

⁵⁹ 'The Man of the Week', *The Mirror of Australia*, 9 December 1916, p. 3.

readers wholeheartedly to celebrate the day – ‘the glory of the boys abroad has not diminished; it looms more brightly as time proceeds’.⁶⁰

For some, the day had become ‘Australia’s red-letter day’, marking the nation’s move from infancy to maturity. School students were to hear ‘the story of Gallipoli in a most moving and illuminating style’ and, once again, employees were given time off from 11.30 am to 2.00 pm to enable attendance at lunchtime activities, or allowed to leave before 4.00 pm to facilitate attendance at the Combined Service. Others were, presciently, already referring to the day as a ‘holiday’ but ‘not so much a holiday in the modern meaning of the word as in the original sense; that is, a ‘holy day’.’⁶¹ There was no doubt this was now a *national* day – Archbishop Wright had in a circular letter to clergy noted the Prime Minister’s request that all should ‘co-operate in the celebration of Anzac Day that is to be observed throughout Australia on April 25.’ Wright further enjoined that ‘the religious note should be struck on a day consecrated through all time by the devotion of the sons of Australia unto death at the call of the Empire; and it is our duty as Churchmen and patriots to support the idea which we are thankful to see thus appreciated by the Government of Australia’, suggesting that church leaders had been involved in encouraging political support for the day.⁶² War service liturgies first issued in early 1915 were again approved for the occasion.

Talbot was keen to promote all components of the day, expressing gladness about the march and the evening patriotic concert, and greater confidence that Anzac Day would this time be sufficiently celebrated. The official program began with a minute’s silence at noon to be observed by everyone stopping wherever they were with men respectfully removing hats. The St Andrew’s Cathedral service and those of other Protestant denominations were then to commence and be finished to allow for a 1.00 pm recruitment rally to be conducted at Martin Place. Among the hymns played by bands in the lead-up to the rally were *Abide with me* and *Lead Kindly Light*, both compositions already firmly establishing themselves in the Anzac liturgical firmament. Curiously, the Catholic service, even though in 1916 it had been held shortly after 12 noon corresponding with the Combined Service in the Domain, in

⁶⁰ *The Soldier*, 20 April 1917. In relation to Talbot: *SMH*, 24 April 1917, p. 7.

⁶¹ *SMH*, 26 April 1917, p. 7.

⁶² *SMH*, 14 April 1917, p. 8.

1917 was conducted at 10.00 am, a time when no provisions for workers to attend had been made, although the schedule allowed for the possibility of attendance at 4.00 pm. The veterans' march began at 2.15 pm from Queens Square, Macquarie Street and proceeded through the city and on to the Showground for the 4.00 pm ceremony.⁶³

The Showground proceedings were represented as a 'combined' service. One journalist reported that the *Times History of the War*, remarking on the Australasians at Gallipoli, described 'these single-minded, loyal youths' as having 'different conceptions of God. But every conception fitted into the sublime conception that this work for their race and country was God's work.' Perhaps it was such sentiments that enabled large public gatherings to join in expressing together gratitude, sorrow and admiration – those of Catholic belief did not find themselves being prevented from attendance at the Showground by a competing obligation as they had faced in 1916, even if their church continued to restrict participation in joint worship.⁶⁴

Sydney persisted with this combined public ceremony it had pioneered in 1916. But this ceremony remained in organisation, content and form an Anglican service. The liturgy of the public commemoration at 4.00 pm in the afternoon paralleled that of the service at 12 noon in St Andrews Cathedral, perhaps no surprise in that Talbot had organised both, and the Archbishop was the principal speaker at both. The opening hymn was shared, *O God, our Help in Ages Past*, as were Handel's funeral dirge *The Dead March in Saul* and the *National Anthem*. The readings differed, Hebrews 11:32 – 12:3 in the Cathedral⁶⁵ and Revelation 7:9-12 at the Showground,⁶⁶ suggesting different sermons. But the order of prayers was the same, even though led

⁶³ *SMH*, 25 April 1917, p. 7, reports the march of returned men was headed by an especially embroidered flag prepared by the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Crawford Robertson, a two year project that was also to be adopted as the leading flag of the RSA – 'of scarlet silk, and in the centre there is a laurel wreath surrounding the initial letters of the Association, and around this, the names of a large number of the first contingent of returned wounded soldiers to arrive in Australia from Gallipoli.'

⁶⁴ John Williams, *The Quarantined Culture: Australian Reactions to Modernism 1913-1939* (Cambridge University Press; 1995) estimated that the AIF was more than 50% Anglican, p. 250.

⁶⁵ Hebrews 11:32 – 12:3 (King James Version) evokes the courageous of the past who are now like 'a cloud of witnesses', stadiums filled with the faithful departed, inspiring endurance through testing times: 'let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith'.

⁶⁶ Revelation 7:9-12 (King James Version) displays in vivid imagery the culmination of courage, endurance and faith in human history, the gathering in eternity of those who worship God: 'a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues'.

in the afternoon by the Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church, The Right Rev. Professor McIntyre who was also Chair of the State's Recruiting Committee. Four prescribed prayers were read: for the King and all in authority, for those engaged in war, in commemoration of the fallen, and for those in anxiety and sorrow. In this list was the essential composite of Anzac Day priorities: Empire and nation, the soldiers, both living and dead, and those in grief. These priorities demonstrate that the Day was not for the Anzacs alone, nor only for the returned men, and especially not for the beating of war drums. McIntyre's prayers ended liturgically with comfort and compassion to which in response all gathered joined in the Lord's Prayer, meaning that it was the afflictions of those suffering loss that were most immediately in hearts and minds as their voices rose together in supplication to God.

Not only had the Combined Service prayers ended on a note of compassion for those in grief, but a ceremonial tradition emerged focussed on women at the lower end of the Domain, close to where transport ships departed from Woolloomooloo wharves, a site that in 1922 became home to a Mothers' and Wives' Memorial. In NSW women were commonly acknowledged as bearing the heaviest burden and were invited to be present at commemoration.⁶⁷ Another example of this also emerged in 1917 with the building, on the edges of the city of the Anzac Obelisk, a war memorial marking the route of troops from their barracks to the troop ships. The road is now called Anzac Parade. From its unveiling shortly before Anzac Day it became for some ten years a focal point for wreaths to be laid by women, until the Martin Place Cenotaph finally gave the City its central war memorial in 1927.⁶⁸

Various dinners were organised for veterans, including one under the auspices of the Voluntary Workers' Café at which Hugh McIntosh, although having been ignominiously deposed as the last RSA President who had not enlisted, supplied the musical program.⁶⁹ In the evening, a patriotic ladies' night was held at the Town Hall where speeches traversed the three-fold mantra of 1916 that the day had been about tribute to the fallen, recruitment to replace the losses, and a commitment to remembrance into the future. On this occasion, billed as an Anzac Memorial Concert, returned soldiers, relatives of the fallen and dignitaries were treated to the 'premier

⁶⁷ *SMH*, 26 April 1917, p. 7. See also, Luckins, *Gates of Memory*, pp. 102-104 and 189-197.

⁶⁸ The Anzac Obelisk was unveiled on 15 March 1917. The Cenotaph, partially completed, was unveiled on 8 August 1927.

⁶⁹ *SMH*, 24 April 1917, p. 7.

choral society', the Royal Sydney Philharmonic Society singing across the spectrum of solemnity and joy. With Louis Spohr's *Blessed are the Departed* and Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus* from the Messiah oratorio, a distinct note of resurrection was evident in proceedings. Talbot spoke, drawing people's thoughts back to Gallipoli, alongside addresses by another Anzac veteran, the Lord Mayor and McIntyre in his role as Recruitment Chairman.⁷⁰

At the Showground, Wright also carried forward the remembrance pairing of grief and pride that had been present since news of the landing and the AIF's losses had first been received in 1915. The *SMH* noted the appearance of 'unbroken lines of black' amid the stands, a stark contrast to the 'customary glamour of colour' that would ordinarily fill such a venue, creating a mood accentuated by the playing of the *Dead March* and *The Last Post* – a 'tragically pitiful scene' that was 'silent with the emotion of a deep and common grief'.⁷¹ The experience of the Western Front had brought renewed horrors and sadness to the Australian community, significantly increasing the number of families afflicted with grief and anxiety. Anzac Day 1917 organisers were conscious that 'those who are fighting in France are entitled to the same honour'.

Into this sombre atmosphere Wright spoke of how the sunset precedes the sun rising, 'and it is in the hope of the sun rising that you pay your tribute to them today.'⁷² Further, he drew on the Scripture reading from the Book of Revelation which describes 'a great multitude from every nation, tribe, people and language' in white robes and presenting palm branches before the throne of God, in a heavenly scene made possible by the sacrificial death of Jesus and his resurrection to life that is God's victory over death. Wright emphasised that although those who fell in battle did not return in body, they 'came back transfigured', metaphorically conveying the truth that doing one's duty without counting the cost will be what prepared a people for such a promised Day. This entreaty was consistent with the Commemoration Prayer which had called for emulation of the self-sacrifice of those who 'have bravely fought and nobly died', so that all Australians might be found worthy of such sacrifice whilst the heavenly reunion awaited. The first Anzac Day messages in 1916 that

⁷⁰ *SMH*, 26 April 1917, p. 8.

⁷¹ *SMH*, 26 April 1917, p. 7.

⁷² *The Soldier*, 4 May 1917, p. 3.

connected both death and resurrection, the setting and rising of the sun, conjoined with succour in loss and the hopes for a nation rebuilding, had remained at the forefront of the public ceremony in 1917, presaging the next decade of Anzac commemoration.

Talbot reflected on the second anniversary containing once again the twin impulses of grief and rejoicing. He saw the day as ‘marked by an atmosphere of mourning for the loss of those whose death we commemorated, tempered by feelings of pride, love, devotion and loyalty aroused by the grandeur of their heroism’. The confusion of 1916 was not apparent. He noted ‘the spirit of carnival with its waving of flags, its wearing of buttons and medals, its street collections and its boisterous hilarity, was conspicuously absent.’⁷³ The casualties on the Western Front which had consumed the spirit of those at home between the first April anniversary and the second no doubt encouraged a greater sobriety.

A tradition of local gatherings on the Sunday either side of Anzac Day, which allowed for ease of participation in the large city gatherings, began in 1916 with an example being the unveiling on 23 April, Easter Sunday, of the war memorial in the inner suburb Balmain, according to Ken Inglis, the first civic memorial in Australia that listed names.⁷⁴ In 1917, on the Sunday following Anzac Day, Talbot officiated at a ceremony attended by more than 1,000 people assembled around a 20-foot cross with the word Anzac emblazoned in gilt lettering and a mass of floral displays, ensuring that, as a *Herald* journalist described it, ‘Everyone thus paid tribute in the language of flowers to the dead heroes’.⁷⁵

Wright also used his Synod platforms to speak about the war. He was determined to make sure hearers were not mistaken about what was at stake in the war – Germans were of ‘abnormal mentality... cold-blooded murderers’ who needed to be brought to ‘their senses’.⁷⁶ The sight of the wounds inflicted and the reality of losses, coupled with the return of Talbot, which doubtless provided him with an intimate first-hand account of the war, made Wright stronger in his condemnation of the enemy – ‘the home of an efficient but godless and debasing culture’. He expressed concern that

⁷³ *SDM*, 1 May 1917, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 103.

⁷⁵ *SMH*, 30 April 1917, p. 8.

⁷⁶ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the Third Ordinary Session of the Seventeenth Synod*, 24-28 September 1917, pp. 32-33.

internal bickering or acquiescence would embolden the enemy, skilled at 'turning the national life of a country against itself'. Concerned about the sectarian nature of conscription debate and responses to the referendum outcomes, Wright insisted that the church could not take sides in political debate, because of the need to follow 'the apostolic rule of obedience to constituted authority' and for Christians everywhere to express the 'brotherhood of all men in Christ Jesus.' But emphatically he warned of the German menace, and its consequences not only for the current generation but for those to follow.⁷⁷ Wright played his part in recruitment causes, often rousing the men,⁷⁸ and was later to lend his support for the Conscription referenda. Talbot, having seen the horrors of the war, found it more difficult to be publicly supportive, and sided with the returned men, many of whom were also reluctant to support more troops being sent to their death, as well as with workers. His reticence later led to a dramatic removal of support for his leadership of veterans.

Indeed, Wright's mind as ever was turning to the world after the war. Paramount was setting 'our house in order... so as to facilitate adequate response to opportunities at the end of the war'. This was a task he had assigned, beyond the ordinary work of clergy and other leaders in promoting more devotion in spiritual disciplines and behaviour, to the Social Problem Committee. The Committee reported that its aim, despite not finding it opportune at this point in the war to hold lectures or attempt 'public utterances', nevertheless was to be involved in 'special study' to consider 'how this Diocese may best co-operate' in 'the problems of social reconstruction after the war'.⁷⁹

Wright's Presidential Address to the 1917 Provincial Synod echoed this focus, exhorting members to look beyond wartime travails. He did not neglect the challenges that continued fighting presented. The war remained at a crucial juncture, he said, testing with sorrow 'every section of the community'. In response further duty called, as did the ongoing life of sanctification, of holy living, in honour of those who 'now watch us from the heights' – a direct use of the Hebrews passage employed on Anzac Day - and not only for individual benefit but for 'the common good'. But post-war reconstruction and the returning soldier also needed attention. Once war

⁷⁷ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1917, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁸ *SDM*, 1 September 1915, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁹ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1917, p. 109.

did come to an end, the battle-hardened would, in Wright's judgement, demand 'the abolition of all shams and of all appearance of them'. Confronting mortality rendered life's fragility more vividly, life's physical, emotional and spiritual challenges more starkly. Wright's injunction to clergy was 'to cultivate more deliberately the manner of men who deal with real things for real men', and 'teach the whole deposit of faith' not only those favoured sections 'wearisomely reiterated and frequently out of the context', a reminder of Wright's impatience for stereotypical sermons that blunted or exceeded the plain Gospel message of the Scriptures.⁸⁰ Further, he assured Provincial Synod members of his confidence that although soldiers had been surrounded by crucifixes across Flanders – a specific Catholic image in a sphere of Catholic influence - their views would not change: Roman Catholic beliefs were unlikely to be adopted; prayers *for* the dead, silent or spoken, were not going to be entertained; any prayer related to the fallen would be one of gratitude and remembrance.⁸¹

These were provocative charges to the members of the New South Wales Synod. The returning soldier was, in certain ways, to be an example to all, as someone who would no longer stand for an artificiality of faith ('the shams'), and who would desire a full and rich encounter with the Living God from his Word ('the real things'). Liturgical change may be required, albeit in the form of adaptation rather than 'great upheaval'. For Wright 'the truth of God ought to interpenetrate every moment that we live', there being no 'licensed exceptions'. The language of 'licensed', used in the sense of giving permission, was a subtle rejoinder to those who did not share his crusading zeal against business licensing relief: for the protection of Sunday from commerce, Good Friday from the Royal Easter Show's attractions, and for early closing of hotels, as well as for other moral borders that were being tested by claims of exigency such as raising funds for war aims through raffles. Moreover, in these charges were signals

⁸⁰ Anglican Church Synod of the Province of NSW, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1917, pp. 24-27. The reference is to Hebrews 12:1, 'seeing we also are encompassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight'. Post war 'reconstruction' is the word used by Wright in his address. Similar entreaties referencing reconstruction were made by Wright in the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*. See, for example, 1 September 1918.

⁸¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1917, p. 3, reporting on Archbishop Wright's address to the NSW Provincial Synod 1917, p. 26. A crucifix displayed the figure of Jesus on the cross, a symbol of sacrifice, and is the more common image found in the Roman Catholic tradition. It differs from the Protestant tradition in which the cross is plain, without a crucified Jesus, symbolising that Christ's work, in his death *and* resurrection, is complete.

that would suit Anzac Day, its sacredness and its ordinariness, and that it would remain both faithful and flexible.

By year's end, Wright and Talbot had arrived at unexpected points. War without end was affecting Wright with a weariness increasingly underlying his words of encouragement to the Diocese. Earlier in 1917, he had spoken hopefully, vested in the decision of the United States of America to enter the war, and the Easter Sunday victories by the Canadians at Vimy Ridge, harbingers of ultimate and looming victory for the Allies. But the Archbishop had again girded the spirits of an equally deflated people to begin another year at war. Intimating, as in 1916, the connection between Anzac Day and Easter in his monthly pastoral letter dated 23 April 1917, Wright sounded a troubled, almost exasperated note in the demands of a never-ending conflict. The constant refrains in his monthly bulletins were for perseverance and prayer. As the second Anzac anniversary approached, he reflected, 'Is it that we are beginning to see the dawn?'. The Easter news that had brought a glimmer of light to the horizon had also caused him to remain circumspect and conclude 'But the full day is still far away'.⁸²

Talbot found himself at odds with those who had so recently extolled his commitment. The RSSILA NSW Branch, as the RSA now was - Talbot having shepherded through the State's official admission to the new national organisation established in 1916⁸³ - took umbrage at his apparent defence of strikers during the second conscription debate. The NSW Executive Committee resolved that Dean Talbot 'did not share their views, as they strongly support the maintenance of law and discipline, the settlement of industrial disputes by the Constitutional means provided, and the continuance of our assistance to the Empire by the utmost use of all the available resources of the Commonwealth'.⁸⁴ Talbot agreed with the Committee's Empire sentiments – stating that the destiny of Australia was enmeshed with 'the Empire of which she is an integral part',⁸⁵ and disputed accusations that in

⁸² *SDM*, May 1, 1917, pp. 3-4.

⁸³ The significance of Talbot's role in the formation of the national body is evident in a 75th anniversary message from the National President of the RSL, Brigadier Alf Garland, who wrote in 1991 that the aims and objectives of the RSL 'have stood the test of time' remaining those 'written by the NSW President Senior Chaplain Dean Talbot in 1917'. *Reveille*, November/December 1991, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Roslyn Russell, *The Search for Social Justice – The Protestant Churches and the Labour Movement in N.S.W. 1914-1919* (Masters' thesis, University of Sydney; 1987), p. 69.

⁸⁵ *Church Record*, 7 December 1917. Quoted in Russell, *The Search for Social Justice*, pp. 106-107.

his speeches he had been 'disloyal to the cause of King and Empire in the great conflict'.⁸⁶ But he had stepped too far for the veterans' movement. The courage of his convictions and fearlessness in church life, attributes that were often praised outside it, were not as highly valued by the RSSILA leadership when it came to their own communion. *The Soldier* reported:

As was excepted (sic), after the resolution passed by the N.S.W. Branch of the R.S. & S.I.L, Colonel Dean Talbot has resigned the Presidentship. The Dean had given utterance to views sympathetic to the strikers at the meeting of the Anglican Synod, and to this the committee of the Branch took strong exception, expressed in the form of a resolution. The result was inevitable. When the President of a body is censured by his Committee, there is only one course open for him to take. The Dean took the proper course – as gracefully as possible, and his resignation was accepted, members of the Committee expressing their appreciation of the valuable services he had rendered in the past.⁸⁷

Others reacted differently. Shortly after Talbot had made his initial remarks about the workers needing to be treated fairly, *The Advocate* indicated that if the Church of England had more men like Talbot 'we would probably hear less of that Church losing its hold on the masses'.⁸⁸ Talbot's comments at Synod were described by *The Church Record* as 'the most generally discussed topic in Sydney' that week, and marching workers parading past the Cathedral's Chapter House created a rolling clangour of applause in signal of their support.⁸⁹ *The Australian Worker* felt it had cause to agree: 'Christ and Dean Talbot walked arm-in-arm in Sydney'.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Colin Bale, 'Albert Edward Talbot (1877-1936): The Second Dean of St Andrew's Cathedral', in Edward Loane (Ed.), *Proclaiming Christ in the Heart of the City: Ministry at St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney* (Sydney: St Andrew's Cathedral; 2019), p. 113.

⁸⁷ *The Soldier*, 7 September 1917, p. 27.

⁸⁸ *The Advocate*, 25 August 1917. (A weekly newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne.) Quoted in Russell, *The Search for Social Justice*, p. 72. For detail of his comments, see *SMH*, 18 August 1917, p. 12.

⁸⁹ Quoted in Stuart Pigginn and Robert D. Linder, *Attending to the National Soul: Evangelical Christians in Australian History 1914-2014* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing; 2020), p. 58. *SMH*, 18 August 1917, p. 12.

⁹⁰ *Australian Worker*, 23 August 1917, p. 17. Quoted in Russell, *The Search for Social Justice*, p. 83.

Wright's growing weariness and Talbot's rejection did not hinder their work. In 1918 preparations for Anzac Day that year continued under the pall of news of casualties on the Western Front. Cryle remarks that Sydney stood alone among State capitals in reporting larger attendances in the midst of rising fatalities.⁹¹ The effect of the decline in interest elsewhere was not felt in church services but was most evident in the march and evening patriotic meetings. In the context of tens of thousands more casualties since Anzac Day 1916, and the abundance of grief, Cryle concludes that church was viewed as 'a more appropriate form of commemoration than any other on offer'.⁹²

Sydney's Anzac Day in 1918 was marked by a ceremony at noon in the Domain at the Woolloomooloo Gates, headed by Salvation Army Chaplain Major William McKenzie, followed by lunchtime church services. This was not the original plan of the organisers, the RSSILA which, without the broad public leadership of Talbot had stumbled over the most basic of issues. They had sought to dictate to the churches by suggesting the creation of a solemn 'Anzac Sunday', three days after Anzac Day, a special Sabbath for church attendance so that Anzac Day would be the preserve of the returned soldier. The RSSILA State President, Brigadier-General Alex Jobsin, also sought to extend control over Anzac Day by writing to mayors across NSW inviting them to establish Anzac Committees to organise local events in accordance with the general plan for the Day, which he indicated should involve a march followed by suitable entertainments.⁹³ But the veterans' leadership had not reckoned with soldiers' families and with church leaders. With only a week left before the third Gallipoli anniversary, Sydney's Domain and city church services were gazetted. Wright, tactfully acknowledging the 'desire... of relations of many of our gallant soldiers', ensured Anzac Day 1918 reflected the pattern of the first two anniversaries.

As a consequence, form up for the march had to await the conclusion of the luncheon services, with commencement scheduled for 3.00 pm and a reunion dinner in the early evening. The serendipitous conjoining of church and returned soldiers' hierarchies in the form of Talbot as President of the RSA had ensured seamless co-ordination in 1917. His absence from RSSILA leadership in 1918 proved notable in

⁹¹ Cryle, *Making the One Day of the Year*, p. 182.

⁹² Cryle, *Making the One Day of the Year*, p. 183.

⁹³ *SMH*, 8 April 1918, p. 8.

the hastiness with which arrangements were eventually made. The timings settled upon enabled someone grieving, such as a mother or wife, to bring a wreath to the gates, thence to attend a church service and view the procession, much as had been the case in 1916 and 1917.⁹⁴

The newspapers of 26 April were full of reports for a Day that had its recognisable rhythms. The 'open-air' service, ending with countless wreaths being tied or pinned to the departure gates by a procession of women led by the Governor's wife, Lady Davidson, and the 'grand procession' of returned men in the afternoon, with its own equally poignant ending – cartloads of wreaths destined for the Anzac Obelisk, prompted 'silent thoughts for the brave dead'.⁹⁵ Wright issued a fresh Litany of prayers for the 'Present Crisis' and preached the sermon at the Cathedral focussing on the 'numbering of our days' and the pressing need for wisdom. It remained a solemn occasion – prayers for those serving and in commemoration of the departed 'were rendered the more solemn in that they each followed moments of silent prayer', noted the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*.⁹⁶ Graciously, Wright in the morning, and Talbot in the evening, marked 'Anzac Sunday' on 28 April at the Cathedral. Wright's message was that 'the spirit of carnival and the spirit of Anzac could not both be consistently cultivated', a comment that belied his commitment to the sacred nature of Sunday. By 'spirit of Anzac' he was referring to the need for sacrifice and service, bespeaking 'the solemnity of life'. Silence was again employed, during the playing of the Dead March, as an act of respect for the fallen.⁹⁷ Shortly after these two 'Anzac Days', Wright issued a call for another Day of Prayer, on 1 May, observed by the Protestant churches, 'for our armies and ourselves, and for thanksgiving for the heroism and endurance of those who fight in the Allied cause'.⁹⁸ Anzac Day 1918 was conducted amidst this familiar atmosphere of solemnity and gratitude, and, despite attempts to fashion an occasion focussed on the returned men alone, the tradition of inclusivity prevailed, of soldiers and their families, of churches and the RSSILA, of leadership and participant alike.

⁹⁴ *The Sun*, 21 April 1918, p. 14, and *SMH*, 19 April 1918, p. 8.

⁹⁵ *SMH*, 26 April 1918, pp. 7-8. Luckins, *The Gates of Memory*, p. 100, suggests some two hundred wreaths were borne on horse-drawn carriages.

⁹⁶ *SDM*, 1 May 1918, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁷ *SDM*, 1 May 1918, p. 8.

⁹⁸ *SMH*, 20 April 1918, p. 7.

Various other dates still stood in 1918 as solemn days for remembering the war dead. As well as Anzac Day, Empire Day, 24 May, and War's Commencement, 4 August, remained on the commemorative calendar. Empire Day, with a Cathedral service overseen by Talbot, provided him with the opportunity to extol the British Empire as an example of Christian toleration and Christian liberty, identifying the war as one long fight for these freedoms.⁹⁹ Broader community engagement occurred around the fourth anniversary of war's commencement. The NSW Government decreed five minutes' cessation of all work on Saturday 3 August 1918 at 10.30 am. A public patriotic gathering followed at the Town Hall at 11.00 am. Church services were to occur on the actual anniversary date, the next day. A United Intercession Service was held on Tuesday 6 August, claimed by Wright as a clear demonstration of the union of those in public life and 'all the great Christian communities, except one', the one being the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰⁰ Wright had tired of its hierarchy's non-involvement in public commemorations designed to unify Australians, and remained opposed to any creeping Anglo-Catholic practice within the Church of England.¹⁰¹ But being ever vigilant, Wright declaimed the need for renewed attention to be given to young people's education to counteract Roman Catholic propaganda.¹⁰²

The Diocesan Synod of 1918 was held from 30 September to 11 October. By this time in the war's last year, victory was edging towards reality. For many Christians, it remained a 'Holy War' but Wright did not stress such Manichean proclamations. He continued pressing his two wartime aims – the need for an even 'deeper intensity and persistence in prayer' and the practical and spiritual care of the soldier. The

⁹⁹ *SDM*, 1 July 1918, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ *SDM*, 1 September 1918, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰¹ The Roman Catholic leadership had explicitly stayed away from joint ceremonies designed to pay tribute to the sacrifices overseas, including intercessory occasions in churches and town halls, and often played a separatist line on the battlefield as chaplains, practices that highlight the inherent sectarianism that is based in theological and liturgical differences. McKernan states that he does not deal with theology. See Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-1918* (Sydney and Canberra: Catholic Theological Faculty and Australian War Memorial; 1980), p. 2. A consequence of this decision is to misunderstand the role expected of Roman Catholic priests to administer the last rites and provide confessionals in the field, and at home to prevent parishioners joining commemorations with Protestants. These are matters not merely of practice but of substantial theology. The question of a person's fate after death, the need for individual confession of sins through an intermediary priest, are of such importance that for the sake of integrity a Roman Catholic could not be casual about their significance. And so substantial were these issues and similar matters of contention like prayers for the dead and whether communion was a form of remembrance or a re-enactment, that Archbishop Wright regularly took stands against them. By ignoring theology, McKernan underestimates not only its importance, but also its direct bearing on practice.

¹⁰² *SDM*, 1 September 1918, p. 4.

latter had been a huge undertaking of the Church of England: the work of many chaplains at the camps, the Cathedral's Soldiers' Welcome Tent, staffed by volunteers, where Wright noted over one hundred thousand attendances had been recorded in the past year (around three hundred per day), and in the new initiative headed by Canon Garland of 'Overseas Huts' in the Middle East and the Western Front.¹⁰³ Synod members were left in no doubt that the turn towards post-war demands was now more urgent and that the Social Problem Committee, in Wright's view, 'should be placed in the forefront of our activities'.¹⁰⁴

The Committee's report to this Synod, its second annual report, noted that it had met frequently, run a course of lectures, and begun lecturing in the Domain. The lecture titles give a flavour of the Committee's broad focus – under a general rubric of Social Unity, subjects included the New Testament, Family Life, Citizenship, Capitalism, Labour, Religious Divisions, and Reconstruction on a Christian Basis. The list reveals that unity, which was to be sourced in the Scriptures, was to be a governing aspiration not only in the Church and in the family, but in the community among citizens, and between industry and worker.¹⁰⁵ The Committee was reappointed for a further year with Talbot as its senior member and frequent speaker,¹⁰⁶ along with other intellectual luminaries of the Sydney scene, among them St Paul's College Warden Rev. Arthur Garnsey and Moore College Principal Rev. Douglas Davies.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Wright's commitment to the needs of soldiers in the early months and years of the war cannot be doubted as claimed by McKernan who collects up initiatives in Sydney into sweeping statements about the slow responses generally of all churches. It may be the case that, as McKernan says, Roman Catholic Archbishop Kelly did not appoint a permanent chaplain to Liverpool Camp until early 1916 and did not oversee the erection there of a permanent building for Catholics until January 1917, but it is incorrect to throw the Anglicans into this scenario. See McKernan, *Australian Churches and the War*, pp. 102-105. Sydney Anglicans, by contrast, were quick to respond to the outbreak of war. Talbot and others were at the enlistment camps from their inception in August 1914 and Talbot visited and preached whilst en-route to his honeymoon in early September that year. Regular reports appear in the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine* from a collection of chaplains under the Home Mission Society Chair Archdeacon Martin and others. And there was tremendous pride in the Cathedral grounds tent erected soon after Talbot's return in 1916, again managed by Martin, aided by the Archbishop's wife, Mrs Dorothy Wright, who was already actively providing support to soldiers from the Cathedral in 1915. See Piggins and Linder, *Attending to the National Soul*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁴ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the First Ordinary Session of the Eighteenth Synod*, 30 September – 11 October 1918, p. 53.

¹⁰⁵ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1918, p. 197.

¹⁰⁶ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1918, p. 113.

¹⁰⁷ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the Second Ordinary Session of the Eighteenth Synod*, 22-26 September 1919, p. 140. In succeeding years work gathered pace with reconstruction in peacetime now the imperative. Courses of lectures continued (they are reported being held weekly by the 1920 Synod report), outdoor propaganda in the Domain on every Sunday afternoon (only temporarily allayed due to the flu epidemic), study circles (not unlike the Group movements in the United Kingdom), and publications. The Australian Christian Social Union continued apace with the Anglican

Wright continued to commend its work to readers of the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*.¹⁰⁸

The Armistice of 11 November prompted Wright to acknowledge that ‘the very flower of our manhood’ had secured the victory which now ensured peace. But this was not to be a time for national pride to assert its brand of unifying mantra. The constant injunctions to prayer and a humility that would see God thanked were Wright’s version of the foundations of national stability.¹⁰⁹ Talbot was to echo these emphases in his address at the Domain Thanksgiving Service on 13 November, finding in the co-operation demanded by the work of war the style of co-operation now needed for the work of peace. The challenges of unity and of reconstruction, of reintegration of the veteran and the assuaging of the bereaved, would need more than shallow claims of nationalism, the dangers of excess in this realm being all too apparent, according to Wright, in the example of post-revolutionary Russia.

Both Wright and Talbot saw clearly the need to care for the wounded and to memorialise the dead. Echoing Talbot’s and Premier Holman’s language on Anzac Day 1916, Wright declared that ‘The first claim upon us lies there’, referring to ‘gallant men... maimed in our defence’. Permanent memorials, which he had made clear would be a post-war not a wartime duty, were now a priority. He laid the foundation stone for the first Victory Chapel at a girls’ school in Waverley shortly after the Armistice. But in the immediate aftermath of war, it was thanksgiving that was all-consuming, albeit with loud joyfulness on the streets and respectful decorum inside churches and town hall gatherings. The *Sydney Diocesan Magazine* expressed concern for how the ‘shattered nerves’ of soldiers and the painful mourning of the bereaved might bear up under the ‘babel of sound created by whistles, sirens, hooters, and bells’ that had enveloped the city for three and a half days, from Friday’s first indications of surrender, through to its reality on the Monday (8.00 pm Sydney time), 11 November, 1918.¹¹⁰

Committee forming the Executive, and with Talbot continuing as Chair. Topics of lectures included the Kingdom of God, headlined by Talbot, and Karl Marx received treatment across a four-lecture course. See also Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the Third Ordinary Session of the Eighteenth Synod*, 14-18 December 1920, 18-22 April 1921, pp. 154-155.

¹⁰⁸ *SDM*, 1 September 1918, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ *SDM*, 1 December 1918, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ *SDM*, 1 December 1918, pp. 4, 10 and 12.

It was to Talbot that the State Government turned to organise, with little notice, the Armistice Day thanksgiving on 13 November. Some 250,000 people were reported to have gathered in Sydney's Domain, a little more than twenty-four hours after news had been received in Australia that the armistice had come into effect. The crowd was larger than any that had previously gathered in Sydney. Among them were thousands of returned soldiers and nurses. A familiar combination of Christian hymns, prayers of gratitude and humility, and bugle calls, resonated with their feelings of triumphant relief. Anticipation of a grand and unified occasion channelled much of the 'babel of sound' of the previous thirty-six hours, a period that had witnessed mass rejoicing across the city. Many would have welcomed the prospect of loved ones returning home, the certainty that no more volunteers would be needed to venture across seas to almost certain ordeal.

Talbot, giving an address at the Domain, spoke of those who had died achieving victory: 'we must not fail to remember ... the immortal ones who gave their lives that this great victory should be consummated.' To those whose lives had been spared he enjoined, in words corresponding with Wright's post-war emphases, 'You have grandly co-operated for the purposes of war, so you must co-operate for the purposes of peace'.¹¹¹ He painted a picture of the 'immortal' Gallipoli dead 'rising from their graves', echoing Archbishop Wright's injunction on the first Anzac Day commemoration in 1916.¹¹²

Responses to Talbot's speech suggest many of those present believed it to be exceptional. *The Soldier* wrote that nothing like it had been heard before, noting that 'as the Dean concluded, a roar of applause rolled from the great sea of upturned faces', and that it was 'a speech that will long live in the memory of those who heard him'.¹¹³ The *Sydney Morning Herald* recorded that his address was regularly punctuated by applause.¹¹⁴ Talbot, the Gallipoli veteran, had taken the audience back to the Dardanelles, to the foundations of Australian pride:

¹¹¹ *The Soldier*, 15 November 1918.

¹¹² *SMH*, 'United Service – A Great Scene – Archbishop's Panegyric', 26 April 1916, p. 11. *The Soldier*, 15 November 1918, p. 5.

¹¹³ *The Soldier*, 15 November 1918.

¹¹⁴ *SMH*, 14 November 1918, p. 7.

Gallipoli has been garrisoned for the last two years by Anzacs – men who are immortal – whose graves are on the peninsula; and we can imagine them rising from their graves.

The service in the Cathedral held on 24 November, the officially designated Day of Thanksgiving, included at Wright's bidding a period of silence where all congregants stood 'to honour those whose deaths had made our joy possible', according to the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine* account.¹¹⁵ The Archbishop preached from Psalm 126:3, 'The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad.' Sober gladness was the tone he wished to set. Talbot pursued the theme with a message that the victory of peace belonged to God and involved duty and opportunity, echoing his earlier injunction of 'co-operating in war, now co-operating in peace'. The Day of Thanksgiving had been intended as recognition that a nation is subject to the sovereignty of God.

Governor Walter Davidson reiterated the spirit of 'sober gladness' and confirmed his satisfaction with the religious note being struck in marking the 'victorious peace'. His encomium of the Archbishop bore testimony to the stature of Wright in the public square: 'Under the wise and benign presidency of the Primate, the Churches had been drawn together on a common platform, so as to render to God the thanks of the whole community'.¹¹⁶ The choice of words was significant. Not only was God's role in the affairs of citizens and nations to be widely acknowledged, it was the role of the Church of England Primate to make it known. And the whole community presumably meant the Protestant community, the Roman Catholic Church under Archbishop Michael Kelly once again refusing to participate.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *SDM*, 1 December 1918, pp. 12-14.

¹¹⁶ *SDM*, 1 January 1919, p. 6.

¹¹⁷ Bob Birrell, in *Federation: The Secret Story* (Sydney: Duffy and Snellgrove; 2001) notes that amidst the state schools' ascendancy in the late nineteenth century, 'The Catholic hierarchy subsequently pursued a strategy of isolating its flock from the Protestant community' which had the effect of preventing Catholic involvement in the public square. See p. 68. This approach evidently persisted in the early years of Anzac ceremony. But it is not consistent with the evidence to claim, as many do, that religion had little or no impact on Anzac Day due to this divide. For example, Beaumont qualifies any 'natural identification' of Anzac Day with religion because of sectarian tensions, *Australia's War 1914-1918* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin; 1995), p. 163. As Reynaud states, to the contrary, religion was fundamental: 'churches were intimately involved in Anzac Day remembrances from the start', and sectarianism as expressed in the conscription debates did not strictly mirror religious divides: 'support or opposition to conscription was not easily determined by religion, class or any other single factor.'

At war's end, Wright remained the dominant ecclesial figure in Sydney. And Talbot had reclaimed his mantle, once more admired by veterans and depended upon for his oratory and organisation. Together they had fashioned a new tradition of Anzac Day, but just as the third anniversary in 1918 had tested commemorative unity among the city's leadership, the first year of peace presented fresh challenges. The experience of war cast a long shadow. Soldiers, sailors, and nurses, many wounded physically and mentally, were returning in greater number, switching the focus of governments, churches and civic organisations from recruitment to repatriation.¹¹⁸ Rebuilding national spirit needed to account for damaged veterans and families. The focus on health was also affected by the influenza epidemic which was to leave its mark on arrangements for Anzac Day in 1919.

Remembrance in Peacetime

The Spanish influenza outbreak in Sydney during 1919 did not prevent the Cathedral functioning, although numbers of attendees were presumably smaller. The seven-week long restrictions on public gatherings in confined spaces and the requirements to wear masks when outdoors, in place until 15 May, affected Anzac Day arrangements although they were lifted in time for Empire Day. Given the difficulties encountered with Anzac Day the previous year, the State Government had asked Talbot to chair a meeting hosted by the Mayor and involving the Governor and the Premier to plan Anzac Day in 1919. Ironically, the major effect of the flu was felt by the RSSILA with the march of returned soldiers cancelled by the Government.¹¹⁹ The Domain ceremony, with Salvation Army Chaplain William McKenzie preaching, and church services were still conducted, with attendances reported as largely unaffected. With Anzac Day falling in the school holidays, churches stepped in and organised special services for children.¹²⁰

'Religion - Australia', *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net> (2019).

¹¹⁸ For descriptions of the challenges of the immediate post-war environment see Stephen Garton, *The Cost of War: Australians Return* (Oxford University Press; 1996), Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia* (Cambridge University Press; 1999), and Marina Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs: Living with the Scars of War* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press; 2009).

¹¹⁹ *SMH*, 25 April 1919, p. 10.

¹²⁰ *SMH*, 23 April 1919, p. 11.

Many soldiers, without march preparations to occupy them, attended at the Woolloomooloo Gates. Mask-wearing heightened solemnity at the Gates and did not prevent hymn-singing, albeit unaccompanied as bands were absent. As was his custom, McKenzie recounted the bravery at Gallipoli, emphasising the splendour of the sacrifice that gave 'Australia... a name and a glory that will never die'.¹²¹ The principal character of this service, and its essential messages, were embedded in its organisation by women - the Woolloomooloo branch of the Centre for Soldiers' Wives and Mothers - and in its setting, the wharf from where bereaved womenfolk had last seen their loved ones as they departed for distant shores.

At the lunchtime Cathedral service, Wright preached on the eternal nature of Anzac Day itself, taking as his text, 'What mean ye by this service?' from the Book of Exodus, Chapter 12 verse 26. The chapter recounts God's salvation of the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt, the commemoration of which became the most important ritual day in the people of Israel's festival calendar, the Passover Ceremony. Wright intentionally promoted it as Australia's own national day of eternal remembrance. The equation with the Scriptural refrain of rescue and restoration, death and resurrection maintained the Anglican leadership's wartime theme that speaking of sacrifice be consistently interfused with hope. The essential character of Anzac Day lay in its genesis in 'solemn memory not as a day of jubilation', but also 'a day of prophecy' that has 'revealed the glorious possibilities of the Australian people'.¹²²

In their sermons on Empire Day, Wright and Talbot extended their reflections and encouragement on the theme of unity in peace. Wright preached from Nehemiah, a book of the Old Testament about the post-exile rebuilding of Jerusalem; 'in peace, reconstruction was imperative, as it was in the days of Nehemiah', reported the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*. Talbot followed up at Evensong with a message that peace, and the freedom it had preserved, depended upon unity of 'morality, trade, government, and politics', an injunction that connected personal duty with society and economy, along with those charged with orchestrating their affairs.¹²³ Wright could rely on Talbot to preach a consistent message reflective of their own unity in thought and practice.

¹²¹ *SMH*, 26 April 1919, p. 17.

¹²² *SMH*, 26 April 1919, p. 17.

¹²³ *SDM*, 1 June 1919, p. 10.

The Archbishop, however, laid low by the epidemic illness, left Talbot alone in managing the Day of Peace on 19 July. He read the King's proclamation preceded by trumpet fanfare, in the presence of the Governor General, the Governor, the Premier and members of his Cabinet, the Lord Mayor, consular representatives, and District military chiefs. He also preached, from the Book of Isaiah, chapter 32 verse 17: 'And the work of righteousness will be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever'.¹²⁴ Talbot urged the august gathering, in words reported in the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, that they thank God for the peace, they acknowledge God's help in securing it, that the sacrifices involved were not in vain, and the virtues that made that sacrifice possible were now to be called upon in post-war society – 'the spirit of duty and of service and self-sacrifice'.

Not uncommonly for preachers and believers, two things were regularly held in tension.¹²⁵ At this early time of reflection on the war, from a stance of peacetime, the work of maintaining and enjoying peace as Wright and Talbot presented it was the work of God *and* of humans. Every good and perfect gift comes from God and so the gift of peace is also from his hand. And yet the peace had been secured by men's sacrifices, by the labours of mortals. Similarly, Australia had within it stores of national character that, having been drawn upon in the times of crisis, would now be needed to solve the problems of peace. Australia was not a perfect nation but there was good that 'God could honour and use for his purposes'. There may be a time for war and a time for peace,¹²⁶ but over all was the same God, and in all was the same humanity. There were problems needing the endeavours of virtuous people to solve both in war and in peace. The same virtues that helped in solving war would now serve the people in solving peace.

Talbot explained to the leaders of Australia and NSW on this Day of Peace that they led an imperfect nation. This sentiment did not recount the war as a Manichean contest of good versus evil, although various leaders, clergy, military and political, had at times drawn such an equation. But it did fit the notion, often used by Wright

¹²⁴ *SDM*, 1 August 1919, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁵ According to Timothy Rosendale such tension lies at the heart of the liturgical form of the Anglican Church. He has described The Book of Common Prayer as holding 'in tension two radically different discourses... It discursively constructs a Christian nation characterised centrally by order even as it elevates individual discretion over that order'. *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England* (Cambridge University Press; 2007), p. 110.

¹²⁶ Ecclesiastes 3:3.

as well, that it was in humility as well as gratitude that the gift of peace must be received. As in the words of Isaiah from which Talbot preached and with another tension embedded in its words, the righteousness is not a moral one but both a temporal and an eternal one. It had wrought a peace on earth after four and a half years of violence, and it pointed to the heavenly peace, 'the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance *for ever*'. The end of the war was not a time for national aggrandisement. Nor was it a time for relaxation as though the fruits of hard work were now to be enjoyed. It was a new time, when the challenges of peace, of pursuing an upright life and a prosperous, unified nation remained, all the while pointing, as the prophet Isaiah, to a greater day of peace when Jesus' return heralds the eternal rest.

Wright used his Synod address in 1919 to enjoin the church to help meet the demands of a post-war society. He began with thanksgiving to God which must be 'uppermost in our thoughts' followed by heartfelt acknowledgement of the 'brave self-restraint' of families whose sons and daughters had set out as soldiers and nurses with 'calm courage' to face 'unknown hazards'. 'Unexampled magnitude', 'peril', and 'ghastly terror', were the phrases Wright chose to capture their experience of 'the most tremendous and desperate war in all history'.¹²⁷ His comforting words were vividly placed alongside his personal agony during the war as he revealed that, in a ministry previously not publicly known, he had spent hours on almost every troopship that departed Sydney between June 1915 (shortly after the Gallipoli landings) and October 1918 (the last troopship to leave Sydney), often before dawn, speaking 'individual words of farewell', exceptions being only through illness or absence.¹²⁸ His leadership during the war could not be doubted, founded as it was on integrity of word and deed. The appeal to the Church, upon which 'special demand is made', was that returning men looked to it for 'action and leadership'. The call of the dead was 'to make our rescued land worthy of their great sacrifice' and the Church was to lead reconstruction as 'Trustees of the revelation of the living God'.

¹²⁷ Anglican Church Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, *Votes and Proceedings of the Second Ordinary Session of the Eighteenth Synod, 22-26 September 1919* (22 September 1919), pp. 47-50. The inclusion of women in these remarks is noteworthy. Italics mine.

¹²⁸ Colin Bale notes that Archbishop Wright saw to it that all soldiers leaving Sydney had a New Testament and sometimes a Prayer Book as well. See Bale, 'In God we Trust: the impact of the Great War on religious belief in Australia', in Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson (Eds.), *Donald Robinson Selected Works: Appreciation* (Sydney: Australian Church Record/Moore College; 2008), p. 305.

The charge had its quotidian rationale as well. Wright viewed the Church of England, 'our ancient Church', as having 'special responsibilities both because of our numbers and of our historical traditions in the life of the people from which we spring'. Almost half of the population identified as Anglican at the time and the Church's heritage of Empire were reasons enough for the lead to be set. Much as Governor Davidson had valourised the community-wide leadership of the Church of England and its Primate, Wright enjoined his Synodsmen that this was an occasion to 'be seized'. It was in the Gospel and its proclamation of the Kingdom of God that genuine peace would result, although Wright expected this to be manifest in public support for the League of Nations ('the idealism that designed it is Christian') and public demonstrations of unity among Christians, promising signs of which had occurred during the war, the United National Intercession Service in the Town Hall on 6 August 1918 being cited. In unity, a new era of peace was possible, and war's 'ghastly terror' should prompt determined efforts for unity among believers, among nations, and in a renewed Australia. Fidelity of those 'bound by loyalty to our Heavenly Master' would ensure His Kingdom could be the new rule for a post-war society.

The first anniversary of the Armistice brought a year of official and public thanksgiving to an end. The King's 'wishes' for a two minutes' silence were fulfilled during a short service at the Cathedral. 'The allotted space of silence was passed in prayer', recorded the *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*.¹²⁹ Significant though the first Armistice anniversary was, the month of November was a busy one at the Cathedral in preparing for post-war ministry. Bishops from regional NSW (Bathurst), Victoria (Melbourne), and South Australia (Willochra) preached, war correspondent Dr Bean gave an address on India to the Communicants Guild, and E. S. Marks, a successful athlete who had during the war been a member of the State Recruitment Committee and Citizens' War Chest Fund, spoke to the CEMS. Prayer days and special litanies were now directed at the drought. Annual meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Heralds of the Kings were held, as were clergy conferences on religious education in schools. The demands of peace were not to be underestimated for churches and clergy. The work of mission, of reaching the city and nation for God, and the needs of the bush and foreign lands were all present at once. It had been a world war, touching into the households of small towns across Australia. And the

¹²⁹ *SDM*, 1 December 1919, p. 10.

families and households of towns and cities now faced a time of peace, guided by Wright and Talbot's leadership in the largest city and the largest State, with the same domestic and world imaginations of wartime.

In a continued commitment to building up local capacity, Wright declared that the Diocesan Peace Thankoffering Fund be primarily for the training of clergy at Moore Theological College to meet the needs of an expanding Diocese. The Cathedral's Welcome Tent closed on 31 December 1919, with the AIF largely now returned from overseas. Although soldiers' needs continued, the work transitioned into the daily life of parishes and chaplaincies, a task that remained with the Home Mission Society. In three and a half years, thousands of meals had been provided on the Cathedral grounds amidst rest and recreational offerings. Attention now turned to building capacity at new Soldiers' Settlements in Kurrajong and Matraville. The end of 1919 provided a bookend to the intensity of war's exigencies. The shift in focus was already evident in the events of November and December that year.

Throughout the War, Archbishop Wright and Dean Talbot had led Sydney in commemorating those who had died. From their pulpit at the Cathedral they had spoken directly to those in mourning, to families and the wider community. They routinely did so in front of the most senior figures in Australian society, Governors, Premiers, leaders of other denominations and faiths, military personnel, judges, and veterans. The *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, initiated by Wright and for a time edited by Talbot, was used to communicate key messages about war and, later, peacetime challenges. They both led the Sydney community in public occasions of remembrance, particularly on Anzac Days. And they had ardently embraced Anzac Day as a new national day to commemorate the fallen and to give thanks to God for his deliverance of Australia and the British Empire from war. A staunch but humble Evangelicalism and a comfort with and commitment to working in the civic domain equipped them to lead Sydney's earliest Anzac Days. Four years of Anzac commemoration had confirmed the position of Anzac Day. It was a day that had not existed before 1916, but it was now impossible to imagine a year without it. And in Sydney, a distinctive Evangelical theology and practice had provided a foundation for the shape of the Day and its features.

These issues of theological distinctiveness are by no means esoteric or immaterial. They are important because they go to the heart of the future of the dead. When

Wright and Talbot were considering how to best help individuals and the community respond to the sacrifices of war, they couched their appeals in a liturgical form that spoke directly of the afterlife, not of an uncertain disembodied soul as in Theosophy (which purported to explain ‘ghostly’ appearances of the dead or audible evidence of their presence) or Roman Catholicism (which proclaimed a purgatorial stasis), but of a physical body in Resurrection glory and a hope that could be based also in the certainty of God’s revelation contained in the Scriptures.¹³⁰

Theosophy and similar beliefs with common origins in nineteenth-century Spiritualism, a collection of emerging groups which claimed that the living could make contact with the dead, did not command popular support. According to Jill Roe the official census listed only 1,102 members in 1921 with a total of 4,332 Australians claiming allegiance to Spiritualism.¹³¹ Newspaper reports of the visit to Sydney of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in 1920 for a lecture tour in support of the Spiritualists recorded his claim of 10,000 adherents but Donald Hansen considers this wildly exaggerated.¹³² The various movements, loosely grouped by commentators with the

¹³⁰ In Jay Winter’s view, the differences between Protestant and Catholic approaches to war remembrance led to different cultures of commemoration, and are evident in memorial, liturgical and textual representations. ‘Beyond Glory? Cultural Divergences in Remembering the Great War in Ireland, Britain and France’, in John Horne and Edward Madigan (Eds.), *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution, 1912-1923* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy; 2013), p. 136.

¹³¹ Jill Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press; 1986), pp. 383, 385. Roe noted that the Sydney lodge ‘was reputedly not only the largest but also the richest theosophical lodge in the world’ (p. 262) although its high point appears to be 1920-1921 with a reported membership of 800. Including suburban lodges, Roe estimated, based on Theosophical Society records (p. 213), that there were 2309 members in 1921.

¹³² *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 1920, p. 5, referenced in Donald Edgar Hansen, *The Churches and Society in New South Wales: 1919-1939* (Doctoral thesis, Macquarie University; 1978), p. 385. In a chapter exploring non-traditional religions in the period (pp. 373-405) Hansen showed that in fact numbers of declared adherents of these two movements declined in New South Wales from a peak of 901 in 1911 to 428 in 1947, although apart from the census, there are no precise figures for 1921, the year Roe cites as the peak. There may have been more people willing to state they were a Spiritualist or a Theosophist that year given Conan Doyle’s 1920 lecture tour for the Spiritualists. His renown as an author would have added to the interest in his lectures but attendance cannot be equated to commitment. Hansen acknowledged that the visit prompted an ‘unprecedented local interest in spiritualism’, evidenced by advertising for meetings in daily papers that followed his visit, and that newspaper reports, particularly in the *Daily Telegraph*, were enthusiastic about the occasions, noting attendance by ‘every class and grade in the community’ and ‘the people present were almost all in sympathy’. But Hansen also concluded that these reports ‘do not reveal which of these who were present were actually Spiritualists,’ or regularly attended other Spiritualist meetings or seances (p. 386). International claims about the rise of interest in Spiritualism face similar evidentiary hurdles: David Cannadine, ‘War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain’, in Joachim Walley (Ed.) *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London: Europa Publications; 1981), states ‘there were more than a quarter of a million adherents of Spiritualism in mid-1930s Britain’ but provides no support within the essay for the claim (p. 229); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge University Press; 1995) devotes a chapter to the ‘movement’ on the basis ‘of the prominence of leading spiritualists’ after the war and ‘the widespread belief in the paranormal among soldiers’ (p. 55). The latter claim bundles together a host of folkloric and

appellation 'Spiritualism', had famous names attached, some leading and sponsoring inquiry into what science might have to say about other-worldly experiences such as séance-induced communications with the dead, or about the possibilities of new technologies, wireless and photography among them, and of psychological experimentation. But the involvement of Conan Doyle and others like physicist Sir Oliver Lodge who, as President of the British Association in 1914, was among the Society's representatives in Australia that year, did not result in a significant following.¹³³

When on 13 November 1918 Talbot quickened the imagination of some 250,000 listeners at Sydney's Domain in his Armistice Thanksgiving Address to envisage the ghosts of fallen soldiers being summoned, he was not taking 'part in a resurgent, popular mythology of reunion and contact with the dead'.¹³⁴ Talbot was enthusing his audience to look forward to a resurrection day of pride and reunion with loved ones, explaining that those who fell on the battlefield wait with anticipation like the Biblical cloud of witnesses employed by the writer to the Hebrews. The clear rejection by Wright, during the war, of prayers for the dead also excluded any suggestion that dalliance with the 'popular mythology' of Spiritualism would have been tolerated by Sydney's Anglican leadership.¹³⁵

superstitious practices which Winter acknowledged were not as pronounced among British soldiers as among Catholic and Orthodox faiths that left room for their proliferation. See Chapter 3: 'Spiritualism and the Lost Generation', pp. 54-77. Among the prominent identities discussed by Winter, artist William Longstaff's own views on the matter are in the next Note. The claims in relation to writer Rudyard Kipling and artist Stanley Spencer are overstated. In claiming that any work of the imagination that conjures images of the dead can be categorised as 'spiritualist' because it 'shares the imaginative space in which spiritualism flourished', p. 76, the category mistake is made of assuming a work of art is a statement of an author's belief or at least reveals something of the author's beliefs. In relation to Kipling, he may have written a few poems based in the appearance of ghosts but his enduring legacy includes the phrase 'Their name liveth forevermore', inscribed on Great War Stones at Commonwealth War Graves Cemeteries, which is taken from the Book of Ecclesiasticus and, in the context of the prevailing British civic Protestantism, functions like a prayer of remembrance at the entrance to grave sites, the emphasis being on the memory of the dead not their ghostly reappearance. And in relation to Spencer there is almost no clearer presentation in interwar art of the resurrection of the body that involves reunion of the living with the dead than in his paintings, variously titled *The Resurrection*. See also, Paul Gough, *Dead Ground: A Cultural Reading of Memoryscapes from the Great War 1914-1918* (Bristol: Sansom and Co; 2018), p. 109, 'Spencer thought of Resurrection as a "Last Day", a time of reconciliation'.

¹³³ Conan Doyle is recounted by Winter as attempting to claim William Longstaff's famous painting *The Menin Gate at Midnight* as a spiritualist work, but Longstaff would have none of it, making it clear 'he wasn't a spiritualist'. Winter quotes Longstaff as saying 'I do not paint ghosts' and that his soldiers moving towards the remembrance at Ieper (Ypres) merely 'symbolize the dead'. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp. 60-61.

¹³⁴ Patrick Porter, 'Beyond Comfort: German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War 1919-1929', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (October 2006), p. 275.

¹³⁵ This is not to suggest that Sydney's leadership had little interest in earthly needs. Martin Spence, in *Heaven on Earth: Reimagining Time and Eternity in Nineteenth Century Evangelicalism* (Cambridge University Press;

Wright believed that the war had prompted 'a new spiritual outlook' but it was one predicated on ecumenism among Protestant denominations. He had organised the Sydney Conference on Reunion, held on 28-29 March 1922, calling together representatives of Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches. 'A new atmosphere had been created', he said in his Opening Address, 'so far as the relationships between the Churches were concerned, by the trying experiences of the years of war; and with the coming of peace, the need for unity amongst Christian men and women was felt with increasing urgency. That was the new spiritual outlook'.¹³⁶ The experience of the chaplains at the Front was on the mind of another senior Anglican speaker in stressing their 'driving force' for such a move. But despite the close working of Catholic chaplains with their Protestant counterparts during the war, the Catholic Church remained outside these ecumenical initiatives.¹³⁷

Talbot's experience at the front, working alongside various chaplains and soldiers of non-Anglican adherence, contributed to his effective public leadership of combined Anzac Day ceremonies. The ability to engage with all classes found expression in his connections to the Labor Party and the workers it represented, as well as of course to the nascent veterans' movement finding its feet as the Returned Soldiers' Association. For Talbot this broad engagement even extended to Roman Catholics with whom, as at Gallipoli, he had felt no danger in standing in shared responses to the needs of soldiers and workers.¹³⁸

2015), p. 30, has argued that evangelicals of this time, despite a transcendent outlook that has been mistaken in the literature for having no concern for the everyday world, were especially interested in social and economic improvement, as a means of working towards the fulfillment of the Kingdom of God, when God's judgement is revealed.

¹³⁶ *SDM*, 1 August 1922, pp. 17-19. Note also Wright's earlier injunction (*SDM*, 1 February 1914, p. 8) that although not able to use the same prayer-book, 'they were bound together by the same old Bible'.

¹³⁷ According to Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin; 1987), p. 190, 'the 1922 New South Wales election campaign was probably the high point of sectarian politics in Australian history.' Militancy of Catholics post-war found expression in the Labor Party and other political outlets, provoking a Protestant reaction which successfully coalesced around Premier Fuller's conservative coalition, led from 1922 to 1925. The emergence and rapid rise of Fuller's successor, Labor Party leader J. T. Lang, who was loosely allied with specifically Catholic causes, but not with the Roman Catholic Church, was a boon to commemoration, his Premierships coinciding firstly from 1925 to 1927 with the decision and funding by his Government of the Cenotaph and second from 1930 to 1932 with maintaining the momentum for the Anzac Memorial Building in Hyde Park.

¹³⁸ In many instances at the Front, a chaplain was a chaplain, not a Methodist, a Catholic or an Anglican. The example of Talbot and Methodist Chaplain James Green conducting services together at Gallipoli is commonly cited. Talbot, who had worked closely with Roman Catholic Father Edmond McAuliffe in Gallipoli found, back in Sydney, he could share a platform with him on Eight Hour Day. *Australian Worker*, 4 October 1917, quoted in Russell, *The Search for Social Justice*, p. 108.

Talbot continued to be a powerful public presence in Sydney in the years after the war. It was his oratory, intellect and experience that lay at the foundation of his influence. He was still capable of drawing forth heightened encomiums. At the 1922 Diocesan Synod his speechmaking (in support of the Archbishop's lead on a matter of vital importance in church affairs) was reported as having 'brought forth an ovation as from an audience clamantly demanding an encore from some favourite artist'.¹³⁹

Preaching on Anzac Day 1922, Talbot spoke of how the day represented the emergence of 'traditions which enabled us to acquit ourselves honourably right through the war, play our distinguished part in the victory, and take our place as a nation in the councils of peace.' In stressing the significance of the date, he embraced the entire war experience of Australians from German New Guinea to the Armistice. The Day was for all the fallen of the war and for all those who served. It was at Gallipoli that Australia entered 'the actual arena of the war' and revealed the 'greatness of our... character'. Anzac Day observance would be a matter not of pride in our own strength, but of humble thanksgiving to Almighty God.¹⁴⁰ Talbot's text for the sermon was Exodus 12:14, 'This day shall be unto you for a memorial'. This text had become a favourite of both men with the Passover providing a plethora of connections to the idea of Anzac Day. The Israelites' Passover ritual had been instituted to ensure the act of divine salvation was forever remembered. The rescue out of bondage in Egypt was a defining intervention by their God in their national history. The ritual of remembrance was still being observed fifteen hundred years later when Jesus celebrated the Passover with his disciples transforming it into one of remembrance of his pending death on the Cross and resurrection. Drawing the connection between the past and the future in the work of remembrance, Talbot enjoined his hearers, we do well to erect monuments to the service and sacrifice of the Anzacs, but the worthy monument would be 'fostering the Anzac spirit and cultivating the Anzac character', for the peaceful development of Australia.

The primacy of Anzac Day did not mean that other days didn't also have their importance – for example, Hill 60, Lone Pine, and the Mission to Seamen were all marked at St Andrew's, and Empire Day retained its place in commemoration

¹³⁹ *SDM*, 1 November 1922, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ *SDM*, 1 May 1922, pp. 7-9.

programs. But Talbot was outlining how Anzac Day spoke of Australia's whole experience of the war. In the United Kingdom, Armistice Day had become the focus of national remembrance, but in Australia a different experience was being remembered. The clear establishment of the Anzac Day tradition persisted even after the institution of 11.00 am on 11 November. The King had proclaimed a new ritual for use on Armistice Day in 1919 that was taken up across the Empire, but Australia's focus on Anzac Day remained undiminished. The Empire's sovereign had successfully brought to life a new way of remembering the war each Armistice anniversary, but in the early 1920s so pre-eminent was Anzac Day that the observance of war's end in Sydney had fallen into a fragile state, prompting the RSSILA to complain to the NSW Government about its lack of commitment.¹⁴¹

The power of Australia having its own day of remembrance, a national day, consolidated after war's end. From 1924, with the passing of the insertion of Anzac Day in the *NSW Banks and Bank Holidays Act*, the Day's place was assured. The NSW Government was approached by a deputation of church and civic leaders on 11 September 1924 in an attempt to settle what could and could not occur on Anzac Day. As Wright recorded, it was 'a most influential deputation'.¹⁴² Although the group was convened by Dr Mary Booth, President Of the Anzac Fellowship of Women, it was Talbot who took the lead in discussions with Colonial Secretary Charles Oakes. Reports of the meeting with the Secretary emphasised the 'sacred observance' sought by the delegates but there was a range of opinion as to what was intended by reference to the 'sacred' nature of the Day.¹⁴³ A concept of 'rigidly sacred' in the Secretary's view would have led to a full 'closed day', language that permitted no commercial activity or entertainment and which 'would have been fraught with considerable difficulty'. The principal concern, expressed by Talbot, was not for complete restrictions, but 'to keep this day free from mere pleasure and indulgences.' Patriotic meetings and demonstrations were acceptable, as were picture shows or theatre, but protection was needed against those who would 'exploit' the Day for

¹⁴¹ *SMH*, 4 November 1924, p. 8, and 6 November 1924, p. 8. Some early Armistice Day commemoration events were timed to match those being held in the UK at 11.00 am GMT. For example, a 1920 Armistice ceremony was held in the evening at a time to coincide with the interment of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey – see *Ex-Service Women's Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1921), p. 3.

¹⁴² *SDM*, 1 October 1924, p. 2.

¹⁴³ *SMH*, 'Anzac Day. Legislation Urged. Sacred Observance. Sympathetic Reply to Deputation.', 12 September 1924, p. 8.

their own gain. Identified as 'exploiters' were those who held race meetings and those who sold liquor, the indulgences offered through these mediums being gambling and drinking. Such opportunities would be distractions from the purpose of a day which was 'sacred to the memory of the dead and to Australia'. The outcome was in accord with Talbot's suspicions of 'false distinctions between the secular and the sacred',¹⁴⁴ and with Wright's reading of 'public opinion' which 'seems to approve of a dual note in our celebration, the morning for some religious service, the rest of the day for happy recreation.'¹⁴⁵ The two halves model that had been the practice for Anzac Day in Sydney since 1916 was cemented in State legislation.¹⁴⁶

Wright's vehicles were manifold. He preached from the Cathedral pulpit and in the public square. He wrote pastoral letters to the Diocese and ministered to almost every soldier and sailor to leave from the shores of Sydney. Church councils at city, State and national level were his platform. His metier was liturgical innovation and he was trusted by political, civic and Protestant leadership. What he said and did mattered to many Sydneysiders of all classes and along the political and theological spectra. It would have been impossible for Anzac Day to emerge on the scale it did, with more than sixty thousand people attending the 1916 Combined Service in the Domain, without Wright's blessing and his central participation. Michael McKernan identified Wright as an exception among church leadership of the time. Imploring his

¹⁴⁴ *SDM*, 1 July 1928, p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ *SDM*, 1 May 1929, p. 2. John Pegum reports on a similar proposal made in 1925 by The Earl Haig - the British Empire Force's commander-in-chief during the war and at the time President of the British Legion - that Armistice Day should be shaped like Anzac Day and involve morning thanksgiving and afternoon rejoicing. John Pegum, 'The parting of the ways: The Armistice, the silence and Ford Maddox Ford's *Parade's End*', in Trudi Tate and Kate Kennedy (Eds.), *The Silent Morning: Culture and Memory after the Armistice* (Manchester University Press; 2013). The Day, however, was, by the end of the 1930s, observed on what became known after the Second World War as Remembrance Sunday.

¹⁴⁶ Alistair Thomson has stated that, 'most Anzac Day promoters perceived no contradiction between mourning and celebration, and the duality was embodied in ritual. The RSSILA and Premiers' Conference recommendations of 1922 and 1923 called for memorial services in the morning and patriotic addresses and carnival in the afternoon; later this duality was embodied in the sequence of a Dawn Service followed by the Anzac Day march and unit reunions. As the day progressed, mourning would thus be ritually transformed into celebration'. *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Monash University Press; 2013, 2nd edition), p. 155. In this analysis, the duality of the day is accepted and as a result of a process – in the tradition of Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, (University of Chicago Press; 1960, originally published 1909) who described the flow of ritual through separation, transition and reintegration - not as a consequence of a disruptive break, but as a removing of shackles that would dictate that one part of the day belongs to a particular section within society and the other part to a completely separate group. It is only in seeing the unity of the day for all its participants, civic leaders, veterans and grieving families, that the Anzac tradition can provide explanation for an Australian identity, patriotism or sense of nationhood. It is a Day for all people, a morning of solemnity preceding an afternoon that provides for the return to the everyday, the essential mobilising for ongoing life as a society, as a nation, after the calamitous losses on the battlefield.

flock to consider eternal matters even whilst beset by the fears and spite of the war, according to McKernan, 'did fly in the face of opinion inimical to Christianity', that was not welcoming of 'a restrained, cautious attitude'.¹⁴⁷ The Anzac Day that emerged in Sydney successfully married the consoling power of traditional liturgical forms of Anglican worship with symbols that had wide understanding, appeal and a sense of rightness in the context of wartime disruption. This rightness involved an Anzac Day that consoled the living, for the fallen were examples of courageous duty and unquestionably worthy of a nation's gratitude. It also involved a commemorative day of sacrifice that was to be matched by the living in facing the challenges of renewal in a post-war society. Anzac Day remembrance embodied this spirit of hope as well as mourning. It looked to the future as well as back to the past. It paid tribute to the dead by speaking of the resurrection hope.

Wright argued that the church had an opportunity from the war's impact, in that people would turn to the church for comfort and understanding, that revitalisation of the church would be a desirable outcome of such tragedy. Any berating was targeted not at the 'person in the street' but at the men and women in the pew, at the church itself which needed to put its house in order if it was to be of broader appeal in a time of crisis. His constant refrain and practice were calls to prayer. It did not fit the Sydney evangelical outlook to contend, as Patrick Porter does, that 'chaplains invoked the Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition, interpreting wars as an inner cleansing as well as a struggle against God's enemies.' Official commemoration in Sydney involved no 'preaching to afflict'.¹⁴⁸ Such 'affliction' demanded a transformed society, one obtained through chastening, through belief in the motivating power of guilt, but this attitude did not conform with a Protestant theology of grace. In his words and actions, Wright was of a different measure altogether, establishing an environment for civic Protestantism to prevail in the creation of Anzac Day.

Conclusion

The repeated emphasis in the approach of Archbishop Wright and Dean Talbot to the commemoration of war was that of *resurrection*. Both of them fashioned a

¹⁴⁷ McKernan, *Australian Churches and the War*, p. 38. Unfortunately, only a passing reference which, if more had been made of the difference, could have tempered some of McKernan's emphatic conclusions.

¹⁴⁸ Porter, 'Beyond Comfort', pp. 265 and 289.

distinctively Australian rite of commemoration that amplified resurrection hope. The establishment of Anzac Day as the principal day for remembering Australia's wartime sacrifices, rather than the alternative of Armistice Day, provided opportunity for a patriotic focus on Australia rather than on British 'Deeds of Empire'. It also provided room for their orchestration of Anzac Day ceremony to be underpinned by their theological commitment to Evangelicalism.

They insisted on coupling death and resurrection, mourning and thanksgiving, grief and pride, so that it encompassed the full Good Friday/Easter Sunday message of hope in sacrifice. In doing so, a unique Sydney approach to marking the Day emerged, one that resisted attempts to characterise the new national day as one of solemnity alone, which approach ultimately prevailed as competing State-based distinctives later diminished. Their Sydney Anglican theology, dominant in its time, explains Anzac Day commemoration practice that was first performed in Sydney in 1916, and of which much remains recognisable and is observed by Australians to this day.

The themes of certainty and immediacy in the dead soldier's destiny, an assurance for the living that they will be reunited with loved ones in heaven on the day of resurrection, was a bold but consistent statement of Wright and Talbot's evangelical theology which underpinned their approach to Anzac Day. It provided a doctrinal rationale for Anzac Day's two halves, secured through legislation in NSW in 1924 but founded on what was put in place on the first commemoration in Sydney in 1916, and for both solemnity and joy to be present, as well as pastoral comfort that Christ's resurrection was the first fruits of the final harvest on Judgement Day. The appeal to hope in the bodily resurrection of the dead and the reunion of the living with them in heaven would have been familiar to hearers in Wright's and Talbot's time. And it delivered assurance that, as with the thief crucified next to Jesus at Calvary, it could be confidently said of those who had lost their life on the battlefield, 'Today, you will be with me in Paradise'.¹⁴⁹

The representation of these beliefs in ritual and symbolic form is at the heart of Anzac Day ceremony. An examination follows in Part II of three essential motifs in the Anzac commemorative tradition which evoke not only the sacrifices of wartime

¹⁴⁹ The Gospel of Luke 23:43.

but also the resurrection hope found in Jesus. The use of wreaths in Anzac commemoration, the framing of a formal period of silence in public ritual, and the commencement of Anzac Day ceremony at dawn, each emerged early in the formation of Anzac liturgy. Wreaths were laid at commemorations of the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. Momentary formal periods of silence were declared at Anzac Day services in Sydney and elsewhere in 1916, which on later formal occasions became bracketed with The Ode, and The Last Post and Reveille, meaning that from the first Anzac Days, these symbolic gestures were routinely evident. The emergence of the 'dawn service' occurred later, in Sydney in 1928, but it immediately established itself as Anzac Day's 'distinguishing' form. Wreaths, silence, and dawn function as *wordless* symbols, but each motif *spoke* of resurrection confirming Wright's and Talbot's commitment to an Anzac Day shaped by their evangelicalism.

Part II

The Foundations of Anzac Liturgy

Chapter Three

Wreaths

Wreaths (and images of them) have been used as components of Australia's Great War remembrance practice from the earliest instances of memorials and ceremonies through to the present time. It can safely be said that everyone who has participated in an Anzac ritual has laid a wreath at a gravesite or memorial, or witnessed a wreath-laying, or stood before a memorial that has a wreath as part of its imagery.

Despite the ubiquity of wreaths, there has been little examination of the presence of wreaths and of wreath-laying ritual in Anzac commemoration. How wreaths came to have such a central role in war memory and what meaning is communicated by their use needs to be placed in the context of British nineteenth century funerary, military and sporting traditions. In turn, how these traditions drew on those of ancient civilisations, within a process of Christian adoption and adaptation, and their transmission to the Australian context will be explored.

At the time of the first Anzac ceremonies in 1915, the wreath was already a commonplace at funerals, especially at those conducted in public settings. The habit of wreath-laying is ingrained in the commemoration of those who died in war. The latest RSL guide to commemoration prescribes a wreath as an appropriate tribute on Anzac Day.¹ Participants and observers have no difficulty recognising the appropriateness of the wreath in this context. In a study of the language of war memorials, Gill Abousnnouga and David Machin suggest that, 'Modern viewers are more likely to immediately link the wreath with the notion of death as it is commonly used as a floral tribute to the dead in funerals'.²

In Australia, a wreath is customarily a circular hoop of foliage. At its simplest, it comprises a woven collection of branches, either of vine leaf or, more traditionally, an evergreen such as laurel. It is more common today for this weave to provide the

¹ RSL (NSW), *Protocol and Procedures Regulations* (2014), Chapter 10. Accessed at <http://assets.rslnsw.org.au>

² Gill Abousnnouga and David Machin, *The Language of War Monuments* (London: Bloomsbury; 2013), p. 108. The comment is made in an examination of the Cardiff First World War Memorial.

base for a floral display. In Australia, a native flower such as a yellow wattle or red/orange banksia commonly form the spray.³

The traditional circular wreath is the preponderant style used in commemoration. Another floral form is the chaplet or fillet which takes the shape of a heraldic open-fronted array, suggestive of the shape of a horseshoe or lyre.⁴ The term 'wreath' may also refer to a garland, whether worn as a headband, or draped around the neck. Crowns and diadems, non-floral forms that are at times loosely referred to as wreaths, have a wide range of interpretive possibilities, although principally denote royalty. Crowns feature in our discussion as their symbolic heralding of victory has connection to a wreath laid in tribute to a fallen soldier, but it is the circular floral wreath that is ubiquitous in memorial imagery and commemorative practice throughout Australia.⁵

This symbolic recognition of the dead functions in the same way as that of any representation in memorial design of a cross or a sculpted digger, a stone cairn or altar, an urn or flame, each of which draws on pre-Christian or classical meaning to inform its metaphorical relevance. In the years leading to the Great War, however, these classical references were remade through the prism of Christian formal ritual, civic spectacle and folkloric amalgams. Transcending eras, the wreath is imbued with a long heritage of discernible semiotic power. A wreath is a symbolic ritual vessel that combines both grief and pride into a unique tribute to wartime sacrifice. In typical

³ In Britain, the common wreath used is circular but is constructed of plastic red poppies. This form is rarely sighted in Australian commemoration, although the symbolism of a single poppy, a wildflower that breaks through barren ground, speaking of life renewed after the spilling of life on a battlefield, is employed as a lapel decoration or, in a recent tradition that emerged at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra following the interment of an Unknown Soldier in 1993, inserted against the name of a fallen Australian on the Roll of Honour. Poppies are also placed on coffins as part of the RSL Tribute in military funerals. For a discussion of the symbolism of the poppy in war commemoration, see Nicholas J. Saunders, *The Poppy: A Cultural History from Ancient Egypt to Flanders Fields to Afghanistan* (London: OneWorld Publications; 2013), and Jennifer Iles, 'In Remembrance: The Flanders Poppy', *Mortality*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (August 2008), pp. 201-221. Iles notes (pp. 209, 219) the British enthusiasm for poppies is not shared in Ireland – on the occasion on 11 November 1998 of the opening of the Island of Ireland Peace Park in Belgium, whilst Queen Elizabeth II and King Albert II of Belgium laid poppy wreaths, the President of Ireland Mary McAleese laid a laurel wreath. President McAleese did so again in June 2004 on the occasion of the Park's expansion when the British Minister for Northern Ireland presented a wreath of poppies.

⁴ The British Legion Website offers for purchase poppy chaplets as well as a range of traditional wreaths. See www.britishlegion.org.uk/remembrance/how-we-remember/wreaths.

⁵ This variety in nomenclature appears in historical discussion of the use of wreaths in death practices and of their symbolism for remembering the dead, and it is therefore useful to be aware of the differences. For a helpful examination of the differences and their importance in interpreting gesture, see Gregory M. Stevenson, 'Conceptual Background to Golden Crown Imagery in the Apocalypse of John (4:4, 10; 14:14)', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 114, No. 2 (Summer 1995), pp. 257-272.

form, it speaks directly through its floral symbolism and circular construction to evoke the resurrection hope. The twentieth-century appropriation of the wreath for remembrance was a gradual incorporation of existing cultural habit that was transposed from Victorian and Edwardian Britain.⁶

Given the immediate appropriation of the floral gesture to mark death in the Great War, transforming what had been common private custom and occasional public practice into a familiar cultural norm, it is not surprising that the ubiquity of wreaths would draw infrequent comment. The discourse offered was invariably limited to the fact of their presence and the name of the tribute-giver as well as sometimes decorative descriptions. Floral tributes just existed and were offered. The practice of laying a wreath at a war memorial as a mark of respect for those who are being remembered in ceremonies such as Anzac Day or Remembrance Day was referred to as being 'for the fallen' but little other commentary about meaning appears to have emerged then or since.⁷

The ubiquitous temporal association of wreaths and death may persist, as Abousnnouga and Martin have claimed, but much of the semiotic articulation of a wreath has not. What is actually being said in the act of wreath-laying is now a fading echo. The presence of a wreath is a common-place, and immediately connected with paying tribute in response to death, but discussion of its meaning, its 'monument language' to use Abousnnouga's and Martin's term, is rare.

Alina Payne remarks that a view has developed in the twentieth century that sculptural add-ons or ornaments such as a wreath emblem were no more than wasteful, anachronistic, or suspect, and so 'tended to be left out of discussions and remain on the periphery of scholarship to this day'.⁸ Donald Richardson widens the absence of discourse beyond 'embellishment' to the entirety of constructed

⁶ Foreign dignitaries throughout the world routinely pay homage on visiting another country by laying a wreath and pausing in silence before memorials or tombs of unknown soldiers.

⁷ The symbolism of individual flowers being offered is also of importance but not specifically considered in this thesis. Examples would include visitors to the Australian War Memorial placing a poppy on the Roll of Honour as described in Note 3, or the King and Queen of The Netherlands choosing to place a sunflower at the Canberra Memorial to the victims of the MH17 Plane Crash during their official visit to Australia in 2016, the plane having crashed in a sunflower field. During this visit, the royal couple also laid a traditional circular floral wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Australian War Memorial. See also, Note 101 of this Chapter for further discussion of tributes in relation to MH17.

⁸ Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* (Yale University Press; 2012), p. 15.

compositions saying, 'the power of visual metaphor is rarely discussed... despite the fact that it is the sole justification for the form' of a memorial.⁹ Neither seeks to correct the lack of discussion about the wreath as symbol. Although Anzac Day is replete, from dawn to sunset, with acts of tribute involving the laying of circular floral wreaths, this element of ritual extends back beyond the emergence of the Anzac legend itself, even into the earliest of civilisations, but particularly draws on and adapts practices in the second half of the nineteenth century and the decades before the Great War.

Roots in Antiquity

The association of floral tributes and death can be traced throughout human history. Evidence of such use of flowers in the context of burial has been reported as early as 13,700 years ago in a cemetery-like collection of human burials in Mt Carmel, Israel.¹⁰ Although there was no particular suggestion that their appearance in these graves had any votive or other symbolic dimension, it appears to be the earliest record of flowers and not just green foliage being used for the purposes of beautifying a grave and providing aromatic concealment. These practical considerations make sense when there is a body actually present, for example when a body needed to be on display for a family to pay respect, or whilst transported in a casket to its resting place.¹¹

Beyond the power of flowers to add bright colour to a sombre scene and sweet smell to cover the odour of putrefaction, anthropologist Jack Goody locates symbolic

⁹ Donald Richardson, *Creating Remembrance: The Art and Design of Australian War Memorials* (Illinois: Common Ground; 2015), p. 93. Richardson, in this remarkably comprehensive survey, has little to say about the specific symbolism of a wreath and how it would be perceived, but the book's cover image of an iconic Australian war memorial demonstrates how fundamental it is to a typical memorial setting: the image is of a sculpted digger atop an obelisk with lists of soldier names and a wreath laid on its stepped plinth.

¹⁰ Dani Nadel, et al, 'Earliest floral grave lining from 13,700-11,700-year-old Natufian burials at Raqefet Cave, Mt Carmel, Israel', *PNAS* (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences), Vol. 110, No. 29, (16 July 2013). Accessed at www.pnas.org.

¹¹ In a Greek tradition recorded by Agnes Lambert, 'The Ceremonial Use of Flowers', *The Nineteenth Century: a Monthly Review*, Vol. IV, No. 19 (September 1878), p. 475, we learn of the distribution of 'chaplets' after banquets, perhaps as a sign of satiation or at least completion. These 'garlands' were then worn both as a signal of libation, and also for the restorative benefits of certain scents for both the wearer and those in company with drunkenness. This suggests an intriguing possible connection to the Dawn Service origin story where at the Cenotaph in Sydney five veterans wandering 'home' after a night of celebrating in the early hours of Anzac morning encounter the woman with flowers ready for tribute.

meaning first emerging in Chaldean and near-Eastern sacrifice practices, noting that ‘remnants of garlands’ were found with Tutankhamen who had been entombed in the fourteenth century BC.¹² Further ritual or symbolic use has also been traced as far back as 3,000 years ago through an archaeological find in Lancashire, United Kingdom. In 2016 the remains of a thistle were found amongst other votive offerings including food, clothing and tools, all suggestive of necessities in another life.¹³ This period around 1000 BC brings us close to that of Homer, whose writings *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* indicate that the use of constructed floral displays or ornamentation was embedded in Greek funeral and ceremonial actions.

This is apparent in the duties and powers of Athenian magistrates who, around the turn of the first millennium BC, also performed priestly roles because the ‘laws’ to be upheld were considered religious in nature (akin to the duties of the Judges in Ancient Israel).¹⁴ The wearing of myrtle crowns to allow ascension to the Acropolis was described by nineteenth-century scholar Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges.¹⁵ The Acropolis, as a site of cultic sacrifices, further connected civic activity with religious symbolism. Similarly, Walter Burkett also identified the use of myrtle wreaths in funerary rites – they were placed by the magistrate as decoration around cemetery steles at sacred ceremonies honouring those who had died in battle.¹⁶ Such a heritage illustrates that floral offerings to deities or to denote a sacred performance had a routine presence in ancient civilisations. When Sir Thomas Brown, in a 1684 pamphlet aimed at capturing then public fascination with flowers and public rituals, said ‘The use of flowry (*sic*) Crowns and Garlands is of no slender Antiquity’, he was bringing together an inquisitiveness, hundreds of years later, not only with the nature of floral expression but also with the persistence of rituals from earlier times.¹⁷

¹² Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge University Press; 1993), pp. 33, 38-39.

¹³ Natalia Klimczak, ‘3,000-Year-Old Pressed Flower Found Inside Axe Handle at Bronze Age Burial Site’, *Ancient Origins*, 4 October 2016. Accessed at www.ancient-origins.net.

¹⁴ Judges 2:16-19. The events recounted in the Book of Judges are considered to have taken place in the two or three centuries before the first millennium BC.

¹⁵ Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome* (New York: Dover Publications; 2006, originally published 1874), p. 180.

¹⁶ Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (University of California Press; 1972, trans. by Peter Bing, 1983), p. 57.

¹⁷ Thomas Brown, Of Garlands and Certain Coronary or Garland-plants, *Certain Miscellany Tracts - Tract II* (London: 1684), p. 89.

It was not until Agnes Lambert presented two essays, the first in 1878 and the second in 1880, that a detailed account of the roots of the phenomenon in antiquity was available.¹⁸ Lambert exhaustively chronicled the use of flowers, focussing on a belief in an afterlife across Pacific, Asian, American, African and European cultures throughout history. Directly connecting these expressions across eras, throughout the world and among all classes of people, she claimed:

that from the earliest and most archaic times, in all countries and places, throughout the ups and downs of civilisation, even in this great century of scientific enlightenment, young and old, rich and poor, the simple and the lettered, the sovereign and the subject, have ever sought to give expression to the deep-rooted and most cherished beliefs and aspirations of mankind.¹⁹

These beliefs included the use of floral tributes designed both to facilitate the passage of the dead safely to an afterlife, and to provide a level of assurance and comfort to the living. Offerings of flowers in Greek and Roman times were seen as a 'universal wish that the tombstones of departed friends might be light to them', indicating that 'after burial the grave was constantly crowned and adorned with wreaths' akin to 'a perpetual springtide'.²⁰ Whether wearing garlands in mourning - Homer recounts the people of Thessaly wearing crowns of amaranth at the burial of Achilles - or leading funerary processions with sprigs of evergreens, the association of floral tributes of victory and the afterlife with death and burial practice was common. Homer, and later Greek and Roman practice, clearly associated the wearing of a crown, either in life or in death, as denoting everlasting victory or existence. Homer also recounted the story of the departed crossing the river Styx being granted safe passage on 'Amarantine bowers'.²¹ This conception was not isolated to Western

¹⁸ The first essay, published in 1878, was followed two years later with 'The Ceremonial Use of Flowers: A Sequel' in *The Nineteenth Century: a Monthly Review*, Vol. VII, No. 39 (May 1880).

¹⁹ Lambert, (1880), p. 827.

²⁰ Lambert, (1878), p. 473.

²¹ Rev. Hilderic Friend, *Flowers and Flowerlore* (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein; 1884), p. 582. Lambert (1878), p. 472, offers a tantalising equivalent folk custom in the United Kingdom. The Dorsetshire coast fishing season is said to begin with 'the old pagan custom' of fishermen in Weymouth, on the First of May, putting 'out to sea to cast on the waves garlands' not as a thank-offering, but as a propitiatory offering. It is only a small number of steps from this superstitious practice to recognising a wreath cast on the seas as a remembrance of sailors whose lives had been lost in battle, and then to hoping for their safe passage to the afterlife. Indeed, Lambert makes such a connection describing the survival of this practice as 'another link in the chain' that could be

heritage. In some other cultures - one example of many offered by Lambert is that of the Samoans – it was the custom to wreath the head of the deceased ‘in order to secure the admission of a departed spirit to the joys of their paradise’.²²

Lambert concludes her initial survey of the ancient practices by asserting that ‘the use of flowers was at a very early date adopted by the Christians in connection with their religious and social celebrations as it is easy enough to trace the survival, or revival or independent growth, in this nineteenth century and in our own country, of most of the primitive and ancient customs’.²³ According to Lambert the practice of flowers being used in marking death was well known by the late nineteenth century.

Nineteenth Century Britain

The appearance of a specific association of flowers with funeral rites in nineteenth century Britain can be traced to the 1860s. A contemporary chronicler, Richard Davey, in a compendium of funeral practices in Britain and Europe, remarked that, ‘The fashion of sending costly wreaths to cover the coffin is recent, and was quite as unknown in Paris twenty years ago as it was in this country until about the same period.’²⁴ Writing in 1889, Davey suggested that although it was in the 1860s that a number of practices were visible including the custom of garlands of flowers at funerals, and a possibly Norman one, ‘now obsolete’, of hanging them on the porch of a deceased’s house,²⁵ these remained localised, a folkloric tradition that had persisted in spite of the Protestant Reformation seeking to curb such ancient rituals.²⁶ At more public and national levels, British authorities had not yet encouraged floral displays in the face of death. This situation was contrasted by Davey with that observed on the Continent at the funerals of King Victor Emmanuel in Rome in 1878, where wreaths are pictured laid end-to-end along the steps of the coffin’s catafalque,²⁷ and that of writer Victor Hugo in Paris in 1885, where 15,000

traced back to a Red Indian (sic) ‘who secures a safe passage across Lake Superior, or down the Mississippi, by gifts of precious tobacco, which he wafts to the Great Spirit of the Flood’.

²² Lambert (1878), pp. 457-458.

²³ Lambert (1878), p. 477.

²⁴ Richard Davey, *A History of Mourning* (London: Jays; 1889), p. 111. See also, Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London: Robert Hale; 1991), p. 170.

²⁵ Davey, *A History of Mourning*, pp. 50-51.

²⁶ Davey, *A History of Mourning*, p. 54.

²⁷ Davey, *A History of Mourning*, pp. 92-93.

wreaths ‘from all parts of France, and sent from every city in Europe and America’ were carried in procession.²⁸

Between Lambert’s two essays and the publication of Davey’s account of mourning practice in Britain in the nineteenth century, Rev. Hilderic Friend issued a two volume opus entitled *Flowers and Flowerlore* (1884) in which he noted that on wreaths ‘The literature of the subject is very extensive, but unfortunately the notices are scattered, and frequently only to be found in works of great scarcity, or writers in some foreign tongue’.²⁹ Nevertheless, Friend managed to produce ‘a scholarly and comprehensive compendium’, one later commentator noting that his multitude of sources and encyclopaedic approach provided an excellent overview of the state of flower customs of the period.³⁰

These practices in France and Italy inevitably spilled into British consciousness so that public state-organised funerals of royalty, leading politicians, or ‘heroes’ became the practice from the 1870s onwards. At these occasions, wreaths became a central means by which grief could be entwined with pride as both public and private tribute. The almost contemporaneous publications of Lambert, Friend and Davey illustrate a recognisable phenomenon and a desire to understand it. John Wolffe has revealed that wreaths were an increasingly common resort of the public throughout the Victorian and Edwardian period for representing affection for the recently departed.³¹ Friend noted even a Queen ‘not disdaining to send her wreath of choice fresh flowers’, conforming to the rediscovered practice.³² Both Wolffe and Friend made reference to an incident at the funeral of Princess Alice in 1878 where the wreaths of the poor (a ‘little wreath of rosemary with two small white blossoms’) were laid alongside that of the Queen (a ‘wreath of white roses, white camellias and passion-flowers’).³³ The descriptions emphasised the variety, colour and a hint of the ‘language of flowers’, which connected particular blooms with emotional expression. Shortly thereafter, these acts of the privileged and of the ‘lowliest’ set a lead for

²⁸ Davey, *A History of Mourning*, pp. 84-85.

²⁹ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 563.

³⁰ Beverly Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (University Press of Virginia; 1995), p. 31. In turn, Friend noted his own reliance on John Brand’s *Popular Antiquities*, a work from the eighteenth century.

³¹ John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford University Press for the British Academy; 2000).

³² Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 559. Presumably referring to Queen Victoria.

³³ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 560.

official funerals, although not yet for remembrance of the dead in anniversary commemoration.

It was in 1881 when the first conspicuous and widespread use of flowers in the expression of grief in Britain was made. Queen Victoria presented a primrose wreath at Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli's funeral to adorn his casket, leading to a sea of white flowers being laid by the public. This, according to Wolffe, was 'a pivotal and influential occasion in setting the trend of fashion'.³⁴ Disraeli's successor William Gladstone, in advance of his own death in 1898, made every effort to pre-empt public tribute by requesting no flowers: 'His tastes in this respect seemed old-fashioned by 1898... reflecting his conservative understanding of Christian tradition, in which flowers would seem a distraction from the starker realities of death'.³⁵ By the time of Victoria's own death in 1901 and then Edward VII's in 1910, flowers, and in particular arrangements in the form of a wreath, seemed to capture public grief and glorification as no other expression could. The example of the death of King Edward is illustrative of what the public funerary culture had become. Immediately before the darker skies of the Great War were to bring a more sustained period of grief, wreaths had a very visible presence.

The Illustrated London News published a Special Edition on 24 May 1910 to record the funeral procession of King Edward VII. The cover of the edition has a drawing of a goddess holding in her right hand a laurel wreath over the royal coffin with peoples of the Commonwealth bowing their heads in honour of their departed King. Naval ships are displayed in the background, a symbol of the Empire's command of the seas. A similar drawn frontispiece presented once again a number of representative peoples of the Commonwealth (Indian, Arabic, Antipodean, Indigenous Canadian among them), young and old, approaching a large stone wall inscribed 'Edward VII', again bringing wreaths of flowers in tribute. These two remarkable drawings, prepared within a few days of his death, are then followed by pages of panoramic photographs and drawings showing yet more wreaths along the procession route.

Laurel leaves or wreaths of evergreens had been suggested by organising authorities as appropriate responses of memorialising by private persons. In reality, thousands

³⁴ Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 166.

³⁵ Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 186.

were sent from every part of the country. There were so many that a decision was taken by authorities to hang them from lamp standards and on street masts along the route. *The Graphic* on 24 May 1910 suggested the decision was ‘surprisingly effective as decoration’.³⁶

An image was also presented of the coffin in position in St George’s Chapel at Windsor Castle, surrounded by public wreaths – ‘It seemed that the master of the house was coming home on a day of joy and not of grief, that he was coming back from the wars as a conquering hero, to find peace among his people who had assembled to greet him. They had strewn the ground with garlands and decorated the houses of kings with flower trophies and wreaths of honour.’

This symbolism of the British king joining the heroic pantheon of human history was not new, even if the wreaths were a more recent novelty. One military hero who had not been forgotten and whose victories were remembered annually was Lord Horatio Nelson. Nelson’s victory and death at Trafalgar in 1805 had produced an ‘unprecedented public response’ fed not only by the circumstances of his death (in battle, before the memory of his exploits had faded, suggests Wolffe) but also in song – ‘Then mourn Britannia, Britannia’s sons, so brave, Your laurels strewn o’er NELSON’s grave’ or in sermon – ‘true heroism... received a beautiful crown’.³⁷ The connection of laurels and crowns with heroic death, as sung and preached, indicates that earlier traditions had a resonance in British minds and hearts, if not yet in public gesture.³⁸ As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Britain continued unabated its ceremonial tribute to Nelson who died heroically in battle indicating that the anniversaries of a death both tragic and victorious, also, eventually, on the

³⁶ The paper recorded the images of fourteen of the dignitary tributes, twelve of which were wreaths of flowers (the other two took the form of a column, one with crown atop and flowers at the base, the other a broken column also evoking an association with ancient forms of heroic and victorious tribute). The Aga Khan’s wreath was a six feet in diameter spread of ‘English lilies of the valley, white arams and roses on a background of laurel, finished with a huge cluster of mauve Alexandra odontoglossum orchids’; one from King Alfonso was ‘eight feet, fashioned of cypress, surmounted with tiger lilies, white, mauve and yellow orchids’; that from the Kaiser was ‘a garland of glorious mauve and white orchids and choice white flowers, with two ribbons, one white, one mauve’.

³⁷ Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 15. The song lines are from Neil’s *Pocket Melodist* of 1806. Nelson’s name is capitalised in the source.

³⁸ Wolffe reiterates what Litten and Davey had both confirmed earlier, that wreath-laying did not occur at major public funerals in Britain, including those of military heroes Nelson (1805-06) and Wellington (1852), until the 1880s. See Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, ‘the use of flowers in the expression of grief, first conspicuous in 1881 [funeral of Prime Minister Disraeli], and confirmed by the extravagance of the floral tributes to Clarence [1892], Victoria [1901] and Edward [1910]’ mirrored an increasing public participation through street processions and lyings-in-state, p. 276.

occasion in 1895 of the ninetieth anniversary of his death, brought forth the public gesture of commemorative wreaths.³⁹

Friend's encyclopaedic compendium on flowers and folklore, despite devoting some ten per cent of the work to flowers and the dead, and wreaths and garlands, has almost nothing to say about the use of wreaths in the public commemoration of the dead, whether in simple funeral processions or on public ceremonial occasions like those of royal or dignitary funerals. Writing in the mid-1880s, Friend made one casual reference in his Introduction: 'A few days ago (November 5th) the colours of a victorious regiment were bedecked with laurel, the victor's emblem'.⁴⁰ The fifth of November is Guy Fawkes Day in Britain, but Friend provided no indication as to what regiment would have sought to mark victory on that day.

Friend acknowledged his enormous debt for the chapter on wreaths to Lambert's two essays, but Lambert made little reference to the public dimension that was taking hold in late Victorian Britain.⁴¹ The presence of wreaths and the practice of wreath-laying had already become too commonplace and Friend, dissuaded by the literature in his view being too scattered, scarce and foreign, did not add any substance to what Lambert had achieved earlier.

An 1897 meeting of the British Archaeological Institute received a report from Talfourd Ely which remarked on the practice of wreath-laying that now typified anniversary commemorations of Nelson's triumph and death. The presence of flowers at funerals may have been common, but the act of commemoration that was emerging also involved wreaths. 'Within the last few months huge wreaths have been dedicated to Nelson's memory', Ely wrote, adding that the practice was extending to others deserving of a nation's gratitude - 'we are ready enough to lay such floral tribute at the feet of those we delight to honour among the heroes of the past'.⁴² His

³⁹ *SMH*, 23 October 1895, p. 7; and the following year, *SMH*, 22 October 1896. A Letter to the Editor expressed regret that no official wreath had been sent from Australia to the Trafalgar Day commemorations in London in 1896: *SMH*, 24 October 1896, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 14.

⁴¹ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 666.

⁴² Talfourd Ely, 'Wreaths and Garlands', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (May 1897), p. 185. Accounts of Nelson's funeral, and anniversary commemorations afterwards, do not reference public floral tributes until the mid-1890s as alluded to by Ely, and on the 1905 centenary occasion. For example, see Bertrand Taithe, 'Remembering Victory – Commemorating Defeat? The Franco-British Trafalgar Centenary in 1905', in Holger Hock, *History, Commemoration, and National Preoccupation: Trafalgar 1805-2005* (Oxford University Press, for the British Academy; 2007), p. 60; and Colin White, 'Nelson Apotheosised: The Creation of the Nelson Legend', in David Cannadine, *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2005),

report indicated that Major General Charles George Gordon, who had been killed during fighting in the Soudan in 1885, was receiving similar regard.⁴³ There was in Ely's account a hint of weariness about the fashion of floral abandon in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, much as Davey in 1889 had decried how, just as funeral ceremonies were becoming simpler affairs, 'the growing tendency to send flowers to the grave has increased in every class of the community'.⁴⁴ For Davey, the simple homage of taking off one's hat and pausing to respect a passing cortege was far preferable to 'the heaping of costly flowers upon a hearse, which no one notices as it passes, laden with its ephemeral offerings'.⁴⁵ Standing in silent respect before a dead body, conjoined with wreaths, was soon to play its central role in wartime commemoration. What Davey and Ely underestimated was the appeal of regular return to paying tribute on anniversary occasions, and the central and widespread place of wreaths in this public expression.⁴⁶

Even as Ely and Davey were expressing their impatience with the new-found profligacy of floral elements at funerals, wreaths were becoming part of the modern Olympic Games. The appropriation of the objects and practices of earlier civilisations, as a means of connecting and associating with universal heroic qualities, generated interest in establishing the modern Olympics. In the sporting arena another example emerged of the revival of ancient practices of honouring victory with floral garlands and wreaths.

Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern games, had intentionally drawn on the imagery and spirit of the Ancient Games, including the use of wreaths. John J. MacAloon described the closing ceremonies of the 1896 event as including the presentation of olive and laurel branches to successful athletes in the presence of

p. 109, who describes a visit to HMS Victory in 1844 by Queen Victoria which demonstrates that the custom of marking Trafalgar Day on board was already in place, with a laurel wreath hoisted between the masts and another at the plaque marking the spot where Nelson fell, wherein the Queen 'stood for a moment in silent homage'. Eric Maple states that wreaths were first publicly laid on Trafalgar Day, 21 October, in 1895, the ninetieth anniversary of Nelson's death, firstly at Nelson's Column and then at HMS Victory. Eric Maple, *The Secret Lore of Plants and Flowers* (London: Robert Hale; 1980), p. 141. Maple's conclusion accords with the newspaper record in Australia – the first references to wreaths and annual commemoration of Nelson occurs in relation to the ninetieth anniversary: see, for example, various newspaper reports in October 1895 and again the following year.

⁴³ *SMH*, 19 February 1885, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Davey, *A History of Mourning*, p. 96.

⁴⁵ Davey, *A History of Mourning*, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Ely delivered his report the year before Gladstone's funeral in 1898, by which time, as Wolffe has noted, not allowing for floral tributes 'appeared old-fashioned'. *Great Deaths*, p. 186.

King George of Greece. A contemporary account suggested that although ‘the olive branches had no monetary value’, they were likely the ‘one prize which an Olympionikes might well covet’.⁴⁷ The Games’ poet G. S. Robertson, an Oxford student, also received a laurel branch for writing a Pindaric Ode, another Ancient Games tradition. In 1896, victorious athletes received a wreath of olives (first place) or laurel (second place). Both received a medal with Nike, the Goddess of Victory, on one side seated with palm frond in the left hand and, ready to be bestowed, a wreath in the right.⁴⁸

The new games did not emerge fully formed overnight. There were earlier trial runs in 1859, 1870, 1875, and 1889, taking the form of festivals of human accomplishment.⁴⁹ De Coubertin had been inspired by the growing presence of athletics in English school curricula, and worked tirelessly to reinvent the Games for a modern era. A ‘muscular Christianity’ of the late nineteenth century had paved the way for English schooling to embrace the concept of a healthy body that could be trained through exercise and sport, thus opening the door to participation in the reimagined Olympics movement.⁵⁰

Wreaths were used in the first modern games to indicate the victor. The practice continues today with winning athletes receiving a natural wreath as victor’s garland. To organisers of these rudimentary sporting festivals, the origins of the Olympics in Ancient Greece demanded modelling of its ritual practices as well.⁵¹

⁴⁷ John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (University of Chicago; 1981), pp. 252-256. Shortly after the official prize-giving, in a spontaneous tribute, the Organising Committee placed a laurel wreath on the head of Crown Prince Constantine and presented olive wreaths to his two brothers.

⁴⁸ This medal image remained unchanged until 2004 when it was replaced with a standing Nike bearing the eternal flame from the heavens.

⁴⁹ David J. Phillips and David Pritchard (Eds.), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales; 2003), p. (viii).

⁵⁰ David C. Young, *A Brief History of the Olympic Games* (Malden, MA: Blackwell; 2004), pp. 89-90.

⁵¹ The Ancient games had a strict hierarchy of wreath, denoting a careful affiliation with various gods and their association with specific venues. Phillips and Pritchard, *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, p. (xi), describe four ‘crown’ games involving the awarding of vegetative wreaths to victors. The Games at Olympus were in tribute to Zeus and involved wreaths of wild olive. Other games at Pythia (Apollo), Isthmia (Poseidon) and Nemea (Nemean Zeus) specified, respectively, wreaths of laurel, pine, and wild celery. The resulting amalgam of traditions that saw laurel wreaths emerge as the symbol of victory at the modern Olympic games suggests it was ancient affiliation rather than historical accuracy that was important to organisers. The crown, as a wreath was loosely described, given to a victorious athlete, was the ultimate proof of victory that they would take home to share with their countrymen. The bearer was entitled to rewards – among them, special seats at festivals, free meals, even financial benefits – see Patrick O’Sullivan, ‘Victory Statue, Victory Song: Pindar’s Agonistic Poetics and Its Legacy’, in Phillips and Pritchard, *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek*

In addition to the realms of public funerals and sport, there were other ways that wreaths honoured royalty and military service.⁵² Gordon Maitland records Queen Victoria's gift to a British regiment (the 2/24th) of a 'wreath of immortelles', a silver ornament to be affixed to the head of the pike with the Queen's colour, that is, the staff holding the regiment's banner.⁵³ This wreath is termed 'a lasting memorial' to 'commemorate the devoted gallantry' performed by the regiment at the Battle of Rorke's Drift in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. The 2/24th Regiment's colours thereafter displayed a wreath in circle form surrounding the Regiment's seal with crown atop, and battle honours listed on either side. Queen Victoria's act communicated a number of symbolic ideas. It was affirmed that a wreath symbolised victory. It also conveyed a recognition of honour in battle. And in its use of 'immortelles' it was deliberately seeking to establish an everlasting memory of those who have departed, and their own everlasting life in another place.

The widespread use of wreaths in public displays of emotion upon the deaths of royals and others in the late nineteenth century demonstrated the rapid emergence of floral tributes to express sorrow in the passing of a respected leader. The use of a wreath in these circumstances drew on practices from antiquity, appropriated to communicate a mixture of grief and pride by tribute-bearers. In sport and in military insignia the semiotic power of a wreath was conveyed.

The transmission of these practices to Australia can be directly traced. Queen Victoria's recognition of the British regiment found its way into Australian custom with the image used on the regimental colours replicated in a number of colonial units, including that of the 17th battalion of the Royal New South Wales Regiment which received the Australian colony's first battle honours for its short expedition to the Soudan in 1885. Nor were Australians strangers to the accolades bestowed upon modern Olympic victors. An Australian had been victorious at the first official games in 1896 - Edwin Flack returned with two gold medals and a bronze medal. And

World, p. 75. Thus, the receipt of the vegetative crown at the games was both the symbol of victory and the actual passport to the benefits of the victorious outcome.

⁵² Gordon Maitland, *The Story of Australia's Flags* (Sydney: Playbill; 2015), p. 71. See also, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarisation of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (University of Chicago Press; 2002), pp. 289-290, for a discussion of the association of flowers with the military, war and heraldry.

⁵³ 'Immortelle' is French for everlasting, adopted into English to describe an everlasting flower, usually one that retains its colour when dried.

swimmer Fanny Durack was the toast of the nation after winning the 100 metres freestyle in 1912.

Further, news of the outpouring of affection at the passing of King Edward VII in 1910 received wide dissemination in Australia and prompted similar responses across capital cities.⁵⁴ Again, the use of wreaths to denote something more than the undoubted but nevertheless superficial beauty of floral displays, recognised the growing public adoption of wreaths to display their affection, in grief and in pride, towards a fallen sovereign, politician or battlefield hero throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The emergence of the modern Olympics with their ancient trappings deepened the connection of a wreath with the idea of victory. In the decades before the Great War, there was an awareness available to Australians of the timeless values that could be expressed through wreaths. But wreaths were also appropriated into Christian tradition in the late nineteenth century, especially given their association with Christian motifs of death and immortality.

Wreaths – The Christian Dimension

Lambert also analysed more closely how the customs of floral tribute may have at first been rejected but then, over time, been affected 'at the transforming touch of Christianity'. Having established the strong link between flora, the dead and beliefs in the afterlife, Lambert explained that 'heathen customs of crowning the dead and strewing their graves with flowers were at first rejected by the early Christians'.⁵⁵ The early church pattern to which Lambert refers was likely to be informed by the experience of the first century missionaries Paul and Barnabas, who in Lystra in Anatolia were confronted with an offering borne by a wreath-festooned ox that would have seen them worshipped, in response to their message, as Zeus and his messenger Hermes.⁵⁶ Although the Greeks had commonly used the wreath as a decorative element atop their sacrificial first fruits peace offerings, the early church did not

⁵⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 21 May 1910, p. 15; *Sydney Mail and NSW Advertiser*, 25 May 1910, p. 28. Pausing in silence also occurred, a precursor to the public formal silences in Anzac ceremonies from 1916. See Chapter Four - Silence for discussion.

⁵⁵ Lambert (1880), pp. 808 and 822.

⁵⁶ Acts 14:11-18

speak of a ceremonial or funereal use of flowers and wreaths, suggesting there was little place for its symbolism in Christian theology at the time.

There are other references to wreaths in both the Old and New Testaments. These ancient customs were not unknown to writers of the Scriptures. In the Apocryphal book the *Wisdom of Solomon* it is written ‘Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they are withered’.⁵⁷ However, this practice was not necessarily endorsed – for example, in the *Book of Isaiah* where the practice of wearing a crown is considered the pride of the drunk in contrast to the eternal adorning crown of God, ‘a wreath of beauty’.⁵⁸

Despite the church’s early indifference and at times official condemnation of wreaths, Lambert was not confident that ‘the objections to it were ever widely entertained’ as common observance seemed apparent by the fourth century.⁵⁹ According to Friend, ‘In spite of all this declamation on the part of these prominent figures... of early Church history... the graceful practice was revived with a significance higher than it had ever had before.’⁶⁰ Friend affirmed that the accounts of ancient Christians scattering flowers on a tomb are voluminous, as is its practice among other cultures.⁶¹

Indeed, the New Testament writers demonstrated a capacity to appropriate pagan practice for the illustration of Christian theology without necessarily endorsing various contemporary intentions. Jesus’ crown of thorns, given to him to mock his claims to kingship, consciously drew on Greek and Roman symbolism for a crown or chaplet of entwined branches. The reference in the *Book of Isaiah* that ‘In that day [*the day of judgement*] the Lord Almighty will be a glorious crown, a beautiful wreath for the remnant of his people’, provided a prophetic recognition of crowns for the Christian story that implied a wider knowledge of their symbolism.⁶² Paul in his *First Letter to the Corinthian Church* utilised a sporting metaphor to extend the crown concept to believers: ‘Athletes exercise self-control in all things; they do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable one.’⁶³ The apostle transformed

⁵⁷ Wisdom of Solomon 2:8

⁵⁸ Isaiah 28:1-6

⁵⁹ Lambert (1880), p 820.

⁶⁰ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 609.

⁶¹ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 563 quoting a medieval authority Durand.

⁶² Isaiah 28:5

⁶³ I Corinthians 9:25

the Lord in Isaiah, a crown of glory, into a reward the individual believer will receive. In turn the New Testament writers suggest that, in any case, these crowns would be thrown at Jesus' feet on the final day of triumph, an equivalence to the Pindaric descriptions of Olympic honours being cast by victorious athletes before the feet of a Greek deity.⁶⁴

Despite Paul's association of floral tribute with the eternal crown secured by Christ's death and resurrection, early Christians were warned against pagan practices, chiefly because 'they owed their origin to falsehood and idolatrous worship'.⁶⁵ The Church Fathers, like Tertullian and Clement, accepted Paul's analogy about wreaths in words but were swayed by his wariness of practice, as was evident in his encounter with the Anatolian crowds. Nevertheless, Friend was satisfied that 'the antagonisms to heathenish customs gradually gave way, as their beauty and touching character came more and more to be realised'.⁶⁶

As Lambert points out, and Peter Brown has later affirmed, it was not unexpected that customs common among human civilisation would have their practice appropriated and transformed by Christianity.⁶⁷ The resemblances between ancient and folkloric traditions and those of Christianity are to be expected, as existing rites were gradually adopted and given fresh meaning rather than outlawed - 'after the first shrinking from everything suggestive of idolatry, we have seen the rulers of the early Church boldly incorporate these observances, stripped of their heathen attributes with its ritual'.⁶⁸

Lambert believed it was not possible to identify when flowers were first used in England for 'ecclesiastical purposes' but noted the creation of gardens adjacent to

⁶⁴ Revelation 4:9-11. Gregory Stevenson writes that in these verses the wreath's symbolism of gratitude, honour and worthiness are attributes directed towards God: 'the living creatures give glory and honour and thanks to Him who sits on the throne'. See, *A Slaughtered Lamb: Revelation and the Apocalyptic Response to Evil and Suffering* (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University Press; 2013), pp. 126-127. For a discussion of the connection of these symbolic ideas with British funereal practices, see James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1976), pp. 297-299.

⁶⁵ Lambert (1880), p. 818

⁶⁶ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p.583.

⁶⁷ Lambert (1880), p. 808. See also, Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge University Press; 1995). Brown, in an examination of the rise of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries AD, stated that in history 'the parts that we tend to keep in separate compartments, by labelling them *classical*, even *pagan*, as distinct from Christian, form a coherent whole', the classical elements, including festivals, calendars, gestures and burials, being 'redeployed', pp. 12-13.

⁶⁸ Lambert (1880), p. 827.

chapels and church grounds in the fifteenth century.⁶⁹ There was intermittent record in churchwardens' accounts of 'wreathing' and flower purchases but a 'rigorous Protestantism stoutly resisted the superstitious innovation'.⁷⁰ This attitude prevailed, at least in official uses, until an intriguing court case in 1868 where the offence of displaying flowers in a church building was dismissed on the fine distinction between 'ornament' and 'decoration', the latter being a permissible addition in a church, as it had no ritual or ceremonial connotation.⁷¹ In reality, as was already apparent in community markets, the enthusiasm for floral purchases for Easter Sunday ceremonies by 'professional men' and 'ladies of rank' suggested their interest was more than 'merely to indulge a simple taste for floral decoration'.⁷² And on a more sombre note, John Brand, writing in the late eighteenth century, noted the widespread ancient custom, 'observed across England', that in remembrance of the death of an unmarried youth, a garland of white flowers would be hung above their pew seat in a 'simple memorial of the early dead'.⁷³

Folkloric practice persisted such that Easter Sunday tributes and the association with untimely or tragic death of a youth, although presumably both were considered mere 'decoration', have resonance with the wartime commemoration of the untimely or tragic deaths on the battlefields of the Great War. Common use provided the fertile soil for official adoption of wreaths in the nineteenth century.

Friend also explained that 'Leaves, branches, and wreaths of ivy were long since used for decorating churches and houses at Christmas-tide, a custom which was forbidden by one of the early Councils on account of its pagan associations'.⁷⁴ But the wreath had been in regular use for Advent, the season in the church calendar when Jesus'

⁶⁹ Lambert (1880) p. 811. Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 568, refers to an unattributed poem from 'early times: "This is a sacrifice our showre shall crowne/His sepulchre with Olive, Myrrh, and Bayes,/The plats of peace, of sorrow, victorie," but with no date it isn't discernible how early are its references to grief in the midst of peace and victory.

⁷⁰ Lambert (1880), p. 813.

⁷¹ Lambert (1880), p. 814. See also, W. A. Barrett's *Flowers and Festivals or Directions for the Floral Decoration of Churches*, published in 1868, the year of the court determination, in which it is suggested that the church had during the nineteenth century also begun to embrace the use of flowers in ceremony and *decoration*. Quoted in Seaton, *The Language of Flowers*, p. 13, who adds that by the 1870s and 1880s flower missions emerged as a means of bringing the gospel to the poor and sick.

⁷² Lambert (1880), p. 815.

⁷³ John Brand (1792) quoted in Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 572.

⁷⁴ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 599.

birth is anticipated in the weeks leading to Christmas Day.⁷⁵ The Advent wreath symbolises the eternal, its circular form emblematic of the unifying and perfect God who will bring victory. This victory will be everlasting, thus the appropriation of an everlasting flora such as laurel. And, pertinently, the wreath clearly symbolises the victory of the triumphant hero, Jesus' victory over death being the ultimate conquest.

In particular, the recognition of the association of flowers with sacrificial death and the resurrection to new life (like flowers emerging in spring equated to the human body rising from the 'sleep of death', as Friend puts it), means it was not surprising that 'the custom of flowers whether planted, strewn or laid carefully in tribute' (note that Friend refers to all three means by which flowers may make an appearance in connection with death) was retained through all Christian countries and generations.⁷⁶ Friend was in no doubt that the common use of evergreens, in particular, was emblematic of immortality.⁷⁷ 'Amaranthus', the word used by Homer for the wreath accompanying the body in the story of crossing the River Styx to the afterlife, which means in Greek undying or immortal, is also the word used by Peter in his first New Testament letter: a 'crown of glory that fadeth not away' can therefore be translated, 'the Amarantine wreath of glory'.⁷⁸

For the church during the nineteenth century it was not difficult to accommodate a place for the wreath in mourning. Despite the Puritan attempts in the seventeenth century to reclaim the early Church Fathers' condemnation of the perfidy of pagan practice and to ban the use of flowers on account of their substitution for thinking on God,⁷⁹ a widespread flora enthusiasm emanated in the nineteenth century. On the

⁷⁵ See, among many possible reference works, Judith Flanders, *Christmas: A Biography* (London: Picador; 2017), p. 169.

⁷⁶ Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, pp. 561-2. See also, Gill Abousnougā and David Machin, 'War Monuments and the Changing Discourses of Nation and Soldiery', in Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing; 2010), p. 226.

⁷⁷ 'By old writers the custom of carrying in the hands during the funeral procession sprigs of rosemary, laurel, ivy, and other evergreens, was considered an emblem of the soul's immortality.' *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 564. For a discussion of the early church's understanding of the wreath as 'a symbol of the hope of immortality', see also Jean Danielou, *Primitive Christian Symbols* (London: Burns and Oates; 1964, trans. by Donald Attwater), pp. 1-24.

⁷⁸ 1 Peter 5:4. Friend, *Flowers and Folklore*, p. 571, also quotes Milton,
Their crowns inwove with Amaranth and gold;
Immortal Amaranth, a flower which once
In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
Began to bloom.

⁷⁹ These suspicions may have been in Prime Minister Gladstone's mind when he attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to prevent floral tributes at his own funeral, in 1898. See Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, p. 186.

occasions of the death of royal figures and other civic leaders, it was a concomitant comfort with public expressions of sentiment, as well as fascination with archaeological discoveries of ancient civilisations, that presaged an accommodation which would see wreaths more commonly accepted in British funeral and remembrance practice. The roots were solidly planted in Christian thought and practice. Jesus' victory over death through his sacrifice on the Cross and his rising to new life was visible, and tangibly represented in a perfect and circular unbroken wreath decorated with everlasting flowers.

It would not have been difficult to connect the folkloric ritual of securing safe passage to an afterlife with the Christian belief in everlasting life beyond the grave. The use of a wreath to symbolise the hope for this new life among the living was therefore an example of appropriation of folklore into Christian practice and interpretation. At a time when a community was in deep mourning for personal losses of family and friends, and for the cumulative impact of these losses on national mood, the comforting symbolism of a wreath marked victory over battlefield death that pointed to the eternal nature of the peace for the believer in heaven. The one who has fallen in war will be raised to heavenly glory.

Stefan Goebel argues that Christianity 'yielded a repository of consolatory images that could be drawn on in the aftermath of the carnage'.⁸⁰ Although concentrating on the obvious symbol of the Cross, extensively used in Imperial War Graves cemeteries, Goebel's conclusion applies to the wreath. It draws on ideas of death and resurrection, epitomising the perfection and eternity attained in paradise in the form of the circle, drawing on its deep roots in ancient and ubiquitous association with victory obtained through sacrifice, of training for the physical challenge of sport, or even to death in battle, and the guaranteed hope of a new life embodied in the simple display of fresh flowers. Queen Victoria's wreath of immortelles conveyed the eternal significance contained within the circle of flowers. The name of the honoured

⁸⁰ Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (Cambridge University Press; 2007), p. 254. The adoption of an overt symbol such as a cross had been less common in Australia (Richardson testifies to Australia's 'remarkable variety of war memorials', *Creating Remembrance*, p. 54), but it is notable that the first Great War memorial (Adelaide, 1915) has a cross atop, and in two of those last erected, the Anzac Memorial Building (Sydney, 1934) and the Australian War Memorial (Canberra, 1941) the cross is central to their design. See Chapter Six - Public Memorialisation for more detailed discussion.

regiment would live on into immortality. New life would be theirs in heaven, as certain as the vitality of an evergreen.

The Christian interpretation of the wreath was prominent in the nineteenth century in civic ceremony and prepared the way for its further appropriation in Great War commemoration. When the wreath was taken up, its potent symbolic range was borne along, providing a visual and gestural medium through which honour in death on the battlefield could receive its eternal tribute.

Australian Commemoration

The British 99th Regiment memorial to those who had lost their lives in the Maori wars of the 1840s, sited at Anglesea Barracks in Hobart, Tasmania, was unveiled in 1850 making it probably the first war memorial in the colonies.⁸¹ Designed by Alexander Dawson, who was later to become Government Architect in New South Wales, the memorial bears four wreaths as embellishments, one on each face of an obelisk. At an early stage in the life of the British settlement in Australia, the nineteenth century thinking and practice that had emerged in Britain was being transmitted to Australian shores. Before Gallipoli emerged as the potent symbol of Australian sacrifice for Empire throughout 1915 and 1916, the wreath was already present in colonial consciousness.

This early instance of the use of the wreath symbol on a war memorial, coupled with the Royal NSW Regiment's Battle Honours of 1885, connects the commemorative use of wreaths to the colony of New South Wales and ensures that by the turn of the twentieth century the essential semiotic markers of a circular hoop of flowers were already present in the Australian commemorative context.

The wreath was not as overt a Christian emblem as a cross. It was more inclusive in its symbolism which, although drawing on a host of Christian connections for meaning, could just as easily be interpreted in simpler, non-religious terms – a type

⁸¹ Naomi Parry and Brad Manera, with Will Davies and Stephen Garton, *NSW and the Great War* (Sydney: Longueville Media; 2016), p. 5, included, in a section devoted to military service in the colonies, a monument erected in 1811 that recognises the work of the 73rd Regiment in building a road. It is not, however, a war memorial.

of syncretism ready-made for the community-wide demands for accessible public mourning after the Great War.

A ceremony designed by clergy could legitimately draw on the Christian heritage and interpretation of wreaths to retain liturgical integrity. The wreath's rich range of symbolism could also be seen in a myriad of ways that was consistent with religious attempts to be as inclusive as possible in the construction of such services: to ostensibly draw on this acceptable Christian interpretation and a likely cultural awareness. At the same time, the act of floral tribute and the visible symbolic presence could be 'read' simply as satisfying the feelings of affection for the departed individual or, more broadly, extolling the collective heroic past, through to enabling a deeper contemplation of the assurance of an after-life, not only for the individual but for the nation now at peace.

An insight into the early adoption of more general floral language can be found in the unveiling of Australia's first war memorial commissioned and built during the Great War. Adelaide's Dardanelles Memorial, a simple obelisk, was unveiled on 7 September 1915. Pride in the daring landing at Anzac Cove had been mixed by then with the sobering news of the Battle of Lone Pine. The day was Wattle Day in South Australia and the memorial, a project of the local Wattle Day Committee, was placed in a grove of wattle trees, an early connection of AIF heroism in Gallipoli with the national flower and thus with the nation's fledgling identity. It is notable not only for being the first Great War memorial in Australia, but also for the rare recognition of New Zealand's presence at Gallipoli, using the nomenclature 'Australasian' to describe the forces being commemorated.⁸² Given the day chosen for its unveiling, the floral tributes were primarily *Acacia pycnantha*, known as Golden Wattle, but the yellow flower was embedded amongst *Kennedia nigricans*, known as Black Coral Pea, a Western Australian evergreen representing most vividly a nation in mourning. The Governor General Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, Patron of the Australian Wattle Day League, led the South Australian dignitaries. The flowers were reported in the

⁸² At the 1912 Olympics Australians and New Zealanders had competed together under an *Australasian* banner.

next day's press as 'an emblem of hope and glory' (wattle) and 'a symbol of bereavement and sorrow' (coral pea).⁸³

Although titular 'Anzac Day' celebrations and recruitment drives were to follow quickly on the heels of this Adelaide initiative across all State capital cities, this first occasion of a commemoration at a memorial drew on both the celebratory mood of reports of the deeds of the Anzacs and the recognition of the losses involved, placing the twin emotions of pride and grief at the heart of Anzac commemoration in its founding days.

The historic unveiling of the Dardanelles Memorial occurred in the same week as Australia was marking the return of the body of Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges. Having been buried in Alexandria, the General's body was to be re-interred in Canberra. Chris Coulthard-Clark noted that in Egypt a single wreath was laid atop the coffin.⁸⁴ But the return and reburial involved much more than a lone floral tribute. Leaving St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne, the procession behind the casket included 'two coaches crowded with wreaths'.⁸⁵ At the Church of St John the Baptist in Canberra, the casket lay in state supported by a catafalque and four sentries, surrounded by 'a mass of beautiful wreaths'.⁸⁶ Another funeral procession was made through crowds to his final resting place overlooking Duntroon Military College. There, a burial service was conducted by Archbishop Wright amidst a range of dignitary wreaths and alongside chief mourners, Lady Bridges and their son bearing bouquets of deep purple blooms.⁸⁷ Whilst civic and military leaders, and many members of the public brought their floral tributes, the persistent Sydney Anglican theme of resurrection was widely heard that day. Wright's 'impressive address' focussed on how 'the late General Bridges was being laid to rest in his last resting

⁸³ *The Advertiser*, 8 September 1915, pp. 9 and 12. The obelisk had a cross added to its top in 1918. The Acacia species obtained its vernacular name in Australia from the practice of entwining its stems into interlocking rods as a base for 'wattle and daub' walls of huts. This feature of wattle perhaps lent support for its adoption on circular wreaths with their woven base. See Maria Hitchcock, *A Celebration of Wattle: Australia's National Emblem* (Dural, Sydney: Rosenberg Publishing; 2012), p. 71.

⁸⁴ C. D. Coulthard-Clark, *A Heritage of Spirit A Biography of Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges KCB CMG* (Melbourne University Press; 1979), pp. 180-182.

⁸⁵ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 3 September 1915, p. 9.

⁸⁶ *Queanbeyan Age and Queanbeyan Observer*, 7 September 1915, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Purple is the traditional colour of mourning.

place until the Resurrection Day... that great day when Jesus wakes the dead and wars shall be no more'.⁸⁸

On these two early occasions, in September 1915, flowers and wreaths were used as a central component of tribute. When conjoined with the layers of appropriation occurring throughout the nineteenth century from military, funerary, royal and sporting cultures, the centrality of the wreath in Anzac commemoration is understandable, and to a degree unremarkable.

Ultimately, thousands of war memorials were erected across the nation in almost every town and village.⁸⁹ Countless ceremonies of remembrance were held throughout and beyond the war. The Government decision that the bodies of servicemen and women killed in war, after that of General Bridges, would remain where they fell and not be repatriated back to Australia, prompted significant distress for families already in mourning, particularly the bereaved of those for whom no known grave could be identified. The necessity of grieving without known whereabouts of a body was a situation affecting the families of more than 20,000 of Australia's 62,000 men who died during the war. The need to assuage this emotional toll spurred the war memorial movement. The Adelaide memorial was without names, referring to the Australasian soldiers in general. However, the pattern for almost all memorials that followed was set in the Sydney inner suburb of Balmain. The Balmain War Memorial was unveiled on Anzac Sunday 23 April 1916, which was also Easter Sunday. According to Inglis, it was the first war memorial to list names.⁹⁰ In a pattern to be consistently observed in other local initiatives, and unique to Australia among Great War nations, the names of all those who had served, not just those who had lost their lives, were commonly inscribed on the memorial.⁹¹

Listing the names of all those who served performed a number of functions. The decision of the Imperial War Graves Commission (now the Commonwealth War

⁸⁸ *SMH*, 4 September 1915, p. 13, *Brisbane Telegraph*, 8 September 1915, p. 12.

⁸⁹ K. S. Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne University Press; 2008, 3rd Edition), p. 585, suggested 4,000 to 5,000 standing in public places, but as State Government registers, and the recently initiated Australian War Memorial database, 'Places of Pride', are incomplete, it is impossible to come to a conclusive estimate.

⁹⁰ Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 103.

⁹¹ This 'first' memorial has an enigmatic feature that remains today. The names included are only of those who served in New Britain in 1914 and at Gallipoli. Although there is space for additional names on the tablets, no names of those who signed up after the memorial's unveiling were added.

Graves Commission) to standardise all gravestones so that officer and soldier could not easily be distinguished is well known. It has a democratic flavour about it, as does the attribution of a 'crown' to a regiment or individual soldiers in the case of the 'immortelles'. The Crown was not receiving homage, she was granting it to others, and so drawing on Christian theology of all being equal in death and eternity. The Australian mode of commonly listing all those who served, although there were usually markers to indicate death such as a cross next to a name, ensured all families involved could take pride in the 'sacrifice' made for the nation. Likewise, wreaths were to perform a 'democratic' function. A principal tribute might be laid by the chief dignitary at a ceremony, for example by a Governor, but anyone could add their floral tribute. And if not in the ceremony itself, a private tribute could also be made at any time at a public memorial – another advantage of not confining war memorials to the inside of churchyards.

Illustrative of the public culture of 1919, at war's end, is a cartoon image in the Sydney tabloid, *The Daily Telegraph*. A digger stands proudly at ease at the centre of Hal Eyre's cartoon drawing 'His day for all time'.⁹² He is wearing the unmistakable slouch hat of the AIF. Behind him and slightly above him are two floating female forms, perhaps angels, holding above him a laurel wreath shaped as an open-ended curved chaplet. They are attired in classic robes, their origin a little indeterminate. It is enough that they immediately bring to mind ancient, free flowing capes also suggestive of high bearing. Importantly, both figures are holding the single wreath in their right hand - they carry flags of Australia and New Zealand in their left hands, rested across their shoulder, and their swords are sheathed and rest at their left hip – even though this paired right-hand grasp requires the figure on the viewer's left to reach awkwardly to do so.

Beyond these two angels, in the distance, is a denuded tree on a hill, suggestive of Lone Pine, and a number of crosses pointing to the sacrifices of war that lie underneath and to the absent Christ who is resurrected in glory. Similar scenes drawn for Olympic medals at the time bore images of the Acropolis on the horizon, the home of the gods, but the classical allusions, although with a nod to Ancient Greece, are more evidently Christian. The drawing has an earthy feel – the closely-

⁹² Hal Eyre, 'His Day for All Time', *The Daily Telegraph War Cartoons, 1919*, original drawings by Hal Eyre, Vol. 69, No. 292. Accessed at the State Library of NSW, file no. FL1540105. www.sl.nsw.gov.au.



'His Day for All Time', 1919, original drawing by Hal Eyre (Source: State Library of NSW, file no. FL1540105)

lined portrayal of the ground beneath the soldier and on 'Lone Pine' presents a ground-like surface as though he is a part of the earth itself. The heavier emphasis of the lines on the hill and their more haphazard geometry suggest wooden trenches,

but also the destruction wrought on the battlefield. His appearance could evoke either or both of two possibilities: he is one of the dead, now raised to life, or he is a living veteran who has left the travails of war behind. The almost unnoticeable cigarette in the right hand would lend evidence for the latter. But he could also be in the heavenly realms. He is clearly 'at ease', without any weaponry. In any case he is to be 'crowned' with the common halo of victory, the laurel wreath, by the heavenly representatives of the two nations. They are looking to each other as though in affirmation, or just in careful approach, with the wind capturing a little of their clothing, and more obviously the ribbons at the wreath's base flutter out from the object. Again, the heavy line work of the hill with its destroyed tree and graveside Christian crosses ensure that it is both the *living and the dead* who will be honoured and remembered, and whose day it is for all time.

The efficacy of wreaths in sculptural form continued at Sydney's two principal war memorials, the Cenotaph in Martin Place (1927/1929) and the Anzac Memorial Building in Hyde Park (1934), designed and unveiled some years after the war. Of particular note is the deliberate absence of names on both, a feature that is vivid in its starkness. Unlike suburban memorials which sought to recognise the local contribution to the war, this 'silence' at the principal memorials ensured they spoke, and continue to speak, to each sacrifice as well as to all. A wreath laid officially or in private at these sites has no less power than if it was laid before a named gravestone. Similarly striking is the association of wreath symbolism with both of these memorials.

The simplicity of the Sydney Cenotaph, a large rectangular stone, horizontal in proportion, led to much criticism: 'a mere tombstone for people to put wreaths up against' and, 'The cenotaph is not the tall beautiful thing it should be, but consists of two oblong blocks of stone placed one above the other', were two comments at the time.⁹³ The brutal simplicity of plain stone, albeit with bold, equally simple statements on the northern and southern sides of the principal stone – 'Lest we forget' and 'To our glorious dead' – amplifies any decorative sculptural element. And

⁹³ The Cenotaph, said to be inspired by Edwin Lutyens' Cenotaph in London, was designed by Sydney sculptor Bertram Mackennal. Although both memorials share a name and a simplicity of form, the Sydney Cenotaph with its horizontal stance has more in common with the Great War Stones, or altars of remembrance, which were a signature feature of the Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries built in their hundreds after the war.

this is the case with the Cenotaph. Atop the blocks of stone is a bronze laurel wreath lying supine, facing up to the heavens. In the placement of a bronze wreath, the sculptor Bertram Mackennal has emulated a casket prior to its burial, along with sentries, added later in 1929, positioned in watch at each end.

The symbolism of the fixed wreath resting on the memorial indicates the intention of Mackennal and the civic and military leadership responsible for it. They had in mind a place for bearing large numbers of tributes, a sentiment captured by another visitor in its first year, 'Many beautiful flowers were laid on it on November 11'.⁹⁴ From Anzac Day eve through the Dawn Service and other ceremonies on Anzac Day, the Cenotaph, every year, is resplendent with floral tributes. Its simplicity in design allowed for beauty to be added by the actual tributes both informal and formal, the solitary permanent wreath not overshadowing the regular ephemeral, living tributes but quietly leading the way, drawing on funerary practices of placing a wreath on the casket, the idea of a sacrifice brought to the altar, and the circular, laurel twined form, emblematic of eternal peace.⁹⁵

The Anzac Memorial Building, a prominent Art Deco structure with entrance via grand staircases to commemorative spaces under a cathedral-like dome, comprises significant sculptural elements, offices for ex-service groups, and meeting rooms. As is the case with the Cenotaph, it is particularly evocative of the anonymity of the sacrifice made for the nation. And, like the Cenotaph, this anonymity is associated with a number of symbolic uses of wreaths. Most evocative is the wreath balustrade, encircling the aperture in the centre of the Hall of Memory housed under the dome, which provides a view of the sculpture 'Sacrifice' below in the Well of Contemplation. The balustrade's stone carved ring of wreaths forms the point of commemoration where, in the architect Bruce Dellit's explanation, any visitor, whether so inclined or not, must necessarily bow their head to view the sculpture, a design element also deployed at Napoleon's tomb in Paris, France (1861), and at the Voortrekker

⁹⁴ *Ex-Service Women's Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No. 23, December 1927-January 1928.

⁹⁵ Mackennal, who spent most of his career working in England, had also designed the 1908 London Olympics medal which included the figure of Nike with wreath. Given the significance of the wreath image, it is surprising that Richardson's 2015 study of the art and design of Australian war memorials, referred to earlier and which is, ironically, an examination of 'overlooked' detail, does not mention the existence of the Cenotaph's bronze wreath. The Heritage Statement attached to the conservation listing for the Memorial makes one brief reference to the wreath. Accessed at NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, www.environment.nsw.gov.au.

Memorial in South Africa (1949). In the Australian case, once again, the privilege of enforced tribute belongs to the everyman, a soldier, and not the emperor or equivalent. The ring of carved wreaths gives traditional expression to this tribute even if the visitor does not come bearing a gift.



The wreath balustrade in the Hall of Memory, Anzac Memorial Building.
(Source: Rob Tuckwell, for the Trustees of the Anzac Memorial)



'Sacrifice', George Rayner Hoff, Anzac Memorial Building. Source:

<https://news.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/photos/sydneys-streets-and-civic-spaces-bear-witness-to-world-war-i>

At the Memorial, George Rayner Hoff's sculpture 'Sacrifice' is of a dead soldier borne horizontally in cross-like formation across a shield and sword, the full weight of which is in turn borne by his mother, sister, and wife with infant child. Almost imperceptibly underneath and lying correspondent to the shield is a wreath with both hands of the mother and one hand of the sister upon it. The placement of the wreath has the effect of keeping their hands separated from the military equipment of sword and shield and upon their tribute to him which undergirds the weight they bear. They bear his body literally in the design of the sculpture but metaphorically bear the burden of carrying on his name, which is unknown to us. Their tribute has a private quality, but a universal application. The sister's other hand supports his feet. The wife bears the head, powerfully expressing her devotion, but her other hand is free to carry the infant who signals the future. The sister connects the wreath in one hand with her dead brother's feet in the other, providing a suggestive reflection of the throwing of our crowns before Jesus' feet. Like Jesus' sacrifice for all humanity, Hoff's soldier represents all who died sacrificially in war.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ There is some ambiguity about this figure – Hoff in one comment refers to her as a 'lover'. See *The Home*, 1 May 1932. She is emblematic either of a sister or of an unmarried woman who lost her fiancé to the war. Quoted in Deborah Beck, *Rayner Hoff: The Life of a Sculptor* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2017), p. 223. Whether female friend or family member the figure's hands are carefully positioned without ambiguity.

This complex array of figures carries an unavoidable realism at the same time as the women endure the weight of memory not only of an individual soldier but for all whom the anonymous soldier represents. It is as if Australia already had its Unknown Soldier some six decades before the entombment in Canberra.⁹⁷ The power of the wreath to express the depth of grief is made manifest by Hoff's artful arrangement of the triad of women and their relationship to their beloved. And for those more distant from the direct effects of wartime tragedy, their visit, made possible by the peace the sacrifice has delivered, brings forth, in the act of observation of the central sculpture, an eternal garlanded tribute. Both these wreath tributes focus an observer on the sacrifice of a typical soldier, the pain of mourning conjoined with the hope of future generations.

There was another intended use of wreath symbolism at the Memorial. Hoff conceived two external sculptures which were, controversially, not ultimately commissioned by the Anzac Memorial's Trustees. One which was titled 'Victory after Sacrifice 1918' depicted a woman holding aloft a wreath reminiscent of Doble's Winged Victory designs of which Hoff, and the Trustees, would have been aware. There was a similar manifestation in Hoff's 'Spirit of Womanhood' sculpture that formed part of Adelaide's National War Memorial (1927) and which again has the female figure holding a wreath over a representative soldier.⁹⁸

Conclusion

Wreaths barely rate a mention in the literature that has developed on Australian war memorials, and when they are mentioned it is without any attempt to place them within a larger discussion of ritual and war remembrance practices. Jack Goody has pointed to this silence being a wider phenomenon in the history of floral symbolism, quipping that many will dismiss the task he has set himself as 'busying myself with

⁹⁷ Curiously, the principal interpreters of Hoff's work, Deborah Edwards and Virginia Spate, *This Vital Flesh: The Sculpture of Rayner Hoff and His School* (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW; 1999) provide no analysis of the symbolic presence of the wreath which was integral to how the Great War generation would have perceived it. See pp. 64-67 in particular. Ironically, Edwards and Spate include in their monograph an image of 'Sacrifice' with two wreaths sitting within the Hall of Memory, each under flags, again without commenting on their presence, p. 56.

⁹⁸ Again, Edwards and Spate do not address this component in their discussion of the design of the Anzac Memorial, nor of Hoff's work in Adelaide.

trifles' (adapting Pliny).⁹⁹ The absence of a more intentional discourse on flowers and the reduction of their presence to mere decoration in many Anzac commemoration reports not only seems to bear out Goody's jest, but carries a remarkable similarity to novelist Robert Musil's well-known comment that 'there is nothing so invisible as a monument'.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps there is also nothing so routine as a wreath.¹⁰¹

Ann Elias, writing about the relationship between war and flowers in an Australian context, notes that although 'the flower is a ubiquitous object of commemoration, discussion about its physical, symbolic, and poetic value is limited'.¹⁰² Nevertheless, 'Floral symbols were widely understood in Australia during the First World War, and became a code for commemoration and remembrance that continues today'.¹⁰³ Echoing the theme detected in the 1915 Adelaide Dardanelles' obelisk ceremony, Elias argues that flowers express both transcendence and rebirth, and that 'Few objects can as poignantly symbolise both life and death, hope and grief'.¹⁰⁴ Quoting Charles Bean, referring to 'the holly scrub of Gallipoli', she observes the suggestion of

⁹⁹ Goody, *The Culture of Flowers*, p. (xi).

¹⁰⁰ Robert Musil, 'Monuments', in *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author* (Colorado: Eridanos Press; 1987, trans. by Peter Wortsman).

¹⁰¹ The absence of academic discourse around the symbolic meaning of wreaths contributes to confusion that is also apparent in the tributes made at other memorials. It is not uncommon to witness the laying of a wreath at memorials other than war memorials and on occasions other than Anzac-related ones. A case in point is the Memorial to the victims of the downing of Flight MH17, located in the grounds of Parliament House, Canberra, which was unveiled in 2015 on the first anniversary of the tragedy that had occurred over the skies of a war-torn Ukraine. Disputes continue as to responsibility for the tragedy, although Australia is not a party to the conflict. However, then Prime Minister Tony Abbott laid a wreath of wattle at its base on this inaugural occasion. Other attendees at the unveiling, including family members of the victims, laid sprigs of wattle. Whether the Prime Minister had in mind any connection to Anzac rituals and their symbolism, and any potential impression of those who perished as victims of war, it is worth noting that, on the occasion of the 2016 State visit to Australia of the King and Queen of The Netherlands, another nation greatly affected by the tragedy, single sunflowers were laid by the Royal couple as well as by Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. The plane had crashed in a field of sunflowers. Enquiries by the author with the Australian Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet as to whether any particular tradition or protocol was being followed amidst the myriad of choices have elicited no more insight than that the Royal couple made a choice to present a sunflower tribute (having earlier laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Australian War Memorial) and that a wreath would be more appropriate on 'a more formal occasion, such as an anniversary'. What is apparent from this answer though is that these practices demonstrate a level of confusion about the symbolism of the wreath – is it now merely a decorative and 'appropriate' obligation, connected in the mists of time to death ritual, but now emptied of meaning despite the solemnity of the occasions.

¹⁰² Ann Elias, 'War, flowers, and visual culture: the First World War collection of the Australian War Memorial', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No. 40 (February 2007). The spate of articles in late nineteenth century discourse as the phenomenon of wreath-laying was becoming publicly prominent has not been repeated in subsequent generations, contributing to a loss of comprehension of the symbolic meaning of wreaths and flowers in commemoration. See Chapter Six - Public Memorialisation for further discussion.

¹⁰³ Elias. 'War, flowers, and visual culture'.

¹⁰⁴ Elias. 'War, flowers, and visual culture'.

the sacrifice of Jesus in describing the scrub 'with its green leaves like a crown of thorns and berries like drops of blood'.¹⁰⁵

The double meaning of life and of death - the decayed object undergoing transcendence each Spring, as Claudette Sartiliot puts it - in a wreath of fresh flowers is a potent reliquary for the public commemoration of those who died in war.¹⁰⁶ The ability to address the profound and at times overwhelming grief experienced by those who lost loved ones, and the hope that they are in a better place, as well as the national pride in their sacrifice and the hope for a better world today, are uniquely contained within the wreath.

The use of a wreath to symbolise grief and hope was an example of the appropriation of ancient practice by memorial designers for a modern circumstance. At a time when a community was in deep mourning for personal loss of family and mates, and for the impact on national mood, the comforting symbolism of a wreath could mark both victory over death through the sacrifice on the battlefield, and the assurance of an after-life evoked through this victory, not only of the individual but for the nation now at peace. The modern appropriation of classical symbolism framed wreaths within a Christian symbolic order – life after death and the resurrection.

¹⁰⁵ Elias, 'War, flowers, and visual culture', quoting Charles E. W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, Volume VI* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson; 1942), p. 1096.

¹⁰⁶ Claudette Sartiliot, *Herbarium Verbarium: the Discourse of Flowers* (University of Nebraska Press; 1993).

Chapter Four

Silence

The practice of standing in silence during a commemorative ceremony emerged during and after the war as a means of drawing all participants together on Anzac Day and Armistice Day. This central liturgical element was variously described as being for one, two, or three minutes, or even, as suggested in 1919 by Australian journalist Edward Honey as long as five minutes. Sometimes no specific duration was announced to participants or was apparent from later news reports. For a period of silence to be recognised within a ceremony, however, it needs to be introduced, with either verbal instructions or other signals, such as a hymn or bugle call, and brought to an end in similar fashion. At early Great War commemorative occasions, it was commonly preceded by a bugle sounding, eventually the traditional military tune *The Last Post*, or some other horn or bell. In rural areas, church bells were employed to assist with timeliness. A period of silence was at times presaged by a simple statement of purpose, the conclusion signalled by the National Anthem, or increasingly a further bugle sound.¹

The idea of formal minutes of silence is commonly attributed to Honey, who was working in Britain after the War, and who had served in the British Army on the Western Front. Honey wrote an open letter to the Editor of *The London Evening News* on 18 May 1919 suggesting that the practice of pausing all activity for five minutes be employed for Peace Day in July 1919, a day that had been set aside to mark the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.² Honey recalled the silence that had

¹ The bracketing of the two bugle calls around the Silence remains the standard RSL (NSW) Ceremonial Order to this day: firstly, wreath-laying, followed by the Ode of Remembrance, The Last Post, Silence, and then Reveille or Rouse. The Last Post is the bugle call signalling the penultimate mid-evening warning to be back in barracks. The Reveille (or sometimes the Rouse) is also a barracks bugle call sounded to awaken soldiers in the morning. The employment of these sounds for funerals and commemorations, a different context, is a distinct manifestation involving the meaning of the sounds being transmuted to death and resurrection. *The Ode of Remembrance* is an excerpt of two verses from a seven-verse poem *For the Fallen* written in late 1914 by Lawrence Binyon (1869-1943). The fourth and fifth verses are commonly utilised in company with the formal public silence and bugle calls to provide textual evocation for the atmospheric affect engendered by the music and the absence of sound.

² The Australian War Memorial recounts this customary story in 'The Period of Silence'. Accessed at <https://www.awm.gov.au/index.php/commemoration/customs-and-ceremony/silence>. An official posting on the website of the new Sir John Monash Centre at the Australian National Memorial in France repeats the traditional story <https://sjmc.gov.au/the-australian-origins-of-a-minutes-silence/> (8 November 2017).

attended the funeral march of King Edward VII in 1910. Specifically, he drew inspiration from ‘the five minutes pause every railway traveller in Britain knew that day’. In similar vein, Honey pleaded for Peace Day to be genuinely a national occasion of remembrance by the observance of what he termed ‘a very sacred intercession’.

Although Honey’s suggestion was ultimately not a part of Peace Day, his plea was taken up by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, a South African businessman and politician, whose entreaties to the British Government led King George V to institute a Two Minutes’ Silence for the 1919 Armistice ceremony throughout the Empire.³ Fitzpatrick was involved in the noon-day silence that had been occurring in Cape Town, South Africa since 14 May 1918, founded in Anglican and civic ritual,⁴ and it was this tradition that Fitzpatrick refers to in his messages conveyed to the King.⁵

The response of silence seemed singularly apposite to the ugly impact of war, its mechanistic brutality and its enormous toll of death and devastation. Trudi Tate and Kate Kennedy remark that after its intolerable noise and unwelcome news the War

³ For the story of the approach to the King see Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg; 1994), pp. 9-11.

⁴ The noon-day gun was already a familiar sound, the practice having been instituted in Cape Town in 1902 (originating earlier in 1806 at the Cape of Good Hope), when suggestions were forthcoming from a local businessman Mr J. A. Eagar, and later a City Councillor R. R. Brydon, that the practice of silence which was familiar to Eagar from his Anglican church (apparently the same church that Sir Percy Fitzpatrick attended) could be initiated following the gunfire signal which could be heard by all residents. The Mayor Harry (later Sir Harry) Hands agreed and it commenced on 14 May 1918 as a three-minute pause. Within a few days it was reduced to two minutes, to assist with embedding the practice more securely in the life of the city. The two minutes’ silence continued each day until 17 January 1919. According to Peter Dickens writing in *The Observation Post*, it was argued at the time that ‘the first minute is for thanksgiving for those that survived war and the second minute is to remember the fallen.’ See, <https://samilhistory.com/2016/11/04/2-minutes-silence-a-uniquely-south-african-gift-to-remembrance/> and <https://samilhistory.com/2017/11/02/the-2-minutes-silence-an-eye-witness-account-of-south-africas-unique-gift-to-remembrance/>. See also, the South African Legion website, <http://salegion.co.za/two-minutes-silence.html>.

⁵ The Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne has a plaque on its grounds that pays tribute to Honey and asserts his claim to originating the idea. The inscribing of Honey’s role in the path to the First Armistice Day tribute extends beyond the Shrine precinct into national folklore. The plaque reads: In Memory of Edward George Honey 1885-1922: A Melbourne journalist who, while living in London, first suggested the solemn ceremony of SILENCE now observed in all British countries in remembrance of those who died in war. ‘Lest we Forget’. Note the clear statement of the purpose of the ‘silence’. The 1960s Melbourne Committee that helped situate Honey’s contribution contended that ‘the originality of Honey’s suggestion is based on the fact that this was the first time in history that a victory had been celebrated as a tribute to those who sacrificed their lives and their health to make the victory possible’. The Committee’s claim is quoted in Peter Sekules and Jacqueline Rees, *Lest We Forget: The History of the Returned Services League 1916-1986* (Sydney: Rigby Publishers; 1986), p. 104.

ended with 'the most profound sound of all: silence'.⁶ The silence they consider is that of a returned soldier unwilling to express the horror of war to those at home, or unable to by injury or trauma. This state of 'muteness' is viewed by some authors as a negative one – as though they are victims of a 'silencing' by others, or at least by experiences beyond their control. For literary critic Walter Benjamin, they were 'men returned from the battlefield grown silent – not richer, but poorer in communicable experience'.⁷ Others connect the silence of the grieving widow or mother to this sense of victimhood. Some reflect on the 'eerie silence' of former battlefields and the memorials and cemeteries that now mark their landscape.⁸

Responses to war such as these, the transition from the din of battle to the silence of peace, make sense in the immediate aftermath, when those who suffered through the conflagration are alive and their sensory recall is heightened. However, the formalised period of silence was a representation of more than this 'experience'. It was a statement, necessarily framed by 'noise', about how to respond appropriately to the tragedy. Whether sounds of solemnity or triumph, the formal public invocation and participation in silence acted as a constant reminder: suffering occurred, and respect should be paid in communal quietude. In the pause for silence, mourning and remembering are conjoined whether or not some are giving thanks for delivery from war, or are lost in moments of quiet personal reflection and prayer. Each person's participation in a commemorative ceremony was both private and public, their utilisation of silence both a matter of individual decision and consent to a ritual form.

The Cape Town experience provided a contemporary blueprint for those involved in establishing the Armistice Day Silence in 1919. The new practice had drawn upon

⁶ Trudi Tate and Kate Kennedy (Eds.), *The Silent Morning: Culture and Memory after the Armistice* (Manchester University Press; 2013), p. 1.

⁷ Tate and Kennedy, *The Silent Morning*, p. 4. Quoting from Walter Benjamin, 'The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov', in Hannah Arendt (Ed.), *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books; 1969, trans. by Harry Cohn).

⁸ 'Sometimes critics who discuss silence... assume that it must always be associated with secrecy, deception, or the expression of emotion', but it might also 'speak' and that 'rather than suppressing language, silence is a substitute for it... mark(ing) the limits of language'. See Carolyn Dewald and Rachel Kitzinger, 'Speaking Silences in Herodotus and Sophocles', in Christina Clark (Ed.), *Kinesis: The Ancient Depiction of Gesture, Motion, and Emotion* (University of Michigan Press; 2015), pp. 87-88. For discussion in relation to the Great War, see Jay Winter, 'Thinking about silence', in Efrat Ben-ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and Jay Winter (Eds.), *Shadows of War* (Cambridge University Press; 2010); and *War Beyond Words: Languages of Remembrance from the Great War to the Present* (Cambridge University Press; 2017).

Anglican church rituals in that city, attended by the civic and business leaders responsible for creating the noon-day two minutes' silence. Precedents existed before 1919, however, in Anglican liturgy more generally, in public ceremony and indeed within Australia's Anzac traditions. At one of the earliest post-Gallipoli landings ceremonies, the reinterment of Major General Bridges in September 1915, Archbishop Wright had called for a moment of silence – 'Let the voice of God speak' before we return 'to the idle babel of everyday'.⁹ This was not an unusual occurrence, as Anglican liturgy commonly utilised silence, and was a growing feature of public respect on occasions of royal deaths. It was therefore no surprise that in the emerging formulations of the first Anzac Day ceremonies held in April 1916, the pause for silence was a commonplace element.

Before the Great War

According to John Moss standing in silence is a centuries old 'ritual expression of respect towards the dead'.¹⁰ There seems little doubt that it has the character of instinctual human expression. But its formal use might be a more recent phenomenon.¹¹ One known antecedent involving the formal use of silence on a public occasion was recorded in William Walsh's 1897 edition of *Curiosities of Popular Customs and of Rites, Ceremonies, Observances, and Miscellaneous Antiquities*. Walsh detailed events at the Venice Carnival of 1868, at which the 'great clock of St Mark' struck the midnight hour to usher in the period of Lent, causing the bands to cease playing, and the immense crowd was reduced to a moment of silence and darkness. This silence was broken by fireworks which 'ignited the figure of the doomed monarch – King Carnival – who perishes in a 'deafening explosion' signalling 'the ending of the rule of flesh'.¹² From the mid-nineteenth century, remarks Alain Corbin, the expanding cacophony of industrial urban experience had

⁹ C. D. Coulthard-Clark, *A Heritage of Spirit: A Biography of Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges KCB MCG* (Melbourne University Press; 1979), pp. 180-182, describes the funeral services held in September 1915.

¹⁰ John Francis Moss, *Music within Wartime Anglican Liturgies: Identity beyond Remembrance*, unpublished, undated essay. Accessed at www.academia.edu

¹¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London: Penguin; 2013), observes that 'the public remembrance of the dead in silence... is something without much precedent in previous periods of recorded world history', p. 231.

¹² William S. Walsh, *Curiosities of Popular Customs and of Rites, Ceremonies, Observances, and Miscellaneous Antiquities* (London: J. B. Lippincott; 1897), p. 190, quoted in George Prochnik, *The Pursuit of Silence: Listening for Meaning in a World of Noise* (New York: Anchor Books; 2011), p. 39.

caused an increasing interest in creating silence, spaces of aural relief from raucous crowds and the disinterested ignoring of strangers on trains and passers-by in streets that presaged the public conventions of dignified silence.¹³ This shift resonated with the ‘sound hell’ of industrial warfare finding its aural relief in the *Great Silence* of 11 November 1918, the movement from death to peace that was made possible by ‘the guns falling silent’.

George Prochnik explains that ‘While we don’t know when silence first became part of mourning rituals where the secular and the sacred intermingled, we might glimpse traces of the crossover in Carnival observances’.¹⁴ The moment described in the Venice Carnival mirrors the idea of a totemic sacrifice, that is, the symbolic representation of the event’s ‘leader’ dying to free participants from their enslaved condition in this world of ‘flesh’. Once the sacrifice was complete, carnival rejoicing ensued. Equivalence to the Easter story of death and resurrection was plain, between the notion of symbolic sacrifice and the rising to a new life expressed in a communal setting.¹⁵

Walsh’s account of the Venetian practice in the late nineteenth century suggested an inquisitiveness, as there had been with wreaths and floral tributes in this period, that sought to understand emerging public displays of respect and mourning for royal and heroic deaths. Honey himself had noted the pause for silence across Britain that had occurred following Edward VII’s death in 1910,¹⁶ citing as inspiration the five minutes silence that had unofficially marked King Edward’s funeral – he had been on a train which stopped during which he and others in the carriage stood. The incorporation of silence into public ceremonial occasions had, by the early twentieth

¹³ Alain Corbin, *A History of Silence: From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity; 2018), pp. 62-64.

¹⁴ Prochnik, *The Pursuit of Silence*, p. 39. Corbin believes that the history of the ‘minute’s silence... to the best of my knowledge, remains to be written’, *A History of Silence*, p. 57.

¹⁵ Corbin notes that despite its uncertain origins, the minute’s silence is ‘a transposition of a religious practice to beyond the religious sphere’. *A History of Silence*, p. 57.

¹⁶ There are other pre-war examples in other parts of the world. For example, in the United States of America, a minute’s silence had been observed at the passing of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1919. Also, it has been noted that in Portugal on 13 February 1912 proceedings in the Senate were put on hold for ten minutes, to mark the death of a Portuguese-born diplomat in Brazil. (Wikipedia entry sourcing Portuguese Parliamentary debates.) Reports in Canada of a 1912 public remembrance of the dead of the Titanic involving silence remain disputed. See MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History*, pp. 302-303.

century, gained a cultural acceptance across the Empire.¹⁷ The public response was a gesture of respect aimed at unifying people's emotional responses to Edward's passing. Thousands of Londoners attended impromptu silent vigils at the gates of Kensington Palace on the night of his death and over the following weekend. The impact of the King's death was no less affecting in Australia, the *Sydney Morning Herald* remarking that, 'a latent but overwhelmingly powerful sentiment was touched: It is our people's head, our friend who is dead'.¹⁸

At a more formal level, and in similar vein to Honey's British rail experience, the stopping of trains and other forms of transport was a common feature across Australia on 20 May 1910 when services and other ceremonies were being held to coincide with King Edward's funeral in Britain.¹⁹ In Melbourne, the seat of Australia's Federal Government at the time, all trains were officially required to stop for one minute at 2.30 pm and trams for thirty seconds. In NSW trains stopped for five minutes at noon, as they did in Western Australia, although some news reports are less precise and suggest it was for several minutes in that State. Five minutes was also the duration of the stoppage in Queensland, although beginning at 3.00 pm. South Australia varied from other States on both counts – transport halted for ten minutes at 11.00 am.

These State-based practices can't be explained by time zone differences alone. Instead, they suggest that there was no specific proclamation but a more general expression of commitment to ensure there was as full a participation in a formal silent tribute as was possible, suited to the timing of local ceremonies. Nor was there a pattern to how these silences were used. Reports include disembarking and standing reverently with bared heads (Victoria) and impromptu services among passengers (South Australia).²⁰

¹⁷ Throughout the twentieth century the practice has been widely embraced with the observance of silence marking numerous ceremonies and moments of tribute. Some key examples of a now ubiquitous practice are listed in Note 84 of this chapter.

¹⁸ Quoted in J. Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford University Press for the British Academy; 2000), p. 246.

¹⁹ *The Argus*, 21 May 1910, p. 16.

²⁰ The Prime Minister of Australia, The Hon. Andrew Fisher issued the Governor General's proclamations on 16 May 1910 (published as *Extraordinary Gazette*, No. 33, Tuesday 17 May 1910) notifying that there would be 68 minute guns fired on the day of the funeral, terminating at sunset, and, curiously, that Empire Day, 24 May, celebrations 'need not be abandoned' even though the nation was said to be in public mourning until 29 July, with half mourning after 17 June. There is no injunction or encouragement to engage in a silent tribute or to cease public transport such as trains, trams and ferries, as the State Governments had instituted.

IN MEMORY OF KING EDWARD.



THE CHOIR STALLS IN ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL.



THE MOST REV. DR. WRIGHT, ARCHBISHOP OF SYDNEY, AND PRIMATE OF AUSTRALIA.

(Source: *Sydney Mail*, 25 May 1910, p. 28)

The variety of injunctions to mark the death of King Edward VII in silent tribute illustrate the unremarkable nature of using silence to pause and remember in public gatherings. Prior to the War, a pattern of responsorial litany interweaving response in silent reflection or prayer was already established. Archbishop Wright at his first Easter in Sydney in 1910 inaugurated a service of Meditation on the Seven Words of the Cross held at St Andrew's Cathedral, with silent prayer following each of his devotional addresses on the sentences from Scripture.²¹ This suggests that Wright, having taken up the role of Archbishop in late 1909, brought with him to Sydney an innovation or at least a permitted practice from the United Kingdom. Notably, it predated by a few weeks the funeral of King Edward VII. Talbot, newly installed as the Dean of the Cathedral in 1912, was also to lead this Meditation on the occasion of

²¹ *Meditation on the Seven Words of the Cross*, 25 March 1910. Accessed at the Anglican Church Sydney Diocesan Archives.

his first Easter in 1913.²² From these instances we can observe that in the years immediately preceding the Great War, silent prayer within the context of a church service or clergy-led commemoration was a familiar practice. Pausing quietly in stillness in public spaces was also already a gesture of respect at the passing of a sovereign or hero. Wright and Talbot had no hesitation in employing the gesture when it came to special services and commemorations during the War.

War and Armistice

Although the initial *Forms of Prayer* issued on 7 August 1914 by Archbishop Wright shortly after the commencement of war did not reference the use of silence,²³ those he issued, as Primate of the Church of England in Australia, for the inaugural Day of Prayer and Intercession held on 3 January 1915, revised and reissued for use on the first Sunday of each New Year during the Great War, included regular pauses for silent prayer. The commencement of each new year during the war with an authorised form of service signalled quite clearly a dependence on God for the fate of the nation. The rubrics instructed that ‘silence shall be kept for a space’ after the bidding to each prayer read throughout the period of intercession. The service sheet stated more simply ‘pause for silent prayer’ or merely ‘silent prayer’.²⁴ On other occasions a prayer in commemoration of the fallen was followed by a pause to allow the thoughts of those remembering loved ones during the read prayer to respond with their own silent offerings to God. Amidst set prayers Wright, as he led the funeral of Major General Bridges in September 1915, the individual soldier who could represent all the fallen to that point, enjoined those present to allow, in silence, ‘the voice of God [to] speak’. This brief acknowledgement permitted the heart and mind of hearers to ponder their own grief and fear. It was only a small distance from the appropriateness of silence at a funeral, in the presence of a body, to the wider formal remembrance of all the fallen on Anzac Day. Similarly, it was not hard to imagine the

²² *The Last Seven Words*, 21 March 1913. Accessed at the Anglican Church Sydney Diocesan Archives.

²³ *Form of Prayer for use in the Diocese of Sydney during the time of War, 1914* (Authorised by the Archbishop of Sydney) August 1914. Accessed at the Anglican Church Sydney Diocesan Archives.

²⁴ *Form of Intercession with Almighty God on behalf of His Majesty’s Naval and Military Forces now Engaged in War for Sunday, 3 January 1915; A Service of Intercession for use on the Day of National Penitence and Prayer, Sunday, 2 January 1916; and similar*. Accessed at the Anglican Church Sydney Diocesan Archives.

transmission of a practice of standing in quietude around a casket to pausing from quotidian pursuits before we return 'to the idle babel of everyday'.²⁵

Sharing Wright's liturgical employment of silence as a means of granting respect to the living and the dead, Talbot was at the forefront of its use in the first commemoration in Sydney in 1916. Silence was widely observed but scripted. The plan for silent pauses was plainly communicated on Anzac eve. The 'stop-work' at 9.00 am was reported as a solemn moment in the same league as The Last Post and Dead March which were to conclude the later Domain proceedings.²⁶ And in a gesture that unified the city and established a pattern, at precisely 12 noon in the Domain, Talbot enjoined all present 'Heads bare, for a moment, for the fallen'.²⁷

These two instances of brief silence occurred in the commemorative, first half of the Day. Across the program for the afternoon and evening, when, in Sydney, 'celebration' was the aim, there was no mention in news reports of a period of silence being observed, either at the Lord Mayor's Luncheon or at the evening concert. Premier William Holman also permitted government offices to close from 11.00 am to 2.00 pm to enable staff to attend the Domain service and called on businesses to permit the same. Whether or not shops and factories complied with the three-hour span, people were to be permitted to observe a one-minute silence at 12 noon to synchronise with the commencement of the service at the Domain.

This sequence of events was in contrast to that gazetted in Queensland by the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, which made a public call for one minute's silence to be observed during evening meetings which were hoped to be held in every town across the State, precisely at 9.00 pm.²⁸ Silence had also been a significant part of the morning religious services in that State, with *The Courier* reporting that 'soldiers and civilians, standing together, mourned the dead and paid a tribute of silent respect', and during the afternoon military marches where an unspecified period of 'solemn silence' included a firing of three volleys and the bugle sounding of The Last Post.²⁹

²⁵ Archbishop Wright, *SDM*, 1 October 1915, p. 5.

²⁶ *SMH*, 26 April 1916, pp. 12, 13.

²⁷ Sharing a literal similarity to the first occurrence in South Africa - an eyewitness account notes that 'every man's head bared, as if by one single gesture'. See Dickens, 'The 2 minutes silence; an eyewitness account', (an account attributed to A. D. Donovan).

²⁸ 'Anzac Day 1916: Plan of Observance of Anzac Day', Anzac Day Commemoration Committee Papers. Accessed at the State Library of Queensland.

²⁹ *The Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1916, p. 7.

The utilisation of silence across the full program, morning, afternoon and evening, conformed with the Queensland Committee's express desire to see the whole day devoted to solemn commemoration. However, other States appear to have aligned with the Sydney approach. In South Australia, as in New South Wales, 9.00 am was the prescribed moment for silence with various reports that railway workers had stood 'for two minutes with bare heads as a mark of respect for the fallen soldiers' and 'in silence in respect to the memory of the men of Gallipoli'. It was not clear from these reports whether the train passengers had joined in this moment.³⁰ Similarly, in Western Australia, Archbishop Riley included in his luncheon toast to Departed Comrades, a period of silence, followed by The Last Post.³¹

This public formal observation of silence, and its inclusion in war commemoration ceremonies prior to the first anniversary of the Armistice in 1919, has been recognised in British historiography but has largely been ignored in Australian scholarship. John Francis Moss has explored whether Farnham in Surrey could lay claim to the first use of silence in a public setting during the War. As a mark of respect for those who had lost their lives in the war, and for those who continued to serve, the opening of the Farnham Mayday Fair on 10 May 1916 began with a pause in silence. Moss concludes that the use of silence at Australia's Anzac ceremonies in April 1916, however, clearly pre-dates the Farnham occasion.³² Given the use of silence at Cape Town, which began in 1918, this practice seems to have emerged in a number of places across the United Kingdom and the Empire both in the early days of formal ceremonial remembrance during the war and towards its end. What unites these occasions is their roots in Anglican forms and the involvement of Anglican church leaders in the performance of silence.

The initiatives in Australia and South Africa were clearly led by the Church of England. Farnham, however, was commonly attributed to a local real estate agent, Mr J. A. Eggar, who had been a key member of the organising committee for the Fair. But this ritual also had its roots in Anglican liturgy. Eggar's memoirs, published in

³⁰ Lee Sackett, 'Marching into the past: Anzac Day celebrations in Adelaide', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 17, (1985), p. 21.

³¹ John Francis Moss, 'The Original Silence: an investigation into the claim that the first observance of the Two Minutes' Silence was held on 10 May 1916 in Farnham, Surrey' (2015), p. 24, quoting from *The Western Australian*, 26 April 1916, pp. 7-8. Accessed at www.academia.edu

³² Moss, 'The Original Silence', p. 21.

1924, detail the program for the Fair's opening, including the Two Minutes' Silence.³³ However, Eggar was a Churchwarden at the Farnham Parish Church and it was Canon Cunningham, an assistant at the Parish, with the Rector on holidays, who led the Fair's opening proceedings. His role in the Parish was an extensive one, including being the Bishop of Winchester's Chaplain (the Bishop's residence was in Farnham), and the Warden of the local clergy training college. Moreover, the liturgical resources developed for use during the war by the Archbishop of Canterbury Randall Davidson, himself a former Bishop of Winchester, included pause for silent prayer following read prayers for those on active service, those wounded, and in thankfulness for those who had sacrificed their lives. As Moss suggests, 'Pauses for silent prayer were becoming commonplace at this time in Anglican liturgy'.³⁴ Although there are colloquial stories that suggest Eggar instigated the inclusion of a silence in the opening of the Fair, he was no doubt familiar with a liturgical formation of silence in prayer litanies from attendance at his parish church. It may be reasonably concluded that Eggar had at least partnered with the local clergy leadership to create the form of the opening proceedings.³⁵

Local reports suggest that one of the reasons for the solemn commencement of the proceedings to open the Mayday Fair at Farnham had been concern in some quarters about even having a fair during the war.³⁶ Sydney's answer to similar sentiments, that street pageants were unfitting, was to devise a program devoted to solemnity in the morning that transitioned into a modest form of celebration in the afternoon and evening.³⁷ This general approach to Anzac Day foreshadowed the more specific framing of the period of silence by the solemnity of The Last Post and the hope of the Reveille.

³³ Moss, 'The Original Silence', p. 9.

³⁴ Moss, 'The Original Silence', p. 7.

³⁵ The Cape Town experience was similar – a leading local businessman, Mr J. A. Eagar, attended the City's Anglican Church, as did Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, where silence amidst prayers had developed. The practice is then translated into a civic ritual in the public square. The similarity of the two businessmen's names, Eager and Eggar, suggest uncertainty in the historical record. For example, The *Gallipoli Legion Gazette* (November 1941) in an article on the 'Origin of the Two Minutes' Silence', attributes the South African initiative to J. A. Eggar, not Eager.

³⁶ *Farnham Herald*, 6 March 2016, reporting on Centenary plans for remembering the Farnham Fair Silence.

³⁷ William Brooks, Acting President of the RSA had written to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 19 April 1916 stating it would be 'unbecoming to celebrate such a day by street pageants and hilarity; it would be equally unfitting to make the day one of mourning'.

By the second anniversary of Anzac Day, Talbot, as President of the RSA, carried responsibilities for leadership of the veterans' involvement on the day, as well as the St Andrew's Cathedral Service and the public ceremony. The patterns introduced in 1916, of honouring the fallen through silence, were repeated. The silence was held at noon again, and the combined public ceremony was later in the day at 4.00 pm – midday marked the beginning of church services, and a city-wide 'stop-work' for one minute. Similarly, the noon-day silence performed each day in Cape Town brought that city to a standstill, an effect that sought to capture the spirit of thankfulness amidst grief and resignation no doubt prompted by the personal experience of the instigators, a number of whom had lost their sons in battle.³⁸

The 1919 Armistice proclamation by the King was taken up in Australia.³⁹ The Governor-General Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson had replied, assuring the King of Australian loyalty to His Majesty's wishes. In Victoria, the trams and trains were again to stop for the Two Minutes' Silence to facilitate a ceremony held on the steps of Federal Parliament House at 11.00 am. The Commonwealth Government also organised the closure of all its offices. State Governments and churches were requested to cooperate in the observance of the day. The Two Minutes' Silence was to be preceded by the bugle sounding of The Last Post and ended by the sounding of Reveille. At the time there were many variations on this combination. The Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee's Guide, that persisted well into the 1920s, suggested that the solemn end to that State's prescribed ceremony be the 9.00 pm silence, with The Last Post or any hymn that seemed appropriate concluding this period. But a standard for how the silence was framed within a ceremony had now been set and was to endure. The first anniversary of the silencing of the guns on the Great War battlefields heralded, through the playing of the two familiar tunes, the placing of the silence neatly within both military tradition and Christian theology. The success of the Two Minutes' Silence, across Britain and its Empire, was the official sanction it gave to the most simple of innate human gestures, performed in the face of grief and loss. It was also in the ritual package that elevated two bugle

³⁸ Mayor Sir Harry Hand and City Councillor R. R. Brydon had both lost sons, Captain Richard Hands and Major Walter Brydon, in the same battle on 12 April 1918, one month before they collaborated on introducing the noon-day silence. Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's son, Major Nugent Fitzpatrick, had lost his life earlier on 14 December 1917. See Dickens, *The Observation Post*, 'South Africa's gift' for details.

³⁹ *The Argus*, 10 November 1919, p. 10; *The Advertiser*, 10 November 1919, p. 7.

sounds from armed forces operational protocol into a solemn commemorative act illustrative of core church beliefs about death and resurrection.

Silence in Anzac Commemoration

The use of silence as a mark of respect for the dead was mentioned in many reports of commemoration. The Sydney Anglican leadership, in 1916, having earlier devised the forms of authorised prayer for use during wartime, were committed, as in Farnham, to bringing this liturgical device to a wider audience in a public setting such as the principal gathering on Anzac Day in the Domain. At the Anglican Service at St Andrew's Cathedral, conducted earlier that day, Archbishop Wright had said, 'We do well for a brief moment to bow our heads in thought beside those graves of our gallant dead in Gallipoli and Egypt. The matchless dead rise up and plead with us, 'Quit you like men, be strong'.⁴⁰ Wright's vivid sketch took the thoughts of congregants to the source of the new word Anzac which he had only a few minutes before reminded all was 'the legacy of a sacred trust'. The text 'Quit you like men, be strong' was from the First Letter to the Corinthians chapter 16 verse 13. Paul issued the letter's concluding plea, which in modern translation is rendered, 'Keep alert, stand firm in your faith, be courageous, be strong'. Before this conclusion, Paul had written fifty-eight verses stressing the certainty of a believer's hope in the resurrection, a context that would not have eluded either the preacher or congregant. Wright's injunction to the living was to take up the Anzac legacy of courage and strength, and to remain steadfast to the end in the Christian faith in the midst of the trials of war and all its uncertainties.

The service's first reading, selected by Talbot, was from the Wisdom of Solomon Chapter 3. In this apocryphal book of the Christian scriptures, the writer makes clear that those righteous who had died are in the 'hand of God', they have not perished, but are now free from torment, at peace, their hope 'full of immortality'. The first Anzac Day sermon and its Scripture texts placed the Anzacs in a pantheon of heroes who were now safe in the afterlife. The silent tributes offered by listeners were not only a testimony to them, but a means of assurance for the living that they would be reunited with loved ones in heaven on the day of resurrection. There could be no

⁴⁰ *SMH*, 26 April 1916, p. 11.

more insistent declaration of theological conviction by Wright and Talbot in the face of loss in war. Their Evangelical theology provided a context for the use of silence, and on this first Anzac Day, at their first opportunity, there was no thought of solace being offered through 'prayers for the dead' or spiritual communion between the dead and the living. Bowing the head, for a brief moment, as though gathered at the graves of the fallen, was a work of remembrance, in tribute and in gratitude, and not more than an hour after the Cathedral service, before 60,000 Sydneysiders, and countless more throughout the city, Talbot was to embed this gesture into Anzac Day commemoration practice.

When King George proclaimed the Two Minutes' Silence for Armistice Day 1919, the intent was to 'afford an opportunity for the universal expression of feeling... so that, in perfect stillness, the thoughts of everyone may be concentrated on reverent remembrance of the Glorious Dead'. These sentiments matched Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's entreaty that 'they would think with thankfulness before God of those who laid down their lives for their country'.⁴¹ The religious nature or otherwise of the injunction to silence was more quietly enjoined. Importantly, there is no reference to praying, but nor was there reference to the future of those who had lost their lives. The references are to 'remembrance' and to 'thankfulness', words that sit, as demonstrated by Wright and Talbot, within Protestant understandings of prayer for the fallen. In the messages of Fitzpatrick and of the King there was no suggestion that there would be any prayers for, or communion with, the dead.⁴² The King's proclamation was likely referencing the inscription 'Our Glorious Dead' on the Cenotaph in London, before which the principal occasion of Empire remembrance was scheduled to occur on 11 November. The absence of any Scriptural or other religious injunction was a recognition that the silence would be observed in many places, not just before memorials or in church services, and indeed often alone. Importantly, the careful wording, although Protestant in nature, ensured that in private there was freedom to pray or not to pray, to 'bow our heads in thought' and, if

⁴¹ By the time of King George's own funeral in 1936 an official Two Minutes' Silence at midday was gazetted in likely recognition of the ritual he had successfully instituted in 1919. Noteworthy also was the singing of *Abide with me*, another war commemoration standard, as his especially chosen hymn at his funeral. See Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals: Music and Ceremonial since Elizabeth I* (Suffolk: Boydell Press; 2016), p. 281.

⁴² In the United Kingdom, the matter of prayers for the dead was more contentious than it had been in Sydney. See Geoffrey R. Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism: The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond, A History of Evangelicalism, Volume 4* (London: InterVarsity Press; 2016), pp. 156-157.

praying, to do so as one wished. The ritual's wide acceptance and the Empire unity it symbolised were more important than the making of clear theological statements.

The ecumenical imperatives of wide participation and public expressions of unity were to prevail in Britain. John Wolffe notes precedents for Anglican liturgical forms to be the framework for broader occasions. The widespread affection for Queen Victoria had dictated as much, providing in 1901, on the occasion of her funeral, 'an early stimulus to ecumenical services'.⁴³ George V had also insisted that Edward VII's funeral in 1910 'as far as possible, be made a universal rather than a local Service', meaning that a special service based on the Anglican form of the Burial for the Dead be developed for a unique and one-off use, rather than typical Morning or Evening Prayer services.⁴⁴ Wright's approach in Sydney, and throughout Australia as Primate, also pursued a delicate balance, providing *supplementary* prayers and litanies that could be used as written or as an addition to existing services. By the time of the National Day of Thanksgiving for the end of the war, held on 24 November 1918, an ecumenical spirit was evident with the set of prayers and forms of service for the Day jointly issued by Wright with other Protestant denominations, although they differed little from previously issued forms, and remained unmistakably 'Sydney Evangelical' in character.⁴⁵

As a mode of participatory prayer, silence was already a common liturgical form. And so, as the motif was gradually taken up in commemoration practice, little was said about why silence should be a fundamental part of the new liturgical demands of war. Nonetheless, Wright provided one clue. On a Day of Intercession and Prayer held in 1915, focussed on the mission of the church at home rather than the war, Wright hinted at the possible uses of silence during a church service.⁴⁶ The service sheet outlined for congregants that, during times of silence, prayer should be offered 'for a deeper sense of vocation, for a ready will to submit to the discipline of preparation for His Service, for grace to use our gifts to His honour and glory, and for a larger view of the power of intercessory prayer.' Although not fashioned for a commemoration, these four prescriptions can be reimagined as committing oneself

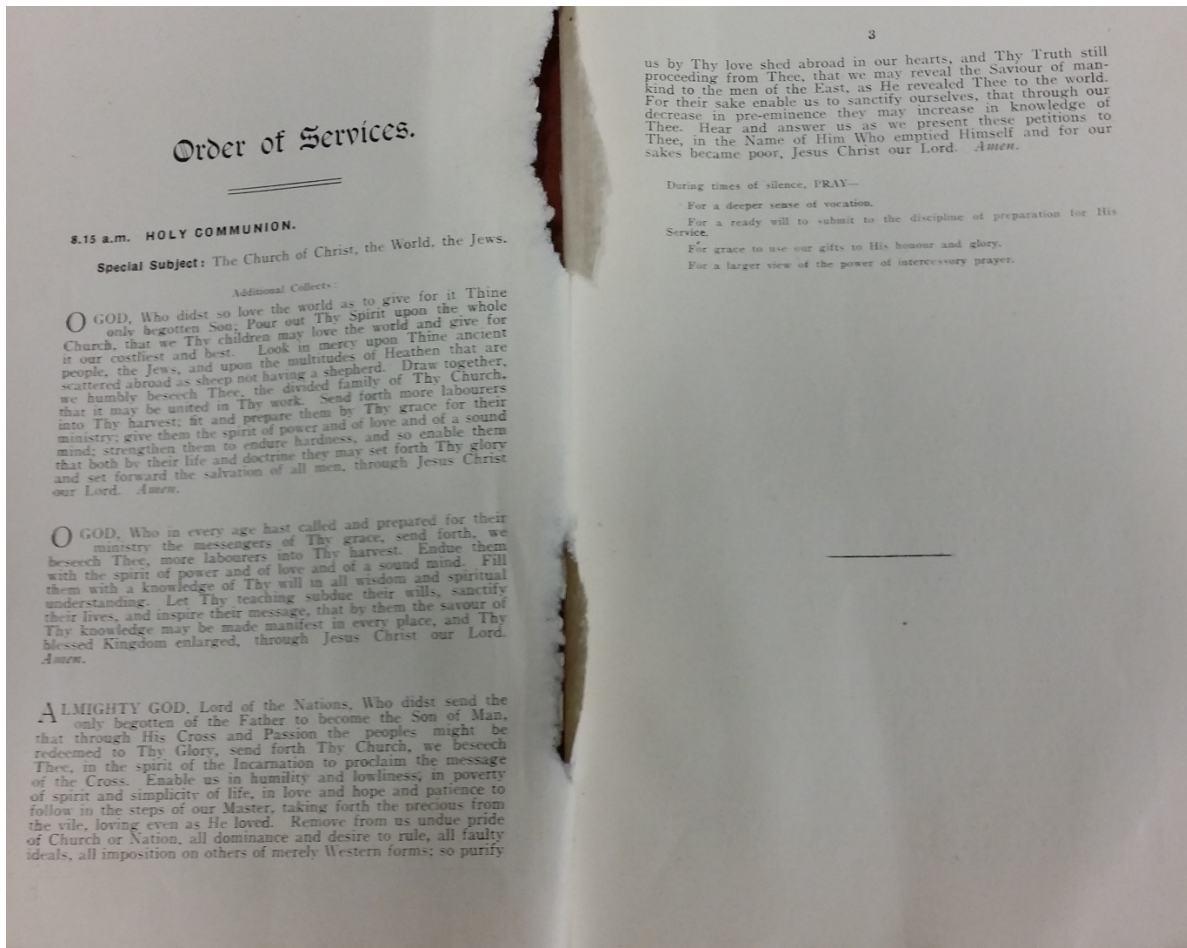
⁴³ Noted by Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, p. 285.

⁴⁴ Archbishop Randall Davidson quoted in Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, p. 285.

⁴⁵ *Service of Thanksgiving for the Cessation of Hostilities and Commemoration of the Sons of Our Church who have Fallen in the War, 24 November 1918*. Accessed at the Anglican Church Sydney Diocesan Archives.

⁴⁶ *Day of Intercession and Prayer, 29 November 1915*. Accessed at the Anglican Church Sydney Diocesan Archives.

to serving the nation in its time of need and continually bringing before God in prayer the war's 'daunting new perils, as yet unknown' as he wrote a month later for the forthcoming Day of Prayer and Intercession.



Day of Intercession and Prayer, 29 November 1915.

(Source: Anglican Church, Sydney Diocesan Archives)

Wright's approach to liturgy was to confront perilous times with words of comfort and hope. He was thoroughly committed to the Gospel message of redemption, of the power of the sacrifice of Jesus, his death and resurrection, to shape the experience of this world and the next. This essential context was evident in the Forms of Prayer in which Wright first explicitly included pauses for silence. Issued in late 1914 for the first Sunday in January, the form involved seven prayers and seven pauses. A faint echo can be heard of the Good Friday Meditations on the Seven Words of the Cross that he had introduced at his first Easter in Sydney in 1910, each of the seven

passages of scripture being followed by a pause for silent prayer. It was unlikely that anyone experiencing the new Forms of Prayer in those early years of the war would have made this connection. But in hindsight we can glimpse the trope that may have been in Wright's mind in preparing Australians for the overwhelming sacrifices that were still to come - a readiness to draw on the very essence of Easter, on the sacrifice of Jesus, his death on the cross and the empty tomb that provides assurance of a life after death.

It was the full expression of Easter belief that came to frame the formal silences on Anzac Day. The symbolic assemblage involving the employment of military soundings to enrich the meaning of civic commemorations, along with a recitation of remembrance, made an unmistakable statement of the glorious fate of the fallen and the sure hope of the living.

The silence was always set within a structure involving an introduction of words or sounds. The Farnham silence in 1916 was preceded by a bugle call and ended with the National Anthem. In Sydney, at the Domain, a similar bracketing occurred. In each instance, there was no direct reference to God, but the context for the Sydney initiative was an Anglican liturgical form familiar to a significant majority of those in attendance, military and civilian alike. The ending of the Silence with a further bugle call of Reveille or Rouse, as had been the case in Cape Town, the traditional military morning summons, strengthened the Christian imagery evoking the hope of dead soldier's awakening from his 'sleep'.

Throughout the war, the Brisbane ADCC suggested the silence be preceded by a reading of the names of those who had fallen in war, and 'be followed by the The Dead March in Saul or other suitable music'. By 1922, the instruction had expanded to 'The Last Post, The Reveille, The Dead March in Saul, or other suitable music'.⁴⁷ The pattern in Australia became to frame the minute of silence firstly with the *Ode of Remembrance*, the fourth stanza of Laurence Binyon's poem *For the Fallen*, and then, as established at the first Armistice commemoration, by the sounding of The Last Post, and after the silence, the Reveille. Both Binyon's poem and the bugle calls have significant Christian meaning.

⁴⁷ 'Hints for Public Meetings on Anzac Day 1918' and 'Suggestions for Public Observance, Anzac Day 1922', Anzac Day Commemoration Committee Papers. Accessed at the State Library of Queensland.

Binyon had penned *For the Fallen* shortly after the first battles of the Great War at Mons in August 1914 and it became known to a wide audience through publication in *The Times* on 21 September 1914. The fourth stanza has 'become a proper act of public remembrance, hallowed by use':⁴⁸

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.

Although widely known as a poem and put to use whenever newspaper editors or letter writers wanted to emphasise their plea for remembrance, how it came to enjoy a 'hallowed' status in commemoration liturgy is less discernible. Tracing its use in relation to Anzac suggests that the poem was known to Australian audiences at an early point. A late 1915 printing of the poem in a South Australian newspaper, substituting 'Australia' for 'England' in the opening stanza, extols the Anzacs. Throughout the war *For the Fallen* was recited at fund-raising gatherings and continued to appear in newspaper columns.⁴⁹ After the war, use of the poem remained popular as remembrance practice took shape. Notable was the printing of the poem on the Order of Service for the unveiling in 1922 of the Cross of Sacrifice as the centrepiece of the Women's Memorial in Adelaide.⁵⁰ By Anzac Day 1931, references abounded, revealing its popularity in addresses and as part of the ceremonial order.⁵¹ Observed that year was a wreath at the Sydney Cenotaph with Binyon's words attached.⁵²

The inclusion of the poem in forms of ceremony was likely to have been further reinforced by a visit to Australia in 1925 by leaders of the Talbot House movement seeking to establish branches in capital cities. The Toc H Fellowship, as it was more commonly known, was an Anglican Protestant movement that had begun during the war with the provision of Christian club rooms for resting soldiers near the front in

⁴⁸ Michael Alexander, 'Remembering "For the Fallen"', *Literary Review* (November 2017), pp. 30-31.

⁴⁹ *The Laura Standard* (South Australia), 26 November 1915, p. 3. *The Australasian*, 11 May 1918, p. 32, *The Dalby Herald* (Queensland), 13 July 1918, p. 6 (reporting on the Anzac Day ceremonies held in Egypt that year).

⁵⁰ *The Observer*, 29 April 1922, p. 20.

⁵¹ *Tweed Daily*, 27 April 1931, p. 3; *National Advocate*, 24 April 1931, p. 1.

⁵² *The Sun* (Sydney), 25 April 1931, p. 3.

Ieper, Belgium, and burgeoned after the war into a society of veterans and civilians.⁵³ With a message focussed on the wartime example of sacrifice and service, the connection of Toc H to the Anzac spirit was plain. It began its meetings with the lighting of a lantern flame and the recitation of Binyon's fourth stanza, including the repetition by all present of the last line, 'We will remember them', followed by a minute's silence.⁵⁴ This ritual form was outlined at a Cathedral meeting of Sydney clergy with the visitors at which Archbishop Wright presided. Dean Talbot spoke to his own motion of support for the establishment of a branch in Sydney, hoping for a rejuvenation of Anzac ideals.⁵⁵ Wright, too, found attractive Toc H's appeal to all denominations – the movement, although begun by Anglicans, had deliberately sought to be 'interdenominational and undenominational' – and all present would have recognised the words of Scripture in Binyon's lines, married with familiar classical and Shakespearean echoes. The fourth stanza contained lines from all three hallowed sources, but its second half contained a significant evocation of the Passover commemoration from the Book of Deuteronomy.

Discussions of the poem in later scholarship seem to be ignorant of the Scriptural debt.⁵⁶ Instead they cite Binyon's principal inspiration as Pericles' Funeral Oration (as recorded by Thucydides), in currency since Abraham Lincoln's educement of much of Pericles' sentiment in his 1863 Gettysburg Address.⁵⁷ Two lines are provided as evidence for the connection. The phrase that begins the fourth stanza, 'They shall grow not old', echoes directly Pericles' line 'a praise which grows not old'.⁵⁸ And in Binyon's third stanza there is a further echo. The thrust of Pericles' attestation of bravery in confronting the enemy, 'on the battlefield their feet stood fast', is matched in Binyon's phrasing, 'they fell with their faces to the foe'. But the poem's allusions

⁵³ 'Toc' is the sounding of the letter 'T' in the signals alphabet, thus the shortened form 'Toc H' in the naming of the movement that began at Talbot House.

⁵⁴ ' "Toc H": History of a Great Movement', *Sydney Mail*, 24 June 1925, p. 11.

⁵⁵ 'Toc H/Church Support/Spiritual Lethargy/Dean Talbot's Comment', *SMH*, 24 March 1925, p. 8.

⁵⁶ A recent example is Chris Carey, *Thermopylae* (Oxford University Press; 2019) who claims that Binyon's is 'possibly the finest poetic use of Thermopylae', the fourth and seventh stanzas drawing on 'Simonides choral tribute to the fallen', meaning the 'famous epigram for the Spartans *attributed* (italics added) to Simonides'. However, it is clear in Carey's own translation of Simonides' epigram that there is no correlation, other than what he himself attributes to Binyon's 'spirit of Greek heroism', pp. 179-180.

⁵⁷ See Simon Stow, 'Pericles at Gettysburg and Ground Zero: Tragedy, Patriotism, and Public Mourning', *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (May 2007), pp. 195-208.

⁵⁸ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Penguin; 1954, trans. by Rex Warner), Book 2, paragraphs 42-43. See also, the 1996 translation by Richard Hooker, University of Minnesota Human Rights Library.

are wider than Pericles. Pursuing an eclectic set of inspirations, Binyon referenced Shakespeare – the fourth stanza’s second line, ‘Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn’, closely mirrored Mark Antony’s declaration of love for Cleopatra from the play *Antony and Cleopatra*, ‘Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale’.⁵⁹

Less remarked upon is the poem’s heavy dependence upon Scripture, familiar to Binyon as the son of an Anglican clergyman but lost in Australian commentary amidst the enthusiasm to draw links between the Anzacs and the Greek heroes of the fifth century BC. ‘Flesh of her flesh’, from the first stanza, is a direct reference to Adam’s description of Eve as ‘flesh of my flesh’ in Genesis.⁶⁰ There is an allusion in the final stanza to Chapter 12 of the Old Testament Book of Daniel – one of the earliest references to the nature of the afterlife in the Old Testament – when Binyon described the fallen being raised like stars ‘moving in marches across the heavenly plain’.⁶¹ But the Scriptural debt is most evident in the fourth stanza. ‘At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them’, directly references Deuteronomy 16:6, ‘thou shalt sacrifice the Passover at even, *at the going down of the sun*, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt’.

The Passover Feast in Jewish tradition marks the salvation of the people of Israel from the hands of its Egyptian oppressors. The Old Testament commands are to remember this act of salvation annually at the Passover, a feast of celebration that commences at sunset and concludes ‘*in the morning*’ when the Israelites return to their tents. The similarity of the words leaves no room for doubt that Binyon was drawing on this description of the Passover. The command to conduct the festival annually was based on the call by God to remember. Reprising 16:12, ‘and thou shalt remember that you were a bondsman (slave) in Egypt’, Binyon concluded the ‘hallowed’ stanza with the now immortal benediction, ‘We will remember them’. Clergy called upon to design and preside at Anzac ceremonies would undoubtedly have been comfortable with the incorporation of these words into the standard

⁵⁹ William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II Scene II. A declaration that employs a double meaning capturing both the union of the two leaders and the indissoluble union of two empires.

⁶⁰ Genesis 2:23-24.

⁶¹ Daniel 12:3-4 refers to those who have awoken from sleep to everlasting life shining ‘as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever’. According to scholars of the Old Testament, ‘this is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible that clearly predicts the resurrection of individuals.’ See, for example, Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neussner (Eds.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part Four: Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill; 2000), p. 126.

liturgies.⁶² In particular, the emphasis in Sydney on the Easter story of death and resurrection, which Christians believe the Passover betokens, was consistent with the Ode's core articulation of remembrance repeated somewhere across Australia every day, whether in a Club, at a funeral, or at a commemoration ceremony.

The Bugle Sounds

The recitation of the Ode provided a fitting prelude to the sounding of The Last Post.⁶³ The bugle sound has its roots in military tradition, marking the imminent shutting down of barracks or camp for the evening, and denoting by extension the beginning of the time of sleep. The Reveille, and its musical cousin, the Rouse, were morning signals to awaken soldiers from their sleep. Again, the Reveille is a barracks-based sound, not a battlefield one. Bugle or other musical soundings within the context of a barracks establish an end of a day and a beginning, akin to The Ode's 'At the going down of the sun, and in the morning'. They were, in their seventeenth century origins, a practical solution to being away from the peal of bells in a parish, the traditional form of time-signalling, of calling a village together. The parish church bell announced that services were commencing or, as Charles Wheatly explained, writing in the eighteenth century, was particularly useful to give notice to neighbours of the commencement of a burial ceremony.⁶⁴

In describing the history of bugling, Alwyn Turner identifies The Last Post emerging at funerals in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁵ The first reference was in an 1853 report from Quebec attributed to a Free Church of Scotland minister, Rev. W. B. Clark. Even though The Last Post was sounded alone at the Canadian funeral, it was given context by Clark: in death was signalled 'a reveille... which will not fail to rouse every

⁶² The Ode's Christian sources negate Seal, 'Sacred in the Secular', p. 140 who described Binyon's Ode as 'effectively a secular credo'.

⁶³ The order according to the Australian Army protocol is for the Ode to precede The Last Post, but in some places, the Ode follows immediately after the sounding. In either case, the two are coupled as part of the solemn assemblage. Australian Army, *Australian Army Ceremony and Protocol Manual*, Chapter Eighteen: Anzac Day and Remembrance Day Commemorative Ceremonies, paragraphs 18:67 – 18:96.

⁶⁴ Charles Wheatly, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer* (7th edition, 1741), p. 497.

⁶⁵ Alwyn Turner, *The Last Post: Music, Remembrance and the Great War* (London: Aurum Press; 2014). Turner, p. 3, begins his account of the tune's history with the story of a first-century Roman 'practice of using trumpet sounds to regulate a soldier's life and control battlefield strategy', providing in support a quotation from Josephus: 'Their times also for sleeping and watching and rising are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal.'

sleeper'.⁶⁶ Thereafter, funereal references to The Last Post become more common. Turner traces the first use of the bugle call at a 'commemoration' rather than at a funeral to the Second Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902, 'the first major conflict since The Last Post had become a common feature of military funerals', on an occasion when it had not been possible to collect all the dead during the fighting. In May 1900, following the siege at Mafeking, a thanksgiving service was held that included the sounding of The Last Post and the singing of the National Anthem.⁶⁷ As the dead were interred, The Last Post was commonly sounded as part of the burial proceedings, but this was the first instance of its being played in honour of all losses after a particular battle.

The Boer War had also prompted an innovation in Sydney. At the St Andrew's Cathedral unveiling ceremony in May 1906 for a Memorial to those of the NSW Contingent who fell in the South African War, bugle calls were ceremonial components. The act of unveiling occurred midway through the service, beginning with the NSW Governor removing the covering, revealing a plaque with its inscription encircled by a laurel wreath, and then followed the sounding of The Last Post, two prayers and then the sounding of Reveille. After this ceremonial interlude, the Governor returned to his seat and the service continued with a concluding hymn, *Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus*, and the National Anthem. The wreath emblem and the two bugle soundings framing a time of prayer were already a repertoire of motifs available for the construction of a special service of worship.⁶⁸

Matthew Range raises the question of whether the sounding of The Last Post and Reveille (eventually with the period of silence in between) is an example of an *invented tradition*, but concludes that at least, 'in the context of ceremonial funerals

⁶⁶ Turner, *The Last Post*, pp. 25-28. Soldiers' funerals in the early nineteenth century prompted poetry referring to bugle sounds as early as the 1820s, but not The Last Post. Rev. W. B. Clark of the Free Church of Scotland is quoted by Turner: 'and when the soldier is placed in his long home, what music so appropriate as The Last Post. But there is a day coming when tones of a trumpet more solemn will be heard, and a reveille will be sounded which will not fail to rouse every sleeper.' The first British mention is identified as occurring in 1871 in Newcastle, The Last Post being played after three volleys had been fired over the coffin. The tune is first officially described as The Last Post, rather than being referred to as *Setting the Watch* (the original name of the tune) or *Lights Out* (the actual final bugle call of the evening), in an 1873 King's Regulation, but was colloquially known already – the two sounds of First Post and Last Post announcing a warning and then the closing of the barracks gates. Turner, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁷ Turner, *The Last Post*, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁸ *SMH*, 21 May 1906, p. 4. The service also included a reading of the forty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus which was followed by the Hymn, *On the Resurrection Morn*.

these signals link to a clear historic precedent: to the trumpet fanfares at the end of the service that had been heard at least from Henry VIII's funeral up to the eighteenth century'.⁶⁹ From the nineteenth century onwards we are dealing not with Anglican funeral rites alone, but with specially designed commemorations in public arenas, occasioning the development of new ritual components within the traditional Anglican formularies, such as the bugle calls and a formal bespoke period of silence.

Referring to the 1910 funeral of King Edward VII, Wolffe sees in its public forms a forerunner of Great War ceremonies, an instance of successful fulfilment of innovation in public access and tribute, that was 'an excellent illustration of wider and longer-term trends'.⁷⁰ Fanfares at a funeral's end and the singing of the National Anthem after The Last Post, before the Reveille found its place, indicate that we should read the later tradition expecting the spirit of sadness that envelops The Last Post and the silence to find its cathartic release also in music. The emergence of the two bugle sounds, in the form we are familiar with today, in funereal and ceremonial contexts, moved them beyond their military meaning, both theologically and commemoratively, to make a statement about the fallen. For Range, the addition of the Reveille functioned as 'the soldiers' wakening call: in the same way as the trumpet fanfares in previous centuries, it could be understood as a reference to the resurrection'.⁷¹

In the years before the War, funeral services at St Andrew's Cathedral had a typical pattern involving music to create the appropriate atmosphere. To commence the service, the clergy and any dignitaries proceeded down the aisle to the playing of a funeral march. Routinely employed was Chopin's *Funeral March*. The service concluded with the *Dead March* from Handel's oratorio *Saul*, and then Beethoven's *Funeral March*.⁷² But on the occasion of King Edward VII's Funeral

⁶⁹ Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, p. 329.

⁷⁰ John Wolffe, 'The People's King: The Crowd and the Media at the Funeral of Edward VII, May 1910', *The Court Historian*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2003), p. 23. See also Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Canto Press edition; 1992, orig. pub. 1983). Adrian Gregory in *The Silence of Memory*, also supports the idea that the formal silence is an 'invented tradition', p. 9.

⁷¹ Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, p. 290.

⁷² See, among others, the Service In Memoriam to Admiral Rawson, 8 November 1910, Baron Northcote's Memorial Service, 4 October 1911, and the Burial Service for Albert Bytheren Weigall, 22 February 1912. Of note also is the Solemn Memorial Service on the Death of King Edward VII, held on 20 May 1910, coinciding with the same ceremony in London, and at which the procession occurs in silence. The King's Memorial Service concludes with the *Dead March*, and then Chopin's *Funeral March*. Orders of Service accessed in NSW State Library collection of St Andrews Cathedral Pamphlets.

Commemoration in Sydney, the established practice was varied with the commencement procession conducted in an unusual silence. There was also a distinctive musical component to the official service at St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the United Kingdom, which included the Funeral Anthem composed by Handel for the funeral of Queen Caroline in 1737. This anthem included the Ecclesiasticus verse, 'Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth forevermore', providing a particularly contemporary resonance for Kipling's later selection of the phrase, 'Their name liveth for evermore', which was soon to be inscribed on Stones of Remembrance in Imperial War Graves cemeteries across the battlefields.⁷³ Both Henry VIII era fanfares and Edward VII era Scripture references and silences provided the patterns that were the forerunners of what was to emerge in the Great War.

The question could still be asked whether this was how people of the Great War era would have understood the sounds. When The Last Post was played at these funerals it was commonly followed by the playing of the National Anthem, which, before The Last Post became indelibly coupled with Reveille, readied the congregants to depart the gathering knowing that life continues, both individually and as a nation.⁷⁴ But did this 'return' to the world outside the commemorative ritual also involve thoughts of the eventual resurrection hope? Turner describes the bugle sounding of The Last Post in 'secular' terms, as 'a democratic expression of loss and suffering' and 'a symbol of the people's peace, uniting all, regardless of age, gender or religion'. This unity is expressed when 'The country came together in a single thought, a single emotion, a single prayer, even if that prayer was addressed to many gods'. For

⁷³ Ecclesiasticus 44:14. Kipling, serving on the Imperial War Graves Commission at the time, had selected the phrase from the apocryphal book of the Bible for the inscription on the Stone of Remembrance which stands at the entrance to larger Imperial War Graves (now the Commonwealth War Graves Commission) cemeteries around the world. Note that the words were also used by George Frideric Handel in his Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline, 'The Ways of Zion do Mourn' composed in 1737, which by the nineteenth century had become 'generally well known and influential'. See Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, p. 171, and Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge University Press; 1995), pp. 103-107.

⁷⁴ Philip Kitley, 'Anzac Day Ritual', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1979), pp. 61-62, notes how the Ode/Bugle sounds/silence assemblage facilitates the preparation for the return to everyday life. Such description places elements of the experience of being present at an Anzac ceremony within foundational ritual studies, particularly the concept of the transitional period between separation and reintegration that, according to van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, forms an essential path in mourning practice. Within a threefold structure of separation, transition and reintegration, van Gennep proposed a way to understand the effect of mourning rituals on participants, enabling a focus first on the subject of the mourning, the dead, and then moving gradually towards a restoration to ongoing life. See p. 191 for van Gennep's conclusion that his three-fold pattern of rites is the typical order in ceremony.

Turner, the 'nationwide service', by its nature, held before a secular totem, the Cenotaph, removed of Christian location or liturgical trappings, was 'essentially human rather than religious in its spirituality'. And The Last Post was no longer 'a simple military bugle call' but had been 'transformed... to become almost a sacred anthem, in an increasingly secular country; an inclusive symbol of mourning, beyond religious denomination, beyond nationality. Armistice Day would complete that journey'.⁷⁵

The second anniversary of the Armistice in London and of the accompanying Royal plea for the pause for silence belied any suggestion that, at the time, the 'sacred' transformation included a move away from a religious dimension to a 'secular' symbol. Despite efforts for the ceremony not to have 'any distinctive denominational flavour' it had, according to David Cannadine, become *distinctly* Anglican.⁷⁶ The 1920 Armistice Day included the unveiling of the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey (termed the Funeral Service of A British Warrior), and followed the unveiling of the permanent Cenotaph in Whitehall. As with Sydney's Anzac Day, the proceedings at the two sites were under the Anglican leadership of an Archbishop and a Dean.⁷⁷ This points again to the flexibility that had emerged pre-war and was to stand influential Christian leaders in good stead for the wide embrace of new forms of commemoration demanded by the war. The commemorative assemblage, without a spoken language, nevertheless spoke distinctively, in a language of emotion and gesture. Deep theological claims were communicated about death and resurrection. A 'democratic' freedom was also created, without dictate, to respond in the quiet of one's own heart and mind, uniting all regardless of individual expression.

⁷⁵ Turner, *The Last Post*, pp. (x)-(xvii).

⁷⁶ Noted in Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, p. 290.

⁷⁷ The 1920 proceedings in London included the playing of The Last Post and Reveille, but their playing was split, with The Last Post concluding the Cenotaph gathering, and the Reveille bringing the Westminster Abbey service, which had followed the gathering at the Cenotaph, to a close. This was not without reason, if the two ceremonies are viewed whole. The Cenotaph is where wreaths were laid in tribute and following these tributes the bugle sounded the call to sleep. The burial service in the Abbey, with a body present in the form of the unknown soldier, functioned like a funeral bringing the whole to its natural conclusion. The Reveille, pointing to the hope of the resurrection, ended a sequence that symbolically incorporated the unknown individual into the larger stories of the sacrifices of war and the hope of resurrection. Andrew Richards, *The Flag: The Story of Rev'd David Railton MC and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* (Oxford: Casemate; 2017) underscores this point. He records that the organisers of the occasion viewed the ceremonies as essentially one, quoting from the *Interim Report of the Memorial Services (November 11th) Committee*, recording its meeting of 19 October, which referred to the 'proposed combined ceremony'. Further, the public were informed by *The Times*, 22 October 1920, that those responsible for the re-interment in Westminster Abbey would also be responsible for the proceedings at the Cenotaph, 'the two ceremonies being inter-dependent', pp. 170, 177-178.

Retreating from his 'secularising' notion, Turner does eventually note the 'more normal pattern that emerged – [that of] the sounding of The Last Post, to symbolise the ending of earthly life, followed by a period of silent prayer, and then the playing of Reveille, the first call of the morning, to suggest the soul's awakening to a new day, a rebirth into eternal life'.⁷⁸ In Turner's reckoning, it was the image conjured, of the 'last trump' from 1 Corinthians – 'with its promise of resurrection on Judgement Day, that made the association so powerful'.⁷⁹ Just as the writer in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, after the first Anzac Day commemoration in Sydney in 1916, had remarked, 'The Last Post is haunting because it is not final. It does not end on the keynote and so seems as if it gave promise that this is not the end... it is sad and mournful but contains the germ of hope... This was the message of The Last Post'.⁸⁰

Christian and civic use of The Last Post was in place in the decades leading to the Great War and made its adoption for commemoration unremarkable. It was the framing of the silence between The Last Post and Reveille that proved to be the innovation, the 'invented tradition', providing a foundational symbolic sequence for making sense of the vast sacrifices of the second decade of the twentieth century and providing the hope essential to the rebuilding and strengthening of communities in its immediate aftermath. Death found its theological meaning in the resurrection. The sounding of The Last Post and Reveille as brackets for a period of mourning, gratitude, reflection, or prayer, or indeed any of the above, was informed by this theology.

Conclusion

Steven Brown reminds us that 'the use of silence as a technique to accomplish reflection has a long and venerable history, not least across a wide variety of

⁷⁸ Turner, *The Last Post*, p. 29. Earlier, Turner states: 'The eternity of the Silence, the enormity of those two minutes, required release, demanded a moment of cathartic exhalation to channel the emotions of the nation. The sounding of The Last Post could provide that purge. There was though no consistency, no consensus on how the bugle call was to be used.', pp. (xvi-xvii). It was not until 1924 that the silence framed by the two bugle calls was the practice on Armistice Day in Whitehall. In Australia the latter pattern was practiced from 1919.

⁷⁹ Turner, *The Last Post*, p. 29. The relevant passage in Paul's First letter to the Corinthians, Chapter 15, describes this 'last trumpet' as a herald of the resurrection, and is thus more appropriately connected to the sounding of the Reveille.

⁸⁰ *SMH*, 26 April 1916, p. 5. The commentary reflects how the composition ends on the third note of the chord, rather than the tonic, leaving listeners expectant that there is more music to come.

theological and spiritual practices'.⁸¹ Referring to the observance of silence as a 'technique' diminishes its performance, suggesting it was a clever device to get people to do what they may not wish to do. This cannot be said of silences observed on Anzac Day and other days of commemoration in Australia, or the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, in his commentary on its occurrence and its purpose, Brown notes that 'what follows the cessation, the breaking of the silence, is at least as important as what occurs during the silence itself'.⁸² Church bells, cannons, fireworks, gun volleys are ways to summon a familiar response, and to this list in the twentieth century can be added the bugle sound, specifically, The Last Post. Its power to initiate an act of homage was well established. As Heidegger argues, 'Tradition takes what has come down to us and delivers it over to self-evidence'.⁸³ But 'modern uses of commemorative silence... do not have a singular discourse with which to code what happens when the silence ends'.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Steven D. Brown, 'Two minutes of silence: Social technologies of public commemoration', *Theory and Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2012), p. 236.

⁸² Brown, 'Two minutes of silence', p. 241.

⁸³ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (New York: Harper and Row; 1962), quoted in Peter Ehrenhaus, 'Silence and Symbolic Expression', *Communication Monographs*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (March 1988), p. 48.

⁸⁴ Brown, 'Two minutes of silence', p. 250. Other formal periods of silence include: Five minutes of silence incorporated in a ceremony in Sydney in 1932 to mark the National Day of Humiliation of the Republic of China to remember Japan's invasion of north-eastern China in 1931 (note that the idea of a National Day of Humiliation describes a number of dates in Chinese history and has most recently been evoked by President Xi in recognition of the British colonial period as well as Japanese aggression towards China throughout history). The 1932 Order of Service provides 'Mental Guidance' for the silence, including that it be used for remembrance of the bravery and sacrifice of the military and of the patriotism of Chinese citizens, and a resolve to 'do your duty for the salvation of China'. Two minutes' silence gazetted for 12 noon on the day of King George VI's funeral by the Australian Government in 1952. Vladimir Putin's decree that Victory Day in 2015, the seventieth anniversary of the Soviet defeat of German forces in Berlin, should be marked across Russia by two minutes' silence as a way of bringing the nation together (although formal observance of silence had occurred at least since 1965). Pope Francis who on 29 July 2016 visited the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz with fifteen minutes of silent prayer, noting in advance of his trip that 'silence was the best way to honour the dead'. The sixtieth anniversary on 6 February 2018 of the air disaster that claimed the lives of most of the Manchester United football team that was marked by a two minutes' silence in Munich (the site of the crash) and one minute in Manchester. On 14 March 2018, the one-month anniversary of Florida's Stoneman Douglas High School shooting, 17 minutes of silence was marked by students from multiple schools who had marched to protest for safer gun laws – one minute for each victim of the massacre. At a later rally, the gathering paused for a period of six minutes and twenty seconds of silence which represented the period of time it took for the shooter to kill the seventeen victims. It is noteworthy that no community-wide response to a terrorist act across Europe goes without a period of silence, sometimes also marked by the innovation of clapping at the end, ostensibly to express support for first responders who may still be involved in rescue, or salvage efforts, but just as likely to provide a means, a 'code' as Brown would term it, to draw the solemn moment to a close in the absence of bugle calls. Its recent common use in public and in schools has prompted questioning about its value, see Giles Fraser, 'Is it time to give the overworked one-minute's silence a rest?', *The Guardian*, 6 June 2018. Prochnik, *In Pursuit of Silence*, pp. 40-41, also recounts his experience of the Holocaust Memorial Day silence observed annually in Israel, where 'Silence seemed to create a hole in the present into which the unspeakable past poured in a flood, swallowing our individual lives.'

The presence of silence, whether intentionally framed by inherited, symbolic or prescribed meaning, or left unadorned to free participants to be in charge of their own thoughts, can be associated with an inability to give voice or words to an unspeakable event. The 'context of public discourse' prescribed the associated *gesture* of stillness, embodying respect for the moment itself and for the object of the silence.⁸⁵ Stillness and silence go together as much as movement and noise imply a synchronous partnership of their own. In an endeavour to glean insights into ancient practice when all that remains is a text, Baruch Levine, investigating the actions involved in mourning in the Old Testament, noted 'that what is silent is still, and that what moves produces sound'.⁸⁶ The obligation to show respect by remaining quiet, and not moving, involves even passers-by in the act. In being still, a 'non-participant' responds in recognition of the prescribed meaning, whether partially or fully. In a way then, silence is not so much an absence but a way of speaking, of declaring solidarity either by chosen participation in the respect demonstrated by the silence, or by more incidentally *respecting* the public tribute.

The first Anzac Day messages in 1916, both spoken and silent, connected both death and resurrection. The metaphorical setting and rising of the sun, conjoined with honour for the fallen and the hopes for a nation rebuilding, laid a foundation for the next decade of Anzac commemoration which was to culminate in the development of a service at dawn as Australia's unique expression of Great War memorialisation.

⁸⁵ Dewald and Kitzinger, 'Speaking Silences in Herodotus and Sophocles', p. 87: 'beyond immense human sorrow, the silence makes us aware of the presence of something that needs to be communicated but is literally unspeakable, at least in the context of public discourse, the medium of tragedy'.

⁸⁶ Baruch A. Levine, 'Silence, Sound, and the Phenomenology of Mourning in Biblical Israel', *Janes*, 22 (1993), p. 91.

Chapter Five

Dawn

The Anzac Day dawn service is the pre-eminent and ubiquitous form of war commemoration in Australia, but it did not emerge until more than a decade after Anzac Day commemorations began in 1916. The first public ceremony at dawn on Anzac Day in Australia, timed to commemorate the Gallipoli landing at 4.30 am on 25 April 1915, was held at the Cenotaph in Martin Place, Sydney in 1928.¹ This inaugural act occurred thirteen years after the ‘dawning’ of Anzac itself as a byword both for the sacrifice, courage and endurance displayed at the Dardanelles, and for the emergence of a nation onto the world stage.

¹ Various reported in the press that day and in subsequent days. For example, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Sun*, *Smiths Weekly*. The claim of the Sydney ceremony being the first dawn service is now accepted in academic and official commentary. See, Australian War Memorial website, www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac-day/traditions; Leslie Terrett and Stephen Taubert, *Preserving Our Proud Heritage: The Customs and Traditions of the Australian Army* (Sydney: Big Sky Publishing; 2015), pp. 288-290; Carl Bridge, ‘Anzac Day’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (Oxford University Press; 2008); K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne University Press; 2008), pp. 312-314; and Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology* (University of Queensland Press; 2004), p. 198. Similar conclusions can be found in earlier works including John Robertson, *Anzac and Empire* (Richmond, Victoria: Hamlyn Australia; 1990), p. 254, and Peter Sekules and Jacqueline Rees, *Lest We Forget: The History of the Returned Services League, 1916-1986* (Sydney: Rigby Publishers; 1986), p. 49. Other competing claims, that of Albany in Western Australia in 1923, and Toowoomba in Queensland in 1919, both present evidentiary difficulty, principally around whether their named instigator was present in the town at the time – Rev. Arthur Ernest White was not appointed to the Anglican parish in Albany until September 1929 (making 1930 his first dawn service as attested by documentary records, and now more widely referenced when Albany’s claims are promoted, which in fact puts it behind Perth which first held a dawn service in 1929); Captain George Harrington returned to Australia from the war in June 1919, compromising the claim of his marking an Anzac Dawn in 1919 in a Toowoomba cemetery. Apart from these two locations, there are other morning ceremonies occasionally referenced. The ceremony led by (Sir) John Monash in Egypt on the first anniversary in 1916 is recorded in his diaries as being held at 6.45 am, almost two hours after dawn. A gathering in Rockhampton that is reported as a ‘daybreak service’, also in 1916, commenced at 6.30 am, which was seventeen minutes after sunrise that morning. It was organised by the council of local clergy as an additional component to the program that had already been devised in accordance with the Brisbane ADCC outline. The additional daybreak event did not recur in 1917 or on following Anzac Days in Rockhampton. Also, some writers suggest these ‘competing’ claims attest to the spontaneous nature of the Anzac Day dawn service tradition, for example, Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, p. 198, where he states that the lack of official reports of the 1923 Albany ceremony strengthen the likely folkloric, spontaneous and informal origins of dawn rituals; and Robin Mayes, ‘Origins of the Anzac Dawn Ceremony: Spontaneity and Nationhood’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2009), pp. 56 and 61, where she claims that contradictions in the documentary evidence are not a barrier to the emotional force of competing origins, and that multiple narratives are vital for positioning the service as being ‘of the people’. The organised, public and well-known occurrence of the first dawn service in Australia’s largest city in 1928 nullifies Seal’s and Mayes’ conclusions.

Behind this original ceremony is a story, perhaps apocryphal, but widely broadcast, involving five members of the Association of Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Clubs (later the Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs) who witnessed in the early hours of Anzac Day morning in 1927, the year before, a woman placing a floral tribute on the yet to be completed Cenotaph. Following this encounter, these five men resolved through their Association to return, before dawn on Anzac Day 1928, to commemorate together the landing at Gallipoli, thus beginning the formal public ritual of remembrance of the Anzacs on the exact anniversary instant of their deeds.²

Whether it was the mere presence of floral tributes already on the unfinished Cenotaph that sparked their creativity, or, as the legend has it, they witnessed a woman, most probably a widow or mother, negotiating the construction site to pay her respects in the dark cold hours of the morning hoping not to be seen in her continuing grief, the five men were witnesses to *something* that spurred them to establish the practice from the following year of Australia's Anzac Day dawn service.³

Catherine Moriarty has suggested that grieving had gradually lost its prominence after a decade of memorialising, shifting the emphasis of remembrance from private sorrow into civic pride.⁴ In a discussion of a war memorial in Burnley, England, a 1926 bronze statue of a mother placing a wreath at the base of a cenotaph, a scene redolent of the Sydney Cenotaph story, Moriarty notes that 'as grieving waned the culture of honouring the dead and following their example of sacrifice persisted.' The actions of the Association men run counter to this thread in the historical accounts of post-war commemoration; through their empathy they recognised that some ten years since war's end grieving remained palpable, even if consigned to the half-light of the morning. They returned in 1928 to perform a small, little publicised solemn wreath-laying ceremony at 4.30 am, representing the timing of the landing at Gallipoli, the dawning of Anzac Day itself and, as the Association stated in the official Order of Ceremony, 'to proclaim our belief that the landing at Anzac was the dawn of

² The Association of Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Clubs, formed in 1919, changed its name to the Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs in 1929. Throughout reference will be made to the Association, particularly in discussion of the events leading to the first dawn service in 1928, or to the Legion as appropriate.

³ *The Story of the Dawn Service* (Sydney: Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs; 1935) – one copy only produced and available at the State Library of New South Wales. An undated Association pamphlet, 'The Dawn Service in Sydney: How it Started', claims the decision was taken at a meeting of the Association in February 1928. Original held in the records of the Anzac Day Dawn Service Trust (the Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs).

⁴ Catherine Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials', in M. Evans and K. Lunn (Eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg; 1997), p. 139.

a brilliant era in the march to nationhood of Australia and New Zealand'.⁵ The Anzac tradition of mingling grief *and* pride remained central. Press reports concurred. It was the advent of the distinctive Anzac Day ritual, a public formal ceremony that for more than nine decades since has been held not only at the Cenotaph but throughout Australia and the world.⁶

There is a series of layers that account for the emergence of the dawn service in the late 1920s. First, an analysis of ex-service organisations' archival records reveals an everyday story of parochialism and rivalry. This rivalry, involving a cascade of contentious events throughout the decade, led to the Association's actions on 25 April 1928. Second, the idea of *dawn*, its correlation with fresh beginnings, a new day, that could symbolise post-war hope of rebuilding a nation, is evident. In other areas 'sunrise' and 'dawn' were common motifs in the 1920s, providing a window into the resonance of death and rebirth as a mode of commemoration in Australia. Third, the origin story itself reveals a subtle but consistent connection with the theological underpinnings of Sydney's approach to Anzac Day. A surprising Biblical parallel is discernible between the 'apocryphal' dawn service story and the discovery by women followers of Jesus of his empty tomb at dawn as recorded in the four gospels of the New Testament, further grounding the Sydney Anzac Day liturgies in resurrection imagery.⁷

A Story of Rivalry

It is the 'Origin Story' of the Association that receives the most attention in discussions of how the dawn service came about. But the likely origins have a much more prosaic explanation, one of rivalry between two ex-service organisations which found its focus in the building and dedication of the city's principal war memorial to that date – the Cenotaph in Martin Place, the site of the Dawn Service. This contest

⁵ See for example, Dawn Service, Order of Ceremony, 1933. Original in Dawn Service Trust records.

⁶ In 2011, the Commonwealth Government's Department of Foreign Affairs identified 40 official dawn ceremonies throughout the world, held on every continent. Frank Grose, a radio broadcaster for Sydney station 2GB, responsible for transmission, beginning in 1931, of the Dawn Service at the Cenotaph to a national and worldwide audience, reported in 1948 that 'The Service has been adopted throughout the British Empire, and this year, the Gallipoli War Graves' Commission conducted a Dawn Service of remembrance at Gallipoli, similar in every detail.' Frank Grose Papers, State Library of NSW, *2GB Radio Community Chest Annual Report*, 30 June 1948, p. 35.

⁷ See Matthew 28:1-20, Mark 16:1-11, Luke 24:1-12, and John 20:1-18.

for pre-eminence within the veteran community, and the eventual spilling out of this contest into claims upon the newly built Cenotaph, provides fresh insight into lingering questions about 'why at this location' and 'why nearly a decade after war's end'?

Numerous ex-service organisations and relief groups were established during the war and after. Pre-eminent were Returned Soldiers' Associations (RSAs) initially established in most states throughout 1915 and 1916 by civic notables, fathers, mothers and the old soldiers of unit associations. In NSW the RSA had been the organisation to which the State Government turned to assist with the first Anzac Day commemoration arrangements in 1916. These State RSAs, building on the success of Anzac Day and conscious of the benefit of a united voice, had joined together by 1917 forming the national Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA).

The NSW Association of Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Clubs (hereafter the Association), initiated in 1919, was a loose amalgam of numerous soldiers' club rooms. They too had arisen quickly during the war in response to the needs of returning soldiers for a place of camaraderie, entertainment and relaxation. Soldiers' rooms like the Tent at St Andrew's Cathedral and Dr Mary Booth's Soldiers' Club at the Royal Hotel had been replicated in suburban and country locations, and it was these clubs that in 1919 had joined together into a movement. By the mid-1920s, the Association and the RSSILA (hereafter the League), the latter routinely joined by two organisations with smaller constituencies - the Limbless and Maimed Soldiers' Association and the TB Soldiers' Association - were in regular contention about which group could claim pre-eminence in representing the interests of all returned servicemen. The fight for status reached a crescendo in the mid to late 1920s and suggests a significant reason for the instigation of the dawn service and its sudden emergence in 1928.

The idea of 'One Grand League' in NSW ('League' not coincidentally being the League's term for itself) was first mooted in December 1921 at a League State Council meeting with the intent of drawing together, in addition to the Limbless and TB associations, an already eclectic array including the Blinded Soldiers' Association, the Catholic Returned Soldiers' Federation, the Imperial Ex-Servicemen's Association,

and the Soldiers' Rally Movement.⁸ Apart from the last, which had broad political designs, each of these associations had a much narrower representative remit than did the League, and the impression from its meeting minutes of the 1920s is that the League routinely lacked any enthusiasm for meeting with the other groups on an equal footing. Excluded from this list was the Association, already seen as more of a threat than an ally.

This first unity campaign foundered as quickly as it took for one group to feel its needs were more important than the others – the Limbless group broke ranks, bypassing the emerging Roundtable to approach the Prime Minister directly and seek employment preference for its members over other returned soldiers. This pre-emptive move was sufficient for the League to let talk of union lapse and there was no further mention of a 'grand league' in the minutes until 1923.⁹

In that year, it was access to Anzac Memorial funds that provided a renewed galvanising force, prompting a level of co-operation, at least between the League and its traditional Limbless and TB allies. The funds acquired through Anzac Day fundraising appeals, principally during the war, for a national war memorial in NSW, had initially been entrusted to a committee of Government representatives and returned men (chaired by Dean Talbot).¹⁰ The NSW Government had decided it was time to place the fund management, site selection and design resolution on a more professional footing with the establishment of a Trust. This was eventually resolved through the *Anzac Memorial (Building) Act* of 1923. Three organisations secured seats on the Trust board: the League, the Limbless and TB. The demands of the three groups included accommodation for each in the building, and a regular share of interest from the invested funds.¹¹

The cosy relationship of these three groups and their success in keeping other organisations outside the Trust quickly came under challenge. In November 1923, in an attempt to make the Anzac Memorial Trust more representative of all returned

⁸ RSSILA (NSW) State Council Minutes, 17 December 1921. Note the similarity in nomenclature of 'One Grand League' with contemporaneous labour movement efforts to speak with one voice via 'One Big Union'.

⁹ In response to the resolution of 17 December 1921 that the Executive should pursue 'One Grand League' a preliminary conference had been set for 27 April 1922. The Limbless Association's withdrawal from these 'Roundtable' discussions is recorded in RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 11 March 1922.

¹⁰ See fund-raising letter dated 5 May 1916, co-authored, on RSA letterhead. 'Returned Soldiers' Association of New South Wales Records, 1916-1917', State Library of NSW, MLMSS 8607.

¹¹ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 31 May 1923.

groups, four organisations - the Catholic Soldiers' Association, the Church of England Men's Society (which was headquartered with Dean Talbot at St Andrew's Cathedral), the Blinded Soldiers' Association and the Soldiers' Fathers Association - had together requested that two further Trustee places be allocated, one for the Catholics, and one for the other three, to be vested in the local Base Commandant.¹² That attempt, and others later, to include more ex-service groups in the Memorial foundered on the League's assertions that it was the principal representative body for all veterans, a position it believed was recognised by government. Certainly, its position on the Anzac Memorial Building Trust provided it a box seat for discussions with government and for asserting its pre-eminence. The other Trustees included the Premier, the Leader of the Opposition and the Lord Mayor of Sydney, or their representatives.

The years 1926 and 1927 proved to be particularly fractious. The Association was led from late 1925 by John Henry (Jack) Cask, a veteran of the Western Front who had signed up in early 1916 and served through to war's end. Cask was a member of both the Bondi-Waverley sub-branch of the League and the Eastern Suburbs Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Club and Memorial Building Association. His membership of the Club entitled him to represent, and lead, the Association. He also leveraged his League membership to continually press the Association's claims. He had written to the League in November 1925 introducing himself as the new President of the Association, expressing the hope that 'the utmost of good feeling will exist between his Association and the League, for he personally thinks there is plenty of scope for both and assuredly his Association is here to stay'.¹³ Cask's bravado is indicative of the antipathy between the two organisations. But it also betrays a level of confidence that the Clubs movement would continue the battle for equality of recognition. In reality, Cask was to prove a thorn in the side of the League in the years to come and a leading player in the creation of the dawn service.

The significance of Cask's pronouncement, that the Association 'is here to stay', was evident in his subsequent actions. He waged a guerrilla campaign against the League across Sydney and its suburbs. In 1926, the Association, without any unity efforts or consultative discussions to this point, requested access to a meeting room at the

¹² RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 8 November 1923.

¹³ Quoted in RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 19 November 1925.

Anzac Memorial, when eventually built, for monthly meetings of its executive, noting that the League had apparently scotched earlier such applications.¹⁴ Not long after writing to the League, and whilst still Association President, Cask stood, unsuccessfully, for a vacancy on the League State Executive, a bold and provocative act.¹⁵ A few months later, he attempted to close the Bondi-Waverley sub-branch, advocating for the Eastern Suburbs Club as better representing the local veterans, and thereby the League's interests in the area. The League's then Vice President Fred Davison attended the meeting of the sub-branch to rally the numbers for defeat of the closure motion. Clubs had been banned from affiliating directly with the League on the basis that the League's objectives already included the formation of clubs and club rooms and the preference was for existing clubs to come under the aegis of a sub-branch. It took exception to an attempt by the Association to sign up sub-branches of the League that had established clubs.¹⁶

Nevertheless, arrangements at local levels could be complicated. In Auburn, west of the city, the League sub-branch had attempted in 1925 to access funds raised in the area specifically for a Soldiers' Club, but was prevented by a Trust, which according to a news report was in the hands of 'Labourites'. The RSSILA State Executive indicated its hands were tied by the Trust under which the funds were held.¹⁷ In Ryde, to the north-west of the city, Davison contended again with the Association over representation. On this occasion, unlike the experience at Bondi-Waverley, the resolution was in favour of establishing the Ryde Returned Soldiers' Club.¹⁸ On yet another suburban front, in the inner west, and in a sign that the League was prepared to depart, when it suited, from strict application of its ban on existing clubs, the Marrickville Returned Soldiers' Anzac Memorial Hall and Club was permitted to join the League. The decision was rescinded a few months later, perhaps with the Bondi-Waverley debacle in mind.¹⁹ A battle for prominence was occurring throughout

¹⁴ RSSILA (NSW) State Council Minutes, 23 September 1926.

¹⁵ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 11 February 1926.

¹⁶ *The Australian Home and the Soldier*, 26 June 1925, p. 13. The decision to ban Clubs from affiliating with the RSSILA was made at the meeting of the State Council on 17 July 1924.

¹⁷ *The Australian Home and the Soldier*, 31 July 1925, p. 17.

¹⁸ *The Australian Home and the Soldier*, 31 July 1925, p. 14.

¹⁹ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 22 April 1926 – invitation to join; RSSILA State Council Minutes 23 September 1926 – rescission. The Club was told to form a sub-branch if they wanted to join the League. In between these two decisions, the Bondi-Waverley meeting occurred, in August 1926. See, RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 29 July 1926. Ironically, by late 1928 Cask is negotiating with the RSSILA the handover of

Sydney. At times the disputes were over money and sometimes over numbers of adherents and members. But mostly, there was a suburb-by-suburb campaign for prominence – which of the League or the Association would be the voice of veterans in Sydney and NSW?

The most serious fallout occurred over the visit by the Duke of York scheduled for early 1927. The Association had the idea that an AIF reception and luncheon should be included in the Duke of York's program. The League's political connections no doubt gave its leadership the confidence to reject the overture from the Association to co-operate, along with the Limless and the TB groups, in promoting the proposal to Government and in making arrangements. And the experience of the previous eighteen months only increased distrust. The Association's executive had written to the League as early as August 1926 with the proposal, only to be cursorily rebuffed with the League's reply 'that they are the official representative of Returned Sailors and Soldiers, recognised by Government, and will make the approach to government at the right time, and looks forward to the hearty co-operation of the Association'.²⁰ The Royal reception and luncheon went ahead but proved fractious, with the Association later writing to the State Government complaining about lack of equal participation.²¹

The increasingly public feud impelled the TB Association to press once again for unity. During the tangle over Royal favour, it tried on two occasions to bring the League to a meeting of the four groups. The League's response did not hide the contempt of its State Executive for such overtures. In September 1926, the TB Association had communicated to the League that they were motivated by the need to 'create more harmonious working', no doubt aware of the approach made by the Association in relation to the forthcoming Royal visit. The League responded, disingenuously, saying it was 'not conscious of any unharmonious relations' and that, before attending, they would want advice of 'what proposal it is intended to submit to

the funds and books of a now defunct Bondi-Waverley sub-branch. RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 4 October 1928 and 10 January 1929.

²⁰ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 12 August 1926.

²¹ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 24 February and 10 March 1927. Other groups are also recorded as making similar complaints including the Ex-Naval Men's Association.

bring about more harmonious relations.' This and a second, similar, approach in March 1927 were both, not unexpectedly, rebuffed.²²

Ironically, in the midst of battling the Association, the League Executive was experiencing turmoil within. An initiative of then President Colonel A. W. Hyman in late 1926 to partner commercially with MGM Pictures at screenings of the new Great War movie, *The Big Parade*, caused enormous ructions across the League. At the League's National Congress in January 1927 an informal but seemingly unanimous reprimand of the NSW State branch's efforts, characterised as unacceptable commercial trading in sacred memory, had galvanised the NSW Metropolitan Vice President Fred Davison to mount a successful mid-term challenge to Hyman's leadership, forcing Hyman to resign.²³ Sub-branch loyalties were divided for many months over the 'coup' and it is likely that the Association saw an opportunity to challenge the League's dominance.²⁴

Cask's loyalties in the Hyman-Davison dispute were not difficult to predict. Davison and Cask had contended face-to-face over Bondi-Waverley representation. The Bondi-Waverley sub-branch had initially conveyed its support for Davison, but less than two months later rescinded its expression of confidence in him, a likely indication of Cask's continuing influence over the branch's affairs even though he had stepped aside from local executive roles.²⁵ Davison was not President for long. The internecine splits over his legitimacy were overcome when he stepped aside at the Annual Congress in August 1927 and was succeeded by L. A. Elliott. With Davison now less of an obstacle, the Association pressed the League after its Congress for renewed co-operation, seeking an invitation to the League's State

²² RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 23 September 1926 and 24 March 1927.

²³ Martin Crotty hints at the roots of Federal-NSW antagonism within the RSSILA when, following the election of the League's second national President Gilbert Dyett at the 1919 Federal Congress, 'the five New South Wales delegates all departed the morning after the election in protest at its conduct and the result', p. 174, Martin Crotty, 'The Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, 1916-1946', in Martin Crotty and Marina Larsson (Eds.), *Anzac Legacies: Australians and the Aftermath of the Great War* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing; 2010). Dyett was still the national President in 1926.

²⁴ Davison, later appointed the first custodian of the Cenotaph, a privilege invested in the RSSILA by the City of Sydney Council, assumed the NSW Presidency on 4 March 1927.

²⁵ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 7 April and 2 June 1927. Cask's influence in local affairs remained evident, but he is reported to have resigned from the Secretary role on 22 July 1925 after five years of service. See *The Australian Home and the Soldier*, 31 July 1925, p. 17.

Executive meeting in September 1927.²⁶ It took more than a year for the League to take any action. What did occur in that intervening year though was the first Dawn ceremony at the Cenotaph – the rivalry over pre-eminence had now widened into a contest over commemoration at the City’s new memorial.

Rivalry over Memorialisation

The contest between the Association and the League points to an antagonism that, in hindsight, provides a motive for the Association’s organising to be at the Cenotaph at dawn on the occasion of the new memorial’s first Anzac Day in 1928. The success of the occasion was quickly and surprisingly evident, the choice of dawn being interpreted in the press as a direct evocation of the landing at Gallipoli – ‘Early morning Anzac, thirteen years ago to-day: and the same hour this morning in Martin-place (sic).’ - and resonating with some 150 people reported to be in attendance. They witnessed the laying of two wreaths, one presented by George Patterson, the President, on behalf of the Association, the other presented by Captain Stroud on behalf of the Western Australian 11th Battalion Association, which had originally been a precursor to the RSA, and later the RSSILA, in that State.²⁷ A solemn silence followed. The NSW RSSILA had been shut out of the occasion, the full State Executive turning up as scheduled at 9.00 am intending to triumphantly ‘baptise’ the fresh surfaces with its own wreath formed, ironically, in the image of a ‘Rising Sun’, only to find the wreaths placed there at dawn.²⁸

²⁶ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 8 September 1927. Cask attended the Congress representing Bondi-Waverley sub-branch.

²⁷ The second capital city to conduct a dawn service was Perth in 1929, likely the result of the 11th Battalion’s presence in Sydney in 1928.

²⁸ See image of Davison and Secretary W. Stagg placing the enormous wreath on the eastern end of the Cenotaph in the form of a Rising Sun insignia which served as the cover of *Reveille*, Vol. 1, No. 9 (May 1928). The tribute also bore a hint of Gallipoli – it comprised laurel leaves, the ancient emblem of victory, and holly, a scrub ubiquitous on the Anzac battlefield. *The Sun*, 25 April 1928, p. 9. See also Charles Bean’s reference to the ‘holly scrub of Gallipoli’ in the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol 6 (1942), p. 1096.

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The official journal of the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia
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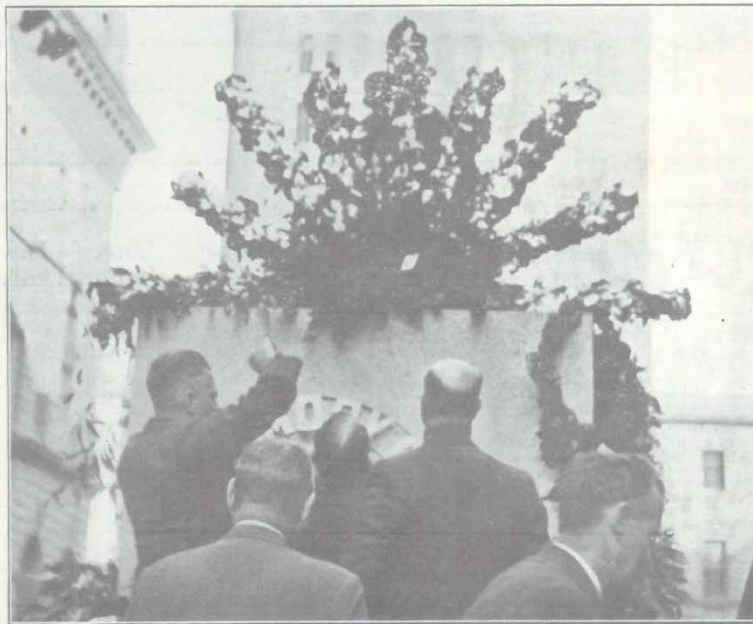
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PLACING THE LEAGUE'S WREATH ON THE CENOTAPH,
ANZAC DAY, 1928.

(Source: *Reveille*, Vol. 1, No. 9, May 1928)

A further key to understanding the early morning moment can be gleaned from the League's response to the Association's action in arriving at the Cenotaph before the League representatives and thus being able to claim the honour of 'baptising' the memorial. First, the League accelerated efforts to have the City Council confirm it as the custodian of the new memorial. And second, it attempted to establish a competing innovation, the sunset ceremony.

The Martin Place Cenotaph had emerged mid-decade as a way of circumventing the long delays in establishing the State's national memorial. Veterans' organisations had become impatient with delays in finding a suitable location and design for the State's Anzac Memorial, which was not finally unveiled until 1934. Delegations had impressed upon newly elected Labor Premier Jack Lang the critical need for the city to have a memorial focus at its heart.²⁹ The simple empty tomb along with funding in the amount of £10,000 was the response of the State Government to these concerns. The site was in the heart of the city, a place which held memories for soldiers and families alike as the recruiting place and the place of departure.³⁰

It was unveiled in unadorned form in August 1927. The Lord Mayor took possession and responsibility for the Cenotaph from that date. It was not until February 1929 that it was unveiled in its full design with a soldier and sailor standing sentry and a bronze wreath atop. Between August 1927 and February 1929 fell one Anzac Day, in 1928. Davison, stepping down from the Presidency in the month of its first unveiling, was nominated by the League for appointment by the City as the first custodian of the new Cenotaph.³¹ It appears that the League, conceiving itself as the official protector of the memorial, intended not only to establish its claim by conducting the first official Anzac Day ceremony, but also to be officially recognised as the sole steward of the precious monument to sacrifice. By the time of the Cenotaph's first Anzac Day, the City Commissioners (having replaced the Lord Mayor) had given in-principle approval but had not yet received a recommendation from the League. Promptly after the Association's dawn success, the League sought the City's concurrence and Davison was appointed the first custodian on 10 May 1928. To the chagrin of the League the decision was immediately challenged by the Association. Under signature of Ernie Rushbrooke, Secretary, the Association wrote to the City 'to register an emphatic protest against this course being followed', demanding that the City should 'consult the whole of the representative returned men's organisations of

²⁹ *The Australian Home and the Soldier*, 31 July 1925, pp. 13-14. *The Commonwealth Home*, 28 August 1925. There are reports as early as 1923 suggesting a cenotaph similar to that in London be erected in Martin Place. See *The Soldier*, 20 November 1923, p. 27.

³⁰ This theme in site selection mirrored that of the earlier Anzac Obelisk unveiled in 1917 on the road from recruit encampments to embarkation, now called Anzac Parade, and the Mothers' and Wives' Memorial unveiled on Anzac Day 1922 at Woolloomooloo at the point where troop ships departed Sydney Harbour.

³¹ RSSILA to City, 16 August 1927 (RSL – NSW Registry).

this State', noting that the Association 'now has a membership approximately equal to that of the League'.³²

The City Commissioners made clear their unhappiness with receiving these representations and sought League clarification. Their letter indicates that in agreeing to the League's recommendation they had been assured that the League was representative of all veterans, or at least could represent the views of all veterans.³³ The quarrel not only embarrassed the League, it also brought forth a vociferous written response, delivered by hand, from almost the entire State Executive to the Chief Commissioner.³⁴ They communicated in no uncertain terms that the views of the Association should not be entertained – it had only come into existence 'quite recently', it was 'purely a social body, nothing else', and its membership 'is not limited to Returned men only', that is, those who had seen active service overseas. Only the League could claim to 'speak for and on behalf of all Returned Soldiers in New South Wales... [and was] recognised as such by the State Government'. Further, as the League Executive were 'the originators of the idea and are solely responsible for the Cenotaph', it was their advice that should carry weight on Cenotaph matters. It was a bold and detailed response and sufficient to convince the Commissioners to stick with their decision. The League secured the position of Custodian, although Davison's term was short-lived, being replaced by the President, L. A. Elliott, from August that year.³⁵

The approach made by the Association after the 1927 Congress of the League had also been bold. One of the five Association members who had witnessed the woman's Cenotaph tribute, George Patterson, was now President, replacing Cask. He extended an invitation to the League to attend either the Association's executive meeting or a specially convened conference that might allow for freer discussion. Having delayed responding, the League was in no mood after the events of Anzac Day 1928, and now the complaint to the City Commissioners, to entertain discussions that would recognise the claimed 'equal footing' suggested by Patterson's approach.

³² Association to City, 5 May 1928. (RSL – NSW Registry).

³³ City to RSSILA, 11 May 1928. (RSL – NSW Registry).

³⁴ RSSILA State Secretary to Town Clerk, 19 May 1928. The letter advises the Town Clerk that the deputation to deliver the reply included the President, the Past President, two Vice-Presidents, another committee-man and the Secretary. (RSL – NSW Registry).

³⁵ Letters dated 21 August (request) and 14 September (appointment). (RSL – NSW Registry).

Eventually the League found grounds for refusal that it believed would provide justification to those within its own ranks keen for unity, concocting a complaint that the 11 November 1928 Poppy Day fundraising had been deliberately sabotaged by the Association selling poppies at the same time.³⁶ 'Boundary' disputes over who had authentic poppies and who had the right to raise funds had become another expression of the animus between competing veterans' organisations.³⁷ At the local level, this was believed sufficient motive to provoke wariness about partnering with merely a 'social body'. At wider levels, the Association was living out Cask's declaration that it assuredly 'is here to stay'. The League may have secured its official recognition at the Cenotaph but did not appear to know how best to respond to the success of the Association on Anzac Day 1928, and its continuing bravado. Painting the Association in a negative light was not having the desired effect. Another tack was needed and came in the form of another ceremony.

Whilst the Association was taking steps to formalise the ceremony at dawn with the ubiquitous and highly respected Dean Talbot being invited to add more formality and liturgical tradition, the League was preparing to squeeze its own ceremonial idea, the sunset service, into an increasingly crowded Anzac Day program. At first, the League State Executive was planning to be involved in the second Dawn Service, noting in its minutes of 12 April 1929 that the President and the Metropolitan Vice President were to lay the League's wreath at dawn on Anzac Day (there is no mention of participation in a 'ceremony'). However, less than a week later, whether as a result of their own reassessment, or being forced aside by the Association, the Executive rescinded its decision to be at the Cenotaph at dawn, instead choosing to stake a claim on the other end of the day, providing a ceremonial end to Anzac Day at sunset. The League had initiated sunset ceremonies at the Cenotaph sometime after the first dawn ceremony in 1928, simple affairs comprising the sounding of The Last Post and

³⁶ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 16 November 1928.

³⁷ The dispute continued into 1929 with a lack of resolution of boundaries in Ryde prompting discussions at RSSILA State Council (11 July, 25 July, 22 August 1928), State Executive (29 August 1929), and Congress (6 August 1929), especially seeking State Government intervention. Other organisations were also caught up in the dispute, see *SMH*, 10 October 1928, p. 9, in relation to complaints about RSSILA restrictions on sale of poppies by the Sailors' and Soldiers' Mothers, Wives, and Widows' Association.

a wreath laid on anniversaries of specific battles of the War, ceremonies that were to continue for some years.³⁸

The spirit and practice at sunset were not dissimilar to that which prompted the ceremony at dawn, at least in the latter's first, unadorned incarnation in 1928. The League's regular presence at the Cenotaph was not any longer in dispute, having secured the official custodianship, but its intransigent approach throughout the 1920s to the presence of other ex-service organisations, especially the Clubs movement, had contributed to its exclusion from participation in the inception of dawn services. Its instinctive response was to resist the innovation and seek to control the memorial and to fashion a new ceremony of its own devising. Perhaps the League did not imagine the success of the Association's efforts. Sunset ceremonies faded from the program but the Dawn Service has endured, ultimately being taken up by League State branches and sub-branches across the nation.³⁹ The League was from the beginning the custodian of the Cenotaph, but it could not lay claim to beginning a new and abiding Anzac practice at the site.

In 1941 Cask was applauded as 'the leading spirit in the Anzac Dawn Service of Remembrance'. He was not one of the 'famous five' whose encounter with the grieving woman at the Cenotaph in 1927 was to have such a long-lasting impact on Anzac Day commemoration. But, on 15 June 1941, he was honoured with Life Membership of the Legion (as the Association had become in 1929) at a special event

³⁸ RSSILA (NSW) State Executive Minutes, 10 November 1928 – the first reference to these anniversary ceremonies is to one held on 12 October 1928. The RSSILA noted in its minutes of 16 November that year, congratulations for its efforts at sunset that it received from Queensland branch commenting on its 'creation of such an atmosphere of reverence surrounding the Cenotaph'. Sunset ceremonies occurred on set dates thereafter throughout early 1930s. For example, *Reveille*, 30 April 1930, reported that 'the League is striving to create a more profound atmosphere of reverence and respect around the Cenotaph', noting 'petty and sordid bickerings in our midst', perhaps acknowledging in a spirit of self-reflection the problems of the mid to late 1920s. An anniversary for each of the five AIF Divisions, the ANMEF, the RAN, the Australian Light Horse and the Australian Flying Corps were listed as dates for Sunset Services. Although they did not persist, an Anzac Day sunset service has been reinstated at the Cenotaph by the RSL (NSW) in the past decade.

³⁹ In 1929 Perth held a Dawn Service (see note 27). Albany followed with Padre White conducting its 'first' dawn service in 1930. Other State capitals were to follow - Brisbane in 1931, then Adelaide and Hobart in 1932. Melbourne's first dawn service was held in 1933. Canberra, where the new capital's first Anzac Day had been marked in 1928, does not appear to include dawn ceremonies in its program until the early 1940s. Scott Worthy states that the first Dawn Service in New Zealand was in 1939, 'A Debt of Honour: New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2002), p. 185. Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p. 314, states that the New Zealand ceremony was 'introduced by veterans who had come to Sydney for Anzac Day 1938'. However, New Zealand had an official presence at the Sydney Dawn Service from 1929.

at the Savoy Theatre,⁴⁰ having been described the previous year as one who ‘originated, and still guides, this unique keeping of the faith’.⁴¹ His very active membership of the Bondi Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Club (sic) was also noted.⁴² The League was represented at the function by its former President Colonel Hyman, deposed by Davison in the fractious 1920s, but now a Vice-President and the official Custodian of the Cenotaph.

Cask’s prominent leadership of the Association of Returned Sailors’ and Soldiers’ Clubs in crucial periods leading to the inauguration of the ceremony in April 1928 provides an explanation for the successful instigation of dawn services. His bold interventions had presented the Association as a strong alternative organisation to the RSSILA and the rivalry suggests straightforward answers to the questions posed earlier: why then (thirteen years after Gallipoli) and why at a particular site (the Cenotaph). The Association devised a way to be at the Cenotaph on the monument’s first Anzac Day ahead of the putative custodians, the League.

There is, however, a further factor in an emerging ritual practice of sunrise ceremonies along the west coast of the United States. In the post-War period, ceremonies similar to the Anzac Day dawn service had emerged in California, particularly in Hollywood. Known as Easter Sunrise Services, these ceremonies, reported regularly in Australian media, were designed amidst post-war rebuilding efforts in a new community taking shape around the burgeoning movie industry. The equation of war memory, Easter and dawn provides an example of the spirit of the age in the 1920s and its manifestation in the establishment of a new ritual in Sydney. The dawn service initiative resonated because of the dawn landing at Gallipoli on the first ‘Anzac Day’ and the correlation with the Cenotaph’s first Anzac Day.⁴³ But the

⁴⁰ *Gallipoli Legion Gazette*, July 1941, p. 3 – the regard for Cask is evidenced by the attendance of the NSW Minister for Customs, who presented Cask with a grandfather clock in recognition of his efforts.

⁴¹ *Gallipoli Legion Gazette*, May 1940, p. 4.

⁴² As noted above, Cask was a member of the Bondi-Waverley sub-branch of the League and of the Eastern Suburbs Returned Sailors’ and Soldiers’ Club, hence the possible conflation in the ceremony report into ‘Bondi Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Club’.

⁴³ Some accounts of dawn services speak of a connection to ‘stand to’, a battlefield operational order requiring soldiers to be prepared in the dark before first light, ready to attack or defend at daybreak. See for example, www.dva.gov.au/commemorations/. It is not correct, however, to say the dawn service has its origins in this routine. As with The Last Post and Reveille bugle soundings, the employment of a military tradition in commemorative ritual, although it may be familiar to some attendees, is an entirely different use of such a routine. Commemorations are rarely conducted on active battlefronts, and the timing of dawn, although related to an historical event, has more relevance to the wider community’s hope for the future. For example, the Australian Army explains the ‘stand to’ practice but acknowledges that a dawn service is a public

experience in Hollywood provided a further connection of the new ritual with Easter, and enabled an ordinary story of rivalry over a memorial to be elevated above its ordinary beginnings, to be consecrated into the distinctive Sydney Evangelical commemoration emphasis on the resurrection.

Sunrise and Dawn

Although there was an earlier Moravian Church practice of open-air sunrise services, non-denominational gatherings known as Easter Sunrise Services, advertised to all-comers, began in Riverside, a suburb of Los Angeles, in 1909.⁴⁴ The first such ceremony in Hollywood was held in 1919 at the instigation of the local Community Park and Art Association in conjunction with the Theatre Arts Alliance. The Community Park and Art Association had as its primary objective the raising of funds to purchase parks and establish them as memorials to the First World War. The sunrise initiative was a way of bringing to a potential memorial park site the practice of community singing which had emerged during the war to promote 'community uplift and patriotic togetherness'.⁴⁵ The local event, the Hollywood Community Sing,

ceremony, not an army ceremony, leaving such a connection 'not entirely clear' and more likely related to the landing at Gallipoli. www.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/dawn-service

⁴⁴ The Moravians, a Protestant denomination originating in Central Europe, are believed to have started such services in 1732, with the practice first appearing in America in the 1750s. The Riverside innovation is attested in 'Sunrise Rites on Coast: Easter Custom is Extended This Year', *New York Times*, 1 April 1934, p. 30. See also www.riversideeasterservice.com. Later in the eighteenth century, the orchestrator of French Revolutionary ceremonial rituals, Jacques-Louis David, organised a 'sunrise service' on 10 August 1793 – 'All Frenchman who wish[ed] to celebrate the Festival of Unity and of Indivisibility, [were to] rise before the dawn, so that the touching scene of their gathering [might] be illumined by the sun's first rays... [which were to] be for them the symbol of Truth to which they would address their songs of praise'. See David Lloyd Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press; 1948), p. 111. Although this event is taken up by some authors as an early example of a 'sunrise' ceremony (for example, Christine Poggi, *Inventing Futurism: The Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism*, Princeton University Press; 2008, p. 288), what is not commonly noted is Dowd's ensuing commentary, explaining that everything went to plan except that: 'the ceremony began at seven instead of at four in the morning'.

⁴⁵ Catherine Parsons Smith, 'Founding the Hollywood Bowl', *American Music*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1993), p. 216. The initiative is attributed to President Woodrow Wilson. See Esther M. Morgan-Ellis, *Everybody Sing! Community Singing in the American Picture Palace* (University of Georgia Press; 2018), pp. 71-72. Community singing had emerged in Australia before the movement took root in Britain. See Dave Russell, 'Abiding Memories: The Community Singing Movement and English Social Life in the 1920s', *Popular Music*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 2008), p. 119. Russell notes the importance of community singing to the 'construction of a precisely imagined community' and how it was viewed as 'an antidote to the widespread social tensions' of the era, pp. 125, 127. Its spread, once inaugurated formally in 1925, was rapid, a feature of football matches (for example, the commemorative staple, *Abide with Me*) and at British Legion festivals and military tattoos. 'Uncle' Frank Grose, who worked for the YMCA during the war, an organisation that partnered with community singing movements both at the front and in the United States, brought the movement to Sydney through his

had commenced in 1917, its popularity growing after the Armistice; the Hollywood Bowl proved an ideal venue for bringing a burgeoning population together. The organisers of the Hollywood Community Sing were responsible for the first Easter Sunrise Service at the Hollywood Bowl in 1921. More than 2,000 people attended the service that year. The Bowl was the landmark facility in a suite of performing arts and civic amenities proposed by the Community Park and Art Association as 'living memorials'.⁴⁶ This connection remained evident in the early years of the Bowl's program with the holding of an Armistice Day Mothers' Peace Service in 1921 and the featured appearance of the American Legion Band.⁴⁷

From 1922, the Community Park and Art Association joined with the Theatre Arts Alliance to form the Hollywood Bowl Easter Sunrise Service Committee.⁴⁸ Through the new ritual, an alliance of civic and church organisations sought to add the 'moral power of the arts for the community' to post-war rejuvenation efforts that found expression in the artistic presentation of the meaning of Easter.⁴⁹ Amidst recitations, prayers, performances, preaching and singing, the signature moment was the fanfare of trumpets conjoined with the revealing of white-clad choristers in the shape of a Cross, and hymn-singing exalting the Resurrection, the joyous sounds reverberating across the dell precisely as the sun peered over the ridges.

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, in 1913, a sunrise service had been held by the Methodist Church in Toowong, a suburb of Brisbane. It appears to be the first record of the Moravian ritual occurring in Australia. On 11 May 1913, a 'sunrise thanksgiving service' was conducted at 7.00 am as part of the Whitsunday festival. The sunrise service is reported as an attempt at adapting 'our church life to the peculiarities of the climate and seasons of Australia' – heat and holidays being considered too

broadcast role at radio station 2GB from where he also broadcast the Anzac Day Dawn Service at the Cenotaph, beginning in 1931.

⁴⁶ Smith, 'Founding the Hollywood Bowl', p. 239.

⁴⁷ Smith, 'Founding the Hollywood Bowl', pp. 231-232.

⁴⁸ The first Easter Sunrise Services in Hollywood were held in 1919 (Whitley Heights) and 1920 (Olive Hill, now Barnsdall Park), thence, from 1921, at Hollywood Bowl (formerly known as Daisy Dell). Account by Catherine Lyons, *Daily Breeze*, 19 March 2008 – based on interview with Norma Foster, Easter Sunrise Service President, and organiser for more than twenty years. See also Smith, 'Founding the Hollywood Bowl', pp. 206-242. The new town of Hollywood was growing rapidly, doubling through the 1920s (1910: 319,000, 1920: 577,000, 1930: 1,238,000), a direct consequence of the growth of the film industry. The connection of Easter Sunrise Services to war memorialisation can be further seen in Salt Lake City, Utah, where the event is held at the memorial to the city's war dead in Memory Grove – 'Easter Dawn Services', *New York Times*, 21 March 1937, p. 180.

⁴⁹ Smith, 'Founding the Hollywood Bowl', pp. 210, 214.

dominant at Christmas and Easter.⁵⁰ Much like the initiatives in California, this Australian version was born of a desire to adapt to local opportunities and respond to local imperatives.

The Australian press reported regularly on the Hollywood Easter Sunrise Services. The first reference occurs in 1920, in the Sydney newspaper *The Sunday Times*, which reports a visiting American singer describing 20,000 people assembling before dawn, from 4.30 am, in 'Hollywood, the moving picture city outside Los Angeles'. Hints in this report are already available to its readers of the connection between a 4.30 am dawn and an Easter sunrise service.⁵¹ Further reports appeared every year – 'a curious Easter custom' (1922), an 'Easter innovation... growing in popularity', and 'famous the world over... the spectacle is one not to be forgotten' (1923) – through to at least the early 1930s.⁵² From these reports, sometimes providing detailed accounts of the services, there is evidence of shared tropes between Anzac Day dawn services and Easter Sunrise Services. They emphasised that physical stamina was needed to attend at the Hollywood Bowl – rising in the early hours, walking across rough terrain to gain a good position on the slopes, packing food for the journey.⁵³ Similar exertions are sometimes noted in relation to rising before dawn on Anzac Day.⁵⁴ The connection to the Resurrection was also made clear – 'each communing in her own heart and realizing anew the glory and wonder of the Resurrection'. Like Anzac Day ceremonies, held outdoors and billed as non-denominational, the Resurrection

⁵⁰ *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 22 May 1914, p. 17. A report on the previous year's first programme in advance of the first anniversary proceedings.

⁵¹ *Sunday Times*, 12 September 1920, p. 15.

⁵² A sampling includes: 8 July 1922 (*The Methodist*, Sydney) – report from a 'Sydney Methodist' in a letter to relatives from California: 'They have a curious Easter custom in this country of holding a 'sunrise service' on Easter Sunday... watch for the first rays of the rising sun... men and women of all nationalities.'; 26 August 1922 (*Northern Star*, Lismore) and 27 August 1922 (*Daily Mail*, Brisbane) – 'At dawn last Easter, 50,000 people gathered on the outskirts of Hollywood, California for a Sunrise service. One impressive feature was a huge chorus, dressed in white, standing on a nearby hill. The singers were grouped in the formation of a huge cross.'; 11 July 1923 (*Critic*, Adelaide) and 1 November 1923 (*Table Talk*, Melbourne) – 'Sunrise services at the Hollywood Bowl, famous the world over, were filmed recently by James Cruze... for his New Paramount production, 'Hollywood'... the spectacle of the Sunrise Services is one not to be forgotten by anyone who attends.'

⁵³ 'The crowd beginning to come as early as two o'clock in the morning'. See Esther E. Larson, *The History of Music in Los Angeles*, (Thesis, University of Southern California; 1930), p. 54. Larson included a detailed description of the 1928 Easter Sunrise Service at the Hollywood Bowl, a venue that was already 'known throughout the world' (p. 55), and a program that 'emphasized (its) perfection' (pp. 54-55).

⁵⁴ For example, Tom Griffiths, 'Anzac Day', *Overland*, No. 87 (1982), p. 5. Frank Grose commented: 'so many thousands of people, and the majority of them young, will rise hours before the Dawn, and at considerable sacrifice and inconvenience, to attend a Religious Service, viz the Anzac Dawn Ceremony of Remembrance.' Frank Grose Papers, *2GB Radio Community Chest Annual Report*, 30 June 1947, p. 20. (State Library of NSW).

theme was not downplayed for the sake of unity. Further, a connection of Jesus' sacrifice to that of the dead of the Great War was made explicitly, facilitating in readers' minds how a ceremony at dawn could honour the fallen - the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1929 reported on attending an Easter Sunrise Service in Jerusalem near the graves, known and unknown, of Australian war dead.⁵⁵ It was only after the first Anzac Day Dawn Service in 1928 that a report in the Sydney press named the Californian Easter Sunrise Services as 'Easter Dawn Services'. Together, these two references suggest that the experience of Dawn Services in Sydney beginning in 1928 was fuelling the descriptive language used in Sydney press reports of the overseas precursor events.⁵⁶

The spreading phenomenon overseas was regularly visible in Australian newspapers in every State. One correspondent, who witnessed the Mt Roubidoux event through newsreels at the movie-houses, remembered 'seeing in the pictures in Hobart this stony hill with its cross, covered with a sunrise congregation.'⁵⁷ Another, in the *Brisbane Sunday Mail* in 1927, asked 'Could we not have similar services to inspire and uplift us on Easter morn?' noting the city's favourable climate and 'glorious hills' that would replicate the settings across Los Angeles.⁵⁸ It wasn't Brisbane, but Sydney

⁵⁵ *SMH*, 29 March 1929, p. 8 – a report 'Easter: Days in Jerusalem', including a sunrise service on Easter Sunday in the Garden of Gethsemane connecting the sacrifice of Jesus to that of the soldiers of the Great War buried on nearby hills.

⁵⁶ *Sydney Mail*, 6 June 1928, p. 6, including *photo with caption* – 'Easter Dawn Services: A view looking down into the famous Hollywood Bowl, California, taken when the great crowd had assembled for the sunrise services, a unique event. The cross on the hill in the distance was formed by children dressed in white, the one on the flat being of Easter lilies.' There are other references to 'dawn' in 1928 that should be noted – the Melbourne opening of *Golden Dawn*, a New York theatre performance, the leading character being an Anzac, was announced - *The Age*, 25 January 1928, p. 13. 'Golden dawn' was already in use to describe Anzac Day itself, a prelude to the Association/Legion's own proclamation - *Macleay Argus* (Kempsey, NSW), 22 April 1927: 'Anzac Day is for us not only a day of glorious memory, but also the golden dawn betokening a wondrous future'. *Dawn* was the title of the controversial film of Edith Cavell's execution released in early 1928, which became the subject of numerous press reports in the early months of that year. The film was banned in Australia for a time, over whether its portrayal of her death at sunrise was accurate. The Rector of the Gladesville Anglican Parish, Rev. H. G. J. Howe, published a fourth enlarged edition of *The Dawning of That Day*, a Scriptural treatise on the return of Jesus in the Second Coming.

⁵⁷ *The Mercury* (Hobart), 19 June 1924, p. 5. The writer continues, 'These sunrise services are becoming a very general thing, and all over the country there were large billboards advertising them at different places for 5.14 am on Easter Sunday. All denominations meet together'.

⁵⁸ *Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), 3 April 1927, p. 8. Frank Grose through the 2GB Radio Community Chest, and already having broadcast more than a decade's worth of Anzac Day Dawn Services from Martin Place, initiated Easter Sunrise Services in Sydney in 1941. The first was held at Mrs Macquarie's Chair, with the venue changing regularly, and including, in 1947, a ceremony at the Pool of Remembrance at the Anzac Memorial Building in Hyde Park. These ceremonies continued into the 1960s. Another was held at Martin Place Cenotaph on Victory in the Pacific Day, 15 August 1995, as part of the *Australia Remembers* program marking the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. It was organised by the Legion, the former Association of

one year later that answered the challenge. It wasn't in a natural amphitheatre, but at an outdoor setting surrounded by grand multi-story sandstone buildings, gathered around a Cenotaph. It wasn't Easter Sunday, but the spirit and reality of that day was drawn upon in forging the new Anzac Day tradition.

The Easter Sunrise tradition provided a context even without direct attribution. As historian William Sewell Jnr argues, explaining social practices means describing and interpreting those things that 'characterise the world in which the action takes place'.⁵⁹ The 'logics' in this case are not only the prosaic antagonisms of two ex-service organisations in 1920s Sydney that provoked a serendipitous act. The details of the rivalry explain a great deal about how the landmark event took place on 25 April 1928. But the endurance of the act, its repetition year by year, across city, suburb and town, reveals cultural *logics*, more conventions, that contextualise the dawn service initiative. The resonance of the Cenotaph event was found in the idea of gathering together in an expression of unity, at sunrise to herald a new community and, in Australia's case, connect also to this timing symbolically with the nation's founding 'saga' at Gallipoli.

The turn to Dean Talbot after the success of the first ceremony provides a glimpse of this potential connection of the Cenotaph Dawn Service with the Easter Sunrise Services movement. By calling on the senior chaplain, already a significant and influential figure in the design and success of Anzac Day, the resurrection focus of Easter Sunrise Services was made available as an additional motif for the Dawn Service.⁶⁰ It also laid a foundation for the eventual appearance of the 'Origin Story',

Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Clubs with the Governor of NSW delivering the address. See Frank Grose Papers (State Library of NSW), and Anzac Day Dawn Service Trust archives.

⁵⁹ William H. Sewell Jr, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (University of Chicago Press; 2005), p. 10.

⁶⁰ Talbot would have been aware of the Easter Sunrise Service movement not only through local press reporting, but also through a family connection. His sister-in-law, Bernice Vert, sister to Adrienne, was an actress who ventured to Hollywood in 1921 and in 1928 married a Great War veteran, screenwriter James Warner Bellah. Given the popularity of the Hollywood Bowl Easter Sunrise Service among workers in the movie industry, Bernice is likely to have attended. See for example, a report by Australian actress May Beatty's daughter, on attending the Easter Sunrise Service in 1930, published in Australia in *Table Talk* (Melbourne) 3 July 1930, p. 30 – 'May Beatty's Youthful Daughter Sends a Description of the Remarkable Easter Sunrise Service in the Hollywood Bowl'. Bernice Vert, May Beatty and her daughter Bunny are listed among twenty Australian actresses who have made it in Hollywood – *The Mail* (Adelaide), 10 October 1931. Bernice was also regularly in touch with Dean Talbot and Adrienne Talbot visiting and staying with them when in Sydney providing opportunity to learn of the experience of Easter in Hollywood – March 1923 (*The Bulletin*): Adrienne is reported to be planning to visit Bernice in America on return from violin studies in Paris; May 1932: reported due in Sydney from Maryland where she lived with Bellah; September 1932: reported to be returning to

replete with tantalising similarities to the discovery of the empty tomb on Easter Sunday morning.

The Origin Story

Although there is no documentary evidence to confirm the veracity of the Sydney Dawn Service origin story, it has long been promulgated by the Australian Legion.⁶¹ A comparison of the two stories, that of the woman at the Cenotaph, and of the woman (or women) at the empty tomb of Jesus, reveals a sufficient number of similarities. It is difficult to believe that whoever ‘created’ the origin story would not have been conscious of the Gospel accounts.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John variously record details of a woman or women visiting the tomb of Jesus in the hours leading up to dawn with spices to anoint his body, only to discover he was gone. The accounts indicate that it was made clear to the visitors by angels and/or Jesus himself that he had risen, and they were to tell his disciples who then came to see the empty tomb for themselves. The disciples were later commissioned by Jesus with witnessing to his resurrection throughout the world.

In these details we can recognise details of the Dawn Service origin story. It was a woman (or women) who approached the tomb as it is a woman who approached the Cenotaph. At this stage, the women in the first century AD were not aware that the tomb was empty, much as the Cenotaph was not yet complete. The women brought spices or flowers, both prepared to undertake a ritual act. They remained silent, the first century women comforted by angels, or by Jesus himself, and the woman at the Cenotaph by five veterans. The men in the two stories are emboldened by the encounter to take up the message, in the first century the Gospel of Jesus’

Maryland via New York having stayed with the Talbots whilst in Sydney; January 1936 – family reunion in England reported: Dean Talbot, Adrienne Talbot and Bernice (as Mrs James Warner Bellah) and their mother Mrs Vert.

⁶¹ The story lacks contemporaneous evidence, although see William G. Jenkins, *The Story of the Dawn Service* (2001, manuscript held at the State Library of NSW) – Jenkins was Legion President in the 1990s and initiated the formation of the Anzac Day Dawn Service Trust in 1998 to carry forward custodianship of the Sydney Dawn Service.

resurrection hope, in the twentieth, also a message of hope that would see them return to the Cenotaph each year at the same time.

Did the 'origin story' really occur as described by the Sydney custodians of the dawn service tradition? It is difficult to speak with certainty. But attempting to prove or disprove the dawn service 'origin story' is a distraction from considering the truth-value of the event described. Whether the story was factual in all its detail misses the point.⁶² Those involved have not left an account, and although there was one woman who came forward claiming to be the subject of the story, no one has been able to verify the claim.⁶³ There were six people in attendance at the event reported - five returned soldiers, none of whom fought at Gallipoli, but nevertheless they were still perhaps celebrating on Anzac eve their escape from the clutches of death - and one woman, either a mother or wife of one of those fallen on a foreign field. None of these persons is known to have left behind a detailed account of the incident.

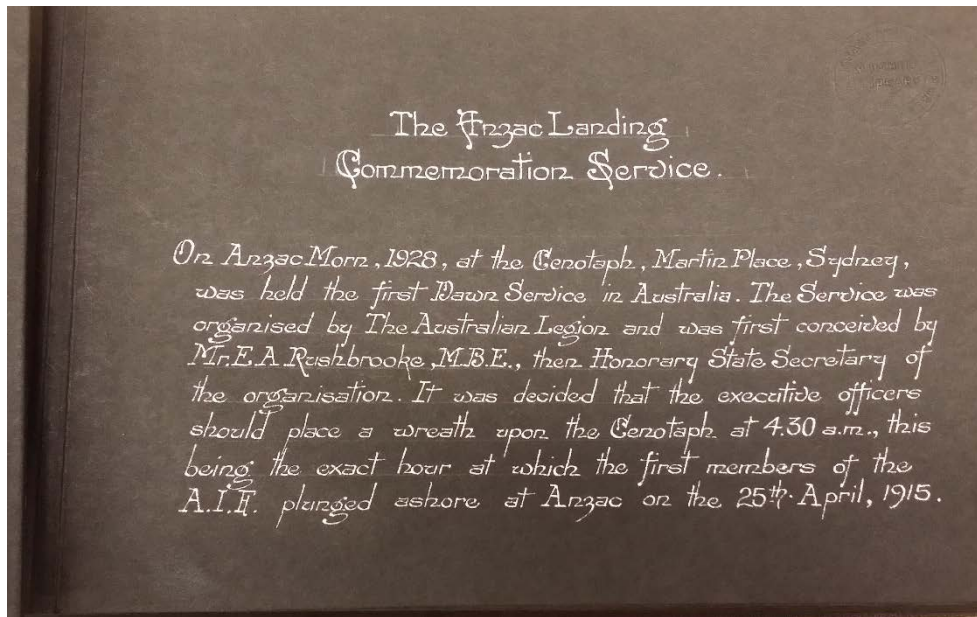
The Association was an active organisation but had not sought specific responsibility for organising public commemoration ceremonies. Like the many ex-service organisations that had sprung up during and after the war, the Association was focussed on the relief of suffering among returned veterans and their families, advocacy before government on their behalf, as well as the care of widows and children of those who had lost their lives in the war. Visitation of the suffering in hospitals, provision of food for the needy, and organising social opportunities to combat loneliness, were all a part of the Association's offerings.⁶⁴ Apart from the

⁶² Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 411-412, refers to a 1994 edition of *Vetlink*, a Department of Veterans' Affairs newsletter; Jenkins, *The Dawn Service*, suggested it was 'handed down' through successive generations of Legion organisers. Peter Stanley disputes the existence of any evidence for the story (www.abc.net.au/news/factcheck/2015-04-24/the-anzac-day-dawn-service).

⁶³ It should be noted that the five veterans have been identified by Jenkins (p. 3) as Ernie Rushbrooke MBE, W. George Patterson MBE, Jim S. Davidson, W. (Bill) Gamble, and Len A. Stickley – all of whom were office-holders in the Association and the Legion at various times. However, the Story of the Dawn Service's first few years, written by Ernie Rushbrooke and gifted to the State Library of New South Wales in 1935, does not refer to the 'origin story', suggesting either that the 'famous five' did not trumpet publicly how the idea emerged, or that the 'origin story' did indeed emerge at a later stage. Frank Grose refers to 'eight diggers' being involved in its inauguration (see Frank Grose papers, *2GB Radio Community Chest Annual Report*, 30 June 1948, p. 35) when reporting on the 21st Anniversary of the ceremony. That year, Patterson, Rushbrooke and Davidson led the 'March on of Veterans' which preceded the Dawn Service, and laid the Legion wreath, a privilege usually accorded the Governor, or the senior Army Officer in attendance. Patterson also recited the Dedication, again a task routinely performed by the Governor, in recognition of him being the President of the Association (now Legion) in the year of the Dawn Service's inauguration.

⁶⁴ The Association's objects included: 'to undertake the welfare of the sick, wounded and needy among those who have served and their dependants', 'to perpetuate the close and friendly ties of friendship created by a mutual service in the Great War'. The Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs archives.

organisation of the Anzac Day march, which had been the purview of the Returned Soldiers' Association (the RSA) and its successor the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, governments and chaplains had led public commemoration. The contest between the two organisations that characterised much of the mid to late 1920s had resulted in their instigation and leadership of two new public ceremonies on Anzac Day. But it was the dawn service tradition that persisted.



The Story of the Dawn Service (Sydney: Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs; 1935).

(Source: State Library of New South Wales)

What the origin story does suggest is that *something* happened to prompt the Association to initiate a ceremony that had lacked precedent. It is possible to imagine a bright idea emanating from a meeting of the Association's office-bearers, but the account of its emergence is not that story.⁶⁵ It is a particular story, with an array of detail - the not-yet complete Cenotaph, a lone woman with flowers, the standing together in silence, the five men involved. One detail would not have been admired by all hearers of the story, that the veterans were making their way home from the Blue Tea Rooms in Martin Place after an Anzac Eve of 'partying'.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The decision is said to have been taken by the Association executive in February 1928. See Jenkins, *The Story of the Dawn Service*.

⁶⁶ Six o'clock closing still applied in Sydney. See John F. Williams, *Quarantined Culture: Australian Reactions to Modernism 1913-1939* (Cambridge University Press; 1995) - 'no longer could proletarians be trusted in public with alcohol after dusk', p. 7.

What this level of detail attests to is that something significant happened that, in hindsight and with the widespread adoption of the dawn scheduling of Anzac Day ceremonies across Australia thereafter, led to the story of the woman at the Cenotaph becoming the accepted account of the idea's germination. The 'truth-value' is at a level different from asking when did the first ceremony occur and what happened at it. The 'origin story' can be described as 'myth' as if this could put in doubt the beginnings of the dawn service, which it can't, but it is precisely the story's mythical allure that helps us appreciate the significance of the initiative. Its connection to the empty tomb story of the New Testament means it is even more revealing as a result.

THE DAWN SERVICE IN SYDNEY :

How It Started . .

On returning from a function in the early hours of one morning in 1927, five members of the Association of Returned Sailors and Soldiers Clubs, (later to become known as the Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs) saw an old lady with a bunch of flowers proceed to the Cenotaph.

Mr. G. Patterson spoke to her and asked if they could be of any help, and as the lady placed the flowers on the Cenotaph they bowed their heads and said a prayer. They then proceeded home. Those five men were Messrs. Jim Davidson of the Marrickville Anzac Memorial Club, Ernie Rushbrook, G. Patterson, L. A. Stickler and W. Gamble.

At a delegates meeting of the Association of Returned Sailors & Soldiers Clubs (NOT the R.S.L.), a motion was introduced by Ernie Rushbrook and endorsed by the executive "That a wreath be placed on the Cenotaph at Dawn, 4.30 a.m. on 25th April, 1928".

The wreath was placed on the Cenotaph by the President Mr. G. W. Patterson. Apart from those mentioned above many others were present but names were not recorded.

Very little publicity was given to that first very simple ceremony but nevertheless about 130 were present.

In view of the public support an open invitation to the Legion's ceremony was issued in 1929 and in addition to the wreath being placed, Dean Talbot offered a prayer and a bugle sounded "Reveille" to signify the Legion's belief that Anzac Day heralded a new era in the history of Australia; the attendance increased to about 250.

In 1930 representatives of the Federal and State Governments were present and over 1000 persons attended.

The 1931 ceremony was attended by Sir Phillip Game, then Governor of N.S.W., who placed the Legion's wreath on the Cenotaph.

On this occasion for the first time, special trams and trains were run for the convenience of the public.

RAPID GROWTH.

The service continued to grow and in 1933 the battalions comprising the 4th Brigade A.I.F., which provided the landing force, were invited to send representatives to the ceremony.

The 9th Batt., Queensland, was represented by Mr. J. E. Bell, the 10th Batt., (S. Aust) by Mr. G. F. Admunds, and the 11th Batt., (W.A.) by Mr. S. M. Williams and the 12th Batt., (Tas) by Major Kennedy. That year the attendance was 8000.

A representative interstate gathering attended the 20th anniversary ceremony, and in 1939 the attendance was over 20,000. Two hymns, and "The Recessional" and "Lead Kindly Light" were then included in the service.

The first Dawn Service Organiser was Mr. E. A. Rushbrook who carried on until 1935 and was then followed by Mr. Jack Cask, Mr. George Warren, Mr. Andy Tait, Mr. T. Chandler, Mr. A. Tait again, then came Mr. Jim Davidson, Mr. N. Saunderson and now we have Mr. R. W. Bateman, who also held the position of President of the Legion for many years.

During the years of the Service there has only been two Hon. Directors of Broadcasting. The first man to broadcast the service was Mr. Frank Grose, known as (Uncle Frank), then on the retirement of Uncle Frank the broadcast was taken over by Mr. Howard Craven.

The Returned Army Nurses' Association has always supported the Dawn Service and has been represented since 1929. Miss Coleman has not missed a service.

In 1935 an album of photographs and a brief history of the Service was handed to the Mitchell Library.

To those who organised this wonderful service, which gives such comfort to many, Diggers say: "We thank you".

Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs Pamphlet explaining the Dawn Service 'Origin Story', undated.

(Source: Legion Records)

For some historians, the Anzac Day dawn service story was only another *myth* in a stew of myth-making that was enlisted in the service of the larger Anzac mythology of 'blood-sacrifice for Empire' and unquestioned heroism, an admixture of nationalism, jingoism and militarism, suggesting an unholy alliance of government, media and

veterans in keeping Anzac 'sacred' although of course not 'religious'.⁶⁷ James Smyth calls this 'the classic revisionist and modernist canon... [where] myth is a bad thing, a fogged-up mirror which must be shattered so that the 'facts' can emerge in all their unadorned clarity'.⁶⁸ For Smyth, myths, what people believe, are a *fact* in and of themselves, and 'no matter how inaccurate they were or may be, are... facts which call for analysis'.⁶⁹ Similarly, John MacKenzie, writing about the commemorative dimensions of Admiral Lord Nelson's heroism, states 'a myth is not of course an untruth. It constitutes a heightening and embroidery of truth in order to create a grander conception of some central moment that observers take to be a crucial turning point'.⁷⁰

The Dawn Service origin story embodies precisely this focus on the moment of extraordinary courage of the Anzacs – the crucial turning point - and the continuing need to express gratitude and sympathy towards those who had suffered loss or other hardship, expressions that fortified the necessary rebuilding effort after the grim resolve of wartime had sorely tested a new nation and its fledgling identity. The Sydney organisers told a story that, in its 'heightened' and perhaps even 'embroidered' elements, imported familiar gestures such as wreath-laying and silence and through this a grander conception of the sacrifice so many had experienced. Their story lifts these gestures and the sacrifice they attest to, into the exalted realm of theological 'truth'.

⁶⁷ This approach is evident in Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2010), a work focussed on the idea of Australia's 'birth' as a nation on 25 April 1915 (Henry Reynolds, 'Are nations really made in war?' p. 25) continuing to fuel Australian identity, although some contributors acknowledge that Australian nationalism, the Anzac myth and Anzac Day have all undergone evolution (see in particular, Mark McKenna, 'Anzac Day: How did it become Australia's national day?', pp. 110-134). In another nuanced account of Australia's sense of identity as expressed in Anzac Day ritual, see James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire* (Melbourne University Press; 2010) who map a complex interplay of both continuity of 'Empire settler nationalism' - with an Anzac Day 'steeped... in the ritual and imagery of the *old* imperial patriotism', (p. 198) - and a 'penchant for renovating the national image' (p. 254) that has produced 'false dawns' (p. 226), like a nation 'endlessly coming of age' (p. 224) - with 'the extraordinary resurgence of Anzac Day the most striking example of a more general conversion to the rites and rituals of nationalism' (p. 257). For further discussion of Australia's unique Empire nationalism, see Joy Damousi, 'War and Commemoration: "The Responsibility of Empire"', in Deryck M. Schreuder and Stuart Ward (Eds.), *Australia's Empire* (Oxford University Press; 2010); and Stephen Garton, 'Demobilization and Empire: Empire Nationalism and Soldier Citizenship in Australia After the First World War – in Dominion Context', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 50, No. 1, (2015).

⁶⁸ James Smyth, (Ed.), *Remembering the Troubles: Contesting the Recent Past in Northern Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press; 2017), p. 3.

⁶⁹ Smyth, *Remembering the Troubles*, p. 4.

⁷⁰ John M. MacKenzie, 'Nelson Goes Global: The Nelson Myth in Britain and Beyond', in David Cannadine (Ed.), *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2005), p. 144.

It must be remembered that we are examining gestures, and a ritual form. A ritual is, by definition, dealing in metaphor – the death on the battlefield was, of course, not repeated at a commemoration ceremony. Ritual draws on an event, or an idea, but also is a *thing* itself, a *fact* in Smyth's accounting, just as the performance of a play or a musical composition has its own reality as much as the original text.⁷¹ The stories we tell about history, the activities of actors in our nation's past, are evidence that is also worthy of study. How a mythology or 'justification story' develops in support of ritual practices, as well as how practices emerge, require a sociological analysis.⁷² In relation to analysing ritual, accessing conscious decision-making points or discovering unequivocal explanations by designers and participants is difficult.⁷³ Performative legacies are the most difficult to apprehend and to understand, leaving only the trace of repetition, and are consequently ignored because of the difficulty of accessing the minds of creator, custodian and participant alike. In the case of the Dawn Service in Sydney we have only an intriguing and symbolically rich account of how the idea came to be, and how that idea became a reality from 1928.

The story of the woman at the Cenotaph in 1927 needs also to be considered in the context of its era. The thoughts and motivations are more obvious amidst a contest for primacy and the climate of commemorative thinking and practice in the interwar

⁷¹ The repeated 'event' is, by its nature, more in keeping with a desire to express the binding forces of a community where attendance is participation, sufficient in itself, whether or not an attendee subscribes to all that is said and done. The occasion, merely by happening on a ritual basis, takes on the power of ritual. The distinctive challenges in considering commemoration are noted by Gobel and Rossell: '.... commemorative acts and objects shape our lives in fundamental ways, but their meaning is always multivalent and conflicted. Our monuments and commemorative acts attest to both triumphs and tragedies, but each of us remembers different acts and achievements from different perspectives, and for different reasons... Clearly, we have much to learn regarding the nature and meaning of commemorative acts.' David Gobel and Daves Rossell (Eds.), *Commemoration in America: Essays on Monuments, Memorialization and Memory* (University of Virginia Press; 2013), p. 1.

⁷² See David Cannadine, 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast', *Past and Present*, No. 94 (February 1982), pp. 107-130, for an historical and sociological analysis of an annual ritual in an English town. Cannadine, who also contributed to Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's collection, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press; 1983) sought to encourage analysis of the occurrence over time of modern day civic rituals, drawing on anthropological, performance, and architectural insights, although he squarely places his Colchester example within the frame of 'heightened tradition' posited by Hobsbawm and others to describe the late Victorian and Edwardian eras leading to the Great War. Cannadine's closing exhortations that 'the study of ritual and commemoration in modern Britain should be as much the concern of the historian as the social scientist' and that the need for contextualisation 'obliges any historian interested in the subject to listen to anthropologists' inform the approach in this thesis.

⁷³ Maurice Bloch termed the search for origins in ritual practice thus: 'Exegesis, that is, the search for original intentionality,' is a work that is simultaneously frustrating, almost inevitable, and unlikely to settle anywhere 'with any finality'. See Maurice Bloch, 'Ritual and Difference', in Harvey Whitehouse and James Laidlaw (Eds.), *Ritual and Memory: Toward a Comparative Anthropology of Religion* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press; 2004), pp. 73-74.

period.⁷⁴ This sociological analysis has prepared the way for better understanding the 'origin story', even if we neither know of its own origins, nor have evidence to confirm its factual basis.

At the heart of the Dawn Service origin story are both death and its tears, and resurrection and its joy. The Anzac story ends not with sacrifice but with a realisation that new life can be born of suffering and death, and that those who have fallen on the battlefield are the 'first fruits' of this hope. The sacrifice involved was linked to the next life, the reawakening from sleep clearly serving as a metaphor in Christian thinking for resurrection. This indelible connection of death and resurrection was central to the Christian Easter festival. Good Friday marks Jesus's death and is commonly a solemn day in acknowledgement of his suffering and death. Easter Sunday marks the resurrection and is traditionally a day of joy. One without the other is non-sensical in the Christian tradition. It was at dawn that the empty tomb was discovered. Jesus' sacrifice was not forgotten but was given context and meaning by his resurrection from the dead, with the ultimate hope that it delivered the end of suffering. Like the resurrection of Jesus, new life comes with dawn. The Dawn Service, by embedding this Easter framework, paid its respects to grief, and extended solace both individually and collectively, consistent with the aims of the RSA, and later the Association/Legion and League, to offer comfort and recognition.

Talbot's history with these ex-service organisations made him an obvious choice when the Association was seeking to place a measure of surety on their innovation. In bringing him to the centre of proceedings in 1929, the second dawn service, this history, and the emphasis of Wright and Talbot on resurrection in Anzac commemoration, became connected to the nascent ceremony. Drawing this connection, to knit together a dawn ceremony with Easter hope, would not have required much prompting. His reflections in 1917, the glimmer of light on the horizon made visible by the Canadians' victory at Vimy Ridge on Easter Monday,

⁷⁴ Cannadine, 'The Colchester Oyster Feast' p. 108, where, drawing on anthropologist Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1975), he makes clear that understanding the Colchester Oyster Feast requires 'setting it in the context of Colchester's economic and social structure and local government... and with reference to the evolving civic context'. See also, David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and "The Invention of Tradition", c. 1820-1977' in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, pp. 101-164.

encouraged Wright to say, 'Is it that we are beginning to see the dawn?' Talbot's views were consistently evident:

the phenomenon of the Empty Tomb has never been satisfactorily explained apart from a belief... in the orthodox doctrine of the Resurrection... The Resurrection of the body gives a deeper meaning and value to this life... [and] a vital connection and a real continuity between this life and the next, and this gives an eternal significance to all our work here.⁷⁵



Delegates to the Association of Returned Soldiers' Clubs (later the Australian Legion of Ex-Service Clubs)
Annual Conference, February 1928, Bondi Diggers Club.

It was at this conference that the decision was taken to conduct the Dawn Service at Sydney's Cenotaph.

(Source: Legion Records)

⁷⁵ Talbot's review of the Liberal Evangelical collection *Foundations*, in *SDM*, 1 May 1914, p. 14. A common report of his intertwining the war and resurrection is illustrated by an account of an Easter sermon in 1920 at which he 'preached on the most convincing proof of the reality of the resurrection', including drawing on his experiences with the AIF. *SDM*, 1 May 1920, p. 7.

Conclusion

The first dawn ceremony was an affecting occasion. The reporter in *The Sun* connected the new ritual to the dawn landing at Gallipoli poetically: the motifs of shadows (at Gallipoli and Martin Place) and silence ('no human sound' and 'subdued voices') evoked ideas of mortality and absence - and instinctively: 'Early morning Anzac, thirteen years ago to-day: and the same hour this morning in Martin-place (sic)'. It was described as 'a unique event' and the 'most solemn of all the day's observances'.⁷⁶

One hundred and fifty people were in attendance to witness the laying of official wreaths by the Association of Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Clubs and a representative of the 11th Battalion. A solemn Two Minutes' Silence was observed, and others were then free to place their own tributes. Reports of the first Dawn Service focussed on how 'the silence was all' and that the spirit had been captured by 'one old woman, partly crippled with age and long distress, [who] haltingly made her way to the foot of the Cenotaph, where, among the brilliant array of beautiful and expensive wreaths she hid modestly her token of long remembering – a tiny bunch of white daisies, held together with a piece of cord'.⁷⁷

This reportage perhaps kindled in dawn service organisers an idea of how to describe their inspiration for this original ceremony. The unknown woman's act according to the Origin Story occurred at dawn at the equivalent of an empty tomb, the Cenotaph, corresponding with the discovery of the absent, risen Christ as well as the moment when the Anzacs came ashore at Gallipoli. This synchronous equivalence signified, intentionally or otherwise, a comparability of Anzac and Christian traditions. What began as a spontaneous act quickly became habituated, a new ritual for Anzac Day that found its justification and its resonance in Australian history. The emergence in Sydney in 1928 of the Anzac Day Dawn Service was a simple story of rivalry, but its endurance has taken on mythic qualities that transcended the everyday and were a further signal of the influence of Christian thinking and practice on the familiar forms of Anzac Day.

⁷⁶ *The Register* (Adelaide), 26 April 1928, p. 11. *The Sun*, 25 April 1928, p. 9.

⁷⁷ *Farmer and Settler*, 27 April 1928, p. 4.

Part III

Set in Stone and Bronze

Chapter Six

Public Memorialisation

The integral relationship of Christianity in the formation of Anzac Day ritual also had an impact on memorial interpretation and practice. This is evident in the principal memorials in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. Australia's major state and national war memorials were erected many years after the war. The first to appear were in Hobart (1925) and Perth (1929), but those in Victoria and NSW were not completed until 1934. The principal civic monuments to the Great War in the two largest states, the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne and the Anzac Memorial Building in Sydney, were both opened by a royal visitor, the Duke of Gloucester, who was in Australia to lead celebrations of Victoria's centenary. The Australian War Memorial (AWM) was opened in 1941, by which time not only had more than two decades elapsed since Armistice, but the Second World War had expunged hopes for a lasting peace dividend from the Great War. Indeed, the central commemorative features of the national capital's memorial took many more years to be completed, with neither the Roll of Honour nor the Hall of Memory opened until the 1950s.

Ostensibly, these dates suggest little progress was made in the 1920s; in reality the designs were settled during that decade. Importantly, the three memorials were products of the design thinking of the 1920s. The design competition winners for Melbourne's Shrine were announced in 1924, and Federal Cabinet had given its approval for the AWM in 1923, with its design team announced in 1927. Although the Sydney Cenotaph had been hastily conceived and erected, also by 1927, it was acknowledged at the time as a temporary solution until the funds set aside, the substantial portion of which had been first raised as early as Anzac Day 1916, could be applied to building the principal NSW memorial. The long delays encountered in completing the buildings were provoked by subsequent design challenges, and the funding of construction works during the Great Depression inevitably slowed progress.

The foundation stone for the Shrine was laid in 1927 presaging a seven-year period of construction. The equivalent stone for the AWM was unveiled in 1929. A dozen years passed before its first stage emerged. In contrast, the building of the Anzac

Memorial, looking back, appears meteoric, with less than five years elapsing from design resolution in 1930 through to the laying of foundation stones in July 1932 – one for a citizen and one for a soldier – and then to its opening in November 1934. Those responsible must have wondered how British architect Edwin Lutyens could have achieved so much in so little time with the influential London Cenotaph unveiled on 11 November 1920, one year after the hurriedly erected temporary prototype appeared. But just as the marking of Anzac Day had grown throughout the 1920s, the commitment to completing these national physical monuments in honour of wartime sacrifice was not diminished by the delays.¹

The themes present in the format and ritual elements of Anzac Day are also visible in the memorial designs. Joan Beaumont has claimed that ‘the major war memorials in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra rely for their imagery not so much on Christian symbolism but on classical traditions – ancient Greece and the tradition of stoic patriotism’.² But their verticality belies this easy conclusion. In their siting and in their structure, both an ancient temple and a Christian church achieve the same outcome, to lift the gaze skywards into the heavenly realms. In the aftermath of the Great War, memorials were designed cognisant of both the enduring classical traditions and their seamless Christian appropriations. At the centre of the Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra memorials is a soaring cathedral-like chamber that emphasises the vertical dimension and, within these chambers, are essential Christian symbols. Jay Winter has argued in relation to Great War memorials that ‘the range of Christian references was infinitely malleable and easily identified’.³

The winning architects for the Shrine, the earliest completed design, stressed the classical influences on their entry. Philip Hudson and James Wardrop referred to the

¹ Pat Jalland, *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History 1840-1918* (Oxford University Press; 2002), p. 325, has argued that these memorials were erected too late to assuage those bereaved by the Great War, but patterns of commemorating Anzac Day continued to evolve more than a decade after the war, the most significant development being the establishment of the Dawn Service which, as discussed in Chapter Five – Dawn, emerged in recognition of the unfathomable burden of grief experienced by womenfolk in particular. Beginning in Sydney in 1928, the innovation spread to other State capital cities and Canberra through the 1930s.

² Joan Beaumont, ‘The Anzac Legend’, in her edited collection *Australia’s War: 1914-1918* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin; 1995), p. 164. The footnote for this statement is Inglis, ‘The Anzac Tradition’ (March 1965), pp. 39-42, republished in John Lack (Ed.), *Anzac Remembered: Selected Writings of K. S. Inglis* (University of Melbourne; 1998).

³ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press; 1995, 2nd edition: 2015), p. 91.

Tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. The steeped pyramidal style of their design mirrored that of the ancient monument which is the source of the term 'mausoleum' to describe a grand burial space above ground. Hudson was keen to highlight its 'Grecian' tradition, the Halicarnassus monument being the work of Greek architects.⁴ The next design settled was that for the AWM in 1927, the year Federal Parliament moved from Melbourne to the new capital in Canberra. The scheme of the successful architects, Emil Sodersteen and John Crust, called for a monumentalism with classical echoes, similar in ambition to that of the Shrine, but Crust also described the central layout as that of a Greek Cross, an ancient form of the unmistakable Christian symbol.⁵ Architect Bruce Dellit, the competition winner for the Sydney Memorial, claimed influence in the mid-1920s Art Deco movement, conjoining in his design the movement's block-like geometry suggestive of solidity and its smooth lines suggestive of movement. His preference was for the contemporary over ancient Greece and Rome; in the process Dellit delivered an edifice that is both classical and modern, aided by a partnership with a skilful artisan, the sculptor Rayner Hoff.

Dellitt's comments notwithstanding, the significant influence of classical themes on Australia's major war memorials cannot be doubted. Architects around the world found inspiration in timeless styles and forms to fashion enduring monumental testimonies to the sacrifices of the Great War. But it would be mistaken to say these structures were without 'identifiable' Christian influences. Another clue may be found in Dellitt's desire that 'the monument be purely contemporary in style'. Each memorial's creators sought to meet the minds of visitors of their day, a context informed deeply by Christian thinking into which Anzac commemoration had fitted successfully: at the heart of the Shrine, the Ray of Light that each day at 11.00 am

⁴ Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Cambridge University Press; 2009), published for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Shrine, is the definitive history of the Shrine of Remembrance. See also, Catherine Moriarty, 'The "Returned Soldiers' Bug": Making the Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne', in Nicholas J. Saunders and Paul Cornish (Eds.), *Contested Objects: Material Memories of the Great War* (London: Routledge; 2009), pp. 144-162. For the Australian War Memorial, see Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (Australian War Memorial; 1991). There is no equivalent scholarly treatment of the Anzac Memorial, but see, D. N. Jeans, 'The Making of the Anzac Memorial, Sydney: Towards a Secular Culture', in *Australia 1938 Bulletin* Vol. 4 (1981), pp. 48-60; and Julian Thomas, 'For Valhalla: Mnemonics of the Anzac Memorial' (Masters' Thesis, Australian National University; 2000).

⁵ John Crust quoted in Lucy Whyte, 'At the Intersection of Religion, Nationalism and Commemoration: An Analysis of the Formation of the Australian War Memorial 1916-1941' (An unpublished report prepared for the Australian War Memorial; 2013), p. 20. Accessed by request from the AWM.

descends upon the Biblical inscription, 'Greater love hath no man'; the Hoff sculpture 'Sacrifice' that situates the centre of the Anzac Memorial in the bedrock of Christian thinking on death and resurrection; and the AWM's Hall of Memory, with its stained glass images of heroic attributes and hushed atmosphere. These centrepieces equated to the desire of long-time AWM Director John Treloar (1920-1952) for 'Christian symbolism and sentiment' that would 'truly express the affectionate remembrance in which the fallen are held by their comrades, by their relatives, by the people of Australia'.⁶ The 'malleability' of Christian references, Winter's term, was on display for these memorials' contemporary audiences, the designers ensuring the 'cathedral' spaces evoked the Christian thinking of their day.

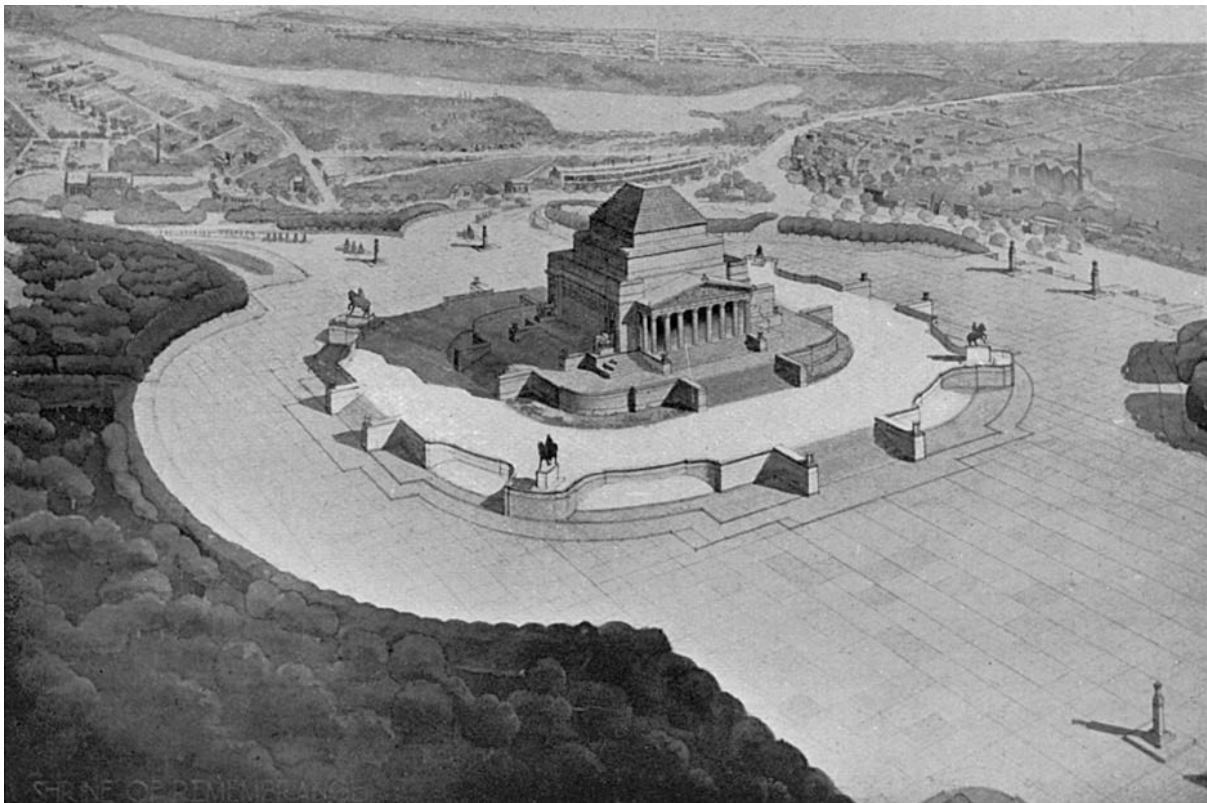
These references balanced the horizontal with the vertical, the common tropes of memorials, accommodating spaces for mourning and signs of transcendence. At their centre, the Shrine, the Anzac Memorial and the AWM are large enough to enable entry by individuals or a small number of visitors.⁷ On the 'horizontal' level, private indoor expressions of grief are encouraged. But large-scale commemoration occurs outside the memorials, with crowds of attendees and participants having their gaze drawn upwards, vertically into the heavens. This double functionality was consistent with the interwar memorial movement's preference for obelisks and columns sitting on elevated pedestals conjoined, at eye level, with the names of those who served. Simple sky-piercing structures had the effect of drawing an onlooker's gaze upwards as well as providing a serviceable base for placing tributes symbolising the Anzac commemorative thought and practice of their time.⁸ It was also consistent with commemorative traditions, shaped by the era's Christian thinking, that marked Anzac Day ceremony. The foundations of Anzac liturgy – the Day's solemnity and joy, The Last Post and Reveille, and the Dawn Service which embodied grief and hope – mirrored the horizontal and the vertical giving these tropes their cornerstone in the Christian understanding of death and resurrection.

⁶ Whyte, 'At the Intersection of Religion, Nationalism and Commemoration', p. 21, quoting from Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report together with Minutes of Evidence Relating to the Proposed Australian War Memorial, Canberra* (Canberra: Government Printer; 1928), p. 71.

⁷ Hudson had explained that he preferred to present, not an obelisk or cenotaph redolent of Lutyens, but a building with an interior, that could be entered and provide space for tribute. Moriarty, 'The "Returned Soldiers' Bug"', p. 147.

⁸ Thomas van Leeuwen, *The Skyward Trend of Thought* (MIT Press; 1988).

Lucy Whyte, noting the obvious architectural cruciform of the AWM, ‘the basic symbol of Christianity and Christian architecture’, claimed that in 1941, at the time of the dedication of the AWM, ‘the Christian symbolism was actually generally admired’.⁹ A belief that Anzac memorialisation is ‘secular’ misunderstands its Christian meaning, resonant in its formative years, and leads to misinterpretations of war memorial motifs and the commemorations that take place at memorial sites. The tentacles of scholarly neglect of Christian symbolism have taken hold of site-specific ritual practice and visitor guidance offered at these principal memorials.



Aerial view of the Shrine of Remembrance 1923, by architects Philip Hudson and James Wardrop.

(Source: www.shrine.org.au)

⁹ Whyte, ‘At the Intersection of Religion, Nationalism and Commemoration’, p. 20.



C. Bruce Dellit, *The Anzac Memorial*, watercolour Photograph courtesy of Victor Dellit

(Source: www.anzacmemorial.nsw.gov.au)



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

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The Australian War Memorial shortly before its opening in 1941. (Source: www.awm.gov.au)

The Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne

A prime example of misinterpretation that arises when Christian thought is ignored is that of an inscription at the Shrine of Remembrance. The inscription, on the West-facing wall of the Shrine, reads:

LET ALL MEN KNOW THAT THIS IS HOLY GROUND.

THIS SHRINE ESTABLISHED IN THE HEARTS OF MEN AS ON THE SOLID
EARTH

COMMEMORATES A PEOPLE'S FORTITUDE AND SACRIFICE.

YE THEREFORE THAT COME AFTER GIVE REMEMBRANCE.

The first Shrine guidebook, produced in 1934 to coincide with the unveiling and dedication, opens with this inscription, stating that 'These words... supply the key to a proper understanding of the existence and purpose of the monument'.¹⁰ The author of this section of the guidebook, journalist Ambrose Pratt, suggested that the inscription bears close resemblance to the writings of Pericles. In making this connection, Pratt was likely to be thinking of Pericles' Funeral Oration, said by Thucydides to have been given in the fifth century BC by Pericles as an address to Athenian citizenry in accordance with the city's annual burial customs and in praise of the war dead.¹¹ The claim of connection between ancient Greek sentiment and the Shrine is based on architect Philip Hudson's expressed desire to provide Melbourne with its own 'Acropolis'.

The claims by Pratt and Hudson have led later writers and historians, including Ken Inglis and Geoffrey Serle, to assume that the West wall inscription is actually based on Pericles' Funeral Oration. This connection has endured but it is one that fails to see the Biblical underpinning of the inscription. Serle, in his biography of AIF General Sir John Monash (1865 – 1931), recounts General Monash's involvement in

¹⁰ Ambrose Pratt and John Barnes, *The National War Memorial of Victoria: An Interpretive Appreciation of The Shrine of Remembrance* (Melbourne: W D Joynt; 1934), p. 9. Pratt suggests that the inscription 'might well have been spoken by Pericles himself', as the inspiration of the Shrine 'is essentially and exclusively Grecian', but later acknowledges that 'it is the House of a Love that looks beyond the grave', p. 19.

¹¹ 'Pericles' Funeral Oration', Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Penguin; 1954, trans. by Rex Warner), Book II, Paragraphs 35-46.

the process of settling on the wording of the inscription on the Western wall. Monash, as Chair of the Shrine Committee in the late 1920s, was responsible for the final text.¹² Serle indicates that Monash was displeased with the original inscription composed by the Shrine architects, seeing it as only a 'garbled and plagiarized version of a poem by Simonides and a speech by Pericles'. Their words were:

Let all men know that this is holy ground:
neither time nor decay shall ruin this shrine
for it is built not only in stone but in the hearts of men.
Therefore instead of tears give remembrance: instead of pity, praise.
The sacrifice of a nation lies here.¹³

In rewriting the text, Monash benefitted from consultations with classicist Professor Thomas George Tucker, and poets Bernard O'Dowd and Felix Meyer, to arrive at the final text.¹⁴ This text was not that originally proposed by Hudson, but Serle does not sever the Pericles-Shrine connection; rather, he fosters it by adding his own interpolation. Serle repeats a claim by historian Ken Inglis about the inscription, stating that, 'As the historian Ken Inglis first remarked, the words are of neither Christian nor Jewish origin but, as elsewhere in Australian war memorials, in the tradition of stoic patriotism'.¹⁵

There are two ideas contained in Inglis' claim and in its employment by Serle. First is the rather emphatic statement that Monash's words are 'of neither Christian nor Jewish origin'; second is the use of the phrase 'tradition of stoic patriotism'. But the claim that there is no Christian or Jewish influence on the inscription is misjudged and the reference to 'stoic patriotism' is misapplied.

¹² Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash: A Biography* (University of Melbourne; 1982/2002), p. 468.

¹³ W. B. Russell, *We Will Remember Them: The Story of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Trustees of the Shrine of Remembrance; 1980), p. 25.

¹⁴ Tucker served as Charles Bean's stylistic advisor on the Official History. See Martin Ball, 'Re-Reading Bean's Last Paragraph', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 122 (2003), pp. 231-247. O'Dowd was the author of the 1912 poem *The Bush* in which he sought to connect the need for a mythic narrative about the recently established Australian nation with the stories of ancient civilisations like those told by Homer: 'Homers are waiting in the gum trees now'.

¹⁵ Serle, *John Monash*, p. 468. Serle cites from Inglis' essay 'The Anzac Tradition', republished in Lack, *Anzac Remembered*.

The inscription does echo some classic Greek tropes. The opening sentiment of ‘Let all men know this is holy ground’ has a declarative tone and may owe some of its inspiration to the first line of Simonides’ poetic inscription for the dead at the Battle of Thermopylae, ‘Foreigner, go tell the Spartans that we lie here obedient to their commands’.¹⁶ And, the Shrine phrases ‘solid earth’ and ‘hearts of men’ have their counterparts in the declaration contained in Pericles’ Funeral Oration that ‘famous men have the whole earth as their memorial: it is not only the inscriptions on their graves... but in peoples’ hearts their memory abides and grows’.¹⁷ The Oration would have been known to Shrine design participants – Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address in 1863 had drawn forth comparison with Pericles.¹⁸ The address had already been immortalised in stone as one of two speeches inscribed on the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC which was unveiled in 1922. In addition, the inscription behind the larger-than-life sculpture of the seated President has echoes of the Melbourne Shrine’s west wall:

IN THIS TEMPLE
AS IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE
FOR WHOM HE SAVED THE UNION
THE MEMORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
IS ENSHRINED FOREVER

Notwithstanding the elevation of their President to the status of national saviour, the idea that memory is ‘enshrined’ both in the ‘temple’ and in ‘the hearts of the people’ is also evident in the Melbourne’s Shrine message about the memory of the sacrifices of wartime. Melbourne’s memorial is a ‘shrine’, a ‘structure’ that sits on ‘solid ground’ conveying the materiality, the obvious grandeur of a colossal, well-built form that would hold these wartime memories in the here and now. Moreover, Pericles

¹⁶ Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book VII, Chapter 228 (London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons; 1921-1924, trans. by A. D. Godley). Donald Richardson, *Creating Remembrance: The Art and Design of Australian War Memorials* (Illinois: Common Ground; 2015) attributes the Shrine text to Simonides’ epitaph on the dead heroes of Thermopylae, citing K. S. Inglis assisted by Jan Brazier, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (1998, 1st edition), p. 317.

¹⁷ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II:43.

¹⁸ Gary Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon and Schuster; 1992), especially Chapter 1, Oratory and the Greek Revival, pp. 41-62; Simon Stow, ‘Pericles at Gettysburg and Ground Zero: Tragedy, Patriotism, and Public Mourning’, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (May 2007), pp. 195-208.

became through the 1920s part of Australian commemorative rhetoric. Charles Bean had utilised Pericles when requested by Australian War Memorial Director John Treloar in 1926 to describe the Canberra memorial's purpose for use on its letterhead.¹⁹ And, then NSW Premier Thomas Bavin borrowed from Pericles in his address at the second and ultimate unveiling of Sydney's Cenotaph in February 1929:

They gave their bodies to the Commonwealth, and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir in speech or action as the occasion comes by.

For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men, and their glory is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.²⁰

Widely reported in April 1929 was the unveiling of the foundation stone for the Australian War Memorial, at which Pericles' words were once again employed as though his eulogy for the Athenians was written for the Anzacs.²¹

Monash was in attendance at the Cenotaph in Sydney the day of its second and final unveiling. In his address to the gathering he referred to the many ideals demonstrated by the Anzacs, emphasising their teamwork and comradeship, and other ideals such as bravery and discipline, all of which should, as Monash declaimed, be emulated by all Australians. Clearly, late 1920s memorial culture in Australia drew on the ancient oral and written traditions that recognised the heroism and sacrifice of a few for the many in fifth century Greece.

The echoes, both direct and implied in the Shrine text, were consistent with the desire of Philip Hudson the architect who had embedded the Shrine's design in Greek conceptions of funerary and civic remembrance.²² But a close reading of

¹⁹ Ball, 'Re-Reading Bean's Last Paragraph', p. 233.

²⁰ *SMH*, 22 February 1929, p. 12.

²¹ For example, see *The Argus* (Melbourne), 23 April 1929, p. 8; *The Sun* (Sydney), 25 April 1929, p. 1.

²² Scates, *A Place to Remember*, pp. 26-28. Note also that George L. Mosse identified the Shrine as the transfer of classical design and idealism in 'its purest form to the Australian continent'. See, 'Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism', in Eugene Kamenka (Ed.), *Nationalism: the*

Monash's final West Wall text reveals a surprisingly direct connection with the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, and therefore a more likely source for its composition. In contrast to Inglis' conclusion, each of the inscription's charges are direct references to the Christian and Jewish scriptures that formed a commonly understood cultural language in 1920s Australia.

The opening refrain, 'Let all men know' is similarly phrased to John 13:35 where Jesus is recorded as saying 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another'. It seems likely that this phrasing from a well-known verse would be in mind as the opening line is conceived. This possibility is reinforced by the choice of text at the central stone of remembrance in the Shrine's sanctuary, taken from the same address by Jesus in John's Gospel account, in John 15:13, 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' Two thoughts are apparent from a simple reading of the two verses in tandem. The central idea is 'love' - it is at the centre of the Shrine, the sun's rays illuminate the word on the stone at precisely 11.00 am, Australian Eastern Standard Time, correlating to the timing of the 1918 Armistice – and, if the allusion to John's Gospel is accepted, God's love is the story to be made known to all.²³ Indeed, it is a story of sacrificial love of a nation by and for its people that is acclaimed in the Shrine text.

nature and evolution of an idea (Australian National University Press; 1975), p. 52. This proved a suggestive statement for Inglis who acknowledged the inspiration of Mosse at this time in pursuing his examination of war memorials in Australia. See, K. S. Inglis, *Observing Australia 1959-1999*, Edited and Introduced by Craig Wilcox (Melbourne University Press; 1999), p. 116.

²³ Love, God's for humanity, and the believer's for others, is the central idea of the Bible's message: John 3:16 – 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, so that everyone who believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'; 1 Corinthians 13:13 – 'But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love.'; 1 Peter 4:8 – 'And above all things being fervent in your love among yourselves; for love covereth a multitude of sins.'



The 11.00 am Ray of Light touches the inscription at the Shrine. (Source: *The Age*, 9 November 2013)

The line that follows, ‘This Shrine established in the hearts of men as on the solid earth’, echoes not only Pericles but also numerous Old Testament passages. Among them is Jeremiah 31:33, ‘saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts’. In this passage the prophet Jeremiah is describing the covenant that will identify the Israelites as God’s people. No longer will it be expressed in laws written on tablets of stone accessible only in sacred places, it will be *written on their hearts*.²⁴ This contrast between stone and heart is common phraseology throughout Scripture. Another typical example is from the Book of Deuteronomy.²⁵ The example, in Deuteronomy 11, as well as containing the idea evoked by the Shrine phrase ‘established in the hearts of men’, also connects this idea

²⁴ The Book of Jeremiah recounts the ministry of prophet Jeremiah from around the late seventh century BC and early sixth century BC and is likely to have been written in the years shortly thereafter.

²⁵ Paul Connerton remarks ‘Nowhere is [the] theology of memory more pronounced than in Deuteronomy.’ *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press; 1989), p. 46. Walton makes the case that the idea of inscribing on the heart is a widespread trope in the literature of the earliest civilisations, and is an essential idea in Israelite history and the Bible: ‘writing on the heart... is a theological construct that is of central importance both in the development of the theology of the Hebrew Bible and in the development of New Testament and Christian theology.’ John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic; 2006), pp. 257-258.

of a living commemoration to the last line in the Shrine text, 'Ye therefore that come after give remembrance'. Deuteronomy 11:18-20 says,

Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul... and ye shall teach them to your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shall write them upon the doorposts of thine houses, and upon thy gates.

That is, remember these words in your whole being into the next generation, in whatever you are doing and wherever you are. Chapter 11 of the Book of Deuteronomy²⁶ sits within a lengthier passage describing the nature of God's salvation of the Israelites from Egypt and the promised land that awaits them, if they keep God's commandments, summed up as: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God' and 'serve him with all your heart and soul.' (Verses 1 and 13). The Shrine's last line, 'Ye that come after, give remembrance' bears the faint echo of Pericles' 'praise that never grows old' and 'memory that abides'.²⁷ In the context of the Deuteronomy passage, it also clearly echoes God's charge to the Israelites to never forget.

Perhaps not immediately apparent is that in its reference to 'a people's fortitude and sacrifice' the Shrine text commends, to be remembered by all who 'come after', the wartime fortitude and sacrifice of *both* soldier and civilian alike. Pericles' Oration focussed on how the heroes of the war 'gave her [Athens] their lives' but only uses the word 'sacrifice' in relation to cultic sacrifices to be performed. But the actual term 'sacrifice' is central to the Old Testament story, the rescue of the Israelites from captivity in Egypt, which foreshadows the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross as recorded in the New Testament.

Such Scriptural references would have been common knowledge for a man like Monash, schooled in Jewish and Anglican teachings. He attended an Anglican high school and, in adult life, Jewish synagogues. Serle relates how Charles Dickens' novel *David Copperfield* was Monash's 'most loved of all' amid a library that by 1919

²⁶ The Book of Deuteronomy recounts events in the history of the people of Israel occurring around the fifteenth century BC and is commonly dated to between the eighth century BC and the early sixth century BC, the latter being the time also of the compiling of the Book of Jeremiah.

²⁷ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II:43

already had 4,000 volumes.²⁸ *David Copperfield* is invested with biblical references and allusions, again emphasising for any present-day analysis of the Shrine inscription the necessity of understanding what would have been familiar to Monash and to Shrine visitors in the time of its establishment.²⁹ The inscription clearly draws as much from the Christian scriptures as from Greek antiquity. Serle times Monash's decision to rewrite the Shrine text to the early months of 1930, not long after both the Bavin speech at the Sydney Cenotaph in February 1929 and the Australian War Memorial foundation stone unveiling in April 1929. Given the currency of Pericles' quotation in letters and speeches in the late 1920s as well as Monash's personal familiarity with this culture, it could be said that Monash had every opportunity and encouragement to align the text more closely with ancient Greek sentiments if he had so desired. Instead, a close analysis of Monash's revision reveals its direct and indirect references to the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. It could even be argued that Monash deliberately drew on a Jewish/Christian literary and commemorative culture that would have enjoyed a wider public recognition than Greek texts, knowledge of which was largely born of elite education.³⁰

The second element of Serle's and Inglis' claim is that the text owes more to a 'tradition of stoic patriotism'. As Inglis argued, referring to the inscription: 'The message is not from the Bible but from the tradition of stoic patriotism'.³¹ Neither Inglis nor Serle indicated expressly what is meant by the phrase, other than the statement that Christian and Jewish thought provides no foundation for the wording, but it is clear from the analysis above that the origins of the text in Jewish and Christian Scriptures is more credible than alternative claims.

Inglis caricatured the Christian contribution, restricting it to viewing the war as 'judgement by God' or a 'crusade', a simplistic understanding of Christian commemoration practice.³² Inglis saw the absence of these forms of Christian

²⁸ Serle, *John Monash*, pp. 491-492.

²⁹ Eitan Bar-Yosef, ' "It's the old story": David and Uriah in II Samuel and *David Copperfield*', *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 101, No. 4 (October 2006), pp. 957-965. Bar-Yosef states that 'From its very beginning, *David Copperfield* is teeming with references to the Old and New Testaments', making 'a direct appeal to the (Victorian) readers' collective realm of associations... in a society in which... scriptural stories provided a common cultural ground', p. 957.

³⁰ Colin Bale notes that John 15:13, 'Greater love hath no man' was one of the most popular epitaphs chosen by families after the Great War. *A Crowd of Witnesses: Epitaphs on First World War Australian War Graves* (Sydney: Longueville Media; 2015), pp. 172-174.

³¹ Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition', republished in Lack, *Anzac Remembered*, p. 40.

³² Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition', republished in Lack, *Anzac Remembered*, p. 40.

thought as the proof required to conclude that Christian influence was therefore absent from the crafting of this particular text. But in view of the likely correlation between the text and Christian sources, the resort to a 'tradition of stoic patriotism' as the explanation for the text is inadequate.

'Stoic patriotism' conjures the idea of steadfastness even to death for the nation. Stoic philosophy, in its classical Greek origin, stressed virtues like endurance and duty, the pursuit of which is unaffected by emotion or personal ambition. An entreaty to emulate these virtues was not a part of the philosophy, it being either self-evident, or not relevant. Indeed, the virtuous person was more than likely a captive of fate or, at the minimum, the immutable workings of the natural world. What the Stoics had to say about the world and the place of a person within it has become sufficiently commonplace that the words 'stoic' or 'stoicism' do not require capitalisation. Stoic is more commonly understood as being able to bear adversity with great self-control. Further, this forbearance is characterised by 'indifference to the vicissitudes of fortune and to pleasure [or] pain'.³³ The sense we carry today that may be termed 'stoic patriotism' is of devotion to a duty of obedience to the state, even to death. This was a development of Stoicism that emerged during the first and second century Roman Empire.³⁴ Whatever is good for the community of people, the nation, is therefore to be pursued with endurance and obligation regardless of personal needs or desires. A soldier's endurance of wartime and even the ultimate sacrifice of one's life in service of a nation can be described as 'stoical' and perhaps even as 'stoic patriotism'. The Roman embrace of Stoic philosophy had given to the virtues it promoted a sense of purpose embodied in the good order of the state being protected and enforced by rational law.

It was this, later, Roman connection between the stoic virtues of an individual and the purposes of the nation that was revived during the Enlightenment.³⁵ The renewed appeal proved enduring, leading twentieth century philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre to declare that 'Stoicism remains one of the permanent moral possibilities within the cultures of the West.'³⁶ Thus, Stoicism, or indeed the uncapitalised

³³ 'Stoicism', *Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (Oxford University Press; 2005).

³⁴ Alasdair MacIntyre, *A Short History of Ethics: a History of Moral Philosophy from the Homeric Age to the Twentieth Century*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge; 1967/1998), p. 104.

³⁵ Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Harvard University Press; 2007), pp. 155-156.

³⁶ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, 2nd Edition (University of Notre Dame Press; 1984), p. 170.

stoicism, provided a possible template for understanding, in the context of collective commemoration, the desire of those who had survived the Great War to remember with gratitude and resolve those who had perished in defence of a homeland and of a people in general, and loved ones in particular. But a difficulty with a direct correlation is that stoicism has no place for an afterlife. Although Christian teaching and stoicism have many parallels, a confidence about what happened after death was not one of them. According to Norman Vance, ‘Christians and Stoics parted company definitively on the subject of death’; ‘eternal life beyond death’ was ‘a concept which had no parallel in Roman paganism’.³⁷

The original Shrine text intended for the Western Wall reveals a plausible debt to this sentiment. The first lines in this text and the Monash revision are the same, ‘Let all men know this is holy ground.’ The ensuing thought contained in the second and third lines of the original text shares with the Monash version similar sentiment about the ‘hearts of men’. It is in the remaining two lines that significant changes occur. The Monash revision transforms the text’s meaning into something more akin to the Jewish and Christian story of sacrifice. *All* Australians are involved, and it is *their* fortitude and sacrifice that are to be remembered by all those who come after. The original line ‘instead of tears give remembrance: instead of pity, praise’ closely mirrors Simonides’ lyric poem on the Thermopylae dead – ‘instead of lamentation they have remembrance, for pity they have praise’.³⁸ Remembrance and praise, the sentiments of the original, are the work of commemoration, and this remains expressly acknowledged in the Monash version. The references to tears and pity are removed and the direct association with Simonides disappears.³⁹ Such responses are not appropriate if the living are also to be included in the tribute. The task of the

³⁷ Norman Vance, *The Victorians and Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Blackwell; 1997), p. 220.

³⁸ Translation from Michael A. Flower, ‘Simonides, Ephorus, and Herodotus on the Battle of Thermopylae’, *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1998), p. 369. Note that this is a separate work of Simonides from that referred to in Note 16 above.

³⁹ Classics historian Sarah Midford, commenting on those who attribute the West wall inscription to Simonides, states, ‘The connection to Simonides’ verse is unclear’. It may be that the confusion arises due to the architect Philip Hudson’s suggested inscription, ultimately revised by Monash, having direct echoes of Simonides. See ‘An Athenian temple in the Antipodes: Ancient Greek cultural values and Melbourne’s Shrine of Remembrance’, *History Australia*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2019), p. 506. Midford also notes that journalist Ambrose Pratt, who wrote the first Shrine guidebook issued for the opening in 1934, routinely conflated the Trojan War narratives of Homer’s *Iliad* and *The Odyssey* as products of fifth century Athenian democracy when in fact Homer lived three centuries earlier (pp. 507-508). Other writers were apt to make connections between the heroism at Gallipoli and earlier feats in the region, like at the Siege of Troy (about 1250 BC) as recounted by Homer (eighth century BC). See Sarah Midford, ‘From Achilles to Anzac: Heroism in the Dardanelles from Antiquity to the Great War’, *Australasian Society for Classical Studies, Conference Proceedings 2010*, No. 31.

living is captured by the final Monash line 'Ye therefore that come after give remembrance'.

At the Shrine's dedication ceremony, the Premier, Sir Stanley Argyle, explained that the Shrine had been 'erected by a grateful people... not only to our glorious dead... not only to those valiant hearts who ... returned, but also to the men and women who gave loved ones to the cause, and suffered anguish with fortitude born of devotion to their country'.⁴⁰ The representative of the people of Victoria had understood the sentiment of the inscription, that the Shrine of Remembrance was designed to stand for the remembrance of all those who stood with fortitude and bore the sacrifice.

A further distance from Simonides and from Pericles is apparent if we pause to consider the location of the Shrine and when it was built. It is not on a battlefield, nor are there soldiers buried below it. Simonides' epitaphs were written for *graves* where bodies lay. Pericles' Oration was given at a burial ritual conducted *during* the war. Monash would have realised that quoting either Simonides or Pericles directly would not have suited a monument constructed sometime after the war, and some distance from battlefields. The Shrine was a symbol of *post-war* commemoration. So, the inappropriate construction contained in the original text, 'The sacrifice of a nation *lies* here', is changed to acknowledge that the Shrine was far from the graves of the fallen; it was the work of a grateful generation, after the fighting had ended, to commemorate 'a people's fortitude and sacrifice'.

This line expresses the purpose of both the Shrine, the work of stone that was on 'holy ground', 'on solid earth', and the shrine that exists in men's hearts, the hearts of those who come after and will 'give remembrance'. Both the Shrine and all those who visit will 'commemorate a people's fortitude and sacrifice'. Referring to all of these sentiments as merely a 'tradition of stoic patriotism', of duty done without personal consideration, seems of too little magnitude.

Given the strength of connection of the original text to the ancient Greek sources and Monash's changes that resulted in the removal of certain direct sentiments and their

⁴⁰ Pratt and Barnes, *The National War Memorial of Victoria* (Official Program inserted between pages 22 and 23). Amidst chaplains' prayers, Christian hymns, and the sounding of The Last Post and Reveille, there was no ascription to Pericles, Simonides or any other Grecian influences. The Duke dedicates the Shrine 'To the Glory of God', as he was to do similarly with the unveiling and dedication of the Anzac Memorial in Sydney, a fortnight later.

replacement with recognisable borrowings from the Old and New Testaments, it is puzzling why Inglis would be so quick to deny the Christian and Jewish influence on the inscription. The absorption of ancient Greek sentiment and idealism is not surprising but should not be overstated. The architects may have imagined that Greek-like inscriptions would suit a structure they had expressly and symbolically modelled on ancient Greek monumental wonders. Similarly, Monash, Bean and others drew allusions to Australia's inheritance from classical times, believing they could speak to the post-war experience. Grounding in ancient legacies facilitated the timelessness and permanency desired of a 'national' memorial, as each State's principal war memorial was called. But for permanent inscription into stone, and as an entreaty to all those who approach the monument, the tradition inherited from Jewish and Christian thought was seen to be better able to 'speak' to a post-war audience.⁴¹ Inglis himself stated in the 1965 *Meanjin* essay, upon which Serle relied, that 90 per cent of that audience of Australians professed allegiance to the Christian religion.⁴² But Inglis persisted in his belief, writing again about the Shrine inscription in an essay twenty-five years later, 'No word in it signals Christianity or Judaism; it is a text for a secular civil religion'.⁴³

The reference to 'stoic patriotism' as utilised by Inglis and Serle is a device that does little more than reinforce in the reader's mind the respective authors' conclusion that there is no Christian influence in the construction of the Shrine text. It is possible that Inglis was drawing on an idea from Manning Clark who identified a 'stoic' trait in Australian history associated with white settlement. In an address given in 1958

⁴¹ According to Richard Ely, 'The first Anzac Day: Invented or discovered?', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 17 (1985), pp. 41-58, Empire-related heroics formed the scaffolding for early Anzac memory – Waterloo and Khartoum, Sebastopol and Elands River, sat behind the pride of the Dardanelles on Empire Day, 24 May 1915, a nineteenth century British military heritage of Nelson and Wellington, Gordon and Kitchener, not Achilles and Hector. This legacy was prominently mobilised in Australia. Empire Day had emerged in Australia in 1905 as a means to keep the British Empire's world dominance in public imagination. The era's popular schoolbook was Fitchett's *Deeds that Won the Empire* (1898) not a collection of epic tales of Ancient lands. There were sporadic references to Homer, to the *Iliad*, to Troy, but Ely notes these were in letters to newspaper editors and poem competition entries, not in common parlance. 'Classics' meant *British* literary heritage, Shakespeare and Milton, Tennyson and Kipling. See also, S. G. Firth, 'Social Values in NSW Primary Schools 1880-1914: An Analysis of School Texts', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1970), pp. 123-159.

⁴² Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition', republished in Lack, *Anzac Remembered*, p. 42.

⁴³ K. S. Inglis, 'Monuments in the Modern City: The War Memorials of Melbourne and Sydney', in Lack, *Anzac Remembered*, p. 185. Originally published in Derek Fraser (Ed.), *Cities, Class and Communication: Essays in Honour of Asa Briggs* (Harvester Wheatsheaf; 1990). Inglis repeats the comment in 1995, with some added sting presumably for effect but less encompassing: 'The language comes from Pericles rather than Jesus' – see 'Monuments to difference', *Eureka Street*, Vol. 5, No. 9 (November 1995), pp. 24-28.

Clark described all officials - except the chaplains - of the British settlement's early decades as 'men of common sense... who accepted the Roman virtues of courage, *stoicism*, endurance, and who disdained religion as a consolation for human suffering'.⁴⁴

Clark can be read as suggesting that stoicism should be seen as a competing belief to that of religion. The ideas of 'fortitude' and 'sacrifice' as a signal of a people's patriotism are redolent of ancient worlds and many civilisations since. But they are hardly the sole province of Stoicism. In fact, they are also virtues within the Protestant tradition, the prevailing cultural and religious frame of thought, and the default official civic practice during and immediately after the Great War.⁴⁵ At a time when 90 per cent of the population expressed a belief in the Christian God the latter word, 'sacrifice', cannot be used without also directly evoking the Christian story of sacrifice. This is even more the case when it is utilised within a set of words that draw so directly on Old Testament and New Testament teaching. Rather than representing 'classical motifs [constituting] a traditional language that could also be a safe alternative to Christian symbolism',⁴⁶ Monash's final text draws on a deep vein of Jewish and Christian understanding of sacrifice and its application to the hardship of wartime experienced by civilian and soldier alike. It is *love* not duty alone that has made possible the fortitude and sacrifice of a nation. And it is a *people's* fortitude and sacrifice. The inscription owes a great deal to the Jewish and Christian Bible exhorting all visitors to remember the sacrifice of a whole generation.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ C. M. H. Clark, 'Some Influences of European Civilisation in Australia', *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 7 No. 2 (September 1958), p. 24. The idea is repeated in *The History of Australia Volume VI*, published in 1987. Another Australian historian, John Gascoigne, writing some decades later, contests Clark's postulation, stating in *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge University Press; 2002) that this link between early settlers and stoicism cannot be so broadly postulated and should be limited in its domain to the military who transmitted and embodied 'stoic' ideals, p. 24.

⁴⁵ The Protestant tradition, evangelical in character, as Manning Clark points out, absorbed this renewed Enlightenment interest in the Stoic virtues – 'character traits that are morally praiseworthy and desirable' – p. 12 in Elizabeth Agnew Cochran, *Protestant Virtue and Stoic Ethics* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing; 2017) who, *passim*, affirms the appropriation by Jonathan Edwards (the great eighteenth century preacher of evangelicalism whose teaching influenced William Wilberforce's anti-slavery crusade) of Stoic ideas as confirming 'the gospel of Jesus Christ'.

⁴⁶ Postulated by Peter Londey, 'A Possession for Ever: Charles Bean, the Ancient Greeks, and Military Commemoration in Australia', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (2007), p. 345.

⁴⁷ Among those who have repeated the Inglis claim directly or through quotation of Serle is Noel McLachlan, the first professor of Australian history at University College, Dublin, who in his 1989 investigation of the theme of nationalism in Australian politics and culture uses the Shrine inscription to illustrate Australia's 'refreshing' transformation away from Christianity, describing the text as 'Monash's compression of the

The Anzac Memorial Building, Sydney

Following the Duke of Gloucester's unveiling of the Shrine in Melbourne on the anniversary of the Armistice in 1934, he travelled to Sydney to perform the similar function at the Anzac Memorial. It was opened on 24 November 1934, the last of the respective State 'national' memorials to the Great War to be completed. Unlike the Shrine, however, a resort to classical Greek motifs and references was explicitly avoided. The Memorial's architect Bruce Dellit stated that:

I wanted to get right away from the classical tradition... details in the styles of ancient Greece and Rome, visitors would have their minds cast back to Greece or Rome instead of dwelling on the idea the Memorial is supposed to commemorate – the idea of the men who died in the Great War. The monument I felt must be purely contemporary in style.⁴⁸

The ziggurat style is suggestive of Mesopotamian construction that draws a visitor's gaze towards the heavens, in the tradition of much Great War memorial design. The sharp features of this form, in keeping with Dellit's intent to provide a modern reference point in the Art Deco style of the time, are echoed in the simplified facsimiles of the Memorial's shape etched in the stained glass of the structure's windows. Steep stepped entrances add to the sense of approaching a special place set apart from the everyday. At the top of the stairs is the cathedral-like Hall of Memory, a high-domed circular space where, when gathered around the wreath-laced marble balustrade at the centre of the Hall, the gaze is drawn downwards, into the Well of Contemplation, the repository of private reflection and commemorative tribute. Visitors view below the Memorial's central sculpture, *Sacrifice*. Dennis Jeans noted the attempt by Dellit and Hoff to 'forge a new symbolic language by a syncretic process'⁴⁹ but in contrast to the architecture of the Memorial itself, the sculpture has

original blend of Simonides and Pericles'. See Noel McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution: A History of Australian Nationalism* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books; 1989), pp. 202-203.

⁴⁸ Quoted in *SMH*, 16 September 1932, 'Anzac Memorial: The Underlying Ideas, Mr Dellit's Exposition', p. 9. See also *SMH*, 18 July 1932, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Jeans, 'The Making of the Anzac Memorial, Sydney', p. 58.

been seen as essentially ancient Greek in inspiration. This interpretation, however, ignores the substantial Christian thought behind the imagery.

Sacrifice, designed by George Rayner Hoff, is an arresting complex of five bodies. A slain soldier is borne aloft across a sword and shield by three women, a mother, a young woman, and wife who cradles an infant child.⁵⁰ *Sacrifice* is the centrepiece of the Memorial, and its Christian symbolism is unmistakable, particularly to the audience of the 1930s. But in interpretive material distributed by the Memorial Trustees and in prepared statements made by staff in ritual practices, the assemblage is ‘commonly’ understood to be based on an ancient Greek story of Spartan soldiers being challenged by their mothers to return from battle with their shield or on it.



‘Sacrifice’, George Rayner Hoff, Anzac Memorial Building, 1934

<https://news.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/photos/sydneys-streets-and-civic-spaces-bear-witness-to-world-war-i>

⁵⁰ Deborah Beck, *Rayner Hoff: The Life of a Sculptor* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2017) devotes a chapter to Hoff’s involvement with the Anzac Memorial.



(Source: *The Naked Soldier*, John Stace 2019)

Dellit had conceived his own version of a sculptural centrepiece, recording that he ‘spent long nights of study in the design of the sculptural group placed centrally’.⁵¹ He had imagined a supine soldier victorious over a symbolic bird of prey, and a grieving woman with child holding his hand. Hoff wove these ideas into something even more resonant of death, loss and victory. Dellit’s ready adoption of Hoff’s scheme (‘Mr Hoff wrought a great improvement’) advanced his ideas about war’s sacrifices and the qualities it brought forth, and suggests that he was open to the incorporation of so central a Christian emblem located at the heart of the Memorial and in the core of its meaning.

There are a few references to the possible Spartan allusion. One is in the multi-authored *The Sculpture of Rayner Hoff* published in 1934, the year of the Anzac Memorial’s unveiling.⁵² One author in the publication described *Sacrifice* as ‘a triumph of craftsmanship and romanticism’, while the subject soldier, ‘When he went

⁵¹ Quoted in Jeans, *The Making of the Anzac Memorial*, p. 53.

⁵² *The Sculpture of Rayner Hoff*, with text by the Right Hon. The Earl Beauchamp, KG KCMG, Howard Ashton, E. C. Temple Smith, and W. Bede Dalley (Sydney: Sunnybrook Press; 1934).

forth with his shield he was told to come back *with it or upon it*. He has returned *upon it*.⁵³ A further Classical connection was made to the sculpture's caryatid formation, the sculpting of a female figure into a column in support of a war memorial, evidenced in fifth century BC Greece at the Acropolis. No mention of Christianity is made in the publication in relation to the figures, their arrangement, or their symbolism, nor in describing the two uncompleted sculptures which, with *Sacrifice*, were to form a triptych.⁵⁴ By way of contrast, there is an extended essay in 1932 by artist Lionel Lindsay in which he evaluated the sculpture as 'deeply Christian in its significance and intention'.⁵⁵ Given the status of Lindsay in Australian art history, it is mystifying that his comments, drawing on sentiments familiar to a broad audience in 1930s' Australia, are not more commonly offered for consideration by those seeking to interpret *Sacrifice* today.

In a more recent discussion of Hoff's work, the idea of connecting the completed sculpture *Sacrifice* with this Spartan story has been attributed to art historian Virginia Spate. In 1989 Art Gallery of New South Wales curator Deborah Edwards cited Spate for her reference to 'a Spartan youth returning home dead on his shield'.⁵⁶ The footnote states, 'As pointed out by Professor Virginia Spate'. A decade later Edwards collaborated with Spate in the preparation of a monograph written for an exhibition of Hoff's work at the NSW Art Gallery in 1999. Presumably, this would have provided the opportunity to repeat the Spartan story but Spate makes only an incidental reference:

The idea of the dead hero being brought home on his shield goes back to Greece, to the Spartan mother who gave her son a shield as he went to war, telling him to return, either carrying it or 'upon it'.⁵⁷

⁵³ *The Sculpture of Rayner Hoff*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ The Earl Beauchamp in *The Sculpture of Rayner Hoff*, p. 28, does make an indirect reference when likening the appearance of *Sacrifice* to 'the Ark in the Holy of Holies', an allusion to the Ark of the Covenant which in the Old Testament is the place where God resides with the Israelites (numerous references, but see 1 Kings 6:16-19 for description of the placing of the Ark within the central place of the temple).

⁵⁵ Lionel Lindsay, 'Rayner Hoff', *Art in Australia* (October 1932), p. 11.

⁵⁶ See Deborah Edwards, *Stampede of the Lower Gods: Classical Mythology in Australian Art 1890s-1930s* (Trustees of the Art Gallery of New South Wales; 1989), p. 43 (footnote 109 on p. 62).

⁵⁷ Virginia Spate, ' "If these dead stones could speak": Rayner Hoff's Sculptures and the Anzac Memorial' in Deborah Edwards, *This Vital Flesh: the sculpture of Rayner Hoff and his school* (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW; 1999), p. 64.

Spate notes the ancient story but goes on to complicate the interpretation by highlighting other aspects of the imagery. For instance, she notes that the eagle emblem on the sculptured shield is an indication that it is not the soldier's own shield but that of the enemy, the Germans. This point is reiterated by Edwards.⁵⁸ Although neither Edwards nor Spate expands their analysis of the shield, acknowledgement that it is an enemy's shield means that it functions as a trophy, perhaps like the nearby battleship gun, also in Hyde Park, souvenired from a German vessel in an encounter between the Australians and the Germans in 1914 and displayed as a trophy memorial, erected in 1917. On this interpretation, the dead Australian soldier has not returned defeated but victorious.⁵⁹ Rather than pursue an ancient Greek connection, Spate explicitly undercut it and moved on to emphasise how the symbolism of the sculpture is more imbued with the significance of the three womenfolk and their sacrifice in wartime across generations and familial relations. Further, she acknowledged that early visitors to the Memorial would have had their thoughts cast to the Crucifixion of Jesus by the obvious deportment of the slain body.⁶⁰ Despite the conclusions reached by Spate about the sculpture's symbolism in 1999, Edwards in a later essay says the soldier 'is both the Australian Anzac and a Spartan youth returning home dead on his shield'.⁶¹

Edwards' lengthy analysis of *Sacrifice* and of the two other sculptures of the triptych, focusses on establishing a Dionysian celebration of the body in an 'anti-Christian or Nietzschean sense',⁶² but her rejection of Christian symbolism does not lead her to make any reference to the Spartan story in the exhibition monograph.⁶³ Further, her curatorial file on Hoff, archived at the NSW Art Gallery Library, contains an unpublished and undated paper written by Spate for an address, called simply,

⁵⁸ Edwards, *This Vital Flesh*, p. 83.

⁵⁹ John Stace, *The Naked Soldier: The Sculptures of Rayner Hoff in the Anzac Memorial*, Sydney (Sydney: Longueville Media; 2018), pp. 28-29.

⁶⁰ Spate, "'If these dead stones could speak'", p. 64: 'the body suggests an inverted crucifixion'; and p. 67: 'their willing sacrifice made sacred through its association with the Crucifixion'.

⁶¹ Deborah Edwards, 'The new classicism: Rayner Hoff and his school' in Mark Ferson and Mary Nilsson (Eds.), for the Art Deco Society of New South Wales, *Art Deco in Australia: Sunrise over the Pacific* (Sydney: Craftsman House; 2001), p. 44.

⁶² Edwards, *This Vital Flesh*, p. 88.

⁶³ Deborah Edwards, "'This Vital Flesh": the 1920s sculpture of Rayner Hoff', *Art and Australia*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 62-68. Note, Edwards is of the view that once Norman Lindsay's influence on Hoff waned as the 1930s approached, 'Hoff's overtly paganist beings disappeared', p. 68. See also, 'Race, Death and Gender in the Anzac Memorial', *Art and Australia*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 1991), pp. 476-481, in which Edwards identifies Christian/pagan as one of the dualities present in Hoff's sculpture, a reference not repeated in a similar discussion in the exhibition monograph, p. 478.

'Anzac'.⁶⁴ In a similar vein to her essay prepared for the exhibition monograph, Spate noted the Spartan story, adding to the myth the component attributed to Plutarch which characterises Spartan mothers as preferring their sons dead to being known as cowards. But Spate concluded by describing the 'nude adolescent' crucified on the shield and spear (sic), with the question 'was it an acceptable reference to Christ's sacrifice?' She provided her own answer, 'Seemingly it was'.⁶⁵

Rayner Hoff is reported to have said that the dead soldier connects with Christian ideals.⁶⁶ Connection to the Christian symbolism of *Sacrifice* was reinforced by the central use of the cross formation in the two further sculptures proposed by Hoff - *Crucifixion of Civilisation 1914* and *Victory after Sacrifice 1918* - that were intended for the western and eastern external walls of the Memorial to form a triptych with *Sacrifice*. Neither was completed because of cost restrictions, a product of the Depression, as well as some controversy fuelled by the Catholic Church. There is scant recorded reflection by Hoff on the symbolism he sought other than the elevation of women's sacrifice in war memory, an aim consistent with the Memorial's overall design by architect Bruce Dellit. There is no record of Hoff referring to ancient Greek stories informing his art and design for the Memorial. Given that for other major works in Sydney he included stories and figures from the classical eras, as well as Dellit's non-classical intentions for the Memorial, it is a silence that makes contemporary confidence in a Spartan myth suspect.

John Stace has recently explained how these Christian underpinnings lead to a full appreciation of the triptych, the other sculptures and the design of the Anzac Memorial.⁶⁷ He highlights the symbolic connections to the story of Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross. As conceived by Dellit and Hoff, *Sacrifice* had been situated between a 'Crucifixion' assemblage planned for the western external wall, and a 'Victory' array for the eastern wall. Additional references noted by Stace range from the extensive use of crosses throughout the Memorial through to the specifically figurative placement of the soldier in *Sacrifice* with his feet, facing to the East ready for the

⁶⁴ Virginia Spate, *Anzac*, unpublished, undated paper in Deborah Edwards' curatorial file on Hoff, accessed at the NSW Art Gallery Library, 12 September 2017, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁵ Spate, *Anzac*, p. 20.

⁶⁶ 'Sculptor's views', *SMH*, 15 July 1932. Hoff says, 'the whole idea of the memorial was reverence to the dead and to all true Christian ideals.'

⁶⁷ Stace, *The Naked Soldier*, pp. 68-73.

resurrection dawn,⁶⁸ overlaying one another as with the familiar images of the crucified Jesus nailed to the cross, and of his head cradled by his wife's hand lending the appearance of the crown of thorns which Jesus was given in his final hours. Such symbolism, both obvious and direct, subtle and indirect, is more likely to have been what the Memorial's first audiences would have 'observed' rather than a Spartan story known only to a few. Only in the art critic's piece in 1934 is there a contemporaneous reference to the Spartan story.⁶⁹

Despite an absence of evidence, and the paucity of published references, the Trustees of the Anzac Memorial repeated the Spartan story in their publication issued to mark the completion of the education centre extension in November 2018.⁷⁰ Within the new centre, an interpretive plaque reads, '*Sacrifice ... uses the story of the Spartan warrior returned dead on his shield*' and the Memorial website also provides the Spartan story as the explanation for Hoff's sculpture.⁷¹ The insistence of the Trustees on repeating the ancient Greek story sits in stark contrast with the more obvious symbolic interpretation available in core Christian explanations of sacrifice, and indeed resurrection, the latter being an extension of the eponymous centrepiece when considered within the triptych.

The Australian War Memorial's Last Post Ceremony

This neglect of the Christian underpinnings of much Anzac ritual is evident in more recent efforts to shape new forms of remembrance ritual.

The AWM's Hall of Memory has in recent years become the focus of a new Last Post Ceremony, instituted in 2013, which separates Anzac liturgical form from its Christian roots. The new ceremony's liturgy does not include the sounding of Reveille, departing in a significant way from Anzac tradition and from the pattern of

⁶⁸ An enduring religiously symbolic tradition. See Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (Oxford University Press; 1981), p. 14.

⁶⁹ Stace, *The Naked Soldier*, pp. 77-79. In a comprehensive listing of interpretative publications, Stace also includes the Spate/Edwards' work, as well as a 2000 honours thesis by Julian Thomas, *For Valhalla: Mnemonics of the Anzac Memorial*, and the 1947 novel by M. Barnard Eldershaw, *Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow*.

⁷⁰ Trustees of the Anzac Memorial, *The Anzac Memorial* (Sydney: The Trustees of the Anzac Memorial; 2018), p. 55.

⁷¹ See, www.anzacmemorial.nsw.gov.au/sacrifice.

the ceremony upon which the AWM innovation is said to be based, that of The Last Post Ceremony held daily in Ieper, Belgium.

Taking the form of an official ‘closing’ ceremony, the new ritual is held every evening just before 5.00 pm in the AWM’s Commemorative Courtyard with the Memorial entrance at one end and, at the opposite end, the Hall of Memory which, since 1993, is the location for Australia’s Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The Last Post Ceremony is a type of ‘Sunset Service’ like those which had, from 1928 into the early years of the 1930s, been conducted at the Cenotaph in Sydney. According to the Memorial’s Director, Dr Brendan Nelson, a former Australian Ambassador to Belgium, the initiative at the AWM was based on the Menin Gate Last Post Ceremony.⁷² The tradition at the Menin Gate, a Memorial to the Missing in Ieper, Belgium, emerged in 1928, sharing a similar provenance with the Sunset Services in Sydney, although the Belgian ceremony has been conducted continuously since then.⁷³

Given the shared provenance of concept (the late 1920s) and the acknowledged indebtedness of the Australian ceremony to that of Menin Gate, there are similarities in these two ceremonies. Conspicuously, they share a name. They both draw a day’s activity to a close: at Menin Gate, metaphorically, at 8.00 pm, and at the AWM, literally as the Memorial closes to visitors at 5.00 pm.⁷⁴ Both the Belgian and Australian ceremonies are conducted at sites that remember the fallen, places that give testimony to absent fallen. The Menin Gate Memorial lists on its walls and ceiling tens of thousands of British and Commonwealth soldiers whose bodies were never found. There are more than 6,000 Australians among them.⁷⁵ The AWM houses Australia’s Roll of Honour, the cloistered repository around the Commemorative Courtyard where more than 102,000 Australians are named, each one a sacrifice made on foreign soil in a war or peacekeeping operation. Only in the case of the AWM, with the reinterment in 1993 of an Unknown Soldier, is there a

⁷² Emma Campbell, *The Last Post: A Ceremony of love, loss and remembrance at the Australian War Memorial* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2018), p. 1.

⁷³ The Last Post Ceremony was first performed on 24 July 1927 (Day of Unveiling) but was not a daily ritual until it recommenced from 2 July 1928. A break was taken for the 1928-29 winter, and it was then conducted daily from 1 May 1929 (except for a short break during the Second World War occupation of Belgium). It has now been performed more than 30,000 times. Sydney’s Sunset Services are discussed in Chapter Five – Dawn.

⁷⁴ The first ‘Last Post Ceremony’ was conducted on 17 April 2013. The new ceremony replaced the tradition at the AWM to that point, a short closing ceremony involving an announcement accompanied by a piper, also conducted in the Commemorative Courtyard.

⁷⁵ The Menin Gate in Ieper is a monument to the missing of Commonwealth and Allied forces (apart from NZ). Its walls have some 54,609 names inscribed, including 6,191 Australians.

body present. The two buildings are monuments to the enormity of losses in the Great War, although the AWM lists and continues to have inscribed the names of those fallen in subsequent conflicts.

There are also shared aspects of liturgical form, in particular, the universal elements of war commemoration: sounding bugles, observing silence, and laying wreaths. At the Menin Gate, after a short bugle trill to signal to the crowd that the ceremony is commencing, it is the sounding of The Last Post, that begins the ceremony. The buglers, members of the local Fire Brigade, are followed by the recitation of The Ode of Remembrance. Wreaths are then laid, sometimes accompanied by a piper's lament. Then follows the formal silence before the ceremony's conclusion is signalled with the sounding of Reveille. The AWM program contains the traditional mnemonic assemblage: The Ode, The Last Post, followed by silence, in keeping with Menin Gate and indeed widespread commemorative practice. But at AWM there is no sounding of Reveille.⁷⁶ At the conclusion of the silence, the three participating members of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) - the Ode reciter, bugler and piper - proceed into the Hall of Memory and its doors close behind them. The Master of Ceremonies then announces that the ceremony is complete, the Memorial is closed, and all are invited to depart.

The departure of the three serving ADF personnel marks an end to the period of reflection, an act that has a deflating tone to it; the return to life's routines is invoked by the act of departure, but without a symbol of hope. There is no resounding bugle tune to signal a future for the living or the dead. By being restricted to *witnessing* the darkened space through the doors to the Hall of Memory, attendees are excluded not only physically but also visually as the doorway beckoning the trio into darkness closes unaided behind them.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ At the AWM, the call to attention is made by the MC (the leper ceremony is conducted largely without spoken announcement, except on significant anniversary occasions involving dignitaries and large crowds) who proceeds to explain the ceremony and announce the Australian National Anthem which begins the formal proceedings. Wreath laying follows, then the reading of a testimony, a tribute to one of the 'fallen' inscribed on the Roll of Honour (surrounding the Commemorative Courtyard), a practice that, in a step of mutual regard, has recently been taken up by The Last Post Association, the civilian organisation responsible for the ceremony at Menin Gate.

⁷⁷ The departure has the effect of establishing the Hall of Memory as a space reserved for military personnel. One is reminded of the priestly privileges of access to the 'Holy of Holies', where God is present in the Jewish temple, bearing the offerings of His people. Perhaps the spirit of people's floral tributes laid earlier are borne into the Hall of Memory. But note that Jesus has opened access to God's presence for all through his victory over death, symbolically represented in the Gospel accounts as the tearing of the curtain behind which only



Crowds and participants disperse at the end of a Last Post ceremony at the Australian War Memorial. The doors to the Hall of Memory at the end of the Commemorative Courtyard are closed.

(Source: www.awm.gov.au)

The AWM's publications do not mention the absence of the sounding of Reveille. The recent publication *The Last Post*, written by an employee of the AWM, makes no reference. One possible explanation for its absence is that no-one gave it much thought. Dr Nelson has said that 'No consideration was given to Reveille as this is a shrine to our 102,700 dead and it is the end of the day. Leaving those present and viewing on-line with *The Last Post* only, leaves them in a reflective, contemplative mood'.⁷⁸ This response does not acknowledge that the Menin Gate ceremony, also conducted at day's end and at a 'shrine' to the dead, includes Reveille. Given that the

the priests could previously enter. See Matthew 27:51 and, also, The Earl Beauchamp's comments in relation to Sydney's Anzac Memorial noted above. Susan Kellett has demonstrated that those who assert that the Hall of Memory is devoid of Christian symbolism, such as Graham Seal's claim that there is 'nothing explicitly religious or even implicitly religious in Napier Waller's mosaics' - p. 140, in 'Anzac: The Sacred in the Secular', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 91 (2007) - are mistaken. Susan E. M. Kellett, *Australia's Martial Madonna: the army nurse's commemoration in stained glass windows, 1919-1951* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Queensland; 2016), pp. 113-144.

⁷⁸ Email to Darren Mitchell from Brendan Nelson, 31 August 2018.

Anzac tradition is to frame the minute of silence with The Last Post and Reveille, and that Dr Nelson has publicly stated that the Menin Gate ceremony was the inspiration for the new tradition at the AWM, the neglect of Reveille cannot be explained by ignorance.⁷⁹

To understand the approach of the AWM one might consider some of the differences of the locations of the memorial sites and in responsibility for their ceremonies. The Menin Gate is on a battlefield, the town of Ieper having been razed to the ground in the Third Battle of Ieper in 1917. The AWM is a monument constructed on the home-front many thousands of kilometres from the battlefields where Australian soldiers lie. The Ieper Ceremony is the responsibility of a community organisation in partnership with civic authorities, while that at the AWM is a partnership between staff, the ADF and the principal ex-service organisation, the RSL, which provides sponsorship.⁸⁰ The civic responsibility for commemorating the dead is more pronounced in Ieper, perhaps a product of a community's gratitude being expressed for the rescue and restoration of a town but, nonetheless, in keeping with national commitments to remember.

But these differences do not help us fathom the absence of Reveille. The *absence* of bodies is not a factor in Anzac commemoration practice. If it was, then the tradition of coupling The Last Post and Reveille would not have emerged and been sustained through further wars and conflicts. Nor is the *presence* of a single set of exhumed remains at the AWM a possible rationale. Reference is not made to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier during The Last Post Ceremony and, given the sanctuary-like utilisation of the Hall of Memory with its darkness and mystery, attendees are excluded during the ceremony from any direct encounter let alone appreciation of this bodily presence.

The bugle-framed silence, in the traditional form, is a ritual of hope, as well as mourning and remembrance.⁸¹ By concluding without Reveille the ceremony leaves

⁷⁹ This meaning is understood by Ieper's civilian organisers, The Last Post Association, who explain on their website that The Last Post is 'A final farewell to the fallen at the end of their earthly labours, *and* at the onset of their eternal rest' and that Reveille marks 'The return to daily life at the end of the act of remembrance, ... *and* the resurrection to eternal life on the Day of Judgement.' *Last Post Association*, 'What is the Last Post?' and 'Symbolism', www.lastpost.be/en

⁸⁰ The three sponsors are RSL Queensland, RSL WA and the RSL Clubs Association.

⁸¹ This explanation continues to be employed in contemporary examples of silence being enacted in response to tragedy. See a discussion by Tony Walter, 'From cathedral to supermarket: mourning, silence and solidarity',

participants in the past, contemplating the story of a soldier listed on the Roll of Honour and in whose name wreaths have been brought by descendants and unit associations, leaving attendees reflecting on a personal sacrifice without a more hopeful post-conflict future.⁸² Acts of collective memory remember the past and point in hope, to the future, otherwise, as Ann Rigney claims, the ritual and its meaning fall back on the past, remaining ‘wedded to the traumatic’.⁸³ The AWM ceremony is situated in indubitably tragic elements of wartime but does not provide the traditional symbol of ‘Reveille, which has come to signal hope for the future’.⁸⁴

Marrickville War Memorial

The Marrickville War Memorial in Sydney is another instance of the remaking of Anzac ritual through the neglect of the Christian underpinnings of the founding forms of remembrance and commemoration. Constructed soon after the Armistice, the Marrickville War Memorial, known as ‘Winged Victory’, was unveiled in May 1919 by the Governor of New South Wales. It was typical of the suburban war memorials erected in the years after the war; its inscriptions paid lasting honour to more than 450 men of the inner-city Sydney suburb. Those who enlisted are once again a list, alphabetical, on the sides of a squat podium in front of the Town Hall. But what is striking and unusual about the Marrickville Memorial in comparison to many others, is the magnificent bronze sculpture atop the memorial. That bronze sculpture, the female figure Athena Nike, Greek Goddess of Victory, now has pride of place in the Australian War Memorial. In its original form, the figure was supported by a four-metre tall pedestal which sat on the platform of names.

The Sociological Review, Vol. 49, No. 4 (November 2001), pp. 494-511, of the mourning of Princess Diana after her fatal road accident in 1997, whilst noting too the frequency of ‘ritual silences being held on an ad hoc basis following national disasters and tragedies.’ See Chapter Four – Silence for more detailed discussion.

⁸² In Darwin, a Last Post ceremony is conducted daily at sunset in the week leading to Anzac Day. The organisers have also taken up the recounting of the story of a Territorian who has died on active service but not, notably, modelled the absence of Reveille, with the second bugle sounding, in this instance, the Rouse, being an essential element of the ceremony. See www.territorytribute.com.au/events/last-post-ceremonies

⁸³ Ann Rigney, ‘Remembering Hope: Transnational activism beyond the traumatic’, *Memory Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2018), p. 369.

⁸⁴ Remarks made by then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, on the occasion of the 30,000th Last Post Ceremony at Menin Gate. See, Ian Connerty and The Last Post Association, *The Last Post* (Belgium: Lannoo; 2014), p. 7.

The image of Nike, or 'Winged Victory' was familiar in art and design of the pre-war period. The famous 'Winged Victory of Samothrace' had been found in the 1860s and exhibited in the Louvre Museum in Paris from the 1880s.⁸⁵ The figure's robe clings to the body as if pushing into the wind. There is a recognition of this connection to Marrickville not only in the name of the memorial, but in the sculpting by Australian artist Gilbert Doble of the gown across the body to communicate a similar windswept bearing, as though she had 'descended' from the heavens. Doble's design for Marrickville's Winged Victory had already appeared on the cover of *The Soldier* in 1918, and an earlier 1916 Doble design, also focussed on Winged Victory, had been labelled 'impressive' by the editors.⁸⁶ Nike's representation of ancient Greek notions of victory had led to her depiction on modern Olympics medals from their re-inception in Athens in 1896, seated with palm frond in the left hand, a symbol of peace, and a wreath ready to be bestowed in the right. The revived Olympic Games demonstrated a symbolic connection of a wreath in ancient guise with victory and honour.

Doble specialised in classical figures in his war memorial work.⁸⁷ Goddess or angel sculptures emphasised both the downward gestures of a mourner and the skyward hopes of a grieving and grateful nation. The design for the memorial in Marrickville held together this double meaning of commemoration, that of grief at loss, and the tribute it brings forth, and the sense of completion, that the war was finished. It was a design for peacetime that captured the post-war spirit. The figure held a wreath down in tribute and a sword was held aloft in the left hand. Having done its job, victory had been achieved; there was no further need to have the weapon ready. It was unsheathed but, being in the left hand, the inactive hand, it was not held with further fighting in prospect. The wreath was in the active hand, the right hand, bestowing a floral tribute in the classic symbol of victory accomplished.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ The Hellenistic sculpture is estimated to be from the second or third century BC and is believed to be a symbolic tribute to a naval victory.

⁸⁶ *The Soldier*, 6 December 1918 and 4 August 1916. In this earlier image, Doble had placed the wreath in her right hand, but it was held above the head. The eventual construction in Marrickville has the figure gesturing downwards with the wreath which better suited an assemblage with names underneath the figure.

⁸⁷ Richardson, *Creating Remembrance*, pp. 311-313. Amongst Doble's other works, Richardson records figures of an angel (Pymont, 1919) and Minerva (North Sydney, 1920) as well as other images of Nike.

⁸⁸ James Hall, *The Sinister Side: How left-right symbolism shaped Western art* (Oxford University Press; 2008), p. 290. Hall describes the Delian Apollo represented with bow and arrows in the 'weaker' left hand, and the Three Graces, representing eternal tribute, in his right, the god being 'ready to do good', rather than harm as a consequence. Further, in the Book of Judges, Ehud, an Israelite leader, fools King Eglon of Moab by using his

There was no triumphalism in Winged Victory's demeanour. The cast of her face was one of resignation rather than triumph; in looking down she was acknowledging the sacrificial loss involved in gaining peace. The sword was vertical, pointing into the sky, drawing eyes heavenwards and acknowledging that genuine peace, true victory, was in the hands of God.⁸⁹ At a time when a community was in deep mourning for personal loss of family and comrades, and for the impact on national mood, memorial design could provide a comforting symbolism. The symbolism of the Marrickville memorial contained a potent metaphor for grieving over the tragic impacts of wartime, still palpable in 1919. Some small measure of succour would have been possible from Doble's positioning of Nike and her gestures, communicating that the trauma of sacrifice has come to an end through victory with honour. Winged Victory held the promise of finality, a sacrifice that spoke of both death and resurrection: death in the listing of names of those who did not return and in the pattern of floral tribute established by Nike's active gesture; resurrection in the symbolic visitation from the heavens and in the completed work of the now inactive weapon of war.

In the decades since, Marrickville Council contended twice with repair needs for the bronze cast figure, weathered by atmospheric exposure high above ground, on both occasions leaving the column bare for many years. In 2013, whilst considering options to restore the sculpture for a second time, the Council settled on the transfer of ownership to the Australian War Memorial for its Great War Galleries, and for a design competition to replace, sympathetically, the landmark figure.⁹⁰ These two decisions have irrevocably altered the interpretation of the memorial. The first removed the memorial from its place, from its context amidst the community who bore the sacrifices. The second modified the gestures in ways which distorts the memorial's original symbolism.

left hand to stab him to death. The King would not have expected a weapon to be employed from the left. Judges 3:12-30. Doak, in an analysis of the encounter between Ehud and Eglon, states that the visibility of the right/left, blessing/curse duality in both ancient Mesopotamian and Greek texts, including in Homer's *Iliad*, 'stem from shared and borrowed cultic traditions' that probably have their origin in Mesopotamia. See Brian Doak, *Heroic Bodies in Ancient Israel* (Oxford University Press; 2019), p. 71.

⁸⁹ Richardson aptly refers to the memorial figure as 'Mourning Victory', *Creating Remembrance*, p. 311.

⁹⁰ Clinton Johnston, 'Winged Victory and Marrickville's Memory of War: Defining personal and communal loss in Sydney's Inner West', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 102, No. 2 (December 2016), p. 235.



The top portion of the original Marrickville War Memorial exhibited in the Australian War Memorial
(Source: Author photo).

The original figure is no longer in Marrickville. The first decision of the Council was to transfer it to the Australian War Memorial in Canberra for display as the centrepiece of an exhibition about the aftermath of war, situated now at eye level, to be an exemplar of the local war memorial movement. Once imposing in local manifestation, towering above suburban streets, the contrasting proximity within an intimate gallery space is no less striking. But the new location also changes Winged Victory into an object. Although visitors to the gallery encounter her 'face-to-face' as it were, a privilege not available in previous generations, and can observe her countenance of resignation in victory, there is now in the original suburban setting

less knowledge available about the function of Doble's design. This is a consequence of the second decision by the Council, to replace Winged Victory with a 'replica' selected through a design competition, but in which the *idea* of victory has been confused.

The new winged female figure has been placed on the pedestal and stands high above street level, above the plinth names, along with sword and wreath, and remains in direct lineage with the Greek goddess of victory. At a quick glance, the new sculpture appears to be faithful in its detail. But there are crucial differences that lead to this confusion about how to portray victory. Unlike the original Nike who held the sword in her left hand and the wreath in her right, the new design transposes the hands so that the sword is in the right hand and the wreath in the left, changing the interpretation of the memorial. Throughout art history, the work of hands is a potent element in understanding the world revealed. But this has not been appreciated by the designers of the reincarnated figure; the symbolism of the sword and the wreath is muddled. The wreath has been moved to the inactive, left hand. As well as now being in the right, active, hand, the sword has been lowered, both changes in gesture conveying the meaning that further fighting may be in prospect, that the sacrifice may not yet be over. When held aloft in the left hand, the sword symbolised that it has done its job, victory has been achieved.



Left: The Original Marrickville War Memorial, 1919. Right: The new Memorial, 2015.

Source: Public Domain.

Responsibility for the new design was awarded to Peter Corlett (also the sculptor of the Fromelles 'Cobber' statue at the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne) and Darien Pullen. Pullen said 'My aim was to design and make a 1920s (*sic*) sculpture, while reinventing particular elements of it... What I did was bring the sword down, at rest, because it's more appropriate to have an image of peace and sacrifice rather than heroism'.⁹¹ Perhaps inadvertently, the attempt to present an image of peace, if

⁹¹ *Inner West Courier - Inner City* April 21, 2015. Suggestions by Porter, King and others that swords as memorial symbol or commemorative presence compromise peace are not evident in Doble's design for 'Winged Victory'. Patrick Porter refers in particular to the Imperial War Graves Commission's choice of the Crusader's Sword at cemeteries, and its use in the 1920 Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in London's Westminster Abbey. See, 'Beyond Comfort: German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War, 1919-1929', *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (October 2005), pp. 281, 284. Porter quotes Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg; 1998), noting p. 207, but actually the quotes are from pp. 176 and 179). Porter believes that a sword's appearance is always of a martial character. But Doble, and others, show how the gestures involved in the presentation of the sword also matter. The sword at the War Graves cemeteries is displayed against a Cross formation, indicating, as with the Nike figure at Marrickville, and with Rayner Hoff's Anzac Memorial centrepiece 'Sacrifice', that peace has been wrought by God, won at great price, the death of his Son Jesus. The sword can also be ceremonial, as in that buried with the warrior at Westminster Abbey.

classically understood, achieves the opposite. In Corlett and Pullen's reimagined conception, the angel of 'victory' still has work to do. The soldiers named on the plinth cannot be at rest whether in this world, having returned from fighting, or in the next. The perfect wreath of victory no longer conveys this message of completion. The new active stance of the figure's body is consistent with this interpretation – her face appears to be turned towards the names below her, but only in passing, as her body is angled away, in an active stance, as though having more to do; she pauses to give tribute before winging her way to further battles.

The 'reinvention' desired by Corlett and Pullen has generated a 'fresh' interpretation – the new form is cognisant of the experience that peace is only ever temporary; with hindsight, this reality has triumphed over the hope that the Great War was 'the war to end all wars'. Nevertheless, the altered configuration has resulted in a confusing ensemble of elements no longer consistent with the classical purity of left/right symbolism. Nor is it consistent with the original sculpture's assemblage that in its display of completion speaks of Christ's final victory and the eternal peace it delivers.

While this reinterpretation might reflect more contemporary understandings of war commemoration, sentiments born of a hindsight enveloped in anachronism have clouded the meaning the memorial held for its first generation, resulting in a loss of commemorative integrity. The twin elements of mourning and hope were powerfully symbolised in Doble's Winged Victory: victory over death, encountered sacrificially on the battlefield, and the assurance of an after-life evoked through this victory, not only of the individual, at rest, but for the nation now at peace. The Marrickville memorial has been unshackled from these moorings, no longer consistent with Anzac liturgical forms steeped in Christian thinking and practice.

Conclusion

The dominant historiography reads the Anzac tradition as secular, with origins in the stories and language of ancient Greece. In examining these four memorials, classical allusions can be seen as minor strands of meaning. There is an incidental 'Periclean ring', to borrow Inglis' phrase, but there would have been few ears to hear it in the

early days of Anzac commemoration.⁹² Australians may be said to have borne the suffering of wartime 'stoically', but their usual response was to place their experience in a wider, familiar context of Christian solace and hope. Denial of the Christian heritage in Anzac, inscribed deeply in Australia during the Great War and in the inter-war period, denies the reality of the prevailing Christian beliefs of the time.

The argument for positioning the monuments in ancient typologies that reinforce notions of everlasting tribute, symbols of long ago pointing to remembrance that would endure into succeeding generations, is not in dispute. But, as much as these foundations may be evident in ancient Greek elements - undoubtedly central in the Shrine architects' vision - the Judeo-Christian frame supplies similar and arguably more familiar tropes of immutability and perpetuity. A revision of this scholarly tradition is required that enables an understanding of the Christian thinking prevalent at the time these monuments were being designed and built, and when the rituals that occur in their spaces were being devised. Only through such a fresh appreciation can we avoid the mistaken interpretation and impaired practice revealed in more recent efforts to reimagine Anzac memorialisation and ritual.

⁹² In pursuing classical Greek foundations, Inglis and others were ironically also desacralising ancient Greek funeral rites, mirroring their stripping of Anzac of its Christian heritage and symbolism. Pericles' Funeral Oration is hardly 'secular' in the contemporary understanding of emptying some thing or action of all religious content, for it is an address given at a funeral conducted in accordance with the most solemn and religious obligations.

Conclusion

In April 1936, Dean Talbot preached at St Andrew's Cathedral on the Sunday before Anzac Day, 19 April, and on the Sunday following, 26 April. He and his wife Adrienne had recently returned from a long family sojourn in the United Kingdom. Whilst in London, Talbot had preached at Westminster Abbey and opened a milk bar established by Hugh McIntosh.¹ Their friendship had been forged in organising the first Anzac Day commemoration in Sydney in 1916. This snippet of news to Australian readers may have prompted memories of another opening, that of the RSA's first office space, in 1916, at a difficult time for the new organisation, when McIntosh was refusing to relinquish the Presidency to returning men. Talbot had absented himself from that long-ago event, protesting McIntosh's stubbornness. The solution to the RSA's internal conflict was to anoint Talbot as the new President. Evidently, a friendship had been possible between the two, separate from civic responsibilities.

Upon return to Sydney in 1936 Talbot was drawn to the past and to the future. He had thrown himself into preparations for the Centennial celebrations of Australia's first Bishop, William Grant Broughton. He also delivered a paper at a Congress to consider reunion between the Church of England and the other Protestant Churches. Known as the Dean's 'Last Message', it provoked letters to the newspapers and was published in the hope it might spur renewed enthusiasm for an interwar project that now 'badly lagged'.² It was his last message because in a few weeks he was dead, having taken ill after addressing the Centennial Conference at the Cathedral. He died at St Luke's Hospital, Darlinghurst, at the age of 59, leaving Adrienne a widow at 40, and without children.

In his sermon before Anzac Day that year, Talbot preached on the resurrection. More than two decades as Dean had not dampened his passion for this essential motif in his ministry. Taking as his text an Old Testament passage, Ezekiel 37, in which God commanded a valley of lifeless skeletons to rise up, Talbot spoke of how 'the resurrection of Jesus gave promise not only of individual resurrection to Eternal Life,

¹ *SMH*, 7 February 1936, p. 4.

² *SMH*, 14 July 1936, p. 7, and 21 July 1936, p. 10.

but also of social and national restoration.’ He continued, ‘the physical resurrection of Jesus, though difficult to many was yet significant of a great truth: that the physical might be glorified and the material might be transmuted into something higher and nobler’.³ The following Sunday evening, with Anzac Day already marked the day before, Talbot preached from the New Testament, asking the question, what would make Australia a ‘Commonwealth worthy of the name?’ His focus was the command of Jesus to Peter, to ‘feed his sheep’. Talbot saw this injunction as a lesson not only about spiritual nourishment but inclusive of its literal sense, of a physical, social justice - all people had physical as well as spiritual needs.⁴

In the morning of Sunday 26 April, the sermon at St Andrew’s Cathedral had been delivered by the new Principal of Moore Theological College, Rev. T. C. Hammond. Hammond had replaced Rev. Dr D. J. Davies who had died in 1935. Davies served nearly twenty-five years, having been called to Sydney by Archbishop Wright in 1911. Wright had already died, in 1933, whilst on a family visit to New Zealand. Talbot was the last remaining of the three men who had led the Diocese for two and a half decades. Hammond represented Sydney’s next generation, but the previous generation’s emphases remained prominent in Hammond’s message. He too preached on the resurrection, connecting the dawn of ‘a higher and nobler’ life, made possible through the triumph of Jesus over death and hell, to ‘the dawn of a day some years ago’, when their loved ones faced ‘sin and sorrow and carnage’, that first Anzac Day.⁵

The blending of the past and the future remained a seminal theme. This ‘higher and nobler life’ spoken of by Talbot and by Hammond was a physical reality now as well as in the life to come. Jesus had risen from the dead, and that historical certainty provided hope for the eternal future. But there was also a nation to build, one that had survived the Great War, as well as the more recent Great Depression. History must not be forgotten by the people as they looked to the future ‘common weal’.

Alan Atkinson has written of how, as Federation was planned and then made a reality, the sense of nation was to demand more than the constitutional formation of neighbouring colonies into a single community. It required a *national conscience*.

³ *SMH*, 20 April 1936, p. 8.

⁴ *SMH*, 27 April 1936, p. 8.

⁵ *SMH*, 27 April 1936, p. 8.

Among 'the different possibilities of a nation', the possibilities that might define the national conscience, emerged one focussed on national character forged in wartime, equipped through its self-sacrifice to meet the challenges of building a nation in peacetime. This thesis has presented how Anzac Day was imagined by its progenitors in Sydney as one overarching possibility for giving expression to the 'national conscience', a shared day of mourning losses, giving thanks for deliverance, and presenting hope for a new national spirit.⁶

From the first anniversary of the landing, with the Dardanelles campaign finished in retreat not victory, 25 April was marked by rituals of remembrance. The establishment of war memorials across every town and suburb as a focal point for ritual observance, particularly in the absence of bodies returned for burial, was testimony to the breadth of the war's effect. The desire to establish memorials on a national scale in each State capital was fuelled by Australia's growing sense of its standing in the world and a grateful people committed to paying collective civic tribute.

This thesis has argued that Australia's Anzac ceremonies and the shape of Anzac Day itself are products of Christianity. The Day's commemorative forms have a 'significant religious past'. The rites of the Christian church, its Scriptures and their interpretation exerted a profound and unmistakable influence on public mourning practices devised to provide comfort and hope during and immediately following the Great War.

Sydney's Anglican Archbishop John Wright and Dean Albert Talbot were responsible for much of what is today taken to be non-religious about Anzac Day. They were intimately involved in helping Australian communities respond publicly and formally to the profound and widespread impact of the Great War. Under their leadership, Anzac commemoration in Sydney had a deliberate mode for addressing the need for both comfort and hope. It was a mode based in the full Easter story, a story of death *and* resurrection. The two halves model for marking Anzac Day was a specific element of the first commemorations in Sydney in 1916, eventually spreading to all other States and Territories. In this mode, Anzac Day could speak to overwhelming grief through the hope of the resurrection, the recognition of Jesus' victory over

⁶ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia. Volume Three: Nation* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing; 2014), pp. (xvi)-(xvii), 333-334.

death, that was to be a constant theme in the discourse of the Sydney Anglican Diocesan leadership.

Further, throughout the 1910s and the 1920s, the period that saw Anzac commemoration emerge and become an established feature of the fabric of Australian public life, the symbolic motifs that were incorporated into Anzac Day ritual reinforced this message of hope: the wreath tribute, a circle illustrative of the perfection to come in heaven, with flora communicating new life in eternity; the respectful silence bracketed by a statement of remembrance and two bugle calls that evoked literally, liturgically and emotionally, a similar message of hope steeped in the theme of resurrection. These elements, although not unique to Anzac commemoration, or even to Sydney, were so recognisably the epitome of the 'sacred form' of Anzac that they were the essence of what was unique in the origin story of the Dawn Service. These motifs were part of the existing commemorative architecture and cultural apparatus of the 1910s and 1920s. They were instinctively called upon to provide symbolic recognition of the death of the fallen *and* their resurrection, of the depths of wartime despair *and* the hope of restoration in peacetime. Each *motif* became a *leitmotif* of Anzac commemoration.

As Archbishop Wright and Dean Talbot made clear in their approach to Anzac commemoration in Sydney, the act of remembrance brings together death and resurrection, which are inextricably joined at the heart of Christian belief. Jesus' sacrificial atonement on the Cross for the sins of the world effectively restores relationship with God, uniting believers in heaven with him, a hope based in Jesus' bodily resurrection. In their choice of Scripture texts, in their employment of silence and floral tributes, in their comfort with and endorsement of the two halves approach to Anzac Day, Wright and Talbot successfully knitted Anzac ceremonial liturgy to Sydney evangelical theology. In other words, what is central to Anzac Day is central to Christianity – Christ's death and resurrection.

Four examples of contemporary interpretation explored in Part III demonstrated the consequences of misunderstanding these roots of Anzac Day. Recovering Anzac's 'significant religious past' enables an appreciation of how contemporary changes to ritual performance and assumptions about memorial interpretation have affected the 'commemorative integrity' of calls to remembrance and memorial designs.

The significance of the ritual traditions associated with Anzac Day resided in their power to speak of essential goals – the hard-won freedom and peace – and inviolable values – the character of the Anzac which from the beginning had courage, endurance and sacrifice inscribed on its banner. They were goals and values that could be adopted by all Australians, that could form a *national conscience*; commemorated on a day Talbot believed Australia ‘became conscious of her nationhood’.⁷ As Prime Minister Paul Keating declared at the ceremony of reinterment of an Unknown Soldier at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra on Remembrance Day, 11 November 1993, ‘He is one of them, and he is all of us’.⁸

Wright and Talbot believed that God is intimately entwined with human history and so traditional religious forms were appropriate for the fashioning of this new tradition of Anzac Day. Anzac ceremonial tradition was consequently grounded in Protestant theology, in Sydney Anglican Evangelicalism. The ceremonies they fashioned functioned like a ‘gift’ of a new national rite, ‘the central ceremony for expressions of Australian nationalism... a vehicle for social integration’, akin to the democratising listing on memorials, alphabetically, of all those who served.⁹ The Judeo-Christian belief in sacrifice was paired not only with the death of an individual for a nation, but an afterlife for both the individual and the nation, a resurrection hope. Death in this world prefigured life in the next: the new national rite was an Anzac ceremony incorporating the ‘sacred’ and the ‘secular’ conjoined in earthly practice, a religious act in a public space, that was no less transcendent for being in a shared physical domain, and no less quotidian for embodying otherworldly annunciations.

Commemoration rituals, taking their lead primarily from Christian liturgical practice, aligned with this appeal to ‘timelessness’ and the traditions of nation and Empire. Remarkably, the elements of Anzac Day ceremonies that coalesced into settled form in the 1910s and 1920s have remained as temporally resilient as the physical memorials themselves, even if their origins in Evangelical Christianity have been lost to history.

⁷ *SDM*, 1 April 1924, p. 8.

⁸ Copy available on the AWM Website: <https://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/speeches/keating-remembrance-day-1993>

⁹ Barry Morris, ‘The Social Genesis of Anzac Nationalism’, in Bruce Kapferer, *Legends of People, Myths of State: Violence, Intolerance and Political Culture in Sri Lanka and Australia* (New York: Berghahn Books; 2012), p. 347.

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