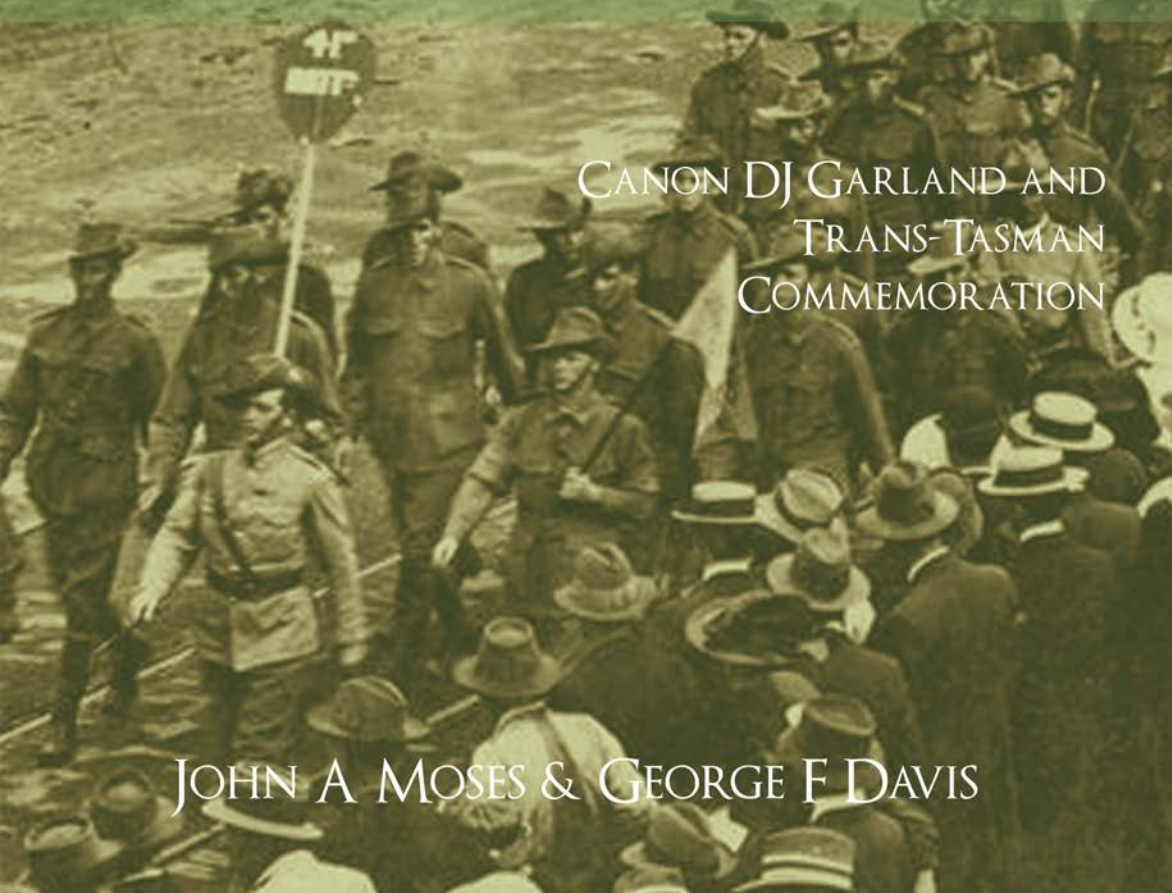




# ANZAC DAY ORIGINS



CANON DJ GARLAND AND  
TRANS-TASMAN  
COMMEMORATION

JOHN A MOSES & GEORGE F DAVIS



David Garland as a young priest.

# **Anzac Day Origins**

**Canon DJ Garland  
and  
Trans-Tasman Commemoration**

**John A Moses & George F Davis**

**3rd Reprint  
Canberra, Australia  
2021**

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## Abbreviations

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| AA        | Australian Archives  |
| ACR       | <i>The Australasian Catholic Record</i>  |
| ADB       | <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>  |
| ADCC      | Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (of Brisbane)                                      |
| ADCC M&S  | Anzac Day Commemoration Committee 'Minutes and Suggestions' record                   |
| AIF       | Australian Imperial Force  |
| AJPH      | <i>The Australian Journal of Politics and History</i>                                |
| ALH       | Australian Light Horse   |
| CEO NZRSA | Chief Executive Officer, New Zealand Returned and Services' Association              |
| CC        | <i>Church Chronicle</i>  |
| CM        | <i>The Courier Mail</i>  |
| CO        | Commanding Officer   |
| CS        | <i>Church Standard</i>   |
| GOC       | General Officer Commanding   |
| Hon       | Honourable - title given to a Member of Parliament or Senator who becomes a minister |
| HQ        | Headquarters   |
| IWGC      | Imperial War Graves Commission   |
| JAS       | <i>Journal of Australian Studies</i>   |
| JOL       | John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane                            |
| MHA       | Member of the House of Assembly (Australian States' Parliaments)                     |
| MLA       | Member of the Legislative Assembly   |

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| MP                                    | Member of Parliament  |
| NCEA                                  | National Certificate of Achievement (New Zealand)                               |
| NZPD                                  | New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard Record)                              |
| OBE                                   | Officer of the Order of the British Empire                                      |
| ODCC                                  | <i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>                                |
| QATB                                  | Queensland Ambulance Transport Brigade (Rooms), Brisbane                        |
| RD                                    | Riley Diary   |
| RNZAF                                 | Royal New Zealand Air Force   |
| RSA                                   | Returned Services' Association (now NZRSA)                                      |
| RSSILA                                | Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, forerunner of the |
| RSL                                   | Returned Services' League   |
| TB Sailors' and Soldiers' Association | Tubercular Sailors' and Soldiers' Association                                   |
| UVF                                   | Ulster Volunteer Force  |
| VD                                    | Volunteer Decoration  |
| WO I (RSM)                            | Warrant Officer First Class, Regimental Sergeant-Major                          |

The ways of mourning and of remembering sacrifices are inextricably connected. War memorials are where the survivors identify with the heroes and justify their sacrifice; they are stone monuments designed by sculptors who got commissions to do so, but they are re-designed, as it were, by the participants in the ceremonies that subsequently take place there.

Stephane Andoin-Rouzeau and Annette  
Becker, *Understanding the Great War*,  
Profile Books, London, 2002. p. 185.



Most history is tribal history; written, that is to say, in terms generated by, and acceptable to, a given tribe or nation, or group within such a tribe or nation.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, *States of Ireland*,  
Hutchinson & Co, London, 1972, p. 16.



# Foreword

There is an idea abroad that European Australia, being founded in 1788, is a post-Enlightenment society, and therefore thoroughly secular. Of course the state, being a democracy, is necessarily secular, but the society, from its beginnings, is not. A further extension of this attitude is the commonly-repeated assertion of journalists that some cleric's or other's public pronouncement is an assault on the separation of church and state. It is true that we have no established church or religion, and a no-establishment clause in our constitution. Strong judicial opinion, however, affirms that Australasians do not have a legal doctrine of 'the separation of church and state' and each assertion of this alleged principle is a reflex borrowing from a much trumpeted American doctrine. What is rarely explained nowadays is that the American doctrine was in fact devised by Christians (initially Baptists) in defence of religion. The separation was not to keep religion out of politics, but to safeguard religious worship from both the state and any established church. It is not too surprising, under the barrage of assertion from newly-proselytising fundamentalist atheists, that this doctrine should be stood on its head.

In any case, the claim that Australia was settled as a secular society is evidently false. There was strong missionary input into its settlement, the opening of the continent (for whites) took place through explorers who acknowledged being under biblical instruction to seek 'promised lands' (albeit mistakenly groping under false ideas of a *terra nullius*), the Commonwealth was established under the blessing of 'Almighty God' (an acknowledgement in the Preamble of the Constitution required by many religious people before ratification)

and much of the legislation tending towards equality and social welfare was inspired by religious teaching. Many of our institutions are inherited from religious instruction.

The tendency to secularise the commemoration of the war dead through Anzac Day is, as John Moses and George Davis demonstrate, a distortion of its original purpose and a deviation from its history. The architect of commemoration, Canon David Garland, was an Anglican priest who made an enduring mark on public life by insisting on a regular and appropriate ceremony. His contribution to what has become a state institution was welcome participation in public life from an outspoken and energetic cleric. Fortunately, the first author of the present volume is also an outspoken and vitally well-informed cleric, the Reverend Professor John Moses, an Australian who has studied in Germany for many years where among other things he specialised in the historiography of the First World War. Here he sets the record straight about Australia's participation in the First World War. When it is suggested by others that Anzac is a jingoistic, masculinist and bombastic celebration of an unnecessary engagement in defence, there is more of a hint of the protests against other wars, such as Vietnam and Iraq, that Australia may not have been wise to prosecute. Those critical of Australia's participation in the Great War say that it was remote from our shores and that the Germans may not have been interested in our country. We recall the ironic line in the film 'Gallipoli' where a character surveys the vast emptiness of a tract of Western Australia and says 'they are welcome to it'.

John Moses places German war aims in a broad context: competition for imperial territory with France, Belgium and Britain; a philosophy that warlike struggle is the mark of the true human; an open contempt for liberalism and democracy; a myth that national greatness is proved by unlimited expansion. The Kaiser was the head of a state historically organised for military expansion as the perceived will of God. By 1914 that state had developed global

ambitions. The *furor teutonicus* required a globalised response. In any case, Germany's occupation of New Guinea and Samoa were not too distant from our shores.

This is a timely study launched amid much argument about the tenor of Australia's political and military history. Moses and Davis tell the tale of a fruitful cooperation between church and state in the honouring of those who gave their lives, and the public yet spiritual act of repentance for the very condition of war. It deserves to be read and reflected upon, and I am honoured to be able to commend it.

Graham Maddox



Left to right: The Reverend John Hunt, missionary; the Reverend Canon Thomas Jones; and Lt. Col. the Reverend Canon David Garland.  
*circa* 1915.

# Authors' prefaces

## Personal experience: the window to history

John Moses

Without the background of my early experience of Anzac Day this book would never have been written. Born in Atherton, North Queensland on 10 June 1930, I actually met and often spoke to original Anzacs, returned men who frequented the bar of the Grand Hotel which had been built in 1934 after the fire that destroyed the original property, the Exchange Hotel, then owned by my Christian-Lebanese grandparents. From as far back as I can remember I saw the old diggers assemble every Anzac Day and was struck by the sudden transformation of seemingly ordinary men into highly disciplined soldiers when they were given parade ground orders prior to the march. These came from the stentorian voice of the former sergeant major, Mr Sam Forsyth, a local farmer, who also often came in to the hotel for a beer. The men paraded in most cases wearing civilian clothes adorned with their campaign medals, though some, as I recall, such as the headmaster of our State primary school, Mr William Harris, wore his officer's uniform sporting his Sam Browne belt. At that

time, in 1940, he was a major in the Militia and looked every inch the professional soldier.

Mr Harris was a very strict man, and I had not infrequently, along with other boys, received 'the cuts' from him, that is a caning on the out-stretched palm and fingers of one or two hands, depending on how severe the misdemeanour in school was judged to be. The headmaster was, therefore, known to have been particularly 'scotty' which meant that he had an extremely short fuse when it came to tolerating schoolboy indiscipline. Punishment was swift and sure. But somehow we knew that it was administered without malice. Mr Harris was just a product of his era, a time when you did exactly what you were told by your elders and never answered back. Also, as a small boy I was always reminded that you should never cry if you got hurt in minor household or playground accidents. And to whimper after a caning was completely unacceptable. You had to behave like a 'soldier', as one's elders often said. It was unmanly to show the effects of physical pain.

The aftermath of the Great War was always with us. As well, my Scottish-born mother had two older brothers who had enlisted, having reached military age by the end of the war. They had also migrated to Australia. Mother knew what the war had been all about. It had been caused by the Germans under their vainglorious and blustering Kaiser Wilhelm II who was a cousin of our King, George V. Wilhelm's ambition had been to dominate the world. He had wantonly invaded Belgium, a small neighbouring country, as the first step in implementing a grandiose plan of conquest. In the process, the German army had committed the appalling atrocity of executing in Belgium an English nurse, Edith Cavell. Such barbarity could not go unchecked. The entire British Empire was at once outraged and challenged to respond. That, at any rate, was my mother's assessment of the Great War. I should also add that my mother spoke often of her German-born grandfather (her mother's father) named Wilhelm Link, who I had been

told apparently fled Germany as a young man in the aftermath of the 1848 revolution, a time when hundreds of liberal sympathisers (republican democrats), having supported the revolution, were either arrested or exiled.

My mother's knowledge of the Hohenzollern dynasty derived clearly from stories related by her grandfather. The Prussian royal house had led the reaction after the 1848 revolution and thereafter it had systematically opposed Western democratic ideas that were being advocated by both the intellectual elite and the incipient organised working class. Rejecting these, the Teutonic monarchs continued to rule according to the principles of the 'divine right of kings'. Essentially, the Prussian State was a military autocracy. It was a simple explanation but accurate in the outline.

Similar statements about Teutonic tyranny were subsequently to be heard at Anzac Day ceremonies, held following the parade to Atherton's Anzac monument, then located in the middle of the main street diagonally opposite our hotel, and timed for around 11.00 am. These events are indelibly etched in my memory, especially when I became old enough to be a Cub, and later a Scout, and we were required to march with the men. As school children, including the Girl Guides and Brownies, we witnessed the proceedings at the monument which involved the town band playing solemn hymns followed by speeches by the shire chairman and a padre. The shire chairman or some other dignitary would invariably speak about the sacrifice of the 'cream of our youth' in the cause of freedom against tyranny. The padre, who was either our Anglican 'Bush Brother' or alternatively the Presbyterian or Methodist minister, said similar things about service for 'God, King and Empire', and 'Greater love hath no man than this that he lay down his life for his friends'. Interestingly, no Roman Catholic priest, who in those days was always an Irish-born and trained Augustinian, was ever present because the Roman Church at that time forbade their clergy from participating in prayers with so-called 'non-Catholics'.

That fact was especially noteworthy since the Irish- and Italian-born population on the Atherton Tableland was very prominent, as the relative size and splendour of St Joseph's Church reflected.

The other lasting impression at that ceremony during the late 1930s and early 1940s in Atherton was the regular appearance of Mrs Ida Dalziel in the uniform of a Great War army nursing sister with a spectacular crimson shoulder cape, wearing her husband's VC, standing as a solitary figure in front of the monument during the entire proceedings, still as a statue, head bowed, looking quite awesome as if portraying the eternal compassion and nurturing role of women in caring for the wounded and dying. Her husband, Mr Harry Dalziel, had won the VC in an action at Hamel Wood, 4 July 1918 and, although he survived the war, was by the time I can remember periodically invalided off to Greenslopes Army Repatriation Hospital in Brisbane suffering from the results of the head wound he had sustained. He died on 24 July 1964. He was certainly known to my father and had been a prominent citizen at least during the 1920s and early 1930s. Dalziel's heroic exploits that won him the VC were at the time widely recounted. Obscure and remote Atherton had produced a real war hero.

Anzac was, then, an ever-present reality and of course we were always given the regular account of the heroic landing every 24 April in school, either by our class teacher or a visitor who had fought in the Great War. Most memorable was Mr Harris' account of his frontline experience in France when he told us about the 'the hole in the duck board' song or chant which the diggers sang softly on their single file march along the wooden slats which were placed on the muddy ground to enable men to walk without becoming irretrievably bogged with their heavy gear in the surrounding slime. If a shell had struck the duckboards you had a problem, especially in darkness, so in order to warn the men behind that they had somehow to negotiate the gap, the chant 'hole in the duckboard' was passed down the line. Mr Harris did not spell out how many

men he had seen perish in the mud; he left that to our imagination. I remember that we were all in awe of him. But on those occasions the usually fearsome headmaster became very informal and avuncular, seating himself on the teacher's table in front of the class in order to recount his story. We had not realised it at the time but he had clearly participated in some of the bloodiest battles of the Western Front. Significantly, the practice of having a returned serviceman come to school on 24 April to inform the children about Anzac was an idea of Canon David Garland. It was part of his strategy of enlightenment.

My other recollection of the eve of Anzac Day while at primary school was the sale of the Anzac Badge for one shilling which we had to extract from our father the evening before. I can remember the embarrassment of some children whose parents could either not afford it or who had some objection to Anzac Day. The reason was never spelled out yet no-one ever imagined there could have been any ideological grounds for not buying the badge. These were in the form of a lavender coloured silk ribbon in rectangular form designed for pinning on the breast pocket or lapel. On it was embossed in gold the lion of St Mark because 25 April is St Mark's day in the Christian calendar. Beneath it were the words, 'Their Name Liveth'. These are still a feature of Anzac Day in Queensland, and again it originated as an idea of Canon Garland.

Finally, there were several other features of the actual day that linger prominently in my memory. After the march there was always 'lunch' in the shire hall. This was furnished with trestle tables all with spotless white table cloths upon which were piles of white bread ham sandwiches. Elderly ladies, as they appeared to me, mostly



The Anzac ribbon badge showing the lion of St Mark with the motto *Audax et Fidelus* (bold and faithful).



from the churches' ladies' guilds or auxiliaries, had been busy preparing all this, and after the arrival of the marchers who all seated themselves, the ladies quickly served cups of piping hot tea from those super-dimensional enamelled pots used for such occasions. I did not know it at the time but this lunch had also been another idea of Canon Garland, intended to refresh the diggers who had come into town for the march from more distant localities.

At night in the town cinema, the Roxy Theatre, there would always be a gathering of citizens for a program which had two distinct parts. The first consisted of the playing of the National Anthem and the singing of solemn hymns such as Kipling's 'Recessional' and 'Nearer My God to Thee', accompanied by the town band. These were followed by patriotic addresses by local politicians, State and municipal, and the solemn reading of the names of the fallen, the ones inscribed on the monument. I recall that the man who regularly did this was Mr Victor Young. He had a hardware and grocery store in the Main Street and was chosen for this task because, apart from being an old digger, he had a very dignified resonant baritone voice. That was followed by the playing of the 'Last Post' on the cornet by our very accomplished band leader, Mr Tommy Compton.

The second part of the evening consisted of a light-hearted concert comprised of sketches and comic songs of army content, though not exclusively. The undoubted star of these events was the local ambulance chief, Mr Fred Browning who had obviously more than a nodding acquaintance with the English vaudeville tradition of a bygone era. Mr Browning – billed as 'The Only Browning' – had been a legend in his own time on the Atherton Tableland as a dedicated ambulance officer who had rendered heroic service to many an accident victim in the bush and on farms. But the style of the Anzac Concert was all changed during the 1940s; the Atherton Tableland was inundated by thousands of soldiers of the Second AIF, quartered in various camps in training and awaiting movement

northward to fight in New Guinea. Anzac Day in Atherton at that time assumed the quality of a big town event, and the evening concert was taken over by professional comedians and actors who happened to be in the army at the time, such as the redoubtable Willy Fennel. The last one I witnessed was in 1943 when I was twelve. The next year I went off to boarding school at All Souls' School in Charters Towers, a war memorial school founded in 1920 and run by the Anglican Brotherhood of St Barnabas. At Anzac Day there in 1944, 1945 and 1946, I marched with my school, together with the boys of the other boarding schools, Thornburgh and Mount Carmel Colleges, as an army cadet accompanying regular army and air-force personnel.

What I did not know then but have learnt since investigating the origins of Anzac Day, is that both the content and conduct of the annual solemn celebration reflected the directions provided by the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC) in Brisbane, and that much of its shape and substance could be attributed to its honorary secretary, Canon David John Garland, whose attention to detail has already been mentioned. What follows is not a biography of Canon Garland. Rather, it is an attempt to locate Anzac Day within its original historical context in the hope that what George Davis and I have to recount will answer some important questions about the purpose and nature of the day: why do we have it and how did it evolve to be our only genuinely national day?

In the preparation of this study I express my indebtedness to the Australian War Memorial from which institution I was awarded a 'John Treloar' Grant for the year 1999 to further research, and to Drs Tom Frame and Chris Pugsley who supported it. I also gained much from a continuing dialogue with Ms Margaret Hardy, formerly a doctoral candidate of the Australian Catholic University in Canberra, who was preparing an extensive study of military chaplaincy in Australia. My former colleagues at the School of Classics, History and Religion and Professor Graham Maddox (Politics,

and former Dean of the Faculty of Arts) at the University of New England are also thanked for their friendly, welcoming and encouraging attitude to the newcomer in their midst. As well, several of my earliest students at the University of Queensland, Mrs Helen Gregory (née Aimes), Mr Jack Cassidy, Dr Bruce Gaunson and Dr Anthony Cooper have engaged with me in a dialogue extending over many years on the subject of Anzac and from their friendship and willing assistance with ideas and sources I have benefited enormously. More recently the contact with Dr Ruth Rae, a leading authority on Australian army nurses, has proved most beneficial to my comprehension of their remarkably heroic role. In addition, Ms Yvonne Perkins shared unreservedly with me the findings of her honours thesis on the Bible in State Schools League of which Canon Garland had been the driving force. Further, the staff of the Queensland State Library (the Oxley Library) were of invaluable assistance as was Ms Hilda Maclean of the 'Friends of the Toowong Cemetery'. Mr Arthur Burke, secretary of the ADCC in Brisbane, merits special mention for his invaluable assistance in providing source material that otherwise would have remained hidden from me. As well, in recent years the prolonged dialogue with Mr Alec Mills on the content of the Australian history curriculum for schools has been a valuable and enriching experience. Last in this section of my acknowledgments, I pay tribute to Mr Roy Garland of Belfast, an historian in his own right. As a member of the Garland clan he has not only showed great interest in the project but has also been ever ready to serve as a volunteer research assistant in Ireland. He has generously searched for sources and has interviewed other family members, obtaining invaluable memorabilia on their distinguished Australian relative.

Most importantly, I was constantly aware that I was ill-placed to research and write the New Zealand dimension of this project. Consequently, it was an event resembling divine intervention when I learned of the existence of a recent doctoral dissertation by

George Davis of Dunedin which covered New Zealand, Australia and Turkey on the observance of Anzac Day from 1916 to 2000. When I contacted George he enthusiastically agreed to collaborate and made a special trip to my holiday flat on Bribie Island in Queensland at the beginning of 2010. Here we agreed upon the most suitable division of labour. The result has proved, I believe, significant. Ultimately of course, the extent will be for others to judge. George below contributes his own 'author's preface'.

A special mention is also made here of the generous support that this project has enjoyed from Mr Ralph O'Brien, the administrator of the estate of the late Reverend Dr Wilhelm Lorenz Rechnitz. This has made possible the publication, and for this we record here our sincere gratitude. And as always in a household where especially one's wife is a scholar in her own right, she is forced to live with the project, and mine has done so with great forbearance and encouragement over many years.

Finally, as I have emphasised, I grew up at a time when Anzac commemoration was a very solemn event, and this personal experience has no doubt coloured my narrative. The other aspect of my career as an historian that has most influenced my entire scholarly endeavour has been the fact that I was privileged to study in West Germany for the five years, 1961–65. During this time I sat at the feet of liberal-minded scholars of immense learning, magnanimity and all-round humanity. My work has been shaped by this intimate introduction to modern German history, equipping me to write about the Great War as I have. The Rankean tradition in which I was trained by my German mentors remains foundational to my approach to history. Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) was the founder of modern history as a university discipline as all my former students at the University of Queensland heard me relate *ad nauseam*.

For readers who have never heard of von Ranke let me mention here that he is renowned for insisting on the most thorough

examination of sources, establishing their authenticity and relevance to that aspect of the past that one was trying to reconstruct. Linked to this insistence was his striving for objectivity, namely to eliminate all personal prejudice as far as humanly possible from his narrative in order to try to show, in his words, *wie es eigentlich gewesen* (how it essentially was). It was, of course, an aspiration. Although its aim was to make the historian as neutral as possible in his or her portrayal of the past, it has to be conceded that total objectivity for any human being remains for ever elusive. Nevertheless, the insistence on scholarly rigour is essential, otherwise one is engaged at best in journalism or, at worst, in propaganda. Historical writing, like the best journalism, must tell the truth even though one realises that the end result will inevitably retain aspects of the cultural, religious and political formation of the reporter.

Consequently, I look back on my German experience with great appreciation. In Munich I was privileged to be admitted to the *Oberseminar* (senior seminar) of Professor Franz Schnabel for two semesters. Schnabel was the leading south German Roman Catholic liberal scholar of his day, having been installed in the Munich chair by the United States' occupation authorities. He had been a well-known opponent of National Socialism as well as of Prussian militarism that preceded it, and his bi-weekly lectures were attended by hundreds of students and the general public who crowded into the *grosse Aula*, the *auditorium maximum*, in the main building of the Munich University on the Ludwigsstrasse. That was back in 1961–62; they were special occasions as people, both old and young, were anxious to learn what had happened to Germany to have suffered such massive destruction which was still (and for years yet to come) very evident in the large number of bombed-out building sites. It could become even more dramatic because in not a few of those rubble heaps still disfiguring German cities there were lurking unexploded bombs. *Deutschland kaput!*

Bomb disposal squads still had plenty to do even fifteen to twenty years after the war.

For professors like Franz Schnabel, and there were quite a few others, some of whom had returned to Germany after enforced exile between 1933 and 1945, the explanation could be summed up in pointing to the rejection of both liberalism and democratic socialism by the 'power elites' of Prusso-Germany in the nineteenth century. Schnabel was arguably the first prominent German professor after 1945 to address, for example, the 'Bismarck Problem'. That was perceptive of him, given that most middle class Germans had been brought up to admire Bismarck and his great historical achievements in laying the foundation of Germany's 'place in the sun', so it was difficult to get them to see the long term consequences of the 'Iron Chancellor's' deep, under-lying hostility to liberalism and socialism and his reliance on a vast military establishment in the conduct of his foreign policy. That was a learning experience for me as I came to appreciate how difficult it is for people having been virtually indoctrinated in what they believe to have been the truth, indeed the result of divine will in many cases, to change their minds or to be open to new interpretations. 'Cognitive dissonance' (Leon Festinger) was a concept not yet articulated. Interestingly, however, it is a phenomenon that is evident universally and is certainly not confined to the Germans. Australians also are very much victims of it, especially with regard to the history of the Great War and its attendant controversies. But as a student in Germany I witnessed at first hand the effects on especially middle class, educated people of having to come to grips with the whole catastrophe visited upon the German nation as a consequence of their having supported or at least passively tolerated the Hitler regime.

In helping people to come to terms with all this, historians like Schnabel played a significant political-pedagogic role. I had been so impressed by him that I wanted to do a doctorate under his supervision but he dissuaded me saying it would take too long

and that if he died before I finished I would be in a virtually hopeless situation. He wisely advised me to seek out a much younger man. This I did by transferring to the University of Erlangen in lower Bavaria, near Nuremberg. There the outstanding luminary of liberal-minded, pro-Western historians was Professor Waldemar Besson who himself had studied in the United States and was a known admirer of Anglo-Saxon parliamentary democracy. He became my *Doktorvater*, that is, my doctoral supervisor. I wanted to study a genuine democratic German movement in the nineteenth century and consequently chose a topic on the German social democratic trade union movement. This became my study, *Trade Unionism in Germany from Bismarck to Hitler* (1984). But as the German system at that time required as well two *Nebenfächer*, that is subsidiary examinable subjects, Professor Besson recommended that I enrol in the seminars of Professor Walter Peter Fuchs, a Reformation historian, and Professor Karl-Heinz Ruffmann, in charge of Eastern European history and with whom I studied the tortuous history of the divisions of Poland.

As far as the course of German history was concerned, I certainly derived most from Professor Fuchs who at that time was investigating the role played by nationalist historians in Germany from after von Ranke up to the present, finishing with the famous Prussian historicist and very anti-Western Gerhard Ritter (1888–1967). Fuchs had clearly come to see what a deleterious influence these historians had played, especially figures like Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896) the notorious founder of the ‘Prussian school’ of historiography, in inculcating anti-democratic and anti-Semitic values in German students. This had been a very toxic historical political-cultural pedagogy. Indeed, the educational role of historians can be for good or ill and it is virtually impossible for their values to be separated from their pedagogic endeavour.

Professor Fuchs was, at the time very much impressed by the historiographical revolution happening before our very eyes in

Germany, sparked off by the work of Professor Fritz Fischer of Hamburg with the publication of his pioneering essays from the late 1950s which confirmed German ‘war-guilt’ for the outbreak of the Great War. These were followed up by two massive studies, *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (1961) and *Krieg der Illusionen* (1969).<sup>1</sup> The impact that these works made, then as now, was sensational not only among the community of professional historians in Germany. It was so overwhelming that I decided that it warranted reporting in an English language monograph. After publishing several articles on my return to Australia I settled down to write an extended essay on the Fischer controversy and to point out its significance for the continuing international discussion about the origins of the Great War.<sup>2</sup> By way of preparation I had sent Professor Fischer my earlier articles on the subject and first caught up with him personally when he was ‘Volkswagen Professor’ at Oxford during the long vacation in 1971. Since then I had visited him many times during study leaves spent at Hamburg. I found him a most agreeable interlocutor who had abandoned all the previous Germanic nationalistic mysticism in which he had been educated, and had now embraced unreservedly a liberal democratic pro-Western world view. Not surprisingly he and Franz Schnabel were animated by similar concerns.<sup>3</sup>

All my German professors, including obviously Fritz Fischer, although I was never formally his student, were acutely aware of their roles as educators and they were each most welcoming to me as an exotic antipodean figure among their predominantly-German body of students and colleagues. What I learned from them has stayed with me all my academic life and it is with a deep sense of gratitude that I dedicate my part of this work to their memory. In a special sense they are responsible for it.

John Moses

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**ENDNOTES**

- 1 They were translated into many languages, the first being in English as *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, 1967, and *War of Illusions*, 1975.
- 2 See author's *War of Illusions: The Fischer Controversy in German Historiography*, 1974.
- 3 See author's chapter, 'The Fischer Controversy Re-Visited', in Evan Smith (ed.), *Europe's Expansions and Contractions*, Australian Humanities Press, Unley Adelaide, 2010, pp. 43–62.

## Author's preface

George Davis

**I**n one sense the distance between John and myself could not possibly be greater. It is not the physical distance between Canberra or Bribie Island and Dunedin (in the south of the South Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand) but more the fact that we grew up in different ages and come from vastly different backgrounds. I was born in the middle of the Second World War and was the only child of a wartime-injured double-amputeed railway worker and a North Island farm lass whose deafness increased as she grew older. They were great parents. I attended a local school which until 1956 was a district high school (combined primary and secondary school) with a pronounced emphasis on agriculture. It was Mosgiel District High School where a senior master, Mr Clive Allen, was afflicted with an attention-commanding pronounced head-turning tic which was the result of war experience. This often reminded the pupils that war had some consequences besides glory. The school had a long tradition of school cadets; early each year 'Cadet Week' took over the institution and the girls were sent off to the home-craft and typing rooms to gaze out of the windows longingly on the males parading in the quad! The 1950s were the years with greatest impressions on me which related to Anzac Day. It was also the period of the Cold War and at school assemblies we were reminded of it weekly and sometimes daily. I joined the local Mosgiel scout troop and at eighteen years became the cadet WOI (RSM) of the newly named 'The Taieri High School'. So parades were frequent and earnest.

In Mosgiel, the Anzac Day parade at the local Anzac Park and the community service in the nearby Coronation Hall were signal annual events. Any association with Anzac Day in the 1950s and 1960s made attending children aware that a great debt was owed not only to people from a past age, but specifically to the 'Anzacs', giants who through dint of courage had made a permanent mark on the historic landscape. The local and newly named secondary school was led during its formative years by Thomas G Hislop, a man who took great pride in the participation of the cadets in the Anzac Day observances. So, for scouts and cadets there was an active part for a young adolescent. In my sixteenth year I attempted to gain acceptance with the Royal New Zealand Air Force Boy Entrant scheme and found myself at RNZAF Wigram air base for a week of good food, sightseeing, orientation and examinations. I passed the latter but was eventually informed about being short-sighted in my left eye and so ended up homeward-bound.

My religious upbringing was exclusively in the Methodist Church. By the beginning of the Second World War, it had taken an anti-war position. Military matters were not much discussed in the Davis household. While my mother's family, based in Taumaranui and coming from an Anglican background, saw most of her siblings involved in the services during the war, her strong-minded Methodist stand dictated the position of the family in Mosgiel. As well, the Anglo-Catholic family of my father tended to avoid discussion of any matters relating to religion and politics, at least publicly. This was strange because most members of that family were dedicated members of All Saints' Anglican Church in Dunedin, the home church of Sir James Allen, the Minister of Defence during the Great War.<sup>1</sup>

High school led ultimately to university. At Otago I was exposed to the wider world – a new and exciting experience. My courses did not lead me naturally to an interest in religion, commemorative ceremonies or indeed advocacy for Anzac Day. That was

to come years later after a 34 year career in high school teaching which was capped by becoming co-national examiner in University Bursaries and Scholarship history in the final three years prior to the institution of NCEA qualifications. It was during this period that an interest in local memorials was sparked by Professor Tom Brooking who was teaching an Anzac-related course. His encouragement led me to research the part played by New Zealanders at Gallipoli and to photograph many of the memorials around Dunedin. This culminated in an invitation to undertake a trans-national PhD dissertation on the meanings and memories of twentieth century Anzac Day observances as they were found in New Zealand, Australia and Turkey.

My approach to research is pragmatic rather than philosophical. Thus, a difference in style of writing is discernible between John Moses and me. He had, as he relates, a long research and teaching experience in the field of German history. He is also an Anglican priest. This background has enabled him to develop particular insights into the religious nature of Australian Anzac Day which was conceived by Canon Garland as Australia's 'All Souls' Day'. I became aware of this dimension on reading John's academic articles when I began to explore the unfolding of Anzac Day in both trans-Tasman nations over the twentieth century. Essentially, I have let the sources speak for themselves and have taken a societal approach. Nevertheless, there are particular matters which have become clear to me and will be apparent in the sections I wrote. They are the intrinsic societal spiritualism springing from a secure religious foundation which is still found in Anzac Day observances; respect for the fallen and their sacrifice in shaping trans-Tasman *mentalités*; the trans-Tasman connection which has remained strong throughout the century of Anzac Days; how this has been used by politicians, journalists and historians ever since to characterise national attitudes; the possible overplaying of the masculinist theme in recent years; and the changes in the meanings

of Anzac Day which have occurred since the gradual development of respect for the place of Turkey in the growth of Anzac Day has been acknowledged.

Encouragement for the doctoral venture was generously given by Professor Tom Brooking and Dr Alex Trapeznik, my supervisors, and by the University of Otago. Professor Judy Bennett, an Australian ex-teacher, whose special field of commemorative and related studies in the Pacific inclined her to see value in my area of research, generously gave time and advice. Many others including Dr Ian Fraser, Professor Robert Hannah, Professor Kevin Clements, Professor Mete Tunçoku of Çanakkale, Dr Don Mackay, Dr Peter Stanley and Dr Christopher Pugsley also kindly assisted. I rapidly realised that in academia I plainly had a great deal of catching up to do. This work is not accomplished in a vacuum. I owe a debt to those who had previously written, especially Maureen Sharpe and Dr Stephen Clarke, the CEO of NZRSA.

I have benefited enormously from the expertise of archivists and librarians at a great range of archives, among which were the Hocken Library, Dunedin; Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga; Auckland War Memorial Museum Library; the Auckland City Council archives; the Kippenberger Military Archive, Army Museum, Waiouru; the Alexander Library, Wanganui; and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Wellington. In Australia, material from the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, and the John Oxley Library of the State Library of Queensland provided keystones. In the United Kingdom, King's College London – Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives; National Army Museum – Department of Archives, Chelsea; City of Westminster Archives Centre; the Imperial War Museum, Department of Documents; the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge; Templer Study Centre of the National Army Museum, London and the National Archives, Kew. Of the Hocken Library staff I have only the greatest admiration

for allowing me to do the greatest part of my work for the book in their Special Reading Room.

My investigations into Anzac Day observances in different parts of the world were made possible by the generous support of the History Department of the University of Otago. Without the financial help from the New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs, Education New Zealand, and the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee my research would have been curtailed. The grants of a Claude McCarthy Fellowship and a Postgraduate Scholarship from Education New Zealand and the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade made valuable overseas research possible. While in I was in Canberra, Dr Peter Stanley honoured me with an honorary Fellowship of the Australian War Memorial, which helped facilitate the work during the weeks spent there.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the part played by my co-author, the Reverend Professor John Moses. To receive a gracious invitation out of the blue in early 2009 to cooperate on a work about trans-Tasman Anzac Days was a great surprise. It gave reality and continuity to the material I had been working with in the previous four years. The venture has yielded friendship and satisfaction, as well as deepening my academic understanding about the processes of writing. I realised early in the work that John and I work from differing perspectives and with vastly different styles of expression. I hope that readers will forgive this healthy tension and enjoy the outcome. My thanks also go to Professor Ingrid Moses, John's wife, for her courteous and enjoyable hosting of this Kiwi researcher in Bribie Island and in Canberra.

Local New Zealand ceremonies for Anzac Day were much like those in Australia: the parade and dawn service led inevitably by a non-Roman Catholic padre, often Church of England, a town hall service at about 11am which frequently starred the local mayor or another civic dignitary. The principal speaker recalled the bravery and honour demonstrated at Gallipoli by the first Anzacs,

whose standards had been upheld by servicemen and women in the Second World War. It seemed in the 1950s as though the war had just ended. Memories of coastal defences and windows cross-taped with brown sticky paper were still fresh. Following the civic ceremony the returned men retreated for a knees-up meeting in the local RSA rooms around in Wickliffe Street. For many, there was a personal attachment to be experienced in the day's observance; family members of the fallen or close friends of the parents of those who had died or been wounded in war attended regularly. The day was dominated by people of the previous generation, with a smattering of older folk, mostly male, many of whom wore medals.

Nonetheless, Anzac Days were relevant. They provided a ground for community ritual and recall of stirring memories. They provided a bulwark against the threat posed by emergent world communism. The Cold War was in full swing during the 1950s. New Zealand and Anzac Day ceremonials together with the involvement of local Navy, Army or Air Force units seemed to reassure the public that no matter what, the nation had proved itself in the past and it would be stoutly defended in the future. Many of the baby-boomer generation of the post-war period experienced a different sort of Anzac Day. By the mid-1960s the Vietnam War was being covered nightly on television and an air of cynicism was abroad in the community towards the military efforts of this small south-western Pacific nation. Anzac Day, that 'sacred day' of the 1950s, seemed under threat. Radical elements within society used the day and its ceremonials as a platform to advance their points of view.

Anzac Day seemed to be facing challenges. Yet it persisted. The generation who soldiered in the Great War, and who founded the Anzac myth had died, and their successors, the men and women of World War II were also diminishing noticeably by the 1980s. But Anzac Day not only persisted, it grew stronger. A new generation of New Zealanders and Australians took up observance of the day with enthusiasm. For them, there were no heroic servicemen

parading down the street, men whose names were familiar. What the present generation has is a common *belief*, rather than a collection of personal memories. They recognise Gallipoli as the relevant ground for Anzac Day and participate in a great revival.

Anzac Day was transformed through the twentieth century. What began as an imperially-oriented event came to be perceived differently. At its inception it had meant subtly different things to Australians, New Zealanders and to the British, and it evolved before and through the Second World War. After its fiftieth anniversary in 1965, ceremonies and parades continued to become more inclusive, so that by the end of the twentieth century, Anzac Day reflected the wartime work of women and also included Turkish nationals. What was evident about the day in the 1950s has a distant relationship to what it meant by the turn of the twenty-first century. It is the process of examining that change of perceptions and understandings which has led to this book.

George Davis  
Dunedin  
New Zealand

## ENDNOTES

- 1 All Saints' Dunedin has a stained glass window dedicated to Lieutenant John Allen who died on the Western Front. He was the son of Sir James Allen.



# Introduction

This was the one to attend [the Dawn Service at Gallipoli]. In a secular age, this was the Australian and New Zealand church. Alone among the nations, we had chosen one consecrated day not to trumpet a victory but to remember ancestors who had suffered and died trying. What those we remembered were trying to do is not immaterial for in the context of their time it was an attempt to take a place in a world beyond their distant shores and it was an attempt to fight what most of them were led to believe was an assault on a way of life that was their own. That they discovered that the world in which they found themselves was confusing and treacherous, and that many have come to debate that they were misled and misused by an Empire that saw them as mere colonials, is not immaterial either [...] In choosing Anzac Day as the most important national day of the year – and the first ceremonies were in 1916 [...] Australia and New Zealand were not celebrating war. They were remembering the shock and pain that came with giving birth to a couple of little nations in a world gone mad and honouring their children who did not give up, even in defeat.

Tom Wright, *Walking the Gallipoli Peninsula: making the most of your Visit to the Battlefields*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2010 pp. 219–20.

## THE ARGUMENT (*What we must know and comprehend*)

1. UNDERSTAND the uniquely aggressive nature of the Bismarckian-Wilhelmine Empire.
2. UNDERSTAND the immediate threat to Australasian security posed by the German naval presence in the Pacific
3. UNDERSTAND the self-perception of the majority of Australians and New Zealanders at that time as loyal subjects of the British Empire.

4. UNDERSTAND that the nation was a community  
*under God.*

Australians and New Zealanders of present and future generations seeking to understand why their nations, as distant overseas Dominions in the British Empire, had no choice but to be involved in the Great War (1914–1918) need to start with a solid grasp of the political culture of Prussia–Germany. Without this knowledge, any explanation will remain meaningless. It was the German ‘power elite’ who had unleashed the war and they did so for objectives that have now become indisputably clear. In the past, that is during the inter-war period, there had been a so-called ‘war-guilt debate’ which produced a large number of serious works of scholarship from the international community with varying degrees of political motivation. The Germans had even set up a ‘War Guilt Desk’ in their foreign ministry to support authors willing to re-examine the lead up to and course of the Great War, with a view to exculpating Germany from the charge of sole war guilt as had been insisted upon in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. The number of works by both German and non-German scholars who accepted grants to do so is most impressive.<sup>1</sup> Not surprisingly, at the conclusion of the Second World War, German historians were compelled to try and answer the question, ‘where did it all go wrong?’ And that is what produced the so-called ‘Fischer controversy’.

What this historiographical debate has brought out into the open as never before are the peculiarities of the power structure of Prussia–Germany. It was founded by Otto von Bismarck in 1871 emphatically as a military monarchy which enshrined the German version of the ‘divine right of kings’ (*Königtum durch Gottes Gnaden*). This meant that Bismarck’s political objective was to retain as far as possible an antiquated form of government by suppressing the demands of the democratic socialist movement, the rights of the

Roman Catholic element of the population as well as those of the moderate liberal movement. Essentially, Bismarck devised a constitution to stifle parliamentary democracy and to secure the status and power of the ruling classes. Among the latter the aristocracy and the army were pre-eminent, closely followed by the industrialist classes. Interestingly, the university professors virtually to a man all supported the Prussian solution to the German question that is Bismarck's solution. Prussia–Germany's uniqueness, given that every nation state is unique in its own peculiar ways, was distinguished by the privileged role of the army. Here the Prussian tradition, as shall be seen in chapters two and three, retained its potency. The army was the most important element in Prussia–Germany and it determined the course of German foreign policy as well as domestic policy. On this question of 'militarism' there is a vast range of research which goes a long way to explaining the peculiarity of German history.

The period of German history between 1871 and 1914 may be designated as a time when the old ruling elites struggled feverishly against the rising tide of social democracy on the domestic front and desperately sought to shore up alliances to prevent France from embarking on a war of revenge for the losses of territory sustained in the war of 1870. Prussia–Germany at this time strove to avoid so-called 'encirclement'. That meant she needed to be in an alliance with two other Great Powers of like character, namely monarchist and anti-parliamentary, and together they could checkmate France from even thinking about *revanche*. Bismarck had set the pattern of being, as he called it *à trios*, meaning in a war alliance with two other Powers. In that way France would be unable to realise her putative ambition of revising the settlement of 1871.

This arrangement unravelled in 1890 when the so-called 'Re-insurance Treaty' of June 1887 between Germany and Russia was not renewed after Bismarck's enforced retirement in 1890. Due to German miscalculation Russia was free after 1894 to initiate and

establish an alliance with France thus contributing to the diplomatic isolation of Germany among the Powers. The ensuing decade then saw Prussia–Germany embark on a most aggressive foreign policy and a reactionary domestic policy designed to stifle the growth and appeal of social democracy among the working classes. A central element in all this was the ‘Tirpitz Plan’ to out-build the Royal Navy in capital ships. Further, the upsurge in Pan–Germanism lent to German diplomacy in that era a most ominous character. In short, it was based on the bluff theory as the perceptive German political commentator at the time, Kurt Riezler (1882–1955), observed. It meant that Germany had to be so massively armed in ships and men that by acting aggressively in international relations the national goal could be achieved by simply giving opponents the impression that if compliance to German aims was not granted then there would be a resort to war. One had to be strong enough to be able to demand a favourable result.

The point about this mentality is that it leaves no way out if the nation is confronted with an alliance of enemies that is numerically and materially superior. Then there is a need to take a calculated risk. This happened in the July–August crisis of 1914. The war-time German Chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, called it a ‘leap in the dark’ in his memoirs. In a word, the ruling classes of Prussia–Germany had by August 1914 at the latest come to the conclusion that in order to realise their long-term objectives they would have to resort to all-out war to destroy the *Entente Cordiale* of Britain, France and Russia. The German ambition was twofold: first, imperial expansion with vast annexations of European and overseas territory (‘place in the sun’); second, at the same time guarantee that the monarchies and ruling aristocratic and industrial elites would remain inviolate from the revolutionary aspirations of the democratic and republican working class; all this to make Prussia–Germany secure for imaginable time.

This means that any attempt to try to explain the origins and course of the Great War without taking into account the foreign and domestic politics of imperial Germany would render the result historically untenable. Expressed in a different way it shows that the Great War was only made possible by the ruthless, if nervous, ambition of Germany's ruling elites, especially the army. This is of key importance. The Wilhelmine Empire has to be understood for what it was, namely a *military monarchy*.

Having thus determined to re-draw the map of Europe and the world, and being well aware that she had conjured up a world of enemies, an astonishingly confident Prussia–Germany went ahead in the belief that her destiny under God demanded that she make a bid for world power, *Gott mit uns* and *Gott strafe England*. German Protestant theology played a central part in the formation of German political will insofar as the *mentalité* of most educated Germans accepted and expected that the state should adopt an aggressive foreign policy. Germany only needed a suitable pretext on which to launch her plans. This was provided by the assassination of the Austrian crown prince and his wife during a state visit to Sarajevo in Serbia on 30 June 1914, an event that precipitated the so-called 'July Crisis' which, as the most recent and exhaustive research has shown, was manipulated by Germany to cast Russia in the role of aggressor against the aggrieved ally of Germany, Austria–Hungary. All attempts, especially by Britain, to resolve the crisis by negotiation foundered on German diplomatic machinations. And when the Germans invaded Belgium as the first phase of their plan of attack, the Schlieffen Plan, Britain had no other course than to hasten to the aid of Belgium and France. Thus the world war that everybody in the West feared became a brutal reality.

For the generation of Australians and New Zealanders who were born between the two world wars Anzac Day is unequivocally the national day of remembrance for the fallen in the bloodiest conflict in which either nation has ever been embroiled, the Great War of

1914–1918, then often called the ‘Kaiser’s War’. Subsequent conflicts, such as the Second World War, the Korean War, the Malayan Emergency, the *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia, the Vietnam War, the East Timor intervention and now the contributions being made in Afghanistan and Iraq, were and are all fought by invoking the ‘Anzac spirit’ that flourished in the war of 1914–1918 in which the qualities of bravery, determination and endurance of a volunteer and civilian army were forged and proven in battles of unparalleled savagery. These values have been appropriated by subsequent generations as characterising the essential Australasian values. Thereby, as the rhetoric of remembrance of the ‘Kaiser’s War’ frequently re-iterated, Australia had won her credentials as a nation, having played her part in the defence of freedom, alongside the other Commonwealth countries and allied nations against what was then called the ‘Prussian menace’, meaning the authoritarian, class-ridden, anti-democratic values of an Empire which acted in complete contempt for the rights of small nations and human rights in general. Australia and New Zealand by way of contrast stood for democracy, decency and a ‘fair go’ for everybody. The bullies of this world, from then on, could always reckon with the opposition of the antipodean cousins.

This received version of the significance of Australia’s participation in the Great War has since the Second World War been subjected to vigorous challenges by ‘nationalist’ and ‘leftist’ writers as well as by the more strident feminist historians. The notion that the 1914–1918 war was none of Australia’s business and that the young Dominion was pressured by a manipulative mother country to supply cannon fodder for her nefarious imperialist ambitions has been advanced as a quasi-orthodoxy. Such a view, of course, diminishes the Anzac tradition, robbing it of its nobility by casting Australian leaders in 1914–1918 in the role of willing lackeys of the crafty Whitehall masters and thus portraying the volunteers as dupes of the despised imperial connection.<sup>2</sup> As well, ‘leftist’ writers attack

the conservatism and putative racism of earlier Commonwealth governments which themselves evinced 'Prussian' characteristics in their alleged contempt for organised labour, for the working class in general and, of course, for the rights of Aborigines.

Feminist writers, for their part, challenge the exclusive maleness of Australia's foundational myth, associated as it is with the blood-letting and sacrifice of comrades-in-arms on the battlefield. Women, so it is argued, are unjustly left out of the story. Where, it is asked, is the appreciation of the sacrifice of women in child-bearing who in a literal sense give birth to the nation?<sup>3</sup>

All of these challenges to the 'Anzac myth' have arisen out of the general debate about Australian national identity, and they are part of the cut and thrust of the normal civic discourse that must take place in any open society in which all views of the past have a right to be aired. What the nationalist-left and feminist positions do, however, is to build up their case in a quite a-historical way by prioritising their *present* political concerns and values over what was at the time of the Great War perceived by contemporaries as the *great* issue. In other words, these writers are guilty of the fallacy of *presentism*, namely of writing about the past as if the people of that time should have had in their mind the values and ideas of the present. There is a failure to appreciate the wide-spread sense of the real threat of 'Prussianism' to the security of the British Empire of which Australia and the other Dominions perceived themselves as loyal members. In the view of the nationalist-left today, Australia's membership in the Empire was an anachronism. If Australia in 1914 had already been a republic then it could not have been forced into a dispute which not only brought great loss of life but also retarded the nation's social, political and cultural development.<sup>4</sup> Worse still, the nation became even more tightly enmeshed in the Empire, a fact that prolonged Australian spiritual backwardness and 'cultural cringe' down to the present day. This, it is submitted, is not the scholarly way in which to write history.

It should *not* be an ideological weapon but a genuine discipline seeking to reconstruct the past as objectively as possible.

It will be argued here that these views are untenable because, essentially, their advocates for whatever reasons fail to understand the 'world context' in which the Antipodean British dependencies lived during the so-called age of imperialism. The nationalist-left and feminist historians seem to imagine that Australia's remoteness from the flashpoints of international rivalry allowed national development in a condition of 'splendid isolation'. How such a view could be seriously entertained especially in the light of sound research by such able scholars as Neville Meaney, WJ Hudson, David Walker, Jeffrey Grey, Peter Overlack and Jürgen Tampke is a historiographical mystery.<sup>5</sup> There seems to exist a tendency among some Australian scholars only to consult those works which confirm their preconceived ideas. This is scarcely fair dealing or honest scholarly procedure. It is a state of affairs reminiscent of historical scholarship in Prussia after the founding of the German Empire by Bismarck in 1871. In the lead-up to that event the 'Prussian school' interpreted the course of German history to have been pre-determined to blossom into the so-called 'Prussian solution'. When that actually materialised the 'Prussian school' laboured with single-minded enthusiasm to establish their version of German history as *the* orthodoxy so as to win the hearts and minds of those sections of German society who were less than convinced of the rightness of Prussian dominance. Any scholars suspected of not sharing that orthodoxy were rigorously excluded from university posts. The 'Prussians' strove for and maintained their orthodoxy ruthlessly. They claimed and exercised a monopoly over the interpretation of history. It was an example of political-cultural pedagogic hegemony which had dire consequences for the development of German democracy as has now been recognised. It is almost bizarre to observe that some Australian nationalist historians, in their anxiety to define national identity in accordance



with their pre-conceptions, are guilty of the same kind of attempt to exert a political-cultural pedagogic hegemony as the once notorious 'Prussian school' in Germany.

The present study is written with the aim of presenting facts that have either been intentionally ignored or have hitherto been unavailable, in order to 'set the record straight' about how Anzac Day originated and how it was established to become the great national day of remembrance of the nation's fallen in war, 'the one day of the year'. As we show, the Day was shaped largely in the mind of one extraordinarily energetic, public-spirited and organisationally gifted Anglo-Catholic priest, Canon David John Garland, who by virtue of his spiritual insights as an Anglican, was able to devise a ceremony of remembrance that was essentially religious but which had the appearance of being a thoroughly secular event. Such an appearance was essential of course to allow the Roman Catholic section of the Australian population to participate. Garland was nothing if not sensitive to the exclusivist claims of Rome at that time and their divisive effect on the Australian community. Above all, Garland and his supporters wanted a nationally unifying day of remembrance and a symbolic act of penitence for the sin of war and of the collective neglect of the things of almighty God. Consequently, this study will break new ground in that it takes account of the 'world context' and in particular, of the activity of Canon Garland, although the source material that would enable a detailed biography of the man is not extant to the necessary degree, much essential material having been irretrievably lost. Sufficient evidence survives, however, to allow us to draw historically reliable conclusions.

Given these objectives the study is organised first to examine whether the Anzac commemoration is a sacred or profane event.<sup>6</sup> It draws upon the pioneering ideas of the famous German theologian, Rudolf Otto, and others to help set the boundaries of the discussion. This is followed in chapter two by an essay on the place

of the British Pacific Dominions in the world situation in the late imperial era. Chapter three examines the German threat from the New Zealand perspective.

In chapter four the focus is on the genesis of Anzac Day, and here it is necessary to take due account of Garland's formation and of his world view and career as a gifted organiser, agitator and advocate of causes in the national interest. The fifth chapter investigates the peculiarities of Garland's Irish background, especially the phenomenon of Orange-ism. In chapter six the remarkable story of Canon Garland's sojourn in New Zealand is recounted, illustrating to what extent he became such a well-known personality who developed close relationships with not only Church dignitaries but also prominent politicians and imperial officials.

In chapter seven the peculiar situation of the Diocese of Brisbane under its patrician English Archbishop St Clair Donaldson is examined because it was there that Garland attained prominence for his work in promoting the Bible in State Schools League. It also examines in particular the self-perception of the Anglican hierarchy and its role in promoting Empire solidarity in time of war. The pivotal role of the Brisbane-based Anzac Day Commemoration Committee in campaigning for a solemn observance of Anzac Day is recounted in chapter eight.

There follows in chapter nine a detailed account of Garland's chaplaincy in the Middle East where he in particular established a warm relationship with the Greek Orthodox Church, a fact that subsequently influenced his public ministry after the war in Brisbane. In chapter ten, Canon Garland's indefatigable work of 'memorialisation' of the fallen is portrayed.

Chapter eleven traces the legislative process of institutionalising Anzac Day in New Zealand, and then, in chapter twelve, the process of bringing the Anzac Day legislation in each of the Australian States into line is examined. In chapter thirteen the internecine dispute over the essentially spiritual nature of Anzac

Day is explained. The final chapter, fourteen, traces the main events in Garland's life until his death in 1939. An Epilogue attempts to draw the threads of the redoubtable priest's life together.

Curiously, historians of chaplaincy in the Great War have yet to pay any attention to Canon Garland. Indeed, the Anglican contribution to Australian national identity is comparatively under-researched. Happily, this is now changing.<sup>7</sup> In any case it is largely disregarded by those who perceive themselves as especially called to set the national agenda in historiography. By way of contrast, the Irish-Roman Catholic dimension to Australian history is considerably developed.<sup>8</sup>

The major source for this study has been the files of the ADCC in Brisbane. These have been augmented by a range of Commonwealth and State Government records under the appropriate departments. As well, of central importance have been the newspapers of the Anglican Church to which Canon Garland made frequent contributions. A remnant of the Canon's personal papers is held by the Oxley Library in Brisbane.

Finally, in order to head off the inevitable criticism of the use of long quotations it is reiterated here that elegance of style is not the paramount objective of writing history; rather it is to tell the truth and to be seen to be telling the truth. Consequently, it will frequently occur that the reader encounters large verbatim sections of letters and newspaper reports. These are intended to inform the reader as accurately as possible of how things actually were and how observers *at the time* perceived them.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 The massive publication of German foreign affairs documents ranging from 1871 to 1914 entitled *Die Grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette* edited by Johannes Lepsius, Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and

Friedrich Thimme, *Auswärtiges Amt*, Berlin, 1922–28 was the most spectacular of this enterprise. Ernst Christian Reventlow, *Politische Vorgeschichte des grossen Krieges*, ES Mittler, Berlin, 1919, and Alfred von Wegerer, *Der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges 1914*, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg, 1939, produced emphatically anti-Western accounts. As well the American historian Sidney Bradshaw Fay was persuaded to write a 'revisionist' history of the origins of the war, as did Harry Elmer Barnes. The Englishman George Peabody Gooch also contributed, backed up by his countryman GM Gaythorne-Hardy, who independently produced an edition of British documents. See Herman Kantorowicz, *Gutachten zur Kriegsschuldfrage*, edited and introduced by Imanuel Geiss, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main, 1967, and his edition of German documents, *Julikrise und Kriegausbruch*, Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, Hanover, 1963.

- 2 The historiography of this theme is analysed by Anthony Cooper, 'The Australian Historiography of the First World War: Who is Deluded?' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 40, No.1 1993, pp. 16–35; Anthony Cooper, "Groveling" or *Realpolitik*? The Struggle within Australian Historiography to Interpret the First World War', in John A Moses and Christopher Pugsley (eds), *The German Empire and Britain's Pacific Dominions 1871–1919: Essays on the Role of Australia and New Zealand in World Politics in the Age of Imperialism*, Regina Books, Claremont, California, 2000, pp. 507–28.
- 3 See for example the work of Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: the History of Australian Feminism*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1999.
- 4 See especially the work of John Williams whose entire mental approach seems to be dominated by an a-historical view of Australia's membership in the British Empire. For example, *Quarantined Culture: Australian Reactions to Modernism 1913–1939*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1989.
- 5 Neville Meaney, *The Search for Security in the Pacific*; D Walker, *Anxious Nation*; WJ Hudson, 'Strategy for Survival', in M McKernan and M Browne (eds), *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace*, Canberra, 1988; Peter Overlack, 'The Imperial German Navy in the Pacific 1900–1914 as an Instrument of *Weltpolitik*, with special reference to Australasia in its operational Planning', PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland, 1995; Jürgen Tampke (ed.), *Ruthless Warfare: German Military Planning and Surveillance in the Australian-New Zealand Region before the Great War*, Southern Highland Publishers, Dickson Australian Capital Territory, 1998.
- 6 Authorship of chapters is as follows: John A Moses has written the introduction and chapters one, two, four, five, seven, eight, nine, ten,

fourteen and the epilogue. George Davis has written chapters three, six, eleven, twelve (with some material from John A Moses) and thirteen.

- 7 See Brian Fletcher, 'Anglicanism and Australian National identity', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, October 2001, pp. 234–45.
- 8 Space precludes an exhaustive bibliography here. Suffice it to mention the contribution of scholars such as Patrick O'Farrell, Edmund Campion and Eris O'Brien. For an overview of the Anglican contribution to Australian national identity, see Brian Fletcher, 'Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia 1901–1962', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 23, No. 2, June 1999, pp. 15–33.

# 1 Anzac Day: sacred or profane?

Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends (John 15:13).

With the appearance in 1998 of Professor Ken Inglis' *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, now re-issued with a foreword by Professor Tom Frame, a benchmark was set in the research on the commemoration of Australia's war-dead.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Professor Inglis had rendered a signal service to the nation as well as to the historical profession for his wide-ranging efforts to explain commemoration in general, and in particular the Anzac phenomenon. Given the reverence in which the fallen are held in Australia and New Zealand, the significance of his study cannot be over-estimated. It provides a broad platform upon which further research on the subject may be conducted. And this is a *desideratum* of some significance for the deeper understanding of both national sentiment and behaviour because Anzac commemoration has taken on the status of a national civil religion.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to examine the history of the phenomenon of Anzac against the background of the pioneering scholarship of such writers as Rudolf Otto and Mircea Eliade, *The Idea of the Holy* (1917) and *The Sacred and The Profane* (1958) respectively.<sup>3</sup> Notably, Eliade's book was inspired by Otto's earlier ground-breaking work.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps curiously, Inglis' study does not take these works into consideration. He was concerned essentially to be more empirical and to avoid any mystifying theological reflection although, of course, he could not avoid coming to the conclusion that the commemoration that is enacted every 25 April has an undeniably sacred character, as the title of his work concedes. This is highly significant because the thrust of Inglis' research has been to isolate the Anzac phenomenon from any formal religious influence, a fact that had been noted by Dr George Shaw who identified Inglis' earlier work as an example of what he called 'Australian Sentimental Humanism'.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, if one were to accept Inglis' assessment as final then Christianity in its several manifestations had virtually nothing to do with the Anzac movement. The purpose of this chapter and this book is to explain that such a conclusion in the light of the actual history of Anzac commemoration is simply untenable. It will be necessary first, however, to outline the contribution of Rudolf Otto to understanding the nature of the sacred or holy because, if war memorials in Australia are 'sacred places' as Inglis wants to emphasise, then some rigorous reflection is required on the meaning of 'sacred' in the Judeo-Christian tradition in which Australia and New Zealand, as former colonies of Britain, participate. Reference will be made to Eliade's ideas towards the end of this chapter.

## The imperial setting

Rudolf Otto's famous introduction to the subject, *Das Heilige*, translated as *The Idea of the Holy*, is a challenge to all secular-minded persons to reflect on the relation of human beings to

what he called the ‘numinous’, the spiritual dimension to reality. The word ‘numinous’ is Otto’s invention. He readily conceded that not many people have much ‘sense of the numinous’, and that, of course, would include most Antipodeans, given the relatively small percentage who participate in the worship of any ‘Supreme Being’. Otto mounted a formidable case for the reality of a spiritual dimension. Humanity is not only material, he contended. Indeed, the German intellectual tradition out of which Otto came, dominated as it was by Luther, Herder, Hegel and von Ranke, spanning over 400 years, conditioned people to think of the nation as a *spiritual* community. An understanding of this tradition is essential in unravelling the complexities of nineteenth and twentieth century European nationalism. Indeed, nations were distinguished one from the other as Herder in the eighteenth century taught, by their unique *Volksgeist*, or national spirit; and von Ranke in the nineteenth century averred, nations were *ideas of God*, and they stood throughout history *unmittelbar zu Gott*, literally, ‘immediate to God’, a phrase that challenges the translator.<sup>6</sup> Ranke appears to argue that each nation in its inimitable uniqueness was of equal value before the Creator and so its existence had a transcendental purpose in creation. Working out what that purpose might be was naturally the domain of theologians and historians. For the German idealists there was clearly no nation without God. There was, therefore, a theology of the state to be developed. Indeed nations were essential elements in *Heilsgeschichte*, the history of salvation. As we shall see, however, that did not save them from being overwhelmed in the permanent power struggle in which all nations were engaged. Certainly, in the Hegelian schema, only the ‘world historical nation’ would survive in the permanent quasi social-Darwinist struggle to qualify for this status.

Importantly, Rudolf Otto wrote his famous book in the middle of the Great War of 1914–18. It stands out from the vast body of German theological and historical writing of that time for its



complete lack of Prusso-German nationalistic ardour. With some significant exceptions most German theologians in the period leading up to the Great War were absolutely convinced that they had deciphered the mind of God and that God was unequivocally on their side: *Gott mit uns* – the motto embossed on the buckles of the belts of German army uniforms. That they were also fighting in a holy cause was underlined by the fact that highest award for valour in the field was the *Iron Cross*. The Swiss theologian, Karl Barth, pointed out to his German mentors and colleagues at the time that to imagine they could know the mind of God was a theological absurdity; such a belief was untenable because it was impossible for the creature to know the mind of the Creator.<sup>7</sup> Otto affirmed this as well. God was the *mysterium tremendum*, the wholly other, before whom humankind could only stand in awe.

To illustrate that Otto was a voice crying in the wilderness the reader needs to appreciate the majority German theological assessment of war generally and the Great War in particular. A considerable body of research exists on this subject. In Germany since 1945, both historians and theologians have been reflecting on the *mentalités* of their forefathers who wrote and preached a great deal about the role that almighty God had ordained for the German nation in the world, namely the Bismarckian-Wilhelmine Empire, as it strove for supremacy against the other Great Powers of the time, especially Britain. This knowledge is not just of antiquarian interest because once the Great War had broken out, scholars in the West, including even distant Australia, came to pay close attention to what their German counterparts were saying about their nation's destiny under God and its right to burst out of the confines of Europe employing unprecedented military and naval force and to establish its place in the sun as a great imperial power. Indeed there arose within weeks of 4 August 1914 a great debate between British and German scholars on the question of war-guilt, each side accusing the other of the violation of peace.

On the British side it was forcibly argued that Germany had wantonly invaded Belgium and France, and her armies had perpetrated unimaginable atrocities on the civilian populations, laying waste to priceless cultural treasures in medieval cities such as Louvain and Namur. Remarkably, the destruction of the ancient library at Louvain unleashed an orchestrated outcry from all the universities in the British Empire directed against the Kaiser and castigating the incomprehensible barbarism of the German military.<sup>8</sup> As well, the staff at Oxford led by the renowned Australian classicist Gilbert Murray began issuing a series of manifestos that appealed to their German counterparts to speak out against such uncivilised behaviour on the part of the German government. It was a hopeless gesture because the German professors responded by closing ranks behind their military. They published a series of counter manifestos in which they loyally affirmed their support for anything the army might have done in Germany's name, and they affected not to believe that any unprovoked acts of violence had been perpetrated against civilian populations.<sup>9</sup>

Starting with the German manifestos it is easy to identify the common unspoken assumption: the Hegelian teaching that all power states are locked in a quasi social-Darwinistic struggle for imperial dominance. This was in fact the reality of world history. One nation must emerge triumphant out of this on-going struggle for hegemony and impose its superior culture on the world. War was understood as a normal periodic feature of international life and it was futile to advance any pacifist notions that lamented the violence and carnage. People who did so were dismissed as suffering from what the Germans call *Gefühlsduselei*, a mindless emotionalism that had no real conception of the brutal realities of world history. Pacifism was the supreme absurdity.

Where did this mentality originate? The influential systematiser of the thinking about power states and their role in history was, of course, GWF Hegel who came to be known in his day when

professor in Berlin from 1818 to his death in 1886 as the 'Royal Prussian state philosopher'.<sup>10</sup> It did not take long for his ideas to be embraced eagerly as paradigmatic by both the historical and theological professions in nineteenth and twentieth century Germany. The great historian Leopold von Ranke who taught at Berlin from 1834 until his retirement in 1874 had advanced his doctrine of history based certainly in part on Hegelian principles as a struggle for hegemony among the five great European powers of the time, namely Prussia, Austria, Russia, France and Britain. Ranke had already (1833) spelled out in a seminal essay, 'The Great Powers', how he believed history unfolded. These five nations representing rival cultures were in a state of virtually permanent tension because each one was striving like a tree in the forest to grow taller and overshadow the surrounding ones. The others, wishing to prevent this, put aside their rivalries and formed alliances against the Power seeking to expand at their expense. Consequently, European history was characterised by the continual re-alignment of alliances to prevent one Great Power from establishing its hegemony.<sup>11</sup>

### **Justifying Prusso-German long-term hegemony**

Ranke's model was the Napoleonic era when he witnessed during his boyhood the French invasion of Germany and Russia and its dramatic outcome in the Congress of Vienna in 1815 that resulted in the re-drawing of the map of Europe, especially that of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Ranke could see the process of world history unfolding here. It was not at all random; underlying the great international power struggle was a controlling mechanism that ensured that each of the Great Powers would preserve its identity, that is, its unique *Volksgeist*. There was a continual ebb and flow of alliance constellations punctuated by wars that were always fought in order to preserve the balance of power. In German diplomatic language these wars were called *Kabinettskriege*, operations that were planned for strictly limited diplomatic objectives.

As the Prussian officer Karl von Clausewitz (1780–1831), almost the exact contemporary of Hegel, phrased it, ‘war is the continuation of politics by other means’. It was an essential instrument of politics; it was a rational process, but it was also invested with a distinctly cultural purpose. Indeed, said Ranke, quoting Heraclitus, ‘War is the father of all things.’ Out of it came all the challenges that formed character and stimulated inventiveness. Indeed, war was the motor of human progress. Without it humanity would sink into a morass of lethargy, mediocrity and mindless materialism. Spiritual atrophy would be the consequence.

Ranke had plainly perceived himself essentially as an empiricist. His self-imposed task was to discern as objectively as possible how the course of history unfolded. Although he was a Prussian notable he could not have been described as a nationalist. But the schema he bequeathed to his successors in numerous chairs of history throughout Germany was developed precisely to justify Prussian hegemony, first over the Germanic states and then over Europe. The chief ideological architect of Prussian hegemony was Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96) who succeeded to von Ranke’s chair in Berlin in 1874. He had been appointed by the Chancellor Bismarck himself, and he taught there to packed lecture halls until his death, and was held in awe by thousands of patriotic students as the ‘Bismarck of the professorial chair’. Treitschke emphasised in particular another aspect of Hegel’s philosophy, namely that one Power out of all those striving for hegemony would succeed in establishing its unique culture over all the others and thus qualify to establish its pre-dominance in the world. The Berlin professor was the prophet *par excellence* of Prusso–German imperialism, and incidentally, anti-Semitism. It was he who formulated the phrase invoked murderously by the Nazis nearly a century later: ‘The Jews are our misfortune.’ After his death his legacy was sustained by two distinguished Berlin professors, Max Lenz (1850–1932) and Erich Marcks (1891–1944), who together were known as the leaders of

the Neo-Rankean school. Prussia had in the meantime established its dominance over all the Germanic states, having forcibly ejected Austria from German affairs in 1866. The new Prussianised Empire, into which the remaining 24 states were incorporated by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1871, thereafter in the 1880s and 90s, came to mount its claim to become a great colonial and naval power. So the former struggle for hegemony that characterised relations among the European Powers now became transferred to the world stage with the additional players of the United States and Japan joining the ranks of the imperial powers.

## **A theology of empire and war**

What is perhaps remarkable for us is the realisation that the Great Power struggle at that time was underpinned by a theology of empire and war. War was God's means of disciplining the nations, ensuring that they remained on the alert in order to sustain the afore-mentioned drive for cultural progress. But the Germans in particular regarded war as the means by which a national culture was tested in order to establish whether it had the right to continue to exist. Indeed, if war erupted between two nations it was a case of each one being required to swear an 'oath of disclosure' (*Offenbarungseid*), meaning that if one could not survive the test it had effectively to declare itself bankrupt and, consequently, go out of business. In this way the more powerful state won the approval of almighty God to impose its culture on its weaker neighbour, namely to colonise it.<sup>12</sup> Recent research has confirmed that this was the way in which most German theologians thought, or at least came to think, in the 'Age of Imperialism'. The legacy of Hegel, von Ranke and von Treitschke endured a remarkably long time, probably until well after the Second World War when not surprisingly a vigorous debate among both theologians and historians was conducted before the impact of the Cold War on Germany served to silence the more outspoken Hegelians. Pacifists, as mentioned,

were always very thin on the ground, which makes the work of Otto all the more remarkable given its longevity. The idea of an alternative to a world in which periodic mayhem, violence and destruction on a massive scale, as a state of affairs willed by a presumably beneficent God, was the norm, poses a key theological problem. Otto was one of a tiny minority of German theologians who confronted it. We turn now to his thinking before surveying Anglo-Saxon thought at the same time.

### **Rudolf Otto (1869–1937)**

After finishing school in 1888, Otto studied theology as a Lutheran at the universities of Erlangen and then in 1891 at Göttingen.<sup>13</sup> During that time he completed his compulsory military service and visited England, the first of many trips abroad. His ability to ‘look over the fence’ at other national traditions was a distinct feature of his biography that clearly shaped his liberal theological position. A major factor was Otto’s training with Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) but the student was never a slave to his master. Of key significance was Otto’s study of *Kunstgeschichte* (the history of art), as well as music. It was music that sensitised him to the versatility of the human spirit. Above all he was interested in the religious cultures of other peoples, not only the varieties of Christianity. During a visit to Palestine, for example, Otto experienced the Holy Week ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he witnessed the ceremony of the sacred fire, a rite which culminated in an ecstatic dance in the course of which the participants cut and wounded themselves. This was an example of the outpouring of religious fervour that he had witnessed also in other religions. Otto concluded that it was not enough to assess these emotional outbursts in purely psychological terms. They had to be related to the experience of God and given an adequate explanation.

Otto published his thesis for the licentiate in theology on Luther's view of the Holy Spirit in 1898. From this investigation he sought to develop a more profound understanding of mysticism and the other irrational phenomena which he encountered on his travels abroad. Otto qualified as a lecturer at Göttingen in 1899 and edited a new edition of Friedrich Schleiermacher's work, *On Religion*. It certainly appears, judging by Otto's research interests, especially in other religions, that he was content to be an outsider among his more narrowly-focused colleagues. He travelled widely in North Africa and in the Far East writing on such religions as Zen Buddhism and Oriental Judaism. Then, in 1913, Otto had taken an active part in the Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress that was held in Paris. Consequently, by the outbreak of the Great War, Otto had developed a great vision of the coming together of the world religions, a kind of inter-faith ecumenism, something that most of his colleagues would have regarded as arrant nonsense. By then the publication of *The Idea of the Holy* in 1917 brought Otto considerable outside recognition. In 1920 Otto felt encouraged to try and launch a new movement called the Religious League of Mankind, the object of which was to create a world conscience which would be heeded by all peoples and which would induce them to obey the law of justice and equity through an awareness of interdependence and common responsibility. Clearly, Otto was at pains to offer an alternative to the destructive 'group egoisms' (*Gruppenegoismen*), the clashes of which had produced the world catastrophe of 1914.

Otto's movement, after a modestly promising beginning, did not survive the Great Inflation of 1923. He had to be content to be his own advocate against an overwhelming majority of influential nationalist theologians whose ideas flourished in the truculent and politically volatile post-Versailles atmosphere of Weimar Germany. To his credit Otto did not give up but continued writing and lecturing widely to audiences both at home and abroad. It should

be noted here that he was not promoting a syncretism (namely a merging of disparate systems) but a kind of inter-faith ecumenism, fully recognising the cultural uniqueness of each of the world religions. Before that would happen, however, Otto predicted that there would be a gigantic conflict in which 'spirit will arise against spirit, ideal against ideal, experience against experience'. It was a strange prophecy. One could say that the Hegelian schema had first to play itself out as it certainly was the one that later triumphed in Nazi Germany. The emergence of such a pacifist figure as Rudolf Otto at that time and place is a commentary on the potential for variety in the human spirit responding to the numinous. It is significant that his ideas are remembered in the ecumenical world fellowship while those of his fiercely militant contemporaries have been consigned to the poison cabinet of history.

## **Empire and war in English theology**

The first question to pose is whether there was any real difference between the war theologies of the British, on the one hand, and the Germans, on the other. Did not both claim that God was on their side? It is a question demanding an honest answer. The contemporary French historian Annette Becker has recently shown that all countries when at war claim that their cause is just and is supported unequivocally by almighty God; each war is manifestly a Holy War.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the German church historian Hartmut Lehmann has assembled a range of historians representing many countries who demonstrate essentially the same thing.<sup>15</sup> It is a near universal phenomenon. God must be very confused to see 'his' armies fighting against each other with limitless ferocity as in the Great War.

On the British side, the major theologian of empire was Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828–89), bishop of Durham and after 1875 Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.<sup>16</sup> He provided the essential basis for British war theology in the Great War having



taught that since Britain had succeeded in establishing the greatest Empire since Rome it had to be regarded as a commission from almighty God to spread the Christian faith throughout the world. Consequently, the Church of England, pre-eminently, was an agency of God during a particular era of world history. The purpose of Empire was, in short, the conversion of the world to Christ. It is certainly no coincidence that this was also the view of the British statesman and sometime Prime Minister, WE Gladstone (1809–98) who was responsible for establishing so many bishoprics throughout the Empire.<sup>17</sup>

Certainly there are those who will contend that the real reason for fighting the Germans in 1914–18 was not theological but essentially materialistic. In short, it was a case of plain power politics, a struggle for control of the earth's resources. But this is not how the scholars and bishops saw it. For them Germany was a rogue empire blatantly fighting for control over the earth at the expense of the other Powers. They asserted that the German theologians had deserted Christ, the Prince of Peace, and were fighting ruthlessly in the spirit of Wotan or Odin, the Teutonic god of war. And their barbaric mode of fighting as the Belgian atrocities demonstrated was eloquent proof. Even more reprehensible was the professorial justification of such action.<sup>18</sup>

What the British apparently did not at first fully understand was the Hegelian or Neo-Rankean theory of history upon which the Germans justified their expansionism. All the British side could see was the naked Machiavellism which the Germans illustrated through their mode of warfare, namely their policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, (frightfulness), something like an early version of 'shock and awe', in order to demoralise the civilian populations: the use of Zeppelins to bomb cities and unrestricted U-boat warfare against unarmed vessels. All these served to illustrate Teutonic barbarism. The Germans justified themselves by alleging that the British had blockaded German ports with the inhumane intention of starving

the German people into submission. From today's standpoint it is hard to appreciate that theologians on each side really did believe that national policy was inspired by what they perceived to be 'correct' theology. The war sermons can make for embarrassing reading but they certainly illustrate the depth of genuine feeling prevailing at that time.<sup>19</sup> This was equally true for Australia although an adequate and informed analysis of the reaction of the churches to the war remains to be done. It certainly needs to build on the pioneering work of Michael McKernan.<sup>20</sup>

### **Was there an Anzac theology?**

The fact that Australia was weeks away from the centres of conflict in Europe and Asia Minor did not mean that the people were unconcerned, especially churchmen. Anglican bishops, in stark contrast to their Irish Roman Catholic counterparts, were made aware of *Krieg der Geister*, the so-called war of the intellects. What the German theologians were saying in apparent justification of the Belgian atrocities utterly appalled local sentiment. This enabled Australian churchmen to characterise the war as a crusade being fought by the British Empire against the 'unspeakable Hun', the *Kaiserreich*, which had deserted its Christian heritage and reverted to the atavistic worship of violence. These arguments surfaced frequently, especially during the debates accompanying the Conscription referenda in 1916 and 1917. Indeed, the extent to which the various non-Roman churches shared this view at the time is especially noteworthy.<sup>21</sup> And the fact that the war had been understood as an existential struggle with Imperial Germany is well evidenced in the contemporary commentaries of leading Australian intellectuals and politicians. By the end of the disastrous Dardanelles campaign in December 1915 it was abundantly clear that a stupendous national sacrifice in men and treasure was going to be demanded. The need to fight Prusso-German militarism to a decisive end was understood by both the government and the

intellectual elite, including the non-Roman churches, although it must be added the Roman bishops were not all of the same mind as the redoubtable Irishman Daniel Mannix of Melbourne who had characterised the Great War as a sordid 'trade war' which Britain was fighting cynically by deploying Dominion troops as cannon fodder. On this subject, and particularly in biographical works on Mannix, much has been written although the comprehension of the real issues is difficult to discern among some authors.<sup>22</sup>

A notable contrast in Irish-Australian views of the war was held by Canon David John Garland (1864–1939), a Dubliner by birth and an Empire patriot who migrated, presumably, as law clerk to Brisbane in 1886. While working in Toowoomba, Garland was converted from fiery Irish Protestantism to ardent Anglo-Catholicism, a factor of considerable significance when it came to advancing a theology of commemoration. Garland became the spiritual driving force behind what he called 'Australia's All Souls' Day'. The priest who 'converted' the young Irishman was the then rector of St James' Toowoomba, Canon Tommy Jones, a legend in his own time. He played a pivotal background role in the story of how Anzac Day commemoration gathered momentum.<sup>23</sup> A series of points need to be borne in mind here.

First, Garland's Irish up-bringing in an Orange family and his subsequent conversion to Anglo-Catholicism need to be explained in some detail. 'Orange-ism' manifested several very distinctive characteristics. It aimed to unite Irish Protestants, initially mostly Church of Ireland people. But it sought to appeal as well to all in the Puritan tradition who, in addition to regular church services conducted their Orange ritual in bare halls where the only decoration consisted of large group photographs of past and present members together with stylised posters depicting scenes from the Order's history. The latter usually highlighted the place of King William III and other British Monarchs. An order of service would consist of Bible readings and prayers delivered by a chaplain who

may or may not have been ordained. The preference was for clergy. The overwhelming atmosphere was one of frugal sparseness and cold formality. The ambience was as far removed from Roman Catholic or high Anglican Church places of worship as was possible to create. In the minds of members it was crucial to establish a distance from the obvious errors of Popery. Certainly such a place and such worship would be alien to anyone brought up in a moderately high Anglican tradition although the prayers in language and cadence certainly are redolent of the *Book of Common Prayer*. However, if there was little ritual inside the Orange Hall – the service was structured more like a club meeting that opened and closed with fixed prayers, punctuated with Bible readings – there was compensation in the parades preceding the celebrations of 12 July which commemorated the defeat of the Papist James II by the



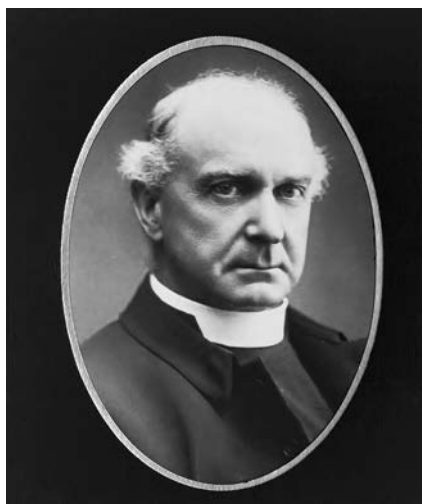
The Orange Hall, originally located on the Garland farm in County Monaghan and now re-located in the Folk Museum outside Belfast.

army of William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. This parade is a core element of Orange culture. Banners are carried and the participants wear colourful regalia not dissimilar to those encountered in Freemasonry. And apart from 12 July, a parade is held on 1 July commemorating the costly contribution of the 36th Ulster Division at the bloody Battle of the Somme in 1916. As on other occasions like Reformation and Empire Sundays, formal Orange marches were held. Consequently, there is an obvious blending of the military-patriotic spirit and religious elements in Orange-ism. (It comes, therefore, as no surprise, that Orangemen were reportedly heavily involved in the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force between 1912–1914). The Dubliner, David John Garland, did not come to Anzac commemoration *tabula rasa*.<sup>24</sup>

Second, when Garland arrived at St James' Church in Toowoomba he became a catechist under the Reverend Tommy Jones, an old-fashioned ritualistic Tractarian. A militant in every sense of the word, Jones was able to convince Garland that his deep biblical commitment was by no means incompatible with the ritual that characterised the essence of the Anglo-Catholicism that was gaining ascendancy in parts of the Australian Church. The evidence is that Garland embraced the Catholic revival in Anglicanism with the zeal of the convert, having immersed himself in the history of its origins and evolution, as shall be seen.

Third, Garland was made deacon in the Diocese of Grafton and, after curacies in Quirindi, Narrandera and then back in Grafton, he travelled to Perth where he was ordained priest by Bishop Parry in 1892. He served in Western Australia for a decade, soon reaching administrative positions demonstrating a distinct aptitude for administration and journalism, serving with distinction on the Diocesan Council and as a military chaplain to troops training in Fremantle ahead of deployment to the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa. Garland also campaigned with success for the inclusion of Bible instruction in government schools and won a reputation

for promoting elaborate ritual in worship, a fact that considerably irritated his second bishop, Charles Riley. Indeed, Garland began a pattern of behaviour towards his ordinary (diocesan bishop) that was marked by truculent opposition in matters of churchmanship where the bishop was evangelically inclined, and of uncompromising determination to succeed in all the causes he espoused. This character trait led to frequent and bitter collisions between the strong-willed Dubliner and the first three English bishops under whom he served, one of whom, St Clair Donaldson of Brisbane,



Archbishop St Clair Donaldson. Photo courtesy of Diocesan Archives, Anglican Diocese of Brisbane.

described him as a 'Triton among the minnows'.<sup>25</sup>

Fourth, if Garland could not work with a bishop he simply resigned and negotiated a position in another diocese. This was possible because he was widely connected. After a decade in Perth he migrated to North Queensland and then to Brisbane by 1907. Garland quickly embraced a public cause as he had done in Perth. He became secretary of the Bible in State Schools League of which Archbishop St Clair Donaldson was president. So energetic was

Garland in campaigning for this cause that it was mainly due to him that the referendum held on the issue was won for the League in 1911. Accolades were bestowed on him by all denominations with the notable exception of the Roman Catholic Church. St Clair Donaldson honoured him with appointment to a canonry. Canon Garland remains a household name in Queensland and beyond long after his death in 1939. Furthermore, his reputation as a champion of causes had spread to New Zealand where the Anglican bishops

invited him in 1912–15 to organise the campaign there for the Bible in government schools. There he could not replicate the success achieved in Queensland, partly because of Irish Roman Catholic opposition but mainly because the war intervened.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the New Zealand bishops wanted to show their appreciation to Garland by having him nominated for a Canterbury doctorate. Such an honour, however, was too much for Donaldson who effectively vetoed the proposal. He described Garland as having only a Dublin primary school education. Although conceding that Garland was extraordinarily well informed, Donaldson implied this was not enough to qualify him for such an exalted academic accolade.

Fifth, the outbreak of war with Imperial Germany brought further opportunities for Garland to exploit his organisational talents. These were exemplified, first, as secretary of the State recruiting committee, second as an army camp chaplain and third, after Gallipoli, as the secretary of the very first designated Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC) in Australia. He quickly became its driving force, not only campaigning for a ‘close public holiday’ on 25 April, but devising its liturgy as well. He was insistent that Anzac Day ought to be Australia’s All Souls’ Day but not supported by just one church or faith. The denominational pluralism of Australia demanded a commemoration that took account of the non-negotiable theological differences among the churches as well as the widespread agnosticism in the population. The main issues were praying for the dead which Protestants and many Anglicans could not endorse, and second, Roman Catholics would not pray together with so-called ‘non-Catholics’. Consequently, the public liturgy of commemoration had to be a non-denominational requiem that satisfied the public need to acknowledge the sacrifice of Australians in the war, mourn the dead and console the bereaved. In addition, it was to be a national call to repentance for the sin of war and thereby a means of reviving religious fervour in the community.

Finally, these aims were spelled out at length in the deliberations of the ADCC. It is noteworthy that the committee was convened by the State premier with members representing all churches including the Synagogue, the Salvation Army, the RSSILA as well as members of State cabinet and the mayors of Brisbane which then had two municipalities. It was emphatically a citizens' initiative dominated by ex-army chaplains of all denominations. Garland himself had served from mid 1917 (aged 53 years) until after the war as special chaplain in Egypt and Palestine. He had first-hand experience of troops in camp, on leave, and in action.

The ADCC in Brisbane became extremely pro-active under Garland's direction in lobbying the Commonwealth, the State premiers and municipal leaders throughout Australia and New Zealand and explaining to them how commemoration in Queensland was conducted. The pattern devised in Queensland as well as the date was adapted piecemeal by each State. Eventually, the Federal Parliament legislated in 1930 that 25 April would be marked throughout the nation as Anzac Day. How this privileged place for Anzac Day was achieved is covered in chapter twelve. The result has become embedded in Australasian culture. So what actually goes on? Is Anzac commemoration a sacred event? Rudolf Otto would say, 'Yes!'

When veterans, their relatives and ordinary citizens assemble before Anzac memorials on 25 April they do so in a sense of awe, sorrow for the loss of young life sacrificed for the nation and gratitude. There is a desire to honour the fallen for their duty carried out in the face of death and their willingness to die carrying it out. Perhaps not all would articulate their feelings in these terms but they feel a compulsion to be associated with the memorial, to be part of a numinous experience with its mystery and its awe, its *mysterium tremendum* as Otto observed. Canon Garland, as one among the many chaplains who served in the Great War, believed that what drew people into the Anzac memorial service was a deep-seated



consciousness that young life sacrificed so that others might live derived from their conditioning by Christianity to stand in awe in the memory of Calvary. The story of Jesus of Nazareth, culminating in his crucifixion and resurrection, had struck such deep roots in our culture, so much so that his self-sacrifice was the model for all human sacrifice and for decency in human life as a whole.

As Otto emphasised repeatedly from his investigation of world religions, the Calvary experience was the highest and noblest expression of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice. And the saying of Jesus that 'greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends' sits deep in the memory of all in Australasia who commemorate the fallen. Significantly, in this post-religious age the youth of Australia have discovered the shores of Gallipoli as a place of pilgrimage and reflection on their identity. The sacrifice of ancestors is recalled with awe and gratitude at a service at which chaplains preside and theistic hymns are sung. It is plainly a religious experience that deserves to be analysed systematically.

## Conclusion

As we have seen, Garland was very much aware of the marches of the Orange Order to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne and other historical milestones. He was also aware of the Continental Roman Catholic celebration of All Souls' Day which, for example in France since the revolutionary wars, had become a day to include the commemoration of the nation's war dead. The idea took root that when a soldier fell for his country it was a sacrifice in a holy cause. It was also true elsewhere. In Bismarckian Germany, for example, 'Sedan Day' commemorating the victory over France in 1870, became a national day of honouring the sacred fallen, and a day when old comrades, after the church parade, celebrated alcohol-fuelled re-unions.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, Anzac Day celebration as it was, and as it has now become, is the Australian and New Zealand manifestation of a world-wide phenomenon.

There is no doubt, however, that the Anzac ritual was conceived by Canon Garland as an *ecumenical* requiem designed to be the common denominator that would unite all faiths, and even those who resisted membership in any faith. This requiem would be a memorial for local and national commemoration of fallen soldiers. Certainly there was a recognition of the *numinous* among the survivors of battle without which there would have been no hope of establishing a formal Anzac ritual at all. And here Professor Inglis has at least pointed out what exists beyond any doubt even if he is reticent in trying to furnish an explanation. Soldiers and civilians stand together in awe before the presence of the *mysterium tremendum*; they are engaged in an act of sacred commemoration motivated not only by a love and reverence for lost friends but also by something ineffable. How else can we explain the mourning of those who suffered no personal loss but who nevertheless feel compelled to be associated with the ritual?

The mass participation in a mystical act of remembrance focused on a war memorial testifies, according to Mircea Eliade, to the existence throughout human history of so-called hierophanies.<sup>28</sup> There are sacred trees, sacred stones or monuments around which a form of worship is focused because they show something that is no longer tree nor stone but the *sacred*, or, to used Rudolf Otto's phrase, *das ganz andere*, the wholly other.<sup>29</sup> In short, the numinous is made present in the shape of the monument or memorial. On 25 April it would seem that our world suddenly stirs and emerges from its de-sacralised, materialistic, sceptical cocoon to stand in awe of the *mysterium tremendum*. It is an illustration that reality consists of both the rational and the non-rational together that people for a brief moment inexplicably acknowledge. This is clearly an example of the phenomenon of 'civil religion'.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, the Anzac ritual emerged from the mind of a Dublin-born Australian Anglican priest whose unique formation enabled him to enter into constructive dialogue with the various *mentalités*

constituting the Australian public square. But as Otto himself observed, we are dealing here with religious intuitions of pure feeling that lack the ability to convince persons who are not prepared to take religious consciousness for granted or alternatively have no sense of the numinous. Of course, Otto is talking about the Christian Gospel itself. Some people do have a sense of the numinous, and they are aware of and prioritise the spiritual dimension, that is, the non-rational aspect of reality, and thereby gain immeasurably as human beings from their ability to relate to the sacred. This becomes graphically obvious when attending the annual dawn service, in particular, at the Australian War Memorial on 25 April. There, some thousands of Australians of whom statistically only a low percentage could be practising Christians of a recognised denomination, are united in a deeply moving act of civil religion. Clearly, they willingly and gladly associate themselves with an act of piety focused on the nation's fallen. But it did not happen spontaneously. Such a gathering required the organisational ability and spiritual insight of one man supported by like-minded colleagues who with great energy and determination made the possibilities of Anzac Day soar in the public imagination. This book explains how that happened.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 KS Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1998.
- 2 For a trans-Tasman perspective see Allan Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, Exisle Press, Auckland, 2007, pp. 447–66. In the same volume see also the chapter by Peter Lineham, pp. 467–92.
- 3 Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Enquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*, John W Harvey (trans.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1958; Mircea

- Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion*, Willard R Trask (trans.), Harcourt Brace, San Diego, 1959. On Rudolf Otto's achievement see SP Dubey, *Rudolf Otto and Hinduism*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi – India, 1969, and Philip C Almond, *Rudolf Otto: An Introduction to his Philosophical Theology*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 1984.
- 4 Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, pp. 8–10.
  - 5 George P Shaw, *1988 and All That: New Views of Australia's Past*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1988. See his chapter 'Bicentennial Writing: Revealing the Ash in the Australian Soul', p. 15.
  - 6 The literature on the German tradition of historical writing is vast. The standard work is still Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte vom deutschen Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols, F Bruckmann Verlag, Munich, 1950.
  - 7 Barth's major statement on this subject is his famous commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans* (*Der Römerbrief* 1919). See the translation by Edwyn C Hoskyns of the 6th edition of 1933, Galaxy Books, Oxford/New York, 1968.
  - 8 I have examined this in my article, 'The Mobilisation of the University of Queensland 1914–15, or How Academics behaved Patriotically', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No. 20, April 1992, pp. 11–17.
  - 9 John A Moses, 'Justifying War as the Will of God: German Theology on the Eve of the First World War', *Colloquium*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1999, pp. 3–20.
  - 10 Von Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte*, Vol. 1, p. 189. 'Hegel recognised in the State the means through which the nation developed and as the realisation of absolute morality. The application of this teaching by the Prussian government in the age of the Restoration [that is, after 1815] particularly by Minister of State Altenstein and his advisor Johannes Schulze, the promotion of the Hegel school in the Prussian universities resulted in the abusive name, "royal Prussian philosophy of State". In fact the "magic formulation" describing the State by the powerful mind of the Swabian [that is, Hegel] as an "individual totality", as a moral substance, as "fluid rationality" operating within its own unique laws which were on a higher plane than normal morality, the high evaluation of success and the teaching that the State was the supreme manifestation of universal reason (*Weltvernunft*) deeply affected the Prussian conception of the State.' The reader should note that von Srbik was an Austrian scholar and he described the Prussian mentality as shaped by Hegel's philosophy with a certain amount of cynicism. He was, nevertheless, quite accurate in his observations.

- 11 See Ranke's famous essay, 'The Great Powers' in English translation in *The Theory and Practice of History*, edited with an introduction by Georg G Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, New York, 1973, pp. 65–101.
- 12 Moses, 'Justifying War as the Will of God', pp. 3–20; Hilary M Carey and John Gascoigne (eds), 'Church and State in Post-Reformation Germany, 1530–1914', in *Church and State in Old and New Worlds*, Brill, Amsterdam, 2011, pp. 77–97.
- 13 The biographical data on Rudolf Otto is from *Rudolf Otto-The Idea of the Holy: A Guide for Students: Commentary on a shortened version*, by Harold W Turner with an Introduction to the Man by Peter R McKenzie, self-published, Aberdeen, 1974.
- 14 Annette Becker, *War and Faith: the Religious Imagination in France 1914–1930*, Berg Publishers, Oxford/New York, 1998.
- 15 See William R Hutchison and Hartmut Lehmann, *Many are Chosen: Divine Election and Western Nationalism*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1994. In particular see Hartmut Lehmann, *Religion und Religiosität in der Neuzeit*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1996, being his collected essays on this subject.
- 16 Geoffrey Treloar, *Lightfoot the Historian*, Mohr & Siebeck, Tübingen, 1998.
- 17 P Butler, *Gladstone: Church, State, and Tractarianism: A Study of His Religious Ideals and Attitudes, 1809–1859*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1982.
- 18 Moses, 'Justifying War', pp. 14–20; Moses, 'The Mobilisation of the Intellectuals', pp. 342–52.
- 19 Karl Hammer, *Deutsche Kriegstheologie 1870–1918*, DTV Verlag, Frankfurt/Main, 1970, pp. 146–64. The American Evangelical scholar Arlie J Hoover has also investigated the German war sermons in *The Gospel of Nationalism: German Patriotic Preaching from Napoleon to Versailles*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart/Wiesbaden, 1986.
- 20 See his *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activity of the Major Churches 1914–1918*, Catholic Theological Faculty & Australian War Memorial, Sydney & Canberra, 1980.
- 21 John A Moses, 'Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 2001, pp. 306–23. For a quirkish slant on this subject see the American historian Robert D Linder, 'The Peaceful Evangelicals: Refusing to take up the Sword, 1914–1918', *Lucas*, Nos 33–34, June and December 2003, pp. 5–66. See also his book, *The Long Tragedy: Australian Evangelical Christians and the Great War, 1914–18*, Open Book, Adelaide, 2000, as an example of historiography that is mystifyingly lacking in perception and sensitivity.

- 22 James Griffin, 'Daniel Mannix: Ambiguity and Ambition in World War One', *Chauvel Memorial Lecture*, University of New England, August, 2000, p. 14. There are numerous hagiographic biographies of Archbishop Daniel Mannix but the latest research by Jim Griffin takes a much more critical view. See his posthumously published *Daniel Mannix: beyond the Myths*, Garratt Publishing, Mulgrave Vic., 2012.
- 23 For a more detailed account see John A Moses, 'Anglicanism and Anzac Observance: the Essential Contribution of Canon David John Garland', *Pacifica*, Vol. 19, No. 1, February 2006, pp. 58–77.
- 24 I interviewed Mr WR Garland of Belfast, a relative of Canon DJ Garland and family historian of the Garland clan, in July 2003, and visited the Orange Hall that used to be located on the Garland farm at Monaghan in the Republic of Ireland. It is now an exhibit in an open air museum outside Belfast, and maintained in its original state. The most recent research on the Orange Order is by Brian Kennaway, *The Orange Order: A Tradition Betrayed*, Methuen, London, 2006. See also Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual, Tradition and Control*, Pluto Press, London, 2000; Ruth Dudley Edwards, *The Faithful Tribe: An Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions*, HarperCollins, London, 1999.
- 25 See Alexander Kidd, 'The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson 1904–1921', PhD Thesis, University of Queensland Department of History, 1996, especially chapter XI, 'For God and Empire', pp. 192–219.
- 26 See Dr George Davis' chapter six that covers Garland's sojourn in New Zealand, 1912–15. In addition see Ian Breward, *Godless Schools*, Presbyterian Book Room, Christchurch, 1967, and John Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System: The Passing of the New Zealand Education Act, 1877*, Chapman, London/Dublin, 1967.
- 27 Hartmut Lehmann, 'Pietism and Nationalism', in *Religion und Religiosität*, p. 245.
- 28 Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, p. 12.
- 29 Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, pp. 173–74.
- 30 'Civil Religion' as defined by Daniel G Reid, *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, Inter Varsity Press, Downers Grove, 1990, p. is '...a way of thinking which makes sacred a political arrangement or government system and provides a religious image of a political society for many, if not most, of its members....civil religion is the general faith of a state or nation that focuses on widely held beliefs about history and destiny of that state or nation....it is the social glue which binds a given society together by means of well-established ceremonies – rituals, symbols, values – and allegiances which function in the life of the community in such a way as to provide it with an overarching sense of spiritual unity'.

## 2 Australia, the Empire and Imperial Germany, 1901–1914

Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing?  
The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel  
together, against the Lord and against his anointed (Psalm 2:1–2  
and Acts 4:25–26).

*T*he post-Federation period of Australia's emergence as a self-governing political entity was determined first and foremost through her membership of the British Empire. In international law Australia and New Zealand had become Dominions with the British monarch as head of state. There were, of course, some high-profile republican firebrands who preached, well before Federation, that the new nation's future would have been better if the imperial connection had been dissolved, and the sooner the better. This scenario was clearly not, however, a priority among the majority of Australians.<sup>1</sup> There has been an argument popular in some quarters in recent years that a republican trajectory having been eloquently launched in the second half of the nineteenth

century was well in the ascendancy by 1900. But the need felt by the six Australian colonial governments to send contingents of soldiers to the Boer War was an early indication that thoughtful Australian politicians paid attention to the international situation and were able to draw sober conclusions as to what might happen to the Australasian dependencies of Britain if she had suffered the major setback in southern Africa which the Germans in particular at the time were hoping for.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, a survey of Australian concerns regarding the international constellation of powers after Federation and during the period leading up to the Great War will show an increasing nervousness with regard to Britain's ability to protect her antipodean Dominions.<sup>3</sup>

Curiously, as indicated, there are those who evince little ability to appreciate the *context* of the world power struggle at that time and who thus continue to argue that the Great War having allegedly been brought on by British commercial rivalry with Germany effectively sabotaged the republican movements that could not be revived until late in the twentieth century. The majority of the population, so it is argued, allowed themselves to be persuaded that Australia's future lay still within the powerful and comforting folds of Empire. This was, it is alleged, a delusion encouraged by the British establishment among gullible Australian politicians of the day.<sup>4</sup> As the famous Australian poet of the working class, Henry Lawson (1867–1922), certainly a man of republican convictions, eloquently observed in his poem 'The Roaring Days' (1889), in the 'bush', meaning Australia, 'the flaunting flag of progress is unfurled, and the mighty bush with iron rails is tethered to the world'. For Lawson, and those who thought as he did, that was clearly a matter of deep regret. Yet, he was sufficiently realistic to appreciate that there was no future in isolation. In fact it was a utopian dream.

Australian colonial concerns with security reached back deep into the nineteenth century as scholars such as Neville Meaney and more recently David Walker have demonstrated.<sup>5</sup> The repeated



appearance of ‘invasion’ novels and short stories is testimony to the underlying nervousness of Australians with regard to their proximity to Asia, especially Japan which early evinced the industrial capacity to build a world class navy, the prowess of which was convincingly demonstrated during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–05 at the naval battle of Tsushima (27–28 May 1905), when the Japanese inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russians. History has shown that Australians were justified in their anxiety about Japanese aspirations in the Pacific and they were only temporarily re-assured by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of February 1902. The power equations were notoriously unstable.<sup>6</sup>

It was once imagined that Australia’s greatest defence lay in her remoteness from Europe. Not surprisingly, this specious argument finally lost all validity with the great naval construction that the Powers engaged in from the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century at the latest. Indeed, when Germany began to construct a battle fleet capable of engaging the Royal Navy, the brain-child of Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz (1849–1930), the great naval race had begun. It is this more than colonial rivalry between Britain and Germany that led to the fateful ‘Anglo–German Antagonism.’<sup>7</sup> Von Tirpitz’ plan was to build sufficient battleships, in contrast to cruisers, that would enable Germany to engage the Royal Navy successfully in a decisive battle in the North Sea. The Germans called their growing new battle fleet *die Risikoflotte*, based on the doctrine that it should be formidable enough so that any two allied foreign navies combined would risk destruction if it came to a shooting war with Germany. However, in von Tirpitz’ thinking a war could be avoided if potential opponents appreciated the risk they would encounter in an armed confrontation. His argument was that Germany’s newly acquired naval power would lend her politicians sufficient diplomatic leverage to enable the Reich to pursue its *Weltpolitik* without the necessity of actual armed conflict. Indeed, the leading German commentator on world affairs at the

time, Kurt Riezler, observed in a graphic metaphor: ‘The cannon do not speak but have a voice in the negotiations.’<sup>8</sup> This would ensure the German Empire a ‘free hand’ in colonial expansion as well as guaranteeing her military superiority on the Continent to realise any plans for annexation, especially in Central Europe. Above all, though, the objective was to eliminate Britain as an obstacle to German ambitions for world domination. The means by which to achieve this was to ‘out-build’ the Royal Navy in battleships. At the time Germany denied that there were any such plans. This may have been so in the formal sense but the dominant political philosophy and war theology in Germany was that she was destined for hegemony over Europe and henceforth the world at the expense of the other European Great Powers, especially of France and Russia on the Continent. Her destiny was to replace Britain as the pre-eminent world colonial power. This doctrine was known as ‘Pan-Germanism’ and was endorsed by the vast majority of Germany’s industrial and intellectual elite.<sup>9</sup> The development of this movement and its consequences for contemporary international relations need to be precisely understood.

## **Pan-Germanism**

Otto von Bismarck (1825–1898) had been ‘minister-president’ of Prussia since 1862, meaning that under the Hohenzollern monarchy he was the chief royally-appointed official determining the direction of policy, both domestic and foreign.<sup>10</sup> Prussia was the leading Protestant principality of the German Confederation founded after the Napoleonic wars in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. It consisted of 38 states, none of which was a parliamentary democracy since most of them were ruled by princes by divine right. There were minor exceptions, namely the Hanseatic city-states such as Hamburg and Bremen which retained a separate identity each governed by a Senate with their individual constitutions. The Confederation then became the arena for a power struggle between

the two largest member states for domination, namely Austria and Prussia. There had been continual rivalry between these two Germanic kingdoms called *der deutsche Dualismus* (the German dualism) that erupted in armed conflict in 1866. This had been unleashed by Prussia's war with Denmark in 1864 over the control of the border principalities of Schleswig and Holstein which Prussia had occupied in the name of the German Confederation without consultation with Austria who held the constitutional presidency of the Confederation. Austria insisted then on a dual administration of the two duchies in the convention of Gastein which was concluded on 14 August 1865.

Otto von Bismarck exploited this delicate arrangement to advance his solution of the 'German Question', namely which of two Germanic powers, Austria or Prussia should unite the remainder under its hegemony. The Prussian 'minister president' had been biding his time to solve the 'German Question' with what is known as the 'Prussian solution', *die kleindeutsche preussische Lösung*, meaning the creation of a united Germany under Prussian domination *without* Austria. As a European great power, however, with a long and proud imperial heritage, Austria had aspired to unite all the German states under her hegemony, and this was known as the 'greater German solution', *die grossdeutsche Lösung*. By comparison Protestant Prussia was a relatively new European entity but due to her superior industrial and commercial capacity (in the *Zollverein*) and particularly due to her long-established military prowess under the Hohenzollern Electors and then kings, Bismarck had a distinct advantage over Roman Catholic Austria. In the ensuing contest of arms the Prussians, led by the redoubtable *Generalfeldmarschall*, Helmuth Count von Moltke (1800–1891) at the battle of Königgrätz 3 July 1866, drove the Austrians from the field, a victory of immense consequences for Europe and, with hindsight, for the world in general. Bismarck had eliminated thereby his first major obstacle to the Prussianisation of Germany.

In this regard, he showed considerable political acumen in that he restrained von Moltke and his generals from pursuing the Austrians further and occupying Vienna, thus sparing the Habsburg monarchy the ultimate humiliation. Indeed, Bismarck's far-sighted statesmanship prevented von Moltke from permanently alienating the historic Germanic great power in the east. After Königgrätz, then, Bismarck had a virtually free hand with which to solve the 'German Question'; Austria's attention was from then on focused on the Balkans and East-Central Europe, a fact of key importance for future Pan-German thinking.

The aftermath of the 1866 Austro-Prussian War for those Germanic middle power states such as Hanover and Saxony which had sided with Austria was their incorporation into a vastly expanded Prussia. Bismarck proceeded to form a North German Confederation and did so by imposing a constitution upon all the Germanic states north of the Main river. What is noteworthy is Bismarck's restraint again in not proceeding forcibly to incorporate the southern German, predominantly Roman Catholic principalities, into his North German Confederation. He bided his time in masterly diplomatic fashion. The 'Iron Chancellor' as Bismarck had become known was gaining a reputation for the successful implementation of policies of his personal devising. He had made a point in the budget committee of the Prussian Assembly already on 30 September 1862 of declaring that: 'The great questions of the age will not be decided by speeches and the resolutions of majorities – that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849 – but through blood and iron.' This showed his undisguised contempt for the parliamentary system, bequeathing to Prussia-Germany a distinctly anti-liberal tradition which he determined to sustain for imaginable time. The idea took firm root that the Germans were not a 'parliamentary' people but one which readily submitted to divinely justified authoritarianism, as in the concept of the 'divine right of kings'. Genuine liberals and social democrats who aspired to a Germany united under a

genuinely liberal democratic constitution such as was advocated at the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848–49, in which the executive was always answerable to the elected majority of the parliament, were sorely disappointed but due to Bismarck's successes had always to endure the reproach that because of their preference for a real parliament they were not genuinely patriotic Germans. This attitude intensified the more the great Anglo–German rivalry later in the century developed. In fact the founding of the Pan–German League by Professor Heinrich Class was triggered by the Anglo–German ‘Heligoland–Zanzibar’ Treaty of 1 July 1890. The minuscule island of Helgoland (German spelling) in the North Sea was exchanged by the British for the East African island of Zanzibar. The initial German interest in this was to have a naval base that could protect the recently built Kiel canal that was crucial for the German navy's transfer of ships from the North Sea to the Baltic.

Despite what was thought to be an amicable arrangement the anti-British German press portrayed the exchange as getting a mere button for having given away a pair of trousers. One can only observe in hindsight that the more fanatically imperialistic and anti-British element in Germany at the time seized on anything that could be interpreted as English trickery towards the newly founded German Reich that was seeking her rightful ‘place in the sun’. This, of course, was a total misreading of English policy. (Readers need to bear in mind that when the Germans spoke of ‘England’ at that time they meant the entire British Empire). Consequently, their image of the English became increasingly negative, shaped as it was by suspicion and envy. This was essentially the driving emotion of the Pan–German League.

The argument that all imperial powers were driven by the same greed for the world's resources and markets plainly cannot be sustained. Britain's imperial policy was in a holding pattern; the Dominions were becoming self-governing while the control of India was understood to be temporary; it was only a matter

of time until it would have to be relinquished. As well, the rule over colonies elsewhere in Africa, Asia and the Pacific was likewise always considered to be necessary only until the indigenous populations could assume self-government. In a word, the British Empire's destiny was eventually to disappear. Such ideas, of course, were not universally held though in the view of such liberal writers as the historian Sir John Robert Seeley (1834–1895), this would have to be the logical outcome of granting self-government to the overseas possessions.<sup>11</sup> The question of Ireland though proved particularly intractable although liberal English statesmen as early as WE Gladstone (1808–1898) were in favour of granting the Irish 'home-rule'. Conservatives on the other hand insisted on maintaining control over Ireland for a variety of reasons including, in particular, defence and security. This need became more acute in the context of Irish patriotic agitation culminating in an armed rebellion in Easter 1916, the most significant uprising since 1798. Situations like this elsewhere, such as in India and South Africa, where the British were perennially experiencing difficulty maintaining control illustrated, in the German view, that the Empire was in rapid decline and that in the Hegelian scheme of things it was high time that Germany should logically displace Britain and assume world power leadership. Indeed these ideas in Germany exerted hegemony over the minds of most educated people.<sup>12</sup> This was simply how the world was constituted. There had to be one great world power to dominate the rest and to spread its superior culture throughout the entire world. Indeed, to ignore or downplay the Hegelianism of the German Empire would be tantamount to ignoring the Marxism-Leninism of the Soviet empire in the twentieth century. Both these ideologies, while fatally flawed, were able to exercise an immense influence over the minds of 'true believers'. In this situation the idea that universal peace could be achieved on the basis of the mutual toleration of sovereign powers was utopian nonsense; while there were individual nationalities organised into

states there would inevitably have to be conflict since international life was essentially social-Darwinistic. These were the facts of world politics in the Age of Imperialism, and there is no doubt that this is how the mind of the German power elite worked.

Given that ‘empire’ meant inevitable armed conflict, sooner or later, the idea that a remote British Dominion could somehow consider itself beyond reach, occupying a quarantined or insulated zone, a ‘no-go’ sphere, and escape ultimate involvement is totally unrealistic. While there were competing empires, wars would follow. It was never going to be possible for Britain’s Pacific Dominions to opt out of involvement, especially since not only Germany but also Japan and even the United States harboured imperial ambitions in the region. With regard to Japan, ever since she had laid her claim to imperial power through her defeat of Russia both on land and at sea in the war of 1904–05, Australian observers were alarmed. Less well appreciated were the designs of the United States in the Pacific. At the time, the popular visit of the ‘Great White Fleet’ to Australia and New Zealand in 1908–09 aroused no suspicions among Antipodeans that their United States cousins could be planning to annex their Dominions should Britain no longer be in a position to defend them.<sup>13</sup> At the time, however, no-one in either Australia or New Zealand was going to succumb to American enticements to look to the United States for sympathy and support, presumably in the event of the Royal Navy being driven from the seas. As the official historian of the Australian navy in the Great War, Arthur Jose pointed out, the moral which Australian leaders drew from the much celebrated United States naval visit was that they should be planning a fleet of their own. To re-enforce this, Jose quoted Prime Minister Alfred Deakin, as saying:

But for the British navy there would be no Australia. That does not mean that Australia should sit still under the shelter of the British Navy – those who say we should sit

still are not worthy of the name of Briton. We can add to the squadron in these seas from our own blood and intelligence something that will launch us in the beginning of a naval career and may in time create a force which shall rank among the defences of the Empire.<sup>14</sup>

The story of how Australia decided to acquire its own navy prior to the Great War and not simply contribute to the cost of warships for the Royal Navy is well known. The prevailing doctrine soon after Federation was that any threat to Britain's power in the world would come from Germany, and that the decisions would be made in the North Sea. Australian leaders were not comfortable with this assessment given the perceived long-term threat from Japan, despite the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and also the more immediate and menacing build-up of the German East Asia Squadron of cruisers in the Pacific, based at Tsingtao in northern China, which were suspected rightly of being in place to execute war plans against Australia and New Zealand in the event of an Anglo-German conflict.

The activities and suspected war-plans of the East Asia Squadron contributed significantly to Australian disquiet concerning Germany's intentions in the Pacific. The recent researches of Peter Overlack and Jürgen Tampke have revealed the precise nature of German war-plans. As the commander Count Maximilian von Spee (1861–1914) always believed he was under-resourced, having no battleships at his disposal and having to rely on a small fleet of cruisers, he devised operational plans that had the objective of interdicting all merchant shipping exiting Australian and New Zealand ports with war materials for Britain. In addition many German freighters were armed with deck guns to act as auxiliary cruisers.<sup>15</sup>

In the event, the war plans of the East Asia Squadron were frustrated in part by the fact that not all German merchant vessels were equipped with the then available radio-telegraphy equipment,



and this resulted in most of them being interned in Australian or south-east Asian ports on the outbreak of war in August 1914. Furthermore, Australia's acquisition in 1913 of the battle-cruiser, HMAS *Australia*, contributed to the ultimate abandonment of Count von Spee's plans, as he was forced to retire from the Pacific though not before destroying a Royal Navy squadron of antiquated cruisers near the coast of Chile in the Battle of Coronel on 1 November 1914. On the voyage back to Germany, the East Asia Squadron was soon engaged by a superior Royal Navy battle group at the Falkland Islands (8 December 1914) and all but one small cruiser, the SMS *Dresden* were destroyed. More well known in Australia were the exploits of one of von Spee's squadron that left the main group and steamed into the Indian Ocean to carry out highly successful commercial warfare against merchant shipping, namely the SMS *Emden* which accounted for some 25 merchant vessels before it was finally destroyed on the shore of North Keeling Island in the Indian Ocean on 9 November 1914 by the Australian cruiser HMAS *Sydney*. The *Emden* was carrying out von Spee's war plan in exemplary fashion, having in addition to the numerous merchant vessels sunk also bombarded the Indian port of Madras on 22 September 1914 and sunk the Russian cruiser *Zhemschug* and the French destroyer *Mousquet* at Penang in Malaya on 28 October 1914. Her remarkable record indicates just what might have been achieved by Germany had the East Asia Squadron been left intact in the Pacific. Pre-war Australian anxiety about the East Asia Squadron was amply justified: Imperial Germany's determination to destroy the British Empire left Australians in no doubt that the young Dominion was engaged in an existential struggle with a highly efficient and determined enemy. Neither was the destruction of the *Emden* the end of German naval operations in the Pacific.<sup>16</sup> Mine-laying and U-boat operations continued throughout the war in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, preying on merchant shipping voyaging to and from Britain.<sup>17</sup>

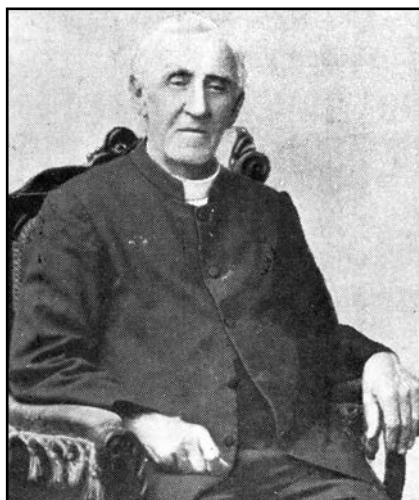
Of central importance to the Australian understanding of German war aims were the associated pre-war intelligence gathering operations throughout all Australia and New Zealand by German consular officials who handed over their dispatches to the captains of German naval vessels which made pre-arranged visits to Australian ports.<sup>18</sup> It is these that place beyond any remaining doubt the imperial German aim, in the fullness of time, after the defeat of Britain, if not to occupy Australia, then to impose treaty conditions upon her that would make the country into a long-term supplier of minerals and other raw materials for German industry. Consequently, the idea that Australia was fighting 'other people's wars' 1914–18 is untenable. Not surprising, perhaps, given the diplomatic complexity, many people still could not comprehend the reality of the situation and these formed a critical opposition to Australia's participation in the war or to the idea of conscription of troops for overseas service.<sup>19</sup>

In considering the influence of Canon Garland we encounter an Empire patriot of unshakable convictions. This comes as no surprise since, as we have seen, he was an Irishman whose family came from county Monaghan where they had cultivated deep Orange Order connections and loyalties. It is important to remember that the non-Roman Catholic Irish felt very much at home within the British Empire. Indeed, much of that which Professor John Poynter has observed about another high profile Anglican Irishman, the redoubtable Alexander Leeper, Master of Trinity College at the University of Melbourne prior to, during and after the Great War, applies to Garland as well. Leeper looked upon the British Empire as a God-given means to enable the Church of England to preach the Gospel to the entire world. Indeed, membership in the Empire provided for Ireland as it did for the Australian colonies 'both a mantle of protection and an area of duty. It is not surprising that Church, Ireland and Empire came to be welded together in Alexander Leeper's mind,' as John Poynter observed.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, in the conviction of Anglican Irishmen they formed an indissoluble unity that, when faced with an existential threat as in 1914 from what was considered an apostate and satanic German Empire, there was only one course of action possible: resist with all one's might in the name of God.

In comparing Leeper and Garland as committed Irish Churchmen we need to appreciate that while Leeper was unequivocally 'low church' or Evangelical in his 'Establishment' Anglicanism, Garland became the complete opposite under the influence of Canon Jones who was a dynamic priest of sufficient spiritual and intellectual power to detach the young Garland from his ultra-Protestant formation and turn him into a life-long crusading disciple of the Anglo-Catholic revival in the Church of England. This element in Garland's development contributes to his particular notion of how the fallen ought to be commemorated.

In sum, Australia and New Zealand had an enormous stake in the Great War. Their very existence was threatened. As members of the British Empire they were direct targets of German aggression. Plans for German naval 'interdiction' of Australian shipping and the destruction of port



The Reverend Canon Thomas Jones

installations were well in place prior to 1914. But even if there had been no German naval presence in the Pacific there was the added danger posed to the distant Dominions had Germany succeeded in her executing her grandiose naval operations against the Royal Navy. Without a proper appreciation of the determination of the imperial German will to destroy the British Empire, the Great War simply makes no sense.<sup>21</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Mark McKenna, *The Captive Republic: A History of Republicanism in 1788–1996*, CUP, Melbourne, 1996.
- 2 Craig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa, 1899–1902*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 15–45.
- 3 David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850–1939*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1999; also Neville Meaney, *Fears and Phobias: EL Piesse and the Problem of Japan 1909–39*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1996.
- 4 For a useful survey of the arguments about the relative rights and wrongs of Australia's participation in the European war of 1914–18, see Frank Bongiorno and Grant Mansfield, 'Whose war was it anyway? Some Australian historians and the Great War', *History Compass*, 6, 2008, pp. 1–29.
- 5 Neville Meaney, *The Search for Security in the Pacific*, Sydney University Press, 1976; David Walker, *Anxious Nation*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1999.
- 6 There is a notable literature on 'invasion' stories. See chapter 8 of David Walker, *Anxious Nation*, pp. 98–112, and more recently Peter Stanley, *Invading Australia: Japan and the Battle for Australia, 1942*, Penguin, Melbourne, 2008, in which the author examines in the first section the contemporary literature that reflected invasion fears among Australians.
- 7 Paul Michael Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo German Antagonism 1860–1914*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1980.
- 8 Kurt Riezler (1882–1955) was a close confidant of the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, and published under the pseudonym 'JJ Ruedorffer' a most widely read book entitled *Grundzüge der Weltpolitik in der Gegenwart* [Basic trends in world politics at the present], Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart, 1916, p. 219. On the 'Tirpitz Plan' the key authority is Volker Berghahn, *Der Tirpitzplan: Genesis und Verfall einer innenpolitischen Krisenstrategie*, Droste, Düsseldorf, 1971; *Germany and the Approach of War in 1914*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1993.
- 9 The most recent study of this movement is by Roger Chickering, 'We Men who feel most German': *A Cultural Study of the Pan German League 1886–1944*, George Allen & Unwin, Boston, 1983. Beyond this, however, an investigation of the reports of German consuls-general in Australia since 1871 reveals their remarkably uniform Hegelian understanding of world history that convinced them that Britain was inevitably going to be replaced by Germany as the hegemonic power in the Pacific and hence over the Australasian colonies. It was an outstanding example of how a theory of history could influence political will. See Irmeline Veit-Brause,

'Australia as an "Object" in Nineteenth Century World Affairs – the Example of the German Consular Representation in the Australian Colonies', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, August 1988, pp. 142–59.

- 10 A first post-Second World War attempt to evaluate the significance of the career of the 'Iron Chancellor' was by George P Gooch, *Studies in German History*, Green & Co, London, 1948, in which there is a chapter, 'The Study of Bismarck', pp. 300–41. Gooch provides a masterly survey of the scholarship on and estimation of the legacy of the founder of the Prusso-German Empire and concludes that, 'Vast and splendid was his intellect [but] the vision of an international order resting on a partnership of contented self-governing national units was beyond his ken', p. 341. This is essentially the same judgement arrived at independently by the famous German Roman Catholic liberal historian, Franz Schnabel, see 'Author's Preface – John Moses'. Most recently, see Jonathan Steinberg, *Bismarck: A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2011.
- 11 On Seeley see the perceptive essay by Stewart J Brown, 'The Broad Church Movement, National Culture, and the Established Churches of Great Britain, c. 1850–1900', in Hilary M Carey and John Gascoigne (eds), *Church and State in Old and New Worlds*, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2011, pp. 99–130. Seeley was the historian of Empire *par excellence*, meaning that he understood that the imperial power had an obligation to continue ruling the overseas territories until they had reached a stage of development when they could responsibly assume self-government. As such Seeley was one of the intellectual forerunners of the ideals of the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- 12 Hans-Heinz Krill, *Die Ranke-Renaissance*, de Gruyter, Berlin, 1962.
- 13 James Rickner, '“A Sea of Troubles”: The Great White Fleet's 1908 War Plans for Australia and New Zealand', in David Stevens and John Reeve (eds), *Southern Trident: Strategy, History and the Rise of Australian Naval Power*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2001. See also Norman Harper, *Great and Powerful Friend: A Study of Australian- American Relations between 1900 and 1975*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1987.
- 14 AW Jose, *The Royal Australian Navy, 1914–1918*, A&R, Sydney, 1943, p. xxvii.
- 15 Peter Overlack, 'The Imperial German Navy in the Pacific, 1900–1914, as an Instrument of *Weltpolitik* with special Reference to Australia in its Operational Planning', (PhD dissertation, University of Queensland, 1995). This thoroughly researched study using German naval archives has been mined extensively by the author to publish numerous articles in learned journals which can be accessed via Overlack's web site. See also, Jürgen Tampke (ed.), 'Ruthless Warfare' – *German Military Planning and*

*Surveillance in the Australia-New Zealand Region before the Great War*, Southern Highlands Publishers, Canberra, 1998.

- 16 See the entry on SMS *Emden* in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, OUP, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 225–26.
- 17 Jose, *The Royal Australian Navy*, pp. 342–68; for a detailed account of the *Sydney vs Emden* encounter, see pp. 179–207; Larry Winter and Douglas Sellick, *First Blood: Australia's First Great Sea Battle*, Media 21, Sydney, 2009.
- 18 See Tampke, 'Ruthless Warfare', pp. 90–146.
- 19 See Frank Bongiorno, Iain Spence and John A Moses (eds), *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 53, No. 3, September 2007, (special issue), for information relevant here, especially Deborah Jordan, 'Shaped on the Anvil of Mars: Vance and Nettie Palmer and the Great War', pp. 375–91, and John A Moses, 'An Australian Empire Patriot and the Great War: Archibald T Strong (1876–1930)', pp. 407–19.
- 20 John Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties: A Life of Alexander Leeper*, Melbourne University Press, 1997, p. 16.
- 21 John A Moses, '“Other People's Wars” or the “Pivotal Event” in Australia's History' in Gretchen Poiner (ed.), *The National Estate-Civic Heritage*, being the proceedings of the 2008 Conference of the *Independent Scholars Association of Australia*, Canberra, 2008, pp.193–207. See also Craig Wilcox (ed.), *The Great War: Gains and Losses – Anzac and Empire*, The Australian War Memorial & the Australian National University, Canberra, 1995, pp. 214–15.

### 3 New Zealand and the German threat, 1900–1914

*A*t the start of the twentieth century, New Zealand responded differently from her trans-Tasman neighbour Australia to a possible threat from Imperial Germany. New Zealand was on the edge of the Pacific world and 1200 miles further removed from Asia. Attention in the ‘Shaky Isles’ was taken up with domestic affairs: a liberal experiment in state socialism, a blending of progressive ideas with autocratic government, which years later was to provide a base for extension into the Welfare State. Distance from the imperial metropolis created a tension between comfort and discomfort. New Zealanders felt both isolated and secure from foreign threats originating from far-distant Europe but at the same time still needed the assurance that Mother Britain and her fleet would be ready if any untoward event arose. Within the British Empire, the country was not recognised as being as ‘mature’ as its larger neighbour was and did not receive the accolade of dominion status until six years after Australia. New Zealand had made a rapid and uncomfortable transition in the mid-nineteenth century from Maori agency to that of white governance in a manner not experienced in Australia. Although there were overtures in 1901

for New Zealand to join the Commonwealth of Australia, she never did. The invitation points to similarities in the dominant white culture while its rejection highlighted distinct differences in world outlook, some of which have remained between the two nations.

In 1907 New Zealand became a Dominion. The transition from colony to dominion status was a very important moment for one of the most far-flung of Britain's imperial possessions. The country, with a majority British population, was viewed as remote but a valuable strategic and economic asset, a stepping-stone into the rapidly-opening Pacific Ocean. There was little talk of moving beyond Dominion into any greater independent status and most acknowledged the necessity of continued protection provided by the Royal Navy. Locally however, New Zealand had already been looking into the Pacific arena and between 1884 and 1900 made provision to ensure its future boundaries would not be encompassed by its own coastline.<sup>1</sup>

While most New Zealanders might not have been aware of the consequences of their government's proposal in 1894 to administer Samoa, Pacific historian Damon Salesa makes it plain that the repercussions of that idea in Germany were indeed serious.<sup>2</sup> There was an immediate uproar in the German press, which included calls for military intervention. The matter did not go away. Six years later in an extraordinarily busy session day, the New Zealand Legislative Council on 28 September 1900 sat to consider annexation of some neighbouring Pacific Islands. Mindful of the responsibilities of the imperial authorities in the area and with due regard to the German wishes for Western Samoa, parliamentarians led by Premier Seddon argued the matter at length until quarter to three the next morning.<sup>3</sup> He urged expansion of New Zealand into the Pacific, to 'have islands of our own' which would make Australians see their small neighbour in a more favourable light.<sup>4</sup>

Because of its smallness and dependant economic base, New Zealand's vulnerability was recognised both internally and overseas.



However other eyes, envious of the vast extent of British Empire, as far as the prosperous little islands of the South, had been looking at New Zealand and its neighbour, Australia. There had already been apprehensions: the ‘Russian Scare’ and ‘Yellow Peril’ of the 1880s, threats of perceived attacks from China (followed by Japan); and the problem of what might have happened if the British interests in South Africa had been replaced by those of Germany if Britain had lost the war in South Africa. A robust connection with distant Britain served New Zealand for both defensive and trade interests. There was little discussion in New Zealand, apart from within academic circles about the virtues of republicanism. In stark contrast, there were those who celebrated New Zealand as a British utopia.

While there were few writings promoting any form of republicanism, in fact the opposite would be true as there were authors who recognised in the country a form of British utopia. Influential turn-of-the-century writer and parliamentarian, William Pember Reeves, sat on the fence with guarded though positive comments about the virtue of the country and its inhabitants, but was adamant about its secure ties with the mother country.<sup>5</sup> In the last chapter of his book, *New Zealand*, Reeves made some invidious comparisons with the best of the British but conceded an Elysian attractiveness to New Zealand, at least physically. A certain verdant nature was seen everywhere, even in the towns ‘the New Zealand sun is warmer than the English ... the air is perhaps the wholesomest on earth ... Pallor is rare’. But of its colonial inhabitants he was more scathing: ‘The intellectual average is good [but] of artistic, poetic, or scientific talent, of wit, originality, or inventiveness, there is yet but little sign’ ... ‘Brilliant talkers there are none’. He was keen to point out the [immigrant] countrymen were: ‘Loyal to the mother country, resolved not to be absorbed into Australia, they are torpid concerning Imperial Federation’. ‘The business of the pioneer generations has been to turn a bloodstained or silent wilderness into a busy and interesting, a happy if not yet a splendid, state.’<sup>6</sup> The matter of

imperial federation was one he viewed seriously. In *A Council of Empire*, he argued for a central seven-member council exercising an influence over imperial policy towards the colonies.<sup>7</sup> A more influential writer, Sir Julius Vogel, a parliamentarian well-known for his national borrowing policy, in his futuristic book *Anno Domini 2000, or, Women's Destiny*, (1899), proposed that the British Empire devolved into a 'United Britain' federation and the federal parliament met in Melbourne (where indeed the Australian Federal Parliament did gather in pre-Canberra years).<sup>8</sup> The book's central conflict however is not between Britain and Germany but between America and the British. The young colonies of New Zealand and Australia are felicitously represented by the lovely Hilda Richmond Fitzherbert and Lord Reginald Parramatta respectively. There is little real Australasian content and central decisions were made by higher powers, found elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> It was actually a reflection of the imperial situation of the early 1900s.

Interest in New Zealand was introspective, taken up with memories of the wars of the 1860s, studies into fauna and flora, mountaineering and the gold diggings, rather than with matters of coastal or Pacific defence.<sup>10</sup> In fact there seemed to be few concerns for New Zealand's safety and few invasion novels. If we are to believe Lawrence Jones's analysis of the late colonial period of New Zealand novel writing 1890–1934, while there was much energy dissipated in writing introspective works about New Zealand society or comparing it with British in utopian or dystopian ways, very little was expressed on the defence of the country.<sup>11</sup> Most writing of the period reflected lack of being established in a new country, the boredom of the backblocks, and the romance of the frontier (more often than not American based). Even in popular fiction, where a dynamic of the threat from the sea might be expected, there is very little writing. It seems that the comfort of isolation was pervasive indeed.

Was the country affected by the Great Power struggle and arms race from the 1890s? There was little public notice taken of the establishment of the German East Asia Squadron based at Tsingtao (Shandong Province) within easy reach of the British concession at Shanghai and ally Japan. Very few publications in New Zealand reflected the isolated warning voiced in the *Navy League Journal* of 1904 of the risk from Germany's increasingly powerful East Asia squadron. The writer detailed the new ship-building programme which had accelerated in 1900: to double the German navy in size and which was to increase to 38 battleships, 14 large cruisers, and 38 small cruisers. More persuasively, the writer noted Kaiser Wilhelm's ambition to make a navy as intimately connected to the German monarchy as his army was.<sup>12</sup> American historian, Robert K Massie reflected on the alarm found in the British cabinet in 1900. The British Admiralty ordered new *King Edward VII* class battleships, of which the Dominion-supplied *New Zealand* was to be one, in response to the passage of the German Second Navy Law. Lord Selborne, First Lord of the Admiralty, informed Salisbury's cabinet in November 1901 that the design of German naval policy was 'to push German commerce, possessions and interests' all over the world.<sup>13</sup>

Simultaneously, Germany was making plans to engage Australia and New Zealand in war. While German planners like Corvette Captain and Senior Officer on the Australian Station, Hans Grapow, in 1901 planned 'ruthless warfare' against New Zealand and Australian harbours, no-one in the New Zealand Government seemed aware of what was happening.<sup>14</sup> This lack of awareness is a critical indicator of an attitude of isolationism. This was a sadly-mistaken deeply-ingrained belief, which still prevails in some quarters that this south-west Pacific island nation was so removed from the important spheres of international interest that no matter what happened elsewhere in the world, its population was safe and secure.

Even as late as 1908 there was scant public discussion concerning New Zealand's dependence upon the Royal Navy. The Dominion's contribution was miniscule compared to the per capita amount and more particularly the overall national contribution of the domestic British public.<sup>15</sup> Even at the beginning of the war, commentators in the popular weekly *New Zealand Truth* remarked that, in view of the spectacular defeat administered by the Japanese navy to the Russians at Tsushima Straits in 1905, they could easily dispose of the small German naval force based at Tsingtao as well as their garrison and dock installations at Kiau-chau Bay. Much more public concern was expressed over the naval activities half a world away at Wilhelmshaven and Kiel, which were protected by the acquisition from Britain of the fortress island Heligoland.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, research by historians Jürgen Tampke and Peter Overlack has provided irrefutable evidence of German war plans in the Pacific. German desires for bases in the Philippines and Hawaii brought her into diplomatic conflict with the Americans, and similarly her expressed wish for more control in Samoa aroused the ire of Britain.<sup>17</sup> Much of the concern about Germany's ambitions was reflected in this period at a higher than public opinion level. In New Zealand, this may be accounted for by the lack of local control of foreign affairs. Westminster was the seat of diplomatic management, and only in Imperial Conference transactions were there indications of looming peril for the colonies. Perhaps the greatest acid test of local concern can be found in the transactions of the New Zealand parliamentary debates, where if a matter was of vital national concern one would expect debate.

Prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, it is really only in 1900 that we find lively interest in Pacific matters coinciding with Prime Minister Seddon's promotion of the *Pacific Islands Annexation Bill*. His arguments justified its support on the bases of proximity and friendship; that the natives of the islands were favourably inclined to New Zealand; and avoiding the mistakes of the past

that had allowed islands like Samoa, or the Navigator Islands, to pass from New Zealand's jurisdiction. He referred to the statutes of 1883 that allowed New Zealand to confederate with or annex unaligned Pacific islands. Under the 1895 *Colonial Boundaries Act*, Seddon sought provision to extend New Zealand's boundaries.<sup>18</sup> He pointed to the example of the Cook Islands where New Zealand had maintained a Resident Agent for the previous decade; this matter extended a protectorate over the islands and stopped 'the possibility of their falling into the hands of [a] foreign nation'. Seddon confirmed that it was matters of Imperial Government interest and decision-making alone which dictated the outcome of New Zealand desires. For example, the case where 'Great Britain had received more than a *quid pro quo* from Germany in respect to the ceding of Samoa'. Seddon also referred to the relinquishing of German interests in the Solomons, New Guinea, and Vauvau in the Tongan group. He brought to the members' attention the Cook Group, and included Penrhyn (Niue), home to 15,000 Polynesians. He discussed the American trade interest between Rarotonga, Tahiti and San Francisco, and hoped this might be taken over by New Zealand steamers going to Rarotonga, Tonga, Niue and Fiji. Much was made of Hellaby's tinned meat trade from Auckland being challenged since the German takeover of Samoa. Seddon argued for responsible self-government for Fiji and hoped for future federation with New Zealand.<sup>19</sup>

When asked about the attitude of the Australian Commonwealth, Seddon replied: 'They will think more of us as a nation in years to come, with islands of our own, than as we exist now'. This Victorian notion about imperial recognition within the sphere of the Pacific region was widespread. It reflected ideas of national status and the universal white man's burden. Among white colonist neighbours like Australia and New Zealand there was an easy acceptance of furthering hegemony into apparently unclaimed native Pacific territory.

Seddon went on to claim that the Cook Islanders were ‘practically Maoris’ who:

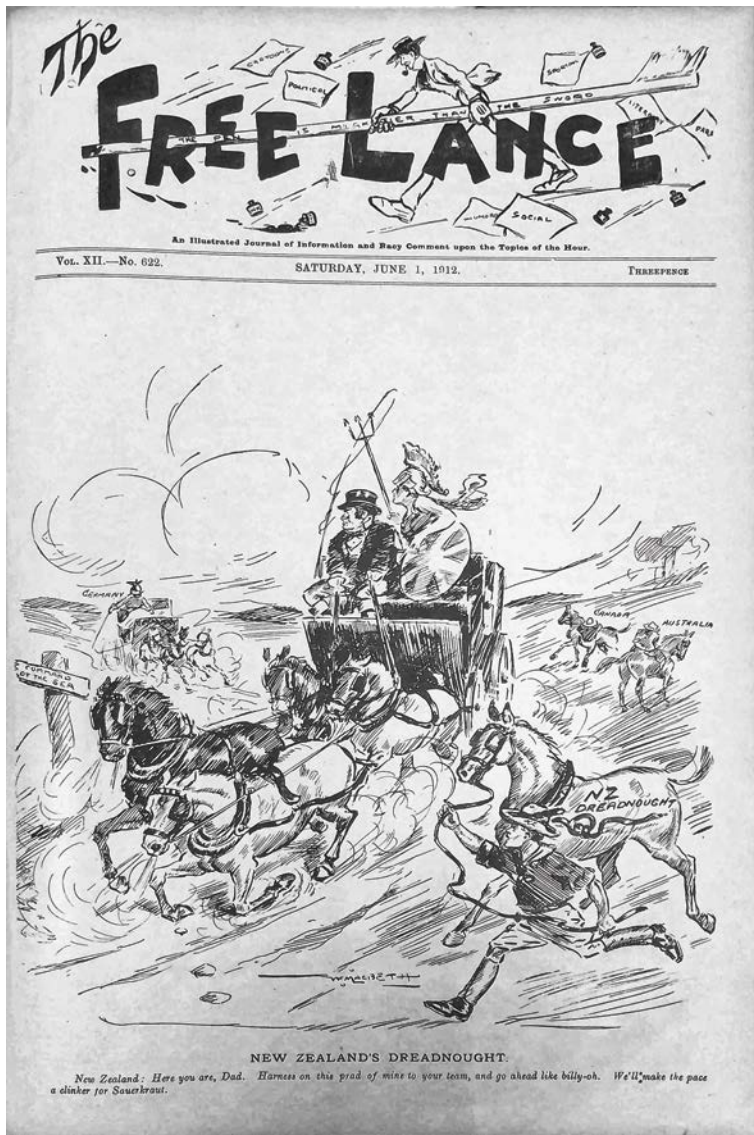
... speak of the Maoris as their lost relatives... I say it is our duty to help to preserve the Polynesian race. I say there are no such beautiful and fertile lands anywhere else in the world as they have in these islands. And I say, with our capital, and with the assistance it will be to them if the Europeans go there – if we are to work out our destinies as a nation, by all that is good and holy, we have a duty to perform, and I ask Parliament to perform that duty. Let the responsibility be on the Imperial authorities. I care nothing as regards Australia with respect to what we are now proposing.<sup>20</sup>

The parliamentarian Captain GW Russell introduced the matter of Germany and Seddon cut him off with the rebuff that Germany was not unfriendly. Russell mounted a strong challenge, however, and made the point that he was not afraid of German or French Pacific interests as long as Britain was ‘mistress of the sea’. He was supported by the Member for Auckland City, Mr Napier, who directed the House’s attention to the vacuum caused in Pacific affairs when Downing Street rejected the suggestions for a federation of the islands of the southern and western Pacific. The result of this ‘little-Englander spirit of that time’, he argued, ‘today [found] Germany particularly right in the track of our commerce with our cousins of the Great Republic of the West [the United States of America]’.<sup>21</sup> He related the philanthropy of Sir George Grey towards Pacific and Maori people and his subsequent poor treatment by Downing Street. He went on to relate how Germany attached itself to Samoa, despite the urging of leading Samoans who wished connection with New Zealand.<sup>22</sup> The Member for Wellington Suburbs, Mr Wilford, stated: ‘We know perfectly well that Germany and France are

looking with jealous eyes upon these islands in the South Pacific, and it behoves New Zealand to stretch out its arms and bring these islands into a Pacific Federation.<sup>23</sup> Seddon had previously reassured parliamentarians that New Zealand's extended interests could be protected by the Australasian Squadron, for which cost-sharing entitled New Zealand to two cruisers permanently in her waters.<sup>24</sup> It is clear that Seddon was arguing for a New Zealand empire in the Pacific and seemed ready to fob off all challenges. What is more surprising is how much all of this argument became accepted in the early years of the century and that following the annexation of the Cooks, Parliamentary comment on the matter withered.<sup>25</sup>

Damon Salesa expressed the situation of New Zealand and its assumption of Pacific empire with: 'The British Empire beleaguered the collection of a New Zealand Empire, as supporters had to elevate Pacific regional concerns over British or British imperial concerns elsewhere.'<sup>26</sup> New Zealand's interest in the Pacific was what brought her population sporadic awareness of and interest about other nation's desires in the area. The position of New Zealand in terms of distance from Europe and its relative newness as a Dominion ensured that while the country might be important in the south-western Pacific region, its voice at the centre of Empire would not be large. In Britain, the opinions of the representatives of New Zealand and Australia about the future of the Pacific Islanders were seen as secondary. Robert K Massie points to the flurry of political and diplomatic activity that surrounded the events in Samoa from the death of the king of Samoa in spring 1899, to the resolution of disagreements on 8 November when Great Britain and Germany settled the dispute with a territorial exchange.<sup>27</sup> What is apparent, however, is that the agreements were seen entirely through the imperial lenses of both countries with little concern for the feelings or expectations of the residents of the South Pacific. Much more attention was paid to the sensitivities of the major European players in the drama. Prime Minister Lord Salisbury's procrastination and

general anti-German position was challenged by his energetic and optimistic Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, who worked



NZ rushing to aid British Empire. "New Zealand: Here you are, Dad. Harness on this prod of mine to your team, and go ahead like billy-oh. We'll make the pace a clinker for Sauerkraut."



assiduously for a rapprochement between the two imperial powers. Kaiser Wilhelm's attention was centred on a successful visit to England which he seemed to achieve. But much of the goodwill was swiftly undone when Count Bülow, who had been part of the German visiting party to England, chose not to refer to the matter during his speech in support of the *Second Navy Bill*. Indeed, he positioned a declining England as the chief impediment to a successful German imperial future.<sup>28</sup> These opinions were expressed just prior to England suffering defeats during 'Black Week' in the South African War.<sup>29</sup> All of this was cold comfort for the population when reported in New Zealand, but still did not instantly or chronically engender war nervousness.

In early 1909 some notice was taken of German intentions in the Pacific when units of the East Asia Squadron were stationed in Apia.<sup>30</sup> This promoted discussion on naval protection matters leading to the acceptance of the New Zealand donation of a dreadnought for imperial defence.<sup>31</sup> In the popular press there were some sporadic warnings about fears of German aspirations in the Pacific. In the *Wanganui Herald* on 31 December 1909 (re-run in *The Colonist* on 5 January 1910) there was a far-sighted piece called 'Germany means to go on', containing a clear reference to the arms race between Germany and Britain. The writer focuses on the South Pacific, reminding readers of the German naval station at Rabaul, just over a day's steaming from Northern Australia. Germany was firmly established in the Marshall Islands and also at Apia, the last being only four days' steaming from New Zealand. 'These things are calculated to make us think hard.' This was a lone voice crying in the public wilderness at the time. This kind of thinking was only reflected at a higher level in the influential British journal *Round Table* which anonymously published articles of its carefully chosen contributors.<sup>32</sup> This publication had an exclusive readership amongst the political leaders in New Zealand and Australia, and traversed defence matters extensively. In February 1911 attention was drawn

to Germany's ambitions in the article on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.<sup>33</sup> 'Germany today is no more willing to limit her armaments, on which she believes her prospects of national expansion depend ... than was Prussia in the 'sixties.'<sup>34</sup> If taken seriously, this was a powerful claim. The writer claimed that Germany was on the way to constructing a navy more powerful than that of the British, and that this policy was not friendly to the British Empire.<sup>35</sup> He further argued that the two Dominions were beginning to realise the fragility of their situation in the face of an expanded German navy.<sup>36</sup> Another writer in the same publication argued for greater connection between the centre and periphery of empire by the institution of a 'Department of the Home Government for Dominion Affairs' in order to keep the positions of Australia and New Zealand at the forefront of imperial affairs.<sup>37</sup> These strong arguments were followed consistently, particularly about the danger posed by an expanded German navy. In subsequent issues topics discussed were: the need to centralise and enlarge the Home Fleet at the expense of ships for the Mediterranean and Far Eastern waters; Dominions contributions to naval defence; New Zealand acceptance of the German Telefunken telegraphic system which could compromise imperial and Dominion defence<sup>38</sup>; the expansion of Germanism into the world beyond Europe; the defence policy of New Zealand; the recognition of common dangers for each of New Zealand and Australia and ensuring a united naval policy<sup>39</sup>; the decline in British naval strength outside Europe; Dominions' control of their own ships; James Allen's September 1912 statement of alarm over the immediate outlook for the Pacific<sup>40</sup>; the growing unease that 'the Pacific was far from being an English lake' by October 1913; and the plan and debate over commissioning a new *Bristol* type cruiser to be controlled by the New Zealand Government in peacetime, and the Admiralty during war.<sup>41</sup> The articles reveal a sound grasp of the Dominions' limitations to face changes in their Pacific backyard, but were severely limited in readership; they were the possession

of an elite. What is most perplexing is why so little of this discussion did not publicly surface until the beginning of the war.

Apart from information in 1911 about the opportunistic German Minister von Kiderlen-Wächter's suggestion that Germany would cede her interest in Morocco for French control of Tahiti, and until the beginning of war in 1914, there were no more details aired in the New Zealand parliament over German aspirations in the Pacific.<sup>42</sup> The dearth of information or awareness seems surprising in retrospect, but it should not be. Just like Britain, Germany had developed economic interests in the Pacific, and this was reflected in a growing trade with New Zealand and Australia. The closest resident German administrator, Dr Solf in Samoa, had a reputation for being friendly with the English settlers, a matter for which he was castigated in 1911 by German leader-writers.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps this neighbourhood friendship allayed fears of possible German aggression in the Pacific.

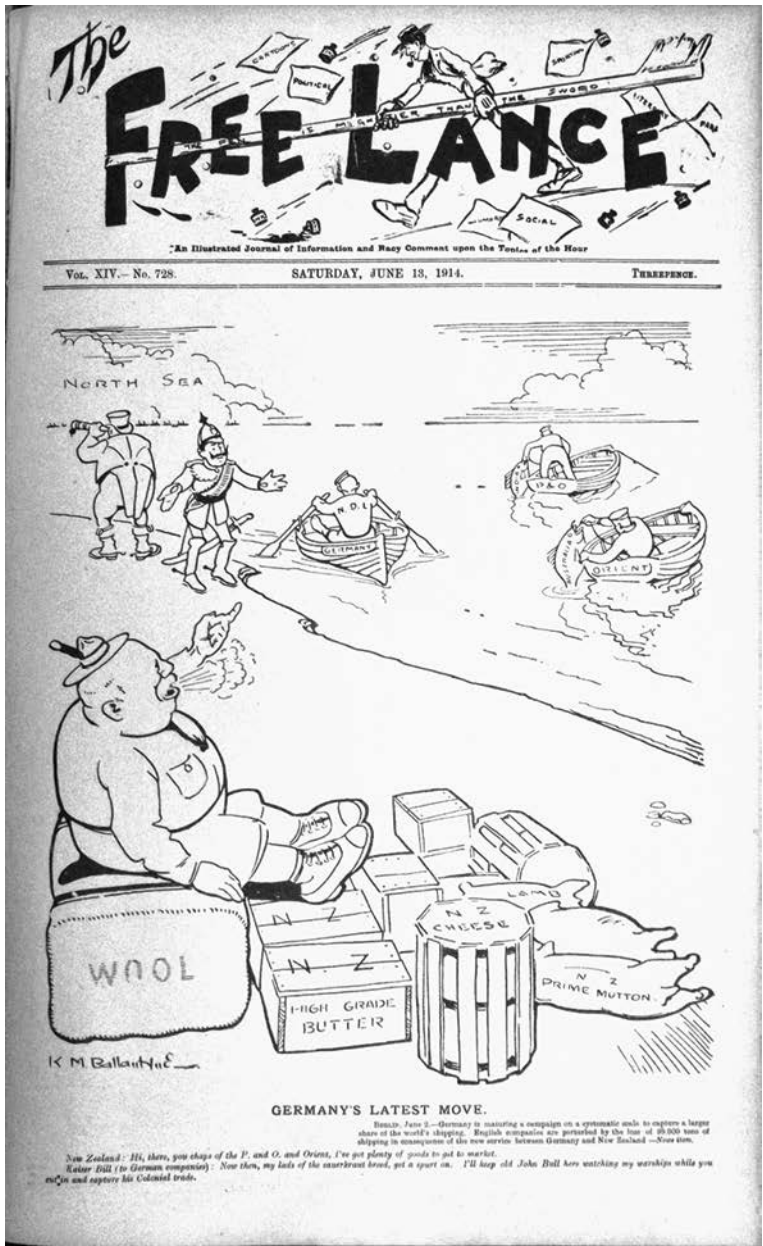


"The King visits the battle-cruiser *New Zealand*" on 5 February 1913. Seated in the second row centre are Mr Winston Churchill, King George V, the Hon. Col. James Allen. *The Tatler*, No. 608, 12 February 1913, p. 103

There was at least one influential voice aware of the vulnerability of the New Zealand situation in the Pacific – this was James Allen, the Minister of Defence in the Stout government who visited Britain to speak with members of the Imperial government and to attend the dedication of the newly launched cruiser *New Zealand* to the Royal Navy. In January 1913, his views were clearly stated in the London *Morning Post* with the heading ‘New Zealand’s Military Aim.’<sup>44</sup> It was clear that Allen favoured a responsible overseas Dominion providing not only for its own defence but organising an ‘Expeditionary Force’ able to join when needed with an Imperial Field Army in times of emergency. He had an intention of discussing the Pacific situation with Imperial authorities when he reached England. He believed that a Pacific Fleet could be funded by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and even Africa. At Portsmouth, with the royal visit imminent, Allen made his feelings about Pacific security crystal clear in saying: ‘We realise your [British] home dangers, but we realise our own necessities as well, and we will give willingly to keep the Pacific a safe road for our vessels.’<sup>45</sup> While in Britain Allen spoke on Imperial defence at a House of Commons luncheon and was heard by many including his friend Leo Amery, the Member for Southampton.<sup>46</sup> The Sydney correspondent for *The Times* related the hope that Allen’s London visit might have aroused fresh interest in the defence of the Pacific through the inception of a joint Empire-Dominions policy.<sup>47</sup> Closer to the start of war, Amery visiting the antipodes sounded a warning for New Zealand and Australia.<sup>48</sup> His analysis in Wellington, at the New Zealand Club, took in the growing Pacific aspirations of Imperial Germany, recent preparations for land defence by both New Zealand and Australia, and he tellingly observed: ‘A command of the sea in the Atlantic did not mean a command of the Pacific, and irretrievable disasters might happen in the Pacific while at Home things were intact’. He went on to support the notion of an Australasian defence fleet and the appointment of a dedicated

Minister at Home for the Dominions. While the listening audience was responsive, there were few sympathetic echoes in Home Government circles or in the New Zealand population at large.<sup>49</sup>

In 1914, suddenly, with the outbreak of war the atmosphere was rapidly charged with alternating currents of duty and risk. King George V requested help from the Empire in terms not encountered before. He stated, 'the confident belief that in this time of trial my Empire will stand united, calm, resolute, trusting in God.'<sup>50</sup> Still, the main focus was squarely on the European War, with little thought for the Pacific. Notwithstanding the venture to Samoa by the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, there seemed little urgency, little local concern. A month later Prime Minister Massey led a discussion on shipping of produce to London to supply the British war effort and population. Extraordinarily, there was no mention of risks to shipping from German raiders, but much more concern that the ships might be diverted to Australia because of the higher freights obtainable there.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps this was a realistic approach after all, as the German East Asia squadron after doing damage and defeating a British squadron at Coronel was defeated off the Falkland Islands.<sup>52</sup> This viewpoint was reinforced by the American historian A Harding Ganz in his chapter 'The German Navy in the Far East and Pacific: The Seizure of Kiautschou and After', where a description of German plans for the Pacific went as far as protection of her Pacific outposts in 1912, following the 1910 Ponape affair. Ganz concedes that 'the fate of the German colonies was never really in doubt. The defence of a colonial empire depended on sea-power abroad, and this Germany did not have.'<sup>53</sup> Paul Kennedy points out that the German desire to have a great battle fleet was one of the most threatening matters for Anglo–German relations.<sup>54</sup> Here is a central issue for the Pacific countries. If the German dreams had been fully achieved, and if the main policy of both major players Germany and Britain had not been centred on a North Sea naval strategy but a more dispersed one, the situation might have been



"Germany's Latest Move", *The Freelance*, 18 June 1914, p. 3.

entirely different. Anxiety and more direct action would have replaced years of apparent nonchalance.

New Zealand's generally muted reaction to the German ambitions in the Pacific raises questions and has consequences which influenced what the local population felt about commemorations following the Great War. The general lack of anxiety can largely be accounted for by isolation, but there were other factors. While leadership within the Dominion was often from new immigrants who keenly felt links to the old country, the general population were more locally focussed and interested in getting on with more mundane issues of life and making a place for themselves. The necessity to prove one's place in the Empire seemed less important with the greater distance from Westminster. It was not a matter of disloyalty but other interests. It would be fatuous to suggest that New Zealanders compared with Australians, thus lacking a convict background, felt less inclined to prove themselves. Nevertheless, the relaxation towards assumed German threats from the Pacific of the years from 1900 to 1914 is palpable for New Zealand, and contrasts with the anxieties found in Australia. Notably, while making the point that 'New Zealand still proved a critical imperial player, constraining and activating the British Empire', Damon Salesa cites only the example of its activities in Samoa between 1883 and 1900, and again in 1914 with the capture of German Samoa. He argues for the New Zealand voice being heard solely because of Westminster's fears of colonial secession.<sup>55</sup> The point of view of his contribution was from 'New Zealand's Pacific' but contained little on a material German threat in the region.

It seems fair to say that while, in part, the rationale for Anzac Day commemoration in Australia after the Great War could be based on needing to face the immediate threat and expanding empire of Germany in the Pacific and to Australia's north, this was not the case in New Zealand. When Britain called, New Zealand responded immediately, but not to the same dire spectre. New

Zealanders immediately before the war were aware of the looming threat of German militarism in Europe but failed to appreciate its implications until the German invasion of Belgium, the disasters of Gallipoli and subsequently on the Western front. This realisation only grew after the German attack on Belgium, and was finally brought home by the losses on the Western Front and at Gallipoli.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Tony Ballantyne, 'The State, Politics and Power, 1769–1893', Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2009, pp. 123–24. Ballantyne mentions the 1884 *Confederation and Annexation Bill* which was designed to allow New Zealand to confederate with or annex independent Pacific islands and the 1900 Parliamentary Resolution which suggested New Zealand's boundaries should be expanded to include the Cook Islands, Niue, Avarua, Pukapuka and Tongareva – leading to the annexation of the Cook Islands in 1901.
- 2 Damon Salesa, 'New Zealand's Pacific', Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2009, pp. 154–55; John A Moses and Paul M Kennedy (eds), *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870–1914*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1977, pp. 89–111; Paul M Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo–German–American Relations 1878–1900*, Irish University Press, 1974, pp. 115–116; Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, for a New Zealand interpretation; WP Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1960, pp. 307–10. Dr Damon Salesa is New Zealand's first Pacific Island Rhodes Scholar, a post graduate of Oxford University and National Library of New Zealand Research Fellow.
- 3 *NZ Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, pp. 387–426.
- 4 *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, p. 391.
- 5 William Pember Reeves, *New Zealand*, Second Edition, Horace Marshall & Son, London, 1902.
- 6 Reeves, *New Zealand*, p. 173, pp. 178–79.



- 7 William Pember Reeves, *A Council of the Empire*, The British Empire League, London, 1907, pp. 4–5.
- 8 Julius Vogel, *Anno Domini 2000, or, Women's Destiny*, Hutchison, London, 1889; Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle*, p. 8. Sir Julius Vogel had been rebuffed as Prime Minister of New Zealand by the Colonial Office when in the early 1870s he appealed strongly for annexation of Samoa. Lord Kimberley, Colonial Secretary, described the plan as 'Quixotic'.
- 9 Lawrence Jones, 'The Novel', in Terry Sturm (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Oxford UP New Zealand, Auckland, 1998, p. 127; Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (eds), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, Oxford UP New Zealand, Auckland, 1998, p. 559.
- 10 WP Reeves, *The Long White Cloud: Aotearoa*, Horace Marshall & Son, London, 1899, pp. 419–21.
- 11 Jones, 'The Novel', pp. 134–150.
- 12 *Otago Witness*, 23 November 1904, p. 30, quoting 'the current Navy League Journal'.
- 13 Robert K Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War*, Random House, New York, 1991, p. 184.
- 14 Jürgen Tampke (ed.), 'Ruthless Warfare' *German Military planning and surveillance in the Australia-New Zealand region before the Great War*, Southern Highlands Publishers, Canberra, 1998, p. 1, pp. 37–41.
- 15 *Grey River Argus and Blackball News*, 27 July 1908, p. 2 which showed that the total British naval expenditure was £32,702,000 of which the total colonial contributions were £432,000 (Australia £200,000 and New Zealand £40,000). United Kingdom populations contributed 15 shillings per head, and inhabitants outside the United Kingdom only 6 pence. The dependency was palpable!
- 16 *NZ Truth*, 19 September 1914, p. 3. Heligoland came to be for the Germans a prized highly armed defensive position in the North Sea with Wilhelmshaven and Kiel.
- 17 Peter Overlack, 'German War Plans in the Pacific, 1900–1914', *The Historian*, Vol. 60, Issue 3, 1998, pp. 579–93; also P Overlack, 'German Interest in Australian Defence, 1901–1914: New Insights into a Precarious Position on the Eve of War', *AJPH*, Vol. 40, Issue 1, pp. 36–51. Online 7 April 2008.
- 18 *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, p. 389.
- 19 *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, pp. 390–91.
- 20 *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, pp. 392–93.
- 21 *NZPD*, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, p. 399.

- 22 NZPD, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, p. 400.
- 23 NZPD, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, p. 418.
- 24 NZPD, Vol. 114, 28 September 1900, p. 395.
- 25 NZPD, Vol. 115, 9 October 1900, p. 562, Lord Ranfurly's telegram on the annexation of the Cook Islands.
- 26 Salesa, 'New Zealand's Pacific', p. 154.
- 27 Massie, *Dreadnought*, pp. 257–70; *New Zealand Free Lance*, 24 February 1912, p. 4, A review of the 1900 case of Germany and the Samoan Question.
- 28 Massie, *Dreadnought*, p. 269.
- 29 Massie, *Dreadnought*, p. 272.
- 30 *Colonist* 15 March 1909, p. 2. There was a report based on a *New York Herald* story that German warships were being readied to help annex an island in the Pacific. It was followed by an explanation from Berlin that the *Leipzig* under Rear-Admiral Carl Coerper and the gunboats *Jaguar* and *Arkona* were sailing for Apia at the request of the Governor of Samoa, Dr Solf.
- 31 NZPD, Vol. 146, 15 June 1909, pp. 153–214; NZPD, Vol. 148, 20 December 1909, p. 1281.
- 32 Philip Kerr (ed.), *The Round Table: a Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire*, The Round Table, London, 1910–.
- 33 Kerr (ed.), *The Round Table*, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1911, London, pp. 105–53.
- 34 Kerr (ed.), *The Round Table*, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1911, London, p. 108.
- 35 Kerr (ed.), *The Round Table*, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1911, London, p. 122.
- 36 Kerr (ed.), *The Round Table*, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1911, London, p. 145.
- 37 Kerr (ed.), *The Round Table*, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1911, London, p. 228. It is likely the writer of this piece, 'New Zealand Politics', was Lionel Curtis.
- 38 *The Round Table*, Vol. I, No. 3, May 1911, pp. 247–48, pp. 250–60, p. 369.
- 39 *The Round Table*, Vol. II, December 1911–November 1912, p. 36, pp. 96–111, pp. 584–86, pp. 760–61.
- 40 *The Round Table*, Vol. III, December 1912–November 1913, pp. 197–209, pp. 209–31.
- 41 *The Round Table*, Vol. IV, December 1913–September 1914, p. 199, pp. 382–89.
- 42 NZPD, Vol. 154, 4 August 1911, p.175.
- 43 *Evening Post*, 1 May 1911, p. 7.

- 44 *Morning Post*, London, 24 January 1913, unpagged cutting in James Allen (1855–1942), *Visit to London, 1913: English and Canadian news clippings*, Hocken Library, L9 A.
- 45 *Daily Mail*, London, 4 February 1913, unpagged cutting in James Allen (1855–1942), *Visit to London, 1913: English and Canadian news clippings*, Hocken Library, L9 A. The occasion was a preparation for the King's visit to *HMS New Zealand* – the Dominion gift to the Royal Navy.
- 46 James Allen cuttings, p. 117, *Daily Telegraph* London, 14 February 1913, unpagged – report of Commons luncheon in the Harcourt Room. Other guests included ex-Prime Minister Joseph Ward, the High Commissioner for New Zealand Thomas Mackenzie, and Secretary for the Colonies Lewis Harcourt; James Allen cuttings, p. 122, *Evening Standard* 14 February 1913, unpagged – reported on the same day was news of the Westminster Cathedral memorial service for Captain Robert Falcon Scott, Polar Explorer, which was attended by Ward, Mackenzie and Allen; *Daily Telegraph*, 14 March 1913, unpagged, James Allen cuttings – Amery was also present at the Empire Parliamentary Association Luncheon on 13 March 1913, at which Allen was the principal speaker. Amery became a respected member of the Inner Cabinet during the war.
- 47 *The Times*, 19 April 1913, unpagged, Allen cuttings, p. 199.
- 48 *Evening Post*, 21 October 1913, p. 3.
- 49 *Evening Post*, 21 October 1913, p. 3; *The New Zealander: a Handy Monthly Review of New Zealand Public Opinion*, 1 October 1913, pp. 1–5, The Sun Publishing Company, Nelson, New Zealand; 'The New Naval Policy', *The New Zealander*, 1 November 1913, p. 17; *The New Zealander*, 1 January 1914, p. 1.
- 50 NZPD, Vol. 169, 5 August 1914, p. 395, telegram from His Majesty King George V to the PM of New Zealand.
- 51 NZPD, Vol. 170, 5 October 1914, pp. 399–401.
- 52 William Parker Morrell, 'The Great Powers in the Pacific', *Historical Association Pamphlet G54*, The Historical Association, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 23–4.
- 53 A Harding Ganz, 'The German Navy in the Far East and Pacific: The Seizure of Kiautschou and After', John A Moses and Paul M Kennedy (eds), *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870–1914*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1977, p. 133.
- 54 Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle*, pp. 300–301. These fears were also reiterated in the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, UK, Churchill-Amery Papers, AEL 1/3/3, Amery correspondence.
- 55 Salesa, 'New Zealand's Pacific', pp. 154–55.

## 4 Setting the record straight

### Garland and the origin of Anzac Day

Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king (1 Peter 2:17)

*T*he intellectual history of Australasia in the foundation decades was dominated by the fact that the region was peopled as a series of colonies of settlement from Great Britain. Consequently, the leading personages in society were predominantly men of English, Irish and Scottish origin. This held true for State and Church, the education system, the professions as well as the convicts and other settlers. The latter were a diversified group of some rich but mostly poor immigrants from Britain. As Professor Alan Atkinson has recently documented in his pioneering studies of the fabric of Australian colonial society,

the influences from the various parts of the British Isles were apparent from the earliest times.<sup>1</sup> These were reinforced continually by the arrival of migrants until by 1881 the census revealed that the colonial-born outnumbered for the first time those subjects of the British Empire who had been born abroad. It meant that the Australian colonies were all outposts of Britain overseas, and people migrated thither as if going to a rather more distant part of 'Greater Britain.'<sup>2</sup> This is probably why in the psyche of educators in the colonies it was felt to be obligatory to teach their pupils first and foremost the history of England. The discovery and exploration of the Australian continent were obviously the next things that they needed to know. This was certainly the conviction of the first professor of history at the University of Sydney, George Arnold Wood (1865–1928) who had a considerable influence not only on the historical education of university students, but indirectly on the school curriculum of his day.<sup>3</sup>

David John Garland came to Australia as a young man as thousands of others did before and after him from the British Isles. He brought with him from Ireland his unique formation as an Anglican raised in the Church of Ireland which manifested unique features not necessarily characteristic of Anglicanism in other parts of the British Isles and elsewhere. And they were characteristics of which we need to be acutely aware if we are to account for the Anzac phenomenon. This chapter begins with the launch of Anzac Day as a prospective national day of commemoration at a public meeting in Brisbane on 10 January 1916. There is a need to deal with widespread misinformation based on the less-than-professional efforts of writers who claim the honoured status of national historians but who have apparently never heard of the obligation to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, that is, to use Leopold von Ranke's famous phrase, 'to show how it essentially was'. To accomplish this, the historian needs to consult the most reliable sources.

## Confusion over beginnings

Concerning the origins of Anzac Day, the late Eric Andrews, a writer who claimed a certain authority on the subject, relied for his explanation on the concept of ‘spontaneity’. This is a device employed by some historians when they do not have the time or inclination to engage in the laborious work of archival investigation. They will often say, for example, that historical events such as revolutions simply ‘erupted’ or ‘flared up’. Events or movements do certainly have a habit of suddenly breaking out or flaring up. It is a convenient metaphor that invites the reader to imagine the pre-existence of combustible material just waiting to burst into flame, as in the phenomenon of spontaneous combustion. There is no attempt to look for causal links which, of course, would have to be there. Andrews deftly avoided this necessity in the case of Anzac Day as follows:

It was entirely natural that the first Anzac Day should be celebrated wherever Australians found themselves in 1916. Australian and New Zealand troops did so – *more or less spontaneously* – in small units at bases in Egypt and the Middle East, in France (where they had just arrived) and Britain. The landing on Gallipoli in 1915, and all the excitement that it had entailed, ensured that the day would be celebrated in Australia also.<sup>4</sup>

Occasionally this is a legitimate form of historical narrative since it saves time. In the case of Anzac there did exist a considerable body of publicity that had seized the popular imagination but this does not explain the organisational origins of the day nor account for the way in which it was sustained. We can agree with KS Inglis, David Kent and Richard Ely that a ‘cult of Anzac’ had very early been established during the Dardanelles campaign by the reportage and publications of Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett and Charles Bean, and

these undoubtedly provided the combustible material – to stay with the metaphor – which enabled the movement to be ignited.<sup>5</sup> But someone has to light the fuel and, of course, fires eventually burn themselves out if there is no one to tend them. Our purpose in this work is to show how Anzac Day was launched and then sustained as the national day of both Australia and New Zealand. We argue that the initiative taken in Brisbane in January 1916 to found an Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC) was the necessary organisational platform that allowed such commemoration to gain momentum. The best contemporary account of that initiative was provided by the *Brisbane Courier* on 11 January 1916. For the sake of historical accuracy it is reproduced here in full:

## **HONOURING THE BRAVE**

### **Celebration of Anzac Day Queensland Leads the Way**

#### **Major-General M'Cay's Stirring Address**

Last evening public patriotism and the gratitude of citizens to their sons who have helped to rear a pillar in the temple of fame resulted in an encouraging gathering at the meeting in the Exhibition Hall called by the Mayor of Brisbane (Alderman G Down) for the laudable purpose of discussing the proposed celebration of Anzac Day.<sup>6</sup> The large hall was half filled, and the proceedings were marked by enthusiasm and intensity of purpose. One of the pleasures of the evening was the eloquent address of Major-General JW M'Cay, CB, VD (Inspector General of the Australian Forces), whose utterances appealed strongly to those present. The meeting was presided over by the mayor, and others on the platform included his Excellency the Governor, (Sir Hamilton J Goold-Adams), the State Premier (Hon TJ Ryan), the Leader of the Opposition, (Hon J Tolmie), Archbishop Duhig, Chaplain Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, Mr WF Finlayson MHR, Mr MJ Kirwan MLA, Major-General M'Cay, Lieutenant-Colonel WD Rankin, Colonel The Honorable

AJ Thynne, MLC, Captain Cosens, Messrs PB Macgregor and AD White. Among those in the audience were the Minister for Lands (Hon JM Hutter) and the State Military Commandant (Colonel GD Lee, DSO). The mayor succinctly explained the object of the meeting. It had been thought by many, he said, that they should in some fitting way celebrate their troops' entry into Gallipoli. He was quite satisfied that that would appeal to every one of them. (Hear, hear).

His Excellency the Governor submitted the following motion:

That the heroic conduct of our gallant Queensland troops during the present war, and especially on the ever-memorable occasion of the landing at Gallipoli on April 25 last, has earned for them undying fame, and deserves the fullest recognition of the people of this country whose rights and liberties they have been bravely defending.

He had a certain amount of hesitancy in submitting this proposal. He had not been long in Australia, but he was able to gauge the feeling of its soldiers pretty well, and if there was one thing more than another which their soldiers disliked it was praise. They had gathered here, and he was going to submit a resolution, whereby they were going to praise those men who would be in the fighting-line again very shortly, if not at the present moment. A good many of them, reading these remarks of his, would say: 'What does the old man mean? Why doesn't he go and get more men to come to our assistance rather than praise us?' Many who were at the Front fighting for their country's cause would wish there was less praise and more action on the part of those left behind in Australia. His Excellency emphasised the obligations on the people of Queensland which were embodied in the resolution, and in conclusion replied to those who vilified the Australian soldiers by judging them by the foibles of certain boisterous spirits. 'As an old soldier and one who has had an opportunity of seeing something of the men here and at the point of embarkation', said His Excellency, 'I have never seen a body of soldiers more temperate than they are'. (Hear, hear) 'Those like myself who have been in the Imperial Army know what used to take place ordinarily at an embarkation of British



troops going abroad. Unfortunately, there were many cases of insobriety, but I can conscientiously say, I have been down to see our Australian troops depart, and have never seen a single man under the influence of drink.’ (Applause)

The Premier said that he felt honoured in being asked to second the resolution so eloquently proposed by his Excellency. He felt that the 25th, the day mentioned in this resolution would always stand as one of the famous days of history so far as Australia was concerned. It marked the day when its sons first actually took part in this great struggle which was being carried on. It not only marked the bravery of the individuals who took part on that famous occasion, but it was indicative of the bravery of all Australians, and he thought they were justly proud of the fame they had gained that day. (Hear, hear) They had a handful of Australians landing with hardly any previous military experience, but they more than held their own against the superior troops of an enemy accustomed to war, and who was particularly capable behind entrenchments. Some said, ‘Why should we celebrate what has been a failure?’ They certainly had not accomplished in its entirety what they had set out to accomplish by landing at Gallipoli in forcing the Dardanelles but if they looked back over history they found that events which had not proved entire successes had been on many occasions the dearest memories of nations. (Hear, hear) After emphasising the value of what had been done at the Dardanelles, Mr Ryan in reminding his hearers that Britain sought no territorial aggrandisement expressed the hope that when peace was declared, the Gallipoli peninsula would pass into British hands. To Australians it would always be holy ground. (Applause) It was the scene of undying deeds of young Australia’s sons and the last resting place of her noble dead.<sup>7</sup> (Applause)

The passing of the motion was preceded by the mayor unfurling the flag hoisted on the heights of Gallipoli on April 25.<sup>8</sup>

Major-General M’Cay was most cordially received, and it was some moments before he was allowed to proceed. When the prolonged acclamation had subsided the gallant soldier said it would not require any celebration of the 25th to make some

of them remember it. He hoped the celebration would not take the form of asking them to do it again, but, if they might be permitted, they would do it in some other sphere of operations. It was both his good fortune and his misfortune to have to be in Australia at all, because those who had had the opportunity of taking part in the fighting during the past year, or those of them who were looking forward to the opportunity of fighting again or for the first time, were ungrateful as it might appear anxious to get away from Australia and do such part as they were able in the war until it was successfully over. Any celebration they might hold on April 25 would be saddened by certainly one thought, and probably by two. The first thought would be the reflection on the fact that notwithstanding the undoubted bravery of the Imperial troops, including the Australians, in the Gallipoli peninsula they had had to leave their dead behind them. The other thought would be that the war would still be going on with the certainty that the end was not in sight. From a soldier's point of view they were in no better position today, geographically, so far as the troops were concerned, than they were when the war began. They could not win a football match by means of the barrackers round the boundary. (Laughter and applause) It was the teams in the arena that won or lost the game, and this, the finest contest of the British people had ever known – applause – was going to be won by the teams in the arena. The teams that would win were not the teams that lasted longest and came latest to the field, but the teams that came promptly and quickly to the field to settle the matter as speedily as possible. (Applause) After expressing his assurance that Australia could easily get the extra 50,000 men, the speaker reminded those present that Australia was the richest prize in the world at the present time for any nation which had a greed for colonizing. Even though the Allies were to lose the war and the soil of Great Britain remain inviolate the soil of Australia would feel the tread of German feet, and the constitution of Australia would feel German domination over it long before Great Britain herself felt it, close as Britain was to Germany, and as far as Australia was from Germany. (Applause) Australia's destiny hung in the balance more than Britain's; she depended

more on the war than Britain did, and she could not win unless she put all available men in the field (Applause).<sup>9</sup> Major-General M'Cay concluded by moving, – 'That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that the first anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli shall be suitably celebrated in this State, and that the other States of Australia be invited to consider similar action'. (loud and prolonged applause)

Mr Tolmie in seconding the motion said he hoped that that night they would rededicate themselves to the service of the Empire to which they belonged. Great events were memorial stones in the march of progress of the nations, and they knew their Empire had many such memorial stones as that they were asked to consider the celebration of that night. It was very desirable that this commemoration should be commemorated because it marked something great that had been accomplished by their nation. To have done what the Australians had done in landing at Gallipoli was something of which any nation might be proud, and certainly he thought it was something of which their growing young nation had every reason to be proud. It was an inspiration to them and to those who were going to people this great continent. In all the centuries to come they would be able to look back over the years just as they were able to look back that night over the deeds of their great British Empire, and recognise the greatness of the deeds that had been accomplished by their forefathers and to realise that the Australians of the earlier period were men who were capable of doing great deeds. They had been told that they had been lacking in patriotism and in imagination, and that they were deficient in traditions. Necessarily they had been deficient in traditions because their country was a young country; they were a young people, and they had got to make their traditions. Up till the present time they had been proud of the traditions handed down to them by their sires of the great British Empire, and treasured them because they had been bequeathed to them by their sires, but it was up to them to do their duty and lay the foundations of traditions for the people of Australia, and such foundations were laid on April 25 last year, when they landed their forces in Gallipoli. (Applause)

*The motion was enthusiastically carried. Chaplain Lieutenant-Colonel Garland proposed the last motion, – ‘That a committee be appointed to make all the necessary arrangements for, and carry out the celebrations for Anzac Day, such committee to consist of the Mayors of Brisbane and South Brisbane, the Premier, the Hon. James Tormie, the Chairmen and honorary secretaries of the Queensland recruiting committee and the Entertainments Committee, with power to add to their number’ [emphasis added]. It was perfectly right, added the speaker, to celebrate what was not a victory, because it showed that bravery, honour and courage were valued for their own sake, and not because of any gain that had been brought to them. This war was teaching them their duty to God in a degree that would compensate for their neglect of God in the past. The war was also teaching them the things that really mattered, which they either could not or would not learn before; and therefore there was no disgrace in their withdrawal from Anzac. Nothing had happened which they could look back upon with regret, but it was their duty all the more, because it had brought no material gain to them, to show by their commemoration of all that had happened that they did value the things which mattered much more than any material gain. (Applause)*

Colonel Rankin, in seconding the motion, observed that it was seldom in the history of any young country that the opportunity so early came for persons to carve a niche in the temple of the immortals as had happened to Australia by her soldiers at Gallipoli. (Applause)

The motion was carried with enthusiasm.

Colonel Thynne briefly voiced the thanks of the meeting to the speakers, and the proceedings closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

The journalism of that era certainly sounds quaint to readers a century later. But the sense is perfectly clear. What has to be kept in mind is that the event was organised by the Queensland Recruiting Committee of which Garland was the secretary. Given his reputation as an organiser it is inconceivable that he was not the prime

mover, the planner and master of ceremonies behind the scenes. That epochal meeting in Brisbane was an expression of two inseparable sentiments: grief arising from the unparalleled cost in young lives and the fear that the British Empire could actually lose the war. Such an eventuality would put into doubt Australia's future. The thought that Australian public life could be determined by Imperial Germany, an alien political culture representing values that were totally repugnant to those upheld by the British Empire, was simply unthinkable. The two tasks perceived by the meeting were, accordingly, to take steps to recruit the men in such numbers as deemed necessary to ward off the German threat, and to devise the ways and means appropriate to the commemoration of the sacrifice of so many men. In this, the meeting perceived itself as having taken an Australia-wide initiative. The committee which was duly set up began its organisational work without delay. It communicated its intentions throughout the entire country and New Zealand to municipal and State authorities and thereby could claim to be the initiator of Anzac observance throughout Australasia as well as having been the instigator of the Anzac Day service that was held in Westminster Abbey on 25 April 1916. In relating the early history of the movement in 1921, Alderman HJ Diddams of Brisbane City Council highlighted Canon Garland's key role as follows:

At the third meeting, [of the ADCC] held on [18] February [1916] Canon Garland submitted the proposed form of celebration, which was adopted, and which has remained practically unchanged to the present day. This is a striking tribute to the originator, who had so truly gauged the desires of Queenslanders regarding the celebration. *The Canon's suggestions included the minute's reverent silence, which has become a feature not only of this observance but also throughout the Empire, a tribute of homage to*

*the glorious dead* [emphasis added]. The celebration in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere in London in 1916 were due to representations made by this Committee.<sup>10</sup>

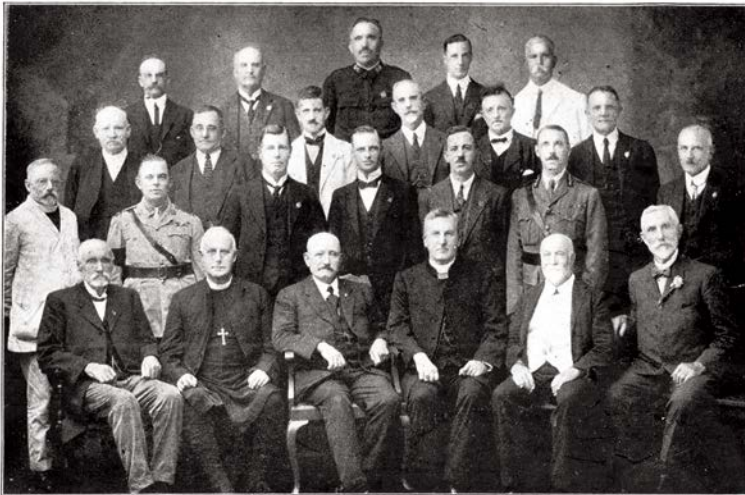
Of central significance is the composition of the committee which Canon Garland proposed and which was endorsed by the meeting. Prominent were the dignitaries from both the State and municipal governments. That lent it authority and the right to call upon the Commonwealth and other State governments, something which Garland was to do repeatedly in the future, advocating uniform legislation for the entire nation for a sacred holiday on 25 April. Further, the link with recruitment was clear. Both the chairman Colonel AJ Thynne, a prominent Roman Catholic, and Garland as the secretary of the Queensland Recruiting Committee were *ex officio* members. Garland's presence ensured that the Church was adequately represented. Significantly, it was his motion, and it was carefully designed to empower the committee to co-opt additional members where appropriate. It will be observed that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, James Duhig, was among the official party. He and the Anglican Archbishop, St Clair Donaldson, as well as the leaders of the other mainstream churches were immediately co-opted. Garland would have understood this as essential for the future success of what he clearly had in mind. For him, the commemoration of Anzac Day was pre-eminently an act of piety to honour the nation's fallen in the service of 'God, King and Empire', and in this objective all the church leaders concurred. Only with regard to the manner of the honouring would care be needed not to offend the non-negotiable theological positions of each denomination. Precisely in this regard Garland possessed both the knowledge and ingenuity to keep the otherwise divided churches together on this cause. It was a case of anticipated ecumenism. As the record shows, he was the *spiritus rector* of the Anzac Day movement. Without his personal dedication, energy

and organisational ability, it is difficult to see how it could have developed in the way it did and for so long.

The following question now needs to be answered: how did a Dublin-born Anglican priest, who had come as a young man to Australia in 1886, having gained some experience in the law in Ireland, become such a religious and cultural force in his new country? What had led to his presence on that platform in the Brisbane Exhibition Hall on that evening of 10 January 1916 and his election to be honorary secretary of the ADCC?

### Garland's Australian beginnings

David Garland found himself in Toowoomba at the age of 23, initially, it is understood, possibly as a 'managing clerk' in a law firm but he soon came under the influence of Canon Jones. This encounter was, by Garland's own testimony, crucial for his development.<sup>11</sup> He led Garland towards Anglo-Catholic spirituality and thereby awakened a vocation to the priesthood in his young disciple. Garland attached himself to Jones as a catechist (lay teacher) working among



The Anzac Day Committee, 17 March 1922. Note the presence of both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Archbishops in the front row.

Church of England people on the Darling Downs. He had begun to read theology with Jones as mentor in preparation for ordination, this being the practice in the days before theological colleges. If the diocesan bishop assessed the young man as competent he would be accepted as a candidate for ordination. No degree or diploma in theology was required. Acceptance lay entirely within the bishop's discretion. As Toowoomba was part of the Brisbane Diocese, Garland would normally have been ordained by the Bishop of Brisbane, but Garland apparently had some serious differences with his diocesan, Bishop WTT Webber.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, Garland sought ordination in the neighbouring Diocese of Grafton/Armidale. He was made deacon by Bishop JF Turner in September 1889.<sup>13</sup> After initial service in Grafton, Garland was sent as deacon-in-charge of Quirindi (1890–1891) and then to Narrabri near Gunnedah (1891–1892). Garland then moves to Perth where he is ordained priest on 4 February 1892. In the west he quickly rises to prominence as an efficient administrator and mission chaplain. He managed, however, to return east in order to marry Mary Hadfield, a Grafton widow, in Christ Church St Laurence in Sydney (29 October 1892). As mission chaplain in Perth, Garland's task had been to act as the bishop's trouble-shooter in the remoter areas of the Diocese of Perth (Western Australia) attending to run-down parishes by placing them on a viable financial basis, and reporting on the condition of Aborigines.<sup>14</sup>

What emerges very early in Garland's ministry in Western Australia is his outstanding administrative gifts. He became particularly useful to the administrator of the Diocese, Dean Frederick Goldsmith,<sup>15</sup> in the period between episcopates – Bishop Parry having died on 15 November 1893 and Bishop Riley having arrived in February 1895. Not surprisingly, in this role Garland was also a member of the Diocesan Council. At the same time he started and managed the diocesan newspaper, *The West Australian Church News*, and lobbied the colonial government successfully to have



the *Education Act* amended in 1896 to allow ministers of religion into government schools to teach Christianity. Significantly, also in 1895, Garland became an army chaplain and later, during the Boer War, he was actively ministering to troops encamped at Royal Park prior to their embarkation for South Africa. In the Bishop's report to the 1897 Synod in Perth, Riley went out of his way to praise Garland: 'thanks to the zeal and energy displayed by the Secretary Mr Garland, order has come out of chaos, and everything now connected with the [diocesan] office is properly arranged'.<sup>16</sup>

Altogether, Garland spent ten years in the Perth diocese and only resigned because he and his Bishop became irreconcilably alienated over various issues. As explained in the next chapter, Riley's diary suggests that an acute personality conflict developed.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, in 1902 Garland sought an appointment elsewhere and finally gained one in Townsville in the Diocese of North Queensland under Bishop Frodsham whom he already knew. He was soon collated an archdeacon. In the absence of the Bishop (1903–04), Garland was appointed administrator of the diocese during which time he became Rector of Charters Towers, then the second most populous city in the north.<sup>18</sup> Here Garland exercised an exceedingly busy ministry distinguished by his civic-mindedness. By way of illustration, he was instrumental in getting the town water supply purified, an act which allegedly spared the citizens the lethal effects of typhoid. As well, Garland aligned himself with his Baptist colleague in campaigning for temperance and also for Sabbath observance. Garland also returned to a cherished cause when he again took up running the campaign for the Bible in State Schools League (BISL) as he had done in Perth. He was elected its secretary so that he could more energetically pursue its objectives.

To carry out his duties for the BISL, Garland would usually take the train to Brisbane, a two day journey, and by 1907 decided that it would be better to resign from Charters Towers and apply

for a parish in or near Brisbane. After considerable obstruction from the Archbishop of Brisbane, St Clair Donaldson, Garland was finally appointed to the parish of Holy Trinity, Woolloongabba. It was, however, really due to the support of the other church leaders in the BISL of which Archbishop Donaldson was President that Garland succeeded in gaining a living in Brisbane at all, so great was Donaldson's suspicion of the man.<sup>19</sup> Significantly however, Donaldson was constrained to endorse Garland as he proved indispensable for the prosecution of the League's objectives.

Garland did not disappoint in this role, being very determined to repeat in Queensland the success with the BISL that had crowned his efforts in Western Australia a decade previously. He was tireless in his campaigning throughout the State, influencing the opinion of virtually the entire non-Roman Catholic community to support a referendum to amend the *Education Act*. In the process Garland succeeded in winning over sufficient members of parliament for this to go ahead. The opponents of course were to be found, paradoxically, among the free-thinkers and the Roman Catholics both of which groups held firm views from their respective positions as to why it was undesirable to have secular teachers giving Bible lessons in State schools and for ministers of religion to be allowed access to the schools to give religious instruction to the children of their respective flocks.

The resulting referendum, however, was an overwhelming vindication of Garland's campaign. As a consequence, the *Education Act* was amended in accordance with the wishes of the BISL in 1910. The Act remains unaltered in this respect to the present day. At the time of the campaign, however, this seemingly innocuous issue had been potentially extremely divisive in the Queensland community, but Garland had through the manner of his agitation won the hearts and minds of the majority of the electorate and even softened the heart of his Archbishop. Indeed, Garland's reputation had spread abroad to New Zealand, and he was invited there to

conduct another campaign on behalf of the 'Bible in Schools League' (as it was designated there) in 1912. Across the Tasman however, as we recount in chapter six, the campaign had to be abandoned due to the outbreak of war in August 1914 although Garland had been at least as energetic as he had been in Queensland.<sup>20</sup>

Garland's organisational and administrative competence obviously at times exasperated his ecclesiastical superior. Indeed, Donaldson, a Cambridge graduate, found it very difficult to appreciate the value of the former Dublin elementary schoolboy. The closest he came to praise was to confide to the Primate (the Archbishop of Sydney, Saumarez Smith, in a letter dated 14 February 1907), that Garland was extraordinarily competent compared to the other diocesan clergy. Donaldson wrote:

[Garland] is very willful and insubordinate, and in Queensland he is in my opinion, far too deeply immersed in politics ever to settle down as a quiet parish priest. What he needs and what he professes to want, is a town parish if possible among the poor. And further he needs to be in a sphere where there are other men of calibre. In Queensland he is a *Triton among the minnows* [emphasis added].

But Donaldson went on:

There is a lot of good in him; he is fearless, sympathetic and full of zeal, and withal a man of first class ability. His ideal has undoubtedly been pastoral work, and he will turn his back on that ideal if he ceases to work as a parish priest.<sup>21</sup>

Donaldson was right about Garland's deep sense of pastoral concern for souls. This, as time would show, extended beyond the working class poor and Aborigines to include enlisted men in war-time, as shall be seen in respect of his strenuous efforts for their material and spiritual welfare.

## Garland's Anglo-Catholicism

Garland's advanced theological outlook touched upon questions of sanctification and Church-State relations. To understand Garland the priest and to gain a deeper insight into how he saw the spiritual purpose of the Anzac Day commemoration, an explication of his religious beliefs is needed.

It has been pointed out already that Garland ascribed his theological position to the influence of his mentor, Canon Jones. This was emphatically Catholic as represented by the Oxford fathers, Edward Bouverie Pusey and John Keble. Garland had, through the influence of Canon Jones, become absolutely convinced that the Oxford Movement had virtually rescued the Church of England from oblivion.<sup>22</sup> The eighteenth century Church of England had plumbed the depths of neglect and mismanagement to become scarcely more than a department of state, the 'Tory Party at prayer'. It was in dire need of a second reformation and this was triggered by with the famous Assize Sermon in St Mary's Church Oxford preached on 14 July 1833 by the Reverend John Keble on the subject of 'National Apostasy'. Keble's chief motivation was the State's unilateral decision to suppress bishoprics of the Church of Ireland. This had been a reasonable enough measure given the minority status of Anglicanism in Ireland but the idea that the State could override the authority of the Church in this way was the violation of the doctrine that the Church was a divine organisation with a distinct and unique role in the life of the nation. The point being made by Keble was that the Church could not be treated as though it were an entity subordinate to civil authority. This gave rise to the claim of 'national apostasy' which Keble understood as the abandonment of Christianity by the State. The Church of England was emphatically not an Erastian Church or a mere handmaid of the State.

John Keble's vigorous reassertion of ecclesiastical autonomy was followed up by the publication of *Tracts for the Times*. Ninety were produced between 1833 and 1840. These addressed a range

of contentious theological issues and above all stressed that the Church of England in the nineteenth century stood in essentially unbroken continuity with the Church of St Augustine of Canterbury, of the fifth century. The Reformation had not discarded the true characteristics of catholicity, it had simply corrected abuses and shown that submission to the Bishop of Rome was not a pre-requisite of true catholicity.<sup>23</sup> As Article XXXVII of the Articles of Religion, appended to the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, plainly affirms: 'The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England'. Consequently, the formularies of the Church of England emphasise that *Ecclesia Anglicana* is certainly Catholic but not papal. It is the *una sancta*.

The Oxford Movement changed both the self-perception and the public face of the Church of England so that it perceived its vocation from almighty God to re-affirm the *Book of Common Prayer* as enshrining both a Catholic liturgy and sacramental system. This was upheld by those clergy and people who understood the concept of catholicity. The 'low church' or Evangelical party did not accept the 'paradigm shift' which the Oxford Movement initiated. For his part, Garland was uncompromisingly and militantly Catholic in his theology while insisting at the same time on propagating and maintaining the widest possible appreciation of Holy Scripture among the faithful. As his close relations to the Eastern Orthodox churches, both Greek and Russian, in Brisbane, eloquently document, he was an advocate of the so-called branch theory of Catholicism, meaning that there were three main branches of the Catholic Church: Anglican, Orthodox and Roman. In at least one published article Garland explained that he belonged to a movement that had a God-given commission to reform society by being pro-active in the world. In a seminal statement he began by outlining the condition of the Church of England when the Oxford Movement began under four headings. It stood in dire need of revival as Garland pointed out in the following précis of his position:

The Church was assailed by four dangers:

(a) *Politics*. Parliament in 1830 was passing a Bill suppressing then Bishoprics of the Church of Ireland. This was declaration of war; there was every reason to anticipate the English Bishoprics would come next. It was an earnest of what was to follow. The English Church was never more unpopular. The Whigs had come into power and their allies were the dissenters and Roman Catholics. The Church of England could expect no mercy. The Prime Minister, Earl Grey, warned the Bishops to 'set their house in order' though he did not finish the quotation (2 Kings 20:1). Others completed it for him, 'for thou shalt die, thou shalt not live'. Taking the cue from Lord Grey, the mob at Bristol burnt Bishop Gray's palace to the ground. Other Bishops were mobbed in the street, a dead cat was thrown into the carriage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who said he was thankful it was not a live one. As Dr Arnold wrote, 'The Church as it now stands no human hand can save'.

(b) *Erastianism*, which meant that neither Church nor Bible was the final authority in religion, but the State. The Church as a department of state was an idea which had been growing in England for a century and a half.

(c) *Rationalism*, which was the most vital and more subtle danger. It had burst out in infidel fury in the French revolution and was at work quietly in the German universities. It was beginning its work in England. Faith, the soul and sin, these were 'the rubbish of superstition'. Morality was to be a matter of rational intelligence, education and civilisation. There was to be no religious basis for human conduct or the making of character; religion according to this subtle danger of rationalism had finished its role in the world.

(d) *Ignorance* of Church principles was general. It was a 'Parliamentarian Church,' said her enemies, both Roman and Dissenting. There were those, a few, on the other hand who believed the English Church was a living part of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, but generally speaking this was obscured; 999 out of 1,000 thought of the English Church as a Parliamentary Institution, a Government Department, as we would call it today.

Garland appreciated that the Oxford Movement had dedicated itself to turning this situation around. He had enlisted in its front ranks to fight fervently for the consolidation of what had already been accomplished and to exploit every future opportunity to advance the cause. He quoted no less an authority than WE Gladstone on the parlous state of worship in the Church of England in the 1830s. 'It must be admitted,' he says,

that the state of things ... was dishonouring to Christianity, disgraceful to the nation; disgraceful most of all to that much-vaunted religious sentiment of the English public, which in impenetrable somnolence endured it, and resented all interference with it. ... The actual state of things as to worship was bad beyond all parallel known to me in experience or reading. ... Our services were probably without parallel in the world for their debasement. As they would have shocked a Brahmin or a Buddhist, so they could hardly have been endured in this country, had not the faculty of taste, and the perception of the seemly or unseemly, been as dead as the spirit of devotion. ... But of the general tone of the services in the Church of England at that time I do not hesitate to say, it was such as when carefully considered would have shocked not only the earnest Christian of whatever communion, but any believer in God.<sup>24</sup>

Gladstone conceived of the nation as essentially a moral spiritual community. A moribund church was not simply a disgrace, it was an indication of a decadent society. There is no doubt that the famous liberal Prime Minister and Imperial statesman exerted considerable influence on Garland's generation of clergy. Gladstone stood for the values of a Christian nation and endorsed the ideals of the Oxford Movement. A healthy nation depended upon a vital Church which was the pre-condition for right governance. Garland perceived himself as an energetic promoter of this ideal. His was a 'high' understanding of the role of the Church in society. Like all Anglo-Catholics, Garland did not consider himself a 'Protestant' and was always opposed to the practice of including the Church of England with the 'Protestant Denominations'. He was insistent that the Church of England preserve and insist upon its separate identity as *Church*. The theological grounds for this were that the Church, in contrast to a sect, had the task of *sacralising* the world. That is to say, through its preaching of the Word of God and its ministration of the sacraments, in particular those of Baptism and the Eucharist, the Church was fulfilling its role of sanctifying the individual Christian and through individuals, the community in general. The Church ideally functioned as the agency of the Holy Spirit in the world. It was the 'Body of Christ' whose task was to win all of humanity into its fellowship. The priest, as minister of both Word and Sacrament, exercised a unique and highly responsible office. Priests were responsible for the cure of souls. While they were to be agents of conversion, souls were won ultimately by the activity of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless the ordained ministry, bishops, priests and deacons, cooperated in a central way in the sanctification of the world.

As a reading of Garland's preserved sermons indicates, he understood his office to be that of a teacher of the Word and a mediator of the Sacraments, to represent Christ in the world for the welfare of souls. Without the liberating message of the Gospel and



the sustaining effect of the Sacraments, he contended that humankind languished forever in the bondage of sin. The priest was, in short, a channel of the means of salvation, a herald of liberation from the effects of sin. In sum, he was *alter Christus*.

Without this comprehension of Garland's self-perception as a priest in the Church of God, his undoubtedly enormous devotion to the Anzac movement makes no sense. His commitment is impossible to comprehend without the context of his understanding of the Church's role in the world. The Church as the 'Body of Christ' witnessed to the entire world for the well-being of all humankind. It did so without discrimination. It was definitely not an esoteric sect. For Garland the Church was the means of bringing sanctification to a world that had become increasingly alienated from the creator God. That being so, through the activity of the ADCC Garland was exercising part of his sacred ministry in a way that was veiled from the secular mind. Indeed, the ADCC was an agency, in Garland's comprehension, for the 'sacralising' of Australian society, of reminding the population of its duty to God in that it called men, women and children to render thanks for the sacrifice of the fallen and to show penitence for the sin of war. And war, in Garland's mind, was the consequence of human action taken in disregard of the commandments of God made known through the ministry of Jesus Christ. As Garland preached emphatically, the sin of war was a commentary on the failure of the Church to witness more faithfully to the Gospel in the world.<sup>25</sup>

Garland's 'high-church' view of the Anglican priest's task in the world differed from, for instance, the Roman Catholic priests' view of their role. For Garland and many others, the Oxford Movement prompted a crusading zeal to revive a moribund national Church. Countless young men in this era entered the priesthood to serve not only in the neglected slums of Britain's industrial cities, but also in the wider world, particularly in the British Empire, in 'heathen lands' but also in the colonies of settlement. As the biographies

of numerous young priests show, they were inspired by a romantic vision to win the Empire for Christ, and were in no doubt that almighty God had bestowed on England 'dominion over palm and pine' for precisely this purpose. Behind this mindset stands the Gladstonian depiction of the relationship between the English Church and the English State.

## **The Gladstonian factor in Church–State relations**

William Ewart Gladstone had a highly developed sense of the Christian responsibility of politics. He had early systematised his views on the correct relationship between Church and State. What he taught became part of the intellectual equipment of Anglican leaders throughout the period of British pre-eminence in the world and it certainly lent them a unique degree of self-confidence about their appointed role in God's scheme for salvation. Garland's career reflected this position as did that of Archbishop St Clair Donaldson examined in the next chapter.

The importance of Gladstone's example for colonial bishops lies in the fact that he pointed the way to the liberation of the Church overseas, that is, its autonomy from control by the Church of England while seeking to sustain and strengthen ties with the Church 'at home'. The Anglican Church in the colonies could not claim to be the established Church but had to recognise the existence of the Church of Rome as well as the Nonconformist Churches. All Churches, indeed, had to learn to tolerate each other. Garland exemplified this attitude as the ecumenical membership of the ADCC illustrated. However, the significance of Gladstone's vision for the relationship of the colonial Churches to the Church of England was only realised after decades of frustration in the final decade of the nineteenth century. The colonial churches were 'free', meaning independent, but nonetheless cherished a 'great bond of Imperial union'. As the Australian historian Hilary Carey aptly notes: 'the institutional power of the Church of England in the British Empire

had been radically weakened by the loss of its former union with the state in the colonies. What remained to link colonial church and imperial state was based on sentiment, spiritual authority, and the voluntary principle.<sup>26</sup> This was arguably never stronger than during that crisis of Empire which resulted from the challenge of Imperial Germany to British pre-eminence in the world at that time.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia. A History*, 2 Vols, OUP, Melbourne, 1998–2004.
- 2 See the discussion of this theme by Hilary Carey in her *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801–1908*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 6–14.
- 3 John A Moses, 'The Christian Basis of George Arnold Wood's Historiographical Assumptions', *St Mark's Review*, No. 146, Winter 1991, pp. 17–24.
- 4 Eric Andrews, '25 April 1916: First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Vol. 23, October 1993, p. 13.
- 5 KS Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition', *Meanjin Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1965, pp. 25–44; 'CEW Bean – Australian Historian', [The John Murtagh Macrossan Lecture 1969, University of Queensland], University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1970, p. 32; David Kent, 'The ANZAC Book and the ANZAC Legend: CEW Bean as Editor and Image Maker', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 84, April 1985, pp. 376–90; Richard Ely, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered', *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 17, November 1985, pp. 41–58.
- 6 The actual proposal that 25 April, the day of the landing at Gallipoli, be the day for sombre recollection of the sacrifice of the fallen came from a prominent Brisbane auctioneer, Mr Thomas Augustine Ryan, whose son had served in the campaign. See *Anzac Commemoration 1921, A Brief History of the Movement: Sermons and Addresses* compiled by HJ Diddams, ADCC, Brisbane, 1922, p. 7.
- 7 Interestingly the Premier, TJ Ryan, was strongly anti-conscription. See DJ Murphy, *TJ Ryan: A Political Biography*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1975.

- 8 The flag referred to here is obviously the small Union Jack that was carried ashore by two Brisbane soldiers on 25 April 1915 and which is now displayed in a glass case on the wall of St John's Cathedral in Brisbane inside to the right of the door of the south side transept entrance. See chapter nine, 'The Peripatetic Priest'.
- 9 These are precisely the views of Archibald T Strong. See John A Moses, 'An Australian Empire Patriot and the Great War: Archibald T Strong (1876–1930)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 53, No. 3, September 2000, pp. 407–19.
- 10 HJ Diddams, *Anzac Commemoration, 1922*, p. 9.
- 11 See Garland's obituary for Canon Jones in the *Brisbane Courier*, 7 December 1918, 'The Late Canon Thomas Jones', and further in the *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1934, p. 203, on the occasion of the award of an OBE to Canon Garland.
- 12 Diary entry of Bishop COL Riley, 6 April 1902, Battye Library, Perth.
- 13 *Yearbook of the Diocese of Grafton* 1889, p. 5. Garland was allocated to serve under the Archdeacon of Grafton, during which time he had made a marked impression on the bishop who saw fit to comment in his Presidential Address to the Diocesan Synod, 'It is only fair that I should make honourable mention of the Rev. Mr. Garland as working heartily and loyally in his [the Archdeacon of Grafton's] charge, and to the best of my belief doing much good work among the young, with much personal self-denial. The Church wants more such in a scattered Diocese like ours'.
- 14 In 1894 at the *Anglican Church Congress* in Hobart Garland spoke on 'Mission to Aborigines of Australia', pp. 284–86, and Church finances, pp. 222–24 of *The Official Report of the Church Congress* held at Hobart 23–26 January 1894.
- 15 Colin Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle: Frederick Goldsmith, Church Nationalism and Society in Western Australia 1880–1920*, UWA Press, Perth, 1997, p. 69. Besides their alliance on the question of the Bible in Schools movement Garland and Goldsmith shared similar Anglo–Catholic convictions which later irritated Bishop Riley. See Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle*, p. 92.
- 16 *Year Book, Diocese of Perth*, 1897.
- 17 Riley Diary. See entries between 16 October 1901 and 24 March 1902.
- 18 *Year Book of the Diocese of North Queensland*, 1904/05, pp. 33–4.
- 19 See the Minute Book 1890–1909 of the Bible in State Schools League, The President's Statement, 24 October 1907, typescript between pages 149 and 150. See John A Moses' account in 'Canon David John Garland (1864–1939) and the Problem of Who Leads', in Alan H Cadwallader

- (ed.), *Episcopacy: Views from the Antipodes*, Anglican Board of Christian Education, Adelaide, 1994, pp. 151–70.
- 20 Ian Breward, *Godless Schools? A Study of Protestant Reactions to Secular Education in New Zealand*, Presbyterian Book Room, Christchurch, 1967, pp. 43–71; Rory Sweetman, ‘New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912–1922’, PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1990, pp. 58–86.
  - 21 Kidd, ‘The Brisbane Episcopate’, Chapter IV.
  - 22 Canon Garland, ‘The Church Revival commonly called the Oxford Movement’, *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1931, p. 312.
  - 23 For general information about the self-perception of the Church of England after the Oxford Movement, see John A Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush – Essays in Catholic Anglicanism in Australia*, Broughton Press/SPCK, Canberra, 1997.
  - 24 ‘The Church Revival commonly called the Oxford Movement’, *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1931, pp. 212–13.
  - 25 Anzac Day Sermon by the Reverend Canon Garland, in Diddams, *Anzac Day Sermons and Addresses*, pp. 37–41.
  - 26 Hilary Carey, ‘Gladstone, the Colonial Church and Imperial State’, in Hilary Carey and John Gascoigne (eds), *Church and State in Old and New Worlds*, Brill, Leiden/ Boston, 2011, p. 180. See also Carey, *God’s Empire*, pp. 6–14; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007.

## 5 David John Garland

### From Orange Lodge to Anglo-Catholicism

Thomas said to him, ‘Lord, we do not know where you are going; how can we know the way?’ Jesus said to him, ‘I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me’. (John 14:5–6)

**T**his chapter examines in more detail Garland’s mental formation, given its bearing on the character of Anzac Day commemorations. His life, on closer examination, rather exemplifies the German saying, ‘*Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm*’, meaning literally, ‘The apple doesn’t fall far from the tree’, but more colloquially it corresponds to ‘Like father, like son’. It could also be interpreted as meaning that a child will inevitably inherit many of the characteristics of the family in which it was raised. Born in Dublin, Garland received an undoubtedly potent Orange influence from his wider family, making his transition from

that pugnaciously Protestant background to Anglo-Catholicism all the more remarkable.

But what was the Orange Order and for what did it stand? There exists a great deal of literature on the origins and subsequent history of this fiercely Protestant organisation that derives its origin from the victory in 1690 of the new English Protestant King, William of Orange, over the Papist Irish forces at the Battle of the Boyne. This ensured that a great enmity arose and was sustained between 'Protestants and Catholics' especially in Northern Ireland to this day. A recent authority states:

The Orange Order was born out of violence and has frequently been the occasion of more, but must be seen in an intensely violent context. As the historian ATQ Stewart puts it bluntly in his brilliant *The Narrow Ground*, what has been constant about the Irish people throughout recorded history 'is their capacity for very reckless violence, allied to a distorted moral sense which magnifies small sins and yet regards murder as trivial. Their kindness and hospitality are legendary, but so too is their reputation for hypocrisy and cruelty. ... [T]he frightfulness of the crimes committed in modern Ireland is to be explained by patterns of behaviour which are of great antiquity.'<sup>1</sup>

The fact that contemporary Irish history has been fraught with extreme violence perpetrated by both sides is undeniable. It is therefore fair to observe that the Orange Order has been an agency of considerable discord between Catholic and Protestant Irish people but is itself characterised by an endemic factionalism that defies comprehension by the outside observer.<sup>2</sup> As heir to such a tradition, David John Garland would have inherited both positive and negative features contributing to his formation. Such a legacy combines both the elements of fierce tribal loyalty on the one hand

and uncompromising hostility towards the putative enemy on the other. His biography since arrival in Australia, however, illustrates that given the 'right' influences these divisive factors could be overcome and turned to considerable creative purpose.

The Garland family was established in County Monaghan on a farm property which is still there outside the township of Monaghan. And it was there that the Orange Lodge had a meeting house.<sup>3</sup> In recent times the little conventicle, known as the 'Orange Hall' had been removed to an outdoor Folk Museum situated just outside Belfast where there are numerous re-located and restored buildings including churches and shops, indeed everything that one expects to find in a village community. The fact that the Garland property in Monaghan was the centre of Orange activity in that district places beyond doubt the deep Protestant commitment of the family. David Garland's father, James had left the family home in the country for employment at Trinity College Dublin, once known flippantly as the 'last outpost of the Protestant ascendancy'. Garland senior was, however, not a scholar but worked in an auxiliary capacity, finally as a librarian's assistant. He had married in 1862 Mary Ann nee Saunders and produced five children.<sup>4</sup> Sadly, there is a depressing paucity of extant records which reveal anything of DJ Garland's biography when the family lived in Dublin. There is the distinct possibility that he had become a 'managing clerk' in the law. He certainly voyaged to Australia in 1886 to continue this profession with a law firm in Toowoomba.<sup>5</sup> Whether you lived in Dublin or Toowoomba you were in those days still virtually in the same country, or political jurisdiction, namely the British Empire. There was only the 'tyranny of distance' to overcome, and that was no real difficulty given that there were so many passenger shipping lines encircling the globe. Unfortunately, neither the Law Societies of Dublin nor of Queensland can provide any record of Garland being registered as an 'articled' or even a 'managing' clerk. Nevertheless, subsequent commentators who worked with Canon



Garland attested to his considerable legal expertise which could only have been acquired as an employee of a law firm.<sup>6</sup>

During the brief but crucial sojourn in Toowoomba the young Garland came under the influence of Canon Jones who exercised sufficient persuasive power to 'convert' the earnest young Evangelical into becoming a most fervent Anglo-Catholic. Readers who are aware of the 'low church' versus 'high church' conflict within Anglicanism will grasp the significance of this transition. By all accounts Jones had early become an unshakable disciple of the Oxford Movement, the Catholic revival in the Church of England as described in chapter four. Born in Preston England in 1836, educated at the grammar school there, Jones subsequently became a teacher at the Marlborough Grammar School. He then met Dr Tufnell who was prebendary (senior priest) at Salisbury Cathedral. Tufnell persuaded Jones in 1859 to take holy orders and so Jones was made deacon in Salisbury Cathedral. That year Tufnell was consecrated the first Bishop of Brisbane, and Jones accompanied him back to Australia, arriving in 1860 to take up duties in the newly created diocese as a curate in St John's pro-cathedral Brisbane where he was ordained priest in June 1861. After an effective and varied ministry, Jones moved to Toowoomba as Rector of St James' and was designated Archdeacon of the Western District.<sup>7</sup> The Jones-Garland encounter was a meeting between two men of similar temperament and would prove to be of considerable historical significance. Without the energetic Tommy Jones the course of Garland's life would doubtlessly have been considerably different. In tutoring the eager young Garland, Jones would have made the point emphatically that Anglicanism stands on the foundation enunciated in the sixteenth century by the theologian Richard Hooker (1554–1600): 'Scripture, Reason and Tradition.'<sup>8</sup> Anglican Church history was sufficient to convince Garland that his commitment to Holy Scripture as the handbook for life did not conflict in any way with the Oxford Movement's agenda.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it was the

very foundation of the movement. Garland believed that the Bible was the essential basis of British culture and considered biblical knowledge to be the starting point for true human development. This explains his vigour in promoting the teaching of the Bible to all children, as shall be seen. Significantly, this did not conflict in his mind with also cultivating the Catholic tradition of the Church which is in itself a means of communicating the universal truths contained in the Gospels to humankind generally. Both Jones and Garland could readily be described as either ‘Catholic Evangelicals’ or ‘Evangelical Catholics’. In short, the Catholic faith cannot teach anything that is not in the Bible or is in conflict with it. Indeed, the following saying was often heard in Anglo–Catholic circles: ‘The Church to teach, the Bible to prove’. For the mature Garland, then, the ritual of the Church that surrounds the celebration of the Sacraments, especially the Eucharist, was simply the culturally necessary way of communicating biblical truth.

After serving as a deacon in Grafton from 1889 to 1892, Garland went to Perth where he was ordained priest by Bishop Henry Parry. Garland spent an entire decade in the service of the Diocese of Perth in a range of capacities which revealed both his versatility and entrepreneurial drive. It was here that the young priest immediately made his presence felt. Parry employed Garland in the work of Church Extension, namely to assist in struggling parishes in growing centres of population within the vast colony. For example, he was sent initially to the goldfields town of Southern Cross for this purpose.<sup>10</sup> Garland had obviously discharged his duties so well that in his 1892 Synod Report the Bishop expressed his intention to use Garland not only to supply the districts of Gascoyne and Roebourne with regular clerical ministrations, but also ‘to place matters in train for more permanent arrangements in the future’. Also at that time Parry proposed to send Garland to Carnarvon ‘for an indefinite time to look after the interests of the Church and to place matters on a better financial basis’.

These assignments for a virtually inexperienced young priest, save his earlier diaconal appointments in the diocese of Grafton, must be regarded as highly unusual, and testify to the administrative competence of the young Dubliner. Then in his 1893 Synod Report, the Bishop was moved to comment:

I am thankful to say, however, that I have been able to turn to good account the services of our diocesan Missioner, the Rev DJ Garland, in maintaining the ministrations of the Church in these [northern] districts during this period, and again for securing in each case the necessary local support for a resident clergyman. Mr Garland, after taking charge of the parish of Dongara for a couple of months, until the appointment of the Rev RA Adams, as Mr Everingham's successor to the cure of that parish, and holding a ten days mission at Canon Louch's request, at Geraldton, proceeded in March last to Carnarvon, where he remained some weeks, visiting settlers and re-organising church matters generally with a view to the erection of a small church and a clergyman's residence and to obtaining definite promises of contributions towards the clergyman's stipend. From there he went on in May to Roebourne, where he has since remained, with the exception of a five week's journey (of some 600 miles going and returning) to the Marble Bar gold fields and the Eastward stations, doing similar good work. I learn both from his own letters, or from other sources, that congregations have been got well together again both at Roebourne and at Cossack, that the offertory collections have been larger than ever before, and an interest in church work has been awakened throughout the district.<sup>11</sup>

Parry was clearly highly impressed by his energetic new recruit. He was not only busy but astute in keeping his bishop closely informed of the progress he had achieved. Details such as the acquisition of a 'magic lantern' for Roebourne from the SPCK were not left out. Garland was to use this early mode of 'slide projection' repeatedly in his later career for the instruction of congregations in the history of the Bible and later to illustrate his experiences in Egypt and the Holy Land.

Perhaps prudently, Parry had Garland's reports corroborated from 'other sources', and was clearly convinced that his new priest was able, efficient and dedicated. Indeed, Parry must have been persuaded that Garland was a unique acquisition in his diocese because by the end of his episcopate (Parry had died 15 November 1893) and the installation of his successor, Charles Riley (arrived from England in February 1895) Garland had become Diocesan Registrar, Chaplain to the Bishop, Secretary of the Diocesan Council and member of the Synodal Assessment Committee, still under his original licence. Clearly, Garland had made himself indispensable to the administration of the diocese during the interregnum, a role he was destined to fulfill again a decade later in the diocese of North Queensland.

There were, as well, other tasks which Garland took up in Perth which were to be pursued to great effect when he returned to the East. Two of these were the campaign for religious instruction in government schools and military chaplaincy work. Regarding the latter Garland had become dedicated to the work of army chaplaincy when Western Australian recruits were being trained to serve in the Boer War Contingent. He had been licensed for camp chaplaincy already on 15 May 1895, an experience which was to stand him in good stead in Brisbane and in the Middle East for the infinitely greater conflict in which the Dominions were again involved.<sup>12</sup>

On the issue of religious instruction in government schools, Garland wasted no time. In a report to the Diocesan Board of

Education in 1893 he had made clear that he wanted to influence the formulation of the *Colonial Education Act* to make provision for the more definite religious education of children along the lines of the comparable New South Wales legislation of 1880. To lend force to his agitation Garland had corresponded with all the school inspectors of New South Wales to ascertain their views on how the Act functioned in practice. Of these he made a summary for the Bishop's use and forwarded it as well to the Colonial Secretary appealing for his support. Very early in his career, then, Garland had become an accomplished lobbyist.

Garland was also acutely aware of the power of the Press and he initiated the foundation of a church newspaper in Perth, the *West Australian Church News*.<sup>13</sup> This Garland managed until he left the diocese in 1902. In that time of almost a decade he agitated in his paper for the amendment of the *Education Act*, an object that was accomplished by 1896. In the Synod of that year clergy were urged to avail themselves of the right to enter government schools to give religious instruction. By 1897 the Bishop in Synod referred to this campaign by observing that there was 'no work of greater importance'.<sup>14</sup>

Bishop Riley at this stage of Garland's ministry had clearly appreciated the energetic Dubliner's abilities. In further commenting on his organisational expertise in his role as Diocesan Secretary, Riley observed that in contrast to previously everything had now changed, 'thanks to the zeal and energy displayed by the Secretary Mr Garland. Order has come from chaos, and everything now connected with the office is properly arranged. All this has been done during the year at the small cost of £218'.<sup>15</sup>

This apparently cordial working relationship between Garland and his Bishop was not destined to endure. It is clear that Garland desired recognition for his obvious achievements but Riley, for undisclosed reasons, was slow in conferring the honours which Garland believed were his due. The Bishop's diary for the years 1897

to 1902 traces a steady deterioration in their relationship. The scattered clues pieced together render a mosaic of mutual frustration and seething enmity. Someone had to go and, of course, it had to be the overly ambitious young priest.

Garland's undoubted penchant for committee work clearly brought with it the temptation to intrigue in the corridors of power. Riley noticed this with growing concern and became determined not to be out-manoeuvred by his 'egotistic' servant.<sup>16</sup> Friction had been developing for some time over a series of incidents such as Riley's failure to send reports to the *West Australian Church News* concerning a trip the Bishop had recently undertaken.<sup>17</sup> There arose, as well, sharp differences of opinion on financial matters affecting the diocese in which Riley accused Garland of lying.<sup>18</sup> What precisely was behind this charge is impossible to fathom but that the two men became increasingly suspicious of each other there can be no doubt. One factor in all this was that of 'churchmanship'. As has been seen, Garland was very 'high' church in his approach to worship but Riley occupied a position considerably 'lower'. For example, on 26 February 1899 Riley confided to his diary, 'Opened girls' orphanage, good congregation, very sorry to see they have a set of coloured vestments. Never told me anything about it. I do not see how – without causing trouble – I can stem the ritualism of the Dean and Garland'. This is, indeed, a classic instance of the tensions that arose between clergy who wanted to promote the Catholic revival in the Church of England and their more conservative bishops.

In addition, Garland's irascibility in public hardened the Bishop against him. For example, at a meeting with clergy of other denominations Riley lamented that 'Garland nearly wrecked the whole thing',<sup>19</sup> or at Diocesan Council meetings when on one occasion the Bishop recorded: 'Garland and Oran quarrelled all the time, most horrible! Felt very ill'.<sup>20</sup> Even in relatively old age Garland retained the reputation of being a 'fighter' for the causes he espoused.

Ironically, in the midst of these collapsing relationships, Garland was collated a Canon of the Cathedral. Riley signed Garland's license as 'Canon Missioner' on 16 August 1901. But by the time of Synod in October 1901, Garland had become so alienated that he informed the bishop that if he were not re-elected to the Diocesan Council he would leave the diocese. It was a self-fulfilling prophecy; the Synod deserted him, and Garland became so angry and disappointed that he actually told Riley that it was 'all his fault'.<sup>21</sup> The quarrel had by now reached serious proportions. On 22 October 1901 Riley felt he had no alternative but to consult the Chief Justice about Garland, whereupon Garland confronted Riley and accused him of not treating him 'as a bishop should treat a man'. Garland had, so Riley later discovered, complained to the Bishop of Tasmania that he (Riley) was an 'ungrateful brute'. Riley confided to his diary as well that 'Tasmania [that is, the Bishop] tells me he tried to obtain work for Garland in diocese of Adelaide, but no chance. They would not have him at any price'.<sup>22</sup>

This was a very stormy period for Garland. The diocese no longer wanted him around but it was clear that he could serve the church well if only the right niche could be found for the exercise of his considerable gifts. Consequently, Garland tried to negotiate a post in the diocese of Sydney at the 'high' church of St James', King Street. On 21 February 1902 Garland called, probably for the very last time, on his Ordinary informing him that he wanted to leave after 2 March. Riley recorded that '[He] Told me all the good things he had done'.<sup>23</sup>

What happened next would have wounded Garland deeply had he ever have learned of it. Bishop Riley had left by ship for Sydney on the first leg of an extended overseas trip. On 21 March 1902 he visited the Archbishop of Sydney, William Saumarez-Smith. According to Riley, Smith wanted to know all about Garland, having understood that Garland was seeking an appointment in Sydney. Riley's diary records for 24 March 1902: 'I told Archbishop,

Garland would get around him.' The diary does not confirm whether after leaving Sydney the vessel called into Brisbane on his way to Honolulu but there is an enigmatic entry under the date 6 April: 'At Sea,' 'Canon Garland worked hard in Brisbane but had row with Bishop, no one knew exactly what was the cause.' This, of course, could only refer to Garland's time as a catechist/lay reader under the tutelage of Tommy Jones before his being made deacon in Grafton. So, did the youthful Garland already have a collision with the bishop which led to his seeking ordination elsewhere? Apparently he did.

Prior to Garland's departure for the East, he discharged a six week *locum* at Northam parish where he had informed the congregation that he was about to leave to take temporary charge of St James' Sydney while its incumbent was away. He had been licensed there as 'assistant minister' until 15 December 1902.<sup>24</sup> *The West Australian Church News* of 23 March 1902 reported Garland's farewell to the diocese of Perth. It had been a decade of oscillating fortunes for an undoubtedly turbulent priest. Would the move back to the East bring the tranquility and peace Garland so earnestly desired? Sydney was clearly not going to offer Garland a safe haven. The short period at St James' was all he could hope for. But for Garland, as with Mr Micawber, something was bound to turn up, and it did, in the far away diocese of North Queensland. What had gone before was a period of great uncertainty for Garland, his wife and their small boy, David James (born 1896). The Garland family left Sydney for Townsville somewhat prior to the expiry of his temporary license at St James'. This leads to the conclusion that negotiations with North Queensland had been in train for some time because, on 17 December 1902, Garland was installed into the 'Canonry of St Mark' in St James' Cathedral, Townsville and simultaneously licensed as Rector of Charters Towers. On 12 March 1903 the Bishop, George Frodsham, licensed Garland as Archdeacon of the diocese.<sup>25</sup>



In the Bishop's inaugural address to Synod, 23 August 1904, having returned to the diocese after an extended absence, he found it appropriate to mention:

Archdeacon Garland was the first clergyman to come to the diocese after my election as Bishop, and I am pleased to believe that he came, if not primarily, at any rate to some degree, because of our friendship. He was the first to help us in those days of weakness after the cyclone. From the hour I left the Diocese on my mission he took the heavy work of administration upon his shoulders, and that willingly without fee or reward. Those who know the needs of Charters Towers and its distance from Townsville can imagine the onerous nature of the task, but only the diocesan council and myself know the extent and difficulty of an Administrator's work. In some respects it is more difficult than that of the Bishop, because the Administrator must consider in all things the policy of another, and so must often subordinate his own wishes and opinions. He has, moreover, the responsibility without the complete authority of the Bishop, and it is therefore open to more captious opposition and criticism. Difficult as the task of Administrator must ever be, Archdeacon Garland performed it wisely and well in North Queensland. He has laid us all under a heavy debt of gratitude by his faithful and wise stewardship.<sup>26</sup>

Again, Garland's administrative and organisational skills won him high recognition. That said, the tone of Bishop Frodsham's speech is significantly diplomatic. It deftly glossed over the obvious friction which Garland either encountered or generated himself by his style, but it was undeniably generous in its praise of the Archdeacon's efficiency. No doubt Garland wanted to 'lead from behind' as he

had done to some degree in Perth. The appointment to Charters Towers was in the context of a sprawling rural diocese a highly responsible one because the 'Towers', as it was known, had been a great gold mining town with a huge population in its heyday of around 30,000 inhabitants, making it one of the largest centres in all Queensland. Although the 'Towers' had well passed its peak by the turn of the century, it was still a major country town and the second, after Townsville, in the diocese. It provided ample scope for Garland to exploit his talents, as we have seen.

From the far north then, Garland resumed his campaign for religious instruction in government schools, since Queensland, as had been the case in Western Australia, lagged behind New South Wales in this regard. He also led the struggle for Sunday observance. He felt the desecration of the Sabbath was an abomination that had to be resisted by all right-thinking Christian people. It was an issue between Christianity and blatant secularism. Sunday must be kept as a holy day since it was vital to the maintenance of community under God. For example, Garland led the opposition to the State School Railway Excursion, to take place on a Sunday, from Charters Towers to Townsville, a distance of around 100 kilometres. This would have been an obvious violation of the sanctity of the Sabbath. Consequently, when Garland was in Brisbane in March 1906 he sought out the Premier to enlist his support in banning this insidious social evil.<sup>27</sup> For the same reason Garland promoted the Bible in State Schools League, becoming the secretary for Queensland. He enjoyed the full support of his Bishop who was of the opinion that there was a 'danger of loss of moral stamina caused by the absence of definite Christian moral teaching'.<sup>28</sup>

The Bible in State Schools League was an opportunity for Garland to enlist the support of the other denominations, with the exception of the Roman Catholics who strenuously opposed the movement. Garland demonstrated his genuine ecumenism here as with the cause of Sunday Observance. In Charters Towers,

Garland and his Baptist colleague hired a theatre on a Sunday (16 December 1906) in which they addressed 300–400 men on drink, gambling and morality. They regarded it as a splendid opportunity to get hold of men who never went to church, and noted with regret that lack of staff made it impossible to run such a meeting on a regular basis.<sup>29</sup> But it was the Bible in State Schools League that Garland really wanted to lead.

Bishop Frodsham of North Queensland and the Archbishop of Brisbane, St Clair Donaldson, were both ardent champions of the League. Indeed, Donaldson was the Queensland president. So the two prelates between them decided that Garland should again play an active role in furthering the League's cause from his base in Charters Towers. In effect they were making the energetic Archdeacon their chief agitator since he had been so successful in Western Australia. But Garland soon found the remoteness of Charters Towers hindering his work. He needed a parish in Brisbane if he were to be as effective in Queensland. Consequently, Garland negotiated first leave and then ultimately submitted his resignation from the cure of souls in the far north in order to go to Brisbane to prosecute his great cause. But the transition from the bush to the city was not going to be straight-forward.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Faithful Tribe: an Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions*, HarperCollins, London, 1999, p. 129.
- 2 For further information see Eric Kaufmann, *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History*, Oxford University Press, 2007; Tony Gray, *The Orange Order*, Bodley Head, London, 1972, especially p. 15, where the author explains the famous annual march of Orangemen on 12 July as follows: '... the Orangemen 'walk' on the 12th of July every year as a demonstration of their loyalty to the Crown and the 'constitution', to show their determination to maintain the Protestant ascendancy and to commemorate the victory of King William over King

James' Catholic forces at the Boyne. The Orange Order is a semi-secret society - that is to say, a society with secrets as opposed to a sworn secret society from which it developed - organised in a system of Lodges more or less on the Masonic pattern.'

- 3 Roy Garland, 'Garland of Uriel: A Sojourn in Tyrone', *Dúiche Néill – Journal of the O'Neill Historical Society*, No. 13, 2000, pp. 78–124.
- 4 These were: David John b. 1864; Sarah Prudence b. 1868; Richard b. 1870 and Elizabeth b. 1871. Richard Garland also eventually migrated to Australia to become director of the Dunlop Rubber Company in Melbourne. He died in 1919. Genealogical information supplied by Mr Roy Garland of Belfast.
- 5 The shipping records in the Queensland State Archives list David John Garland as having arrived in Brisbane on the SS *Jumna* on 17 November 1886 alone. His was designated simply as an 'Agent' from Ireland. He had embarked in London 21 September 1886. See Queensland State Archives file on the *Jumna*, pp. 378–79. The ADB entry on Garland states that his parents were with him. This was obviously not the case.
- 6 See W Osbourne Lilley, *Reminiscences of Life in Brisbane, and Reflections and Sayings 1839–1914*, WR Smith & Paterson, Brisbane, 1913, p. 42.
- 7 DL Kissick, *All Saints' Church Brisbane 1862–1937*, All Saints' Parish, Brisbane, 1937.
- 8 Richard Hooker was the intellectual apologist for the Anglican position *par excellence*. See Peter Munz, *The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1952 and Philip B Secor, *Richard Hooker: Prophet of Anglicanism*, Burns & Oates, London, 2001.
- 9 The Oxford Movement dates from the celebrated 'Assize Sermon' preached at St Mary's Church, Oxford, 14 July 1833 by John Keble on the subject of 'National Apostasy'. See ODCC entry.
- 10 See Fred Alexander (ed.), *Four Bishops and their See: Perth, Western Australia, 1857–1957*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1957, p. 45, where it is reported that the Bishop had sent Garland to the Eastern States to investigate missionary activity there, and on return Garland was sent to Southern Cross.
- 11 Parry's address to Synod, 16 August 1893, in *Year Book of the Diocese of Perth*, pp. 10–11.
- 12 A key source on Garland's career in Perth is the personal diary of Bishop Riley located in the Battye Library there; hereinafter cited as RD with the relevant date of entry. Here: RD 17 April 1897; 17 January 1898; 12 May 1901.
- 13 Alexander, *Four Bishops and their See*, p. 66.
- 14 *Year Book of the Diocese of Perth*, 1897, p. xviii.

- 15 *Year Book of the Diocese of Perth*, 1897. p. vii–viii.
- 16 RD, 4 June 1900.
- 17 RD, 15 December 1897.
- 18 RD, 12 March 1898 and 11 October 1901.
- 19 RD, 15 October 1901.
- 20 RD, 19 March 1901.
- 21 RD, 17 October 1901.
- 22 RD, 19 November 1901.
- 23 RD, 21 February 1902.
- 24 Minute Book of the Diocese of North Queensland, Entry 2515, 17 December 1902.
- 25 Minute Book of the Diocese of North Queensland, Entry 2519, 2 January 1903.
- 26 *Year Book*, Diocese of North Queensland, 1904/05, pp. 33–34.
- 27 *The Northern Churchman*, 7 April 1906.
- 28 *The Northern Churchman*, 1 September 1906.
- 29 *The Northern Churchman*, 1 January 1907.



First Anzac Day March in London, 25 April 1916

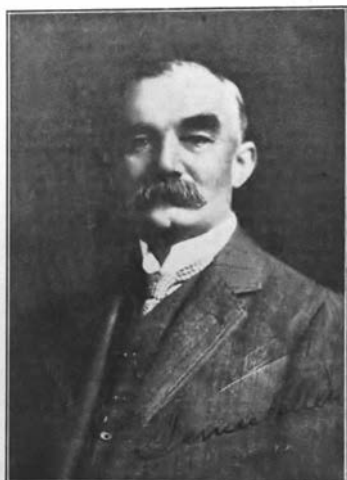
## 6 Canon David Garland in New Zealand, 1912–1915

*A*nzac Day was established in New Zealand in April 1916. It was given impetus through the wartime legislation of the Massey government. The Day was not a spontaneous creation in the sense that in an uncontrolled manner it unexpectedly or suddenly and simultaneously erupted all over the country. Extensive and careful preparations were made for the commemoration of the day and there was public debate over the form it should take. To understand his role and the ready acceptance of this trans-Tasman neighbour in this sensitive matter we need to appreciate the influential position Canon David Garland held in New Zealand society in the years from 1912 to 1915.

Garland is central to any discussion on the institution of Anzac Day. Because he became the voice of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee of Brisbane and because he promoted a widely-used 'Plan for Observance for Anzac Day' which was posted to the mayors of the main cities of New Zealand, we need to assess his impact.<sup>1</sup> Garland was an extraordinarily energetic man with great abilities in organisation. He became familiar with New Zealand following the decision to appoint him as the secretary-organiser for the Bible

in Schools League in 1912. However, he had already surveyed the ground during the previous year, visiting New Zealand in January.<sup>2</sup>

Anzac Day was greatly influenced in its formation and given meaning through the work of a loose association of like-minded, influential men. Central to this group was the energetic British federalist Lionel Curtis who became the principal driver of the Round Table movement. Curtis visited New Zealand in 1910, establishing a network of Round Table cells and drawing members from the social and intellectual elite of the country.<sup>3</sup> Also there was David Garland, secretary-organiser of the Bible in Schools League and



The Hon. Colonel James Allen  
Photo courtesy: *The British Australian*, 3  
April 1913, p.13.

‘architect of Anzac Day’ for Australia and to some extent for New Zealand. He was in New Zealand in 1912–1915 and met many of the Round Table members. Garland was a friend of Sir James Allen who was Minister of Defence in the Massey wartime cabinet: they shared common interests in promotion of the reading of the Bible in State Schools. Allen initiated the private member’s *Bible in Schools Bill* in 1914 and was a confidant of Garland who had been invited to New Zealand by the Anglican bishops to promote the objectives of the Bible in Schools League. Moreover, Garland

represented the same views as Allen held at the Parliamentary Committee of investigation into the Bill on Bible in Schools in 1914. James Allen’s son, John, wrote articles for the Round Table. His writing in defence matters was notable and he was a key figure in promoting the donation of the battlecruiser *New Zealand* to the Royal Navy and the maintenance of Imperial defence with a particular interest in the Pacific.<sup>4</sup> The Allen family were particularly close

friends of the British parliamentarian Leo Amery, another associate of Curtis.<sup>5</sup> In Dunedin, William Downie Stewart, mayor, savant and lawyer, hosted Curtis when he visited and possibly Garland as well during his 1913 sojourn.<sup>6</sup> Downie Stewart also had previously tabled a *Bible in Schools Bill* in 1885. Another member of this association was Captain Donald Simson, a principal motivator of the first Anzac Day in Wellington; he was a friend of Prime Minister William Massey. Simson subsequently became the London-based honorary secretary of the British Empire Service League. Simson and Curtis both served in the British forces in the South African War and lived in Johannesburg working in municipal administration; their careers overlapped in Johannesburg itself for seven years.<sup>7</sup> They were part of the English educated administrative elite, an enclave in the heart of the Boer territory. Finally, Leo Amery, Member for Sparkbrook, South Birmingham (1911–1945), was an empire federationist and member of the inner war cabinet in Britain. He was *The Times* correspondent, residing in South Africa between October 1899 and October 1902, returning to Britain to write Volume III of *The Times History*. He was a very close family friend of the Allens and visited Dunedin briefly in October 1913 at the same time as Garland.<sup>8</sup> Both Curtis and Amery were in Dunedin in late October and early November 1913 as part of a British Parliamentary mission. They had been welcomed there by Downie Stewart who received them as Mayor and more than likely were staying in his house.<sup>9</sup> This visit coincided with Garland's visit to the city for the Bible in Schools League annual conference.<sup>10</sup> Curtis would have been aware of Garland. Curtis had corresponded with Leo Amery (both were attached to Milner's famous 'Kindergarten') and also with Captain (later Sir) Donald Simson.<sup>11</sup> Either by directly promoting Anzac Day or more tenuously drawing the threads of a colonial empire together, these men individually and collectively influenced the beginnings and development of Anzac Day from its beginnings right up to the outbreak of World War II.



Tracing Garland's progress through New Zealand is made easier by the consistent newspaper coverage his visits received. Even smaller newspapers such as the *Grey River Argus* (Greymouth) and the *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne) followed his movements. It is obvious that Garland was well regarded and invited frequently as a speaker in centres outside his offices in the nation's capital, Wellington. As soon as he had arrived in August 1912, he travelled to Christchurch and Dunedin in the South Island.<sup>12</sup> In Christchurch he addressed a large inter-denominational gathering at Bishops Court on 10 October, a session of the Anglican Diocesan Synod on 16 October, a gathering of the Baptist Union Conference on 22 October and in Timaru addressed gatherings of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Salvationists<sup>13</sup>. What is surprising for the sectarianism of the times is the broadness of his acceptance. By early November he was back in Wellington but he departed at the end of the month for Picton in the Marlborough Sounds.<sup>14</sup> After spending a week there he was again in Wellington in early November. By mid-December he was on a cyclical tour of the North Island mostly travelling swiftly by rail.<sup>15</sup> On 20 December he was in Napier. This early pattern points clearly to the enthusiasm and energy he displayed for the task.

While Garland might have been acceptable to most of the Protestant churches which favoured the notion of compulsory Bible reading in State Schools, there were some influential pressmen who thought Garland's presence in New Zealand was divisive. Some of these writers were on the staff of the influential Wellington-based weekly *The New Zealand Free Lance*. This publication while centred in the capital had a national coverage and was known for a forthright cover of current issues. When Garland arrived *The Free Lance* ran a front-page cartoon lampooning his project as sowing discord in what the paper posed as a non-sectarian school situation created by the prevailing Nelson system. This adversarial stance did not diminish during Garland's time in New Zealand.



Not taking any fads.  
*The Free Lance*, 11 July 1914, p. 3.



Premier Massey acting secretly. *The Free Lance*, 4 July 1914, p. 9.



"The Apple of Discord. The Rev Canon Garland of Brisbane who is to conduct a campaign in the interests of the Bible in Schools' League."

THE APPLE OF DISCORD. The Rev. Canon Garland of Brisbane, who is to conduct a campaign in the interest of the Bible-in-Schools movement, arrived by the *Tahiti* from Brisbane yesterday. Canon Garland has taken up his residence permanently in Wellington where the Bible-in-Schools take offices and establish his headquarters – *Daily paper*.

*Bible in Schools League: Poor little Heathen – not one of them has a Bible in his hands. Here goes.*

*The State: Hold on there. We don't want the apple of discord thrown into our National school system. It has been running for 35 years. All sects live in harmony and the Chief Justice here will tell you crime is decreasing.*<sup>16</sup>

By 1913 Garland's star was nonetheless in the ascendant. He successfully balanced his parish duties with frequent speaking engagements. His address in Wellington was 235 Lambton-quay but it seems he was hardly ever at home. In mid-January he was back in Nelson.<sup>17</sup> Just a month later he was away again, this time in Christchurch, addressing Bible in Schools supporters in the King's Theatre. By late March he was in Greymouth on the South Island West Coast for a 'Monster Meeting' in the Town Hall.<sup>18</sup> Soon after he was in Wellington preaching from the pulpit at St Paul's Pro-Cathedral.<sup>19</sup> His next voyage was north to Auckland, where he spoke to attentive audiences in the town hall.<sup>20</sup> By mid-May the ferment had built and Garland was defending his Bible in all State Schools position against all comers, even the Women's Temperance Union who wished for an opt-out conscience clause for teachers. At the end of May Garland had to forgo a trip to Gisborne because of the furore and instead present a less heady address at the local Wellington YMCA.<sup>21</sup> He could not be kept at bay for long. By late July he was in Auckland raising the flag for the cause.<sup>22</sup> Despite the increasingly personal attacks being mounted against him and his use of

St Paul's pulpit, again in late August he was aboard the SS *Wahine* bound for Christchurch<sup>23</sup>, returning four days later where he spoke in the Grand Theatre to a large audience.<sup>24</sup> By early October he had been to and returned from Auckland, his travels no doubt slowed down by having to respond to the attacks mounted against him.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless on 17 October he was addressing the Anglican Synod in Nelson, returning to Wellington after two weeks via Lyttleton.<sup>26</sup> It was in that short time he travelled south again to the annual conference of the Bible in Schools League in Dunedin, 24–29 October, where he met Downie Stewart, Curtis and Amery. This was a prodigious amount of travel which fully used the new express train services well. Back in Wellington, buoyed by the bout of Southern hospitality, he was again giving addresses to groups like the Women's League.<sup>27</sup> The sojourn in Wellington lasted to mid-December when he took a flying visit to Auckland returning on 22 December.<sup>28</sup> Again, he was Christchurch-bound on SS *Wahine* in early February 1914.<sup>29</sup> Late February was taken up with the annual conference of the Bible in Schools League which pressed for the continuance of the Referendum on the issue.<sup>30</sup> From notices of presentations by Canon Garland in this period, it was demonstrated that he was a most acceptable speaker in Methodist circles. While Garland was appealing for calm, others were calling him a 'busy propagandist' who promoted 'Pilate's Referendum'.<sup>31</sup> Despite the furore, it was not long before he was off again, this time to Gisborne to preach in Holy Trinity Anglican and the local Presbyterian churches.<sup>32</sup> While there he attracted much attention but was back in Wellington within the week.<sup>33</sup> The visit to Gisborne became well-known for his 'famous sermon' in which he condemned the minor sects – and received a delayed public backlash for his efforts.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, he was again back in Christchurch on 15 May, returning a few days later.<sup>35</sup> By a felicitous coincidence the Wellington *Evening Post* listed the names of important figures moving around New Zealand from Wellington

in mid-May. Under the heading ‘Vice-Regal’ were ‘Canon Garland, Hon James Allen, Hon WH Herries, Hon Dr Pomare and Mr EH Hiley’, the newly appointed General Manager of Railways.<sup>36</sup> Allen and Garland frequently met but there is little hard evidence to be found. Uncharacteristically, Garland appears not to have left Wellington at this time. Much later, in 1916, after Garland had returned to Queensland, Pomare and Hiley were together at the exchange of flags between Petone railway station in Wellington and Hornsby station, New South Wales on the first Anzac Day, with Hiley taking the lead.<sup>37</sup>

Late May 1914 saw Garland speaking in defence of the Bible in Schools League and its 140,000 members who, opponents believed, would be a force in the forthcoming elections.<sup>38</sup> In June 1914 Garland argued that the *Bible in Schools Referendum Bill* was not to be regarded as a party question. Opposing Roman Catholic church members had circulated a petition asking for evidence to be taken before the Referendum.<sup>39</sup> Events were heating up and speaking engagements were crowding in but not being one to shy away from conflict Garland mounted an informed opposition by placing full page advertisements, even in papers which opposed his position.<sup>40</sup> On 28 June he ‘occupied the pulpit at the Kent-terace [sic] Presbyterian Church last evening’ speaking in defence of his organisation and its stand.<sup>41</sup> The Wellington *Evening Post* reported the meeting of the local Provincial Bible in Schools at St John’s Anglican Schoolroom on the previous evening.<sup>42</sup> Garland delivered an address referring to the seven previous attempts by others to promote the idea of bibles in schools. In this talk Garland referred to the authors of previous *Bible in Schools Bills* – Mr Downie Stewart, Mr TK Sidey (both Dunedin parliamentarians) and William Massey. The latter when Prime Minister later wrote the legislation for the Order in Council for the establishment of the first 1916 Anzac Day as a half holiday. Both Allen and Massey were under attack for bringing denominationalism in school

education, for socialising (indeed associating with ‘Red Feds’) and democratising education, driving them further into an association with Garland.<sup>43</sup> Early next month, July, the Reverend TA Williams of the National Schools Defence League met in the Scottish Hall, Gisborne, making arrangements for a public meeting to attack the stand of Garland and the Bible in Schools League.<sup>44</sup> Garland appeared to be lying low but in fact was very busy in Wellington marshalling support for the upcoming election and Referendum on the matter of religious instruction in schools.

On 24 July Garland was assiduously preparing his brief for presentation before the Education Committee of the House of Representatives which was convened to hear evidence on the *Bible in Schools Referendum Bill*. In retrospect, perhaps as important as the Bill itself was the composition of the committee. The Hon James Allen and Mr TK Sidey MP were leading members of the ten man group.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the Bible in Schools League opponents, the National Schools’ League, reported the sympathies for the Bible in Schools League cause expressed by James Allen during an interview.<sup>46</sup> Simultaneously, the attack against Garland was strengthening. He was accused of allying with the ‘Red Feds’ and endangering the nation, and some of his opponents claimed they had put the Bible in front of more children than Garland ever had.<sup>47</sup>

Overseas events intervened. War was declared in Europe on 4 August. Garland on behalf of the Bible in Schools League appealed for the withdrawal of the *Religious Instruction in Schools Referendum Bill* under these circumstances. James Allen decided as its sponsor to leave the Bill on the Order Paper, for later consideration.<sup>48</sup> Immediately Garland was reported placing the facilities of the Bible in Schools League organisation at the government’s disposal for assisting the war effort and offered a donation of £1,000 for the purchase of two field ambulances for the Expeditionary Forces.<sup>49</sup> Branches of the Women’s League of the Bible in Schools League were to meet for prayers and to provide comforts for soldiers.<sup>50</sup> That



said, Garland was off to Christchurch again on 24 August.<sup>51</sup> By 27 August the Bible in Schools League had received £1,300 in donations for the field ambulance appeal.<sup>52</sup> Within the week, Garland returned to Wellington to preach at St Barnabas, Roseneath, taking all three services for the 12th Sunday after Trinity, 30 August 1914.<sup>53</sup>

It was at this time that there appeared some of the first published comments responding to the German outrages in Belgium.<sup>54</sup> Up to this point, the New Zealand press had been relatively free of statements such as that attributed to the Bishop of Auckland, Dr AW Averill, made on commissioning the men of the Samoan Expeditionary Force to ‘defend the world from the tyranny and insane ambition of a man who is intoxicated and obsessed with his own self-importance, and from his half civilized Prussian military satellites ... The German Empire, as an Empire, must therefore perish ... remember ... that you are God’s instruments in this crusade’.<sup>55</sup>

In mid-October 1914 Garland was again present at the sittings of the Education Committee of the House for the Education Bill dealing with the Bible in schools. The local paper reported the Professor Hunter and John Caughey – David Garland exchange.<sup>56</sup> Once again, probably unnerved that the Bill had not died in the House, Garland’s opponents mounted a personal attack, accusing him of a ‘Kaiser-like touch’, and ‘most Pontifical style’.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile the committee of enquiry into the Referendum proceeded almost daily until 27 October.<sup>58</sup> On 29 October, local papers announced the fate of the *Religious Instruction in Schools Referendum Bill*. It had been turned down in favour of the secular ‘Nelson system’ where any religious instruction should be given outside school hours. Therefore the Bill of James Allen, Minister of Defence, was not passed into law – a major defeat for Garland and the Bible in Schools League.<sup>59</sup>

The post mortem on the enquiry and the final decision by the Education Committee not to recommend the proposals of the Bible in Schools League was dragged out through November

into December. Despite the failure, Garland was still welcome at civic receptions such as that for the incoming Salvation Army Commissioner HC Hodder, which was hosted by Wellington mayor, John Luke.<sup>60</sup> The association of Luke and Garland is important, for it was Luke who in 1916 took a prominent part in the capital's first Anzac Day events and who was one of the first recipients of Garland's 'Plan for Observance'.<sup>61</sup> The newspapers were quick to condemn Garland and the Bible in Schools League. Despite the loss in Parliament by 46 votes to 17, he was reported as venturing south on 11 February 1915.<sup>62</sup> However, there must have been a change of plans because two days later the local paper reported that the SS *Manuka* departed Wellington, bound for Sydney. Aboard were 'Canon Garland and son' who were stated to be preparing to 'spend a few months in Australia and then return to New Zealand'.<sup>63</sup>

In early March Garland was reported from Sydney speaking in glowing terms on New Zealand urban sanitation and the work of Dr Truby King. He also mentioned naval strategy, hoping that James Allen's notion of a joint initiative with the Commonwealth fleet might be realised.<sup>64</sup> From this point on, reports in the New Zealand press grew less frequent. Under the heading 'Canon Garland – Chaplain in Queensland Training Camp', in early June the *Evening Post* reported Garland's acceptance of the position of resident Chaplain in the training camp for the Queensland Expeditionary Force. His appointment was a popular one; he had taken up the position on 30 May (Trinity Sunday).<sup>65</sup> In August he was reported as being a spokesman at the recruiting rally in Brisbane, on the day of the Frank Ellis (New Zealand) – Jimmy Hill (Australia) fight for the featherweight title of Australia.<sup>66</sup>

In Wellington on 1 October 1915, the Bible in Schools Dominion Executive accepted the resignation of David Garland as organising secretary. A sum of £2195 had been raised by members of the League to provide ambulances for the Expeditionary Force, and of that amount £2000 was sufficient for four ambulances and had

been handed to the Minister of Defence, Sir James Allen. Great appreciation for Garland's work while he was in New Zealand was expressed in a glowing testimonial from a meeting where leading representatives of the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches were present.<sup>67</sup>

Why was Garland's subsequent influence on New Zealand Anzac Days forgotten, despite his being a well-known if controversial Wellington personality between 1912 and 1915? Obviously part of the answer lies in his departure soon after the failure of Allen's *Bible in Schools Bill* and its relegation as a consequence of the outbreak of hostilities. The war itself, apart from the Samoan episode, tended to be focussed on what happened 'over there', a world away in Europe, and Garland recognised this. His work of fundraising for much needed ambulances pointed to this. However, there is still the matter of the setting aside of memory relating to his work in the Bible-in-Schools' movement and for his later publicity for Anzac Day. Perhaps that connection is at the core of the matter. It could well be that he was solely identified by many in New Zealand for his biblical advocacy in 1912–1915 and this may not have sat well with an increasingly secular post-war memory in relation to Anzac Day. That increasingly gained traction, whereas a later series of *Bible in Schools Bills* failed.

Some puzzling matters remain unanswered. Why, for instance, were there few reports on Garland following his departure? Was his sudden departure just two months after the defeat of the Referendum the result of the vicious public attack on him? His investment in the Bible in Schools project had been overwhelming and there is little doubt the fate of the Bill shook him to the core. Under the circumstances, it would be understandable that he might wish to 'shake the dust' of the place from him. In relation to the success he had previously experienced in Queensland and earlier in Western Australia, the failure of the Referendum, even with its high-powered support, must have been a devastating blow. Did he ever return

to New Zealand? There is anecdotal evidence that he did but no archival sources uncovered to date support the contention.

Without doubt, Canon Garland left a large impression on all of those he met in New Zealand during the three years he was in the country. Among his friends one can count some of the country's most influential politicians. His contacts with them and with British Empire federationists and Round Table members uniquely positioned him to be able to exert enormous influence over what was to become his life's most enduring legacy – the institution and shaping of Anzac Day in both Australia and New Zealand.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane, OMHA/1/1-/5/17, ADCC Minutes and Suggestions, Correspondence and Cuttings Books. Also P355.16 ANZ, *Anzac Commemoration 1921: A Brief History of the Movement*.
- 2 *Evening Post*, 12 January 1911, p. 7, Garland visits Wellington; *The Critic*, 11 November 1911, p. 1, Canon Garland was parodied in this Wellington paper for his position in Australia on cadet camps.
- 3 *Evening Post*, Wellington, 16 August 1910, p. 8, Curtis in Wellington as a guest of honour at the New Zealand Club's reunion.
- 4 LC Voller, 'Colonel the Honourable Sir James Allen, Statesman', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1943, pp. 43–48. James Allen was educated at Clifton College as was Lionel Curtis. As mentioned in the preface by George Davis, James Allen was a member of All Saints' Anglican Church, Dunedin.
- 5 Churchill–Amery Papers, Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, UK, AMEL 1/3/7, Amery Correspondence late 1917; AMEL 6/3/74, Allen–Amery family correspondence over the death of Lieutenant John Allen.
- 6 Hocken MS-0985–030/004, Curtis and Downie Stewart were frequent correspondents. *Colonist*, 25 October 1913, p. 5, Curtis was welcomed to Dunedin on 24 October 1913 by Mayor Downie Stewart.
- 7 Auckland War Memorial and Museum Library, 'Simson', Donald Petrie Papers; Ruth Pryor, 'Bibliography of the works of Lionel George

Curtis...; a provisional list submitted for Diploma in Librarianship, University of London, May 1955, p. xii, which covers Curtis' roles as acting Town Clerk, Town Clerk of Johannesburg and Assistant Colonial Secretary for Urban Affairs, Johannesburg, 1902–1905. He remained in South Africa until 1910; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 21 July 1903, p. 2, Donald Simson working in Johannesburg with his brother Jack; *Otago Witness*, 17 October 1906, p. 86, Simson going to England from Johannesburg; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 November 1915, p. 6, Simson tops the candidates' election count on the Citizens' ticket for the Municipal Council of Johannesburg. Both Curtis and Simson kept an abiding interest in South African affairs.

- 8 *Evening Post*, Wellington, 21 October 1913, p. 3 for a report of Leo Amery's speech at the New Zealand Club's lunch; *Evening Post*, Wellington, 17 October 1913, p. 6, Amery arrived that day, and was the guest of His Excellency the Governor, and spoke at Bellamy's to the New Zealand Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association, presided over by Prime Minister Hon WF Massey. Central to Amery's visit were the talks he presented on naval defence; *Evening Post*, 25 October 1913, p. 5, Curtis welcomed to Dunedin by the Dunedin Expansion League.
- 9 *Colonist*, 25 October 1913, p. 5.
- 10 *Evening Star*, 25 October 1913, p. 11; *Evening Star*, 29 October 1913, p. 9, Garland's visit to Dunedin coincided with that of Curtis and Amery.
- 11 Churchill–Amery papers. The papers indicate the relationship of Curtis and Amery over Curtis' development of ideas in South Africa, prior to his return to the UK and helping found the 'Round Table'. See also John Barnes and David Nicolson (eds), *The Empire at Bay: The Leo Amery Diaries 1929–1945*, Hutchinson, London, 1988, p. 661.
- 12 *Evening Post*, 10 October 1912, p. 6; *Evening Post*, 23 October 1912, p. 3; *Evening Post*, 16 November 1912, p. 4.
- 13 *The Press*, [TP], Christchurch, 11 October 1912, p. 4; *The Press*, 17 October 1912, p. 5; *The Press*, 23 October 1912, p. 4; *The Press*, 23 October 1912, p. 9.
- 14 *Evening Post*, 27 November 1912, p. 8, Garland on SS *Pateena*.
- 15 *Grey River Argus*, 13 December 1912, p. 5, reported him in Auckland; *Evening Post*, 14 December 1912, p. 3, and *Poverty Bay Herald*, 14 December 1912, p. 5, he was in Wanganui; *Evening Post*, 17 December 1912, p. 3, he was in Palmerston North.
- 16 *New Zealand Free Lance*, 24 August 1912, p. 3.
- 17 *Evening Post*, 19 Feb 1913, p. 6, records Garland returning via SS *Pateena* from Nelson and Picton; *New Zealand Free Lance*, 22 February 1913,

- p. 8. The editors wrote a fierce attack on Garland's recent address to the Methodist Conference of New Zealand.
- 18 *Grey River Argus*, 31 March 1913, p. 6.
  - 19 *Evening Post*, 26 April 1913, p. 2.
  - 20 *Evening Post*, 13 May 1913, p. 3.
  - 21 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 29 May 1913, p. 2; *Evening Post*, 31 May 1913, p. 6.
  - 22 *Evening Post*, 29 July 1913, p. 2.
  - 23 *Evening Post* 23 August 1913, p. 5; *Evening Post*, 27 August 1913, p. 6; *The Press*, 27 August 1913, p. 11.
  - 24 *The Press*, 25 August 1913, p. 7.
  - 25 *Evening Post*, 9 October 1913, p. 7.
  - 26 *Evening Post*, 18 October 1913, p. 6; *Evening Post*, 31 October 1913, p. 6.
  - 27 *Evening Post*, 29 November 1913, p. 2.
  - 28 *Evening Post*, 23 December 1913, p. 7.
  - 29 *Evening Post*, 10 February 1914, p. 6; *Evening Post*, 19 February 1914, p. 6; *The Press*, 11 February 1914, p. 8.
  - 30 *Evening Post*, 27 February 1914, p. 3. The Conference was held in Wellington, 24–26 February.
  - 31 *Evening Post*, 12 March 1914, p. 8; *Evening Post*, 9 March 1914, p. 2.
  - 32 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 April 1914, p. 1.
  - 33 *Evening Post*, 25 April 1914, p. 3.
  - 34 *Evening Post*, 11 July 1914, p. 9. It took about one month before the reaction built against Garland's statements.
  - 35 *Evening Post*, 16 May 1914, p. 4; *Evening Post*, 19 May 1914, p. 6.
  - 36 *Evening Post*, 19 May 1914, p. 7. EH Hiley was a well-connected English citizen who became the highest paid New Zealand civil servant at £3000 per annum – a point of controversy. He was later knighted.
  - 37 George Davis, 'Anzac Day meanings and memories', PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2009, pp. 63–65. James Allen apologised for his absence. Ten other MPs were present, including Prime Minister William Massey.
  - 38 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 27 May 1914, p. 7; *Evening Post*, 27 May 1914, p. 2.
  - 39 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 26 June 1914, p. 3.
  - 40 *New Zealand Free Lance*, 20 June 1914, pp. 12–13.
  - 41 *Evening Post*, 29 June 1914, p. 6.
  - 42 *Evening Post*, 30 June 1914, p. 3.

- 43 *Evening Post*, 30 June 1914, p. 6.
- 44 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 July 1914, p. 4.
- 45 *Evening Post*, 24 July 1914, p. 8.
- 46 *Evening Post*, 30 July 1914, p. 6.
- 47 *Evening Post*, 1 August 1914, p. 9, 'Where is the Reform Party?' and 'Opposition to the League's Programme'. 'Red Feds' were militant trade unionists. Reference to the term was designed to scare the reading public.
- 48 *Evening Post*, 7 August 1914, p. 8.
- 49 *Evening Post*, 8 August 1914, p. 4.
- 50 *Grey River Argus*, 10 August 1914, p. 7.
- 51 *Evening Post*, 25 August 1914, p. 6; *The Press*, 27 August 1914, p. 9.
- 52 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 27 August 1914, p. 4.
- 53 *Evening Post*, 29 August 1914, p. 2.
- 54 John A Moses, 'Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914–1918', *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, October 2001.
- 55 *Evening Post*, 25 September 1914, p. 6.
- 56 *Evening Post*, 9, October 1914, p. 8; *Evening Post*, 15 October 1914, p. 6.
- 57 *Evening Post*, 13 October 1914, p. 6.
- 58 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 27 October 1914, p. 7.
- 59 *The Press*, 31 October 1914, p. 13.
- 60 *Evening Post*, 9 December 1914, p. 4.
- 61 JOL, 'ADCC Minutes & Suggestions', 1916.
- 62 *Evening Post*, 12 February 1915, p. 2.
- 63 *Evening Post*, 13 February 1915, p. 6, p. 8. Curiously, the *New Zealand Free Lance*, a publication which had shown great interest in Garland, has no record of him leaving for Australia.
- 64 *Grey River Argus*, 8 March 1915, p. 4.
- 65 *Evening Post*, 9 June 1915, p. 8.
- 66 *New Zealand Truth*, 7 August 1915, p. 11. The fight was on 11 August.
- 67 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 October 1915, p. 7.

## 7 The seedbed of Anzac commemoration

### The Brisbane diocese<sup>1</sup>

And he made from one every nation of men to live on the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation, that they should seek God, in the hope that they might feel after him and find him. (Acts 17:26–27)

Given their embrace of the Imperial spirit there was nothing surprising in prominent Anglican churchmen making public pronouncements about the war and a Christian response to it.<sup>2</sup> Like his colleagues, Garland accepted the tragic necessity of sending young men to die in defence of Imperial and national interests. His support for the war expressed itself primarily in his pastoral concern for the volunteers and he first became very active as a chaplain to soldiers under training at the Enoggera camp on the outskirts of Brisbane. However, in this chapter we



first examine the views of Garland's superior, Archbishop St Clair Donaldson on Christian patriotism because he articulated the mindset of most Anglican clergy at that time. We then explore the significance of the Bible in State Schools League and the public reaction to the increasing wartime casualty lists that led to the formation of the first Anzac Day Commemoration Committee on 10 January, 1916. Finally, we describe Garland's fundraising for troop welfare and the establishment of the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society as expressions of the diaconal dimension of the Church's response to the call for sacrifice.

Donaldson was Archbishop of Brisbane from 1904 to 1921 and very much a British establishment figure. He was a Cambridge graduate with undoubted scholarly ability and was a member of the Brisbane chapter of The Round Table. As such Donaldson was a leader with a deep concern about the future of the British Commonwealth and Empire and in particular Australia's future within the family of emerging British nations. Indeed the same priorities animated all the Anglican leaders who were members of The Round Table.<sup>3</sup> There had been in fact a long history of episcopal support for Australian autonomy as a sovereign State. Indeed, they could all be described as essentially 'Gladstonian liberals', which meant that they believed Australia should be an entirely self-governing parliamentary democracy. The more independence Australia had from Britain, the more likely would Australians be to remain loyal to British ideals of government and learn to prize British political culture. Reflections along these lines led to the Australian bishops debating a constitution for the Church of England in Australia at the initiation of Bishop Henry Montgomery of Tasmania (father of the famous Field Marshal) at the first Australian Church Congress held at Hobart in 1894. However, the internecine rancour which characterised the 'high' *versus* 'low' divide delayed the adoption of a separate constitution for the Australian Anglican Church until 1962.<sup>4</sup> The Evangelical

Sydney diocese had been always opposed to it, fearing too much Anglo-Catholic influence. But, clearly, Australian Anglicans were scarcely the 'Tory Party at Prayer' there being not a few leading Labor politicians among them. Indeed, the majority of the Church's senior leadership consisted of educated men, arguably among the best informed alongside senior politicians and judges, who were concerned with both the imperial connection and world politics. And in contrast to the Anglicans, the Roman Catholic Irish in Australia understandably cultivated very little positive sentiment for the Empire and its mission to the world.<sup>5</sup> Anglicans nonetheless maintained that the Empire was the chosen agent of almighty God to spread the Gospel wherever the Union Jack flew, to the four corners of the earth.<sup>6</sup> The link between the British establishment and Australian Anglicans was most direct in the case of Archbishop Donaldson. His brother was a most high-ranking civil servant who during the war was involved in munitions production. And as fate would have it, St Clair Donaldson happened to be on leave in England when the war broke out. Consequently, he was forced to hasten back to Brisbane chancing the possible encounter with prowling U-boats or raiders. He arrived 'home' in October 1914 having brought with him a fuller appreciation of the international situation and its implications for Australia.<sup>7</sup> This was to infuse his preaching until the end of the war.

Of particular significance in Australian history in the period 1914–1918 were the regional peculiarities that existed between the States. These had a great deal to do with the ethnic composition of the population and the associated denominational allegiances of the citizenry. The most prominent feature was the sectarianism that characterised relations between the Irish Roman Catholic element and what they were pleased to call the 'Protestants'. Under that term the Roman Catholics lumped together members of the Church of England, which was then the largest denomination, with the Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists and

any others. The 'Romans', as the Anglicans preferred to designate the Roman Catholics, stood apart from anything approaching ecumenical collaboration. Their traditional guiding principle was: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, 'no salvation outside the church'. Irish-Roman Catholic self-perception is succinctly summarised by the late Sister Rose MacGinley, writing about Irish sisters and their convent schools in nineteenth and twentieth century Australia:

Among the many empires of religion spreading in the nineteenth century none was more pervasive than that of Irish Catholicism, indeed an empire which did not see itself within the ambit of the expanding British empire but rather, in a transnational way, as operating in distinction from it. It was hence divorced from political imperialism of the style that both French and Spanish Catholic missionary endeavour evidenced, while at the same time profiting from extension of the ordered pattern of British colonization and the advantage of its agents sharing British citizenship. It was also unique for the greater part of the nineteenth century in that the overseas missionary impetus of this 'empire of religion' was predominantly directed to the Irish diaspora, though there was awareness in Ireland of the contemporary expansion of the French in missionary commitments to non-Christian peoples.<sup>8</sup>

All attempts by other Christian traditions to promote cordial relations with Roman Catholic dioceses inevitably met with official rebuffs. The Roman Catholic theological mindset explains why that church stood apart and why the Church of England wanted to promote Christian unity. For example, the Church of England, with the promulgation of the so-called Chicago–Lambeth Quadrilateral in 1888, had invited all Christian communions which stood on the basis of four foundational propositions to engage in ecumenical

cooperation. These were: first, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as ‘containing all things necessary to salvation’ and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; second, acceptance of the Apostles’ Creed as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as sufficient Statement of the Christian Faith; third, acceptance of the two sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Lord’s supper – ministered with unfailing use of Christ’s words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him; and fourth, the ‘Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the method of its administration to the varying degrees of the nations and peoples called by God into the Unity of His Church.’<sup>9</sup>

If a Christian communion felt able to collaborate with a separated Christian church on this basis then inter-communion could be negotiated as a step towards eventual organic unity. This level of ecumenical liberality was rejected by Rome but the offer was taken up by a few Continental churches which had no problem with the fourth proposition. For example, the Swedish Lutherans, the Old Catholics and some Orthodox churches in time responded. The Anglican Communion remained sanguine that one day Rome would appreciate the need for closer ecumenical relations. This led to the initiative from a number of Anglicans led by Lord Halifax in 1894, in collaboration with the French Abbé Portal, to invite the Pope to investigate Anglican Orders to test whether Anglican formularies in this sacrament could be considered valid in the Roman sense. This had not been a sudden development. In fact, it had a relatively long pre-history as Lord Halifax reports in his book, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*.<sup>10</sup> He recounts that there were strong desires for reunion with the Holy See already being expressed by Anglicans as far back as 1857, when an Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity was founded. The leading ‘Oxford Father’, Edward Bouverie Pusey, had published his book *Eirenicon* in 1865, at which time he had visited France for the purpose of interesting French bishops in the cause of re-union. Consequently, there was a period

spanning more than two decades in which the possibility of reconciliation between Canterbury and Rome was high on the agenda of certain far-sighted Anglican scholars. Indeed, if Rome could have passed a favourable judgement on Anglican Orders, such as was the Anglican hope, a basis for inter-communion might possibly have been created. History was to decree otherwise. This proved to be a substantial disappointment. The papacy reacted with the most damning condemnation of Anglican Orders, declaring them to be ‘absolutely null and utterly void’ in a Bull promulgated by the then Pope Leo XIII entitled *Apostolicae Curae*. The effect at the time was a snub of devastating proportions administered to a peaceful communion which sought the genuine reconciliation of historic differences. This was a calculated rebuff: Canterbury had dispatched two leading theologians to Rome for the purpose of consultation. Instead of being welcomed, they were calculatedly ignored and had to return home empty-handed. The negative judgement on Anglican Orders reflected ecclesiastical political convictions: the Roman hierarchy in England could not tolerate a positive papal decree which would have, in their view, tended to make them redundant in England.<sup>11</sup> One may justifiably speculate on the course of world history had Rome taken a more benevolent and accommodating stance towards the Church of England in 1896. As John Henry Newman remarked the Church of England had regarded Rome as ‘our gentle sister’.<sup>12</sup>

The consequence of this repudiation by Rome of the Church of England was continued sectarian bitterness, nowhere more so than where there was a strong Irish Roman Catholic diaspora. This was universal and Australia was particularly affected although there were differences in the level of sectarian hostility around the country. In Queensland at the time there was demonstrably less overt sectarianism than in other States. In short, citizens of Irish Roman Catholic background were less likely to be intransigently hostile to ‘Protestant’ fellow citizens than, say, in Victoria where

Archbishop Daniel Mannix did little to encourage his flock to adopt a more eirenic or conciliatory attitude towards so-called ‘non-Catholics’.<sup>13</sup> The suspicion with which each side regarded the other was widespread. These attitudes played a toxic role in everyday life that took decades to ameliorate. Happily for Garland, the Brisbane situation regarding inter-church relations evinced a more cooperative spirit.

Observers unable to enter the minds of Roman Catholics and Anglicans to perceive the nuances of distinction in their respective beliefs and liturgical practices or to evaluate the intellectual history of religious thought are at a distinct disadvantage here. This kind of empathy is necessary for a genuine appreciation of historic Anzac commemoration. But we need to ask: why was Brisbane different in this regard from Sydney and Melbourne in particular? In a word it was largely a consequence of the Anglo-Catholic character of the Brisbane diocese.

The historian Alex Kidd has shown that Donaldson symbolised this distinction in his person.<sup>14</sup> Donaldson had a clear conception of how the Church should relate to the State. It was, in short, the conscience of the State, and hence was presumed to have the right to admonish or correct the State if its policies fell short of Christian ideals. This was accepted in England where the Church of England was the Established Church; in Australia the Church of England was but one denomination, albeit the then largest, among many. Consequently a prelate with Donaldson’s aspirations was obliged to seek cordial ecumenical consensus with other Christian bodies. That was achieved with a degree of success with all churches with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church. This was exemplified in the Bible in State Schools League. As has been seen, the League was successful in 1910 in having a Referendum held on the question (which was won), and in ensuring that the party in power (Labor) proceeded with the amendment to legislation.<sup>15</sup>

Two key points need to be made. First, Donaldson was the chairman of the Bible in State Schools League which meant he was regularly in touch with those leaders of all non-Roman churches who supported the League, and second, the secretary of the League from 1907 was his turbulent priest, David Garland. There was no doubt that Donaldson considered Garland a most awkward personality (though not by any means an ‘unprofitable servant’) because of his reputation for being very self-willed and of pursuing causes of his own choosing, disregarding the chain of command.

When Donaldson became chief pastor of the Brisbane diocese in 1904, its finances were in a parlous state. It was a challenging situation in which the young prelate (aged 41) proved himself a determined administrator who effectively halted the downward slide of his diocese. The building of the cathedral of St John in Ann Street, planned by Bishop Webber in 1889, was begun in 1906 after considerable delays. The first stage was completed by 1911. Thereafter St John’s became the centre of the city’s Anglican life. During the course of the war it was a very busy place indeed. The Archbishop used his pulpit to enlighten his antipodean flock as to the real character of the ‘Prussian menace’.

As a ‘Gladstonian liberal’, Donaldson championed the then-prevailing sense of mission of the Church of England. And this was based on the Bible, or more precisely on the ethics of the New Testament. It is pre-eminently the role of the historian of ideas to evaluate the concepts and values of eras past. While to the popular mind of the present these may appear to be naïve and even fanciful, to the protagonists they were of the highest significance. It is therefore crucial to highlight the concern of educated individuals who were formed in the values of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. Immigrants like Garland and Donaldson were representative of this group. For them the Empire was arguably more of a spiritual entity than a concentration of military and naval power. ‘Dominion over palm and pine’ in Rudyard Kipling’s memorable

verse was only one aspect of Empire. The mother country was the source of humane values, despite the glaring lapses and the misuse of power that occurred, for example, in Ireland, India and South Africa. Advocates of the British Empire never doubted that it was called by almighty God to be a force for good in the world, dispensing justice and protecting defenceless minorities.<sup>16</sup> These ideas were strongly expressed when the German Empire rose up to challenge Britain's influence and power in the world. Donaldson, almost immediately after returning to Australia from his leave in England (the war having become a frightful reality), wrote to his brother bishop in Armidale, New South Wales, Henry Edward Cooper, in bleak terms:

Things were very tense and anxious in London before I came away, and I felt that out here, patriotic as they are, the whole thing is taken very much more lightly. There is, of course intense love for Australia, and further, a widespread feeling of good-will and support for the old country; but how far do you think that the Australians have any conception of Empire as a spiritual trust placed in the hands of our race for the world's good? ... I think it may well be that, as a Church, we are called upon to preach this message just now.<sup>17</sup>

Donaldson was probably quite right in his assessment of the average Australian's understanding of international politics and ability to perceive the 'Prussian menace' as it became known. This was to change, as the seriousness of the situation in which the Pacific Dominions found themselves became more clear to the average citizen. But from the outset Donaldson and his brother bishops perceived the war as a 'holy war'. He could, immediately after writing to 'Armidale', write to 'Carpentaria' (Gilbert White) with hopeful sentiments:



As for the war, I cling to my conviction that the Empire is of God. For years past we have believed it to be a great and solemn trust given to the British race. Our anxiety has been lest the race should prove unworthy. The coming of war has strengthened my faith and also stung me with the intense sense of the opportunity it brings.<sup>18</sup>

The Anglican hierarchy evinced a uniform concern because almost a year later, on 7 September 1915, Bishop Arthur Nutter Thomas of Adelaide opened his annual synod address in the following terms:

We are met in anxious days. Only by slow degrees has the magnitude of the German menace dawned upon us. We thought, when we turned the invader back from Paris, that the worst was over: we thought, when we had destroyed the last of the roaming cruisers, that we had put an end to commerce-raiding; we thought we should have driven him back at least to the Rhine this August: we thought the entrance of Italy into the conflict would have tipped the balance to our advantage. But our calculations have been mistaken. Fortunately for us Germany has made her miscalculations too. But as yet she shows no sign of failing strength; she has been victorious on the Eastern frontier, though she has not reaped the full fruits of victory; and it were folly on our part to assume that she has reached the limit of her resources. Moreover, the whole German nation is mobilized for war under an omnipotent and relentless autocracy: every man has his task, every woman her duty, adjusted to age and capacity: while we by voluntary efforts are merely playing at mobilization, and hoping to win victory without making the supreme sacrifice. It were well that we should realize, and try to make others realize too, that we are fighting now for our life – for our very existence

as a nation. There is no real generosity or magnanimity in the help the colonies have sent to England; for our future is bound up in the safety of the Motherland. The British Empire is one, as we never have realized before. And, in sending her youth to the Dardanelles and to Flanders, Australia is fighting for the maintenance of freedom which she prizes, and which can only be retained by a victorious issue to this war.<sup>19</sup>

Donaldson sought to enlighten the people of Brisbane through a course of lectures in Brisbane during Lent 1915 (that is, in the forty days prior to Easter), a period of spiritual discipline and fasting when it was common practice for senior clergy and parish priests to offer lecture series on matters of spiritual discipline. Donaldson continued this practice by taking his cue from the crisis situation of the time. He set out over four sessions to explain to people of the Church of England in Brisbane that the great existential struggle with Germany was a contest of two diametrically opposed ideas of Empire. In this regard, the Archbishop was employing his Cambridge training with considerable erudition and skill to bring home to his people the danger they were confronting. Donaldson's motives behind the public lectures were confided to Lady Elizabeth Babbington Smith in a letter of 9 March 1915 that:

The incubus of war is gradually reaching Australia. So far the average Australian has been strangely unmoved, not from any want of patriotism, but from wanting imagination. He is incapable of taking in so great a crisis. But in Sydney and Melbourne they are awake: and the concern gradually spreads.<sup>20</sup>

The lecture series rewards close investigation because it reveals not only Donaldson's personal understanding of the Empire but his concern, one shared by the other bishops, that Australians in their

supposed-isolation from the flash-points of the old world, should really comprehend the consequences of a British defeat. This was, Donaldson insisted, a distinct possibility. Early in 1915, it would have been a rash public figure who could confidently affirm that what the British Empire as a whole was up against was but a minor disturbance to the general peaceful progress of an Anglo-Saxon-dominated world. Given Donaldson's family links to the British establishment he was very much alive to 'the epoch-making greatness of the crisis we are passing through, lest now that the hour of trial is upon us we should fail in the test'.<sup>21</sup> He perceived the trial, then, as not only a contest of physical resources but essentially as a spiritual one. His view was similar to that of the German theologians whose manifestos he no doubt had read: the war was a struggle between two perceptions of how God had ordered the world. For the Germans it was clear that God had chosen their race to unite the world under its superior *Kultur*. That was the consequence of their authoritarian form of government, derived from the legacy of Martin Luther and the philosophy of GWF Hegel, which was used to underpin and justify it. Germany was understood to be intent on world domination, a vocation which, according to her leading thinkers, undoubtedly came from almighty God.

In accounting for the reaction of the British churches as a group to German expansionist will, due regard must be given to their assessment of the justifications for going to war published by their German counterparts. Australian historians who do not know about the 'battle of the minds' (*Krieg der Geister*) that erupted with the German invasion of Belgium and the consequent atrocities there, need to concede that the British theologians, including all the Australian Anglican hierarchy as well as the 'Nonconformists', had a valid point: the Germans justified their policy and brutal mode of warfare by an incomprehensible assertion that they were fulfilling the will of God. In short, they operated on a flawed 'war theology'. It was against this pressing reality that Donaldson was

writing in his attempt to enlighten the Australian public about the true nature of the war. Donaldson, both as a member himself of the British establishment and as a leading member of The Round Table in Brisbane, was extraordinarily well-informed.<sup>22</sup>

In defining what he meant by 'Christian Patriotism' Donaldson evinced an almost Hegelian–Rankean comprehension of nationality, namely that each people was endowed by God with gifts and strengths peculiar to itself. These they were called upon to cultivate for the good of the whole world. Each had a unique contribution to make, but none had the right to extinguish the existence of another, which was what the prevailing German philosophy of history and war theology by 1914 affirmed. He highlighted the crucial difference between the German ideal and practice of imperialism with that of the British. Behind the Archbishop's convictions one can readily detect his indebtedness to the 'Whig' tradition of British history and to Gladstone's vision of the Christian vocation of the British people and their charter to propagate the values of liberalism throughout the entire world.

When the British idea of Empire was challenged by the Kaiser's Germany, Donaldson concluded, as did many other British liberals such as Lord Bryce and the Sydney professor of history, George Arnold Wood, that there was only one way to respond: to fight until the German will was broken. That did not mean that the Germans should not have an empire of their own in which they could exploit the many positive virtues which their culture had brought forth, but that their policies and mode of warfare in 1914 were so destructive and brutal that Germany had to be resisted with all the strength the British Empire could muster. Indeed the misguided German resort to barbarism was an affront to the national vocation of the British peoples. Donaldson affirmed that the cultural strength of the British was based on the fear of God but the Germans had arrogantly assumed, as their leading theologians never tired of

stressing, that they were the actual instruments of God in world history, indeed the ‘hammer of God’.<sup>23</sup>

Donaldson and his episcopal colleagues understood this and they based their war policy on it. They simply had a different and, as they saw it, a more humane concept of imperialism. Indeed there was, as Donaldson averred, such a thing as ‘Christian imperialism’ precisely because the British respected the unique characteristics of the nationalities over which they had for a time established control. Whereas all other Empires had based their imperialism on the extinction of nationality, the British sought to preserve both the new and old nations for the good of the world. Apparent here is the influence of Sir John Robert Seeley’s ideas in his widely-read book, *The Expansion of England* (1883). Like Seeley and George Arnold Wood, Donaldson believed that the British Empire was founded upon liberty:

With the British race the word ‘Empire’ has come to bear a new meaning. The old definition no longer applies and the Empire of today stands upon a foundation far above the Empires of the past. In that one word Liberty we find the secret of Britain’s moral greatness, aye, and also the safeguard of her strength.<sup>24</sup>

Donaldson went on to elaborate his definition affirming that the call to Empire brought with it a God-given responsibility. The British peoples were endowed with the gifts that enabled them to govern decently, namely to administer the territories over which they had control with justice and impartiality. This duty would persist until the subject peoples were mature enough to take charge of their own destiny. Donaldson’s hero in this respect was the Irish statesman Edmund Burke (1729–1797) to whom he virtually attributed the principles evident in the emerging self-governing Dominions of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps

the core statement in Donaldson's addresses was as follows: 'Can we doubt that in the divine counsels for the progress of the world Britain is called in the providence of God to play a great and noble part? This is the faith of the Christian imperialist'.<sup>26</sup>

What clearly worried Donaldson was the apparent inability of his Australian flock to grasp the spiritual vocation to Empire in which they had a legitimate share. They tended to regard the Empire essentially as a safeguard to their security; this was far from being enough. Australians should feel a sense of solidarity with the mother country and the other Dominions because, as he said, 'it is the shrine of a sacred flame which must be preserved in the interests of the world'.<sup>27</sup> This is why it ought to be defended against all those who would bring it down. Donaldson certainly imputed a strong sense of mission to the British race, the justification of which contrasted greatly with that of the Germans. This view he shared with the other Australian bishops and the nation's educated elite. He certainly faced moments of despair at the lack of imagination evinced by the vast majority of Australians, upon the likes of whom the future of the Empire depended. They needed to be fired with the ideal and Donaldson perceived the role of the Church of England to educate the community accordingly. But what had they in common with Edmund Burke, William Ewart Gladstone and John Robert Seeley? The people needed to be taught to appreciate what true liberty involved.

In making his point Donaldson proclaimed that:

We are true lovers of liberty, and when we sent our ultimatum to Germany on account of the violation of Belgium we were proclaiming the sacredness of Nationality; we were claiming the freedom of every nation and race to realise itself, to develop and preserve its full maturity, to make its appointed contribution to the world's progress.<sup>28</sup>

Donaldson was persuaded that as Christians, Australians had no other choice but to declare solidarity with the mother country and the sister Dominions in the titanic struggle against the 'Prussian menace'. It was justified by a 'war theology' that today would scarcely be advanced in the terms formulated by the Archbishop.<sup>29</sup> The early rhetoric of Anzac was that Australia fought for 'God, King and Empire' against the forces of tyranny and servitude. In her own modest way, Australia anticipated what the United States under the presidency of Woodrow Wilson affirmed was the reason for her intervention in 1917: 'to make the world safe for democracy'. But what Donaldson had attempted to do was first, to bring home to Australians the danger they were in should the Germans achieve their chief war aim of destroying the British Empire, and second, to arouse in them the essentially religious nature of the Empire as an instrument of almighty God for the realisation of good for the entire world.

This account of the war summed up the attitude of all the Australian bishops.<sup>30</sup> It was clear to them that the struggle with Wilhelmine Germany was not about denying Germany her 'place in the sun' that she so passionately desired, provided the Teutonic cousins shared the British concept of the 'white man's burden'. Rather, it was very early perceived by the time the war had broken out that the Germans were not interested in taking joint responsibility for civilising the world but that they were bent on pursuing the Pan-German mission central to which was the displacement of British power for foreseeable time. Indeed, it is significant that a handful of German diplomats at the time really did share the concept that Germany should ally with Britain as quasi-junior-partner in a civilising mission to the world. One of these was the outstanding former German Governor of Samoa and later colonial secretary, Dr Wilhelm Solf, but the Pan-Germans in Berlin had the upper hand and such voices of moderation and collaboration were overwhelmed in the almost universal German belief that the

God of history was calling their nation to world conquest.<sup>31</sup> The extent of the hatred for Britain was staggering as German scholars have since confirmed.<sup>32</sup>

In retrospect it is perhaps not surprising that the intellectual elites of Germany and of Britain respectively were unable to achieve any meaningful reconciliation before 1914. The Germans were as much convinced of their calling from God to bestow the blessings of their *Kultur* on the world as the British were convinced of their calling to impart the benefits of their political culture to the peoples under their jurisdiction. Consequently, from the point of view of the theologians on both sides of the English Channel, the war was indeed a 'holy war'. Donaldson classically expressed this in his pastoral letter of 2 November 1914 as follows:

For years and years past many of us have been possessed of a profound conviction of our imperial vocation. We have been conscious of certain qualities which are characteristic of our race. We have been conscious of a genius for freedom, for incorruptible justice, for sympathy with the native races. ... We have seen all this and our soul has been possessed with the unshakable conviction that in its great career the British race has been responding to the vocation of God ... We believe that God has called us in the British Empire to save the world.<sup>33</sup>

In his 1915 Lenten addresses, Donaldson demonstrated his capacities as a rigorous systematic thinker. He stressed that the Christian's first duty was to follow the will of God. The citizen's next duty was to his or her own country. As he said: 'Our country has a right to everything we have, our money, energies, well-being, health, and even our life itself'.<sup>34</sup> Obviously given this conviction, it was necessary to fight the Germans as a sacred duty. They had mounted a mortal threat to the future of the world. This did not mean,



Donaldson explained in his 1915 Synod address, that the British race was supreme. Indeed, 'We must not claim to be the chosen of God. Our sins are great, and we deserve nothing at God's hands. These days of anxiety must be days of penitence if we read them aright'.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, as in the meantime by virtue of the publicity given to the various German manifestos concerning who was guilty for the war, the bishops knew of German claims to have been chosen by God to defeat the barbarous Russians, the effete French and the decadent and culturally superficial English.<sup>36</sup> Donaldson, in particular, was able to articulate their collective thoughts about Germany. At the 1915 Synod he reminded his clergy and lay representatives of the parishes of his far flung diocese:

We have learnt a great deal during the past six months of Germanizing ideals; and the situation which these ideals have created suggests to us Churchmen a great parallel and a great warning. ... Germany's object, as set forth by her greatest historians and Statesmen for the past thirty years, is to improve the world by dominating it. Believing herself to be rich in all human talents and virtues, she conceives that her calling is to conquer the world and so to give to the world the blessings of German culture. She distrusts the freedom of the individual, and she looks for the regeneration of mankind in the mass by the imposition of better ideals and standards, as it were from above. In other words, she aims at Germanizing the world as the best service she can render to the human race.<sup>37</sup>

This statement shows Donaldson to have been eminently well-informed about German war aims and the intellectual history behind them. He had summed up succinctly and accurately what current research has subsequently confirmed.<sup>38</sup> He saw the British

Empire in its cultural and political heritage as a 'living protest against German ideals'.<sup>39</sup> His views bear quoting:

Our Empire stands as a living protest against German ideals. As against the policy of Germanizing, Britain loves to leave the individual free. We believe that you make men by trusting them. We believe that you secure friends by giving them confidence. We dislike the policy of coercion, and the attitude of suspicion and distrust is alien to our whole nature. And the soundness of our ideal has been triumphantly vindicated by recent events. What was behind the thrilling movement which brought every Dominion to the side of the Mother country ten months ago at the very sound of war? What was behind the phenomenon so unique in the world's history, so disconcerting to our enemies? It was the principle of freedom. When we were young and weak England respected the nascent nationality of the Dominions and gave us liberty to develop upon our own lines. And England reaped her reward when in the day of her danger four free nations sprang to arms at her side.

It is obvious, then, that the contrast between the British and the German ideal is fundamental. The Archbishop was clear that there could be no truce between the two. Against the 'Germanizing' policy of our enemies we were fighting for freedom, individual and national, as the only true path of progress for humanity.<sup>40</sup> Donaldson had obviously invested a great deal of thought into this address, the thrust of which was that it was fundamentally wrong for the Church of England to see herself as the agency for Anglicising the world as the Germans were out to 'Germanize' the world. It was essential that indigenous cultures remain intact while they absorbed the Gospel of Christ. That was the priority. The Brisbane Archbishop affirmed most strongly:

The Church of England stands for something definite and vital and unique in the Catholic Church. It stands for that union of a genuinely catholic belief and practice together with freedom in the pursuit of truth, which is vital to the Church's well-being and is found nowhere else in Christendom. Apart from the mighty and glorious traditions of our Church in the past, we believe that a still wider influence, a still richer service, a still more vital witness awaits her in the days to come.<sup>41</sup>

Donaldson perceived himself to be a standard-bearer of the 'Church militant here on earth', especially called at that time to offer a lead to the Dominion he had pledged himself to serve. There is no doubt that the spirit he exuded was shared by the vast majority of his clergy including David Garland. Once the feisty Canon had returned from New Zealand he wasted no time in doing his part in the service of the nation in a variety of capacities. First among these was the re-activation of his army chaplaincy commission in order to be able to minister to troops coming into barracks for training prior to transport to Egypt. As well, Garland became active on the Queensland recruiting committee and very soon set up his so-called 'Lavender Appeal'. This was a remarkable venture designed to raise money for troop welfare from all the Anglican parishes of the diocese, an account of which is given below. But why did Brisbane seize the initiative in the institutionalisation of Anzac Day?

From the time of the landing at Gallipoli, press reports had been appearing describing the campaign. These originated, first from the hand of the British correspondent, Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, then from Charles Bean. As well, the casualty lists were published weekly as they were released. The very first ashore were men from the 3rd Infantry Brigade. Many of these were from Queensland and it was only to be expected that they suffered the dire consequences

of Turkish fire. Indeed, in the afternoon of 25 April, the Turkish artillery wreaked havoc among the men trying desperately to dig in.<sup>42</sup> It was a sudden and brutal indication that this campaign would prove very costly. And so it did; the Church of England responded on 10 June 1915 by holding the very first requiem for the fallen in St John's Cathedral in Brisbane. It was scheduled for 10.00 am on a Thursday morning; the celebrant being Archbishop Donaldson himself. Some 600 persons were present and 100 made their communion.<sup>43</sup>

Significantly, this Eucharist was attended by the Governor of Queensland, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, thus making it a vice-regal event. Notably, the consuls of both France and Russia attended, being the representatives of the major allies of the British Empire. The Russian *Kontakion* for the Departed was sung by the cathedral choir in Brisbane. In any event it was a significant gesture of ecumenical accord and solidarity with the Russian people, to whom the British- and French-led expedition to the Dardanelles was hastening to bring help. The Germans on their eastern front had inflicted severe defeats on the Russian army at the time, initially at Tannenberg (26–30 August 1914). The Anzacs were being deployed as part of the Allied grand strategy to defeat German war aims in the East. This service in St John's Cathedral was unique in Australia although St George's in Perth held a 'memorial service' on 30 June. That particular service was on a Wednesday and a congregation of 1350 attended.<sup>44</sup>

It appears that Brisbane, due to its more Anglo-Catholic leadership and character, was prepared to celebrate requiems in contrast to most other Church of England dioceses in Australia. In Brisbane diocese a groundswell of grief, indeed a culture of commemoration, had developed that was, by year's end, to encompass all other main-stream churches. All were involved in holding days of prayer for the cessation of hostilities and the safe return of the troops. A day of penitence and prayer by the heads of all leading Christian

denominations in Queensland was scheduled for 11 December 1915.<sup>45</sup> This was declared in the belief that the British Empire had lost its way; because of its prosperity, citizens had become self-indulgent, had developed an overweening pride and had forgotten their dependence on God. Instead, men had placed their trust in worldly forces and avoided the path of sacrifice. The Church had failed to stem the tide of materialism. The author continued:

And so the War came to chasten us back to faithfulness. But fifteen months have passed, and still the nation is impenitent and the Church has not awakened to its failure and sin. Our special services have grown stale. Our intercessions have become listless. There is no general acknowledgment of our spiritual failure, no turning to God in humble desire to amend. Yet the opportunity is with us. It is not yet too late. 'Behold now is the accepted time, behold now is the day of salvation'.<sup>46</sup>

The appeal was followed by a series of practical suggestions as to what the churches might do in order to turn the nation back to God. In particular they were urged to ask the questions, 'What is God's will for us in the future? What is God's will for our nation and the national policy?'<sup>47</sup> There was never a doubt in the minds of Anglican leaders that the war was being waged in a righteous cause and that it had to banish the godless Prussian menace from the earth once and for all.<sup>48</sup>

It is out of this ethos of anxiety and awareness of having lost its role of being the 'soul of the nation' that the Church of England in particular wished in this dire situation to become pro-active. The establishment of the cult of Anzac that was to be initiated in Brisbane within a few weeks of this appeal was seized upon as a God-given opportunity to intensify the call to repentance and at

the same time assuage the grief that was becoming every day more widespread as the casualty lists lengthened.

By December 1915 the Dardanelles campaign had ended. The bulk of the Anzac divisions were destined to continue fighting in France, while the Light Horse and the New Zealand Mounted Infantry returned to Egypt to repel the Turkish advance from there. A discussion began in Brisbane about institutionalising the commemoration of the fallen. Included was the raising of more recruits to reinforce the men already bloodied in and exhausted by months of prolonged combat and to replace the fallen so that the fight, having begun, could be brought to a successful conclusion. Commemoration of the valiant dead and recruitment of new men to replace them in order to complete the stern task went hand in hand.<sup>49</sup> Not surprisingly Donaldson encouraged the Queensland recruiting campaign. While Donaldson was active in this campaign the most energetic of his priests was the sometimes 'turbulent' Canon Garland.

### **Garland's 'Soldiers' Church of England Help Society' and the 'Lavender Appeal'**

Canon Garland's status as an army chaplain went back to his time in Western Australia in 1896 and his commission was transferred to Queensland in 1906.<sup>50</sup> Once training in the various camps had begun for soldiers recruited in Queensland, Garland initiated a feverish activity on behalf of troop welfare. It began with an appeal in *The Church Chronicle* published on 1 June 1915. This announced his intention to coordinate the previously desultory and *ad hoc* chaplaincy work in the camps, for which work the Archbishop had appointed Garland the 'Resident Chaplain'. As Senior Chaplain, Donaldson was clearly pleased to be able to exploit Garland's experience 'in promoting the social and moral happiness of *all* soldiers, regardless of denomination.'<sup>51</sup> There were at that time some 5,000 men in the camps, half of whom at least nominally were Church

of England. Garland wanted each one of them to be given a prayer book. Clearly he was anxious to preserve their Anglican identity and to stress upon the recruits that the Church was there for them. His hope was that church people would rally behind his appeal and supply the extra wherewithal to carry on a sustained ministry to thousands of young men. It could not be left to either the YMCA or the Roman Catholic Church to be seen as solely responsible for caring for troops in camp. As Garland put it: 'I want donations for Social Work among soldiers of all denominations to be done in the name of the Church of England'.<sup>52</sup>

Garland's perception of troop needs is revealing. For him it was a priority that they should be able to attend the Eucharist, hence the need for chapel tents and prayer books. But it was also essential that the Church be seen to be caring as well for their creature comforts. Consequently reading material and games were requested. Garland later emphasised the need for writing material. It was important that the soldiers a long way from home kept in contact with family and girlfriends. The purpose was to overcome the sense of isolation and to head off the consequences of loneliness, especially the temptations to spend too much time in bars and to visit brothels. Garland also wanted to prepare candidates for Confirmation before they departed Australia. This enterprise required considerable financial support which Garland set out to raise from Anglican parishes within and beyond the diocese. Each month in the Brisbane diocesan newspaper, *The Church Chronicle*, Garland ran a column under the heading, 'Nothing is too good for our Soldiers'. The donations raised both from individuals and from parishes were published each month. The origin of 'Lavender Appeal' is probably due to the reputed special healing properties of the lavender herb, spiritual and physical. In the first few years of the war, Garland succeeded in recruiting helpers in parishes across Queensland to raise money locally for this 'Lavender Fund'. This exercise became a well-organised and entirely legal fund-raising

venture. Its executive in Brisbane was assisted by many volunteers from the social elite of the capital and from country centres throughout Queensland. They raised considerable sums of money during and after the war.<sup>53</sup> Garland expended the funds not only on projects in the various camps but also later, when he travelled to the Middle East in October 1917, on similar projects including hostels in key locations there (Garland's work in the Middle East is discussed in chapter nine). Meanwhile, in Brisbane, he sought to advance recruitment and chaplaincy work as well as raise money. The annual 'Lavender Appeal' was arguably unique among Christian denominations in Australia at the time. Its activities extended far beyond Australia to encompass the overseas theatres of war, as shall be seen.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 The designation 'Brisbane diocese' refers exclusively to the Anglican diocese. The correct Roman Catholic designation is 'Archdiocese'.
- 2 Robert Withycombe, 'Australian Anglicans and Imperial Identity, 1900–1914', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, October 2001, pp. 286–305.
- 3 The following Anglican leaders were all members of *The Round Table* prior to 1914: Batty, Donaldson, Le Fanu, Long, Micklem, Radford, Riley and White. All with the exception of De Witt Batty and Canon Micklem were diocesan Bishops. Batty became assistant Bishop in Brisbane in 1930 and in the next year was translated to Newcastle. All with the exception of Long were British born. See Leonie Foster, *High Hopes: The Men and Motives of the Australian Round Table*, MUP, Melbourne, 1986, pp. 189–254, and John A Moses, 'Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, October 2001, pp. 306–23. Specifically on Micklem's stellar career see John Beer, 'The Contribution of the Reverend Dr Phillip Arthur Micklem (1876–1965)', PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 2011.
- 4 John Davis, *Australian Anglicans and their Constitution*, Acorn Press, Canberra, 1993, p. 175. On the career of Bishop Montgomery, see Robert



- Withycombe, *Montgomery of Tasmania*, Acorn Press, Melbourne, 2009, pp. 123–32.
- 5 Sister Rose McGinley's article, 'Irish Women Religious and their Convent High Schools in Nineteenth Century Australia', *The Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol. 87, No. 1, January 2010, pp. 3–19.
  - 6 Geoffrey Treloar, *Lightfoot the Historian: the Nature and Role of History in the Life and Thought of JB Lightfoot (1828–1889)*, Mohr & Siebeck, Tübingen, 1998.
  - 7 AP Kidd, 'The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson, 1904–1921', PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 1996, Chapter XI, pp. 192–219.
  - 8 MacGinley, 'Irish Women Religious and their Convent High Schools in Nineteenth Century Australia', p. 3.
  - 9 *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, entry 'Lambeth Quadrilateral'.
  - 10 Longman, Green & Co, London, 1912, p. 4.
  - 11 John A Moses, 'Modern Ecumenism 1867–1960', in *From Oxford to the Bush: Essays on Catholic Anglicanism in Australia*, Broughton Press, Brisbane, 1997, pp. 213–37.
  - 12 See John Henry Newman, *Tracts for the Times: Remarks on Certain Passages of the Thirty-nine articles [Number 90]*, James Parker, Oxford, 1903. See Kenneth Leech and Rowan Williams (eds), *Essays Catholic and Radical: a Jubilee Group Symposium for the 150th Anniversary of the Beginning of the Oxford Movement 1833–1983*, Bowerdean, London, 1984.
  - 13 James Griffin, 'Revisionism or Reality? Daniel Mannix in ADB 10', in *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the Eighth Irish-Australian Conference*, Hobart, July 1995, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1996, pp. 133–45, and 'Daniel Mannix and the Cult of Personality', in *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History*, edited by Oliver MacDonagh and WF Mandle, Croom Helm, Sydney, 1986, pp. 81–94. See also James Griffin, *Daniel Mannix – Beyond the Myths*, John Garrett Publishing, Melbourne, 2012.
  - 14 Kidd, 'The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson', p. 197. Donaldson had returned to Australia on the SS *Themistocles* which had docked in Sydney, 14 October 1914.
  - 15 Yvonne Perkins, 'Queensland's Bible in State Schools Referendum 1910: A Case Study in Democracy', BA Honours Thesis, University of Sydney, 2010, pp. 65–7.
  - 16 For confirmation of this view of the self-perception of the Church of England in the age of imperialism, see the following contributions: 1) Stewart J Brown, 'The Broad Church Movement, National Culture, and

- the Established Churches of Great Britain, c.1850–c 1900’, in *Church and State in Old and New Worlds*, Hilary Carey and John Gascoigne (eds), Brill, Leiden, 2011, pp. 99–128. 2) Rowan Strong, ‘The Church of England and the British Imperial State: Anglican Metropolitan Sermons of the 1850s’, in the same collection, pp. 183–205.
- 17 Cited after Kidd, ‘The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson’, p. 197.
  - 18 Kidd, ‘The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson’, p. 197. Donaldson wrote in the same vein to Carpentaria, 31 October 1914.
  - 19 From the Pastoral Address delivered at the Opening of the Second Session of the 9th Triennial Synod, Diocese of Adelaide.
  - 20 Pastoral Address, p. 197.
  - 21 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, Church Book Depot, Brisbane, 1915, p. 1.
  - 22 The literature on the ‘War of the Minds’ that began after the ‘Belgian atrocities’ of the German army is extensive. See above, chapters two and three and especially Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914. Militarism, Myth, and Mobilisation in Germany*, CUP, Cambridge, 2000.
  - 23 The literature on this subject is extensive, but see Karl Hammer, *Deutsche Kriegstheologie 1870–1918*, DTV, Frankfurt am Main, 1971.
  - 24 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, p. 34.
  - 25 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, p. 41.
  - 26 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, p. 41.
  - 27 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, p. 44.
  - 28 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, p. 50.
  - 29 It is worth noting, however, that the Commonwealth government in 2010 was firmly committed to peacekeeping and expends considerable funds in sending armed forces to ‘pacify’ turbulent nations that threatened the peace and tranquillity of the world.
  - 30 John A Moses, ‘The Australian Anglican Bishops and the First World War 1914–1918: The “Prussian Menace”, Conscription and National Solidarity’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, October 2001, pp. 306–24.
  - 31 See Peter J Hempenstall and Paula Mochida, *The Lost Man: Wilhelm Solf in German History*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2005.
  - 32 Lothar Wieland, ‘Der deutsche Englandhass im ersten Weltkrieg und seine Vorgeschichte’, in *Deutschlands Sonderung von Europa 1862–1945*, Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York, 1984, pp. 317–53.
  - 33 *Brisbane Courier*, 20 November 1914, p. 1, cited after Kidd, ‘The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson’, p. 199.

- 34 Donaldson, *Christian Patriotism*, p. 14.
- 35 The Inaugural Synod Address, 1915, p. 17, Anglican Church Archives, Brisbane.
- 36 Note that when the Germans used the word 'England' or the 'English' they meant as well as the British Isles all the overseas Dominions and colonies.
- 37 The Inaugural Synod Address, 1915, p. 18.
- 38 Wolfgang J Mommsen (ed.), *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im ersten Weltkrieg*, R Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, 1996.
- 39 The Inaugural Synod Address, 1915, p. 19.
- 40 The Inaugural Synod Address, 1915, p. 19.
- 41 The Inaugural Synod Address, 1915, p. 19.
- 42 See Peter D Williams, *The Battle of Anzac Ridge 25 April 1915*, Australian Military History Publications, Sydney, 2007.
- 43 St John's Cathedral Registry of Services for 10 June 1915. The entry was signed by St Clair Donaldson as celebrant. There is no copy of the sermon extant.
- 44 Regular intercessory services for the war were being held at St George's every Wednesday since 18 November 1914. See, *The Register of Services*, held in the Batty Library, Perth.
- 45 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1915. The Methodist Church also was caught up in this movement of commemoration whereby Sunday 31 October 1915 had been declared a 'Day of Memorial and Intercession'. See *The Methodist Leader*, Brisbane, 15 October 1915.
- 46 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1915.
- 47 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1915.
- 48 See John A Moses, 'Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914–1918', pp. 306–23.
- 49 The attempt by some writers such as the late Eric Andrews, '25 April 1916: First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, October, 1993, p. 13, to decry a calculated cynicism on the part of the planners of Anzac Day betrays little understanding of the emotional reality of the time.
- 50 See Australian Archives, Victorian Office, Series B168/0, Item 05/5614, Department of Defence (Military Forces). Garland's transfer to Queensland was gazetted 12 April 1906.
- 51 Garland, in *The Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1915, 'Our Soldier Boys'.

- 52 Garland, in *The Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1915, 'Our Soldier Boys'. On p. 116 of the same issue Garland's appointment as official Resident Chaplain is recorded and it also reports the fact that he had been 20 months 'under canvas' as camp chaplain to West Australian troops during the Boer War.
- 53 See Garland's description of the organisation in *The Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1915, p. 141. He became the full time organiser with offices in St Luke's Church, Charlotte Street, Brisbane. Relieved of parish duties, Garland received an annual stipend of £350 subscribed by the Brisbane Diocesan Synod. On 12 September 1917, Canon Garland could report, 'Our Society has grown so large that the Executive decided it was advisable to appoint trustees, and I and Mr GF Weatherlake, Treasurers, have been appointed as trustees, and a deed of declaration of trust has been prepared'. See *The Church Chronicle* 1 October 1917, p. 189.

## 8 The role of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee

### Nationalising Anzac Day 1916–1930

For the love of Christ controls us, because we are convinced that one has died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised. (2 Corinthians 5:14–15)

**I**n this chapter we demonstrate that Anzac Day did not happen ‘spontaneously’ as some historians mistakenly assume that it did. For example Eric Andrews wrote:

It was entirely natural that the first Anzac Day should be celebrated wherever Australians found themselves in 1916. Australian and New Zealand troops did so *more or less spontaneously* [emphasis added] in small units at bases

in Egypt and the Middle East, in France (where they had just arrived) and Britain. The landing on Gallipoli in 1915, and all the excitement that it had entailed, ensured that the day would be celebrated in Australia also.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the 'Christian' historian Richard Ely also seems to prefer the spontaneity theory, or a variant of it, prompting the question: why has there been so little interest in the actual institutionalisation of Anzac Day?<sup>2</sup>

In some historical writing events do have a habit of suddenly 'breaking out' or 'flaring up'. These convenient metaphors invite the reader to imagine the pre-existence of combustible material just waiting to self-ignite, as in the phenomenon of spontaneous combustion. It saves the writer from the often-complex task of investigating causal links. One must concede that in the case of Anzac observance there did exist a considerable body of publicity that seized the popular imagination but this does not explain the organisational origins of the day nor account for the way in which it was sustained. It was no foregone conclusion that it would continue after the first allegedly 'spontaneous' celebrations in 1916. We certainly agree with writers such as KS Inglis, David Kent, Kevin Fewster, Richard Ely and Alistair Thompson<sup>3</sup> that a 'cult of Anzac' had very early been established during the eight months of the Dardanelles campaign, due to the reportage of Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett and Charles Bean whose accounts undoubtedly provided the combustible material, to stay with the metaphor, which enabled the movement to be ignited. There was however an additional source of emotional fuel: the religious commemoration movement first begun in Anglican cathedrals throughout the country from June 1915 and gradually embraced by other denominations and which has been consistently neglected by historians of Anzac. We argue here that this local upsurge of 'grief management' within the framework of traditional Christian liturgy is, at the very least,

a principal source of energy leading to the institutionalisation of Anzac Day. Consequently, two sources of combustible material that fuelled the Anzac Day movement need to be recognised: one was undeniably the dramatic reportage from the Dardanelles, the other was the public response of the churches. Someone had to ignite the fuel and, because of the nature of fires, also keep the fuel up in order to prolong the combustion. In short, individuals or groups had to tend them.

Chapter four described when and why the first Anzac Day commemoration committee was established and how Canon Garland was elected secretary and charged with the task of preparing for the solemn observance of Anzac Day. In this chapter we trace the spread of the Queensland initiative throughout Australia and New Zealand until 1930 when legislation was enacted to establish Anzac Day as the unchallenged sacred national day of mourning for the fallen on both sides of the Tasman. There were particular reasons why the Brisbane committee was always at the forefront of the movement to have the day gazetted as a ‘close public holiday’ like Good Friday and to impart to the day a highly religious significance. In the words of the committee, this significance would give the day the character of ‘Australia’s All Souls’ Day’.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning, the other States and New Zealand marked Anzac Day in ways that were significantly different from Queensland.<sup>5</sup>

When Garland was commissioned at that meeting in the Brisbane Exhibition Hall on 10 January 1916 he intentionally formed a committee that was representative of all mainstream denominations. It was to be truly ecumenical. There were prominent chaplains from other churches such as the Presbyterian, Dr EN Merrington, whose service record was among the more outstanding. They were all, like Garland, Empire patriots. The Roman Catholic Archbishop (initially coadjutor) James Duhig was no less keen to be represented on the Brisbane ADCC which also included such high profile Roman Catholic laymen as AJ Thynne, of the reputable law firm and



Mr T A Ryan, the Brisbane auctioneer who proposed 25 April as Anzac Day.

Thomas Augustine Ryan (1847–1923), the Brisbane auctioneer and a member of the local recruiting committee, whose son had fought at Gallipoli. It was he and not the Queensland Premier, TJ Ryan, who proposed 25 April as Anzac Day.<sup>6</sup> The commemoration was to have both a religious and a secular dimension. Indeed, each denomination agreed to mark the day in accordance with its own theological traditions. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Church of England had already set the pace with its Solemn Eucharist for the fallen, held on 10 June 1915. This form of commemoration

would, of course, have been unacceptable to everyone else given the variety of denominations in Australia. The next largest denomination, the Roman Catholic Church, would never have collaborated in an ecumenical service and in any case Protestants did not pray for the dead, although the memorial services being held at that time in the Albert Street Methodist Church in Brisbane seemed to be doing precisely that. Consequently it was agreed that on 25 April each denomination would conduct services to begin at 11.00 am in accordance with its own theological convictions and liturgical tradition. As well, earlier services at the graves of deceased returned-men were being held in Toowong Cemetery.

After the 11.00 am church parades there was to be a march followed by luncheon for the men, catered for by the women's auxiliaries of the various churches. Initially, there was also to be a joint public service in the evening at a sufficiently large public venue that was inter-denominational and where care was taken not to offend the theological convictions of different churches. This concession was suggested by Garland who kept in close contact



with the various Anzac Day Commemoration Committees that were set up throughout the State. Hymns could be sung, all suggested by Garland, that were broadly theistic and without specific denominational content. But the genius of Garland's concept was the stipulated one or two minutes silence that enabled persons of Roman Catholic and Protestant persuasion to pray or not to pray as was their custom, while atheists and agnostics could engage in a reverential reflection. There would be a short address by a local dignitary, then the hymns, the silence, the playing of the Last Post and finally the National Anthem. Patriotic resolutions would be passed, speeches would recall the deeds of the fallen from the district and their names would solemnly be read out. In time, this event became a feature of almost every town and hamlet in Queensland.<sup>7</sup>

The ADCC was adamant that the day was to be kept as solemn as Good Friday; no cinemas, hotels, race courses or other sporting venues would be open. It had to be totally dedicated to commemoration, the purpose being to render thanks for the sacrifice of the fallen, to comfort the bereaved and to call the nation to repentance for the sins that led to war. There was undeniably an element of Christian revivalism in the event though this receded behind the secular, patriotic façade. It was an intentional and unashamed example of civil religion.<sup>8</sup>

Some secular-humanist writers are adamant that there is nothing especially religious about Anzac Day commemoration, nor anything in Anzac commemoration that suggests the influence of any of the mainstream churches. Indeed, there seems to be some anxiety about investigating this dimension and a reluctance to acknowledge the broad Christian heritage, albeit very mixed, of the Australian population. Veteran diggers, it is assumed, simply had an overwhelming desire to remember their fallen mates in a spirit of what Dr George Shaw has termed 'Australian Sentimental Humanism', (abbreviated as ASH).<sup>9</sup> The problem is encapsulated in the undoubted acceptance of the concept 'that greater love hath no

man than this, than a man lay down his life for his friends' (John 15:13) and shyness in acknowledging its source. No such shyness inhibited Canon Garland, or indeed any of the chaplains of any of the denominations, who had served in the far-flung theatres of war. Their understanding of what constituted 'sacred' is spelled out in their numerous sermons and addresses collected from 1921 onwards and published by the ADCC each year until 1939. Anzac Day was undoubtedly a 'holy day' because the youth of Australia and New Zealand had offered their lives in a sacred cause, namely the defence of the British Empire including their own young democratic countries, against the forces of ungodly Prussian aggression. The chaplains' point of departure was that Australia was basically a Christian country which held to the central Christian belief of Christ's resurrection from the dead. They contended that Christ died for the sins of the whole world, so the fallen would be forgiven their sins and united with Him. The fallen had gone to a better place where 'age shall not weary them nor the years condemn' – the words of Laurence Binyon's celebrated ode recited in all RSL clubs throughout the nation at 6.00 pm every evening.

Canon Garland upheld a distinctly Anglo-Catholic understanding of commemoration that emphatically linked the sacrifice of the Anzacs with that of Christ. He regarded it as the All Souls' Day of Australia, a day on which in the Christian calendar all the departed were commemorated. In Catholic countries such as France largely is, it was the day on which the fallen in battles past, alongside all Christian souls, were especially remembered. But Australia was not France, that is to say not a country with just one dominant religious denomination. In Australia, even though the Church of England was the largest Christian communion at the time, one had to learn to live with denominational pluralism. For that reason the Anzac Day service of remembrance not only had to be inclusive of all the churches but also had to take into account

the fact that our society contained many atheists and agnostics, as well as Jews and other non-Christian elements.<sup>10</sup>

For this reason alone, not all the chaplains in the ADCC would have shared Garland's particular theology of the sacred but even the most Protestant of chaplains could only make sense of the loss of life in defence of the Empire with reference to the blood of Christ on Calvary. It is very clear that the threat mounted by the German Empire to the security of Europe and the British Empire, and in particular the way in which it was carried out, namely through the wantonly destructive invasion of Belgium, alienated most churchmen from the German cause whatever its inherent merits might have been. The respect German theologians and esteem German scholars may have enjoyed evaporated overnight as a result of the unprecedented brutality of the 'Belgian atrocities' which the then German intellectual and cultural elite affected to deny. The Germans had become the 'unspeakable Hun'. Their wanton and unprovoked aggression had made this struggle into a 'holy war'.<sup>11</sup>

In his ardour for the Empire's cause, Canon Garland had made strenuous efforts to apprise the governments of the States, New Zealand and the Commonwealth, as well as the mayors of cities and country towns, of the way in which the Brisbane ADCC planned to mark Anzac Day. Indicative of the importance which these men attached to the day was the fact, too, they had even suggested the inclusion of the time of silence to the administration of Westminster Abbey in the memorial service to be attended by the King in Westminster Abbey on 25 April 1916. This was the very first time that the liturgical silence was held. The ADCC also elicited a message from the King to the people of Queensland to mark the occasion.<sup>12</sup>

The activities and achievements of the Brisbane ADCC after January 1916 document its pioneering significance in the history of the movement. Notably, it was the first in Australia to seize the initiative in trying to establish Anzac Day as a *national* day

of mourning for the fallen. Second, it immediately notified the other States, the Commonwealth and New Zealand of the plan and invited them to do likewise. Third, the commemoration was intended to have a decidedly solemn religious character for reasons already outlined. Further, Canon Garland on behalf of the Brisbane ADCC had urged the setting up of commemoration committees throughout Queensland in principal country centres, providing them with guidelines as to how to proceed, even to the extent of instructing an appropriate person to visit each school on the day before to explain the meaning of Anzac to schoolchildren. This still happens in Queensland. In order that returned men might make it to the march at no cost to themselves, the ADCC arranged for free travel passes to be issued for 25 April with Queensland Railways. Indeed, the committee under Garland's guidance had become adept at assiduous lobbying; nothing was left to chance. Attendances were to be monitored year by year to gauge whether the public was behind the movement. In 1922 the ADCC was particularly proud of the endorsement it received from the Federal Government just after the celebration, as related in some detail in chapter ten.

The ADCC had been assiduously lobbying the Prime Minister since 17 September 1919 with a view to achieving a uniform celebration throughout the entire Commonwealth. Significantly, in the files of the Prime Minister's Department relating to Anzac Day there is only correspondence from Canon Garland on behalf of the Brisbane ADCC urging their conception of Anzac commemoration on the federal government. No other such committees throughout Australia seem to have been moved to make such representation. This suggests strongly the uniqueness of the Queensland initiative and highlights Garland's singular contribution.<sup>13</sup> Before there could be a uniform commemoration throughout the Commonwealth, however, the States had first to concur, and this is the subject of chapter twelve. This required legislation from each State of the Commonwealth setting aside 25 April as a day of

solemn remembrance.<sup>14</sup> New Zealand had enacted her legislation on 11 November 1920, and that Act followed precisely the recommendations that Garland had communicated: that the day would be kept as if it were Christmas Day or Good Friday. No hotels were to be open and no race courses were to operate. This was to preserve the character of a sacred day.

A struggle followed at both Commonwealth and State levels to establish the day uniformly throughout the nation as a ‘close sacred holiday’, an objective championed forcefully by the Brisbane ADCC but which was ultimately frustrated. The way in which each State of the Commonwealth and New Zealand responded to the Gallipoli event was naturally different. As commentators have already noted and as Alistair Thompson more recently has pointed out, a legend about the exploits of the Anzacs had been effectively prepared<sup>15</sup>; the public imagination had been fired and in addition there was an accompanying outpouring of grief that was channelled by the churches, pre-eminently by the Church of England, into a series of public services of commemoration and intercession for peace.<sup>16</sup> But each State responded first in ways prescribed by the prevailing circumstances and the mentality of the local makers of political will.

Allowing for the variations in how each State handled the Anzac Day celebration, eventually they all adapted the ‘Garland model’, as an examination of the introduction of and gradual amendments to State legislation shows. All of the States eventually saw the commemoration as a partially sacred one with some religious significance, although not all had linked religion to the concept of nation as Queensland had done. The States could not consistently reject the desire of many citizens to spend part of the day hedonistically engaging in sporting activities.

The ‘Garland model’ for Anzac Day Commemoration endured in Queensland until 1964 when it was amended to permit the opening of hotels, racecourses and other places of amusement

once the commemorations were over.<sup>17</sup> By then the churches had long abandoned their special Anzac services. In the Western liturgical calendar, 25 April is designated St Mark's Day. A priest may or may not choose to use the 'collect' (special prayer) for Anzac Day which the *Prayer Book for Australia* provides for the Holy Communion or Eucharist:

O God, our ruler and guide,  
in whose hands are the destinies of this and every nation,  
we give you thanks for the freedoms we enjoy in this land  
and for those who laid down their lives to defend them:  
We pray that we and all the people of Australia,  
gratefully remembering their courage and their sacrifice,  
may have grace to live in a spirit of justice,  
of generosity and of peace;  
through Jesus Christ our Lord,  
who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit,  
one God, for ever and ever. Amen.

An additional prayer is also provided in the same Prayer Book to be used at other forms of service:

God of love and liberty,  
we bring our thanks today  
for the peace and security we enjoy.  
We remember those who in time of war  
faithfully served their country.  
We pray for their families,  
and for ourselves whose freedom was won at such a cost.  
Make us a people zealous for peace,  
and hasten the day  
when nation shall not lift up sword against nation  
neither learn war any more.  
This we pray in the name of one  
who gave his life for the sake of the world:

Jesus Christ, our Redeemer. Amen.

These prayers retain echoes of the sentiment and patriotic theology for which Canon Garland most emphatically stood and for which he so ardently campaigned. With some notable exceptions,<sup>18</sup> most churches have long since abandoned their special services with the only public solemnity being retained in the Dawn Service and the Anzac Day march. Whether this signifies the triumph of secularism over religion is a moot question, but certainly for a period of almost fifty years Queensland evinced a significantly different religious/political culture from that pertaining in most other States.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Eric Andrews, '25 April 1916, First Anzac Day in Australia and Britain', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No. 23, October 1993, p. 13. The question that arises here is why would memorial events in the Middle East automatically *ensure* that similar celebrations would take place in Australia?
- 2 Richard Ely, 'The First Anzac Day: Invented or Discovered?', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 17 November 1985, pp. 41–58. This article is a digest of the post-Gallipoli journalism and rhetoric that educated the public mind to appreciate the unique significance of the campaign for Australian national self-awareness. Dr Ely is a high-profile Evangelical. A vigorous anti-Catholic mindset such as Dr Ely represents will hinder any understanding of the Catholic approach to such a theologically sensitive issue as commemoration of the dead. Religious conviction no doubt affects one's view of the world.
- 3 See KS Inglis, 'CEW Bean – Australian Historian', The 1969 John Murtagh Macrossan Lecture, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1970; 'The Anzac Tradition', *Meanjin Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1965, pp. 25–44; 'The Australians at Gallipoli II', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 55, October 1970, pp. 361–75; David Kent, 'The Anzac Book and the Anzac Legend: CEW Bean as Editor and Image Maker', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 84, April 1985, pp. 376–90; Kevin Fewster, 'Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett and the Making of the Anzac Legend', *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 10, 1982, pp. 17–30; Alistair Thompson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, OUP, Melbourne, 1994. See also Thompson's

articles in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, OUP, Melbourne, 1995, 1999: 'Anzac Day' and 'Anzac Legend'.

- 4 Canon Garland repeatedly used this designation for the day. See his 1924 Anzac Day Sermon held in St John's Cathedral, Brisbane, reprinted in the *Anzac Day Book*, published by the ADCC, Brisbane, 1925, p. 9. A segment of this is reproduced in chapter ten.
- 5 See, for example, Mary Wilson, 'The Making of Melbourne's Anzac Day', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1981, pp. 97–114; Maureen Sharpe, 'Anzac Day in New Zealand 1916 to 1939', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1981, pp. 97–114. New South Wales employed the theatrical entrepreneur JC Williamson to stage its first Anzac Day. See Memorandum to Prime Minister: 'Laws governing observance in various states and New Zealand', Australian Archives (AA) Series A461, Item 90926. From extracts of the debate of 25 May 1923. Item 13/1/10, Pt 1. The beginnings in Adelaide have been examined by Janice Pavils, 'The Emergence of South Australian Anzac Culture 1915–1925', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 89, Part 2, December 2003, pp. 123–44, and *Anzac Day: the Undying Debt*, Lythrum Press, Adelaide, 2007, p. 10. The author acknowledges that, 'Brisbane was the first ADCC to endeavour to harness the instinctive or spontaneous combustion of parochial ideas concerning grief management in each state, into a national observation, using the anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing as a decisive or defining moment'. It is an interesting unacknowledged assertion clearly derived from John A Moses, 'The Struggle for Anzac Day 1916–1930', *JRAHS*, Vol. 88, Pt. 1, June 2002, p. 54. For references to other States, see chapter twelve.
- 6 See the ADCC minute book (Oxley Library), 18 February 1916, pp. 82–3, where Garland moved that a letter be written to Mr TA Ryan, 'recognising him as the originator of the observance of Anzac Day, congratulating him on its world-wide celebration and that he had been elected a member of the General Committee', seconded by Mr Macgregor and supported by Colonel Thynne (1847–1927) who stated that the observance of the day arose from a suggestion to him by Mr Ryan. See also the obituary for TA Ryan in *The Queenslander*, 5 January 1924, p. 40.
- 7 The personal recollection of the author, John A Moses, of his home town of Atherton, North Queensland, in the 1930s and 1940s is that after the solemnities of the evening had been observed a light-hearted army concert took place. When the sixth and ninth divisions were stationed on the Atherton Tableland after their return from the Middle East, concerts in the local cinema, the now destroyed Roxy Theatre, reached a very high standard as the army had a range of professional actors and comedians in the ranks upon which to draw.



- 8 The ADCC minute book from 1916 onwards records the recommendations made each year subsequently for the conduct of the Anzac Day services.
- 9 George P Shaw, 'Bi-Centennial Writing: Revealing the Ash in the Australian Soul', in George P Shaw (ed.), *1988 and All That*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1988, pp. 1–15.
- 10 Sermon delivered in St John's Cathedral Anzac Day 1924, reprinted in *The Anzac Book 1921–1939*.
- 11 John A Moses, 'The First World War as Holy War in German and Australian Perspective', *Colloquium*, Vol. 26, No 1, 1994, pp. 44–55. The literature on this subject has expanded considerably in recent years, especially from the German side.
- 12 Summarised from the ADCC minutes by Alderman HJ Diddams, a member of the ADCC, in 'The Celebration of Anzac Day: A Short History of the Great Movement in Queensland', in *Anzac Commemoration 1921*, p. 9, published by the ADCC.
- 13 The ADCC was surely unique in having such a highly active Anglo-Catholic priest as its *spiritus rector*. No other State capital seems to have brought forth a comparable leader.
- 14 The ADCC joint honorary secretaries (Garland and Pike) to Hughes, 27 February 1922, repeating the earlier recommendation for a uniform celebration throughout the Commonwealth, especially in a form that would preserve its solemn character. AA Series A 457/1, Item 520.1/58.
- 15 *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*; See also Alistair Thompson's articles, 'Anzac Day' and 'Anzac Legend', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, Melbourne, 1999.
- 16 See Chapter thirteen which traces the evolution of Anzac Day legislation in each State and also the Commonwealth.
- 17 See 'Anzac Day Act 1921–81', Queensland Government Printer, 1983.
- 18 See, for example, the way in which Anzac Day is celebrated in the parish of Clayfield–Hendra in the diocese of Brisbane where there is always a service at the Cross of Sacrifice in the church grounds on Anzac Day, thus continuing a tradition that dates back to 1920. See the illustration on page 225.

## 9 The peripatetic priest

### Chaplain Garland in the Middle East, 1917–1919



Canon David Garland in officer's  
uniform in the Middle East.

Blessed is the man who endures trial, for when he has stood the test he will receive the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him. (James 1:12)

**D**avid John Garland<sup>1</sup> was an inveterate traveller; he was not one to be intimidated by the ‘tyranny of distance’ whether it was in traversing the sun-scorched plains of Western Australia or the interminable distances by rail from tropical

North Queensland to Brisbane or even across the often-turbulent Tasman Sea to New Zealand. He made frequent use of rail, sail and steam to travel around the Australasian colonies, then States, in the pursuit of his vocation. With the outbreak of war Garland, after his return to Brisbane from New Zealand, focused on intensifying his chaplaincy to recruits in camp during their basic training as well as driving his fund-raising efforts in the 'Lavender Appeal'. All this time he was corresponding with his brother priest and friend, the former rector of St Mary's Kangaroo Point, South Brisbane, the Reverend William Maitland Woods. Woods had joined the army as a chaplain in August 1915 and served in that capacity for the remainder of the campaign in the Middle East until his discharge from the AIF on 16 June 1919. He had seen a long tour of duty that included service on Gallipoli and subsequent operations in Egypt with the Light Horse. Garland knew Woods well since he (Garland) had been at that time rector of the neighbouring parish of Holy Trinity, Woolloongabba, South Brisbane. Woods and Garland were born in the same year, 1864, and both had worked together as chaplains in Brisbane. Woods, however, could not wait to get into active service and managed to see very active service, starting on Gallipoli in October 1915. A 'classically' educated Oxford man, Maitland Woods sustained a very active ministry to the troops as both priest and lecturer since he could apply his education to deliver instructive talks to the troops on the history of the countries in which they were fighting. Despite his age he continued to be active on the front, being mentioned in dispatches on 23 October 1918 by General Allenby.<sup>2</sup>

Maitland Woods became Garland's close informant about conditions among troops in Egypt and Palestine. Doubtless he was the inspiration for Garland himself to leave no stone unturned until he, too, could get to Egypt as a Chaplain with a special brief from the Minister for Defence, the Hon George F Pearce, to investigate, among other things, the burial of the fallen. The scandal of

the riots started in Cairo by soldiers who claimed to have been robbed while visiting a brothel<sup>3</sup> prompted his investigation into where and how troops spent their time while on leave in Egyptian towns. This chapter is devoted to Garland's ministry to troops of the Australian Light Horse and the New Zealand Mounted Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant General Harry Chauvel, during their advance into the Holy Land and on to Damascus. After the cessation of hostilities, Garland stayed on in Egypt pursuing his ministry to troops under the command of Brigadier General Lachlan Chisholm Wilson who had carried out, with the aid of Light Horse personnel, the suppression of an Egyptian uprising against British rule. That occurred during March 1919. Garland returned home on 2 September 1919.<sup>4</sup> He had served just under two years in the Middle East. It was during this period that Garland's determination to establish the sacramental nature of Anzac Day had crystallised, particularly motivated through the events which connected him with the Eastern Orthodox Church. It was a time of frenetic activity; he perceived his role as contributing to the Empire's mission to oppose tyranny and to civilise the world, bestowing on it the benefits of British political culture. It was a task in which the role of the Church of England was of central importance. In this chapter several long passages of Garland's reports are cited because of the richness of their content and their revelations regarding the impact of what he experienced.

For Garland, personal interest in the Gallipoli campaign was sparked when he learned that one of his former altar boys from Holy Trinity Woolloongabba, together with a friend, had carried the Union Jack ashore and planted it at the initial landing. Maitland Woods had kept Garland informed. He had actually seen the flag afterwards in the Officers' Mess in Sidi Gaba on his arrival. On 1 October 1915 Maitland Woods reported to Garland:

This is confidential. I have been to Sidi Gaba, and saw the flag still on the wall. The inevitable has happened: quite a crowd has discovered that the flag was worth one thousand pounds, etc. etc., so I simply took it being a Lieut. Col: and they being simply non coms and officers of junior rating – I then packed it up, took it to the Post Office, registered it and addressed it to you, as one holding sufficient rank to hold it against any other claim. In the Records Office the men recognized it at once. Those who had been in the charge on St Mark's Day, and they corrected my figures on the slip of paper enclosed with the flag. We are all excitement here tonight. Those of us who are off tomorrow.<sup>5</sup>

Garland duly received the flag and was effusive in his gratitude to Maitland Woods in a letter dated 4 December 1915 acknowledging receipt of the precious relic:

I was and am, immensely proud of your entrusting to me the flag hoisted in Gallipoli. I have taken it over the country for recruiting marches; it has been cheered in the streets and at meetings and kissed by men and women. It is still in my possession, but its ultimate destination will be the Cathedral. Your various letters and the flag arrived all together. How extraordinary that Jim Fullerton of Holy Trinity, South Brisbane – one of my old boys – should have had possession of the flag. I have assumed all along that they hoisted it. Needless to say, wherever I displayed the flag I stated you had sent it.<sup>6</sup>

This account by Garland of what he did with the flag after he received it attests further to his ability to advance the cause of Anzac commemoration by employing all the artifacts available. His committee had planned the first Anzac Day commemoration in Brisbane when a parallel service was being held in Cairo, witnessed by Lieutenant

John Linton Treloar, the future first director of the Australian War Memorial. It was presided over by the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem and by three padres, (Church of England and one Methodist) one of whom was the Reverend Arthur Venables Calveley Hordern who was Senior English Chaplain in Egypt at the time, based in Alexandria.<sup>7</sup> Treloar, an earnest young man of Methodist upbringing, performed an invaluable service to historians. Having mastered short-hand, he recorded the Senior Chaplain's sermon verbatim in addition to giving a detailed account of how the first Anzac Day Service in Egypt was celebrated.<sup>8</sup> Garland would have been delighted on two counts: first, the structure of the service conformed almost exactly to what his committee had recommended and implemented in Brisbane, and second, the theology of Padre Hordern's sermon, which was quite distinctively Anglo-Catholic, would have resonated strongly with Garland. The venue was the Red Cross Hostel. Lieutenant Treloar reported:



Chaplain General AVC Hordern.

I was up pretty early this morning and gained permission to attend a service at Anzac Hostel in memory of the men who fell in the Landing. All Australian troops in Cairo received a holiday and the large number travelling made it rather difficult to catch a tram. After waiting a while I managed to get one of our cars and went in that. When I reached the Hostel, which apparently is run by the Red Cross for the benefit of Anzac Soldiers, I managed to get a seat though the place was fast filling up. The hall was

beautifully decorated with wreaths which were afterwards to be placed on soldiers' graves in the Cairo Old Cemetery. By the time the service was due to begin – 9am – the large hall was crowded, those who could not find room down-stairs lining the gallery under the roof. After the orchestra had played some sacred music, a band played 'the Dead March'. The National Anthem was sung, and then the hymn 'For all the Saints who from their labours rest', was sung. A C of E chaplain then offered a short prayer, and a Methodist chaplain then read the lesson – from the 15th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.<sup>9</sup>

The senior chaplain to the forces then gave the address. He said:

On this day – 25 April – a year ago there took place one of the most stirring and heroic events of this great war – an event which, when fully known, startled the whole world and made our Empire thrill with pride at the bravery, the courage, the endurance of her sons. It was a day to which no flights of rhetoric, no oratorical eloquence on my part could do justice; it was a day of heroes and heroic deeds. As we meet here on this anniversary to show that we keep in mind what was accomplished by those heroes in that landing at Gallipoli, to commemorate the deaths of our comrades who went and did not return – and alas, how many there were! – their bodies lie at rest, some on the Peninsula, some at sea, some on Greek isles, many in Alexandria and Cairo. They are not forgotten. We as a nation and empire can never forget those comrades who fell in what we believe to be a righteous cause, and surely those lives were not laid down in vain, when they stand out to us as examples of dauntless courage and self-sacrifice at the call of duty. They stand out to all as an incentive but especially to you

younger men who may be called upon to face the enemy as they did. You know something of the preparations that were made – outward preparations to meet the foe. And I know of inward preparations made by hundreds – British and colonial – to meet their Maker; to answer the Great Roll Call when sounded. Hundreds received the Blessed Sacrament on the night before. Hundreds had begun their preparation before they left Egypt and England knowing that they were to face death. And for those, if there were any, who did not prepare? The Lord of hosts is also the God of Mercy, who knoweth the hearts of men. He who said, ‘greater love hath no man that this, that a man lay down his life for his friend’, will accept the willing sacrifice of their lives, and will forgive their sins. And for the many relatives and friends who mourn afresh today for those who have ‘loved long since and lost a while’, this Eastertide will bring comfort, a foreshadowing of the Great Resurrection Day when

On that happy Easter morning  
All the graves their dead restore;  
Father, sister, child, and mother,  
Meet once more! ...

Lieutenant Treloar, having quoted the Senior Chaplain’s sermon verbatim, went on to report:

The hymn ‘On the Resurrection Morning’ was then sung, after which an officer read various cables that had been received, together with the replies that it was intended to send to some of them. The singing of Kipling’s ‘Recessional’, and the benediction by the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem brought the service to a close. The wreaths were then taken and put upon ambulances which conveyed them to the



cemetery. Many of the troops present fell in and marched behind them. So ended the memorial service of the Landing at Anzac in which I was fortunate enough to take part.<sup>10</sup>

It is interesting to observe that the first Anzac Day service in Cairo as described by Lieutenant Treloar followed the pattern that Canon Garland had recommended to the ADCC in Brisbane. But if this is merely coincidental it attests even more eloquently to the hegemony of Anglican culture throughout the Empire at that time. Garland entered into correspondence with Senator George Pearce, Minister for Defence, and negotiated a way to enable him to get to the Middle East. There were compelling reasons for investigating more closely the welfare work, or lack of it, among the troops on leave in the 'flesh pots of Egypt'. The problem of prostitution had assumed scandalous proportions and was a great worry not only to the nation's chief spiritual leaders.<sup>11</sup> There had occurred the notorious 'disturbance' in a brothel district of Cairo on the night of Good Friday, 2 April 1915, that resulted in a riot in the street. The court of enquiry established that the culprits were all Australians who allegedly had complaints against the prostitutes for stealing from their wallets. There were also cases of vandalising and looting by Australians and others as well.<sup>12</sup> Garland was keen to provide more facilities for troops on leave with the aim of improving on the existing efforts of the YMCA which Garland considered spiritually inadequate.<sup>13</sup> He had stirred up the entire Australian Anglican hierarchy to become proactive in this enterprise. At a meeting chaired by the Primate, Archbishop JC Wright, in Sydney on 17 September 1917 in St James' Hall the prelate stated, 'Our aim is to start a Church of England Australian Fund for Soldiers, which has, as its primary object the placing of Church Huts in Egypt, after that in France, and if need be, in England'.<sup>14</sup> Wright went on to point out that the Fund was intended to enable the extension of existing welfare work at home to the actual front

overseas. He then paid eloquent tribute to Garland's pioneering work in Queensland which had made his a household name, and acknowledged his initiative in organising this new undertaking. As well, Garland had persuaded Defence Minister George Pearce to provide him with a brief to report on the war graves situation. The letter dated 5 October 1917 that Pearce sent to the Commandant, Administrative HQ, AIF in Cairo bears quoting in full:

This will serve to introduce the bearer, Chaplain David J Garland, who is proceeding to Egypt in the interest of the Church of England Australian Fund for Soldiers, which has been raised in view of the demand for supplementary social and re-creative facilities for the members of the Australian Imperial Force on active service abroad with particular reference to the Rest Camps to be provided in Egypt. The Executive of the Fund propose to erect within the Rest Camps huts or tents to be used for distinctive purposes and to establish social attractions in Cairo and Port Said if found to be necessary or desirable and approved by you, but emphasise the fact that all provision made by means of the Fund will be open and free to soldiers of all denominations.

The Executive further make it clear that the intention is not to compete in any way with any existing social and recreative agency, but only to supplement existing activities and to co-operate with such activities wherever that course is found to be practicable.

Chaplain Garland will be devoting his official energies to the execution of the purpose outlined above and will, subject to your approval, arrange for further similar provision for the needs of men as he may find desirable.

I have also granted him permission to carry and use a photographic camera to enable him to secure photographs

of the graves of members of the Australian Imperial Force who have fallen in action or who have died as a result of wounds or sickness caused by active service. In this connection Chaplain Garland will also proceed, subject to your approval.

It is desired that you afford this gentleman any facilities in your power which may be of service to him in connection with the object of his visit.

(Signed) GF Pearce, Minister of State for Defence.<sup>15</sup>

Having negotiated this appointment Garland was understandably gratified and wrote on the eve of his departure to a young soldier friend he had known when he served as a deacon in Grafton, one Verdi Schwinghammer. Verdi had been instructed by Garland and was a faithful Anglican. On 4 September 1917 Garland informed Schwinghammer:

Now for some news which will startle you. On my return to Brisbane I shall be waiting for my boat to go to Egypt to look into the moral and social needs of the troops there and to deal with them. My special appointment is as the 'representative' of the Church of England, the first time such a position has been created. How much further I could go I do not know. This appointment has come about this way, an appeal from the Minister [Pearce] was published for £10,000 to meet the moral and social needs in Egypt. I telegraphed offering some thousands towards this sum, but was refused being told that this is the proper sphere of the YMCA, and not the Church: however, after some handling of the situation, the Department yielded and graciously permits the Church of England to minister to these needs.

Arising out of that we are making an appeal throughout the whole of Australia to the Church to do her duty by raising funds, and I am in charge of that also. We inaugurated the fund with a grant of £4,000 given by the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society, Queensland, being past proceeds of 'Lavender Day'; in addition to that we cabled £1,000 to England, £500 going to the Church Army for a hut on re-captured territory, to be known by the name of 'Queensland' and £500 for a hut on the Australian base in France. We are using £1,400 for the Anzac Club and returned soldiers' work, and £500 for our society's work generally. The total proceeds of the day were over £7,000; the sum much astonished a great many people in Queensland ...<sup>16</sup>

The amount of money raised by Garland was for the time bordering on the astronomical.<sup>17</sup> These were the conditions on which Garland was able to function as a chaplain in the Middle East for some two years. He was not on the regular chaplains' establishment and was only licensed to undertake chaplain's work if invited to do so. He had been designated chaplain 'voyage only' for the transport from



The Anzac Club in Cairo.

Australia to Egypt but thereafter he was on his own, financed out of the funds he had raised himself with his 'Lavender Appeal', though he was able to wear the uniform of a Lieutenant Colonel. Garland had some £4,000 at his disposal, collected in Queensland. Other States were inspired to establish their version of Garland's 'Lavender Fund' which had clearly animated the Primate to pay tribute to Garland's initiative. There were Church-run recreational halls or huts especially for troops to visit already in existence when they were on leave in State capitals. But it was in Queensland where the Church of England's work to minister to troops in camp was initiated and most widely implemented, due of course to Canon Garland's vision and indefatigable enterprise. After he had returned home in 1919, he provided a succinct account of what was accomplished overseas as a result of the efforts of the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society of which he was the Director when based in Egypt:

A little summary of the work Abroad will not be without interest. In France our chief work was the establishment of a Church of England Hut in the Australian Base at Le Havre at a cost of about £400 but our principal work was in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, where the boys need more attention. We established our Central Club and Headquarters in Cairo; Clubs at Port Said, Moascar, Ismalia, Homs, Aleppo, Jerusalem; and a house boat on the Nile used chiefly by convalescents. We supplied marquees, sports, games, comforts, libraries, and on many occasions free quarters and free meals either for groups or for individuals; we made grants for the return voyages. There is no doubt there was room for what we did as was shown by the fact that we were able to extend our work. It is no use crying over spilt milk, but we ought to have been there from the beginning.<sup>18</sup>

All this resulted from Garland's personal enterprise. Clearly, he was regretful that the Church of England in Australia had taken so long to become directly active in troop welfare 'at the front'. Once in Egypt, he set about assessing the situation in which Anzac troops found themselves in relation to the larger number of 'Tommies'. After consultation with the Commandant, Australian Headquarters Cairo, Garland decided to use his money to set up the first of the clubs which had 50 'superior' beds and space for soldiers to relax and write letters, and get meals whilst on leave in Cairo. In informing his Ordinary, Donaldson, in Brisbane, Garland quoted the apparently oft-repeated complaint of diggers that, 'All the decent hotels are out of bounds, and the boarding houses are prohibitive in price, or refuse to take soldiers, there is nothing left for us but low pubs and brothels'.<sup>19</sup> Garland consequently went on to rent premises in Cairo for £300, refurbished them for an additional £500<sup>20</sup> and announced in January 1918 that,

The Australian Soldiers' Club, 44 Suliman Pasha, near AIF Headquarters, Cairo, is now open. Superior sleeping accommodation, recreation room and canteen provided. The club is under the direction of the Rev Canon Garland, VD, representative of the Church of England Australian Fund for Soldiers, and is open to Australian [and New Zealand] soldiers of all denominations.<sup>21</sup>

Garland had thrown himself into troop welfare with his customary vigour, renting as well for convalescing personnel a house boat on the Nile in collaboration with the wives of high ranking officers. In addition he organised guided tours on camels to the places of historical interest, ensuring that Australian nurses accompanied the excursion. He photographed extensively, not only grave sites but also the excursions undertaken. The presence of nurses was of key importance to him as he wished to keep reminding the diggers of

the wholesome girls awaiting them at home. Indeed, he preached on this subject whenever he got access to a pulpit. For example, at All Saints' Church Cairo on the second Sunday after Epiphany, 1918, he preached on John 2:1. This is the story of the wedding in Cana of Galilee where Jesus turned water into wine and thus made sure that the occasion was a great success. Garland's point was that the Church was not a kill-joy because Jesus was definitely not, but it wanted to remind 'the boys' that they should keep themselves undefiled. 'Upon whatever pleasure or amusement we enter, can we think of Jesus coming with us, and sharing it with us?', the chaplain asked. He went on,

My sons, think – whatever may be the invitation to pleasure and from wherever it may come – think. There are mothers, wives, sweethearts, fathers at home, praying for us, counting the weary days of separation, praying that we may be shielded from wounds, delivered from sickness, and, in prayers most often unknown to us, that we may come home unscathed in soul and body. How much it would mean to them if they knew that when we visit this city on duty or on leave, when we have the opportunity for pleasure here or elsewhere, the mother of Jesus is there, and both Jesus and the disciples are called to our pleasure; while we would know that when the day of return came, we could face them with open eyes and frank countenance, because Jesus has been bidden to all our pleasures. ... Think of all the joy it will bring to them ultimately, if Jesus is now the companion of your pleasures.<sup>22</sup>

How many sermons by chaplains to diggers would have tried to convey to them what consequences for both body and soul there were for those who gave way to temptation and visited brothels? The implication was that such pleasure was a delusion, and the

memory of such moral derailments would come back to haunt them. So Garland certainly appreciated the temptations to which the young men were exposed and used this constantly as an argument for the Church to do more to provide alternative facilities for the troops on leave in Arab towns. His constant appeal was that people should not complain about the bad behavior of soldiers but rather recognise realities and support the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society designed to improve and extend the amenities needed.

Garland's concern for the welfare of soldiers in particular is illustrated here by his renting of the house boat on the Nile in Cairo for diggers' recreation. And here he succeeded in winning the assistance of ladies of the most elevated station to act as hostesses.<sup>23</sup> The wife of Colonel, later General Bisdee VC, took charge for the opening, a lady well known to Garland as she was the daughter of Bishop Hale. The vessel was a *dahabia* named the *Sesostris* and had been placed at Garland's disposal by the owners, Messrs Thos Cook and Sons.<sup>24</sup> The house boat was clearly a welcome facility which was open without cost to personnel recovering from wounds and



The recreation barge on the Nile.



as well to others for modest payment. What is important was that there was no pressure placed on the soldiers to listen to any religious propaganda; they were left to read, write letters, play cards and simply relax.

One would have thought that undertaking such welfare work would have been sufficiently fulfilling for a man in his fifties; he must have been chuffed when Lieutenant General Harry Chauvel requested Garland to undertake the duties of a Church of England chaplain to the 2nd ALH Brigade. Chauvel was concerned that there were insufficient C of E chaplains with the AIF in Egypt at that time. He reported that Garland responded to his request with the utmost dispatch and performed duties from 29 April until 27 May 1918. 'He rendered invaluable services at the Receiving Station during the whole of the operation from 30 April to 4 May when some 1542 casualties were passed through.'<sup>25</sup> For this service, Garland qualified for the British War and Victory Medals. He had apparently forgotten that he was entitled to them and only requested them in May 1935.<sup>26</sup>

Garland rigorously fulfilled his priestly obligations as the following extract from a report he made to the *Church Standard* on 22 November 1918 confirms. It was written on 3 September:

Before I took up duty the men from this camp [not named] used to be marched down about one mile to the main camp to the church parade at 9.00 am, so I decided to hold the parade in the central training depot, thus saving the men a long march in the intense summer heat. The men have shown their appreciation and enter heartily into the service joining in the responses and singing heartily and a large percentage always remain for the celebration of the Eucharist, which follows the parade. After the service I return to the main camp church parade – the average attendance is three hundred men – sometimes there are twice as many – this parade is followed by a celebration at

which there are usually twenty or thirty men present on ordinary Sundays. In the afternoon I hold a service in the venereal compound – once a fortnight. Owing, however, to the intense heat of the summer this service was temporarily abandoned, there being no suitable accommodation. This service will now be continued during the winter months; a recreation hut will be available for services. Every alternative Sunday evening I conduct divine service at the Australian Stationary Hospital; these services are fairly well attended and would be much better attended if we had a chapel which is urgently needed; on other Sundays I have regularly held services in the contact camp at Isolation in the evening, just before dusk, and as many as eighty men have been present. There was never any service held for these men before as far as I know until Canon Moore arrived. Thus all the different sections of the camp are provided for regularly.

In addition to holding these services I have given lectures on different occasions; about five hundred men usually attend and I regularly visit the different units and there are many in this camp as you well know. I see hundreds of men each week – I see them when they arrive in camp and say good-bye to them when they leave for the front line, seeing them off at the train, and this happens very frequently. I regularly visit men in the hospital and in the AMC Cadre in the venereal compound, and distribute personally thousands of sheets of notepaper and envelopes. I also censor a great many letters and parcels each day and have a large number of commissions to carry out for men, messages to convey and applications to draw up for men who seek advice; telegrams to dispatch and many other little personal duties to perform for the direct benefit of the men. I have sometimes had to intercede with COs

on the men's behalf and in this work have received the greatest courtesy and most generous sympathy of the different officers concerned. Several days each week I lunch with the men in their mess-huts and on those occasions meet very large numbers of men and get to know them well, so that they realise the C of E chaplain takes a real living interest in them. As well as conducting their public worship on Sunday, I make a point of playing cricket once a week when possible and thus meet a great many more under congenial conditions. I can truly say that I spend at least five hours per day visiting, and very often more, because one is nearly always in touch. A certain amount of time is taken up in arranging services and various duties, and this business brings me into touch with the COs and other officials, and very often in a very pleasant way. Thus I find that I get to know most of the officers without in any way forcing myself upon them. Thus you will see that there is a vast scope for a chaplain's work here and it is all most enjoyable and delightful, and everywhere there is a welcome and courtesy, cheeriness and kindness ...<sup>27</sup>

When one reads Garland's personal account of his activities, one is tempted to suggest that it contains an element of 'big-noting'. This would be to fail to comprehend Garland's Anglo-Catholic sense of priestly duty. This he evinced throughout his entire ministry, from the early days as a deacon in Grafton diocese and afterwards in Perth, Western Australia. And it was in the latter place, during the Boer War, that he first became an army chaplain. He believed, with William Ewart Gladstone, that the Empire was an agency for spreading the essential message of the Gospel of Christ, both to the heathen subjects and to the British settlers. As a priest in the Church of England one was commissioned to administer the Sacraments of the Church, preach the Word *and* ensure that in public life justice and decency prevailed.<sup>28</sup> In short,

Garland's Anglo-Catholicism imbued him with a powerful sense of social responsibility. This, in war time, extended to the young men who had offered their lives in the service of the Empire to defend the weak and oppressed against the forces of the ungodly; they deserved all the pastoral care one could possibly give them. One did not preach at them to inculcate a sense of depravity and need for repentance; one led by example, ministering to the basic needs of *all* men in a non-judgmental way, regardless of whether they were Church of England or atheist. Particularly in the war against the apostate Kaiser's Germany, *all* men were crusaders. That was Garland's deeply-felt conviction.

The sojourn in Egypt had been a vibrant time for him. He felt keenly that he was playing a minor role in the Empire's mission to the world. It seems he was constantly on the move responding to pastoral needs wherever they arose. For example, he reported to the *Church Standard* in September 1918 a poignant story of his visit to Australian nurses in Alexandria, some of whom wrote requesting him to come up from Cairo if he could to celebrate the Holy Eucharist prior to their embarkation for Salonika. They had no available Anglican chaplain. Garland dropped everything and went:

On arrival I at once said what I knew I was expected to say, to some few at least, about a celebration of the Holy Eucharist before embarking, and asked them to pass the word round amongst their comrades, thinking there might be a few others who would like to be present. When the time came for the service for which there was only one day's notice, and that had to be spread around over a number of miles, every sister who was embarking with the exception of two, was present in the church; many had long distances to come, work and exchange of duty to be arranged in some cases, yet there they all were. By the kindness of Archdeacon Warlow we were given the use of the beautiful Church of S[t] Mark, Alexandria, but

there was an even greater beauty than the stones of the temple, the picture will never fade from my memory, our Australian girls in their sister's uniforms kneeling together in the front of the church. It was no parade ceremony, no publicity, just the desire to come in touch with God, and to receive His strength before embarking on a perilous voyage and for arduous work.

We were not all Church of England people, but was a rule made to protect the Church from an evil of Puritanism to be applied to these who literally were taking their lives in their hands, and knew what they were facing? These were the girls who had seen under their windows the dead bodies of English sisters washed on the shore and had prepared them for Christian burial after German devils had torpedoed them. They knew that within 24 hours the same fate might be theirs. And so together they came and knelt in the presence of Him who not only died for us, but also gives Himself to be spiritual food and sustenance in the Holy Sacrament, and received together the Body and Blood of Christ. I was afterward struck by the fact that while our own Church girls took the whole service as a matter of course, yet it was others who, speaking to me about the beauty of the service, remarked to me upon the appropriateness of the prayers and how I had chosen the 'Scripture portions' so suitably. It was only by emphasis I convinced them that one prayer had been specially added, and that the 'Scripture portions' with the whole service made up exactly the same service which the Church of England was using throughout the Empire that week.

Afterward we adjourned for breakfast, we were a very happy though quiet family, and each girl who had not previously received one from me asked for the little cross I am in the habit of giving our sisters. Once again, and unexpectedly,

they asked me to meet them, and each one came for a farewell personal blessing, to which each responded so softly, 'Thank you'. So our merry Australian girls whose heroism and response to duty are beyond praise – have beneath all their superficial light-heartedness a real devotion to our Lord which brings their hearts closer to His. I want to emphasise what it meant to these girls that I was available, and yet it was humanly, only by chance that I was within reach. We have too few chaplains for our men and none for special duty such as this. I had to forgo other calls upon which I have not yet caught up.<sup>29</sup>

This illustrates Garland's perception of himself as a priest and pastor as well as his ecumenical flexibility. He ministered to the non-Anglican sisters without discrimination. That would mean that if they knelt before him at the altar rail for reception of the Sacrament, he would have administered it without demur. It is significant that the non-Anglican sisters commented on his choice of 'Scripture portions'. Presumably they were 'Nonconformists' who were used to their minister selecting Scripture readings whereas Anglicans had the *Book of Common Prayer* with its calendar of readings selected appropriately for each day of the Christian year. One can relate to Garland's inner satisfaction in pointing this out to them.

The ecumenical dimension in Garland's ministry is illustrated again after the British occupation of Jerusalem on 11 December 1918. He hastened to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in order to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, using the sacred vessels presented to him on his departure from Brisbane. He had to negotiate with the custodians of that shrine: the Greek Orthodox hierarchy. He reported with undisguised pride that he was, "The first English priest to celebrate the Holy Eucharist at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after our troops entered Jerusalem; the celebration being in the chapel of S[t] Abraham, in the Greek convent, assigned for Church of England use by the Patriarch."<sup>30</sup> Garland related how the

Greek priests and women offered him little bouquets of flowers and a 'fair linen cloth' to cover the altar and actually kissed his hands in appreciation of his arrival as a representative of the liberating power. Garland attributed all this warm display of oriental Christian fervour to the fact that now, after the English had driven out the hated Turks, they could once again live in peace and practise their religion. That is why they were so pleased that Church of England priests once again could use their assigned chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This was the case elsewhere in the Orthodox community; Garland reported having received a letter from Maitland Woods that he was going to celebrate the Holy Eucharist for Australian troops in the Greek cathedral in Homs using the altar and vestments of the cathedral. Several chaplains from England had reported similar hospitality being extended to them in Palestine and Syria.

This confirms that the Greeks were elated at the English military victory over the Turks and were more than willing to extend



Chaplain Garland in the vestments of a Greek Orthodox priest posing with the choir of St George's Church, Brisbane, and their Bishop in Australia

ecumenical hospitality to the Church of England as the Church of their powerful Christian deliverers. Garland's personal experience with the Greek Orthodox hierarchy substantiates this. In the few weeks he was in Palestine he attended Orthodox services and he described in some detail what happened to him at Vespers one evening at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Garland was in uniform. When recognised by a priest he was invited behind the iconostasis (the elaborate screen that separates the sanctuary from the nave) and taken to what would be the sacristy in a Western Church where the vestments were kept. There, to his astonishment, Garland was clothed in the robes of the Patriarch, including the diamond-encrusted gold crown, handed the Episcopal staff and embraced. On this occasion he appeared to them as a superior ecclesiastic of a foreign but fraternal Communion. Garland was describing an act of thanksgiving for what had happened as a result of the British victory over the Turks.

On another occasion Garland related that he arrived half-an-hour late for the Holy Eucharist one Sunday morning at 6.30 am, again in uniform. The service had already begun. Garland stood in the congregation, not expecting to be included in the performance of the liturgy. On being recognised, however, he was again escorted behind the iconostasis, vested and invited to participate in the elaborate ceremony, which he did. He considered it would have been unacceptable to refuse such an invitation. This persuaded Garland that Anglicans ought to be more open to the Oriental Churches and to cultivate re-union with them; he meant here to include the Coptic Church of Egypt as well. He wrote with evident fervour regarding his reception by the Greeks:

At no time would a study of Oriental Christendom be more profitable than now. Church of England people would learn how much of faith and worship we have in common. The temptation to be influenced by Roman ritual and its liturgy



which arises largely from contiguity would be lessened. The Orientals who have been freed from Turkish tyranny are eagerly seeking English Church friendship as well as English military protection; and any oriental Christians who might have doubts as to English rule would have their hesitations overcome by advances from the Church of England, for which all Oriental Christians are eagerly looking today.<sup>31</sup>

This reveals how deep was the influence of the Reverend Tommy Jones, his old Toowoomba mentor, on the former Irish Protestant Orangeman. That encounter had been a revolutionary formative experience. Garland was now holding in balance the unity of Christendom alongside the Evangelical biblical commitment from his formative years. What he experienced through his participation at the Damascus cathedral in the Orthodox Christmas Day Liturgy, held according to the Julian Calendar (thirteen days behind the Western or Gregorian calendar), would seem to vindicate everything that Rudolf Otto would have to say about the ‘sense of the *numinous*’. The Orthodox liturgy which had started already at 1.00 am as a prelude to the Mass proper that began at 5.00 am entranced Garland with its eerie spirituality. As he reported, the almost fully-packed church was dimly lit by a few candles, most of them illuminating the iconostasis. Behind that, the altar was a blaze of light and around it were grouped six priests in golden vestments together with the Patriarch wearing his crown in the centre and facing eastward.

Garland observed the Patriarch leave the altar and assume his throne. This reminded him of the passage from Scripture: ‘At once I was in the Spirit, and lo a throne stood in heaven, with one seated on the throne! And he who sat there appeared like jasper and carnelian stone, and round the throne was a rainbow that looked like an emerald’ (Revelation 4:2–4). This resonated with

the biblical side of Garland's background in a way he could never have envisaged before becoming an Anglo-Catholic priest. He had now been attuned to a dimension that truly lifted his spirit. Then, unexpectedly, Garland was approached by a priest who invited him join the ministers behind the iconostasis. As he was only in uniform he protested but the priest insisted; Garland had no choice but to comply. On entering behind the iconostasis he tried to make himself inconspicuous, standing to one side in a darkened corner, but another priest informed him that the Patriarch had summoned him. Again he had no alternative but to do as he was bidden and he was escorted to the Patriarch. As was proper in that situation, Garland kissed the hand of the Patriarch and received his greeting in the form of a blessing. Two priests then appeared and began to clothe the Australian chaplain in a set of golden vestments.

As Garland wrote,

By this time I was reduced to docility, and felt it would be discourteous if I refused to do whatever I was asked. Having been vested I was taken round to the south side of the altar and placed next to the assistant Bishop and other priests moving round and the Patriarch resuming his place at the front of the altar.<sup>32</sup>

The liturgy lasted three hours. Again, it all reminded Garland of the book of Revelation:

Then I turned to see the voice that was speaking to me, and on turning I saw seven golden lamp stands, and in the midst of the lamp stands one like the son of man, clothed with a long robe and with a golden girdle round his breast; his head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; his eyes were like a flame of fire ... (Revelation 1:12-14).

As well he was reminded of chapter 8 of the same book:

When the Lamb opened the seventh seal, there was a silence in heaven for about half an hour. Then I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and seven trumpets were given to them. And another angel came and stood at the altar with a golden censer; and he was given much incense to mingle with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne (Revelation 8:1–4).

Here was the biblical source of Eastern Orthodox liturgy; it all seemed to Garland to be done so naturally and simply and with such dignity, he wrote; it could best be described as gentle.<sup>33</sup>

The occasion was of the highest significance in Garland's priestly life. He described the rest of the Liturgy in minute detail. The Holy Communion was duly administered to him in the Orthodox way which required the chalice be placed on the priest's lips three successive times. And then he reported that:

One incident struck me very much. I heard [the officiating priest] ask in Greek what was my name, and to my surprise another priest mentioned my Christian name, and then addressed me by it as he communicated me. This explained to me why, when on a visit to the Patriarch, he was not satisfied on knowing my surname, but asked my Christian name. It seems as if each priest when communicated is so addressed. After the Patriarch had finished his thanksgiving, and we then had received Holy Communion, he returned to the altar and said some prayers, the priests standing around the four sides of the altar as throughout the service. Then he went outside the screen, and from the steps preached a short Christmas sermon. Meanwhile one by one the priests took off their vestments and appeared in their black gowns, but did not leave the holy place. I was duly unvested at the same time and taken to a seat.

Immediately before unvesting we were brought a tray of some blessed bread and about half a wine glass of very light wine. The patriarch having finished his sermon came back to the altar, and taking the chalice went outside the screen and communicated the people, using a spoon to lift the consecrated particles which had been soaked in the chalice, placing the spoon in the mouth of each communicant. When the service was over a procession, now in black robes only, was formed through the church and the courtyard into the Patriarch's house. Having reached the house we went into the reception room, where the Patriarch made me sit beside him ... The Patriarch invited me to his private room for breakfast. ... I was placed opposite the Patriarch, who asked me about my family and asked me if I had any photographs with me. I showed him my wife's and he then suggested I should place it in front of my plate, so that she would be with us for Christmas breakfast. Breakfast finished, the choirmaster and a deacon sang a Christmas hymn written by S[t] John of Damascus, to music written by a friend of that saint. Now came the most embarrassing moment of my life; the Patriarch asked me to sing a Christmas hymn in English, and it seemed to him quite natural that I should be ready to do so. I told him I could not sing, and he said, 'Yes, you can; I heard you sing our responses so well'. So, once again I had to comply or be discourteous, and with much fear and trembling I sang 'Oh come all ye Faithful'. Next I wished to take my leave, but the Patriarch would not let me go, but chatted and talked, telling me stories – one about S[t] John of Damascus. At last I felt I was keeping the dear old man from rest, and so got away; but his nephew, Mr Theodore Haddad, who speaks excellent English came with me. He took me to the site shown as the spot where Ananias baptized S[t] Paul

and healed his blindness, and then at some distance from [there] to the place where Ananias dwelt ...<sup>34</sup>

After that, Mr Haddad showed Garland the house where Kaiser Wilhelm II had stayed during his famous 1898 visit to the Holy Land. At the outbreak of war it was turned into the German HQ when it was let to run down. With the British occupation it was returned to the Patriarchate where Garland reports he witnessed the Patriarch hold a Christmas reception. However, during the German–Turkish occupation the Patriarch was at his wits end trying to save the Christian population from starvation. He had borrowed heavily, placing the Church in great debt. Garland observed,

(B)ut whatever he may have appeared during the Turkish occupation there is no question whatever of his unbounded delight at the British conquest, nor can there be any doubt of his desire, as expressed to me, of the closest possible relations being established between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Church of England as the action towards me, a simple priest showed.

This records not only Garland's self-perception as a steward of the Holy Mysteries and his genuine response to the *numinous* (the spiritual energy that the ceremony unleashed) but also his enthusiasm for greater ecumenical inter-action with the Orthodox which he genuinely believed would lift the spirituality of Church of England people, especially the clergy who would need to lead the way. This he did when he got back to Brisbane. During the short time he was in Palestine and Syria he was able to establish a significant rapport with and to extend his welfare work to needy Greek Orthodox children, especially in the Holy City. Garland continued the work after his return to Brisbane when his efforts were recognised by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch by the award of the 'Cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre' which Garland in his will left to his



The Cross of the Order of Holy Sepulchre awarded to David Garland for his services to the Greek community in the Holy Land.

sister in England and which is now preserved in Whyke Church in the diocese of Chichester. The order was solemnly presented to Garland at a service in his church, St Barnabas' Red Hill, (Ithaca) in Brisbane on Sunday 11 October 1924 by the President of the Brisbane Greek Orthodox community, Mr Charles Freeleagus.<sup>35</sup>

Garland's ministry in the Middle East continued after the cessation of hostilities with Turkey. While awaiting transport home, Australian Light Horse troops with New Zealand Mounted Infantry were employed to suppress the Egyptian uprising. Garland is reported to have acted with distinction, being mentioned in Brigadier LC Wilson's brief monograph on the Egyptian rebellion.<sup>36</sup> Garland was known personally to General Wilson since he had officiated at his marriage some sixteen years earlier in Townsville. Garland had been deputised by the British military authorities to act as liaison to the Coptic Church to ascertain why they were supporting the Moslem-led insurrection. As Wilson reports, the Copts found themselves in a cleft stick; they informed Garland that

they were frightened to go against the Egyptians, because if the Egyptians won they would renew their persecution of the Copts. On the other hand, if the British won they were so good that they would not punish the Copts for rebelling. The Canon felt that it would be useless to make any appeal to them as it might do more harm than good,

by giving the impression that we would not win without their help ...<sup>37</sup>

Garland avoided mentioning this in his frequent reports to the Church press at home. In the absence of any written record it would seem that he would not have been especially proud to have written about this episode since it concerned an operation carried out by all accounts with incidents of considerable brutality.<sup>38</sup>

Finally the remnant of the Anzac forces was able to be transported home. Garland accompanied them, embarking on the SS *Burma* on 26 July 1919. When it docked in Melbourne, he took the train to Sydney and thence to Brisbane, arriving home to be given a public welcome on 23 September.<sup>39</sup> On that occasion Garland reported that after the cessation of hostilities he had been able to continue to provide amusements and comforts for the men at Moascar, Port Said, Cairo, and in Palestine. At the invitation of Colonel Bisdee, Garland returned to Jerusalem to assist in taking parties of troops over the places of historic interest and to give them lectures. In this way the peripatetic chaplain filled his remaining days of overseas service.

The Middle East episode had been an extraordinarily intense period for a man in his mid-fifties. It was not only one of prodigious organisational activity such as would have challenged the abilities of the most experienced hotel manager, given the number of hostels he established, Garland also proved himself to be an inventive entertainments officer. As well, he managed to include front line experience as a chaplain assisting in the Receiving Station during an action of the Light Horse. One did not need to be a priest to do all that, but Garland was, in his self-perception, first and foremost a minister of the Word and Sacraments. He was a priest endowed with immense spiritual energy and profound pastoral concern for the welfare of his charges. All these aspects of priesthood were manifest in the environment of the Middle East in the crisis of war. It was

both physically and spiritually dangerous; the loss of life in battle and attending to the wounded kept the chaplains fully occupied. But there was also the spiritual dimension; troops were exposed to the age-old problem of the temptations of the flesh, far from home. Drunkenness and prostitution had taken their toll of hundreds of diggers; chaplains were sorely tested in trying to minister reasonably to the men who had become morally derailed. We have seen how Garland tried to address this problem. Finally, the encounter with the Orthodox Church proved to be an experience that stayed with him for the rest of his life. On return to Brisbane, among the multitude of obligations he assumed, he never gave up his links with the Orthodox Churches, Russian and Greek. It strengthened his priestly commitment, which meant to work for the sacralisation of the world to the extent his aging body would allow.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 See John A Moses, 'Canon David John Garland (1864–1939) as Architect of Anzac Day', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, Vol. 17, No. 2, May 1999, pp. 49–64.
- 2 'Record of Service in the Field' supplied by National Archives of Australia.
- 3 Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, Cairo, 3 August 1915, to report on the disturbances on the night of 31 July 1915. The GOC Egypt reported to the War Office that Australians were responsible for two deplorable riots, the earlier one on Good Friday, 2 April 1915, in particularly disreputable streets infested with brothels and bars, resulting in claims for many hundreds of pounds [from the damage caused to premises]. He was adamant that the responsibility ought to be shouldered by the Australian Government. Australian Archives series MP 367/1/0, Item 438/2/3. See also Guy Thornton, *With the Anzacs in Cairo, the Tale of a Great Fight*, HR Allenson, London, 1916, pp. 55–89; Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years*, Penguin Books, 1975, pp. 39–40; Suzanne Brugge, *Australians and Egypt, 1914–1919*, MUP, Melbourne, 1980, pp. 145–46; Kevin Fewster, 'The Wazza Riots, 1915', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No. 4 April



1984, pp. 47–53. Robert Likeman, *From Law to War: the Life of Brigadier General Lachlan Wilson of the Light Horse*, Slouch Hat Publications, McCrae Vic., 2004.

- 4 *Brisbane Courier*, 17 September 1919, ‘Canon Garland Welcomed’, p. 10.
- 5 Maitland Woods to Garland 1 October 1915, OM 74–101 in Box 8929 (Oxley Library).
- 6 See Garland to Woods, 4 December 1915, OM 74–101 in Box 47 (Oxley Library), Woods, Rev Maitland [sic]. Woods had explained to Garland that he had found the flag in the possession of two of ‘our lads, Jim Fullerton of Holy Trinity, Woolloongabba and Harry Raine of St Mary’s Kangaroo Point’. Woods reported: ‘They assured me that the flag is to be sent to His Grace, the Archbishop of Brisbane to hang in the Cathedral of St John. If the flag arrives safely at your end will you please defend it from any attempt to take it from the Archbishop and to place it in any other building’. Signed, Maitland Woods, AA VD, Chaplain Mediterr Exp Forces Egypt, St Michael and All Angels’ Day, 1916 [29 September]. Maitland Woods on 19 March 1917 wrote to Garland on his receiving a Volunteer Decoration as follows: ‘Let me send you a tardy congratulation on your VD and more especially on the words the Governor of Queensland said in congratulation. All fine. You have done a great work’. In OM 74–101, Maitland Woods to Garland, HQ Anzac Mounted Division, Egypt or Elsewhere.
- 7 Information on Padre Hordern supplied by David Blake, Curator of The Museum of Army Chaplaincy, Ampport House, Ampport, Andover, Hampshire UK.
- 8 JL Treloar, *An Anzac Diary*, [edited with notes by Alan Treloar], National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1993, p. 218.
- 9 The content of this reading concerns the Christian doctrine of Resurrection. See verse 20: ‘But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For as by a man came death, by man has come also the resurrection from the dead’.
- 10 Treloar, *An Anzac Diary*, p. 218.
- 11 The Australian Archbishops, both RC and Anglican, were ex-officio the Chaplains General and received reports about troop behaviour in Cairo for example. See AP Kidd, ‘The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson, 1904–1921’, PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 1996, and for the general background, see Suzanne Brugger, *Australians and Egypt, 1914–1919*, MUP, Melbourne, 1980, as well the older work of Thornton, *With the Anzacs in Cairo*; Gammage, *The Broken Years*, pp. 39–40.
- 12 Proceedings of a Court of enquiry assembled at Soldiers’ Club, Esbekieh Gardens, Cairo on 3 August 1915.[...] for the purpose of reporting upon

the disturbance in Cairo on the night of 1 July 1915. Australian Archives, Series MP 367/1/0, Item 438/2/3.

- 13 See his correspondence with Verdi Schwinghammer, note 16.
- 14 'Church of England Fund for Soldiers– Inaugural meeting in Sydney'.
- 15 Australian War Memorial Collection No. 505/1/12, AWM 22.
- 16 Garland to Schwinghammer 4/9/17 in OM 78–4/33 Oxley Library. See also Verdi G Schwinghammer diary, 6 May 1916–26 September 1919, MLMSS 1683, State Library, NSW.
- 17 It is estimated that the value of the pound sterling in 1914 would be some fifty times what it is today. In 1917 £7000 would be worth £1.5 million on the basis of improvement in average earnings. See: [www.measuringworth.com.uk](http://www.measuringworth.com.uk)
- 18 *Monthly Notes* of the 'Soldiers' Church of England Help Society', No. 52, October 1919. Australian Archives, Series A2487/1, Item 19/10246.
- 19 Garland to Archbishop, letter reproduced in *The Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1918, p. 66.
- 20 Garland to Archbishop as in note 19.
- 21 Memo of the officer commanding Australian HQ Egypt, 22 January 1918. See Series AWM 22, Item No. 505/1/12.
- 22 This sermon was actually printed for circulation to troops. It is located in Garland Papers: 'Patriotic and War Sermons', Oxley Library, Box, OM 64 – 145, 3.
- 23 Garland had posted a very large notice with the following wording:
 

AUSTRALIAN SOLDIERS CLUB  
 Houseboat on the Nile  
 Mrs Bisdee is at home on houseboat 'SESOSTRIS'  
 Every day from 3.30 to 7.30 pm to all Australians and  
 =====New Zealanders=====

REFRESHMENTS FREE TO CONVALESCENTS  
 CANTEEN CHARGES TO OTHERS

---

Direct Route: Giza or Sporting Club tram.  
 Get off immediately on passing over Bonham Bridge and  
 follow the Nile to the left. After passing stile look for  
 houseboat with Australian Flag flying
- 24 *The Church Standard*, 6 September 1918.
- 25 Chauvel to D Fulton Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant, Australian HQ Egypt, dated Cairo 3 June 1918. Australian Archives, Canberra, Series B2455/1, Item: Chap David John Garland.

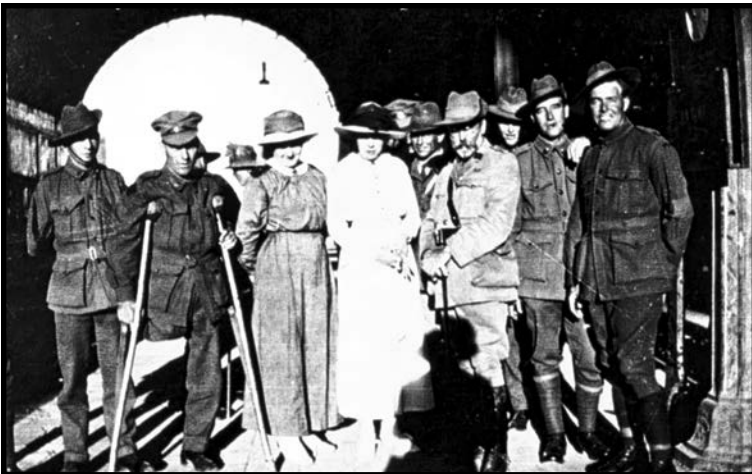
- 26 Garland to Shepherd, Secretary for Defence, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, 29 May 1935. Australian Archives, Canberra, Series B2455/1, Item: Chap. David John Garland.
- 27 *The Church Standard*, 22 November 1918, 'The Chaplain's Diary'.
- 28 See Garland's address, 'The Clergyman as Citizen' delivered in Brisbane, in which he elaborates the obligation of the parish priest to be involved in public affairs because, as he asserted, 'the whole tenor of our office is that we should serve our brother man. It is not merely that we should serve the Church of England, and we fail in our services if we forget the probable effect of our influence on such causes as Temperance, Sanitation, Religious education, morality and the other great social problems of the age. The church is the one true benefit society, the greatest that has ever existed in the world. It is a society of brotherhood between man and woman, old and young, wise and foolish, weak and strong, for one purpose under one headship and working to one end'. Located in Oxley Library, OM 74—100.
- 29 *The Church Standard*, 20 September 1918, 'The Religion of the Australian Overseas'. The account of the nurses drowned as a result of their ship having been torpedoed near Alexandria is confirmed by Ruth Rae, *Scarlet Poppies: The Army Experience of Australian Nurses during World War One*, College of Nursing, Burwood NSW, 2004, pp. 175 and 201.
- 30 *The Church Standard*, 14 February 1919. Note that the Orthodox consider the Old Testament prophets also to be saints so that in the Orthodox world churches and cathedrals may be dedicated to one of these, such as in this case, Abraham.
- 31 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 February 1919.
- 32 *The Church Standard*, 2 May 1919, 'The Greek Orthodox Church and the Church of England'.
- 33 *The Church Standard*, 2 May 1919.
- 34 *The Church Standard*, 2 May 1919.
- 35 Reported in *Brisbane Telegraph*, 13 October 1924; *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1924. Garland's work with the Greek Orthodox is acknowledged in Hugh Gilchrist's monumental study, *Australians and Greeks*, 3 Vols. Halstead Press, Sydney, 1992, Vol. II, p. 297.
- 36 LC Wilson, 'The Third Light Horse Brigade, Australian Imperial Force in the Egyptian Rebellion of 1919', cited by W Mansfield, 'Anzac Day 1915–1937', p. 46. See note 38.
- 37 'The Third Light Horse Brigade Australian Imperial force in the Egyptian Rebellion of 1919'. Narrative by Brigadier General LC Wilson, CB, CMG, DSO, 3rd Light Horse Bde, AIF (Cyclostyled Manuscript from 1934). See

also Likeman, *From Law to War*, pp. 53, 140, 147 and 152 for references to Garland.

- 38 Brugger, *Australians in Egypt, 1914–1919*, pp. 114–44.
- 39 Australian Archives AA B1538/6 -748/7/222 gives a summary of Garland's AIF service; *The Church Standard*, 3 October 1919.



The Australian Club for All Soldiers (possibly in Damascus).



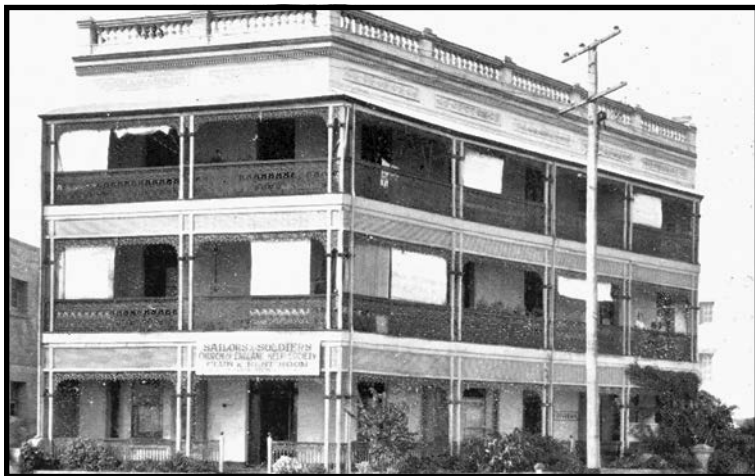
Chaplain Garland with convalescent Anzacs and nurses on a railway platform in Egypt.



David Garland accompanying diggers and nurses to the Sphinx.



David Garland with Anzacs in Jerusalem.



"Riviera", North Quay, Brisbane: The centre of the late Canon Garland's activities on behalf of sailors and soldiers, as founder and director of the Sailors and Soldiers Church of England Help Society, which continues this work. [Original caption]



Cardinal Ceretti, Papal Legate, proceeding to the Stone of Remembrance to lay a Wreath, 17 September, 1928, accompanied by the Premier, the Hon W H McCormack, and the late Canon D J Garland. [Original caption]



The Church of England Hut at Enoggera Rifle Range, Queensland.



Canon Garland and his Brisbane neighbour the Reverend William Maitland Wood together in Cairo 1917

## 10 Back in Brisbane

Their bodies are buried in peace: but their name liveth for evermore. (Ecclesiasticus 44:14)

Chaplain Lieutenant Colonel David John Garland, having been officially discharged from the army, arrived home to a hero's welcome. A special reception for him had been organised on 23 September 1919 in the Albert Hall. During his absence the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society had been administered by fellow Dubliner, the co-adjutor Bishop Henry Frewen Le Fanu, who presided over the occasion. Archbishop Donaldson managed to put in a brief appearance and spoke glowingly and at length in support of Garland's work.<sup>1</sup> Garland must have been delighted with the event; he had driven the organisation from the start and had been responsible for the collection of far more money for soldiers' welfare than arguably any other individual in Australia. *The Church Standard* reported that

Canon Garland spoke with deep appreciation of the work of the Society in general and of Bishop Le Fanu, its acting-director, in particular, during his absence in Egypt and



Palestine. He gave a detailed description of the work which he had been able to do as agent of the Society, of the institutions he had been able to establish (including what he thought must be the first 'Church of England Stadium' in the world), and of the way these institutions had been used and appreciated by the soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt Garland felt acknowledged by the enthusiastic recognition he received for a job well done, a job that had brought some degree of comfort to hundreds of soldiers 'at the front' which was his term for the 'war zone' and, not least, recognition for the high profile that the energetic Canon had lent to the Church of England. But Garland was adamant that the advent of peace did not mean there was not still a great deal of welfare work to be done among the returned men. These were still suffering the deleterious effects of what they had been through and needed a great deal of follow-up care. For this reason the work of the Society had to be extended and so it was. Welfare was a matter of the highest priority, but no less so than the question of intensifying the campaign for the institutionalisation of Anzac Day and the construction of war memorials throughout the State. This chapter recounts the continuing work of the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society and especially the movement, also strongly advocated by Garland, to build both the Cross of Sacrifice in Toowong Cemetery and the great Anzac Memorial in Ann Street. Finally, it outlines the ongoing struggle to establish Anzac Day as 'Australia's All Souls' Day' and to achieve a nation-wide and completely inter-denominational act of commemoration.

## **Remembrance, pastoral concern and memorialisation**

The home-coming for Garland simply meant work as usual. In resuming his role as chairperson of the Society he visited Rockhampton

where the *Morning Bulletin* interviewed him on the question of troop misdemeanours in the Middle East. The press seemed to revel in stories of indiscipline and criminality among soldiers, but Garland defended his 'boys' by pointing out the effects of prolonged fighting in the desert on the mind as well as the body. And in Egypt, in contrast to France, 'fleshpots' of a particularly insidious nature were awaiting them when they were on leave. That is why, Garland complained, that the authorities had been seriously negligent in failing to provide adequate amenities for troops in Cairo and elsewhere. It would not do to condemn the 'boys' who went to fight for their country when it was learnt that there were many able-bodied shirkers who chose to stay at home to avoid fighting and spend their free time at the picture palaces and the race courses. Garland stressed the historic achievements of the Light Horse. They had endured months of privation in the Jordan valley, but that had not hindered them in riding so splendidly, carrying all before them. And that in spite of sometimes having to go without water, both man and mount, for forty-eight hours. But they stuck it out, even when most of them had malaria and suffered from sores for which there was no adequate treatment. Despite these hardships they had soldiered on. After two months campaigning, the Light Horse and New Zealand Mounted Infantry had taken 40,000 prisoners out of a total of 75,000. In remembering that they were fighting Saracens, Garland pointed out that they were modern crusaders. He was delighted to report that it was the Australians (the 10th Light Horse) who accepted the surrender of the Moslem mayor of Damascus. As well, they were among the first into Jerusalem, and at Homs in northern Syria the Australians had carried through the streets the first Christian cross seen there for over 1200 years. General Chauvel's standard bearer had preceded him carrying his banner, the Cross of St George. Garland had perceived the entire campaign as a Christian liberation of the Holy Land from the 'unspeakable Turk'. He was fascinated that the

youngest nation of the world had become the chief conqueror of the ancient oppressors of Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

Despite his tendency to hyperbole, Garland perceived himself as the advocate of the common soldier; while he acknowledged the moral derailment of some, he emphasised their admirable overall performance under the most trying and oppressive conditions. Perhaps this explains why he never mentioned specifically the brutality towards the native population shown by the Light Horse men in suppressing the Egyptian uprising in 1919.<sup>4</sup> He was always ready to forgive and to weigh up the mitigating circumstances. Similarly he waived complaints about the drunkenness of returned men in the city:

Temperance speeches are not much use in this instance, but institutions such as ours [Soldiers' Church of England Help Society] and kindred institutions were the best way of dealing with the problem. Let anyone who sees a returned soldier the worse for drink not reproach but pity him, and send a donation to our funds as an acknowledgement of personal responsibility for his care. The shell shocked soldier is not always responsible for his actions, [rather it is] those who give him drink.

Garland acknowledged that while not all soldiers were suffering from shell shock, all were suffering from their war experience and needed to be helped upwards, not pushed down or out or pointed to with pharisaical superiority as worse than anyone else.<sup>5</sup>

These concerns were the motivation for his Society's work begun in St Luke's Church, Charlotte Street, where Garland had his office.<sup>6</sup> There, quite early in the war, provision was made for soldiers in town to come and relax as they did later in the hostels in the Middle East. In due course other amenities were provided such as the rest rooms in Toowoomba (1915), the Coolangatta Rest

Home (opened 6 June 1918 and still in operation) and the Anzac Club Hostel a year later. The latter was a canteen that had been refurbished to provide over-night accommodation for returned men visiting Brisbane and to serve as a venue for social evenings.<sup>7</sup> It was reported that it catered for up to 150 men in the month 16 May to 16 June.<sup>8</sup> From then on the hostel developed into a venue of considerable popularity offering as well as over-night accommodation satisfying meals prepared by an entirely volunteer catering staff and the services of an honorary physician.<sup>9</sup>

Back in Brisbane, Garland made the following statement of appreciation:

I am simply astounded at the splendid work the Society had done in my absence. The developments in the Anzac Club, which is full over and over again every day, and all day, the bold enterprise of opening the Anzac Club Residence with nearly 100 beds, so crowded that often mattresses have to be placed on the floor, the Club in Toowoomba still continuing its useful work, the Convalescence Rest House in Coolangatta, where 1,100 boys have received free accommodation, are evidence that the Society has lost nothing in vigour through my absence.<sup>10</sup>

This welfare work was only made possible by the donations and personal voluntary assistance of a team of parish priests and lay people throughout Queensland who supplied the necessary labour. Garland's final financial statement at the beginning of 1920 recorded sums donated to assist soldiers by Church of England people throughout Australia. The total raised was £17,150 of which Queensland donated £4,957; Sydney, £2,638; Adelaide, £2,438; Grafton £1,924; and Perth, £1,501. A more eloquent commentary on the fundraising ability of just one man would be hard to find. Garland knew how to promote a cause.<sup>11</sup> He was indeed a 'Triton

among the minnows'.<sup>12</sup> However, he was not just an accomplished ecclesiastical public relations man; he was also a diligent pastor, as the following incident testifies.

The other day I blessed one boy [in hospital] who has been 24 months on his back. I felt that he ought to be giving me the blessing; it is such men who have suffered that the world might be redeemed. In them I over and over again see the likeness to and repetition of our Lord's sacrifice that we might live, and all this is true in varying degrees of everyone who went to the war and fought and endured and suffered for us. Everyone who helps us either by giving time or money is repaying in some small way the immense debt which the whole community is under to our boys.<sup>13</sup>

Here is encapsulated Garland's 'war theology' which emerged out of the existential struggle of the British Empire against the 'Satanic' power of Imperial Germany. But this was not peculiar to him; one encounters it in the writing and sermons of all the Anglican clergy of the time. Further, that the sacrifice of so many thousands of young lives should never be forgotten Garland threw himself behind Anzac commemoration and the building of war memorials.

The first project to be mooted was the 'National War Memorial' so called, built on a site in Ann Street in front of Central Station and which adjoined Adelaide Street to form Anzac Square. This was unveiled on Armistice Day 1930 after seven years of frustrating negotiations with the State and Commonwealth Governments, both of whom shared title to the land. Located there were both Commonwealth and Queensland State Government offices and this led to extended negotiations between the two authorities just to make the necessary space available. Added to that was the problem of funding it. Initial plans proved to be far too ambitious; finally an objective was set at £10,000. It was a case of cutting one's

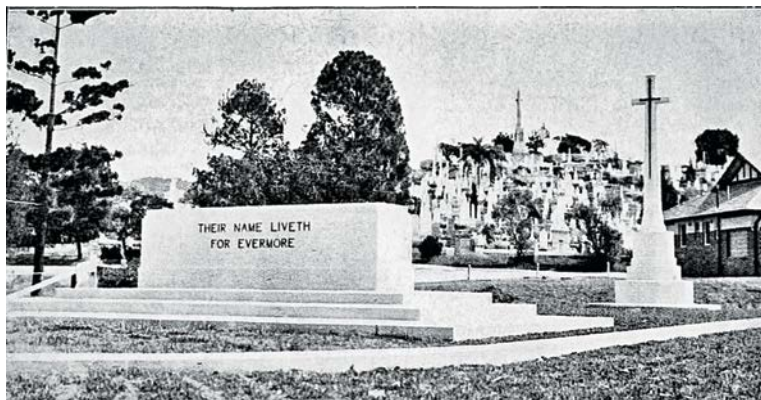
coat to the cloth.<sup>14</sup> The Memorial had a tortuous pre-history going back to 1916. By 1923, the Mayor of Brisbane Alderman Henry J Diddams finally succeeded in convening a sub-committee, appointing Canon Garland as honorary secretary. The committee availed itself of the opportunity to wait on the deputy Prime Minister, Sir Earle Page, when he was in Brisbane 19 October 1923 to try to win the Commonwealth's cooperation over the proposed location of the Memorial. In putting his case, Garland pointed out that the desire for a memorial was a Queensland-wide one, not just Brisbane's. He then rehearsed for Dr Page the origins of Anzac Day commemoration, reminding him of Queensland's role in initiating the movement, including the minute's silence. Of central significance was the fact that every religious denomination, including the Synagogue represented by the Chief Rabbi, was on the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee as were representatives of the army and navy. In addition to them there were the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Manufacturers and all Friendly Societies. The movement had the widest possible



Anzac Memorial, Ann Street, Brisbane. Anzac Day May 2012.  
[Photo by Kate Nielsen.]

community support. Garland stressed that seven years previously the ADCC had passed a resolution supporting this venture, and that the agitation would continue until the aim was accomplished. Eventually the Commonwealth agreed to make the necessary real estate available as did the Queensland Government, although at the time of this meeting the deputy Prime Minister was less than optimistic.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, fund raising went ahead, but disappointingly slowly. Eventually agreement was reached on the classical rotunda design with the eternal flame burning in a stylised classical bowl in the midst. Garland contributed the names of the battles in which Australian forces, both army and navy, had been engaged. These are inscribed on the inner side of the circular architrave. No Christian symbolism appears. As secretary of the Executive Committee of the Queensland National Anzac Memorial, Garland had the honour of planning the program for the dedication of the Memorial, knowing that no chaplains would be participating.<sup>16</sup> He arranged for the State Governor, Sir John Goodwin, to deliver the speech of dedication. The Governor declared that its purpose was to preserve 'the hallowed memory of those who made the supreme sacrifice, whose souls we commend to almighty God.'<sup>17</sup>

The other monument with which Garland's name is firmly linked is the Cross of Sacrifice which, with the Stone of Remembrance, is located at the entrance to Toowong cemetery. It was to be a replica of the one erected at the British cemetery in Terlincthun in France.<sup>18</sup> This Garland proposed at the ADCC meeting of 15 June 1923. As it would be a collective memorial, that is, one in memory of over three hundred men who had died after return to Australia, there would be no names listed on the actual Cross or the Stone of Remembrance in front of it. Garland reported that he had negotiated with the Government which had agreed to supply the design and material, and supervise its erection. A list of names would be separately inscribed on stone. Garland originally envisaged a plinth or a wall where the names were to appear. In the



Cross of Sacrifice and Stone of Remembrance, Toowong Cemetery. Unveiled Anzac Day, 1924.

event, however, they were inscribed only on the headstones at the cemetery. Garland expressed the hope that by erecting this Cross other local authorities might be inspired to erect similar memorials.<sup>19</sup> A 'Cross of Sacrifice', dedicated by Archbishop Donaldson on 23 October 1921, already stood at St Colomb's Church, Clayfield.<sup>20</sup>

At Toowong Cemetery, however, many soldiers who had died of wounds and illness were interred, at whose burials Garland had officiated. Consequently the Cross, and Stone of Remembrance inscribed with the words, 'Their Name Liveth For Evermore', were unveiled and dedicated on Anzac Day 1924 with considerable pomp and ceremony. The text 'Their bodies are buried in peace: but *their name liveth for evermore*' (author's emphasis) is from Ecclesiasticus 44:14.<sup>21</sup> This event was the major public observance on that Anzac Day in 1924. Garland had preached at the Solemn Eucharist in St John's Cathedral at 11.00 am that day:

The memorial in its noble dignity proclaims as befits a Christian people, the great sacrifice of Calvary; and unites thereto the sacrifice of those who also laid down their lives for their friends. Its inscription is no less dignified than the memorial itself 'Their Name Liveth for Evermore'. ... On





School children gather round the Cross of Sacrifice, St Colomb's Church in Clayfield, Brisbane. The cross was erected in 1920 and dedicated by Archbishop St Clair Donaldson.

Anzac day we gather collectively, and plead for them that Sacrifice of Calvary, to which they united themselves by offering their 'souls and bodies as a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice'<sup>22</sup>, after the example of Him who by word and from the pulpit of the Cross taught that 'greater love hath no man than this, than a man lay down his life for his friends.' Thus in the house of God, pleading before the altar of God, we find the most comfort, not in the sorrow of those without hope for them that sleep in Him, nor the swamping of our grief in noisy demonstrations; but by emphasizing in mind and thought the reality of that life beyond the veil where they live for evermore, and where some day, we, too, shall meet them. Thus again there is no room for anything but a solemn observance of Anzac Day – the All Souls' Day of Australia – and so we come before God not in the bright vestments of festival and the

joyous music of triumph; but with the tokens of Christian penitence and sorrow for the sin of the world which caused the sacrifice of those bright young lives, our dearest and our best.<sup>23</sup>

Here is crystallised an 'Anzac theology' that is unequivocally Anglo-Catholic, and it is not only Canon Garland's.<sup>24</sup> It grounds the origin of the ritual in the Christian theology of sacrifice, in the essential idea that to follow Christ means being called to the service of others and if necessary to give up one's life in the discharge of that service. This is how Garland comprehended service; it was the most intimate way of discipleship, of following Christ. As a chaplain and parish priest, Garland worked to bring this idea home both to soldiers and to his civilian flock. And it is the explanation as to why Anzac Day is meant to be sacred. 'Sacredness' is by no means exhausted by the concept of 'mateship' however noble that may be.

It is reported that whenever Canon Garland preached he began always by citing a paraphrase of Isaiah 11:9: '[May] the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.' By this he meant the knowledge that was provided by Holy Scripture.



Canon Garland conducting the Anzac Day Service at the Stone of Remembrance, Toowong Cemetery.

People became more truly human the more they were immersed in this knowledge and appropriated it. As he never tired of re-iterating, biblical knowledge was the basis of true civilisation, and the British Empire was called by almighty God to enable the spread of this knowledge for the well-being of humanity in general. Garland had tried to inculcate this knowledge in citizens at every available opportunity. He ardently endorsed the views of WE Gladstone which were also shared by religious personages of high imperial rank of the day.

The unveiling ceremony in Toowong was performed by the Governor-General Lord Forster. He had lost two sons in the war and was definitely not reticent in making known his own Christian commitment. He spoke with warmth linking the commemorative act taking place at Toowong with similar ceremonies that had occurred on the other side of the world in memory of those who had sacrificed their lives to the cause of Empire and humanity. He stressed, 'Any who, in the future, enter this hallowed spot' would think of three things: First, there was the spirit of comradeship in which 'our beloved dead lie. Just as they were comrades in the turmoil of war, so do we believe that they are comrades still in the peace and glory of immortal life'. The second thing that would be recalled was the heroic service, undaunted [sic] bravery and steadfast courage of the Anzacs under circumstance of incredible horror and hardship which would be remembered 'while the British race will last'. And third, the Governor-General stressed that the place commemorated 'the spirit of self-sacrifice of men humbly following in the steps of Christ the Saviour'. Lord Forster made no attempt to hide his Christian commitment: 'We turn to the Cross, the sign of Him through whose self-sacrifice they have passed through the vale into life immortal'. His Excellency then quoted, probably for the first time in Australia, the poem by a friend of his in the House of Commons written in the early days of the war, 'O Valiant Hearts':

O valiant hearts, who to your glory came  
 through dust of conflict and the battle flame.  
 Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved,  
 Your memory hallowed in the land you loved.<sup>25</sup>

Since then the poem of seven stanzas has been set to music and is sung as a hymn at Anzac Day services throughout the country. In reply, the then acting Premier WN Gillies reiterated that Queensland had passed in 1921 an Act providing that the day be observed by the holding of religious and memorial services. He stressed that Queensland had been the first State to pass an Act of Parliament on these lines and that the Commonwealth via the Premiers' Conferences had at last been inspired to make Anzac Day Australia's national day, leaving it to the States to provide fitting observance of the day. The Queensland model was to prevail, and that meant in effect, Garland's model. Gillies said,

It is fitting that this State, which took the lead in the observance of Anzac Day - the founder of which was a Queensland citizen - should likewise be the first State in Australia to complete a Cross of Sacrifice and Stone of Remembrance. It is likewise fitting that the site chosen by the committee should be in these sacred grounds, where lie the remains of some 350 Australian soldiers, and by this Cross and Stone we pay to them the same homage which is given to those of our own kith and kin who now lie in the far away cemeteries on the battle fields of France and Gallipoli.<sup>26</sup>

Gillies continued:

To the credit of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, of which body Canon Garland might well be described as the life and soul, Anzac Day has been observed in this

State each year since the memorable landing on Gallipoli on 25 April in 1915 ... Standing as we are today in the presence of the dead and their living friends and relatives, I feel it ... is an occasion for humility and reverence, for silence and thought ...<sup>27</sup>

Garland had succeeded in impressing the authorities with the need for solemnity on the day. In planning the ceremony, the ADCC resolved that both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Archbishops and a representative of the non-episcopal churches as well as the joint secretaries of the ADCC, (Canon Garland and Captain ERB Pike), be appointed to draw up the form of service. In the event, the service was conducted by the Anglican Archbishop, Gerald Sharp, and the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Samuel Martin.<sup>28</sup> The fact that the Roman Catholic Archbishop, James Duhig, who was a committee member did not participate was due to the policy and practice of Rome toward collaborating with so-called 'non-Catholics' in a religious event. One could therefore argue that because Roman Catholics were forbidden to participate in the ritual, it was perceived to have the character of a religious occasion. Some time after the Second World War however, the Roman Catholic Church in Australia began to participate in the Anzac Day ritual at the Australian War Memorial; it was certainly not always so. As well, one could observe that from the beginning of the Great War, the chaplains at the front representing all the main denominations treated their duties in an ecumenical way, burying and ministering to soldiers regardless of denomination. There was a vigorous *de facto* ecumenical movement evident in theatres of war which carried through into peacetime Australia, although it took considerable time for this to happen. Garland, acutely aware of this, designed the Anzac commemoration to be as inclusive as possible, even to the extent of accommodating Jews and atheists. This suggests that in the light of the continued participation of citizens of

all religious or non-religious backgrounds, and despite the radically diminished religious observance of Australians, there is a residual 'idea of the holy' in the society when it comes to Anzac Day.<sup>29</sup> It is an example in one sense of what Émile Durkheim observed in a different context that public events like Anzac Day reflect 'the self-understanding of a human community, since that which is sacred becomes so by human consensus, and is preserved by immutable and (within certain limits) unalterable custom.'<sup>30</sup> This, of course, re-enforces the thought of Rudolf Otto as discussed in chapter one. The difference is, however, that Otto believed that there was an innate idea of the holy in human beings; it was part, indeed, an essential part, of being human to have some sense of the 'holy', though some would have it more intensely than others. Durkheim, a sociologist, remained consistently atheistic and acknowledged only a communal or collective sentiment which gained expression and became efficacious on such occasions.<sup>31</sup> Garland, possessed of a profound 'idea of the holy' in the sense explained by Otto, earnestly believed that the solemn observance of Anzac Day with the various denominations holding memorial services on the day in accordance with their own liturgical traditions followed by a combined public, secular service preceded by a march of veterans was a way of sacralising a society that had largely lost touch with the 'holy'. For a man who did not have the privilege of a university theological education this was a remarkable position to attain, effectively by virtue of his own priestly experience, based as it was on a profound knowledge of the Bible and his awareness of the theological sensitivities of each denomination at the time.

It must have been clear to the other members of the ADCC that Garland was driven by both an intense patriotism and a deeply-felt sympathy for the soldiers and the relatives of the fallen. His theological views were articulated in his many serious sermons. He was a priest of considerable intellectual sophistication and vigour who inspired the confidence of most of his ecumenical colleagues.

Other ministers of religion, regardless of denomination, could relate readily to his concept of commemoration; Anzac Day had to be a solemn occasion, a time for reflection not for sports or other forms of entertainment. Consequently in the struggle throughout the 1920s to establish the final form of Anzac Day, the ADCC sometimes had a fight on its hands. From its inception, the ADCC was concerned to keep 25 April as a holy day and it accomplished this within the strictures of the then-prevailing ecumenical climate. In Garland's mind a mass ecumenical service in which the Roman Catholic Church participated, since it represented such a large section of the population, would have been ideal. However, such a goal in the early 1920s would have been unrealistic<sup>32</sup>; hence the necessity for each denomination to mark the occasion in a way consistent with its own theological tradition, in the morning in each church, with the march to follow. The public meeting of the evening, then, approximated an ecumenical service.

### **The struggle for Anzac Day<sup>33</sup>**

From what has been said it will be clear that Garland's concept of Anzac Day as 'Australia's All Souls' Day' was not universally understood or endorsed. This is not surprising because Australians came from a variety of intellectual-spiritual backgrounds ranging from the several Christian traditions to the Jewish, atheistic and agnostic not to mention a selection of modern sects such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons. In the realm of religion our society was/is a very pluralistic one. But Anzac Day had/has a decidedly unifying spiritual impact in which all divisions on the lines of theological belief or unbelief receded and almost the whole community shared a common grief through blood sacrifice.<sup>34</sup> Garland had made strenuous efforts to apprise governments, State and Commonwealth, mayors of cities and country towns throughout Australia and New Zealand, of the way in which the Brisbane ADCC planned and celebrated the day. The ADCC had even contacted Westminster

Abbey prior to the first Anzac Day service in 1916 to notify the organisers of the introduction in Queensland of the two minutes' silence. In addition the ADCC elicited from the King a message for the people of Australia for the occasion. This is inscribed on a large tablet (or plaque) in the vestibule of the George Street entrance of the old Executive Building in Brisbane.<sup>35</sup> It says:

### **ANZAC DAY 1916**

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF  
AUSTRALIA BY HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V WAS PUBLISHED BY  
ME THROUGHOUT QUEENSLAND ON THAT DAY:  
‘TELL MY PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA THAT TO-DAY I AM JOINING  
WITH THEM IN THEIR SOLEMN TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THEIR  
HEROES WHO DIED AT GALLIPOLI.  
‘THEY GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR A SUPREME CAUSE IN GALLANT  
COMRADESHIP WITH THE REST OF THE SAILORS AND SOLDIERS WHO  
FOUGHT AND DIED WITH THEM. THEIR VALOUR AND FORTITUDE  
HAVE SHED FRESH LUSTRE ON THE BRITISH ARMS.  
MAY THOSE WHO MOURN THEIR LOSS FIND COMFORT IN  
THE CONVICTION THAT THEY DID NOT DIE IN VAIN BUT THAT THEIR  
SACRIFICE HAS DRAWN OUR PEOPLES MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER  
AND ADDED STRENGTH AND GLORY TO THE EMPIRE’.  
BY COMMAND,  
HAMILTON GOOLD-ADAMS, GOVERNOR

The promotion of Empire solidarity was certainly an unspoken intention of the ADCC. Its activities and achievements since its inception in January 1916 were of pioneering significance in the history of the movement. It was the first in Australia to try to establish Anzac Day as a national day of mourning for the fallen. Second, it immediately notified the other States, the Commonwealth and New Zealand of the plan and invited them to do likewise. Third, the commemoration was intended to have a decidedly solemn religious character for the reasons outlined.



Canon Garland on behalf of the Brisbane ADCC had been assiduous in urging the setting up of a similar committee in every centre in Queensland by writing to shire chairmen with guidelines as to how to proceed, even to the extent of instructing an appropriate person to visit each State school on the day before to educate the pupils on the meaning of Anzac. Further, in order that returned men might make it to the march on 25 April at no expense to themselves, the ADCC arranged annually with Queensland Government Railways that they be issued with free passes for the day. The committee under Garland's guidance had become adept at lobbying; nothing was to be left to chance. Attendances at Anzac Day ceremonies were carefully monitored year by year to gauge public support for the movement. And the ADCC was making an impact in high places as the endorsement it won from the Federal Government after the 1922 celebration illustrates:

Your proposals for Anzac Day Commemoration are altogether admirable and intensely interesting. I consider yours is the finest programme in the Commonwealth and congratulate you on your splendid conception (Minister for Works Hon WN Foster).

The Prime Minister, WM Hughes, had also communicated to the ADCC at the same time:

The Commonwealth Government proposes to invite through the Press the churches of all denominations throughout the Commonwealth to hold memorial services at 11.00 am on the morning of 25 April.<sup>36</sup>

As related in chapter eight the ADCC had been lobbying the Prime Minister since 17 September 1919 with a view to achieving a uniform celebration for the entire Commonwealth.<sup>37</sup> In order for a uniform celebration to occur, the States first had to acquiesce.<sup>38</sup>

This required legislation setting aside 25 April as a day of solemn remembrance. New Zealand had accomplished this already on 11 November 1920 and the Act followed closely the recommendations that Garland had communicated, that the day should be kept as if it were Christmas or Good Friday. No hotels were to open, and no race courses were to operate. It was to preserve the character of a sacred day.

Of the Australian States Western Australia first instituted a public holiday for the observance of Anzac Day (28 October 1919) but it was an ordinary public holiday inserted into the Schedule of the *Bank Holiday Act*. An amendment on 15 December 1923 brought Western Australia into line with the New Zealand Act and that which was passed in Queensland on 31 October 1921. Queensland understood its Act to have been the first of its kind in the Commonwealth because of its stipulations regarding the closing of hotels and race courses. It was entitled *An Act to Constitute Anzac Day a National Holiday*. In the Second Reading of the Bill, the Premier, EG Theodore, acknowledged that the Bill was inspired by the New Zealand Act.<sup>39</sup>

While the institution of a public holiday on 25 April with the closure of hotels and racecourses went some way to establishing the day as a sacred day, the Act had too many loop holes for the ADCC who insisted that only a total closure of all businesses on the day would satisfy the requirements of a truly holy day. The similarity to Good Friday and Christmas lay only in the fact that hotel bars were not allowed to trade, nor were races to be held. Otherwise, businesses were only required to close until 12.30 pm in order to allow returned service men to march and for church services to be held. The complete close holiday legislation was not enacted until 1930. At issue was the confusion over the difference between proclaiming Anzac Day a public holiday or a *close* public holiday. Most groups such as the RSSILA and several States preferred the idea of a public holiday that enabled solemn observance to take place in

the morning while in the afternoon sporting events could be held. The RSSILA was emphatic that it should be declared Australia's National Day, and as early as 21 March 1921 the New South Wales branch advised the Prime Minister in the following terms:

We are not quite in accord with the suggestion that Anzac Day should be a day of mourning as we contend that while they live soldiers will continue to mourn the loss of their comrades, similarly the dependants of deceased soldiers will commemorate their losses, but to the Australian nation as a whole the day means more than a day upon which many soldiers lost their lives. Its real significance lies in the fact that upon that day Australia proved itself a Nation and its soldiers proved that they were Men [sic], and also upon that day was laid the foundation of the traditions which were so nobly lived up to by the AIF during the whole progress of the war.<sup>40</sup>

Clearly, there were powerful elements in the RSSILA which had a rather different agenda from other agencies such as the Brisbane ADCC. Irreconcilable concepts of what constituted the nation collided here. The one was secular, exclusively masculine and military, while the other conceived of the nation as a spiritual community united under the sovereignty of almighty God. For the one, the war had been an opportunity to prove 'manliness', to win the credentials necessary to be recognised as an actor on the stage of history, to become a 'nation'. For the other it was an occasion to call the entire community to reflect on both the wickedness and cost of war; to do penance, commemorate the fallen and to render thanks for their sacrifice in the cause of freedom. The 'blood sacrifice' element identified by Patrick Porter<sup>41</sup> accords with the concepts enunciated by the ADCC which is significant because these ideas clearly derived from the shared religious heritage which was very

much alive in the mind of each of the members, all of whom, despite their rival denominational heritage, were Empire patriots. They perceived themselves as speaking for the community of the bereaved and were determined to enshrine the sacrifice of the fallen in the most solemn ritual. Dying for the nation is always a sacred act because the nation is God's community on earth.<sup>42</sup> This was an 'unspoken assumption', at least in the era between the two World Wars. People in Australia at that time were still suffused in a cloud of grief, and it is out of this that the various proposals for modes of commemoration emerged. As in other countries, the remembrance of the fallen assumed aspects of a cult of the dead as well as what has been called the 'monumentalisation of history'.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, there arose in all States of the Commonwealth a movement to establish war memorials in order to preserve the memory of the unprecedented nation-building sacrifice of young soldiers in the great imperial conflict. This aspect is apparent in the concerns expressed both by the RSSILA and the ADCC, whereby the latter stressed the essential solemnity of Anzac Day. And by 1921 the time had come for the Premiers' Conference to address fixing 25 April as unequivocally a day of commemoration like Good Friday or simply as a holiday with the opportunity for both solemnity and 'jubilation'. The latter meant the organisation of sporting events, and the opening of cinemas, racecourses and hotels.

It is essential at this point to follow the progress of the agitation at both Commonwealth and State levels to establish Anzac Day as a close or sacred public holiday, an objective that actually succeeded, at least in part, for some thirty five years from 1930 until 1965. During this time the cult of Anzac shaped the mind of the nation regarding the mode of honouring the fallen. Initially, as shown in great detail in chapter twelve, the way in which each State, the Commonwealth and New Zealand responded to the Gallipoli event was different. As commentators already mentioned, and more recently Alistair Thompson<sup>44</sup>, have pointed out,

a legend about the exploits of the Anzacs had been effectively prepared; the public imagination had been fired. In addition, there was an accompanying outpouring of grief that was channeled by the churches, preeminently the Church of England, into a series of public services of commemoration and intercession.<sup>45</sup> In explaining this phenomenon those historians whose secular formation precludes them from entering into and comprehending the spirituality of Christians, and in particular of chaplains, are permanently hindered from getting to the heart of the matter.

It has been sufficiently well-documented that the form of Anzac commemoration, a secular requiem, originated with the Queensland ADCC. In Sydney by way of contrast, the Premier, WA Holman, initially engaged the theatrical entrepreneur JC Williamson to stage-manage the first Anzac Day celebrations in that city.<sup>46</sup> This could indicate that Holman was reacting to the suggestions he undoubtedly received from the Brisbane ADCC. But what resulted, as John Luttrell has pointed out, was decades of debate in New South Wales arising from the complaint of Roman Catholic clergy that a secular committee was foisting on them a kind of Anzac ceremony that would automatically exclude Roman Catholic soldiers who had fought for their country.<sup>47</sup> This is significant in view of the situation in Brisbane where the ADCC had managed to sustain relatively amicable inter-denominational relations. It suggests that the political-religious culture prevailing in each city was more than subtly different.

At the root of the problem was the then official prohibition placed on Roman Catholics by the Vatican from joining in any public inter-denominational religious services. To do so would have been tantamount to a recognition of the validity of the orders of 'Protestant ministers', something which Rome could not possibly entertain. On the other hand, non-Roman Catholics had no official reservations in attending services at which a Roman Catholic padre led the prayers. Indeed, the Roman Catholic opposition to

participating in any public service that could be deemed 'religious' is interesting because the assumption was that the religious convictions of non-Roman Catholics were erroneous and heretical. Consequently, that rendered any association with 'non-Catholics' on such occasions to be tantamount to theological defilement. The concept of 'civic or civil religion' had not yet been articulated, but it existed *de facto* at least in Queensland already in 1916.<sup>48</sup> This made the Brisbane ADCC's strongly inter-denominational mode of Anzac observance of particular significance in the evolution of Australian civil religion; it had succeeded in finding a common denominator well in advance of other State capitals. While the Roman Catholic mind generally perceived a stumbling block in any collaboration with 'non-Catholics', Garland's inter-denominational committee laboured valiantly to devise a liturgical means of giving expression of both national grief and pride in the sacrifice of the fallen; an occasion when all 'sorts and conditions of men' could participate. Naturally, this did not mean that Roman Catholic clergy in Brisbane would break ranks with Rome and openly join in an ecumenical service of commemoration; they simply could not. A significant point at issue here was that the Roman prelate James Duhig, from the very beginning, happily supported the ADCC both by being a member of it and in always having one of his chaplains to deputise for him at meetings where he could not attend. One needs to appreciate that organising of Anzac observance in Queensland was an early example of genuine ecumenical collaboration, whereas in other States, especially Victoria, the sectarian enmity was so acute that a replication of the ADCC there was unthinkable.<sup>49</sup>

Initially each State handled the Anzac Day observance differently but in time they all came to adopt, or at least adapt, what might conveniently be called the 'Garland model', as an examination of the introductions to and then the gradual amendments to the various State Acts will show. It is striking how all came to comprehend the celebration as basically one of sacred and religious

significance, though not all linked religion to the concept of ‘nation’ as Queensland had done. Some had difficulty in resisting the idea that at least part of the day should be spent in hedonistic pursuits.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 *Brisbane Courier*, 17 September 1919, p. 10.
- 2 *The Church Standard*, 3 October 1919. What was meant precisely by a ‘Church of England Stadium’ was not spelt out, but it could only have referred to a sporting field because rugby and/or Australian Rules football as well as cricket matches were an integral part of soldiers’ recreation. *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, 20 December 1918, p. 8 reported that Canon Garland had built a sports’ stadium at Port Said AIF Rest Camp.
- 3 *The Church Standard*, 7 November 1919, p. 5, ‘AIF in the East’.
- 4 See the reference to this in the previous chapter.
- 5 *The Church Standard*, 28 November 1919, pp. 9–10, ‘A Brisbane Letter’.
- 6 Now a popular restaurant called *The Pancake Manor*.
- 7 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 February 1919, p. 23. A detailed description is given in the issue dated 2 June 1919, p. 110.
- 8 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1919, p. 133.
- 9 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1919, p. 189.
- 10 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1919, p. 210.
- 11 The Reserve Bank of Australia’s Pre-Decimal Inflation Calculator confirms that goods and services valued at £4,000 in 1917 would in 2010 cost \$327,300.74.
- 12 The formulation of Archbishop Donaldson. See chapter five.
- 13 *The Church Standard*, 12 December 1919, p. 10, ‘A Brisbane Letter – Soldiers in Hospital’.
- 14 See the account by KS Inglis, *Sacred Places*, pp. 290–92. Garland’s key role in the planning is not mentioned.
- 15 Australian Archives (AA), Series A 106/1, Item G26/447, ‘Anzac Memorial Square, Brisbane’.

- 16 City Archives, Brisbane, 'Anzac Memorial Square', BC AO 542. Minutes of the meeting held in the Mayor's office, City Hall, 22 April 1930, and 9 September 1930.
- 17 *The Anzac Day Book*, 1931, p. 24.
- 18 *The Brisbane Courier*, 15 March 1924, p. 6. The 'Cross of Sacrifice' was designed by the British architect, Sir Reginald Blomfield. See Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 92.
- 19 ADCC minutes, 15 June 1923.
- 20 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1921, p. 220. Anzac Day commemorations services were conducted in the grounds of St Colomb's throughout the interwar period (and still are). See *The Courier Mail*, 7 April 1937, p. 6.
- 21 The book of *Ecclesiasticus* is sometimes called the book of *Sirach* and is located in the *Apocrypha*, that is, those books which are included in the Holy Bible between the Old and New Testaments, though not always printed. Note that the chapter begins with the verses: 'Let us now praise famous men and our fathers who begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning' (from the King James Version). This would have been well known to all Church of England chaplains.
- 22 The quotation refers to the post-communion prayer of the Eucharist of the Church of England. See the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* where the prayer begins: 'And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee ...'
- 23 Sermon preached by Canon Garland in St John's Cathedral 25 April 1924, and printed in *The Anzac Book*, published by the ADCC. See John A Moses, 'Anglicanism and Anzac Observance: The Essential contribution of Canon David John Garland', *Pacifica*, Vol. 19, No 1, February 2006, p. 76.
- 24 John A Moses, 'Was there an Anzac Theology?', *Colloquium*, 35/1, 2003, pp. 3–13.
- 25 See the report of the ceremony in *The Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1924, p. 7. The poem, 'Valiant Hearts', was composed by John Stanhope Arkwright. See his anthology, *The Supreme Sacrifice and other Poems of War*, Skeffington, London, 1919.
- 26 *The Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1924, p. 7.
- 27 'Anzac Day – Unveiling of Cross of Sacrifice at Toowong Cemetery. Acting Premier's Speech', Queensland State Archives, PRE/A 800.
- 28 Honorary Secretaries' Report on the 1924 observance, in the Minutes of the ADCC, 7 March 1924, (Oxley Library). Interestingly, the Moderator



was also a Dubliner, like Garland, and had studied for his MA at Trinity College where Garland's father worked. The Empire was a small world. Information supplied by Dr Malcolm Prentice.

- 29 Cited after Eric J Sharpe, *Understanding Religion*, Duckworth, London, 1983, p. 58.
- 30 Sharpe, *Understanding Religion*, pp. 56–62.
- 31 See Katherine Massam's study, *Sacred Threads. Catholic Spirituality in Australia 1922–1962*, UNSW Press, Kensington, 1996. Here the author sensitively describes the spiritual-mental formation of citizens of Roman Catholic obedience which of course strictly rejected any possibility of ecumenical cooperation with other denominations.
- 32 See chapter twelve, 'Getting in Step', which provides a detailed examination of this theme.
- 33 See Patrick Porter on this aspect, 'The Sacred Service: Australian Military Chaplains in the Great War', *War & Society*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2002, pp. 23–52; 'Beyond Comfort: German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory the Great War, 1919–1929', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 29, No. 3, October 2005; 'War and Religious Will to Sacrifice', *Peace Review*, [Special Edition on the *Psychological Interpretation of War*], Vol. 17, No 1, 2005, pp. 17–24.
- 34 Summarised from the ADCC minutes by Alderman HJ Diddams, a member of the ADCC, in 'The Celebration of Anzac Day: A Short History of the Movement in Queensland', in *Anzac Commemoration*, p. 9.
- 35 ADCC Minute Book, 8 June 1922.
- 36 The ADCC was indeed unique in having a highly active Anglo–Catholic priest as its driving force. No similar personalities seem to have appeared in any of the other State capitals.
- 37 The ADCC Joint Honorary Secretaries (Garland and Pike) to Hughes, 27 February 1922, repeating their earlier recommendation for a uniform celebration throughout the Commonwealth, especially in a form that would preserve its solemn character. AA Series A 457/1, Item 520/1/58.
- 38 *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 22 September 1921, p. 886.
- 39 Hastings to Hughes, 24 March 1921. AA Series A 457/1, Item 520/1/58.
- 40 See his 'War and the Religious Will to Sacrifice, 1914–1918'. See note 35.
- 41 See William R Hutchison and Hartmut Lehman, *Many are Chosen: Divine Election and Western Nationalism*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1994. pp. 1–25.
- 42 Reinhard Ailings, *Monument und Nation. Zum Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal. Eine vergleichende Analyse nationalpolitischer*

*Denkmäler im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, de Gruyter, Berlin, 1996. The observations about Germany coincide with the history of commemoration in Australia.

- 43 See his *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, OUP, Melbourne, 1994, and his entries 'Anzac Day' and 'Anzac Legend' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, OUP, Melbourne, 1999.
- 44 See the narrative in chapter eight.
- 45 Ely, 'The First Anzac Day...', p. 57. Sydney subsequently did convene an Anzac Day Observance Committee under Dr Mary Booth. See, 'Deputation received by Sir Joseph Cook at the Commonwealth Bank, Sydney on 22 February 1921, in regard t the celebration of Anzac Day', AA Series A 457/1, Item 520/1/58; and Booth to Secretary Premiers' Conference, 22 May 1923, AA Series A461, Item 90926. See also Booth, Mary (Papers), Mitchell Library (ML) MSS 2109, PIC ACCC 2177 ML 1398/70. Papers relating to Anzac Observance Committee and Anzac Festival Committee are located in box 4, ML, Sydney.
- 46 John Luttrell, 'Cardinal Gilroy's Anzac Day Problem', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 85, part 1, June 1999, p. 5. Luttrell's claim in refutation of Richard Ely, 'Secularisation and the Sacred in Australian History', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 77, 1981, pp. 553–66, stands in need of revision.
- 47 For a definition of 'civic religion', see Robert Bellah and Steven M Tipton, *The Robert Bellah Reader*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2000.
- 48 The hostility of Melbourne's RC Archbishop, Daniel Mannix to what he regarded as the 'Protestant ascendancy' is well documented by James Griffin, *Daniel Mannix: Beyond the Myths* (2012). Other Roman Catholic prelates such as those in Sydney, Adelaide and Perth were far more conciliatory, though individual bishops tended to prioritise the Irish question over the imperial conflict with Wilhelmine Germany.

## 11 Embedding Anzac Day in New Zealand legislation, 1916–1922

**T**he purpose of this chapter is three-fold: first, to acknowledge the generally enthusiastic national reception of Anzac Day and to account for its acceptance into law as a day of truly national commemoration. This section of the chapter details the state of existing commemorative practices found in the early stages of the Great War and shows how they provided a base for subsequent Anzac Day observances. The second part unpacks briefly how the day arose in 1916 and changed up to 1921 through its development in two different centres, Cambridge and Invercargill. This section traces the strong social and political pressures that led to the first day's observance on 25 April 1916. Anzac Day's proceedings were orchestrated and this challenges the widespread belief that the day began spontaneously. This does not rebut the strong public wish for an observance but tests the orthodoxy that the occasion was indeed 'spontaneous'. Last are revelations about differences of interpretation among the political leaders debating the 1920 *Anzac Day Act*. Many of their concerns centred on the



Cambridge NZ Anzac Day Memorial Service 1916.  
[Courtesy Cambridge Museum, NZ]

tone of the day – whether it should be a ‘holy day’ and whether any enjoyment should break into the sacredness of the day. Early in Anzac Day history there were clear expressions on this matter that were to become widely-expressed points of difference by the 1930s.

The information presented in this chapter again reinforces what has been obscured for almost a century; that the first Anzac Day commemorations in New Zealand and Australia, while demonstrating some variety in the formative decade, owe a great deal of their final form to the plans, insistence and persuasion of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee of Brisbane. It was from this organisation and its mentor, Canon Garland, that the widely-advertised ‘Plan for Observance’ originated. Opposing this thesis are the powerful opinions of the New Zealand Returned and Services Association and its proliferation of information from publications and websites which have consistently promoted the opinion that it was solely through the work of the Returned Soldiers’ groups that the initial impetus and later shape of Anzac Day were developed. That explanation does not accurately reflect what happened in the early stages of the day. It specifically omits reference to vital knowledge readily transmitted from across the Tasman about developments of the day in Australia, particularly from Queensland. More importantly, it sidesteps that central matter most important to the people of the time – the sacred background to Anzac Day.

There is a great deal of reliance on newspaper information in this chapter. Some large urban centres like Dunedin and Auckland suffer from the disposal of early municipal records, apart from printed record books, so other sources revealing to the institution and debates surrounding Anzac Day must be found. Newspaper sources for the early 1920s were, like their modern counterparts, markedly biased; this is a factor with interpretation of the records. However they were also at important moments highly detailed. In particular, newspapers in some centres printed in full some of the speeches given on Anzac Day. Apart from personal records found

in diaries and letters, newspapers are one of the few sources that let the modern reader know what public discussions surrounded the observances.

## Commemorative gestures

Well before 25 April 1916, there were days of prayers for New Zealand troops both in training and overseas, and services of commemoration for the fallen. To really appreciate what Anzac Day means and the cultural atmosphere it grew in, one needs to accept that forms of religious commemoration already existed on which the ceremonies of the Anzac Day observances naturally built. One could argue that if there had not been any form of like ceremonies existing in British-Australasian societies, then the advent of Anzac Day would be truly novel. From this position one could excuse some historians for seeing Anzac Day as new, spontaneous, eruptive and revolutionary. But such was not the case, and perhaps a little more evidently in New Zealand than in Australia.

Allan Davidson's analysis of the stand of the New Zealand churches in the Great War provides some light.<sup>1</sup> He feels that the larger churches justified the Allied cause throughout the war and that in 1915 there were memorial services. He cites Churchill Julius, Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, addressing 'A special memorial service for the New Zealand soldiers who fell on the battlefield in the Dardanelles', on 6 June 1915 in the Cathedral, one of the first in Australasia, and in local St Barnabas's Church, holding a special service for four Fendalton men.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Davidson's analysis appears fragile because he cites too few examples to prove the case.

New Zealand newspaper accounts and local church records do support the idea that a culture of commemoration did exist prior to the first commemoration of Anzac Day in 1916. But newspaper evidence is fragmentary. References to the war were recorded in 1915 Easter services but there was no mention of special prayer meetings or commemorative services for sacrifice or for the war

dead.<sup>3</sup> By mid-May 1915, fifteen casualty lists had been distributed to newspapers – notice of which might supply an impulsion for commemorative prayers.<sup>4</sup> On the first anniversary of the war, 4 August 1915, news reports were of business as usual, there was ‘no financial panic, no industrial collapse.’<sup>5</sup> The papers recorded the appreciation and admiration of the annual conference of the New Zealand Chambers of Commerce for the conduct of the NZEF at Gallipoli and sincere sympathy for the relatives of the fallen and wounded soldiers. The same report contained a notice for a ‘memorial service’ to be held in St Paul’s Pro-Cathedral, Wellington, that evening. On the same day, the anniversary of the beginning of the war, ‘services of intercession’ were arranged to be held in another (un-named) Anglican church in Wellington, and three Congregational churches. But this was an occasion which allowed for services which could be described as of an anniversary nature rather than commemorative. Indeed, a mid-August criticism of the stand of the churches under correspondence was entitled in bold font ‘THE SILENCE OF OUR PULPITS’ in which CN Roberts of Wellington wrote to the editor of the *Evening Post* berating churches for the absence of consolation for the bereaved. He contrasted the local dearth of services with the English situation where reports indicated a culture of commemoration existed.<sup>6</sup> There, of course, the threatening sounds of war could at times be heard across the Channel.

New Zealand church records were more forthcoming. Some Anglican churches held ‘Intercession Services’ where a list of names of members of the parish involved in the war, or who had died in the war, was read aloud. In the Dunedin Anglican diocese, only two churches recorded regular intercessory services, both of them in High Church parishes.<sup>7</sup> In the working class district of Caversham, on the margin of the most densely-populated and working class area of the city, the local Anglican church records have no mention of prayers or special services pre-Anzac Day 1916.<sup>8</sup> The main concerns

of this church were financial, and included rates payments and maintaining incumbents. Class stratification was reflected in the enthusiasm that wealthier and High Church parishes attached to both intercessory and Anzac Day services. In contrast, the Dunedin Moray Place Congregational Church recorded a note of disappointment with low attendances at 'week-evening' services honouring the dead and wounded, and this despite an ever-rising roll of the fallen.<sup>9</sup> Roman Catholic churches carry no records for the period, despite a general understanding that they would naturally have intercessory services for the dead.<sup>10</sup> Dunedin churches which held commemorative services were those attended by the influential and wealthy. Other churches had a markedly lower incidence of commemorative and intercessory practices.

More compulsive evidence can be found in the official magazines of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches of New Zealand which supports John Moses' claim of a culture of commemoration as a principal driving force for Anzac Day. The Methodist Church posted intercessory services for Sunday, 31 October 1915, following the recommendation from the British [Methodist] Conference, its parent body.<sup>11</sup> In January 1916, it ran an editorial on Gallipoli graves which strongly rebutted the notion of failure and proclaimed: 'In these southern lands we have a personal interest in those graves at Gallipoli, [an] inextinguishable claim [where] their spirit lives on'. Memory was invoked as having higher functions: 'The touch of a vanished hand,/And the sound of a voice that is still'.<sup>12</sup>

In early March 1916 the editor of *The New Zealand Methodist Times*, the Reverend J Williams of Christchurch, recorded the activities of Chaplain-Captain JR Sullivan who had given an impassioned speech at the 'Young People's Demonstration' at the Pitt Street Methodist Church, Auckland, on the eve of the church's Annual Conference in late February 1916. Sullivan was a Gallipoli veteran who urged his listeners to see the Anzac call as a 'call to prayer'. In doing so, he not only steered the Conference in a spirited manner



towards acceptance of Anzac themes but also foreshadowed the first Anzac Day events.<sup>13</sup>

The New Zealand Presbyterian Church followed a similar pattern. Sunday, 3 January 1915 was advertised as a 'National Day of Prayer', following the original ecumenical recommendation from the two Anglican Primates of England, conveyed in a message from the King's private secretary, Lord Stamfordham.<sup>14</sup> Sunday, 8 August 1915 was posted as 'Intercession Day' in Wellington, a day suggested by Prime Minister William Massey in concert with the heads of various churches.<sup>15</sup> At this service the liturgy included one of those parts which became familiar in later Anzac Day services: a Memoriam of the fallen and the 'Dead March' from Saul.<sup>16</sup> In December 1915, the Presbyterian Church General Assembly recorded in its 'Memorial Minutes' a minute passed in sympathetic silence 'In memory to those who have fallen at the front'.<sup>17</sup> Controversially, in a tone more reflective of the 1930s, Moderator the Reverend William Scorgie promoted the General Assembly's intention to set apart Sunday 19 March 1916 as a 'day of humiliation and prayer in connection with the war'.<sup>18</sup> The wording attracted adverse reactions, while conversely the honouring of popular Chaplain-Major William Grant, who had been killed while ministering to the wounded at Gallipoli, was popularly received.<sup>19</sup>

Similar intercessory gestures were reflected in country towns. The Southland Presbyterian Church at Riversdale ran 'special services' on Sunday, 12 March 1916, when the Roll of Honour was unveiled and its eighteen names read aloud. The evening gathering took 'the form of a special memorial in respect to the memory of those men who have died that we might live'.<sup>20</sup> This service was close in form to the Anzac Day services which subsequently developed. On 11 April 1916, the editor of *The Outlook* recommended, as Moderator Scorgie had previously about the nature of intercessory days, that 25 April should be 'a day of humiliation and prayer'.<sup>21</sup> This was the Presbyterian Church's response to the possibility of the day being

promoted as a platform for enlistment. While the church had no problem with that directive from William Massey, it seemed to the editor of *The Outlook* that more important matters like respect for sacrifice might possibly be overlooked.<sup>22</sup>

John Moses' claim for a 'local upsurge of "grief management" within the framework of traditional Christian liturgy as a source of energy leading to the institutionalisation of Anzac Day', is most applicable to New Zealand in the light of the above evidence. On-going grief management practices support an argument that a social and spiritual framework existed prior to the first Anzac Day. This cultural framework eased planning for the day. The speed with which the first Anzac Day commemoration happened also reflected the existing war infrastructure. Civic planning could be effective and swift. Its speed of occurrence would much later assume the appearance of spontaneity. It was from this base of 'on-going grief management practices' that Anzac Day arose, not as a totally new phenomenon, but as a natural outcome and response, both local and overseas, to the situation created at Gallipoli and perpetuated on battlefields elsewhere.

On Wednesday, 15 March 1916 *The Dominion* newspaper, published in the capital Wellington, ran a lengthy editorial on its fourth page. It was entitled 'A Day of Days'. This was a significant piece of journalism whole-heartedly supporting the observance of Anzac Day and indeed criticising the 'irresolution and almost timidity' present in municipal planning meetings for the day. The Government decision to declare a half-holiday was declared by the writer 'literally and otherwise a half-measure'. Crucially, *The Dominion* editor Charles W Earle CMG outlined the 'excellent example' set by the movement in Queensland and printed in full Canon David Garland's official plan of observance as a useful guide to those who should be engaged in the Anzac Day movement in New Zealand. His support of Garland was undisguised:

Those who are acquainted with CANON GARLAND'S work in New Zealand will recognise that with so admirable an organiser as its honorary secretary, the Queensland commemoration movement is certain to be carried through with thoroughness and success.<sup>23</sup>

What we can gauge here is first-hand knowledge of the sincerity and direction of Garland's legacy from the Bible in Schools movement and a desire to recognise the worth of the man in the new venture of Anzac Day. There can be little doubt that this testimony from the capital city of New Zealand to Garland's influence in the initial observances was important at the time and regrettably has been thoroughly overlooked since.

A public discussion about memorialising Anzac Day began a week before when Wellington Mayor JP Luke, an associate of Garland when he lived in Wellington, floated a tentative plan to involve the local municipal leaders in a discussion to consider celebrating Anzac Day. He hoped also to engage Government members and a representative of the military authorities. His hope was that the observance might be a significant occasion shared by all places with events similar to those for Wellington.<sup>24</sup>

## **Two case studies: Cambridge and Invercargill**

Outside of the capital, persuasion to observe a day of either 'celebration' or 'commemoration' started intermittently. Cambridge, a North Island country town with a population of 1,507 provides an exemplar of the development of Anzac Day between inception in 1916 and the national legislation embedding the day as one of national commemoration in 1921.<sup>25</sup> As early as 22 January 1916 the Waikato Independent, published in Cambridge, reported on the Australian proposal 'to celebrate the day of the landing at Anzac, April 25, as a holiday of patriotic commemoration.'<sup>26</sup> The report carried the parts played in the 10 January meeting by the

Queensland Governor, Sir Hamilton Goold Adams, and the Premier, Mr Ryan, in promoting the resolution acknowledging the debt to the troops who took part in the Gallipoli campaign which 'deserves fullest recognition by the people [sic] of this country, whose rights and liberties they have been bravely defending'.<sup>27</sup> Also reported was Major-General McCay's resolution which carried the idea that other Australian States should be requested to follow suit. This again testified to the beginnings of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee. The columnist commented ultimately, 'We [New Zealanders] might consider whether the celebration on April 25 next should not be Australasian'. The report also featured a note on the flag which was unfurled immediately before the resolution was passed. It was the exact one hoisted on Gallipoli by the Queensland troops which had been returned to Brisbane through Canon Garland's actions.<sup>28</sup>

Notwithstanding the mixture of tones: holiday, patriotic commemoration, and celebration, what is clear is the solid link between Australian and New Zealand thinking on the matter and the speed with which vital ideas of this sort could be transmitted across the Tasman to take hold in New Zealand. The Tasman was not a knowledge barrier but rather a conduit through the medium of telegraphy. Cambridge planned to observe Anzac Day following the lead of the city of Brisbane. It would help to observe how this played out.

In the next three months, February to April 1916, concerns about matters related to Anzac were aired. The local paper reported a request from General Godley, officer in charge of New Zealand troops, to the 'Turkish commander' written prior to the December 1915 evacuation, for the care of Anzac graves at Gallipoli, and for reassurance that the Turks would not do anything to desecrate the resting places.<sup>29</sup> This became a central matter for home populations and was always an Anzac Day concern. Initial planning outlining the day proceeded calmly, and decisions were made in the Council Chambers that a large non-denominational service should be held

on a Sunday but because the closest was Easter Day (23 April) the next Sunday, 30 April was agreed on. Members of the local clergy led by the Reverend WJ Gow were to act as a committee and arrange the form of the service. Disabled and ill returned soldiers were to be provided with assistance to attend the service. The Mayor, DM Wells, Captain Peake (returned soldier, presiding over the Council Chambers meeting) and Mr Congalton were also appointed to the committee.<sup>30</sup> However it was not long before difficulties caused by existing Easter planning brought the united action down. At another meeting on 13 March it was decided that the individual churches would conduct their own services for Anzac Day on Easter Day morning. There would be a 'civic and public united meeting...in the Town Hall on the evening of Anzac Day, Tuesday, 25 April, when patriotic speeches [would] be made and a musical and social programme [would occur]'.<sup>31</sup> This seemed to foreground sectarian interests and sidestep the awkwardness posed by a combined commemorative service. Soon after, a letter to the editor from Captain JW Peake offered his resignation from the organising committee in reaction to this disarray. His strongly worded piece made a number of points important to the returned men: a combined Town Hall service was the most appropriate forum to commemorate the sacrifice of the fallen; at the front men were not organised in companies by religious denomination and moreover padres ministered to men irrespective of creed; the fallen shared common graves; and that he felt that this divisive action by the domestic community was an unworthy response to the soldiers.<sup>32</sup> It appeared difficult for some clergy and their superiors to accept that the conditions experienced by men who served overseas had any domestic relevance. They thought the extraordinary religious unity found in overseas conflict was reserved for another world, one outside New Zealand.

Nevertheless, the Presbyterian Church of Waikato requested a united Memorial Service and requested that Mayor Wells convene

another meeting to make the arrangements.<sup>33</sup> Support for Captain Peake's stand was strong and swift. Indeed, in the same paper, E Veale naively expressed 'surprise and shock' that there should be any clerical objection to a planned combined service. The writer called for Captain Peake to reassume the reins of leadership in the matter.<sup>34</sup> Despite additional support where 'A Soldier's Mother' represented Captain Peake as 'a broad-minded, right-thinking man, who would deal justice where justice [was] due', the debate dragged on.<sup>35</sup> The second Council Chambers meeting presided over by Mayor Wells attempted to reach a resolution on the matter of a combined service or services. A broader-based committee was appointed seeking a Town Hall Anzac Memorial Service. However, sectarian interests staked their own claims: Roman Catholic Father Michael O'Doherty stated that he and his people could not attend a religious service and suggested it be redefined as an 'Anzac celebration'. The Mayor made it clear that it was not a welcome home celebration but a service 'of grief and sorrow for those brave ones who [had] been left behind at Gallipoli'. The Reverend Father's stand was also supported by the Reverend C Mortimer Jones (C of E) who also could not take part in a combined religious service apparently on instruction from his church authorities. At this point it seemed that fragmentation would result. Despite a motion by Father O'Doherty that services be held in individual churches on the morning of 23 April, and that a united secular one be held in the Town Hall in the afternoon of 23 April, the Mayor's motion that there be a united service on the afternoon of 23 April in the Town Hall, carried the day.

The debate was reflected in the newspapers. 'Cosmopolitan' writing in the local Waikato Independent supported the united Town Hall service and castigated the stands of Father O'Doherty and the Reverend C Mortimer Jones. The writer thought that to limit the Town Hall service by omitting the name of 'the Deity' would not be in the interests of a population where there were few sceptics.

He also attacked the notion of a purely ‘patriotic gathering’ where ‘there was too much jingoism, one gets sick of it.’<sup>36</sup> Another writer, under the pseudonym ‘Member of the Church of England’ briefly attacked the exclusivity expressed by Mortimer Jones.<sup>37</sup> News of the visit of the National Secretary of the YMCA Mr A Varney to Cambridge kept the focus on the work of the men in khaki wherever they were.<sup>38</sup> In the succeeding days arrangements were made for the Coronation Choir to prepare suitable music for the Anzac Day Memorial Service.<sup>39</sup>

Additional evidence of the strong relationship with Queensland was shown in the article “‘Anzac Day’ in Queensland”, which began, in accord with Canon Garland’s wishes, nominating the day as one of solemnity.<sup>40</sup> The paper reported the decision which had been taken there to allow individual churches their individual observances with a church parade by local troops early in the morning. State-wide public memorial services were to be held later the same morning to be followed by public meetings in all centres in the evening of the day. Plans for the observance of the day had been drafted by ‘a Commemoration Committee’. These were patently Garland’s ‘Plans for Observance’, and the named ‘Commemoration Committee’ was the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee of Brisbane. In addition, provisos were written on education for children about the day, denial of jubilation, rejection of fund-raising on the day, one minute’s silence and stand-to for every person in the State at 9.00 am to honour the fallen heroes, and a city parade of all troops in camp in the afternoon of Anzac Day. This detail, strategically placed in the top centre of page three, was set out not only to give a clear description of what was happening across the Tasman but also to act as a guide to arrangements yet to be locally made. The Reverend C Mortimer Jones wrote to the paper and his letter to the Editor was printed on 11 April.<sup>41</sup> He struggled to join the ‘United Anzac Commemoration Service’ even in the light of the position taken by his Auckland superior, Bishop Averill, who

had decided to join with Auckland citizens in a commemorative service chaired by His Worship Mayor Gunson. Mortimer Jones had received advice from the Bishop that a meeting from which no one would be excluded on conscientious or religious grounds was more acceptable, but Jones still could not accept a 'United' service which implied that different clergy attend officially. He also argued that the day of the service would be better observed on 25 April (rather than the previous Easter Day, or the Sunday following) as it had been declared a public holiday. It is evident that his shift in position was done with clenched teeth and that still he wished to see a most moderate service with strictly limited religious overtones. As it transpired, he never attended the 2.30 pm 'Memorial Service' on Anzac Day at the Town Hall in Cambridge, but retreated into the distant western Waikato country to Ohaupo where he made a speech entitled 'The Inspiration of Anzac'.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, the official position of the Massey Government became clear and was published in detail on 13 April in a report on the proceedings of the Cambridge Anzac Day Committee's meeting of the previous Tuesday, 11 April.<sup>43</sup> Briefly, the Government had decided that commencing at 1.00 pm there would be a public national half-holiday on Tuesday 25 April; that special services of public worship were fitting for the day and that the Government recommended that such services be held during the forenoon or afternoon; that the New Zealand Ensign be displayed on all public buildings from sunrise to sunset; that shipping companies display their flags on all ships; that the day was devoid of sports and similar sorts of entertainment, and that patriotic meetings were requested for the evening to commemorate the anniversary and to assist the recruiting campaign. In the light of the Government's stand the date of the Cambridge commemoration was shifted from 23 to 25 April, beginning at 2.30 pm.

On 18 April, the Editor reviewed the position of Anzac Day.<sup>44</sup> In summary, writing of the landing at Gallipoli he felt:



This feat will, for the people of Australasia, be for all time one of the great outstanding events of the war ... It is fitting, therefore, that the first anniversary be universally celebrated ... The expressed desire of the Government that the day should not be marked by the holding of sports or similar forms of entertainment will, needless to say, be respected. It is not a time for mafficking, and if the Prime Minister's request is taken up locally it would be fitting that a united service be held in the Town Hall. If such a service were fixed for a suitable hour in the afternoon the people could unite in a more fitting commemoration than by each denomination holding a separate service.

This was an influential voice in the Cambridge and Waikato locality adding moral suasion to the initiative from Queensland, and taking the case further for a united commemorative service.

By 20 April the arrangements were in place and being advertised as 'A Memorial Service'. The complaints of the Catholic and Anglican clergy had been noted and addressed. Mayor Wells was given the first address and other addresses were to be delivered by the Reverends GS Cook, WJ Gow, Captain Vivian (Salvation Army), and the Reverend CH Garland (an influential Methodist minister – Chairman of the Auckland District, and past Vice-President of the Temperance and Prohibition Alliance of New Zealand).<sup>45</sup> On the morning of 25 April, a memorial service was held in St Andrew's Anglican Church on similar lines to that held in Westminster Abbey. During the service a cover for the baptismal font was dedicated to the late Private Christopher Boyce who died from wounds received at Gallipoli.<sup>46</sup>

On 27 April the Waikato Independent carried a lengthy report on the local Anzac Day events under the heading 'Anzac Day – Celebration at Cambridge – Big Gathering at Town Hall'.<sup>47</sup> It was evidently a community event where the temperament was sombre

but not depressed. The Mayor, as first speaker, reminded all of the cost to individuals and families and a determination to bring the war to a successful ending. The Reverend CH Garland's address was reported almost verbatim. He related the threat posed by Wilhelmine Germany, the contribution of the British dependencies, the cost to the Waikatos at Gallipoli and the deeds of the British army. When he finished the Mayor made an impassioned appeal for something better than the one pound per week allowance for injured soldiers under the War Pensions Act and better employment provisions for returnees with minor injuries. The Reverend Garland as the senior cleric present pronounced the Benediction. The format was that of a fully religious service, complete with prayers, speeches and hymns and uplifting music.

This pattern of initial ideas, public debate and division, thorough and swift organisation ending with a successful observance of Anzac Day was followed throughout most of New Zealand. The more closely the events are examined, the more difficult it is to claim spontaneity. Also, there is no doubt that the current debate was religious. However, the day was full of spirit; even Mayor Wells' humanism and call for better conditions for injured and poorly returning soldiers must be construed in the beliefs of the times: a softening of the spirit for those in need in a most Christian way.

The Cambridge Anzac Day Committee held a final meeting at the Council Chambers in the evening of 28 April presided over by the Mayor's nominee Mr Dallimore. The report showed that despite expenses there was a small loss of £4; the committee's expenditure had been greatly and anonymously subsidised. There were consequently no expenses to be met for bringing out from Auckland the visiting speaker, the Reverend CH Garland. It was estimated that the about 1,000 people who attended the memorial service constituted the largest number ever gathered for a religious service in the district. There were lavish tributes for the work of

the organisers and choir. It is significant that at this stage, there was no mention of a similar event the next year.

Nevertheless, Anzac Day was commemorated in Cambridge in 1917 and indeed every year following. For the town there were strenuous attempts to avoid the divisions caused by sectarianism: some saw these outcomes as ‘petty wranglings, quarrel and strife of sordid humanity’ in the light of the universal commemorative and sacred obligations of the day.<sup>48</sup> In the event, the Town Hall was full beyond capacity and also attended by the 4th Waikato Mounted Rifles and the 16th Waikato Regiment. The mayor described the meeting as ‘semi-religious in nature’ and the military band played ‘Abide with Me’ and the following hymns were sung: ‘O God Our Help in Ages Past’, ‘Onward, Christian Soldiers’, ‘For All the Saints’, and the ‘Recessional’. The gathering closed with the Benediction, and singing the National Anthem.<sup>49</sup> In all respects it had the appearance of a mass civic and religious ceremony. The 1918 ceremony was dominated by the apparent need for a civic war memorial and concerns which were expressed about the condition of Gallipoli graves.<sup>50</sup> The day in 1919 was moderated by Canon Williams, the replacement for the Reverend C Mortimer Jones, who was on overseas service. The day itself was coloured by comments aired about the returned soldiers’ drinking and gambling.<sup>51</sup> The visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920 to Hamilton, capital of the Waikato region, served not to distract from Anzac Day but to focus the attention on the day to matters of service to Empire. Troops were in evidence and a noble statue designed by Nigel Wallnutt of Auckland was the focal point. The Commemoration Service was described as a ‘well organised affair’ with a large attendance. The service was preceded by a military procession; the service took very much the pattern of the past few years, conforming greatly to the ‘Plan for Observance’ as set out by Canon David Garland. The ceremony ended with the Recessional, the Benediction, and for the first time a bugler playing ‘The Last Post’.<sup>52</sup> The same paper included the full

text of the address by the Reverend TH Roseveare. Anzac Day had come of age in northern New Zealand.

By 1921, Anzac Day had become part of the district traditions. Moreover, matters of local contention lessened and events in other districts became known. Local civic energies were concentrated on completing the war memorial and the RSA members were keen to see their smoke concert up and running on Anzac Day.<sup>53</sup> *The Waikato Independent* editor claimed that 'April 25 is now recognised as a general holiday throughout Australasia' and further claimed that the day had,

a much wider and greater significance. It [was] recognised as a sacred day in memory of the great sacrifices made by our boys for the cause of righteousness. Therefore it [was] well that this date should be observed in a becoming manner.

He argued for a more sacred position for the day and drew attention to the situation in New South Wales where Acting Premier James Dooley had announced that 25 April would be observed in a sacred manner.<sup>54</sup> Here we see trans-Tasman awareness being powerfully used in country New Zealand public discussion, challenging any possibility that sports might be played on the day.

If we examine another example from the southern end of New Zealand, a very different pattern emerges from Invercargill, New Zealand's southern-most city of 14,154 people in 1916.<sup>55</sup> This city had close attachments to Australian cities because of its southern proximity and before 1920 there was regular sea traffic with Melbourne and other east coast Australian cities.<sup>56</sup> The local paper *The Southland Times* printed many reports from Australia; Sydney news dominated in the pre-war and wartime period. Notice of Anzac Day activities anywhere was initially from Wellington on 14 March 1916, reporting on the conference of local mayors who

resolved to approach the Prime Minister over the matter.<sup>57</sup> Nothing of the ferment of activity which beset country Cambridge happened in Invercargill city, nor was much interest displayed by the local paper until a fortnight before Anzac Day.

The first detailed report embedded in 'Current Topics' came from Sydney a week later and reported the feeling for sacralising the day, and the editor commented that the 'suggestion may be regarded here with interest'.<sup>58</sup> There was further description such as the sale of an emblematic badge to raise funds for soldiers' benefits. Even in late March there was no problem seen with making arrangements for a refresher course for Territorial Officers at Rangiotu camp in the North Island, the dates for which ran from 21 to 25 April.<sup>59</sup> On 30 March, the Invercargill paper printed a brief report which clearly indicated that the plans made by canon Garland and the ADCC were known. The church services for the day, the parade of troops with the place of honour for returned men, the public memorial services, the special issue of the School Journal, a minute's silence – all were listed. Acknowledgement was scanty – all drawn up by 'a Commemorative Committee'.<sup>60</sup> This was based on Garland's 'Plan for Observance' even if no credit was given.

So it was in early April 1916, well behind events occurring in Wellington or Cambridge, that the first indication of civic interest was shown in Invercargill. A writer using the nom-de-plume 'Anzac Day' appealed to the local *Southland Times* editor for a public holiday as an 'appreciation to those brave fellows who fought, bled and died for us' and also called for a 'big recruiting rally day'.<sup>61</sup> A few days later a terse report welcomed the government's decision to observe the day.<sup>62</sup> What is most surprising about all of this apparent tardiness is that Invercargill was a highly-regarded recruitment area. Meanwhile, monthly intercessory services continued with up to nine local clergy of different denominations present in the Elles Road Methodist Church meeting where there were strong statements defining the driving forces which dictated German

state policies.<sup>63</sup> Again, this is tangible evidence of growing public consciousness over the threat posed by Germany.

There was a 'town meeting' on 7 April which was not reported in the daily news!<sup>64</sup> The information came from a correspondent called 'United Service' a week later. This meeting had decided that church services would be held on the afternoon of Anzac Day and that Chaplain-Captain JW Shaw of the hospital ship Maheno would be approached to lead them. Two weeks before the declared day the Invercargill civic authorities were still unsure of their position.<sup>65</sup>

Eleven days before Anzac Day the paper carried a report that a 'town committee' had been established on the previous day which included the Mayor, D McFarlane, and councillors Ott, Lennie and Stead to tend to the needs of the returned soldiers on the day.<sup>66</sup> It seems that the civic dignitaries had been shamed into the move; from this point onwards arrangements were made with great speed. There was obvious awareness of specific activities in other centres.<sup>67</sup> By the week before the event the editor put his weight behind the observance by writing an editorial called 'Anzac Day'.<sup>68</sup> Most telling was the statement 'proposals for the suitable observance of Anzac Day throughout the Dominion [were] taking definite shape'. This alone questioned Invercargill's coyness towards the observance and made oblique comment about the city's wait-and-see approach. In a most humanitarian mood, the editor stressed the position of the permanently maimed and disabled, and claimed:

Next Tuesday will be a day of poignant memories in many homes in this country, and it should be observed in a manner becoming the greatness of the sacrifice of [sic] those who have suffered have made for those who remain in comfortable and prosperous safety, and whose family circles remain unbroken.<sup>69</sup>

The themes of memory and sacrifice were to be dominant ones and were reiterated frequently through and after the war.

In the week before Anzac Day, final arrangements were made to ensure Invercargill's first full and appropriate Anzac Day observance. All arrangements for the day were posted: the full military parade which involved school cadets; the dinner for the returned men at the Federal Tea Rooms; the march to the King's Hall in the evening for the public function; the schools' involvement and flag salute at 10.00 am on 26 April; united memorial services in the outlying towns of Matura, Wyndham and Winton; and the half-day holiday for government servants.<sup>70</sup> The editorial and reports about Anzac Day on the day and to the end of the month indicate how much the community, despite the late start, had taken Anzac Day to its heart.<sup>71</sup>

The *Southland Times* editor revealed his wide understanding of what was happening in centres outside New Zealand in his comprehensive summation of what the day meant: he praised the feat of the landing but made it clear the enterprise had failed; he attributed the first use of the acronym ANZAC to General Sir William Birdwood's telegrams; he agreed with the London *Spectator* writer who claimed that the principal gain of Gallipoli was that 'Every inhabitant of Australia and New Zealand has been established in his love and devotion to his native land and to the Empire by what his fellow citizens have done at Anzac'. His support for the government's suggestion for patriotic recruiting actions on the day was evident with 'we honour [the Anzacs] only if those who are capable of bearing arms and free to join the colours go forth and fight for the cause [and] if we care for those who have returned and for the dependents of those who will never return.'<sup>72</sup>

Compared with what had happened prior to Anzac Day, the local Invercargill coverage of Anzac Day events was more than generous. The reports indicated a large crowd of 5000 people attended the public gatherings at the Rotunda. The Mayor called

for the continuance of the day. Events in other New Zealand metropolitan centres featured and exclusive reports were printed for London and Sydney. On following days more London reports were published indicating the strength of the metropolis of Empire; in Cairo 1000 wreaths were laid in Old Cairo cemetery; reports flowed in from all the local Southland schools and shared space with the report of the exchange of flags between the railwaymen of Hornsby NSW and Petone NZ.<sup>73</sup> Even Fieta cemetery observance in Malta was reported along with General Birdwood's response to Captain Donald Simson of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association in Wellington.<sup>74</sup>

At the end of April, the *Southland Times* printed detailed reports of the Anzac Day services held in all the five main Protestant churches along with the full address of the Reverend Dr Gibbs at the Anzac Memorial Service in the Wellington Town Hall.<sup>75</sup> This indeed was a turn-around. Compared with the coverage for North Island country Cambridge, Invercargill showed an incredible amount of civic unity which had been gathered within a very short period of time. In retrospect one might be forgiven for thinking that there was an element of spontaneity in the South if one was not aware of the opportunity that the southerners had for a long and clear appreciation of events further north and overseas, particularly those from Australia.

Again in 1917, matters related to organisation of the day got off to a slow start. Intercessory services continued and the day had been set aside for municipal elections.<sup>76</sup> The day was overshadowed by ill news from the Western Front, but attendance at the civic function was good. In 1918, Canon Garland featured in the *Southland Times* as the first western cleric to celebrate Holy Communion in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after the British Army entered Jerusalem. Once again, the town dignitaries were tardy with their organisation for the day, only informing the townspeople that the day would proceed as it had in past years on 12 April.<sup>77</sup>



Invercargill in 1918 held many religious services. Anglican Archdeacon Richards was listed to address the evening Patriotic Meeting.<sup>78</sup> Despite prevailing war weariness, the mood was upbeat: full editorial comment in recognition of the third anniversary of the landing, and indeed of the war effort generally, was offered in the editorial.<sup>79</sup> It was accompanied on succeeding days by comprehensive reporting of the events: all main churches' addresses were printed; the parade described and the Mayor's address given; descriptions of the evening commemoration service in the Municipal Theatre and the Anzac Soldiers' Dinner were covered. There was summary coverage of events outside Invercargill: Sydney, Christchurch, London and General Birdwood's message to his New Zealand comrades.<sup>80</sup> Through all of the material there is a clear idea of the value of the Southerners in the effort of sustaining the Empire.

The proceedings in 1919 were commenced in the knowledge that the Invercargill mayor, John Stead, led the local council to declare the period one of Peace Celebrations. He persuaded the council to lay aside the significant sum of £250.<sup>81</sup> In a most unusual move the Invercargill council appears to have forgotten about the upcoming Anzac Day events until about 19 April – despite all sorts of printed reminders of memorialisation: the London parade, Gallipoli war graves' reports, Hurst Seager's grand plan for a national Anzac highway from the north to far south of the country.<sup>82</sup> It was only following a direct appeal from the Invercargill RSA, once again, after their meeting of 16 April, for 25 April to be declared 'Anzac Day' and a general holiday, that any civic action was seen.<sup>83</sup> Curiously, there was no correspondence printed over the matter, nor were any public notices given until the evening of the day before. On that day, Mayor John Stead declared Anzac Day a 'Whole Holiday' and posted the order for the day which included: morning services in the town churches; a military parade at 2.45 pm with a civic address; a film in the evening of the German Naval surrender and a short patriotic address in the interval.<sup>84</sup>

In this heady atmosphere of remembrance the Invercargill RSA, having learned from the year before not to rely on civic planning, by 10 March had drafted a 'rough outline' for the day. 25 April 1920 was a Sunday and the RSA planned a parade, the use of a wreath-covered gun carriage and a burial service. This was to be the first of the 'open grave' observances encouraged by the NZRSA President, Dr Ernest Boxer. The initiative passed from the local council to the RSA and this reflected the controlling place that organisation was to have in New Zealand for the next 50 years and, to an extent, placed a stamp of exclusivity over the public observance. Once again, there had been many notices of related events filling the news which ought to have prompted the council into action.<sup>85</sup>

With prescience, the editor of the *Southland Times* summarised the upcoming day as 'the first soldiers' Anzac Day [in] this part of the world'.<sup>86</sup> The memorial service was to be held by the RSA and the editor felt the significance of the day lay in its 'revelation of the flame of liberty'. Within these noble sentiments he pleaded for the rejection of any sort of holiday attachment to the day:

To these men who gave so much we can go back every year and in our memories renew our flagging spirits, revive our faltering hopes...If we once permit ourselves to regard it as a holiday, even a National holiday, we will have lost the greater part of its significance. Anzac Day should be enshrined as a National Day of Memory.<sup>87</sup>

This call was not ignored. There were others, important political figures, who were reading this material and assenting to it. By the middle of the year a Bill to enshrine Anzac Day in New Zealand legislation would begin to be debated.

It can be seen that Anzac Day in both districts, Cambridge and Invercargill, was rapidly moving to the acceptance of a sacred day concept. Yet their journeys to this point were as different as the

distance between them. In the southernmost, Invercargill, the day was accepted without rancour, and grew to a confirmation which reflected many of the interests seen in other districts. In Cambridge, the force of local personalities and the fluctuating attention of the local paper combined to present a place that had taken a different path from that of the southern city. How much was due to the country locale of Cambridge is hard to assess. Invercargill was also a ‘country town’, albeit a slightly larger one: New Zealand had recently passed the demographic change in which the majority of the population were living in towns and cities rather than in rural districts. Cambridge reporting indicates some knowledge of Anzac Day elsewhere, while Invercargill’s view was much more cosmopolitan. News reporting in both localities reflected the notion that the Tasman was not a barrier. In many instances, more was known about what was happening in New South Wales or Queensland (or even London) than in other New Zealand districts.

## Legislation for Anzac Day

The political situation of New Zealand led to a smoother transition of Anzac Day into legislation than was experienced in Australia. The two relevant Acts, the *Anzac Day Act, Number 78* of 11 November 1920 and the *Anzac Day Amendment Act* 1921–1922 legislated the day as one of national commemoration and one which prohibited horse-racing. It is useful to follow the transition of the legislation through the Parliamentary discussions because many views on Anzac Day were revealed. The *Anzac Day Bill* was introduced to the House of Representatives on 28 July 1920.<sup>88</sup>

A wide-ranging parliamentary debate to enact Anzac Day as a national day of commemoration happened in the one and a half hours of speeches in the House of Representatives in support of its second reading on the evening of 11 August 1920. The speeches comprehensively covered meanings relating to Anzac Day and reflected the deep desire to keep the day sacred to the memory of

the fallen and to the achievements of all men who fought. Colonel George Mitchell, Member for Wellington South, a returned veteran, introduced the second reading. He made the telling point in his introductory remarks that during the previous conflict in South Africa, 'the fate of our nation and the world was not at stake' as it was in the Great War. He was of the opinion that wars would continue, but sometime in the future the step into conflict by the nation in 1914–1918 would be accounted worthwhile. He argued that the process of taking a part in the British Empire involved small nations accepting responsibilities. He praised the part of the ordinary soldier, the 'digger' and made tribute to the thousands of ordinary soldiers whose sacrifice had caused the collapse of the German Empire. He felt their performance had challenged the widespread belief of race deterioration. He also paid warm tribute to the 'Aussies': 'these men were unconventional...a little strange in their conduct...but they were good comrades and great fighters'. He pleaded for one day per year – '[to] be kept in memory of them in the same manner as you keep a Sunday – that it shall not be a day for an extra race meeting or a day of jollification'. This connects his attitude to the day with that of Canon David Garland of Brisbane. Mitchell unmistakably linked the sacrifices of the soldiers and the freedoms and wealth enjoyed by the members at home. His impassioned argument turned to those who faced loss: 'We ask you to do this also for the sake of those who mourn in this country ... it must be a painful thing for them to feel that there is no one day of national memorial for those who have sacrificed all'. The next speaker was William Jennings, Member for the central North Island electorate of Waitomo. He deliberated on the last point, having a son buried at Gallipoli. The pleas were strongly supported by Prime Minister William Massey. He also expanded the view beyond Gallipoli remembrance to include all the battlefronts of the Great War.

However, his support and interpretation of a ‘holy day’ was one clearly tempered by rejoicing and thanksgiving for the victories and for the liberty created through sacrifice. This stand exposed a difficulty Massey felt with a sombrely sacred day: this was to have an effect on the final wording of the Act. This equivocal attitude was rebutted by Christchurch North Member of Parliament Leonard Isitt who related the repugnance expressed by the mother of a dead soldier, ‘if that day degenerated into a mere day of festivity and of ordinary holiday’. Isitt argued for the closure of all shops, drinking establishments and a prohibition on all sports. He wanted a day of quiet pride for the soldiers and nurses, and one in which children would play a prominent part. He was followed by Thomas Seddon, Member for Westland, a member of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers’ Association executive who called forcefully for ‘a holy day rather than a holiday’. He also reminded the House of the part played by the whole 29th Division. James Craigie, Member for Timaru, reminded the House of the need to instil knowledge of the deeds at Gallipoli in the young. He read the poet John Masefield’s evocative description of the departure from Lemnos and the landing at Gallipoli. He also appealed for the legislators not to forget the 29th Division. The speakers were also supported by others who again dwelt on the matter of sacrifice.

Finally, Colonel Mitchell, ending the debate as the mover of the motion, thanked the House. He stressed the point ‘that every speaker has emphasized the desire that it shall be a sacred day [and that] children should take a full part in the commemoration of Anzac Day, and in commemoration of those who suffered and died’. He also, like Prime Minister Massey, felt that the day should reflect the ‘actions of the whole of our troops throughout the war’.<sup>89</sup> It is most clear, even at the risk of reiteration, that expression of the sacred was close to the heart of all the legislators, no matter what their individual wishes regarding the degree of solemnity or enjoyment on the day.

The Bill was introduced to the Legislative Council on Wednesday 10 November 1920.<sup>90</sup> It was read a second time and introduced by Sir Francis Dillon Bell, the Attorney General, who summarised the issues. He stated that returned soldiers had requested the Bill; that it commemorated the events of the 25 April landing in 1915; and named the day ‘Anzac Day’. The Bill required observance of the whole day as a public holiday, closed all public houses and prevented any race meetings on the day. There were four speeches in support of the motion of reading the Bill a third time. Colonel William Collins (Wellington) expressed the notion that now the day would not be only ‘a national holiday, but a sacred holy day for New Zealand ...’. Mr George Garland (Auckland) scanned the history of Gallipoli as an arena of conflict and expressed the hope that the Act might ‘help us remember those voices we shall never hear again ... those faces we shall not know again’. Thomas MacGibbon (Dunedin) reiterated the notion of needing to call Anzac Day a ‘holy day, but not a holiday’, in deference to great losses and sore hearts. He made the now well-known statement seen today as a keynote of the New Zealand position:

Sir, it is with chastened feelings that we should commemorate this day: proud, and at the same time sorrowful – proud of the achievements of the men of this country, and sorrowing that so many of them paid the penalty of their bravery and, in some cases perhaps, of their rashness.

The tension between sorrow and pride has been developed by recent historians as a bridge between the different interpretations of the meaning of the day.<sup>91</sup> Maori Member of Parliament John Tope Patuki (Ruapuke) in a practical vein suggested that the wages and earnings for the day be paid to the soldiers in recognition of their deeds. He was aware of the hard times some of the returnees would face and saw the payment as a way of helping the poorer soldiers.<sup>92</sup>

On the same day, 10 November 1920, in the House of Representatives, the *Anzac Day Bill* faced its ‘in Committee’ stage. As it stood before the hearing the first part of the second clause read:

In commemoration of the part taken by New Zealand troops in the Great War, and in memory of those who gave their lives for the Empire, the twenty-fifth day of April in each year (being the anniversary of the first landing of English, Australian, and New Zealand troops on Gallipoli) shall be known as Anzac Day, and shall be observed throughout New Zealand as a public holiday, and in all respects as if Anzac Day were a Sunday.<sup>93</sup>

The second part added Anzac Day to the schedule of Public Holidays. Prime Minister Massey moved to strike out the reference to Anzac Day being observed as if it were a Sunday, but conceded to add a sub-clause which aligned the day with Christmas and Good Friday through the closing of licensed premises. This was complemented by the prohibition of granting licenses for the use of the totalizators or for horse-racing on the day. Massey’s amendments were agreed to and the Bill was read a third time.

So, Anzac Day observance passed into New Zealand law. It is clear from the religious references and the constant reiteration of the word ‘sacred’ that the Parliamentarians had little else on their minds other than a sacred day in the conventions of those times. This was not some quasi-modernist notion of secular or civic religion but one grounded in the traditional Church teachings.

The next year, 1921, saw the introduction of the *Anzac Day Amendment Bill*. The Bill was introduced by Hon William Downie Stewart, Minister of Internal Affairs and Member for Dunedin West.<sup>94</sup> He rationalised the Government’s tenderness over the issue of observing the day as if it were a holy day, a Sunday. He argued that ‘the mind of the Government then was that if too strict a

day was tried to be made of Anzac Day it might produce a reaction, and defeat the very purpose that the returned soldiers had in view in promoting the Bill'. He described the confusing effect the Act had when public houses were closed but picture theatres were open. Some businesses were open – all of which led to the widespread demand 'that the day should be treated as a holy day, as Sunday – and the Press throughout New Zealand were unanimous in saying that a mistake had been made in not carrying out the original wish'. He argued that the original wish – that the day be reinstated as Sunday – be carried, but that the ramifications of the proposal should be discussed by a committee such as the Defence Committee. He traversed some of the difficulties such as: the publication of newspapers on the day and the payment of allowances to railway employees if the day fell on a Sunday. The Bill was read a second time.<sup>95</sup>

By late January 1922, the Hansard record illustrated that the effect of the amended legislation was to reverse the direction given in the late stages of the 1920 legislation by William Massey. Attorney General Sir Francis Dillon Bell introduced the reading. The observance was now to be not as 'a public holiday' but 'in all respects as if Anzac Day were a Sunday'. The addition of the clauses relating to the closure of public houses and horse racing would not now be needed. Issues about payment for tramway employees working on the day were raised, but not debated. Mark Cohen (Dunedin) raised the problem for newspapers which could not be sold on a religious holiday. Oliver Samuel, Chairman of Committees for the Council opened the heart of the matter when he defined the day saying,

Anzac Day is not [a] holiday. This Bill gives an opportunity to reflect on, and hold in reverence, a day on which disaster and sorrow befell a large portion of the community; and it is in this sense alone that I think we should make an



exception of this day, and not treat it as an ordinary day,  
and certainly not as a holiday.

He argued that the Bill did not need to go to a Select Committee. The Bill was read for the second and third time.<sup>96</sup>

The *Anzac Day Amendment Bill* was committed in the Legislative Council, reported, and read a third time. Interestingly, William Jennings, Member for Waitomo, related the news of his visit to Anzac Beach in July of 1921. His son was buried close by the Beach, and he was photographed with his hand on the grave marker. He told about the visit on Anzac Day by General Harington, the Officer Commanding British troops in Constantinople. Jennings was told by Lieutenant Mildenhall, a New Zealander with IWGC at Khelia Bay, that over 1000 people come to the service from Constantinople.<sup>97</sup> When Jennings arrived just under three months later there were still wreaths beside a small cenotaph on the Beach. In view of this evidence, Jennings argued for a day ‘treated with all solemnity’.<sup>98</sup>

The *Anzac Day Amendment Act* was passed into legislation on 6 February 1922, but is listed as a 1921–22 Act and deemed to be part of the 1920 *Anzac Day Act*. Its passage confirmed a permanent and sacred place for Anzac Day in New Zealand legislation and legitimised the practices of the day, but it did not necessarily confer it endurance. The debates around its passage exposed issues about the interpretation of the day that were to be problematic for the future. Was Anzac Day to have its initiatives controlled solely by returned soldiers’ interests, would it allow any celebratory gestures, would civic interests remain passive over Anzac Day matters, and how would Press reports (admitted as influential in making the 1921–22 Amendment) treat Anzac Day in future changing times?

There are some constants here. The impetus to observe the day in a proper and sacred manner was as strong among the soldier society as it had been in wartime civic society. The return of the soldiers increased the sacralisation of the day, particularly with the

institution of the Boxer 'open grave' public service in 1920. The connection with Australia and the trans-Tasman flow of messages and ideas was strong and impacted on the institution of Anzac Day. There was clear recognition of the influence of Brisbane-based Canon Garland on the institution of Anzac Day during the war and in the immediate post-war period.

With few exceptions, the same coterie of men who had led the Bible in Schools movement can be identified driving the initiation of Anzac Day: lawyer William Downie Stewart, Minister of Defence and Acting Prime Minister Sir James Allen, wartime High Commissioner Sir Thomas Mackenzie, the Reverend Dr James Gibb of Dunedin (Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand and, in 1912, Vice-President of the Bible in Schools League), Waitomo Member of Parliament William Jennings, Canon David Garland of Brisbane, Wellington Mayor John Luke, and Captain (later Sir) Donald Simson.<sup>99</sup> This focus group and their friends were a powerful force in the shaping of Anzac Day. They were the drivers for maintenance of the observance as a sacred vessel for the memories of soldiers and the families and friends of the dead and injured. In the minds of these men, there was to be no easy forgetting of the nation's debt to those who served and those who just waited.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Allan Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', Crawford, John and Ian McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, Exisle Publishing, Auckland, 2007, pp. 447–66.
- 2 Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', pp. 453, 461–462.
- 3 *Evening Post*, 5 April 1915, p. 2.

- 4 *Evening Post*, 13 May 1915, p. 8.
- 5 *Evening Post*, 4 August 1915, p. 7.
- 6 *Evening Post*, 18 August 1915, p. 3, where the writer, Roberts, quotes from the service for fallen Canadians held in St Paul's Cathedral, London; the vicar of Weston, the Reverend Charles Tweedale on soldier deaths; and the Reverend Henry Mayne in Westminster Abbey speaking on spiritualism and the everlasting soul.
- 7 All Saints' Anglican Church (Dunedin) Records: Minutes – 'The Annual Report of the Churchwardens and Vestry, April 27 1916, p. 1, recorded "The Roll of Honour", a list of over 60 names read at the weekly Intercession Service, keeps record of young parishioners serving in the war, most of them born and baptised in the Parish. Those who have fallen are Kenneth Sinclair Thomson, lieutenant in the Indian cavalry regiment, George Martin Chapman, surgeon-captain, RAMC; John Hugh Allen, lieutenant in the Worcester regiment, (son of Minister of Defence, Sir James Allen) and Percy Cameron, Donald Herbert, Richard Ibbotson, Thomas Davidson, of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.' The Annual Reports for 30 April 1917, and 30 April 1918 reflect the increasing numbers of deaths and the continuation of intercessory services. In 1919, the Annual Report for 25 April reported a Roll of Honour being prepared for erection in the church with more than 150 names of those who served, and thirty with crosses alongside names for the fallen. St. Matthew's Anglican Church (Dunedin): Vestry Minute Book for 30 August 1915 records a motion to hold an Intercessory Service on Wednesday evenings at 7.45 pm with advertisements placed in the two major dailies, and a retiring collection for the Wounded Soldiers' Fund. Also the minute for 28 March 1917 records that a collection was to be held on Anzac Day which was to be devoted to the Fallen Soldiers' Fund.
- 8 See EN Olssen [PI] and others, 'The Caversham Project', Department of History, University of Otago, Dunedin, 1978–2004.
- 9 Moray Place Congregational Church: Records – Annual Reports (published), Hocken Library AG-036/031, 55th Annual Report [1917], 4th Annual Report 'during the currency of this great War'. 'Roll of Honour – The number on our Roll of Honour is at present 50. This does not include those who are in Camp, but have not yet sailed. During the year John Pilkington, Stafford Throp and Peter McIntyre have fallen. Nine of our number have now given their life in this great War ...; Moray Place Congregational Church, Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Annual Reports (Abbreviated) For the Years ended 30 September 1916–1917; Moray Place Congregational Church, Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Annual Reports (Abbreviated), p. 5, 'Our Roll of Honour, that had 23 names on it at the close of our last Church year, has now 40'; Moray Place Congregational Church, Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Annual Reports

(Abbreviated), p. 19, 'Roll of Honour – (Revised 31/12/17)' has 52 names, of whom 12 were fallen, 8 wounded and 7 returned of whom 5 were wounded.

- 10 The Catholic Diocesan Office records and *The Tablet* Catholic newspaper searchable records for the period carry no entries for special services for the soldiers or for bereaved families. Although no special intercessory services may have been held, prayers for the souls of the dead soldiers, the injured and ill, and for their families would have been a part of the normal masses. Discussion with Fr John Harrison, Chancellor, St Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin, 17 March 2008.
- 11 *The New Zealand Methodist Times: The Official Organ of the Methodist Church of New Zealand*, Vol. VI, No. 13, 16 October 1915, p. 2.
- 12 *The New Zealand Methodist Times*, Vol. VI, No. 20, 22 January 1916, p. 8. 'The Graves at Gallipoli'.
- 13 *The New Zealand Methodist Times*, Vol. VI, No. 20, p. 1; *The New Zealand Methodist Times*, Vol. VI, No. 23, p. 8, 'The Call of Anzac'.
- 14 *The Outlook: A Christian Weekly for the Home*, Vol. XXI, No. 52, 9 December 1914, p. 7: 'A National Day of Prayer: The King's Approval of a Day of Prayer, Intercession, and Thanksgiving'. Lord Stamfordham, Arthur John Bigge (1849–1931) was until 1931 King George V's influential private secretary.
- 15 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXII, No. 34, 24 August 1915, pp. 3–4.
- 16 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXII, No. 34, 24 August 1915, p. 3.
- 17 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXII, No. 50, 14 December 1915, p. 7.
- 18 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXIII, No. 9, 29 February 1916, p. 6.
- 19 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXIII, No. 11, 14 March 1916, pp. 16–17. A memorial tablet to Chaplain-Major Grant was unveiled at Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin, where he was alumnus of 1884–1885. He died 28 August 1915.
- 20 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXIII, No. 13, 28 March 1916, p. 5.
- 21 *The Outlook*, Vol. XXIII, No. 15, 11 April 1916, p. 3.
- 22 *The Outlook*, pp. 3–4.
- 23 *The Dominion*, 15 March 1916, p. 4. Capitals as in the printed edition.
- 24 *The Dominion*, 8 March 1916, p. 6.
- 25 'Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand, 15 October 1916', Part I Population, 13, Government Printer, Wellington, 1918.
- 26 *The Waikato Independent*, 22 January 1916, p. 2.
- 27 *The Waikato Independent*, 22 January 1916, p. 2.
- 28 See chapter eight, 'The peripatetic priest'.

- 29 *The Waikato Independent*, 17 February 1916, p. 4.
- 30 *The Waikato Independent*, 7 March 1916, p. 6.
- 31 *The Waikato Independent*, 14 March 1916, p. 4; Ohinemuri Gazette, 24 March 1916, p. 2 reporting the Cambridge meeting.
- 32 *The Waikato Independent*, 18 March 1916, p. 5.
- 33 *The Waikato Independent*, 21 March 1916, p. 5.
- 34 *The Waikato Independent*, 21 March 1916, p. 5.
- 35 *The Waikato Independent*, 25 March 1916, p. 4, Correspondence, An Appreciation, 'A Soldier's Mother'.
- 36 *The Waikato Independent*, 28 March 1916, p. 5.
- 37 *The Waikato Independent*, 28 March 1916, p. 5.
- 38 *The Waikato Independent*, 30 March 1916, p. 3.
- 39 *The Waikato Independent*, 1 April 1916, pp. 5–6.
- 40 *The Waikato Independent*, 4 April 1916, p. 3.
- 41 *The Waikato Independent*, 11 April 1916, p. 5.
- 42 *The Waikato Independent*, 27 April 1916, p. 4. A harshly critical attack was made on Jones' position by EW Beer writing to the Editor, 15 April 1916, p. 5.
- 43 *The Waikato Independent*, 13 April 1916, p. 3.
- 44 *The Waikato Independent*, 18 April 1916, p. 4.
- 45 *The Waikato Independent*, 20 April 1916, p. 6. This Reverend CH Garland was no relation of Canon Garland of Brisbane.
- 46 *The Waikato Independent*, 25 April 1916, p. 4. The report does not say whether the Reverend Mortimer Jones officiated but it would be expected as he was vicar of the St Andrew's Church; *Evening Post*, 16 April 1917, p. 8, news of Mortimer Jones' appointment as chaplain to 25th Reinforcements. By 1918, he was serving as a chaplain with the New Zealand Division in France and was present at the Battle for Le Quesnoy.
- 47 *The Waikato Independent*, 27 April 1916, p. 4.
- 48 *The Waikato Independent*, 5 April 1917, p. 5.
- 49 *The Waikato Independent*, 26 April 1917, p. 5.
- 50 *The Waikato Independent*, 5 April 1919, p. 5.
- 51 *The Waikato Independent* 26 April 1919, p. 5.
- 52 *The Waikato Independent*, 29 April 1920, p. 3.
- 53 *The Waikato Independent*, 5 March 1921, p. 4, and 19 April 1921, p. 1, provisions for war memorial; *The Waikato Independent*, 9 April 1921,

- pp. 1–2; *The Waikato Independent* 12 April 1921, p. 1, RSA meetings to arrange the ‘Smoke Concert’.
- 54 *The Waikato Independent*, 7 April 1921, p. 4.
- 55 ‘Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand, 15 October 1916’, Part I Population, 16, Government Printer, Wellington, 1918.
- 56 The South Island of New Zealand inclines north-east to southwest, and Invercargill is at the southernmost portion of the Island, closest to Australia at 1245 miles (2005 km) compared with the distance to Auckland which is 1338 miles (2553 km).
- 57 *Southland Times*, 14 March 1916, p. 5.
- 58 *Southland Times*, 21 March 1916, p. 5.
- 59 *Southland Times*, 29 March 1916, p. 5. Rangiotu army camp, commissioned in 1915, was close to Palmerston North.
- 60 *Southland Times*, 30 March 1916, p. 5.
- 61 *Southland Times*, 3 April 1916, p. 2.
- 62 *Southland Times*, 7 April 1916, p. 6.
- 63 *Southland Times*, 8 April 1916, p. 6. This report supports the observations that by 1916 the New Zealand public was being informed about German policies. This contrasts with the situation before the war.
- 64 *Southland Times*, 14 April 1916, p. 2. This appears to have been an informal meeting as no local dignitaries were named as present.
- 65 Indeed, the *Southland Times*, 12 April 1916, p. 4, despite the Invercargill laconic attitude, appeared eager to print any copy on the matter of ‘Anzac’. There was a report that an Australian ornithologist felt that the Australian magpie be renamed the ‘Anzac bird’ because of its ‘Magnificent carol, a fine appearance, is very sociable, and is a bold and brilliant fighter’.
- 66 *Southland Times*, 14 April 1916, p. 5.
- 67 *Southland Times*, 15 April 1916, p. 6, involvement of the Order of St John and the British Red Cross; Massey’s request to the Canterbury Jockey Club for the postponement of the Easter Tuesday races; the general civic programme for Invercargill. The Riverton Racing Club followed the lead of the Canterbury Jockey Club.
- 68 *Southland Times*, 17 April 1916, p. 4.
- 69 *Southland Times*, 17 April 1916, p. 4.
- 70 *Southland Times*, 18 April 1916, p. 6; *Southland Times*, 20 April 1916, p. 2; *Southland Times*, 24 April 1916, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 25 April 1916, p. 5.
- 71 *Southland Times*, 25 April 1915, pp. 4–5.

- 72 *Southland Times*, 25 April 1916, p. 4.
- 73 *Southland Times*, 26 April 1916, pp. 5–6; *Southland Times*, 27 April 1916, p. 6.
- 74 *Southland Times*, 28 April 1916, p. 5. Captain Donald Simson, first President of the NZ Returned Soldiers' Association, a man with influential political connections, did much to promote Anzac Day in Wellington in 1916. He later went to the UK to become the Secretary of the British Empire League and was knighted for his efforts.
- 75 *Southland Times*, 29 April 1916, pp. 5, 9.
- 76 *Southland Times*, 24 March 1917, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 30 March 1917, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 13 April 1917, p. 3.
- 77 *Southland Times*, 12 April, 1918, p. 4.
- 78 *Southland Times*, 17 April 1918, p. 4; *Southland Times*, 23 April 1918, p. 5.
- 79 *Southland Times*, 25 April 1918, p. 4.
- 80 *Southland Times*, 26 April 1918, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 27 April 1918, p. 5.
- 81 *Southland Times*, 19 March 1919, p. 6.
- 82 *Southland Times*, 27 March 1919, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 17 April 1916, p. 4; *Southland Times*, 7 April 1919, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 14 April 1919, pp. 4–5; *Southland Times*, 24 April 1919, p. 5 – this is an interesting report which makes it clear the British Government or its designated party would have a title to the land at Gallipoli, but that 'Turkish sovereignty would remain unimpaired'.
- 83 *Southland Times*, 19 April 1919, p. 6. This same meeting politely requested that the Town Council, the local Defence Department and the Ministers' Association should be asked to cooperate in an outdoor memorial service to be held at the Rotunda.
- 84 *Southland Times*, 24 April 1919, p. 1. There were other notices for the day on succeeding pages but no editorial comment about the day, either on 24 or 25 April 1919.
- 85 *Southland Times*, 10 March 1920, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 13 March 1920, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 17 March 1920, p. 4; *Southland Times*, 30 March 1920, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 31 March 1920, p. 4; *Southland Times*, 6 April 1920, pp. 4 and 6; *Southland Times*, 14 April 1920, p. 5; *Southland Times*, 15 April 1920, p. 4; *Southland Times*, 24 April 1920, p. 1. Events included the RSA's first publication of its magazine *The Digger*, which came out on Friday 19 March; Dr Mary Booth of Sydney and her work for Australian Soldiers' Wives and Mothers was featured; a comprehensive report on war memorials including the USA was printed; the Whitehall temporary Cenotaph had a story; there was a feature on the 'Roads of Remembrance Association', which sought wide-scale tree

planting for the fallen; the AIF were to be represented in neighbouring city Dunedin's Anzac Day; the editor of the *Southland Times* entered the debate on the town's war memorial; the list of schemes for erecting memorials throughout New Zealand had space; Christchurch debates over the proposed war memorial in Cathedral Square and renaming part of Lincoln Road, 'Anzac Road'; and finally on 24 April the public notices for the events the following day.

- 86 *Southland Times*, 24 April 1920, p. 4.
- 87 *Southland Times*, 24 April 1920, p. 4.
- 88 Hansard, Vol. 186, p. 757.
- 89 Hansard, Vol. 187, pp. 126–132.
- 90 Hansard, First Reading, Vol. 189, p. 867.
- 91 Chris Maclean and Jock Phillipps, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990; Stephen J Clarke, 'The One Day of the Year: Anzac Day in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1946–1990', MA, University of Otago, 1994.
- 92 Hansard, Second and Third Readings: Vol. 189, pp. 878–879.
- 93 Hansard, NZPD, 10 November 1920, Vol. 189, p. 891.
- 94 This is the same William Downie Stewart, MP, friend and confidant of Sir James Allen, both intimately involved with Bible-in-Schools legislation and friends of Canon David Garland.
- 95 Hansard, Vol. 191. House: 1R p. 40; 27 September 1921, First Reading in H of R; 2R p. 385, 7 October 1921.
- 96 Hansard, Vol. 193, Legislative Council: First Reading, p. 630; First Reading of Anzac Day Amendment Bill, 24 January 1922, Second Reading pp. 697–98; 26 January 1922.
- 97 Newspaper reports for 4/795 Lieutenant Arthur William Mildenhall of IWGC: *Evening Post*, 11 December 1920, p. 5; *Evening Post*, 27 December 1921, p. 3; *Brisbane Courier*, 24 March 1923, p. 7.
- 98 Hansard, Vol. 193, Legislative Council: Committee and Third Reading, pp. 600–01.
- 99 Downie Stewart, James Allen and Thomas Mackenzie were closely connected; all were Dunedin residents. Both Downie Stewart and Thomas Mackenzie were involved in war graves' administration, Allen and Stewart both promoted the Bible in Schools movement, and Allen followed Mackenzie as New Zealand High Commissioner in London.



## 12 Getting in step

### Australian States' legislation on Anzac Day

#### General introduction

**T**his chapter addresses why making Anzac Day a *day of national commemoration* was such a difficult matter for the Australian States. A comparison of the relative ease with which New Zealand created the day as a national holiday and then, a year later, a national and sacred day is instructive. Part of the answer may be found in the fact that the political and physical situations in both countries were vastly different. Australia had become a federation of six States after 1901 while New Zealand was in a unitary situation before and after the declaration of dominion status in 1907. Nevertheless public comparisons in the two nations at times overlapped on the matter of Anzac Day: in 1922 when Ted Theodore, the Queensland Premier, made comment on the situation in New Zealand; in 1927 when the statements of Marcus Marks, the Government Printer for New Zealand, were reported

in Australia; and again in 1929 when the New Zealand Governor-General made observations on Australia's progress towards the institutionalisation of Anzac Day. It is a natural but incorrect assumption by many that as Australia always presents a strong claim to possession of Anzac Day and that as Australian forces were the first to land on Gallipoli, Australia was first to celebrate the day as a nation. This was not the case because there were markedly different views about the day in the widely separated geographical sovereign States of the vast continent which delayed the uniform establishment of the day nation-wide. The European occupation in separate regions and at different times of the continent from the 1780s bequeathed a situation in which agreement on many key national issues took a long time to be reached. It was not just a question of communication but also one of cultural perceptions. In each colony, and later in each State, local concerns often took priority over questions of unifying national importance. In a real sense the sum of the parts was greater than the whole, at least until the 1930s and perhaps beyond.

One of the notable features of the time was the force of influential personalities whose special perceptions delayed the establishment of a national day of commemoration. In the 1920s State politicians and RSSILA leaders were championing divergent views which hindered the attainment of a common mind in the shaping of Anzac commemoration. The RSSILA, the representative body of the returned soldiers, was fractured along State lines. Further, in the 1930s, the Queensland-based Garland–Huish debate spilled over into the Queensland framework of Anzac Day organisation and ultimately led to the capture of the day by the RSSILA (later RSL) from civilian-based committees. It seemed for more than a decade that what had been devised for each State in 1916 was to remain the *status quo*. Despite the insistent calls for a uniform approach, local priorities reigned supreme. So the institution of a legally-enacted national day of commemoration was delayed a good decade after

its institution in New Zealand. The following account portrays not only the situation ‘beyond the nationalist framework’ in the case of Australia–New Zealand relations but also to an extent the divisive peculiarities within each of the Australian States.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1920s Australian States experienced a variety of developments leading towards the institutionalisation of Anzac Day, but only slowly did they inch towards acceptance of a *national day of commemoration*.<sup>2</sup> Not surprisingly though, the desire to accept this notion had been strong in localities across the country from its beginnings but it did not attain legal expression for the Commonwealth until 1930. One may discern six phases in a protracted learning experience before that situation arrived. They are:

1. 1916–1918, the war years were when the significance of ‘Anzac’ became apparent.
2. 1919–1921, the efforts to attain a nation-wide uniformity of observance were being made. Discussions at the Federal level and within the State-based RSSILA branches could be heard.
3. 1922–1924, various moves to make Anzac Day a Public Service holiday, experiments with the style of the day and proposals for incorporating the day as part of the Sabbath Day observances (later termed ‘Sundayising’ the day) occurred.
4. 1925–1926, Anzac Day became an additional public holiday and as well a celebration of nationhood.
5. 1927, the Duke and Duchess of York visited. It was an event which constituted both a distraction from and confirmation of the place of Anzac Day.
6. 1928–1930, the priorities of the world of commerce were ventilated and reconciled in an atmosphere of vigorous debate about how to maintain the day.

There is much overlap between these phases but analysis of many Anzac Day-related matters reveals that they broadly reflect historical reality. Each phase is now investigated in turn.

## Analysing the events

### 1916–1918, the war years, the importance of ‘Anzac’

The sounds of the first commemorations had barely died away when expressions of interest around the future of Anzac Day were voiced. The word ‘Anzac’ was to be protected from commercial exploitation and application to alien purposes. The word became a political football: immediately following the first Anzac Day observances in 1916, Senator Lynch (Western Australia) proposed changing the name of the new federal capital to ‘Anzac’.<sup>3</sup> Lynch’s intention was challenged by the Assistant Minister, Senator Russell, who baldly stated that the Federal Government could not agree with the motion.<sup>4</sup> Despite all else and in the midst of the on-going prosecution of the war, arrangements for Anzac Day ceremonies continued, and with them, pressure for a more uniform observance of the day.<sup>5</sup>

As the war neared its end there were appeals for a national public holiday from throughout the Commonwealth. RSSILA National President Lieutenant Colonel Bolton made the call and it was formalised in a motion at the 3rd National Congress by the New South Wales delegate, Captain Hempton. He moved it should be ‘a public holiday with no holiday conveniences, but observed in solemn memorial of the work undertaken and done on that day’.<sup>6</sup> In the Congress report there was an expression that Anzac Day should be the greatest day in the history of Australia, but this was quickly followed by a debate which centred on the contentious matter of whether sports were appropriate on a day of solemn observance. The vexed question regarding the style of the day was to be frequently revisited.<sup>7</sup>

In 1918, General Birdwood in his reassuring Anzac Day message from London pointed to the central question of mourning. He wrote:

This anniversary finds us with our original [war] aims not yet achieved, but with our resolution firm and unshaken. To those at home, and particularly to those who mourn, we would, on this day send a message of remembrance and hope that the sacrifice shall not have been made in vain, and, in the spirit of the 25th April, 1915, we will continue to the end.<sup>8</sup>

The day continued to gain traction. There were calls at the highest level to observe the day with decorum – even public service examinations set for the day were opposed.<sup>9</sup> The day was acclaimed at the postponed 1919 Anzac meeting in the Sydney Town Hall where Dean Albert Talbot and ‘Fighting Mac’ Chaplain W McKenzie, MC addressed the assembly.<sup>10</sup> The hall was packed and the stage crowded with dignitaries who included the Governor-General, the Chief Justice, the Lord Mayor and councillors. However, no official Roman Catholic representatives had been invited to the gathering, a matter which led to comment about sectarian division and the lack of even-handedness by the RSSILA organisers on the day.<sup>11</sup> This was an unfortunate turn, for Rome itself caused non-participation by its clerics, particularly in the matter of shared prayers, where representatives of other denominations might lead part of the service.

### **1919–1921, first attempts at uniformity; Federal, ADCC and RSSIL influences**

In October 1919, on the other side of the continent, the Kalgoorlie *Western Argus* briefly reported the progress of the *Anzac Day Bill*, designed to proclaim the day as a Western Australia public holiday, as it went through the second reading and committee stages.<sup>12</sup> This was the first movement by a State Parliament to ratify the holiday status of Anzac Day. The ADCC discussed the proposition that Anzac Day should be a Queensland public holiday.<sup>13</sup> The lobbying succeeded and soon after, the Federal Parliament gazetted Anzac

Day as a public holiday.<sup>14</sup> This was a signal action which signified within the political system of Australia that there was an intention to recognise Anzac Day as having favoured status. Other States did not follow suit, partly because of chronic ill-feeling over the matter of State subsidies to the Federal Parliament.

Debates continued about Anzac Day observance within States. In the Federal Parliament it was reported in the Senate that Victoria's 1920 Anzac Day was to be on 26 April on Eight Hours Day, because 25 April was a Sunday.<sup>15</sup> But there was no meeting of minds and there were many instances where representatives of stakeholder groups separately put their views to the government. For example, a Melbourne RSSILA delegation had approached Australian Prime Minister William Hughes, Mr Cook the Treasurer, and Mr Pearce, the Minister for Defence with a view to gaining uniformity of observance of Anzac Day. In response the Premier 'seriously considered making Anzac Day a public holiday [but] ... difficulties which presented themselves precluded the suggestion being put into effect [and] he would further discuss the matter with the Anzac [Day] Commemoration Committee'.<sup>16</sup> By March, the Queensland papers were predicting an 'Anzac Day Storm' because the Brisbane ADCC acted out of deference to the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches and had set aside Monday 26 April as the day for Anzac observances.<sup>17</sup> The PM gave a further reassurance about declaring a public holiday.<sup>18</sup> The Queensland decision pitched the ADCC headlong into conflict with soldier groups which demanded the day be observed on Sunday 25 April. The result was that in Brisbane the day was commemorated on both days – on the Monday there was supposed to be a close holiday when more services were held and there was a memorial parade of soldiers in the centre. The day was marked with business as usual and sports. There were appeals for the next Anzac Day to be dedicated 'to tender memories and one for commemoration rather than for sport'.<sup>19</sup>

The pressure to recognise Anzac Day as an Australian and sacred day was kept up. The Brisbane ADCC was not, however, the only advocate for ‘sacralisation’ of the day. For example, on 9 February 1921 Charles Fletcher, the influential editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, made a long and impassioned plea for Anzac Day to be kept for all Australians in a truly sacred manner. The positions stated by the writer of this influential piece reward closer consideration:

- (a) First, he made a definite and exclusive Australian claim to Anzac Day for both the country’s soldiers and the nation on the basis of ‘sentiments rather than reasons’ to ‘vow that Anzac Day should henceforth be what “Crispin Crispian” was to that other “band of brothers.”’ Secondly, he also claimed the Anzac landing ‘lit the fire of enthusiasm and self-respect and great resolve throughout ... Australia; it consecrated military service; we won through the war without conscription because we began it with the first Anzac Day’. Despite the obvious hyperbole, this editorial highlights the level of emotion generated by Anzac which is still perceptible among Australian attitudes to the myth.
- (b) An example of this powerful sentiment is found in the statement, ‘The actual first Gallipoli landing was made solely by an Australian brigade’. Many Australians seem not to consider that this assertion tends to diminish the place held by the others who landed at Gallipoli and elsewhere on the Peninsula during that day and on following days. In elevating the significance of the Australian achievement Charles Fletcher links the 1915 landing day with the 1918 Villers-Bretonneux victory, the latter which aided in the recapture of Amiens. He places the landing day as a standard, and the generation of people of the war as ‘the trustee of it for the Australian nation of the future’.

- (c) He argued that all Australians should resist making Anzac Day

simply a public Holiday - one more public holiday - for picnicking, race meetings, perhaps, and general forgetfulness of the meaning of the day in pursuit of pleasure. The danger of that development is real enough, and we fear that the Returned Soldiers' League of New South Wales is (unconsciously, perhaps) promoting that danger ... How long will Anzac Day remain Anzac Day as a public holiday and not simply be promoted or antedated to the nearest Monday, so as to make a longer holiday weekend? The local returned men should reconsider the matter, especially as their league colleagues in Queensland seem to advocate [a] very different observance. At Brisbane last week they adopted unanimously a resolution protesting against the holding of monster sports meetings on Anzac Day, and asserted the day was sacred to all returned men, and should be consecrated in a fittingly solemn fashion.

- (d) He widened the catchment of Anzac Day to other than returned men, to include 'bereaved parents, to widows and orphaned families, and to the great mass of the people for deeply sentimental reasons'.
- (e) Fletcher went on to list influential men who supported the proposal: Senator Pearce who felt it was 'no occasion for frivolity'. On the one hand General Chauvel appeared to agree with the New South Wales RSL but at the same time urged that schoolchildren should be taught the meaning of the day on Anzac Day as a national effort



and ideal. Tellingly, he argued that the Federal Parliament was the 'proper source for any legislation on this matter, for Anzac Day will not survive different treatment as a national anniversary in the different States'.

- (f) Finally, with some foresight, Fletcher urged that there should be commemorative services in the churches, church parades in military centres, and public recognition of the day in various ways by lectures in the schools, the laying of wreaths on civic monuments, and the wearing of rosemary for remembrance.<sup>20</sup>

Charles Fletcher's critical editorial goes to the heart of many of the debates over Anzac Day: it confronted that central and difficult matter of the style of the day; the stake Australia had as a nation in the day; the proponents and their arguments in 1921; which groups should be included and the activities which should be permitted on a day of commemoration. The clarity of the piece stands out; indeed, little has changed since that time.

The editorial must have carried weight, for on 3 March 1921 the Federal Treasurer Sir Joseph Cook reported, in the absence due to illness of Prime Minister William Hughes, that consideration had been given to the fitting observance of Anzac Day and that inquiries were being undertaken within the Federal Parliament, particularly from the Defence and Naval Departments. An announcement would be forthcoming.<sup>21</sup> Interest in the issue blossomed and ran its course through 1921. In early March the Melbourne papers carried news of the efforts for an Australia-wide observance, reported the efforts by the ADCC to place the matter before the Premiers' Conference, with particular reference to the closed nature of New Zealand legislation, and Queensland uniformly followed the pattern for the day laid out in Garland's 'Plans for Observance'.<sup>22</sup>

While Federal authorities apparently procrastinated on the matter, the State of Queensland did not. There, the Cabinet threw

its weight behind a rather more sacred day as Acting Premier James Thomas Dooley did ‘not think this [could alone] be done by making it a public holiday’.<sup>23</sup> Despite this state action and also following the direct intervention of RSSILA representatives with Prime Minister William Hughes, there was only a mild statement of federal intent by early April.<sup>24</sup> This was a period when Hughes was subjected to intense lobbying over the issue. The Brisbane ADCC telegraphed him in April 1921 suggesting that the observance of Anzac Day should be along the lines already adopted in Queensland. He was reminded that the details had been regularly communicated to him from the previous five celebrations.<sup>25</sup> As well, Garland had sent directly to Hughes the ADCC’s format for the 1921 commemoration. An indication of a tentative move came in mid-April when Prime Minister Hughes expressed the hope that all employers would regard Anzac Day as a public holiday.<sup>26</sup> In Western Australia, the State Government proclaimed a public holiday with many exceptions – the list of those businesses allowed to open was numerous: small stores, fruiterers, confectioners, stationers, booksellers, tobacconists, and chemists. Hairdressers could also open but only between 8.00 am and 10.00 am.<sup>27</sup>

In a period when local concerns centred on the building of monuments and of agitation felt about the rising conflict situation in Turkey, the debate continued about whether all the Australian States could institute the day as a public service holiday. In 1921 the Federal Parliament had declared a public holiday but that only had effect in relation to Federal Government servants in the capital Melbourne, and served only as a guide elsewhere. The New South Wales Government followed suit and proclaimed the day a public holiday.<sup>28</sup> Similarly WH Lee, the Tasmanian Chief Secretary, proclaimed the day a ‘Bank Holiday’.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the opinions of the various bodies at the time differed considerably. The RSSILA at its Congress in August 1921 was still of the view that the afternoon of 25 April should be given over to sports and ‘jubilation’, as it had

been during the war at base camps. And it should be Australia's national day. The Victorian United Retailers' Council advised the acting Prime Minister that it was most undesirable to increase the number of statutory holidays, whereas the Townsville Chamber of Commerce wanted to see Anzac Day as a sacred holiday. And as a variation on that theme, the Victorian Chamber of Manufacturers did not want a holiday at all as it would degenerate into a sports day and preferred to celebrate Anzac Day on the nearest Sunday. This solution, too, appealed to the Shepparton branch of the National Federation in order to preserve the devotional character of the day.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, in September 1921, the Queensland State Government decided to act alone, in the hope that other States might follow with a closed holiday. The legislation proposed that Anzac Day would be a national holiday on 25 April and that licensed premises would close and race meetings would be prohibited.<sup>31</sup> The Queensland *Anzac Day Act* 1921 was held as a benchmark by those in other States who wished to bring their observance of the day to a similar, sacred point.

The Federal response satisfied very few of the interested parties. It was not until November 1921 that the Federal Parliament debated and finally carried the motion which added Anzac Day to its list of Public Service Holidays.<sup>32</sup> Hughes now urged all States to legislate to ensure that 'irrespective of the day on which it falls, Anzac Day should be observed on 25 April and that the holiday should be uniform throughout the States'. The Commonwealth gazetted it a holiday for public servants in 1922.<sup>33</sup> And further, in a forceful statement endorsing everything the Brisbane ADCC had recommended, Hughes commented:

[...] the landing of our men at Gallipoli was a great event, and one which will live when all are dead and forgotten. It seems to me that it will be a bitter reflection upon that event if we are not prepared to recognize it as we recognise

Anniversary Day – the day upon which Australia was discovered. The argument which has been advanced against its celebration is that it will become a day upon which people will attend race meetings and other forms of sport. I do not agree with that view. Upon Good Friday we commemorate the crucifixion of Christ. Nobody suggests for a moment that the commemoration of that event should be held upon a Sunday. Upon Easter Sunday Christ rose from the dead, and we commemorate that event with a service of joy and thanksgiving. Here is a thing which is very very different no doubt, because it has to do with mundane affairs; but as far as the commemoration of a great national event in our history is concerned, it ought to be given a separate day. If you say we should enact by statute that no race meetings shall be held upon Anzac Day I am perfectly satisfied. Of course, in every seven years or thereabouts, Anzac Day will fall upon a Sunday, but I think that it would be wise to set apart a separate day for its celebration and with that end in view, I shall be prepared to vote to eliminate some of the existing public holidays.<sup>34</sup>

**1922–1924, Anzac Day as a Public Service holiday,  
the style of the day and the secular Sabbath  
observance ('Sundayising') proposals**

There was a sense of uncertainty in the early 1920s about how to handle the growing importance of Anzac Day. One symptom of this situation can be seen in the nagging suggestion that Anzac Day, wherever it fell in the week ought to be observed on a Sunday, usually taken to be the nearest Sunday to 25 April with the exception of when it fell on Easter Day, which it rarely would.<sup>35</sup> The Associated Chambers of Manufacturers' 1922 Conference in Sydney was one of the first important groups to float the idea that Anzac Day should be observed on a Sunday.<sup>36</sup> This was clearly an

attempt by business leaders to avoid being placed in a situation where workers could justifiably seek leave to attend the events, and allowed business proprietors to sidestep the problems associated with the possibility of paying holiday rates to essential workers.

On another level it was also a matter of great concern for the people of both Anzac nations how the cemeteries of their fallen on the Gallipoli Peninsula were being treated. A suggestion was raised that the Turks wished to reduce the area of the graves – this was quickly challenged by the federal president of the RSSILA Captain GJC Dyett. He supported the British suggestion that the Turks should leave the cemeteries' areas untouched.<sup>37</sup> The matter subsided as rapidly as it arose and by early 1923 little more was publicly discussed. Coincidentally, the nervousness over the matter of care of graves rose and diminished in a pattern reflecting the course of the War of Independence in Turkey. Once the war was over and the Republic of Turkey was established, the sensitivities over graves faded. Assurances over the Gallipoli battlefields' area and cemeteries were accepted.

Meanwhile, interest continued to spread concerning the style of observance of Anzac Day. In 1923, the leader writer for the Broken Hill (New South Wales) *Barrier Miner* argued strongly for a mixed observance, one for which there could be sorrowful commemoration on the nearest Sunday, and then later, for joyful celebration on the day itself. Here again, the suggestion focussed the commemoration on the Sabbath. The precipitating issue was a local RSSIL request to hold a picnic on the day. The Chamber of Commerce argued for no other activities than the observance of religion on the day. Further complicating the argument is the identification of Anzac Day as 'the birthday of Australia's nationhood'. In this the *Barrier Miner* writer argued that if the nation had been defeated, then sorrowful commemoration would have been the correct attitude to the day. However, as the nation was victorious, and those who fell were 'immortal', then celebratory enjoyment

should be the order of the day. In this argument we can see the transition between that defeat that was suffered on Gallipoli, barely mentioned in the article, and winning the war. Nationhood was equated here with the first victory by Australian forces overseas. Within this was a matter which was later found most strange by the Turkish people, namely, how can a loss be transmuted into a victory? It can only be achieved by telescoping the events so that its beginning can be viewed as governing the subsequent victorious outcome. This is how it was done, and still is today.

In 1923, in South Australia there were Anzac Day services on the closest Sunday, 22 April throughout the State. Queensland remained aloof from this position. In May 1923, the Toowoomba Soldiers and Fathers' Association congratulated Alderman FJ Paterson for presenting a notice of motion to the Brisbane City Council that no amusements should be permitted on Anzac Day in any place licensed under the city by-laws.<sup>38</sup> In July 1923, the position previously held by Prime Minister Hughes came under question. Hughes had apparently forgotten what he had said in November 1921 because on 28 July 1923 he received a delegation of three shire councillors from Orbost in Victoria, introduced by Senator Guthrie who wanted to celebrate Anzac Day on the nearest Sunday in order to preserve its solemnity. Hughes had now, apparently, only a hazy recollection of what had been discussed at the Premiers' Conference although he remembered the concern to establish a uniform day and added:

I am in doubt as to which day was chosen. My opinion is that Sunday should be the day, and it should be that Sunday which falls nearest the 25th April. In that there is no difference of opinion between us. I have not the authority to declare public holidays in the States but I have the power to declare what is Anzac Day, because that is the

day which ought to be fixed by the Commonwealth whose duty it was to carry on the war.<sup>39</sup>

When this interview was reported in the press (*Brisbane Telegraph*, 28 July 1923) it elicited a very disturbed entreaty from the ADCC to the Prime Minister that encapsulated all the arguments for retaining 25 April as the actual day of celebration except when it should fall on a Sunday. The letter that went out under Garland's signature was not devoid of a tone of indignation that the mode of observance which originated in Brisbane and which had been followed faithfully over the past seven years should be overthrown by some petty delegation of obscure shire councillors from country Victoria. Clearly, the Prime Minister needed to be repeatedly instructed. Garland explained:

The opinion is very general in Queensland that the actual date except when on a Sunday should be the day of observance, and the feeling is strong against the Sunday observance, even when the 25th of April falls on a Sunday. There are religious difficulties which come into operation; occasionally Easter Day falls on the 25th April, and certainly two churches and probably others would not allow anything to intrude upon the observance of our Lord's resurrection, as the greatest festival in the Christian Year. Sometimes the first Sunday after Easter (commonly called Low Sunday) occurs on 25th April, and the same objection would apply though with lesser force. In any case there are large sections of Christians who would not have or do not think it desirable to have Requiems or Memorials of the dead on any Sunday, each Sunday of the year being a miniature Easter Day. The choice of Sunday as exclusively Anzac Day would not fail to result in divided observance or a section or sections of Christians failing to observe it.

At present it is a day of commemoration of our dead which in Queensland so far has been kept by every denomination and every part of the State, and in a religious manner according to the teaching and ritual of each denomination. Surely that unity of purpose is worth retaining instead of a method which certainly would break that unity. There is no weekday in the whole year and possibly no Sunday on which the Churches of all denominations are so well attended as on Anzac Day morning. In this State at least, beyond an occasional and sporadic action never repeated in any locality, there has been no tendency to turn the observance into one of jubilation, much less into one of sports. The Act of Parliament passed in Queensland prohibiting races and ordering the closing of hotel bars on Anzac Day commended itself without exception to all political parties and all religious bodies.

Garland concluded by urging the Prime Minister to consider that the experience of a committee that had been the very first successfully to introduce and organize Anzac observance over seven years was of 'more value on its own particular subject than that of an organisation which apparently represents other matters in a couple of Shires and Boroughs'.<sup>40</sup>

William Morris Hughes was no longer Prime Minister for the 1923 Premiers' Conference, having been replaced by Stanley Melbourne Bruce. Bruce endorsed in the strongest possible terms the Queensland recommendations. The Conference passed the following motion:

- (a) That Anzac Day shall be observed throughout the Commonwealth as Australia's national day.
- (b) That the actual anniversary of Anzac Day, namely the 25th April each year shall be the day of observance.



- (c) That the States take the necessary steps to provide for the fitting observance of the day.
- (d) That the morning of the day shall be observed by the holding of religious and memorial services; that the afternoon be devoted to the giving of suitable addresses and instilling into the minds of the children of Australia the significance of Anzac Day.<sup>41</sup>

With this motion adopted, the Commonwealth unequivocally owned Anzac Day. The Brisbane ADCC was duly notified and in return expressed its appreciation to the Prime Minister, adding, 'it is sincerely hoped that in addition to these suggestions, the Queensland practice of addressing the school children in the schools on the previous day, and the holding of public meetings on the evening of Anzac Day may be adopted throughout the Commonwealth.'<sup>42</sup>

The Brisbane ADCC could congratulate itself that in the fixing of Anzac Day in the national calendar, a point of no return had been reached. It continued to be fearful, however, that 'certain Southern States' were still advocating celebration on the nearest Sunday, despite Commonwealth proclamations.<sup>43</sup> Strict uniformity of observance throughout all States was virtually impossible to achieve because of the local cultural idiosyncrasies in each State and in particular because of the lack of common resolve from within the ranks of the RSSILA itself, as the following communication from the General Secretary to the Assistant Secretary of the Queensland branch on 30 January 1925 attests:

From my knowledge of personal observance and also from reports that have been made to me, Queensland's method is certainly the best. For instance in Victoria last year a public meeting was held at the Exhibition Hall at 11 o'clock and while there was a good attendance, it was really nothing remarkable for the capital city of Australia.

The Exhibition Hall was far from being filled. Nothing was done in the afternoon, and at 8 o'clock at night a dinner was arranged organized by the League to pay tribute to General Sir John Monash.

The writer went on to observe that the situation in Sydney was similar; Hobart did have a parade in the city to the Domain where a combined religious service was held and a large public meeting at night took place in the City Hall; in South Australia there was an unveiling of memorials, a large procession of returned servicemen with bands and a commemoration service at the 'Cross of Remembrance' [sic] in addition to religious services. He was unaware of events in Western Australia and concluded, 'There does not appear to be perhaps the enthusiasm in respect to State Schools, that is in addressing children on 24th April, as is carried out in Queensland'.<sup>44</sup>

This was certainly a resounding endorsement of the Queensland initiative but the situation remained frozen for the time being in the format laid down by the Premiers' Conference of 1923; the mode of commemoration was determined by the legislation passed in each State.

Gradually different associations joined the chorus for the day to be recognised throughout the Commonwealth as 'a National Holiday' or 'Australia's National Day'.<sup>45</sup> Even the Executive of the Queensland Local Authorities' Association approached the Assistant State Home Secretary FT Brennan to recommend 25 April as a sacred day. He was indecisive on the matter, pointing to difficulties faced in Melbourne over policing Sunday activities and expressed the opinion, 'petty Sunday restrictions had a demoralising effect on the community'.<sup>46</sup> Here was the centre of the contention and the basis for a conundrum that was to have even more impact in the 1930s – a solemn Sunday-style commemoration which some might

perceive as too sombre, while others see it as the only acceptable form of commemoration.

The pressure to make Anzac Day sacred continued unabated and again there were references to New Zealand's legislation and style of the day.<sup>47</sup> The agitation for movement on Anzac Day elicited a firm response from the Employers' Federation in Melbourne which proposed that Anzac Day be held on the fourth Sunday in April and stated that requests for a close holiday had been restricted solely 'to a section of soldiers'.<sup>48</sup> This misleading claim distracted from information on how other States were dealing with the matter.<sup>49</sup> Important figures joined the chorus to sacralise Anzac Day. Dr Mary Booth who was a respected motivator among Australian women for the correct observance of Anzac Day wrote a forceful letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in late August 1924.<sup>50</sup> She argued against the possibility of Anzac Day becoming a 'common public holiday'. She saw this outcome in legislation before the New South Wales House because there were no safeguards written regarding the closing of hotels or prohibiting race meetings. Resting her case on the examples set by Queensland in 1921 and New Zealand in 1920 (particularly the latter where the day was observed in a manner like Christmas or Good Friday), Booth called for 'a sacred holiday'. As was to be expected, there was a vigorous reaction to her stand indicating more the feeling of exclusive priority for the day.<sup>51</sup>

All the public discussion exposed the divisions of opinion about the day in 1924, and led to pressure being felt in the Premiers' Conference in September. This came from another direction, the Australian Natives' Association (New South Wales Board), which recommended delaying legislation until a meeting of the Commonwealth Parliament in Melbourne in order to secure unanimity of action throughout the nation.<sup>52</sup> In opposition to this proposal the New South Wales Executive of the RSSILA lobbied Chief Secretary Oakes about the nature of the legislation before the New South

Wales legislature. They objected strongly to Anzac Day being just another holiday, subject to annual proclamation. Dr Brissenden pointed to the special qualities found in the Queensland legislation and New South Wales RSSILA President LC Elliott argued strongly that the RSSILA had tried numerous times to get to this point since 1918. He felt that placing Anzac Day alongside Boxing Day or Eight Hours' Day was 'degrading' and recommended that if the government lacked the courage to make the day a sacred and statutory holiday it should desist altogether.<sup>53</sup>

A challenge to making Anzac Day part of Sabbath observance was delivered in the resolutions of the Premiers' Conference in its guide to the New South Wales State Cabinet. Chief Secretary Oakes stated emphatically that Anzac Day was to 'be observed throughout the Commonwealth as Australia's National Day'; that only 25 April would be the day of observance; and that the State bore the responsibility for ensuring a fitting observance.<sup>54</sup> He reported the situation in other States: Victoria – no power to close hotels or theatres, but prohibited racing with the assent of horseracing clubs; Tasmania – no power to close hotels or theatres or to prohibit racing (however, the Commissioner of Police acting under the powers of the *Lotteries' Act* vetoed races on the day); Queensland – closed hotels and prohibited race meetings but did not close theatres; South Australia – no powers to close hotels or theatres but discouraged races; and Western Australia – closed hotels, prohibited races but exercised no power over theatres. He ended by reminding reporters that no State had yet legislated that Anzac Day should be transferred to the nearest Sunday.<sup>55</sup>

It became evident as time went on that Chief State Secretaries were seen as the natural conduit for action on the matter as they had the ear of their respective Premiers. In Tasmania, commercial and RSSILA representatives pressured State Secretary Hon JA Guy in divergent directions. The RSSILA wished for Anzac Day to be gazetted with public holiday status, while the local Chambers of

Commerce representatives argued there were too many holidays and the flow of business was adversely affected. They wished one State holiday be abandoned or that Anzac Day be transferred to a Sunday. Minister Guy, sensing difficulties, stated that a majority opinion should be sought, and suggested a referendum.<sup>56</sup>

At least in Victoria, by the end of 1924, an *Anzac Day Bill* which was based on the notion that each 25 April should be a 'close holiday' was planned for the Legislative Assembly. It had been promoted by the resolutions of the RSL branches in Mortlake, Essendon, Euroa, Wandin, Seville, Bendigo, Shepparton and Glengarry.<sup>57</sup> It is interesting to observe that this initiative was from country districts where commemoration appeared more clearly part of the societal fabric than in the cities.

Similar pressure in New South Wales forced State Secretary CW Oakes to foreshadow impending changes to Anzac Day during November 1924. Amendments were to be made to the *Liquor Act* 1912, the *Gaming and Betting Act* 1912, and for the proclamation of a half-holiday the *Banks and Bank Holidays Act* 1912.<sup>58</sup> By the end of the month the second reading of the New South Wales *Anzac Day Bill* saw keen argument on the impact of the closures.<sup>59</sup> Oakes reflected the public resistance to a totally sombre day and while he accepted restrictions on the hotels and prohibited racing he could not accept closure of theatres and other forms of entertainment. Opposition Member of Parliament Mr Loughlin saw these measures as irksome also and claimed to appeal on behalf of the RSSILA for an 'open holiday' and not a holy day. He indicated an amendment 'which would better reflect the opinion of soldiers'. Furthermore, Labor Member of Parliament George Cann (St George) stated that the RSSILA desired to celebrate Anzac Day on the nearest Sunday. The debate erupted and the House Chair attempted to cool the feelings. The Bill went through without amendment at midnight being set for a third reading on the next day after adjournment.<sup>60</sup> What is most evident here is, despite a generalised wish to institute

Anzac Day into legislation and give it a special place, arguments over the details of instituting this and the divisions caused both by commercial interests and a lack of common voice from within the RSSILA combined effectively to delay the advance towards reaching an outcome satisfactory to all stakeholders.

**1925–1926, Anzac Day as a public holiday;  
possibly a celebration of nationhood**

By the middle of the twenties there was increasing debate about how Anzac Day might impact on other holidays, and whether in recognition of its worth it should replace any of them. A side issue became a furore when John Drew, the Western Australian Minister for Education, apparently wanting to avoid contention, took an extreme step and embargoed addresses on the importance of the day in public schools.<sup>61</sup> He felt he had acted correctly by invoking a procedure borrowed from Queensland and aimed at preventing the glorification of war.<sup>62</sup> The leader writer of the local *West Australian* indignantly criticised the move calling it ‘an insult to the memory of Australia’s dead’. Drew tried to defend his position by stating that what he proposed was in compliance with the wishes of the League of Nations.<sup>63</sup> This was perhaps one of the first published examples of expression of peace principles prior to their becoming common in the 1930s. Meanwhile, strongly worded criticisms were made over the inability of Victorian State ministers to clear the deck of less worthy holidays. A columnist for *The Argus* put the matter frankly when he wrote:

State Ministers exhibit a singular lack of resource when they confess their inability to eliminate one of the existing public holidays in April to offset the close holiday on April 25 in celebration of Anzac Day. In April this year there were no fewer than six public holidays out of the 26 working days. In April of next year, if the Ministry carries out its expressed intention, there will again be six. The process of

selection need not prove arduous. The celebration of the Eight Hours Day in April is a glaring anachronism. The overwhelming majority of Labour men take no pains to conceal their contempt for the old fashioned ideal of an eight hour day. They show their contempt for the Eight Hours' celebrations by staying away. Eight Hours Day is a fraud and a delusion. It is to Anzac Day that this holiday should give place.<sup>64</sup>

It appears that, by mid-1925, the divergent energies that drove the debate in 1924 had been expended and been supplanted by some real movement. Not only did King George V show interest in the activities of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee of Brisbane but in Victoria the State ministers thought it timely to pass a resolution urging the State and Federal authorities to proclaim 25 April as a close holiday.<sup>65</sup> This sudden urgency on the matter in Victoria reached its climax in late October with the *Anzac Day Bill* passing through all its stages in the Legislative Council.<sup>66</sup> By way of recognition, the Victorian Branch of the RSSILA sent a message of grateful thanks to the members of the Victorian Legislative Assembly who had voted to make Anzac Day a statutory public holiday.<sup>67</sup> However, this was not the case in New South Wales where bitter debate still raged.

Provision had already been made in New South Wales to transfer Anzac Day to the next Monday where it fell on a Sunday (that is, 'Mondayising' Anzac Day).<sup>68</sup> The Chief Secretary moved for a Bill to be presented to make the Monday nearest any Sunday Anzac Day a Bank Holiday. Members of Parliament Fitzpatrick and Brunner argued against the motion claiming that 25 April was the only appropriate day. Member of Parliament Lee felt that no soldier organisation had requested the change found in the Bill, which only suited 'money making interests', and he warned of adverse public reaction to the Bill. This stand was challenged by

Mr Lazzarini who argued that there was no intention of interference with the celebration of Anzac Day as the day affected because Sunday would only happen every seven years.<sup>69</sup> In addition, he argued it helped to return to workers the advantage they had lost through the removal of the Prince of Wales' Birthday holiday under the *Banks and Bank Holidays Act*.

In December 1925, the RSSILA Federal Congress pressed for the Federal Government to permit members of the Australian military to participate in Anzac Day parades.<sup>70</sup> It also asked for amendments to the *Federal Arbitration Act* so that Anzac Day could be included as a statutory holiday in all awards.<sup>71</sup>

In 1926 Anzac Day fell on a Sunday which elicited different reactions. Tasmanian observers thought that being on a Sunday would contribute to the success of the day.<sup>72</sup> This contrasted with reports from Queensland where the Attorney-General had declared that Monday would act as the holiday for Anzac Day and that day would have a 'solemn character' with races prohibited.<sup>73</sup> It appeared even there in Queensland that the ranks were not quite in step. Cairns' papers carried notices of the unveiling of the Soldiers' monument and that 'Anzac Day would be conducted in submitting the usual resolutions', that is, that Cairns at least was going to conduct all ceremonies on the Sunday.<sup>74</sup> In the reports for the day's organisation and observances a felicitous note was sounded by Lieutenant Governor William Lennon who congratulated the RSSILA and ADCC for working well together with the observance of Anzac Day.<sup>75</sup> Not all voices were in union as the northern Queensland press placed a different slant on the events. In both the *Townsville Daily Bulletin* and the *Rockhampton Capricornian* it was stated only the returned soldiers were congratulated for applying pressure to 'keep the day sacred'. These papers overlooked the unifying remarks of Lieutenant Governor Lennon in favour of the comments made instead by Premier McCormack who chose to mention only



the returned men and their desire to commemorate the actual day of the landing.<sup>76</sup>

In 1926 ideas were clearly voiced about Anzac Day representing the nation. In a forceful article the columnist 'Mercurius' railed against 9 May being chosen as the opening day of the Federal Parliament at the Federal Capital. He suggested instead Australia's Foundation Day (26 January) or even 'Anzac Day when we were born into nationhood or came into association with the congeries of nations'.<sup>77</sup> A few months previously, Adelaide papers had picked up on the theme, and it was reported that in 1924 the Victorian State Parliament had passed its *Anzac Day Act* which made it a public holiday, as one Minister said, 'for the celebration of the birth of an Australian nation'.<sup>78</sup> The expression of this idea was intermittent through the early 1920s and gained weight only when the chorus was taken up by politicians.

In Hobart the local newspaper, *Mercury*, dedicated two pages to reporting Australian and some New Zealand centres' observances. The extensive coverage reflected the immense growth of interest in the occasion. Importantly, in a service conducted by the Bishop of Tasmania, Dr R Snowdon Hay, the Governor, Sir James O'Grady gave an impressive speech. 'On such a Sunday as this,' began the Governor,

our young men of Australia set out upon that apparently impossible task of landing on the shores of far-away Gallipoli. We do not want now to talk of the details of such an occasion as that - the suffering, the sorrow, the agony, and the savagery of the enemy that characterized that landing. Rather we should think of the ideal that prompted the young and the best life of Australia to endure that holocaust. In contemplating that ideal, I think we would more efficiently consecrate the memory of those who fell.

They would wish us to remember the ideal they died for;  
not how they died, or by what means.

His Excellency, referring to the prayer for peace and better fellowship throughout the world which immediately preceded his address, urged upon all that they should,

forget the enmity of the war, and forget the bitter feeling that had existed against Britain's late enemies in the field.

If they did otherwise, they would disturb the rest of Australia's boys who lay asleep forever on the shores of Gallipoli, in the fields of France, the deserts of Egypt, and of Iraq. Wars, with their misery, savagery, and horrors, were not to teach bitterness; they taught to all the foolishness of strife and the need for peace. The boys of Australia had fought and died so that their people might live. By the laying down of their lives they had established security for others; and they had achieved the birth of the nation of Australia.<sup>79</sup>

In many ways this was a forward-looking speech that underscored a prevalent and growing attitude that the nation was born in the sacrifice of war. It was from the proliferation of such public announcements that the idea gained enough traction to appear axiomatic by 1930.

Meanwhile in Melbourne, Australian Prime Minister Bruce referred to the sacrifices of war and the dangers to be found in the world. He felt that Australia's best role was to be a bulwark for the British Empire in the Pacific.

We maintain the great white race in the Pacific to strengthen the influence and power of the British Empire, to maintain the peace of the world, and to advance the cause of civilisation. In facing and carrying out this great obligation, we can

look back and draw inspiration from the memory of the deeds of Anzac. In the early dawn of our nation's history Anzac was a glorious episode, but we should remember it as the beginning, not the end of our achievements. We have earned honour as a people. We must continue to deserve it.<sup>80</sup>

The sentiments of Prime Minister Bruce reflected the age, one where Anzac Day was lauded as the anvil of nationhood. Simultaneously, Anzac Day was being used as a platform for expressions of discontent with government policies, particularly from the socialists. Prior to Anzac Day 1926 Prime Minister Bruce fielded a question in the Federal Parliament relating to the socialist paper the *Workers' Weekly* of 20 April which headlined the position 'Forget Anzac Day: Prepare for May Day'. Bruce responded that this notion was abhorrent to the majority of Australian people, including the workers.<sup>81</sup> As Prime Minister he clearly aligned himself with the commemoration of the day. Other voices, largely forgotten in the clamour for management of the day, called to be heard. The British had since the early 1920s called for recognition of their part in the Dardanelles' campaign and felt overawed by the vigorous hold of Australians for the day. In 1926 the St Barnabas Society, which organised tours to the European battlefields and had taken a group to Gallipoli, called for a change – that 'Anzac Day' be renamed 'Gallipoli Day' in order that the part taken by the 29th Division under whose banner the Anzac troops fought could be respected. The rebuff was immediate – the Federal President of the RSSILA Captain GJC Dyett was reported as saying 'all Australian and New Zealand ex-soldiers will oppose the change'.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, in the British press, 25 April was called 'Gallipoli Day' until the outbreak of the Second World War.

By the end of the year, other events were commanding attention. Local papers relayed information about the imminent visit of

the Duke and Duchess of York to the Dominions. Before departure from Britain, they had been at the Australian and New Zealand Club in London, where the influential Member of Parliament Leo Amery, Secretary of State for the Dominions, was the speaker.<sup>83</sup> This man was a British Empire federalist and the promulgator of the Round Table organisation.

### **1927, distraction and confirmation – the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York**

Early in 1927 arrangements were being hastily made for the visit by the Duke of York who, on the abdication of Edward VIII became king at the end of 1936. Local papers informed their readers that the royal couple would be in Melbourne, the temporary seat of Federal Parliament for Anzac Day.<sup>84</sup> Again, nationally there was considerable diversity planned for the day – Launceston was to hold a Scout Carnival for Anzac Day and in Hobart some shopkeepers decided to defy the general ban on trading – this resulted in a strongly-worded public notice being taken out against them in the local press.<sup>85</sup> The royal visit aroused great interest and local papers were full of the proceedings from their beginnings. Anzac Day engagements for the royals were listed in mid-February. They would be in the federal capital Melbourne witnessing the 2.00 pm march-past of returned men and be later seen attending the Anzac Commemoration Service at the Exhibition Building.<sup>86</sup>

Other centres demonstrated the usual lack of uniformity. Adelaide posted church and open air services on Sunday 24 April and on Anzac Day a sports and gymkhana day starting at 2.00pm. There were to be a Football League match and military displays at the Wayville West Showgrounds.<sup>87</sup> In Launceston, scouting competitions were organised for the 'Anzac Day Carnival'.<sup>88</sup> In its review of the year's local activities the Launceston *Examiner* optimistically advertised Anzac Day as having 'Universal observance'.<sup>89</sup> Hobart shops were advised by the local Chamber of Commerce to remain open.<sup>90</sup> In Brisbane, the ADCC was again seeking uniformity

and appealing to proprietors and managers of picture shows and theatres to observe a minute's silence at 9.00 pm. There was also a timely reminder of recent legislation forbidding race meetings and the opening of licensed premises on the day.<sup>91</sup>

On the day, the Melbourne parade was judged a triumph, and an Adelaide paper trumpeted that the royal tour had been 'Eclipsed By Anzac'.<sup>92</sup> The day was a close holiday for the State of Victoria with all theatres, shops and hotels closed for the day. This caused certain tensions for the city was full to overflowing with visitors for the events. The day itself was confirmed as established in many places and there was widespread publicity of events in Australia, (and London where Anzac Day struck a 'deeper note') and New Zealand.<sup>93</sup> The report from Tasmania's *Advocate* was forceful. At the Melbourne suburb of La Trobe the service in the Memorial Reserve was led by the Reverend WJ Dobson who stated that Anzac Day,

should be regarded as Australia's holy day, instead of one of the many holidays. It was very difficult to appreciate even one-tenth part of what these men went through and to God Australia owed great thanks. But for the mercy of God they should have been defeated time and time again. Any notion of forgetting God was doomed.

This concept was supported by National Party member, Sir Walter Lee MHA, who thought that if all 'other States went as far as Queensland [and] by legislation caused the day to be regarded as closely as the Sabbath it would be a step in the right direction'.<sup>94</sup> The call for a more sacred and close observance was growing. Even the bench advanced its views: Judge Drake-Brockman of the Federal Arbitration Court called for a holy day on 25 April, and the President of the Legacy Club of Geelong, AD Holyoake, protested against any form of entertainment on the day, particularly dancing and called for a 'close holiday'.<sup>95</sup> With all of this high-level support one

might think that Anzac Day's immediate future as a close holiday was assured. This was not to be the case, even in Queensland.<sup>96</sup>

On 9 May, at the opening of the Federal Parliament at Canberra, HRH the Duke of York in the last paragraph of his speech made a special reference to Anzac Day:

I think we should all have in our hearts one other vision. On Anzac Day we commemorated those gallant men and women who laid down their lives in the Great War. Though they have passed into the Great Beyond they are still speaking to those who choose to listen. And if Australia listens to the voices of the noble army of the dead and if the great army of those living and those yet not born is determined to march in step with them towards the ideals for which they died, then the glorious destiny of this country will be assured for all time.<sup>97</sup>

In this speech the Duke touched on powerful contemporary spiritualist beliefs about the dead, a matter close to the heart of most Australians. He raised the profile of Anzac Day by giving it the royal accolade. Regardless of the divisions within and between the States' observances of the day, given this tribute, the future of the day was royally supported.

### **1927–1930, commercial trading and testy problems of sacralising the day**

In 1927 from South Australia and Tasmania there were strong pressures to prevent Anzac Day observance having an influence on normal shop trading. In Hobart the shopkeepers were targeted in an advertisement to the effect that they would:

... not observe 'Anzac Day' as a public holiday. This means that their shops [would] open for business whilst Hobart's Grateful Citizens ... are paying a sacred and solemn tribute

to the memory of those 60,000 of Australia's manhood who gave their lives for our National safety. Watch these columns for an opportunity to voice your disgust, and decide your practical condemnation of such action.<sup>98</sup>

Naturally, this notice was followed by indignant letters from Anzac Day supporters, one of whom reminded readers that Tasmania had previously passed the *Shop Closing Act* which stated all shops would be closed on the day, and that the advice given to the contrary by the Chamber of Commerce would defy the law.<sup>99</sup> The Chief Inspector of Factories was called in to advise and he supplied the list of exceptions to the provisions of comprehensive closure and the hours allowed for limited opening. It was his opinion that:

In view of the publicity that has been given to the requirements of the Act as regards Anzac Day, any shopkeeper neglecting to comply with the requirements must not be surprised if the department takes action against him.<sup>100</sup>

It appears the situation was clear, at least in Tasmania. However, this matter of Anzac Day trading was not going to disappear. In August 1927 further progress was made on legislating for Anzac Day when the government considered the holiday question. The King's Birthday holiday on 5 June was to be dropped in favour of Anzac Day. Because some Legislative Council members had reservations, the matter was referred to the RSSILA for comment.<sup>101</sup> Later, in Adelaide, the Conference of Federal Council of the National Councils of Women of Australia voted to have all hotel bars closed on Anzac Day.<sup>102</sup>

The day was enacted differently in most of the States by the end of 1927. Even though the Brisbane branch of the RSSILA appealed for a sacred close holiday which could be reflected in all awards in the State which had early taken the lead in the matter of sacred observance, the Government still could not bring itself

to agree to an Act of close holiday observance.<sup>103</sup> The matter of attendance of military units took public attention – it was widely reported that the RSSILA Federal Congress rejected the notion of compulsory military attendance at Anzac Day parades because voluntary attendance appeared as a greater mark of respect.<sup>104</sup> Again, to the forefront, the Brisbane ADCC argued that the time had arrived to observe the day in a manner similar to Christmas Day and Good Friday.<sup>105</sup>

Exasperated with the lack of movement, the Brisbane ADCC again appointed a deputation to approach Premier McCormack to appeal for Anzac Day to be made a sacred and close holiday in the State.<sup>106</sup> However, commercial interests strongly opposed this position.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless support for the sacralising stand was growing and there were only a few voices in opposition. The RSSILA throughout Queensland added its voice to closing theatres on the day, allowing the playing of the 'Last Post' at Anzac Day ceremonies only and scolding Premier McCormack's procrastinating stand.<sup>108</sup> Because of the intense lobbying at this time, there was much overlap between the States on the issue. In Townsville, local returned soldiers and city councillors took the lead to apply even more pressure on Premier McCormack. Townsville was McCormack's old stamping ground as leader of the Amalgamated Workers' Association in the early 1900s and the local press displayed a keen interest in their man in Brisbane. Feeling that the matter of a satisfactory resolution was closer than it had ever been, returned soldiers pressed for complete closure of theatres and propelled the local Townsville council to make representations to the Premier. A reply came from the Premier's Secretary P Deane, who reiterated the decisions of the 1921 Premiers' Conference which were that the observance should be only on 25 April each year; the Commonwealth Government had approached the leaders of the churches requesting them to hold a service at 11.00 am on the day; each of the States was urged to legislate the day as a public



holiday on which all Commonwealth offices would close; the arrangements for government offices apart from the Public Service holiday were left to each of the States; and under the Queensland *Anzac Day Act* hotels would close and the holding of race meetings was prohibited.<sup>109</sup> McCormack felt the pressure and at the Premiers' Conference moved 'That it be a recommendation to State Governments that Anzac Day be made a national sacred holiday'. He argued that despite strong contrary opinions, the recommendation be supported in recognition of the work of the AIF and he was of the view that uniformity in the matter of the observance was most desirable.<sup>110</sup> One could argue that this step was one of calculated cynicism because McCormack must have known that not all States would readily sign up to this position. In the end it was decided by the Premiers' Conference to 'give the matter further consideration' out of deference to the different opinions held by the States' soldier organisations. Nonetheless, this was the closest approach to a sacred holiday conceded by politicians to this point. There was to be a good deal more wavering on the matter before the 'satisfactory response' could be attained and some of this was to be by McCormack himself. The Brisbane *Courier* lead writer reflecting on the same story correctly concluded 'it would be difficult to prescribe uniformity in the observance of Anzac Day'.<sup>111</sup> The future of Anzac Day as a truly national and uniform day of commemoration was still not assured.

Hobart's 1928 Anzac Day was to have a children's sports day at York Park, despite a vigorous debate in which State schools threatened to withdraw.<sup>112</sup> This crisis of conscience flowed over into a public discussion on whether business firms ought to close on the day. A lively and informed debate followed which involved government officials being urged to give pronouncements on the matter. Following the Hobart Chamber of Commerce decision to recommend commercial houses close but factories remain open on Anzac Day, an interpretation was sought from the State's Chief

Secretary, Hon J Allan Guy, about the possibility of amending the *Bank Holidays Act*. Problems for businesses were to be found not only in the usual clash of state and federal interests but also in the several conflicting Arbitration Awards covering the holidays.<sup>113</sup> In the previous year the King's Birthday Holiday had been cut and Anzac Day substituted for it but this only applied to banks, leaving the majority of the business community in limbo. The Chamber of Commerce also sought the opinion of AM Stewart, the Conciliation Commissioner of the Federal Arbitration Court, and he consulted the Chief Judge. One of the contentious matters was what would happen where workers would work for double rates on the King's Birthday but only ordinary rates on Anzac Day? Eventually, the Chamber recommended that businesses close for Anzac Day but employers of factory labour had to use their own discretion. What is obvious in this discussion is the degree to which Anzac Day was becoming embroiled in local and often confusing legislation.

The same *Mercury* article showed the stamp of federal authority over the different procedures adopted by the States. The language is imperative and instructive, leaving little room for local action on the day. Under the heading of insistence on 'the solemnity and ceremony which have characterised it in previous years', Prime Minister Bruce made his directions clear: church religious services at 11.00 am on 25 April where possible; a 'meeting of remembrance' led by the RSSILA in the afternoon where there was a monument, memorial or an honour roll; the local Defence Department to allow the voluntary attendance of uniformed citizen force bands and members of defence forces and cadets; similar events to take place simultaneously in Canberra; and precedence in parades was roughly prescribed. The report ended with information from Brisbane that the local Chamber of Commerce there had also agreed to the proclamation of a public holiday. The day was slowly being manoeuvred into public acceptance. In June however, the Hobart Chamber of Commerce again entered the lists with debate

on Sundayising Anzac Day. Mr JH Sharp, representing the local Retailers' Sectional Committee, made a plea to shift Anzac Day from 25 April to the nearest Sunday, on the basis that the Anzac holiday following hard on the tail of Easter Monday was 'a waste of time'.<sup>114</sup> That comment may have found some sympathy among retailing friends, but hardly with returned men. The Tasmanian RSSILA held their annual conference at Ulverstone and work was done addressing changes to the Tasmanian *Bank Holidays and Shops Act* to allow Anzac Day to be legislated as a public holiday. News from Brisbane informed the group that Anzac Day as a sacred close holiday was on the agenda paper of the Premiers' Conference.<sup>115</sup>

Over the next few months from July 1928 the matter became heated. Lobbying intensified as both the ADCC and the RSSILA began to see movement in the position of Premier McCormack, and it is most obvious that if Anzac Day was to become a sacred and close holiday, it could only be achieved with his active support.

In Queensland, a combined, determined and optimistic deputation of returned men and representatives of the churches planned to approach Premier McCormack.<sup>116</sup> It is obvious here that the pressure was building and that political change was discernible. Diverse groups like students and business leaders began to recognise a community of interest in having a 'sacred holiday' or 'reverent observance' of Anzac Day.<sup>117</sup> However, agreement across the Commonwealth failed because, in the New South Wales annual State congress of the RSSILA, the bell-wether motion to close hotels on the day was defeated.<sup>118</sup>

Premier McCormack increasingly and pointedly became the focus of public pressure in the matter. He was approached by a group that represented the broadest spectrum in the Queensland society – RSSILA, Chambers of Commerce, ADCC, Royal Society members, Commercial Travellers' and other progress associations, and the Presbytery of Brisbane. It would have been difficult to find a more representative group. His response was to procrastinate

on the basis that he was waiting for a broad expression of public opinion to ‘veer around’ to an agreed position. This was not an issue which he personally wished to lead but rather to follow clear expressions of electorate opinion.<sup>119</sup> He informed them,

since the proposal for uniform observance of Anzac Day had been rejected by a conference of State Premiers, the State Government itself would have to determine whether it was proposed to make Anzac Day a close and sacred holiday, and if so, whether as an additional day or in substitution for some existing day.

This meeting was widely reported in other States and indeed there was a close watch kept on the issue as it developed because other States looked to follow Queensland’s position in the matter of Anzac Day observance.

A month later following the approach of the broadly-based group of concerned citizens and returned men, McCormack used the Queensland Legislative Assembly to defend his position.<sup>120</sup> He adamantly defended Queensland’s business interests’ position of denying any extension to the Anzac Day as it already existed. It was clear that there were party-based divisions on the matter with Country-National Opposition represented by JS Kerr (Enoggera) supporting a close and sacred holiday being challenged by EM Hanlon (Labour, Ithaca) who stated that the soldiers were well satisfied with the existing state of affairs. McCormack mounted a long defence based on Queensland’s leading position among Australian States in the matter of Anzac Day observance. He conceded that Victoria had joined with Queensland lately in a similar position. He pointed to the degrees of variance shown by soldier groups in other States and laid at their door responsibility for lack of movement in the matter. He also mentioned that when he was approached by the combined deputation in the previous month

he had expressed disfavour at the presence of non-soldiers and members of the Opposition and he had refused to meet them until the offending persons were expelled. This was a red herring which indicated McCormack's frustration with the issue. Not surprisingly, there was nothing of this matter immediately reported. He did not shift from the position which was expressed following the Premiers' Conference and forcefully reiterated that the Queensland business community could not afford the extra charges associated with a sacred and close holiday of the Good Friday and Christmas kind. The Legislative Assembly members responded with a plea to invoke a committee of both sides of the House which would aim to compromise in the matter.

Within days, there was a response from the Brisbane RSSILA which sought to present a petition demanding that the question be put to State-wide referendum. J Foster of Brisbane sub-branch of the RSSILA declared 'Anzac Day represents the birth of a nation and in our hands lies the responsibility of making Anzac Day live forever more, or pale into insignificance'.<sup>121</sup> Major Maddock challenged Premier McCormack's estimates of costs of \$250,000 to the community of a sacred and close holiday, compared with the cost assumed if Australia had lost the war. Another committee was formed to expedite the referendum.<sup>122</sup> This position did not change a month later when Queensland RSSILA State Secretary JH Holliday approached the Premier and was received politely but rebutted on the ground of costs.<sup>123</sup> Despite the rebuff, the Brisbane RSSILA kept up the pressure on McCormack urging that a Queensland adoption of the Victorian Act be passed in time for Anzac Day 1929.<sup>124</sup> It would be difficult to escape the conclusion that Premier McCormack was squirming under the pressure of decision-making over this issue.

The long-awaited positive decision was announced in the local and interstate papers on 14 February 1929, under the heading 'Premier Changes Mind'.<sup>125</sup> RSSILA State Secretary Holliday announced that

Premier McCormack advised him that the Queensland Government was prepared to legislate along the lines of the Victorian *Anzac Day Act* in the next session of Parliament. The ADCC met in the Queensland Chief Secretary's Office where the 'satisfactory compromise' for Anzac Day 1929 was adopted and widely reported a week later. The place of the ADCC as prime movers influencing the Premier's decision and of its influence on the attitudes of other States' representatives at the Premiers' Conference was made clear. Canon Garland was singled out for his continuing work on behalf of the ADCC. This report was also carried by the *Cairns Post* which recorded the happy exchange between Garland, the ADCC and the Premier. The ADCC was thanked for its work in the matter by RSSILA President Fraser East.<sup>126</sup> The Premier also hoped that trading organisations would accept the restrictions on the day voluntarily for 1929. This validation of the work of the Brisbane ADCC was extremely important, but it was to be immediately challenged by the RSSILA.

Subsequently, the way Premier McCormack's change of heart was publicly explained was a glaring example of 'impression management'.<sup>127</sup> In the next month there were determined efforts by the leaders of the RSSILA to be recognised as bearing the sole responsibility. The ADCC, although previously acknowledged publicly for its part, was written out of subsequent reports. The Cairns news carried a report from RSSILA State Secretary Holliday which credited the pressure from returned men for the change of heart by the Premier. Holliday's report described the RSSILA's efforts as 'untiring' and the change of heart by McCormack as the 'result' of their work, and that the League represented the 'general feeling of the community'. There was no mention of the ADCC meeting, but of another meeting between six leading RSSILA men and McCormack. The men were George Down, H Fraser East, George Lawson, JL Cooper, Major H Maddock and HJ Wright – all of whom, particularly Fraser East, would have been aware of the unwavering position

of the ADCC and its validation by McCormack.<sup>128</sup> This was a clear statement of intent and capture of initiative by the administration of the Queensland RSSILA.

This intent was made patently clear when Norman Mighell, Queensland RSSILA State President, addressed returned men in Townsville, McCormack's trade union stamping ground. He was reported saying:

The Queensland branch now had the unique distinction of having persuaded the Premier to come to their own club-house, where they discussed the matter [of another close holiday] ... with him, and explained the League's point of view. The happy solution having been achieved of the Premier having promised to have Anzac Day a [close] holiday, under the same conditions as the Victorian Act.<sup>129</sup>

This was a supreme sleight of hand. By not mentioning the part of the ADCC and its vital meeting with the Premier, the RSSILA focussed attention on itself. While Mighell had not attended the Premier's meeting with the ADCC his immediate subordinates had. He acted quickly to capture the hallowed ground for returned soldiers. His action foreshadowed what lay in store for the ADCC and its proponents in the 1930s.<sup>130</sup>

While the legislation was being considered the debate over shop opening continued. In Brisbane in 1929, there was a tense situation which developed between Brisbane traders and the RSSILA. In 1924 the RSSILA had pursued the notion that the day should not be for races and sporting activities, but 'a [national] day of peace' and in accord with that particular purpose found itself opposing the interests of traders again in 1929.<sup>131</sup> Returned soldiers made their dissatisfaction clear through the motions of the Brisbane sub-branch of the RSSILA. Padre WS Solomon moved 'That the sub-branch should express through the Press, its disgust at the

unpatriotic attitude of the traders of Brisbane who refuse to close their premises on Anzac Day this year.<sup>132</sup> As far as the ex-soldiers were concerned, the hour and a half many traders allowed for their employees to march was totally inadequate. There was some concession in the RSSILA argument that the next year, 1930, was one where the situation might change. It would be mandatory for traders to close. It was decided to appeal to the traders on the basis that, as the Governor Sir John Goodwin would head the march, the traders would be seen to be respectful to His Majesty by allowing men time to be in the procession. The matters were reiterated in the *Courier* three days later.<sup>133</sup> Although leadership in Brisbane's Anzac Day activities had been established by the ADCC with its civic outlook, the RSSILA was flexing its muscle in the important debates and within a few years would also capture the leadership within the ADCC.

### **Almost getting in step**

The general capture of initiative of Anzac Day organisation by the returned men had been aided by regular correspondence between Prime Minister Bruce and the State presidents of the RSSILA.<sup>134</sup> In a widely-published letter Bruce opened the way for the Federal legislation later in 1929 by suggesting to RSSILA presidents that the most uniform format of recent years be accepted for 1930.<sup>135</sup> In it he referred to previous correspondence of 6 April 1928 in which the grounds for agreement had been established: 11.00 am religious services; RSSILA 'remembrance meetings' in the early afternoon attended by local militia and bands; local Defence Department uniformed personnel to be present in support of the civic observance; and the unveiling of a commemorative stone at the Australian War Memorial to be referred to in the religious ceremonies. This set a pattern for activities on the day for the States, and they would be able to hold auxiliary events around this pattern. The letter was



conciliatory in tone, did not instruct, but did make it clear that the Federal authorities sought uniformity in the matter.

By the eve of the Premiers' Conference of May 1929 there were still representations being made to the Commonwealth to achieve more uniformity, but the Prime Minister could only respond by informing the State Premiers:

As you are aware, the day is observed as a holiday in Commonwealth Departments, and action is being taken with a view to ensuring that the celebrations will be in keeping with the deep solemnity and national significance of the occasion.

As in previous years, the Commonwealth government is inviting the churches of all denominations throughout the Commonwealth to hold memorial services in the morning at 11 o'clock, and the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia has been asked to participate to the extent of arranging short meetings of remembrance wherever there are memorial halls and honour rolls ...<sup>136</sup>

There was no getting around the sovereignty of the States to determine precisely how Anzac observance would be constituted. The RSSILA may have helped to gain the desired uniformity had it been able to make up its mind between a composite of solemnity and jubilation on the one hand and a completely close sacred holiday on the other. It is interesting to note the swing in opinion that occurred in the Queensland branch. By 1928 they were urging a sacred and close holiday, in full conformity with the views of the ADCC.<sup>137</sup> The federal executive, however, continued to urge the composite model; solemnity in the morning and carnivals in the afternoon which meant allowing all manner of sporting activity alongside open hotel bars.

Another source of opposition to the sacred and close model was the commercial world. Business was clearly reluctant to add

yet another holiday to the plethora of such days in some States. Queensland, for example, had in addition to the usual public holidays, St George's Day, St Patrick's Day, St Andrew's Day and St David's Day, as well as a Friendly Societies' Day. These were all repealed by the *Holiday Act Amendment Bill* of September 1930.<sup>138</sup>

The amendment to the Queensland Act of 1930 to make Anzac Day a close public holiday had been preceded by a degree of intense lobbying already under the Labor Premier William McCormack. By 1929 both the RSSILA and the ADCC were in full accord on this matter, and the Chamber of Commerce had no objection provided one of the existing public holidays was repealed.<sup>139</sup> Premier McCormack had indicated that he would indeed bring in the desired amendment at the next sitting of parliament. However, before the end of 1929 the Labor administration was replaced by the conservative government of Arthur Edward Moore whereupon lobbying began anew, both the RSSILA and the ADCC leading the campaign in unison.<sup>140</sup>

In the event, the Moore government brought in the strictest Anzac Day amendment bill in the nation, complying in every respect with the long-expressed wishes of the ADCC. The Labor Party supported it unreservedly. A future Labor premier and close confidant of Canon Garland, William Forgan Smith, summed up the feeling of the House in the second reading of the Bill:

People have come to realise that Anzac Day is not only a day for the commemoration of the deeds of our illustrious Anzacs, but also a day for national meditation, when people can review in their own minds the causes that led up to the Great War, and reflect on the effect of it upon civilization and all the countries of the world. Whilst the people pay their tribute of respect to the heroism of those who took part in the war, a public conscience can be awakened, and a desire stimulated to eliminate so far as

is humanly possible all those things in the national mind which go to make for war.

On Anzac Day the people can consider these things and resolve that, so far as in them lies, their influence will be used in the direction of peace and the propagation of fraternity among the nations of the world; that international agreements and arbitration rather than the law of the jungle with all the crimes against humanity that it involves, should and, so far as they can contrive, will be the future method of settling disputes. That is the significance of the day, which is increasing in importance ... <sup>141</sup>

Despite the federal stand, Tasmania passed its own *Anzac Day Observance Act* in 1929, which gained Royal Assent on 18 January 1930.<sup>142</sup> In New South Wales, hotels were to close between 9.30 am and 1.00 pm.<sup>143</sup> In Launceston, the organising committee expressed pleasure that the Federal Act allowed the day to proceed much as it had in the past, with sports in the afternoon.<sup>144</sup> In Canberra, there was to be a parade at 11.15 am followed by a united commemoration service in the Albert Hall.<sup>145</sup> In Brisbane there was a full programme of activities but some disquiet and disappointment that the Lord Mayor, Alderman WA Jolly CMG and his council, had not managed to impose a full ban on the city's picture theatres.<sup>146</sup> There was grudging acceptance of what was described in Canberra as recognition of 'unmistakeable evidence of ... Australia's greatest day' but elsewhere there was little mention of the Federal legislation.<sup>147</sup> However, it had been mentioned in February, initiating a discussion on how it would impact on local sports and entertainments held for profit.<sup>148</sup> This raises a question concerning the attitudes of local States' bodies to Federal legislation. There seems to be more than a reluctance to credit the Federal members with the passage of any legislation which all States accepted. In this we see a reflection of the independence of territories which had over

the years come to guard their independence rigorously. Anzac Day national legislation was overshadowed by the same issue.

What was then agreed upon in Queensland was that only by the most solemn marking of Anzac Day could this lofty goal be achieved. Other States concurred only partially. Elsewhere there was retained an element of ‘jubilation’. Queensland, however, preserved the ‘Garland model’ until 1964 thus illustrating that the political-religious culture there was significantly different from other States. After 34 years then the Act was ultimately revised to allow the opening of hotel bars, racecourses, sporting venues and cinemas.<sup>149</sup> The secular hedonistic urge to abandon total solemnity finally triumphed. The churches, too, had long since abandoned any attempt to conduct requiems or special services on the day as Canon Garland had initiated in Brisbane. Mercifully, he did not live to see that transformation. Nevertheless, the ‘Day’ is still marked, though somewhat differently, with the ‘Dawn Service’ when there is no doubt an expression of deep solemnity and reverence for the sacredness of the day. The fact that we have Anzac Day at all as Australia’s national day is due in no small measure to the years of vigorous campaigning of a far-sighted and devoted priest in the Church of England who perceived a vocation to sacralise the nation.

The story of how the Australian States got ‘in step’ from the point of view of their different legislative positions is one deserving more research. The position reached in 1930 is that the States were approximately in step rather than exactly. There were still differences between the more sacralising stand of Queensland and New South Wales and the rest, but these were evened out by shared practices as the 1930s progressed. It was timely that, at the beginning of the greatest economic test Australia was to face, Anzac Day could be seen as a truly nation-wide day of commemoration. The forces present in the tensions of the late 1920s were still present in 1930 and they were to provide the base for the acerbic quarrels between the RSSILA and the ADCC in Queensland over the management

of Anzac Day. While other States did not participate in this division, the influential position of Queensland and the driving force of the ADCC meant that there were implications for the rest of Australia. Was Anzac Day a civic observance reflecting general societal concerns or was it primarily to reflect the interests of the returned servicemen?

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Jock Phillips, 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography', in Judith Binney (ed.), *The Shaping of History: Essays from The New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, p. 336. The full quotation which forms the last sentence of Phillips' article reads: 'To get beyond the nationalist framework may be the next challenge for cultural history in New Zealand'.
- 2 Care must be exercised in the use of the word 'national' in relation to Anzac Day. In many cases the word was used widely to describe individual State's attachment to the day. However, in this work, it will be used to mean the Australian nation as a whole.
- 3 *The Mercury*, Hobart, 29 April 1916, p. 7, Senator Pearce and the Federal Parliamentary War Committee received messages from the Queensland War Council on the protection of the use of 'Anzac'; *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, 10 May 1916, p. 8, report of the Senate Meeting of 9 May 1916 on Senator Lynch's intentions.
- 4 *The Mercury*, Hobart, 19 May 1916, p. 9. Senator Russell was Assistant Minister of (Wartime) Prices.
- 5 *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*, 18 April 1917, p. 12.
- 6 *The Mercury*, Hobart, 5 March 1918, p. 2; *The Mercury*, 19 April 1918, p. 2 carries a report of the Federal Parliament and a request by Senator Bolton (Victoria) that the Public Service Commission set aside another day in lieu of 25 April for examinations.
- 7 *SMH*, 26 April 1918, p. 8. Again, fear of foreign bases in the Pacific hovered not far from the surface. As the war end drew near these fears revived. Minister for the Navy Cook was scathing in his criticism of those who felt Germany should have returned to her the Pacific Islands she

had lost. In particular, he raised the spectre of what might happen in the Pacific if Germany was allowed back into New Guinea.

- 8 *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, Queensland, 26 April 1918, p. 6. The same story was extensively reported on Anzac Day in other main Australian centres and Wellington, New Zealand.
- 9 *The Mercury*, 19 April 1918, p. 2. Federal Senator Bolton (Victoria) requested that the Public Service Commission set aside another day than 25 April for its examinations. The subsequent papers only show an indication that the date may have been changed; *Brisbane Courier*, 15 May 1918, p. 8 shows Queensland held its examinations on 27 April 1918.
- 10 *SMH*, 23 May 1919, p. 10. The commemoration events were postponed because of the spread of influenza. Dean Albert Edward Talbot (1877–1936) was a Senior Chaplain to the AIF, who was wounded at Lone Pine in August 1915 and who became a very popular President of the Returned Soldiers' Association. He took a significant part in the establishment of the Dawn Service in Sydney in the late 1920s.
- 11 *SMH*, 27 May 1919, p. 8, letter to the Editor on 'Protestantising' Anzac Day services by HA Conant.
- 12 *Western Argus*, Kalgoorlie, 14 October 1919, p. 12. Report of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the State Parliament, Perth, 7 October 1919.
- 13 *Brisbane Courier*, 19 September 1919, p. 6.
- 14 *Cairns Post*, 27 February 1920, p. 5; *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 2 March 1920, p. 9.
- 15 *West Australian*, Perth, 24 April 1920, p. 7.
- 16 *Western Argus*, Kalgoorlie, 20 January 1920, p. 13.
- 17 *Cairns Post*, 11 March 1920, p. 3.
- 18 *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 1 April 1920, p. 9; the previous commitment to a truly national holiday had been given by Hughes two months before: *Queenslander*, Brisbane, 7 February 1920, p. 25.
- 19 *Cairns Post*, 6 May 1920, p. 2.
- 20 *SMH*, 9 February 1921, p. 10.
- 21 *SMH*, 3 March 1921, p. 8; *Brisbane Courier*, 3 March 1921, p. 6; *Mercury*, Hobart, 3 March 1921, p. 5; *West Australian*, 4 March 1921, p. 6; *Examiner*, Launceston, 4 March 1921, p. 4. This matter was of intense interest across the whole nation.
- 22 *Argus*, Melbourne, 9 March 1921, p. 14. The 'closed nature' of New Zealand's observance was in reference to the prohibition of race meetings and the closure of hotel bars.

- 23 *Queenslander*, 19 March 1921, p. 14. James Dooley was a fervent Roman Catholic who favoured the full participation of his church in Anzac Day. Dooley's position was given wider and front page billing when it was repeated in *SMH*, 6 April 1921, p. 1. This pattern was repeated in New South Wales.
- 24 *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 1 April 1921, p. 9; *SMH*, 8 April 1921, p. 1, Anzac Day arrangements 'almost completed'.
- 25 DC Cameron had forwarded the contents of the ADCC telegram of 9 April 1921 to the Prime Minister on 13 April 1921. See Australian Archives (AA), 'Anzac Day Observance as a Holiday', 1921 Papers, A457/1.
- 26 *Brisbane Courier*, 22 April 1921, p. 6.
- 27 *Sunday Times*, Perth, 17 April 1921, p. 10S.
- 28 *Queenslander*, 1 April 1922, p. 29.
- 29 *Advocate*, Burnie, Tasmania, 20 April 1921, p. 3.
- 30 'Anzac Day Observance as a Holiday'. This file clearly contains a representative selection of views at the time that were placed before the 1921 Premiers' Conference.
- 31 *Cairns Post*, 24 September 1921, p. 8; The Queensland *Anzac Day Act* 1921.
- 32 *Argus*, Melbourne, 12 November 1921, p. 24; *Brisbane Courier*, 12 November 1921, p. 3. See also *SMH*, 6 June 1921, p. 1; *Cairns Post*, 30 June 1921, p. 2: full report published of the Joint Secretaries of the ADCC; *Cairns Post*, 19 July 1921, p. 7.
- 33 *Commonwealth Gazette*, 1922, p. 526, under 'Proclamations'.
- 34 Premiers' Conference 1921, 'Business of the Conference' pp. 4–5. AA A1.
- 35 In fact in the twentieth century Anzac Day and Easter Day conjoined only in 1943, and in the twenty-first century it will happen next in 2038.
- 36 *The Mercury*, Hobart, 26 October 1922, p. 4.
- 37 *Argus*, Melbourne, 27 January 1923, p. 14.
- 38 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 May 1923, p. 5.
- 39 Deputation to the Prime Minister, Friday 28 July 1923. AA Series A 461/7, Item 13/1/10.
- 40 Garland to Hughes, 3 August 1922, Item 13/1/10, Pt I.
- 41 From the extracts of the debates of 25 May 1923, Item 13/1/10, Pt I.
- 42 Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Brisbane ADCC (Garland and Pike) to Prime Minister 20, Item 13/1/10 Pt I.
- 43 ADCC Minute Book, 2 March 1926, 'Anzac Day 1926'.

- 44 See the files of the RSL held in the Manuscripts section of the Australian National Library, RSL. 1391 B.
- 45 *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 5 September 1923, p. 12, Federal Council of the Australian Natives' Association; *Brisbane Courier*, 16 February 1924, p. 11. The Toowoomba S&F Association, in early 1924, in conjunction with the RSSILA, put pressure on the local State and Federal Governments to proclaim Anzac Day as 'Australia's National Day' and a day of peace.
- 46 *Brisbane Courier*, 30 November 1923, p. 5; *Cairns Post*, 1 December 1923, p. 3.
- 47 *Brisbane Courier*, 10 March 1924, p. 3. Conference of Sailors' and Soldiers' Fathers' Association in Melbourne called for a close public holiday with the same reservations as found in New Zealand. *Mercury*, Hobart, 27 March 1924, p. 3. Similar calls were made in Melbourne by a group of returned soldiers appealing to Victoria's Chief Secretary.
- 48 *Advocate*, Burnie, Tasmania, 31 July 1924, p. 2.
- 49 *Argus*, Melbourne, 20 May 1924, p. 15, news of forthcoming Anzac Day legislation in New South Wales.
- 50 *SMH*, 27 August 1924, p. 12.
- 51 *SMH*, 2 September 1924, p. 6. 'Bananaland' complained of the mistakes in Booth's claims for Queensland – hotels did not close, nor were race meetings banned, and neither was there a public holiday.
- 52 *Register*, Adelaide, 5 September 1924, p. 5.
- 53 *SMH*, 13 September 1924, p. 14.
- 54 *SMH*, 17 September 1924, p. 14. He further determined that the day would be partitioned into a morning with religious and memorial services; the afternoon with suitable addresses and instilling into the minds of young Australians the peculiar significance of Anzac Day. He intended to take up the matters of statutory closing of hotels and prohibition of racing.
- 55 *SMH*, 17 September 1924, p. 14.
- 56 *Mercury*, Hobart, 19 September 1924, p. 11.
- 57 *Argus*, Melbourne, 18 October 1924, p. 21. Support was also found among the staff and patients of the Bendigo Red Cross Rest Home.
- 58 *SMH*, 5 November 1924, p. 14.
- 59 *SMH*, 27 November 1924, p. 16.
- 60 *SMH*, 27 November 1924, p. 16; *Register*, Adelaide, 7 November 1924, p. 10 and *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 12 November 1924, p. 14. Pressure from the RSSILA came from its November Federal Congress held in Adelaide and reinforced the decisions taken by the organisation in the 1922



Sydney Congress which sought only 25 April as Anzac Day which was to be divided between a solemn morning and a sports afternoon with complementary idealistic talks to children. There was also considerable concern about the need to coordinate actions of RSSILA branches.

- 61 *Western Mail*, Perth, 19 March 1925, p. 21; *West Australian*, Perth, 16 March 1925, p. 8.
- 62 In Queensland, the giving of addresses in schools was embedded in legislation. It is possible that in the heat of the moment, Drew simply made a mistake.
- 63 *Argus*, Melbourne, 18 March 1925, p. 20.
- 64 *Argus*, Melbourne, 10 June 1925, p. 18.
- 65 *Queenslander*, Brisbane, 18 July 1925, p. 30. King George V showed interest in the Stone of Remembrance and the Cross of Sacrifice in the Toowong cemetery; *Argus*, Melbourne, 24 September 1925, p. 11, in a day of vigorous debate in State Parliament in Melbourne.
- 66 *Argus*, Melbourne, 29 October 1925, p. 10; *Argus*, Melbourne, 29 October 1925, p. 13. The Labor members raised considerable opposition to the Bill. It passed all stages without amendment, before the House adjourned until 10 November.
- 67 *Mercury*, Hobart, 11 November 1925, p. 3.
- 68 *SMH*, 23 September 1925, p. 1.
- 69 *SMH*, 25 September 1925, p. 12. The assertion that Sunday Anzac Day happened every seven years was only approximate; it happened in 1926, 1937, 1943 (on Easter Day) and 1948.
- 70 *Brisbane Courier*, 3 December 1925, p. 12.
- 71 *Sunday Times*, Perth, 6 December 1925, p. 75.
- 72 *Mercury*, Hobart, 15 March 1926, p. 6. It was reported that in Melbourne at least, General Sir John Monash would head a procession of at least 10,000 men.
- 73 *Longreach Leader*, Queensland, 19 March 1926, p. 20.
- 74 *Cairns Post*, 19 April 1926, p. 2; *Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1926, p. 6.
- 75 *Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1926, p. 7.
- 76 *Daily Bulletin*, Townsville, 27 April 1926, p. 4; *The Capricornian*, Rockhampton Queensland, 1 May 1926, p. 40. The last has extensive coverage of events in London and Australian cities.
- 77 *Mercury*, Hobart, 5 June 1926, p. 12.
- 78 *Register*, Adelaide, 5 April 1926, p. 7.
- 79 *Mercury*, Hobart, 26 April 1926, p. 7.

- 80 *Mercury*, Hobart, 26 April 1926, p. 7.
- 81 Commonwealth of Australia: Parliamentary Debates, 7 March – 31 May 1926, Vol. 118, p. 4324.
- 82 *Western Mail*, Perth, 23 September 1926, p. 24.
- 83 *Western Argus*, Kalgoorlie, 14 December 1926, p. 4. Amery was a leading thinker in the British Establishment and Inner Cabinet. The Churchill Archives, Cambridge, archive his important wartime diary and other memorabilia. See chapter three.
- 84 *Register*, Adelaide, 5 January 1927, p. 7.
- 85 *Examiner*, Launceston, 8 March 1927, p. 8; *Mercury*, Hobart, 16 April 1927, p. 8.
- 86 *Argus*, Melbourne, 18 February 1927, p. 11; *Argus*, Melbourne, 11 March 1927, p. 11. The Duke of York was to take the salute from 20,000 men at the base outside the Federal Parliament Building, Melbourne.
- 87 *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 6 April 1927, p. 13; *Register*, Adelaide, 8 April 1927, p. 8.
- 88 *Examiner*, Launceston, 8 March 1927, p. 8.
- 89 *Examiner*, Launceston, 31 December 1927, p. 14. 'The Year's Review'.
- 90 See section 1927 – 1930, below.
- 91 *Brisbane Courier*, 21 April 1927, p. 6.
- 92 *Register*, Adelaide, 26 April 1927, p. 7.
- 93 *Argus*, Melbourne, 28 April 1927, p. 10, which reported on London and Shanghai; *Mercury*, Hobart, 26 April 1926, p. 7; *Register*, Adelaide, 26 April 1926, p. 9, the last having reports of the day from throughout Australia, New Zealand and London.
- 94 *Advocate*, Burnie, Tasmania, 26 April 1927, p. 3.
- 95 *Argus*, Melbourne, 28 April 1927, p. 10.
- 96 *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 5 May 1927, p. 5, reports of Charleville where Anzac Day passed without ceremony – there was no public interest, not enough cars to get the eleven Diggers to the cemetery, and 'no cessation of work even in the hotels'.
- 97 *Western Argus*, Kalgoorlie, 17 May 1927, p. 10. Speech at Canberra, 8 May 1927; *Mercury*, Hobart, 11 May 1927, p. 9. Prospect Place and Avenue were renamed Anzac Place and Anzac Avenue.
- 98 *Mercury*, Hobart, 16 April 1927, p. 8.
- 99 *Mercury*, Hobart, 19 April 1927, p. 4.
- 100 *Mercury*, Hobart, 23 April 1927, p. 8; *Brisbane Courier*, 6 August 1927, p. 7. Similar stringencies were followed in Brisbane where all picture shows

and places of entertainment were to close for any purpose other than the sacred commemoration of the day.

- 101 *Examiner*, Launceston, 31 August 1927, p. 7. Some business interests were supported by Mr Pitt who argued for 'Sundayising' the commemoration (always holding it on the Sabbath) out of fear that it would degrade into a sports' day.
- 102 *Register*, Adelaide, 17 September 1927, p. 10; also *Canberra Times*, 13 May 1927, p. 20, for previous protest by the Presbyterian Assembly over the proposal for a liquor bar at Parliament House in Canberra.
- 103 *Brisbane Courier*, 2 November 1927, p. 25.
- 104 *Argus*, Melbourne, 9 November 1927, p. 13; *Brisbane Courier*, 9 November 1927, p. 25; *SMH*, 10 November 1927, p. 12.
- 105 *Argus*, Melbourne, 21 November 1927, p. 8.
- 106 *The Queenslander*, Brisbane, 15 December 1927, p. 20.
- 107 *Brisbane Courier*, 20 April 1928, p. 14: the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce would only accept Anzac Day as a public holiday if another holiday was dropped.
- 108 *Brisbane Courier*, 27 April 1928, p. 19; *Brisbane Courier*, 2 May 1928, p. 11; *Brisbane Courier*, 6 June 1928, p. 21; *Daily Bulletin*, Townsville, 26 April 1928, p. 3.
- 109 *Daily Bulletin*, Townsville, 12 June 1928, p. 6.
- 110 *SMH*, 21 June 1928, p. 12.
- 111 *Brisbane Courier*, 21 June 1928, p. 13.
- 112 *Mercury*, Hobart, 23 March 1928, p. 10.
- 113 *Mercury*, Hobart, 20 April 1928, p. 10.
- 114 *Mercury*, Hobart, 20 June 1928, p. 10.
- 115 *Examiner*, Launceston, 29 June 1928, p. 9; *Advocate*, Burnie, Tasmania, 29 June 1928, p. 6.
- 116 *Brisbane Courier*, 4 July 1928, p. 20: Major H Maddock of Brisbane RSSILA saw the time as advantageous to introduce legislation which would bring Queensland into line with New Zealand; *SMH*, 30 August 1928, p. 1; *Queenslander*, 6 September 1928, p. 24.
- 117 *Brisbane Courier*, 31 July 1928, p. 13; *Argus*, Melbourne, 9 August 1928, p. 6. A degree of uniformity was expressed between Melbourne RSSILA, Melbourne University Dean Aiken, and Archdeacon Lambie for the Church of England.
- 118 *SMH*, 10 August 1928, p. 12.

- 119 *Brisbane Courier*, 29 August 1928, p. 15; *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 29 August 1928, p. 6; *SMH*, 30 August 1928, p. 11 carried a summary of the same story under the headline, 'Sacred Observance: Queensland hesitates'; *Cairns Post*, 30 August 1928, p. 5: 'Powerful deputation; Premier Shifts Responsibility to Caucus'.
- 120 *Brisbane Courier*, 29 September 1928, p. 19. 'Anzac Day – Discussion in Assembly "Hansard" Again.' The same report was carried by the *Cairns Post*, 1 October 1928, p. 4, and subtitled 'Premier's Evasions'.
- 121 *Brisbane Courier*, 3 October 1928, p. 23. 'Returned Soldiers' Protest'.
- 122 *Brisbane Courier*, 3 October 1928, p. 23.
- 123 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 November 1928, p. 14; *Cairns Post*, 21 November 1928, p. 11.
- 124 *Brisbane Courier*, 23 November 1928, p. 8; *Brisbane Courier*, 12 December 1928, p. 24.
- 125 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 February 1929, p. 14; *SMH*, 15 February 1929, p. 12
- 126 *Cairns Post*, 22 February 1929, p. 4; *Daily Bulletin*, Townsville, 22 February 1929, p. 8.
- 127 Thomas Greider and Lorraine Garckovich, 'Landscapes: The Social Construction of Nature and the Environment', *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 59, No. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 1–24; Erich Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (eds), *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, p. 9, pp. 22–23.
- 128 *Cairns Post*, 25 February 1929, p. 10.
- 129 *Daily Bulletin*, Townsville, 19 March 1929, p. 5.
- 130 *Brisbane Courier*, 28 March 1929, p. 8. Letter to Editor by Major H Maddock supporting the sole claim by the RSSILA for the success of gaining a close holiday for 25 April.
- 131 *Brisbane Courier*, 16 February 1924, p. 11.
- 132 *Brisbane Courier*, 3 April 1929, p. 20.
- 133 *Brisbane Courier*, 6 April 1929, p. 12.
- 134 Stanley Melbourne Bruce was born and raised in Australia, went to UK for tertiary studies and as part of the Worcestershire Regiment 29th Division was wounded at Gallipoli.
- 135 *Mercury*, 24 April 1929, p. 3.
- 136 Conference between Commonwealth and States, May 1929, Memorandum of Commonwealth Government, No. 9. Observance of Anzac Day, Item 90926.

- 137 Hon Sec Queensland RSSILA to Premier, 7 February 1929. Anzac Day File, Premier's Department, Batch 146.
- 138 *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, 24 September 1930, p. 1161.
- 139 State President RSSILA to Premier, 7 February 1929. Anzac Day file, Premier's Department, Batch 146.
- 140 Joint Secretaries Brisbane Sub Branch RSSILA to Premier, 21 August, 1929, and State President of RSSILA to Premier, 3 September 1929, Batch 146.
- 141 *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, 1930, p. 1274.
- 142 *Mercury*, 25 April 1930, p. 5. The ALP Conference was halted over 25 April to allow delegates time to honour the day.
- 143 *SMH*, 23 April 1930, p. 1.
- 144 *Examiner*, Launceston, 7 December 1929, p. 8, Attorney-General's Bill prescribing activities on Anzac Day. *Examiner*, Launceston, 6 March 1930, p. 6.
- 145 *Canberra Times*, 25 April 1930, p. 4.
- 146 *Brisbane Courier*, 12 April 1930, p. 10.
- 147 *Canberra Times*, 25 April 1930, p. 4.
- 148 *Examiner*, Launceston, 6 March 1930, p. 6. This report referred to legislation passed in the 'last session' of the Federal Parliament.
- 149 See the 'Anzac Day Act 1921–1981', Queensland Government Printer, 1983.

## 13 Civic leadership under attack

### Garland and the ADCC, Anzac Day in the 1930s

*T*he Australian Anglican cleric, David Garland, has been described as the ‘architect’ of Anzac Day in Australia, and the ‘motivator’ of the Brisbane-based Anzac Day Commemoration Committee. Some of the most persuasive evidence for his influence in Anzac Day observance is found in the ‘Minutes and Suggestions’ records of the ADCC, lodged in the archives of the John Oxley Library, the State Library of Queensland. A note of caution is sounded: Garland was the principal compiler of the ADCC records to 1937 and may have glossed his own contribution. This does not, however, challenge the assessment of his direction of the organisation as the ‘architect’ of the national day of commemoration.

In terms of memory, the creation of the day itself was novel. Memories of returned men featured in newspaper columns and

the day seemed specially set aside for honouring these men and their fallen comrades, particularly those who were at Gallipoli and called 'original Anzacs'. There were seeds of conflict embedded here. Garland envisaged a civic commemoration of the day from the outset and it was not long before this became known to the organisations representing the returned men. However, because Garland had leadership, *mana* and initiative during the early days of the ADCC, his direction prevailed.<sup>1</sup> It was not, however, uncontested. The RSSILA was well aware that returned servicemen would never be able to direct the development, direction or executive policies of the ADCC while Garland was at the helm. With the support of the various Queensland Premiers from 1916 to 1936 who chaired the committee *ex officio*, Garland ensured that as Anzac Day was a civilian tribute, the committee should remain civilian. The RSSILA under Raymond Huish in 1937 gained control of the ADCC and consequently of Anzac Day management in Queensland.

The crisis for control of Anzac Day did not loom large in the public mind in the early 1930s. It had been foreshadowed to some extent by the events of the late 1920s, but even they would have appeared to a casual observer as occasional spats precipitated by tensions associated with the intense organisational problems associated with the day. Otherwise, all else was relatively calm. Indeed, appearances to the contrary were mostly absent.<sup>2</sup> Huish and Garland both presented speeches and represented the RSSILA and ADCC respectively. By 1932, both men were speaking on Brisbane Radio 4QG on Anzac Day at 3.00 pm and 8.00 pm. Also both men were involved in proposing and seconding the resolution of sympathy to the relatives of all who died, and those who suffered, assuring them of a continued memory and the gratitude of the nation.<sup>3</sup> They continued to work under direction from the Minister for Public Instruction giving addresses in all State schools on 24 April.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in 1933 it appeared as though antagonisms had been buried and that the RSSILA and the ADCC were working happily in tandem.<sup>5</sup>

For the 1934 Anzac Day the newspapers indicated a greater role for Huish.<sup>6</sup> Garland was still busy at the Toowong Cemetery ceremony while Huish was involved at the centre of Brisbane – as a major speaker at Anzac Square in the morning and laying the wreath for the RSSILA at the Cenotaph.<sup>7</sup> Queensland Governor Sir Leslie Wilson appealed for every day to carry the memorialisation of Anzac Day; Huish and Garland again moved the uniform resolution of sympathy for relatives and sufferers from the war.<sup>8</sup> This appears one of the best supported Anzac Days; nevertheless Brisbane Roman Catholic Archbishop Duhig warned against the loss of religion on Anzac Day.<sup>9</sup>

The crisis for control, which incrementally escalated from late 1934 to 1936, culminated in the loss of civilian control of Anzac Day in Queensland. It began innocuously enough with questions raised by the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce over the sombre tone of the observance.<sup>10</sup> The Great Depression deeply affected the population, casting a pall over all events, and the leaders in society sought desperately to lift the gloom. In 1934, there again appeared to be an accord between the ADCC and the RSSILA and affiliates.<sup>11</sup> It was, however, only a respite. In October 1934, minutes of the ADCC record a meeting dominated by the RSSILA bloc where disappointment was expressed about an ice-encased ADCC wreath being in poor condition on reaching London.<sup>12</sup> The possibility of curtailing religious sentiment in Anzac Day ceremonies was discussed. The notes on this are more curt than usual, indicating an unwelcome split between Huish and the RSSILA on the one hand, and the proponents from the Manufacturers' Association on the other, who wished greater rejoicing on the day. The contentious matter of flying the New Zealand flag was also raised. This last matter went further and in March 1935 there seemed to be a turn-around.<sup>13</sup> Near the end of the meeting the mood was disturbed over an appeal by the Incapacitated Wounded Sailors' and Soldiers' League for representation on the ADCC. However as the



RSSILA already represented their interests the request was declined. Garland explained that the Committee was originally formed by the citizens who desired to honour the soldiers. It was hoped that it would remain mainly a citizens' Committee:

otherwise when in the course of time the Returned Soldiers were no longer there to assist, the Committee would cease to function, instead of as was the hope of everyone concerned with the Observance of Anzac Day, carry on and preserve the memory of the gallant deeds of the Sailors, Soldiers and Sisters of Australia for many years after the last one died.<sup>14</sup>

In this important statement, Garland made his position obvious. While his intent for the preservation of the ADCC and its controlling interest over Anzac Day management in Queensland was honourable, many of the returned servicemen would have taken a hostile view of this stance.

Before the same meeting there had been a public discussion over the problem of the proliferation of public holidays and the problem foreseen in Labour Day (6 May) being too close to Anzac Day and Empire Day (24 May). The problem centred on getting parade troops out for all occasions. Garland, his co-secretary Pike and RSSILA State President Huish were appointed to form a committee and confer with the Premier.<sup>15</sup> The co-operation was superficial, but it dominated the reports to the public. What was recorded in the minutes of the ADCC in time revealed a completely different scenario.

Over the next two years a transition in the leadership of the ADCC and the management of Anzac Day took place with proponents and affiliates of the RSSILA taking control. Again for the Anzac Day observances in 1935, Garland and Huish worked in tandem over the uniform resolution of sympathy, but Garland

added to the report the telling comment, 'The desire of the people of Queensland for Anzac Day to remain in its present form as a day of sacred memory was plainly evident'.<sup>16</sup> On the day, both men again took part in using the modern radio media.<sup>17</sup> The local and regional press reported a most successful turnout with more church services and civic meetings than the previous year, which had itself been counted a peak year.<sup>18</sup> The 5 September 1935 meeting of the ADCC was for the first time dominated by military representatives.<sup>19</sup> It recorded that despite the request to fly New Zealand flags, 'no [sic] many such flags had been flown'.

An immediate and important matter, however, was the vote conducted by the RSSILA which supported the observance retaining a solemn tone. The vote over this crucial matter foreshadowed victory for the forces of conservative ex-servicemen's interests. Interestingly, both Huish and Garland supported a solemn style. However, simply the action of holding a national vote among the returned soldiers on the observance effectively led to a capture of the initiative by the RSSILA representatives and side-lined the lengthy leadership of Garland. Not all returned servicemen appreciated the stand taken by Huish and his associates; *The Telegraph* (Brisbane) on 29 April recorded five negative letters – one over the *nom-de-plume* 'Five Medals'. This writer felt uneasy with the factionalism he saw in the RSSILA and its influence on Anzac Day. He felt that the actions of the State President of the RSSILA amounted to grandstanding and that the day had 'grown out of all proportion', and needed to be simplified. 'Let the landing at Anzac be commemorated in the simple and sincere form of the Dawn ceremony, and let the rest of the day be regarded as an occasion for public rejoicing.' He made a solitary plea for 'the proper day for solemn commemoration seems to be that observed in all other parts of the world – Armistice Day'.<sup>20</sup> This particular British view was not widely accepted in Australia. Editorial writers saw a chance to air opinions about the contentious matter of the tone of the day. On

30 April, the *Courier-Mail* editorial posted the headline ‘Should Anzac Day Be Brighter? Sailors, Soldiers, and Nurses to Decide – State-Wide Ballot Soon.’<sup>21</sup> This thrust the matter into the public arena and invited comment. The newspaper heading would have been abhorrent to Garland but perhaps more serious was the implication that decision-making over the nature of Anzac Day would be solely the preserve of returned veterans and not the ADCC or even the government of the period. Curiously, despite the initial loud overture announcing the ballot, little public discussion about the issue took place. The Great Depression and its effects had taken the public’s attention. The RSSILA ballot indicated favour for continuation of the solemn style of observance. This was accepted in the ADCC September meeting where Huish moved the motion to confirm the vote, seconded by JF Maxwell MLA, and carried unanimously.<sup>22</sup> The decision on the tone of the day was carried through into the 1936 preparations for the observance. Plans were published ‘with Solemnity Befitting the Occasion.’<sup>23</sup> In the report the ‘Method of Observance’ clearly indicates Garland and Pike’s intentions. A subsequent report intimates a 4.00 am Dawn Service at the Flame of Remembrance and the programme for the day reflects Garland and Huish equally sharing tasks in the day’s services.<sup>24</sup>

As it transpired, the previous tensions between Huish and Garland were a prelude to a much greater battle, a bitter power struggle between the two men and their followers for control of the ADCC in 1937. The matter climaxed in discussions over the arrangements for Anzac Day 1937, where the day fell on a Sunday. Prior to the important December meeting of the ADCC this problem had been given a great deal of press coverage. In June 1936, the Brisbane *Courier-Mail* correctly predicted that the matter was likely to cause controversy. The lines of battle were spelled out for the public to read: the adamant stand of the RSSILA that Anzac Day could only be observed on 25 April; and the ADCC preference following previous years’ patterns where, if it fell on

a Sunday, it should be shifted to the next Monday. The Sydney situation of a sombre morning followed by a sporting and festive afternoon was also discussed.<sup>25</sup> The joint secretaries of the ADCC felt impelled to respond.

Captain ERB Pike, joint secretary of the ADCC, clarified the *Queensland Holidays Act* terms in saying ‘where Anzac Day falls on a Sunday, the next following Monday shall be a holiday’.<sup>26</sup> Garland took the argument further, to include mention of the situation which would happen in 1943 where Anzac Day would occur on Easter Day, and arguing that therefore to hold it on a Sunday would rid the day of its proper significance.<sup>27</sup> There seems to have been a lull in the discussion and it only became worthy of mention after the December ADCC meeting. Huish reminded the ADCC of the previous occasion in 1926 when ‘the Churches had referred to the Observance on the Sunday, the Parade had been held in the afternoon, and the usual Anzac Day Services together with the evening meetings held on the Monday’.<sup>28</sup> He then shifted ground to argue adamantly for the commonly accepted RSSILA stand that Sunday 25 April should be the commemoration with ‘no suggestion of any transfer of the observance to the Monday’. Consequently he moved that:

in view of the actual landing on Gallipoli taking place on Sunday, April 25 1915, this Anzac Day Commemoration Committee consider it most fitting and therefore strongly recommends and earnestly requests that –

All City, Town and Shire Councils, Public, Religious and Returned Solider [sic] Organisations organise and conduct all their Anzac Day Commemoration Services and/or meetings on Sunday, 25th April, 1937.

The people of Queensland observe and commemorate Anzac Day 1937, on Sunday 25th April, 1937.

This was seconded by 'Mr Bostock'[sic].<sup>29</sup> This, and other mistakes in this minute, indicated the stresses felt by Secretaries Garland and Pike. The previous minutes were meticulous and error-free with few exceptions, but for this and subsequent meetings, details such as the names of the organisations' representatives were omitted. Tension was building, despite Garland's and Pike's assurances in their Report for the year that 'The Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' Imperial League, both Headquarters and Branches, have again closely co-operated, and taken care that the programme laid down by the [ADCC] Committee was observed, and its policy endorsed'.<sup>30</sup> This issue pushed the committee to its limits, and revealed the strains between the citizens' outlook and the view of the returned servicemen as represented by the RSSILA. The RSSILA wanted the day to be observed on 25 April regardless of the previous agreements of 1926.

Discussion ranged over the position of each of the Churches and was clarified with the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian representatives expressing difficulty with holding a Sunday-only commemoration. Co-secretary Pike reminded the Committee of the Government legislation, G Brahms countered giving the United Council of AIF Units' position, supporting Huish's stand, and Garland reiterated the stand that the ADCC had been originated by citizens and would be carried on by them 'long after the Returned Soldiers were not there to help'.<sup>31</sup> This central idea again did not sit well with the determined Huish, who stated that he had no desire to embarrass the religious bodies, and while appreciating the difficulties that his motion created, he did not wish to spread the observances over two days. The minutes record the vote on the resolution which was carried to observe the day on 25 April, although a sub-committee was appointed to further discuss the issues of the evening meeting. The meeting of the subcommittee was held on 23 December 1936 in the Queensland Ambulance Transport Brigades' Rooms (QATB), not in the usual venue, the

Executive Offices of the Queensland Government. Huish moved that the Anzac Day evening meetings take place from 9.00 pm to 10.00 pm on Sunday. This was to be taken forward as a recommendation to the next meeting. Meanwhile, the pot was kept boiling when Huish, being asked the view of the RSSILA on sports held on Anzac Day, replied that the returned soldiers were not concerned how the general public held the holiday, 'People do what they please'. He continued to emphasise that all commemorative services and observances would be confined to Sunday 25 April, the actual anniversary of the landing.<sup>32</sup> While Huish may have regarded this as a casual remark, Garland and Pike would have seen the implied monopoly of Anzac Day meanings and management by the RSSILA as offensive. Garland's response was a guarded comment that the ADCC had not considered the matter of activities on the holiday Monday, 26 April.

A crisis point was reached at the next ADCC meeting on 12 March 1937.<sup>33</sup> The Most Reverend John WC Wand, Anglican Archbishop, advised that the Sunday services would follow the liturgy for St Mark's Day and that there would be no public luncheon. The Church of England Help Society could not arrange the lunch, as it had done in 1921 and 1926 on a Monday. The Roman Catholic Church decided it could do no other than have its Service and luncheon on Monday, 26 April. The Presbyterian and Methodist Churches could hold theirs on Sunday, but the Baptists could not hold their usual Tabernacle Service and Annual Luncheon. Huish moved to the point raised in previous discussions, that if the observance were stretched over Sunday and Monday this would mean 'there would be forty eight hours to be kept solemnly, this in his opinion would strengthen the argument of those who held that the Observance of Anzac Day in Queensland was too mournful and too solemn, and would not meet with the approval of the rising generation.'<sup>34</sup> Huish is seen here playing both sides, being prepared to support the notion of solemn observance (clearly supported by

the RSSILA), but not for too long! The determination of Huish to push his ambitions was seen in Garland's minute:

his great anxiety being to confine the Observance to the 25th, and this had been supported by the highest in the land and by the press, he was prepared to go to any lengths if the desire of the soldiers could be carried into effect, and to prevent the spreading of the Observance to make two days of solemnity.<sup>35</sup>

Ultimately, Huish triumphed and forced through a mild motion of censure, in which the ADCC noted it 'keenly regret[s] the inability of some religious bodies to accede to the wishes of the Commemoration Committee' and appealed to them to 'confine their activities to the 25th'. A further successful motion earnestly appealed to the Brisbane City Council to conduct its Anzac Day Evening Citizens' Commemoration Meeting on Sunday 25 April. The local paper reporting the meeting gave no indication of the bitterness in the meeting.<sup>36</sup> The effect of this was that the public was unaware of any debate over the matter. The only suggestion of discord was the news report that the ADCC expressed 'a wish that all churches should co-operate'.<sup>37</sup>

Garland, having seen the successful capture of the initiative of the ADCC by Huish and the soldier representatives, considered his own resignation but was persuaded otherwise by Co-Secretary Pike. Huish rubbed salt into the wound by offering to relieve the heavy responsibilities of the Joint Secretaries through the appointment of an Executive Committee. He then took the opportunity to upbraid Garland and Pike for their part in the 'unnecessary and unsuitable publicity in the press'. This was a strange and curious remark, in view of the scant reporting of the matter. The adoption of a monthly Executive Committee was agreed, and Garland was left isolated at the end of the meeting to explain the delay in getting

the Premier or his representative, FA Cooper, to call the meeting. Both Archbishops of Brisbane indicated that their churches would respond to Anzac Day in their own way.<sup>38</sup> The usual 'Suggestions for Public Observance' were posted, but a hand-written addition in the minutes draws attention to the 'Dawn service' as having been overlooked by both denominations.

There is an additional and bitter record for the first meeting of the Executive of the ADCC held at the QATB Rooms in Ann Street on 1 April 1937. Garland tendered an apology.<sup>39</sup> Between the scheduled ADCC meetings tension was increased further when Huish publicly announced through the newspapers that the RSSILA was going to arrange for their own service at the Cross of Sacrifice in the Toowong Cemetery on Sunday 25 April at 9.00 am.<sup>40</sup> Now this was a declaration of open warfare, as the Brisbane public was fully aware that all the previous ceremonies at this site had been organised and conducted by Canon Garland. The latter's response was terse: 'I am not disposed to enter into a controversy with Mr Huish, especially in view of the type of argument he uses'. He confirmed that he would conduct a service at Toowong on the morning of 26 April as he had done in 1926.<sup>41</sup> The correspondence on the matter rapidly became public property. The RSL plans for their Sunday service at Toowong were detailed with the response from the feisty Canon that he 'regarded it as a form of militarism that the league [RSL] should presume to dictate to him or anyone who assembled with him as to when and where they should pray for, and remember their fallen comrades'.<sup>42</sup>

By the next ADCC Executive Meeting on 20 April, the Church of England Cathedral Service was scheduled for 25 April but the Roman Catholic service on the next day, Monday. The Secretary reported that Garland would broadcast as usual from 4QG. The next day the *Courier-Mail* printed what appeared to be a step back by Huish who appeared to defend the primacy of Sunday as the Lord's Day. He stated that nothing, not even Anzac Day, could



supervene on a Sunday and its associated Christian services, but argued that as Sunday was a holy day, and so was Anzac Day, then there should be no apparent conflict in holding the observances on a Sunday. Moreover, he emphasised, the 1915 landing day had been a Sunday!<sup>43</sup> The Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* paper reported that Garland's Toowong service on the Monday 26 April was successful but also that Father F Barry of St Stephen's Catholic Cathedral appealed for more 'timely understanding' for the day in 1943 when the day would be an extraordinary Sunday – Easter Day.<sup>44</sup> The Reverend Father also pleaded for the end to sectarianism in the Easter arrangements, a plea supported in the same report by Huish who called for 'undenominational meetings'. Indicating the change in relative status between Garland and Huish was the comprehensive report on the Anzac Day observances state-wide and in Sydney, Melbourne and London. Canon Garland received no mention.<sup>45</sup>

In the meeting of the Executive Committee on 30 August 1937, concern was expressed about the dwindling returns and the consequent preparations for making fewer grants. The 'Joint Honorary Secretaries' [sic] Report of 1937' showed that despite reservations from the religious representatives of the ADCC, the day had gone well. Huish must have been delighted. The next Executive Meeting minutes also records Pike's observation that 'in publications and press matters supplied by the League [RSL], no reference was made to the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee'.<sup>46</sup> Capitulation was complete. At the last full meeting of the ADCC for 1937, where twenty-one members including Garland were present, eleven were RSL representatives or affiliates. The returned men had captured the initiative. Early in the meeting Garland acquiesced in the application for the TB Sailors' and Soldiers' Association of Queensland to join the ADCC.<sup>47</sup>

The Committee heard the account of the financial position and suggestions that payments to beneficiary organisations be reduced.

A question was asked about the investments, and Garland pointed out that the £3000 accumulated by the ADCC in earlier years was originally for the upkeep of Gallipoli graves but since responsibility for the care of graves abroad had been taken by the Imperial War Graves Commission the (interest on the) money had been used to pay for tending the graves at Toowong. Pike shielded Garland from an obvious attack by suggesting the issue of the care of these graves could be taken up with the Brisbane City Council. Garland's sensitivity was exposed when Mr Mills of the Fathers' Association proffered thanks for the arrangement of the Sunday service at the Toowong Cemetery on Anzac Day. Garland's response was sharp. He said 'he would take exception to such an action as he had held a service at 9 am at Toowong on Anzac Day for at least fifteen years and had neither expected nor received thanks for doing so'.<sup>48</sup>

Garland's increasing ill-health did not prevent his delivery of the address at the Holy Eucharist at St John's Cathedral where he appealed for the continuation of Anzac Day as a sacred day of remembrance.<sup>49</sup> This was again a well-attended Anzac Day where 3848 returned men marched in Brisbane, but in a year when the clouds of war were apparent on the horizon.<sup>50</sup> In April 1939, notice was given that Archbishop Wand would conduct the Toowong Anzac Day service because Canon Garland was too ill to attend.<sup>51</sup>

This is a sad end to a record of noble service by a man whose main ambition was to preserve the proper observance of Australian Anzac Day. He struggled on, attending subsequent meetings as his declining health allowed. The 21 September 1939 meeting was his last and he withdrew early, but not before tabling the joint Secretaries' last report which touched on that matter close to his heart – the continued maintenance of soldier graves in Toowong cemetery.<sup>52</sup> The minutes of a subsequent meeting record a brief tribute to Garland, who died in October 1939.<sup>53</sup> The ADCC Chairman, FA Cooper, moved a motion of sympathy. In seconding the resolution Secretary Pike said 'Even if he were not actually the originator of

the Observance, he had been closely and intimately associated with it since its commencement.<sup>54</sup> No one had worked more assiduously nor expressed the view more strongly that Anzac Day should be a Holy Day and not a Holiday.<sup>55</sup> Garland deserved better; however, it was wartime.<sup>56</sup> The historic landscape was scarred by this extended conflict. It set a tone for entrenched possession for Anzac Day of a sort not experienced elsewhere.

Wendy Mansfield, writing for the 1981 edition of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, places Garland at the forefront of Anzac Day initiatives.<sup>57</sup> His contribution to the inception and proper maintenance of the day to 1939 cannot be overestimated. His unswerving determination to make the day sacred, to imprint the connection of the day with the mainstream churches, particularly his own, the Church of England, to work for a standardised day of national commemoration, to base the administration of the day within the view of civic rather than exclusively military authorities, defined the day in a way still recognisable today.<sup>58</sup> The ADCC, despite administrative problems in the 1950s, remained true to Garland's vision. His sense of inclusion eased the way for the memories of future generations of soldiers and their families to be placed in that landscape. Today, the ADCC public declaration states that it 'continues to prosecute the original aims for a holy day of commemoration rather than another public festival holiday... [and] it will always represent the citizens' gift of the people to Queensland's war veterans.'<sup>59</sup> David Garland's guiding light still shines.

It would be appropriate to compare the significance of Garland's legacy with that of CEW Bean, the great military historian. Bean's legacy is found in the preserved military archives, the building of the AWM and most of all in the absorption of the bush legend into the ethos of the Australian community and particularly the military. Garland's contribution lies in the nature and continuance of Anzac Day throughout Australia and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand.

In the extraordinary struggle between Garland and Huish for control over the ADCC, we can see strong elements of ‘impression management’.<sup>60</sup> Metaphorically, this was a generational struggle between a ‘Young Turk’ and an old warrior, which the latter lost. The changing landscape reflects a desire, conscious or otherwise, by the RSSILA to emulate other Australian States and the New Zealand situation where civic authorities capitulated early on to the wishes of the RSA for control over Anzac Day events. The Huish-Garland struggle is a remarkable episode reflecting divergent interpretations of Anzac Day. It represented victory for the forces of localism and conservatism in Australia. For the nation, emerging slowly from the depths of the Great Depression and facing up to the spectre of war, the RSSILA/RSL victory appeared reassuring. It seemed a victory for a group that perceived itself to be better equipped in society to represent the interests of the nation in Anzac Day more than the civic ADCC representatives had been able to before 1936. The result carried the seeds of both optimism and future disunity.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 HW Orsman (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand English*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997, p. 465. ‘Mana’ means prestige or authority of people, movements or things, especially of public figures.
- 2 *Cairns Post*, 10 March 1931, p. 9. Arrangements for the day were to follow the 1930 model which was reported as most satisfactory. The RSSILA State Secretary congratulated the ADCC on its work for the day in 1930; *Brisbane Courier*, 21 April 1931, p. 15. Huish and Garland posted to speak at the Bon Accord Theatre evening meeting (later changed for the City Hall).
- 3 *Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1932, p. 11.
- 4 *Brisbane Courier*, 22 April 1933, p. 15. Garland was to speak at Ithaca Creek School and the Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution, and Huish was posted for the Morningside School.

- 5 *Brisbane Courier*, 24 April 1933, p. 10, arrangements for speakers; *Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1933, p. 14. Huish and Garland presenting the uniform resolution of sympathy; *Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1933, pp. 11–12.
- 6 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 21 April 1934, p. 18.
- 7 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 21 April 1934, p. 18.
- 8 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 26 April 1934, p. 12.
- 9 *Central Queensland Herald*, Rockhampton, 3 May 1934, p. 44. There was also a report about desecration of graves in Toowong Cemetery.
- 10 JOL ADCC Minutes 1 February 1934: FB Bolton, Chamber of Commerce representative felt that the ‘general tone of the Observance was too sad, he considered that as time had softened the horrors of war, the Observance should be brightened by the spirit of ‘Thanksgiving’ and went further, suggesting “‘Onward, Christian Soldiers” replace the Dead March in the Evening Meetings, and that the flags need not be at half-mast all day’. The meeting discarded this in favour of what had been in previous years. A reflection on what was happening elsewhere came in a letter from JE Bell, representative of the 9th Battalion who attended the Anzac Celebration in Sydney in 1933, who wrote, ‘Sydney’s colourful sports on Anzac afternoon and their tattoo at night was a diversity to Brisbane’s continued solemnity of services throughout the day and evening, and I consider that nowhere else is Anzac Day so sacredly kept and memories so keenly hallowed, after the years having reached our 18th anniversary’.
- 11 JOL ADCC Minutes 1 February 1934, Joint Secretaries Report 1934, p. 1: ‘On Anzac Day there seemed to be but one sentiment in the heart of the whole community – that of profound reverence to the memory of the men through whose service and sacrifice in the war we retain the liberties and privileges as a people that are ours today’.
- 12 JOL ADCC Minutes, 18 October 1934.
- 13 JOL ADCC M & S 1923–1937, 7 March 1935. The ADCC was to ask Queensland and other State leaders for flying of ‘the Dominion [of New Zealand] flag on Anzac Day together with the Union Jack and the Commonwealth flag’. This matter was later raised when the ‘Suggestions for Observance’ pamphlet was being considered and FB Bolton promoted the idea that ceremonies on the day should make ‘special reference to New Zealand’. To be included in the same publication were articles by Ion Idriess and the Archbishop of Brisbane, and extracts from *The Silent Division* by New Zealander Reverend OE Burton.
- 14 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 7 March 1935, p. 3.
- 15 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 7 March 1935, p. 14.
- 16 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 26 April 1935, p. 12.

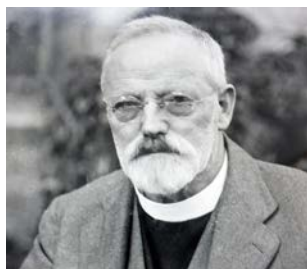
- 17 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 23 April 1935, p. 14. Radio 4QG Brisbane broadcast the addresses. Radio 4RK at Rockhampton relayed the material from Brisbane. Garland spoke on 'Anzac Day, what it means to us' while Huish spoke on the 'Commemoration of Anzac Day: an appeal for the Diggers'.
- 18 *Cairns Post*, 26 April 1935, p. 10. The editorial positioned Anzac Day as a 'Holy Day'.
- 19 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 5 September 1935, out of the twenty present, eleven were representatives of returned men or their sympathisers.
- 20 JOL ADCC Cutting Book, Vol. 4, 1935–1938, pp. 280–84, *The Telegraph*, Letters to Editor, 'Five Medals'.
- 21 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 30 April 1935, p. 13.
- 22 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 6 September 1935, p. 12. Garland spoke at length and the ADCC committee again rejected the application from the Diggers' Association.
- 23 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 23 April 1936, p. 15.
- 24 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 24 April 1936, p. 17.
- 25 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 1 June 1936, p. 12.
- 26 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 4 June 1936, p. 15. This was also a reference to the 1926 situation, when Anzac Day had last fallen on a Sunday.
- 27 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 22 June 1936, p. 12.
- 28 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 16 December 1936, p. 1.
- 29 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 16 December 1936, p. 2. 'JOB Stock' in the record of those present.
- 30 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 16 December 1936, Joint Honorary Secretaries' Report, 1936, p. 1.
- 31 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 16 December 1936, p. 4.
- 32 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 11 February 1937, p. 19.
- 33 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 12 March 1937.
- 34 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 12 March 1937, pp. 2–3.
- 35 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 12 March 1937.
- 36 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 13 March 1937, p. 15.
- 37 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 13 March 1937, p. 15.

- 38 ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC: ADCC Circulars, 18 and 24 March 1937. Hon Secretaries to ADCC.
- 39 Canon Garland informed the Committee by letter he could not attend ‘as he was not willing at present to sit with Mr Huish, Mr Lloyd, or other representatives of the Returned Soldiers League who had adopted an attitude of hostility to him personally ... He objected to a reference made by Mr Lloyd at a meeting of the Committee that he, Canon Garland, had stayed at home while others had gone to the front [and] the implications made by Mr Huish in connection with the calling of meetings of the Anzac Day Committee, and the reference to luncheons given to men following the Church Services as bait’. Further discussion on the letter was deferred to the next meeting. Huish enquired as to whether Canon Garland would be holding the usual 9 am service at Toowong on 25 April and also whether he would broadcast on 4QG. This is not elaborated, but indicates a deal of nervousness about Garland’s influence. Again, the main local paper, the *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 2 April 1937, p. 14, reported only selected minutes of the newly appointed ADCC Executive with no mention of the internal debate.
- 40 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 9 April 1937, p. 20.
- 41 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 9 April 1937, p. 20.
- 42 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 8 April 1937, p. 20.
- 43 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 21 April 1937, p. 14.
- 44 *Morning Bulletin*, 27 April 1937, p. 7.
- 45 *Central Queensland Herald*, Rockhampton, 29 April 1937, p. 61.
- 46 ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, Meeting of the Executive of the ADCC, 2 November 1937. It is interesting to see the minutes of this group loosely called ‘Executive’, for example 30 August 1937, or ‘Executive Committee’ for 20 April 1937 and 2 November 1937.
- 47 The Premier, Hon W Forgan Smith, apologised for not attending the Queensland Anzac Day, because he was at the London observance. He attended with the High Commissioner, SM Bruce, and the Federal Treasurer, E Casey, and heard the sermon preached by the Archbishop of New Zealand in St Paul’s.
- 48 JOL ADCC M&S 1923–1937, Minutes of the ADCC, 4 November 1937, p. 4.
- 49 *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 26 April 1938, p. 9; *Central Queensland Herald*, Rockhampton, 28 April 1938, p. 48.
- 50 *Cairns Post*, 26 April 1938, p. 5.
- 51 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 24 April 1939, p. 2.

- 52 JOL ADCC Minutes OHMA/1/5, 21 September 1939 and Joint Secretaries' Report [undated].
- 53 *Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 10 October 1939, p. 7. Canon Garland died at his home after Holy Communion on Sunday morning 8 October 1939. Raymond Huish generously stated that Garland would 'be sadly missed' despite their bitter disagreements of the recent past. The reference to his passing is close by pictures of Europe at war and was followed a day later (*Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 11 October 1939, p. 13) by many tributes to the Canon.
- 54 A reference to TA Ryan.
- 55 JOL ADCC Minutes OHMA/1/5, Folder 1, 22 February 1940, p. 1.
- 56 JOL ADCC Minutes OHMA/1/5, Folder 2, Minutes of the ADCC, 13 February 1941, a letter of commendation from King George VI, expressing thanks for a specially bound copy of the Anzac Day booklet, and his regret on hearing of the death of Garland; Minutes of the ADCC, 24 July 1941, a motion was later tabled, which had been prepared by SC James (TB Sailors and Soldiers' Association of Queensland) and seconded by the Reverend Allan McKillop (Presbyterian Church) and SH Richardson (Fathers' Association). This moved that the sum of ten guineas would be made available for a memorial to the late Canon Garland.
- 57 Wendy Mansfield, 'Garland, David John (1864–1939)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 8, 1891–1939, Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 1981, pp. 619–20. 'Garland initiated the Anzac Day march, the returned soldiers' luncheon, the two minutes' silence, the wreath-laying ceremonies at memorials and the special church services. He also began a trust to use money raised from [the sale of] Anzac Day badges for the care of soldiers' graves at home and abroad. The royal blue silk badges devised by Garland include the winged lion of St Mark, because St Mark's Day coincided with Anzac Day. The badge and ceremonies, vigorously backed by Garland, were taken up in other States and to a very large extent in New Zealand and Great Britain. Garland was overpoweringly energetic with a distinctive flair, if not genius, for organisation. He was honoured with an OBE in 1934. An enthusiastic Jacobite, he bore various titles in the Order of King Charles the Martyr. Widowed in 1933, he died on 9 October 1939 and was buried in Toowong cemetery.'
- 58 [www.anzacday.org.ac](http://www.anzacday.org.ac), the website of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee of Queensland.
- 59 [www.anzacday.org.ac](http://www.anzacday.org.ac), the website of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee of Queensland.
- 60 Greider and Garkovich, p. 14; PM Hall, p. 51.



## 14 A life honoured but frustrated



Well done thou good and faithful servant, you have been faithful over a little, I will set you over much; enter now into the joy of your master. (Matthew 25:23)

*A*lthough advancing years had taken their toll, Garland's final decade saw little reduction in the pace of his hectic public life. It began with the successful establishment of Anzac Day in the national calendar which clearly was Garland's greatest achievement although the religious dimension was by no means uniformly observed across every State of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, the record is emphatic that it was Garland who did most to burn the significance of Anzac Day into the minds of Australians and New Zealanders. Garland's role in devising a suitable ecumenical ceremony; in insisting that it should be a 'close public holiday' like Good Friday to emphasise the solemnity of the occasion; his activity in raising money for war memorials; in publishing with Captain Pike the annual Anzac Day commemorative booklet; and in selling the Lavender badges with the lion of

St Mark embossed in gold with the words, 'Their Name Liveth', all established the day as the truly national day of the Australian Commonwealth and of New Zealand. Additionally, Garland's work in raising money for and directing the 'Lavender Fund', out of which he financed his ministry to troops in the Middle East, distinguished him as an indefatigably vigorous Empire patriot and uniquely dedicated army chaplain.

After the war Garland championed Soldier Settlement and continued to be very active in assisting young men and women from Britain to make their future in the Australian outback with the aim of building up a strong British and Christian Australia. He had always been very sensitive to the welfare of Aborigines and the Church's responsibility towards them, as his interest in such missions as Yarrabah in far North Queensland showed.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Garland had also kept up a close relationship, mainly through the ADCC, with Queensland's leading politicians which meant mainly the Labor Party. He was the friend and confidant of premiers and cabinet ministers until the very end of his life. And given his penchant for communication via the latest technology (as with the lantern slide lectures of pre-war days), it is not surprising that Garland pioneered the broadcasting of church services, thereby contributing to the acceptance of religious broadcasting generally. He was anything but old fashioned. Indeed, his dominant priority was to use all modern means possible to place the content of the Gospel before his fellow citizens for the national good. No doubt he enjoyed the social intercourse of frequenting the corridors of power but not for power for himself. He wanted to exploit his talents in the manner of Gladstone to ensure the State wielded its power responsibly in the interests of the nation and the welfare of its citizens.

For his long and faithful service to Church and Empire, in June 1934 the King conferred upon Garland the Order of the British Empire in the rank of Officer (OBE). Bishop Horace Dixon,

co-adjutor Bishop at the time prior to the arrival of Archbishop Wand, announced at Diocesan Synod that month:

I am going to ask Synod to pass this resolution [of appreciation at the honour bestowed] in a very special way. I am stepping down on the floor of the house to convey to Canon Garland my personal thanks for the immense help that he has given me in the administration of the diocese during the last fifteen months. It has been astounding to me how a man of his age can exercise such a wonderful energy, his influence has been most striking with all classes of thought amongst the Clergy, the laity and the government of the State.<sup>2</sup>

Garland was vindicated. Perhaps the real key to the man's character is found in his reply to the Bishop's words of praise: 'if a tittle of what has been said was true, then they must revere the memory of the Reverend Thomas Jones' who had prevailed upon him to become ordained to the priesthood of the Church. Garland continued: 'In the strength and inspiration of what you have said I shall endeavour, in the few years left to me, to continue to do my best'.<sup>3</sup>

The award of the OBE was never so richly deserved, so magnanimously proclaimed (by the Bishop) and so graciously accepted. Garland wore his priesthood like a garment that was part of his being. It happens that a young man is driven to seek holy orders because he has met and been impressed by a priest whom he greatly admires. In the case of Garland, the apprenticeship with such an energetic priest as Tommy Jones had been crucial. He could not have found a better role model; a priest with the ability to channel Garland's obvious gifts in an Anglo-Catholic direction must have been a man of special qualities. Given Garland's 'Orange' background, his transformation into the priest he later became was a most unlikely result. But this was the essential providential element

in inspiring and enabling Garland to conceive of the Anzac commemoration in the way he did.

It was inevitable that Garland would provoke opposition to his ideas, especially to keep Anzac Day in the exclusively religious mode he had devised. But some people lack a 'sense of the numinous'. One who caused Garland bitter frustration in his later years was Sir Raymond Huish, the Queensland secretary of the RSSILA. Like Garland, Huish was a 'fighter' for those things in which he believed. As explained in chapter thirteen, Huish sought to take control of the ADCC because he felt that Anzac Day should be celebrated solely in accordance with the presumed preferences of returned men. He agreed there was a place for solemnity in the early part of the day but thereafter there should be sports and 'two-up' and 'jubilation' in the time-honoured way of diggers. Huish's priorities could not have been more at odds with Garland's conception of the day. The collision came when again in 1937 Anzac Day fell on a Sunday. First of all 25 April is in the Christian calendar, St Mark's Day, and this had to be observed without question on that day, although now the date of that observance can be transferred. But that did not constitute an issue for the Churches. One could observe St Mark's Day and Anzac Day together without violating any theological principles. However, when Anzac Day fell on a Sunday there was a distinct problem as Garland had pointed out in his correspondence with Prime Minister Hughes.<sup>4</sup> The Canon understood that for Christians Sunday was pre-eminently 'the Lord's day'. It had to take precedence above all else. Indeed, every Sunday was a recollection of the first Easter which celebrates the resurrection of Christ. Nothing else could be added to that without infringing a fundamental theological principle. Consequently, when Huish insisted, as he did, that Anzac Day be celebrated *only* on 25 April regardless of what day it fell, he had to offend the churches' non-negotiable priorities. He clearly did not try to understand this and thought it a trivial matter on which the churches were being

unreasonably pedantic. They had pleaded for Anzac Day to be celebrated on 26 April but to Huish this was totally unacceptable; it had always to be celebrated on the day of the Gallipoli landing. Consequently, in 1937 when the issue arose again, because in that year, 25 April was a Sunday, the conditions were such that a confrontation between Garland and Huish was unavoidable.

Huish had the advantage, as we have pointed out, because the ADCC was open to membership by former army personnel, and by 1936 they had marginally a majority on the committee. It was his opportunity to steal a march on Garland which he did, much to the Canon's chagrin. Consequently, Huish succeeded in pushing through his conception of Anzac Day over Garland's. What needs to be reiterated here is Garland's vision of the day which should be *exclusively* a holy day. For him as a priest it was a means of calling the nation to repentance for both its materialism and the consequent sin of war. But this aspect of the day was clearly lost on Huish, who, although he saw a place for some solemnity in the morning, held that the remainder of the day should be given over to the more worldly pursuits of young men. The notion of using the Day to educate them to serious spiritual reflection was not something to be considered at all. So here, obviously, was an irresolvable situation, an issue between men who occupied totally opposite intellectual-spiritual universes, not to mention men of fiercely determined personalities. Of course, Garland represented a vision of a future society that was the product of a pious and altruistic mind and as such it would have no real chance of surviving in the so-called real world characterised as it is by a plethora of competing ideas and values all striving for acceptance within the community but where materialism is the dominant pre-occupation of most people. That said, however, as the sociologist of religion Robert Bellah has pointed out, there is a communal need for spiritual cohesiveness in all societies which is expressed in a defining ritual. This is often a 'cult of the dead' because it is a 'means of prolonging the presence

of the dead within the community of the living, and therefore as the most eloquent testimonies of the permanent value of life in the world of time and change.<sup>5</sup> This means that even normally non-religious people will associate themselves with such a ritual because it is focused on the community of which everyone is part, and not on an abstract deity. Such people do not want to be associated with a 'faith community' for which they have no particular sympathy but they will gladly identify with the mass who participate in the secular 'cult of the dead' which the Anzac commemoration undoubtedly is. That such a sentiment exists is confirmed every evening throughout Australia in the RSL clubs where at 7.00 pm Laurence Binyon's ode, *For the Fallen*, is recited over the public address system, and all present are required to maintain a strict silence.<sup>6</sup> There may, of course, be those people who disdain any form of ritual, religious or civil, considering it an atavistic relic of an unenlightened past, but they rarely dare trumpet their views within the RSL clubs or to the wider community.

What the foregoing discussion has highlighted is the gulf separating Canon Garland's priestly conception of Anzac and that of those soldiers whose views were articulated by Raymond Huish. The latter's concession that solemnity be balanced with 'jubilation' was devoid of any real spiritual objective. In particular the notion that the ritual could serve to bring the population closer to the heart of the Gospel would have been lost on a man like Huish. This was underlined in the preparations for the 1943 Anzac Day which coincided with Easter Day. The Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane at the time, Reginald Halse and the Primate of Australia, Archbishop Le Fanu of Perth, were anxious that Anzac observance be transferred to 26 April and had made representation to the Prime Minister. The Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Panico, was understood to have made a similar approach. Huish remained characteristically unmoved. He had no difficulty in getting the ADCC to endorse the commemoration of Anzac on Easter Day in 1943, saying that it

accorded with the wishes of ‘the soldiers’. His reported comments at the ADCC meeting of 21 January 1943 indicated a total disregard for the wishes of the churches. In a speech riddled with garbled logic he insisted that Anzac Day ‘was not a religious day but one of solemn commemoration’. The RSSILA had always regarded it as ‘a Holy Day’ [sic] and therefore he considered Sunday was appropriate. However, conceded Huish, to suit the churches, the evening meetings had been held at 9.00 pm. As well, he said, it would be good to eliminate dances and picture shows which, during wartime, were being held for troops on Sundays. Huish reiterated that he would be the last to say that there should be any interference with the observance of Easter by the churches but their services should ‘not be the dominating feature of Anzac Day, and if it could not be fitted in, it would be just too bad.’<sup>7</sup> Nothing could have illustrated better the intransigence of the Queensland chairman of the RSSILA with regard to the position of the Church on Anzac Day. This was summed up at the meeting by one Anglican priest on the committee, the Reverend Roy St George. Echoing Canon Garland’s stand, he tried in vain to point out that Easter Day was a day of rejoicing whereas Anzac Day was one of solemn commemoration.<sup>8</sup> The chaplains and their agenda were driven from the field, their role being reduced to that of ‘padres on duty’ when required.

### ***Vale, David John Garland***

The key to understanding David Garland’s ministry is recognising that he was, first and foremost, a dedicated parish priest. There was a certain poetic poignancy, therefore, in the circumstances of his death: he collapsed at the age of seventy-five after celebrating the main Eucharist on Sunday 8 October 1939. He died early the next day.<sup>9</sup> Garland departed this life after performing a foundational task for all priests. For a priest to collapse and die immediately after celebrating the sacrament of the Lord’s death and resurrection, having led such a long and enormously influential public ministry,

is something peculiarly appropriate. Garland's profile as a Church of England clergyman could not have been higher in Queensland. Testimony to this was that his funeral on the Tuesday morning was attended by some of the most distinguished public men of Brisbane, reflecting his remarkable network of friends and associates in high places.<sup>10</sup> Among the pall bearers were the Premier, William Forgan Smith and the Minister for Health and Home Affairs, Edward (Ned) Hanlon, significantly a Roman Catholic. Garland had maintained long-standing and close personal relationships with a range of leading community figures. Indeed, he was to have lunched with the Premier on the day of the funeral. The funeral service was presided over by the Archbishop of Brisbane, William Wand, who explained that it was Garland's wish to be buried from his parish church rather than from the cathedral as he preferred to be farewelled by his loyal, everyday parishioners: a significant pastoral priority.



Pallbearers leaving St Barnabas' Church in Red Hill, Brisbane, with Canon Garland's coffin on 10 October 1939. Photo courtesy of *Courier-Mail*.



That so many local dignitaries attended the funeral of a 'simple' parish priest was unusual, but Garland was not by any means a 'simple' parish priest as all his contemporaries, both friendly and less so, would attest. Archbishop Wand, a leading Anglican intellectual himself and a widely published Church historian, had prepared a sensitive panegyric for his doughty Canon. The prelate remarked that Garland, while he did not have the mind of a scholar, knew a very great deal about many things. Wand acknowledged that whenever the two of them had a difference of opinion it was mostly Garland who turned out to be right. Above all though, assessed Wand, Garland was a fighter, a champion of causes for which he fought with great zeal and tenacity. This he did all his priestly life for a number of national projects. In addition to the Bible in State Schools League and Anzac Commemoration projects, these included the New Settlers' League and the promotion of immigration of boys and young women from the British Isles. As well there were his cordial pastoral relations with the Greek and Russian Orthodox communities. With the Greeks in particular Garland exercised a pro-active public ministry. The historian of the Greek community in Queensland, Arthur Conomos, pays particular tribute to his keenness to promote the cause of reunion between the Church of England and the Orthodox Church. Garland had invited Greeks to St Barnabas' Ithaca to listen to him advocate this great project in November 1931. Anglican priests paid reciprocal visits to St George's Greek Orthodox Church in the city of Brisbane on Good Friday in 1932 where they acquainted themselves with the Greek liturgy which had so impressed Garland in Jerusalem. In April 1934 Garland had invited the Greek priest, Father Dimopoulos, to preach at Evensong. He was accompanied by the Greek Consul and his wife as well as leading members of the Greek community who spoke to the congregation at the post-Evensong supper. At about the same time in 1936 a Greek National Day service at St George's Church was conducted jointly by Garland and Father

Papadopoulos. This was broadcast on the ABC radio station 4QG and heard all over Australia.

All this ecumenical activity was augmented significantly in July 1936 when the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem made an official visit to St George's. He was a friend of the Greek Patriarch and so Garland had been keen to promote the visit as a major achievement in relations between the two Churches. Arthur Conomos stressed that the senior Greek prelate in Australia, Archbishop Timotheos emphatically approved of these activities between St Barnabas' and St George's.<sup>11</sup> In the light of developments within Anglicanism such as the ordination of women, that ecumenical optimism has not been sustained into the present, though relations between the Orthodox and Anglicans certainly remain fraternal.

These projects were in some way associated with the future of the Empire, as Garland saw it. Essentially, Garland perceived the British Empire as having been called by almighty God to spread and maintain a liberal democratic culture throughout the world for the benefit of all peoples, and the ideological basis for this was to be found in the Holy Bible. In it were enshrined the eternal truths and principles to enable the peoples of the world to conduct decent and productive lives, for the nations to live in peace with one another so that there would be no oppression or exploitation of peoples or individuals anymore, or cause for violent conflict.

That said, in the task of spreading the ideas of liberty and democracy Garland was acutely aware of the need for efficient armed forces to oppose the agents of tyranny wherever they tried to assert themselves. A realist, he believed in the judicious application of force where necessary. Soldiers would always be needed in this fallen world. Consequently, Garland had developed a particular concern for the welfare of troops. For him military chaplaincy was pastoral work of a very special kind. The young men who offered their lives to defend liberty deserved special care and it was the responsibility of the Church and especially the Church of England to provide

it. Garland was always ready to involve himself personally in this great pastoral endeavour. He had an activist view of the Church in the world; he would not stand passively aside, naively leaving the affairs of this world in the hands of a remote deity. For him the Church was both the conscience and the handmaid of the State. Not all ministers of religion perceived their vocation in precisely these terms although many clergy of all denominations became military chaplains. This was, to them, an extension of normal pastoral work into the special sphere of army life. Garland had a highly developed concept of a priest's public duty. It was by no means restricted to preaching the Word of God and celebrating the Holy Eucharist. For Garland these very public acts would sensitise people to their obligations to care for each other, for the environment which is God's creation and for the nation and Empire of which Australia was an integral part. Garland had reflected deeply on the role of the clergyman in the community; he was convinced that the priest bore a distinct responsibility to attend to the welfare of all citizens regardless of their religious affiliations.

The community was composed of 'All Sorts and Conditions of Men' to quote the famous phrase from the prayer of that heading in the *Book of Common Prayer*. If, as an Anglican priest, one was educated in that tradition, one appreciated the duty of care for one's fellow citizens. And certainly soldiers are included in 'all sorts and conditions of men'.<sup>12</sup> In order for society to function both justly and efficiently it had to be able to rely on the security provided by the armed services. Indeed, the Bible in both the Old and New Testaments clearly presumes an ordered community and the obligation, as it states, to 'seek the welfare of the city' (Jeremiah 29:7).<sup>13</sup> And in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, the existence of a just State and an ordered society is presumed. A responsible community is certainly predicated in such parables as the 'Good Samaritan' which prioritises compassion for the victims of criminality regardless of their race or religious affiliation. And the story

of the 'Prodigal Son' has clear implications not only for the need for limitless forgiveness of sins of all kinds, be they selfishness, neglect of duty or irresponsible life style. Forgiveness is the basis for all social relationships; indeed the corner stone of all decent human existence. This aspect of the Gospel clearly informed Garland's ministry as chaplain and was especially evident when he was serving in the Middle East, as has been seen.

Garland was very active in promoting British settlement in Australia. For him the great question of the time was how to populate the vast empty spaces. It was an issue that exercised the mind of all thinking Australians. Some leading politicians, Billy Hughes included, famously pronounced on the subject. Indeed, ever since Federation a public debate had been raging in which the trade unions and the Labor Party had developed very definite ideas. If Australia were to fulfil her destiny as a classless, radically democratic society there should be no importation of cheap labour from whatever source. This would depress the job market and only redound to the benefit of the capitalist class in the end. Garland vigorously represented this view. In a series of lectures under the provocative title 'Should Australia be White?' published in the *Brisbane Courier* on 8 and 15 November 1924, Garland dwelt at length on the subject. This was plainly one about which he had clearly thought a great deal.

Uppermost in Garland's mind was the vulnerability of the Australian colonies to what he called the 'Chinese invasion'. He said that when one surveyed the Chinese presence on the various gold fields from Victoria to far North Queensland during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was an enormous disproportion in the relationship between Europeans and Asiatics. He regarded this as tantamount to a peaceful invasion as a result of which the white race would be overwhelmed. Collectively, the Chinese behaved in what he considered to be a quite unacceptable manner both through their work practices and their habits of

personal hygiene. Overall their presence was detrimental to the growth of a healthy and stable society that was compatible with British political culture. Indeed, Garland reflected closely the attitude of the incipient labour movement of the nineteenth century; the presence of a mass underclass would depress the labour market and only benefit the capitalist class. Garland insisted that this was by no means racist. Individual Asiatics, especially Christians, were treated with respect and granted citizenship. But a mass Chinese ‘invasion’ was definitely not the answer to filling Australia’s vast empty spaces. The solution lay in the realistic migration of British settlers, thousands of whom were out of work in the post-war period and who through their introduction into Australia would in the long term benefit the nation economically and ensure the preservation of British political culture.

Garland was highly critical of both State and Federal governments for not dealing with this question seriously in 1924. Neither authority really, in his view, grasped what was at stake. For his part Garland had been sponsoring the immigration of British farm lads and female ‘domestics’ to travel to Australia and make their life here since 1909. He pursued this objective energetically until the Great Depression effectively put paid to all schemes of assisted migration from Britain. Nevertheless, hundreds of British farm lads and ‘domestics’ found their way to Australia due to his early initiatives.<sup>14</sup> But he was a prophet not acknowledged in his own time.

In addition to immigration, Garland paid close attention to international affairs, especially during the 1930s when the ‘rise of the dictators’ in Europe and Asia, especially Japan, with their frightening displays of belligerence widely reported on the news reels of the day, engendered great anxiety among the free nations of the world. Garland, who had pioneered religious broadcasting in Brisbane, frequently went on air to ventilate his fears for the future if the British Empire and the United States did not proclaim and demonstrate their democratic solidarity. He anticipated

Prime Minister John Curtin's famous appeal of 26 December 1941 to America<sup>15</sup>, saying on air in 1934:

I am speaking from 'down under'. Australia, a great continent with only seven millions of people; a mere sprinkling compared to the many millions of America.

We are a white race 98 per cent of British stock and determined to remain a white race, if the world will let us.

We are part of the British Empire, and the Great War showed that we were determined at the sacrifice of blood and money to remain part of that British Empire, yet we desire good will among all the nations of the world. And to be in friendly relations with all because we are not an aggressive people; we possess more territory than we are occupying, we are producing more than we can consume ourselves. We need America's and Canada's aid. We look to America which speaks the same language, which if not of 98 per cent British stock, yet was founded by British stock and still has, notwithstanding the influx of other European nationals, a great proportion of Anglo Saxons.

Garland, in his eagerness to strengthen trans-Pacific ties, was concerned to expand Australian export trade in primary products into the giant United States' market and to build up an awareness of common destiny in an increasingly unstable world. He was alarmed that the re-armament that was then taking place was bringing the world closer to the brink of another great catastrophe that would threaten the future of the whole of civilisation. As Garland phrased it, 'America can do much as a great nation and a great people to prevent this and we look for her good will'. Even here Garland was able to cite an appropriate Biblical passage to underpin his case: 'God that made the world and all things therein ... giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath

determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation' (Acts 17:24-26).

Always one to avail himself of the latest technological advances such as wireless, Garland saw in the medium of radio a wonderful means for promoting peace, especially between the nations which had been previously the bitterest of enemies. Communications could lead to forgiveness and reconciliation. He concluded that memorable radio talk by quoting St Paul's words concerning 'charity which never faileth', and confessed to his listeners: 'I see only one hope for our poor wayward human race, belief in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of man, as the revelation of God and His will for mankind and the following of whom will alone bring the nations together and unite the world, the nations of which, however separated, are indeed of one blood.'

The leaders of the nations were, however, not listening. By 1934 their faith was placed in massive rearmament. From his extant statements of the pre-war period, it is clear that Garland saw the impending clash with the dictators as even more catastrophic than that with the Kaiser's Germany. The British Empire and her allies would again be compelled to draw the sword to defend civilisation. Garland, who had been ailing for some time, was now worn down by his years of campaigning for the great causes he had espoused. At the age of 75 he no longer possessed the stamina for another era of existential struggle with the forces of evil and so, like an old soldier, he simply faded away. But he was fondly remembered for all the great causes he had championed.<sup>16</sup>

The occasion of Garland's death was reported widely in the Brisbane press, nationally across Australia and in New Zealand. There were the inevitable attempts to sum up his significance. Highlighted in the reports were his public ministry and his apparently boundless energy in promoting the causes he espoused. These were all alluded to and assessed as best as the journalists of the day could. That said, however, the notices of his passing were all full

of praise for an outstanding human being. Indeed, the *Brisbane Telegraph* on Monday evening of the day of his passing published an extensive coverage of his life's work. The views expressed were echoed in the other newspapers the very next day. Remarkable were the references to Garland's competence in the law and pursuit of public causes although details of his training and actual qualifications were scanty.

Notably, the unnamed journalist who highlighted Garland's knowledge of jurisprudence and designated him as an 'ecclesiastical lawyer' probably did so based on his work on the constitution of the Australian Church.<sup>17</sup> There was no doubt that the multi-talented Garland knew a great deal about the law but nowhere does there exist a record of any formal training. One is forced to conclude that, in all likelihood, he acquired his considerable legal experience as a 'managing clerk', not 'articled', while he worked in Toowoomba and prior to that in Dublin. Archbishop Donaldson had noted that Garland 'had no learning' but was unusually 'well informed'.<sup>18</sup> That said, Garland evinced an outstanding rigour in his administrative duties as well as in his preaching. Moreover, his lack of a university degree did not make him self-conscious in his dealings with the rich and powerful or those of advanced ecclesiastical rank. The leader of the Queensland Labor Party and Premier of the day, W Forgan Smith who had been associated with Garland for 25 years, acknowledged publicly that he had been untiring and zealous in the discharge of his duties and was a kind and understanding friend who had played a notable part in the life of Queensland.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, the later deputy leader and then Premier, Ned Hanlon who had been minister for Health and Home Affairs, owned Garland as a close friend who had a remarkable understanding of public questions and matters of Government. Hanlon and Garland were certainly allies; Hanlon's electoral seat in Parliament was that of Ithaca, in which was Garland's parish. In his tribute, Hanlon singled out Garland's keen concern for the



welfare of prisoners and children in state institutions as well as for the underprivileged. The Minister for Health in 1939 even remembered Garland's campaign conducted when he was rector of Charters Towers (1905-1907) for the elimination of typhoid epidemics by purifying the water supply.<sup>20</sup>

To illustrate Garland's ecumenical openness, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church, Archbishop James Duhig, reported that he had first met Garland back in Charters Towers and they had been friends ever since. The Irishman from a village near Broadford in county Limerick had no problem working with a fellow countryman from Dublin, despite the differences in their religious affiliations. Similarly, the Brisbane Methodist leader, the Reverend HM Wheller, was an admirer of Garland ever since he had become the driving force of the Bible in State Schools League, a fact which had made him many friends outside the Church of England.<sup>21</sup>

If one's character is judged by the kinds of friends one makes it would be very obvious that Garland was a very gregarious soul who was open to 'all sorts and conditions of men' of good will. Strikingly, his friends and allies were all profoundly committed Christians of either Roman Catholic or Nonconformist allegiance. This illustrates that Garland could associate and work with all who acknowledged the sovereignty of Christ in their life. Raymond Huish as president of the Queensland RSSILA did not share Garland's religious views but was sufficiently magnanimous to pay tribute to his unswerving commitment to the welfare of soldiers.<sup>22</sup> Huish could scarcely have done otherwise under the circumstances.

Plainly, Garland was known and appreciated as a man of affairs. This has been amply demonstrated in all the newspaper reports of his passing. However, as far as his old parish of St Barnabas' Ithaca is concerned, his memory as a priest is still warmly revered. The congregation, particularly those of the older generation, have recollections of him when they were Sunday School children. Stories about him are still told. Above all they maintain the old wooden

Gothic church, redolent as it is of a bygone era, with great reverence and affection.<sup>23</sup> Sadly, the old rectory located across Waterworks Road opposite the church is no longer there. The priest-in-charge lives in another part of Brisbane and carries out his parish duties from an office in the vestry.

In sum, Garland led a public life as a priest of the Church of England with undeviating consistency. On the occasion of the opening of the first Federal Parliament in Melbourne during 1901, he preached a sermon at the leading parish church of Christ Church, South Yarra, on the subject of 'A Patriotic Spirit'. The principles Garland enunciated then he continued to apply with unflinching courage and unabated vigour throughout his life. The Church of England he regarded as the soul of the Empire. Looking back throughout history Garland saw that it was responsible at Runnymede in 1215 for the foundation of English national liberties, namely in *Magna Carta*. Garland was convinced that the *Ecclesia Anglicana* was the first corporation in the kingdom mentioned in that great historic document that, through the stand of its bishops at that time, established in very great measure the freedoms enjoyed in the Empire down to the present. Consequently Garland was arguing at the time of the establishment of the Australian Commonwealth that the Church of England still had a nation-building task: to inspire true patriotism and true unselfishness among its citizens.<sup>24</sup> In this spirit Garland concluded his sermon with a rousing call to action:

I can say this, and you can confirm it, that, if you and I, each in his own place, endeavour, according to the teaching of Jesus Christ, to be faithful to the religion which He has given to our nation in its national Church, and strive to live unselfish, good, Christian lives, then, indeed, we shall, without fail, be serving our country, thinking of our fellows, loving our neighbour as ourselves. Then, indeed, under the hand of God, we shall help the nation to fulfil

that destiny which, I believe, it is the will of God shall  
come upon us.<sup>25</sup>

Garland earned and retained a reputation as a fighter all of his  
priestly life. Thus he is still remembered.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 During his time in Western Australia Garland had already been active in fostering the welfare of Aborigines. He represented the diocese at a clergy conference in Hobart in 1894 at which he vigorously stressed the Church's responsibility for Aboriginal welfare. See Robert Withycombe, *Montgomery of Tasmania*, Acorn Press, Melbourne, p. 42. When Garland was in Queensland he took a great interest in the Anglican mission to Aborigines at Yarrabah. See the file on Oxley Library OM75-31. Garland was convinced that the only way to improve the welfare of indigenous Australians was to convert them to Christianity and integrate them into society, in particular by recruiting them into the army.
- 2 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1934, p. 205.
- 3 *The Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1934, p. 205.
- 4 Minutes of 21 January 1943 ADCC meeting, p. 3.
- 5 Minutes of 21 January 1943 ADCC meeting, p. 3.
- 6 Minutes of 21 January 1943 ADCC meeting, p. 3.
- 7 Minutes of 21 January 1943 ADCC meeting, p. 3.
- 8 Minutes of 21 January 1943 ADCC meeting, p. 3.
- 9 Garland had been a widower since the death of his wife in May, 1933. *The Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1933 reported that 'a beautiful requiem service, according to the rites of the Russian Orthodox Church was held at the Russian Church of St Nicholas, Kangaroo Point on the morning of Sunday, 21 May, in the presence of a large and reverent congregation. This ceremony was a tribute to the highest regard in which Canon Garland is held by the Russian population of Brisbane for whom he has always evinced a close and kindly concern', p. 192. There had been an earlier requiem at St Barnabas' Church, Red Hill. See *The Church Chronicle*, Anglican Archives, Diocese of Brisbane. Mrs Garland was then buried in the site of Canon Garland's tombstone in Toowong cemetery.

- 10 The *Courier Mail*, 11 October 1939 recorded the names of dignitaries present. These were: The Premier, Mr W Forgan Smith; The Minister for Health and Home Affairs, Mr E Hanlon; the Director General of Health Services, Sir Raphael Cilento; Captain ERB Pike, Joint Secretary of the ADCC; Mr Cecil Brenan representing the Chief Justice and Deputy Governor, Sir James Blair. The naval forces were represented by Commander EC Rhoades; the Diocesan Council was represented by the Registrar Mr Gordon Gall and PL Hart (Chancellor), AJ Thompson (Treasurer) and CJ Elliott. Senior clergy present were Dean WEC Barrett, Canon FBC Birch, Canon W Thompson, Canon Massey and the Reverend M de Burg Griffith. The Methodist leader HM Wheller represented the Council of Churches of Queensland and the Reverend Ralph Sayce represented the Baptist Union. Among the secular dignitaries were: The leader of the State Opposition, Mr EB Maher, WP Conelan, MHR; GH Marriott, MLA; G Watson (Under Secretary, Treasury, Chief Secretary's Department); TG Hope (Undersecretary, Treasury); CE Chuter (Under Secretary, Department of Health and Home Affairs); DW Garland (Manager, Bank of New South Wales, Brisbane); J Martin (representing Mr RD Huish, State President of the RSSILA); CA Murton (Commissioner of Railways); AG Barrett (President, Diggers Association); SH Richardson (Sailors and Soldiers' Association); AE Beech and P Stewart (Parent Centre, Queensland Ambulance Transport Brigade); JR Kemm (Main Roads Commissioner); JE England, DA Crawford and AR Williams (Main Roads Commission) and RJ Morris (Chairman, Church of England Men's Society). GK Seabrook and S Carey Carter represented the Bible in State Schools League. Note that Garland's erstwhile antagonist on the ADCC had himself represented at the funeral by a deputy. Although there were leading Roman Catholic laymen present, no Roman Catholic clergy would have been free to attend, not even former army chaplains.
- 11 Arthur Conomos, *Greeks in Queensland: A History from 1859–1945*, Copyright Publishing Co, Brisbane 2000, pp. 410–11.
- 12 Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain, and Migration, 1915–1940: a Study of desperate Hopes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 207. Professor Roe reports that 'Canon Garland ... was always a superboomer, running schemes for both boys and adults, meanwhile shaping his State's commemoration of Anzac Day'.
- 13 Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain, and Migration, 1915–1940: a Study of desperate Hopes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 207.
- 14 Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain, and Migration, 1915–1940: a Study of desperate Hopes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 207.
- 15 This was printed in the *Melbourne Herald* in full on 27 December. See Norman Harper, *Great and Powerful Friend: A Study of*

*Australian-American Relations between 1900 and 1975*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1987, pp. 135–39.

- 16 There were many press reports on Garland's passing as well as an extensive appreciation by the Reverend LH Hobbs on ABC radio.
- 17 October 1932.
- 18 See *The Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1932, pp. 346–47, where Garland as Rural Dean of Brisbane reports on the legal technicalities for a constitution of the Australian Church which had been deliberated at the General Synod in October 1932.
- 19 As reported in the *Brisbane Daily Telegraph*, 9 October 1939.
- 20 See the resolution of Mr Acting Justice Hart in the Brisbane Diocesan Synod 20 June 1938.
- 21 See the resolution of Mr Acting Justice Hart in the Brisbane Diocesan Synod 20 June 1938.
- 22 See the resolution of Mr Acting Justice Hart in the Brisbane Diocesan Synod 20 June 1938.
- 23 The congregation of St Barnabas' Church, Ithaca, plans for the centenary of Anzac commemoration to honour the memory of its late rector by erecting a suitably-inscribed lych gate on the Waterworks Road entrance to the Church.
- 24 DJ Garland, 'A Patriotic Spirit', in Horace F Tucker (ed.), *The Church and the Commonwealth*, Melville and Mullen, Melbourne, 1901, pp. 80–81.
- 25 Garland, 'A Patriotic Spirit', p. 90.

# REV. CANON DAVID JOHN GARLAND

- Canon, St John's Cathedral, Brisbane.
- Rector of Ithaca.
- Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.
- Born Dublin, 1864. Came to Queensland 1886.
- Son of James and Mary Garland.
- Home address: St Barnabas' Rectory, Ithaca.
- Joint Hon. Sec. Anzac Day Commemoration Committee;
- Church of England Director of Emigration; President of New Settlers' League;
- Organising Secretary for Recruiting during the Great War;
- founded eight clubs for soldiers in Egypt and Palestine while at the Front.
- Successfully led movements for introduction of religious instruction into State Schools, West Australia 1893, Queensland, 1910.



Cartoon of Canon Garland from *Men of Queensland*, Ormond Publishing, 1929

# Epilogue

A considerable number of publications on ‘memory studies’ has recently been published. Understandably not a few have focussed on the commemoration of fallen soldiers, mainly through the building of war memorials. As we have seen, there was a great deal of effort expended on this endeavour in Queensland, driven largely by the ADCC. As scholars including American Jay Winter have illustrated, commemoration became very common in all formerly belligerent countries especially after the Great War.<sup>1</sup> Monuments were being built and large cemeteries near the sites of historic battles were laid out and generally maintained with great care. Very soon a Commonwealth War Graves Commission was established with responsibility for maintaining the graves of soldiers and airmen killed in combat on foreign soil.<sup>2</sup> Nations honoured their dead heroes and sought to comfort the bereaved relatives. There were of course variations in the styles of monuments from country to country and there were also differences in the sponsorship of the memorialisation. Initiatives came from prominent individuals, governments, municipalities and, as in the case of Queensland, voluntary associations. What happened in Queensland was the local variation of a worldwide movement.<sup>3</sup>

Queensland was unique among the Australian States and New Zealand in having David Garland’s will and knowledge in driving such a movement. He had to win and sustain the support of his colleagues on the ADCC but remained its *spiritus rector*. Garland brought to Anzac commemoration his formation in the Dublin

branch of an Irish 'Orange' family and his Anglo-Catholicism. The Orange tradition bequeathed to him the patriotic custom of marching with the historic banners of the association expressing the solidarity of a select group whose self-appointed task was to keep alive a memory of a heroic past, in this case a series of battles which had initially lent the group its militant cohesiveness. And this had to be maintained through the colourful annual parades. The other essential dimension was his re-comprehended Christianity. Whereas the essential core of Orange-ism, as related in chapter three, was undoubtedly a radical form of militant Bible-based Protestant Christianity, Garland's conversion to Anglo-Catholicism opened up a wider, theologically deeper, ritualistically variegated and more disciplined manifestation of the liturgy of the Church as the agency for the sanctification of the whole world. Behind everything was Garland's understanding of the British Empire. It had a calling from almighty God both to defend and to propagate the Christian faith wherever Britain wielded 'dominion over palm and pine'. This was certainly something very 'Kipling-esque' and it shaped the mentality of several generations of Britons both at 'home' and overseas. This mindset ensured that when the pre-eminence and security of the British Empire was challenged by a regime as brutal and authoritarian as the Kaiser's Germany, all right-thinking men and women would serve under the banner of the Union Jack as the symbol of genuine liberty, tolerance and justice. Critics of this view were largely to be found in the ranks of Irish republicans and the Marxist-inspired elements among organised labour.<sup>4</sup>

Almost a century after the Great War, perhaps we need reminding that, in the mind of most people at that time, the Great War was fought in order to save the peoples of the world from the scourge of 'Prussianism'.<sup>5</sup> The aim of Imperial Germany was to impose its will, first, over the peoples of Europe and then, from that base, over the remainder of the world. The chief external war aim of the Kaiser's Germany was the destruction of the British Empire. That is why



a gigantic fleet of battle ships was planned and built, the so-called Tirpitz Plan, named after its originator, the famous grand admiral, Alfred von Tirpitz. This objective was paralleled by the domestic political aim of the ‘power elite’ of Prussia–Germany, to re-write the Reich constitution so that the democratic parties, chiefly the Social Democrats, would be stripped of their franchise so that the monarchical-authoritarian-bureaucratic nature of the German State would be fixed for imaginable time. Indeed, this was the way in which the Prusso–German power elite conceived the future of the world after a German victory both on land and at sea over the British, French, Russians and, from 1917, the Americans. Indeed, the *Kaiserreich* was ‘a State that found its representational unity in monarchy and military, not constitution and people.’<sup>6</sup> This mindset is now criticised in post-Hitler Germany as a tragic example of *Konzeptionslosigkeit*, meaning an utter poverty of ideas or conceptions as to how to solve the nation’s political problems, both domestic and in the realm of foreign policy, in a way that would preserve the nation from disaster.<sup>7</sup> But as Jay Winter points out, Prussia–Germany was very different from the Western democracies. It was an Empire in which the army dominated both politics and the economy. Martial virtues were the essential hallmarks of Prusso–German society. In the West, by way of contrast, the State, meaning a civilian-led elected government, only slowly acquired the ability to put armed forces into the field and re-structure the economy in order to serve the national goal of survival and ultimate victory, but the point is that it did so eventually in responding to the challenge of Prusso–German autocracy. And it was accomplished with the largely cheerful cooperation of the population. In Germany, as the realisation grew among the masses, including the army itself, namely that the war was proving to be unwinnable, more and more strikes occurred and political unrest became increasingly more frequent and violent. In short, the militaristic

government with its essentially utopian list of war aims had lost the trust of the German people.

Jay Winter is right to emphasise the differences. He says:

The Allies won the war because they understood the political economy of total war more fully and more effectively than did the Germans. Masters of the battlefield, the German army could not compensate for the failings of the German state it had brought into being in 1871. The state was unable to balance the vast war of position needed to obtain victory in a war of movement. When in March 1918, Ludendorff tried to win that war of movement, he found that no matter how brilliant his tactics, he could not break the Allies' lines. Yes, he could take the first, the second, the third and the fourth lines held by British forces on the Western front, but he could not muster the materiel to take the lines that stretched beyond them. In my view, they stretched around the world, and no matter how far the March 1918 offensive reached, it would never have yielded victory.<sup>8</sup>

This manic objective by the supreme army command came increasingly to be regarded by the German masses as driving the nation into the abyss, as it eventually did. These observations need to be carefully noted by persons as yet unable to comprehend the essential nature of Prussia–Germany. As Professor Winter points out it was the Prusso–German army that created in 1871 what became known as the Bismarckian–Wilhelmine Empire, a military monarchy, in fact.<sup>9</sup> It is indeed astounding how extraordinarily difficult it is for some people to comprehend the implications of this. In short, Europe became dominated by an Empire that was determined to prevent the rise of democracy and parliamentarism at home and which was equally determined to use massive military and naval

force to win what its Pan-German propagandists called its 'place in the sun', as if Germany needed to prove something to the world. In a real sense, then, Prussia-Germany became a 'rogue empire', meaning that it operated according to set of rules that were intentionally at variance with all other Western nations. Consequently, those Australian historians and publicists, who only believe what they want to believe, need to understand the nature of the challenge that the Kaiser's Germany in 1914-18 was actually posing. It was nothing less than an existential threat to the whole British Empire, and this was understood by the men of the ADCC as well as by the Australian Government. It was frequently expressed in the rhetoric of Anzac Day when the oft-repeated theme of the addresses held at ceremonies was that our men sacrificed their lives 'fighting for God, King and Empire'.<sup>10</sup> This overwhelming sentiment fuelled the post-war movement to establish a national day of mourning and to erect war memorials. The ADCC significantly performed both of these tasks more vigorously and consistently than any other Anzac Day observance committee in the country.

The question therefore arises: from precisely where, apart from Canon Garland, did the members of the ADCC get their ideas? We remember that many of them had been chaplains of various denominations who had served in overseas theatres of war. They would have officiated at countless burials of the fallen in the field and ministered to the wounded and dying. That experience alone would have seared deeply into their memories. In addition to the chaplains there were returned officers and men who comprehended the war as a struggle between the champions of liberty and the forces of oppression and darkness. Among the non-combatants there were notably the senior clergy such as the Anglican and Roman Catholic archbishops and State politicians and municipal leaders. The members of the ADCC were mainly Empire patriots although the Irish-born prelate James Duhig may have had reservations, especially after the Easter Rebellion of 1916

in Ireland. Nevertheless, the principal objectives of the ADCC were to honour the fallen and comfort the bereaved. In addition to this aim was the performance of penance for both the sin of war and the neglect of God in the past. At least for the clerical members of the ADCC, the latter components were of central importance. Considerations of this nature led them to campaign for a close public holiday for Anzac Day.

With hindsight it is now possible to explain this movement of the 1920s and 1930s in both Australia and New Zealand as the consequence of the raw pain of grief for the tens of thousands of young men killed on distant battlefields: on Gallipoli's stony beaches, sheer cliffs and craggy gullies as well as in the rain and mud of 'Flanders Field'. This led also to the formation of 'Fathers' Associations' and 'Mothers' Memorial Preservation Associations', effectively 'grief management groups'.<sup>11</sup> Inevitably, with the passage of time a pressing and acute sense of loss would diminish, but the collective memory of an unprecedented military effort by two very small countries remained as a source of pride in achievement. The colonial youth had been weighed in the balance and not found wanting.

There was also much rhetoric about the nation's coming of age, a factor contested by feminist historians such as Professor Marilyn Lake who remarked:

Gallipoli was hailed as the nation's birthplace. Australia had had her 'birth and her baptism in the blood of her sons. A nation was born on that day of death'. Anzac Day April 25 – institutionalised as a public holiday by a federal act of parliament in 1923, became Australia's *de facto* national day. The metaphor of men's procreation involved a disappearing act. In this powerful myth-making, the blood women shed in actually giving birth – their deaths, their courage and endurance, their babies – rendered invisible.

In determining the meaning of men's deeds – their landing at Gallipoli – women's procreative capacities were at once appropriated and erased. Men's deeds were rendered simultaneously sacred and seminal. Though women gave birth to the population, only men it seemed could give birth to the imperishable political entity of the nation.<sup>12</sup>

Lake has produced a considerable volume of work some of which reiterates this theme and yet it is strikingly uninformed about how Anzac Day really evolved, the theology that lay behind it and the nature of the campaign that was waged against Imperial Germany.

Additionally, a knowledge of why and how the war dead are commemorated elsewhere in the world would assist the rising generation of Australians and New Zealanders to realise what the European-derived populations of the young Dominions then shared with others in the Western world: the conviction that the nation was a community under God. Conceptions of God and civic duty were different from the values and aspirations of Prussia–Germany. Students of history need to be aware of these factors and to be ready to evaluate them with objectivity. In 1914 Britain was confronted by an existential threat. Young men of Australia and New Zealand, as Dominions of the British Empire, responded valiantly and did prove their manhood when confronted with the 'Prussian menace'; their women folk rightly expected nothing less of them.<sup>13</sup>

The Dominions were part of a world Empire and found themselves under collective existential threat. One needs to be conscious of what was at stake during the Great War and in particular therefore what the men of the ADCC were trying to accomplish. Far from attempting to establish a myth of male dominance, the ADCC and likeminded people elsewhere sought to remind the nation that 60,000 men had died and another 200,000 were physically and mentally damaged by armed warfare. In order to redeem their sufferings from being deemed a terrible waste they wanted to comfort

the bereaved by insisting their deeds would not be forgotten. The nation was asked to render thanksgiving for their sacrifice in helping to preserve the country from the threat of tyranny. It will not do simply to argue that there was no threat to Australian democracy and freedom in 1914–18. One can only do this by refusing to comprehend the realities of international relations in the ‘Age of Imperialism’ and the world of ideas of educated Australians and New Zealanders at the time.

Voluminous overseas research on ‘fallen soldiers’ has identified two themes central to national culture: the public mourning of the sacrifice of young lives and the so-called ‘monumentalisation of history’. Both elements were and still are evident in the way in which Anzac Day is commemorated. During the 1920s and 1930s the need for public mourning was most definitely ascendant. The day had to be remembered with the greatest solemnity, and the dawn service on 25 April each year certainly retains this sentiment. Further, because all Anzac marches then and now finish with a liturgy performed at a monument, we see the historical function of the memorial eloquently demonstrated in a ceremony of civil religion. Naturally, the Imperial connection no longer plays the role it once did but patriotic sentiment is openly and vigorously expressed. The nation-building function of blood sacrifice which inspired the original rhetoric heard on Anzac Days from the 1920s and 1930s has only been intensified by Australia’s and New Zealand’s contributions to subsequent wars and commitments to peace-keeping. There is now little doubt that those who fought and those who insisted on remembering them have shaped the popular culture of Australia and New Zealand, preventing anyone from ever forgetting what happened at Gallipoli in 1915 and why we do well to remember.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.
- 2 Julie Summers, *Remembered: The History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission*, Merrell, London, 2007.
- 3 As indicated, there is a considerable volume of work relating to memorialisation of the war dead. For example, see George L Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, OUP, New York/Oxford, 1990; Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992; Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de mémoire', *Representations*, Spring, 1980, pp. 7–25; John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994; James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994; Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995; Thomas Nipperdey, 'Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 3, 1968, pp. 529–85; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1992.
- 4 The fact that the Irish contributed an estimated 300,000 troops to the British Army in the Great War would indicate the divided loyalties in the population at the time. See Timothy Bowman, *Irish Regiments in the Great War: Discipline and Morale*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2003. The figures vary, but see Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds), *A Military History of Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p. 388; John Horne (ed.), *Our War: Ireland and the Great War*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 2008, p. 5. In Australia the Irish question was undoubtedly divisive as the various studies on Archbishop Daniel Mannix show.
- 5 This was by no means a universal sentiment. Significant elements of the labour movement in Australia assessed the war as an imperialist trade war and, as has also been noted, Irish republican people such as those who took their lead from the Roman Catholic prelate in Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, saw the war in similar terms.
- 6 Celia Applegate in her review in *American Historical Review*, 103, 1, February 1988, p. 212, of Reinhard Alings, *Monument und Nation: Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal; zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, Walter de Gruyter, New York, 1996.

- 7 See the work of Professor Fritz Fischer who in the early post-Second World War period at the University of Hamburg began to re-assess the reasons for Germany's disastrous decision to unleash the war of 1914–1918. His findings are summarized in John A Moses, *The Politics of Illusion: The Fischer Controversy in German Historiography*, Barnes & Noble, London/New York, 1974.
- 8 Jay Winter, '1918: The Road to Victory', in Ashley Ekins (ed.), *1918 Year of Victory: the End of the Great War and the Shaping of History*, Exisle, Auckland, 2010, p. 32.
- 9 See chapter three.
- 10 See John A Moses' various articles in the bibliography on the Great War as a 'holy war' in the minds of the belligerents of both sides.
- 11 See for example the Fathers' Association of Toowoomba, from which large (for Queensland conditions) country town many young men who enlisted were among the very first casualties reported from the Dardanelles.
- 12 Marilyn Lake, 'Giving Birth to Nation', in Patricia Grimshaw and others (eds), *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood Victoria, 1994, p. 218.
- 13 See Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, Joy Damousi and Mark McKenna (eds), *What is Wrong With Anzac?* University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2011. The intention of this book is to diminish the significance of Australia's war effort 1914–18 and to imply that the women of Australia were sceptical of the nation's involvement in a conflict that did not really concern them. This is not borne out by the actual support that women both at home and in war zones actually demonstrated. See John A Moses, 'Gallipoli or Other Peoples' Wars Revisited: Sundry Reflections on Anzac: a Review Article', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 57, No. 3, September 2011, pp. 434–41.



# Appendix

## **The Progress of Anzac Day Legislation in New Zealand and the Australian States 1920–1930**

By the end of 1927 the legislation in place concerning Anzac Day, compiled by the Prime Minister's Department, appeared as follows:

**New Zealand:** Act assented to on 1 November 1920, providing for Anzac Day as a holiday. Licensed premises to be closed in the same way as on Christmas and Good Friday. Horse racing also prohibited. On 6 February 1922, an Amendment was passed providing that Anzac Day shall be observed in all respects as if it were a Sunday.

**Western Australia:** Act assented to on 28 October 1919 providing that 25 April (Anzac Day) shall be a public holiday throughout the State.

**Queensland:** On 31 October 1921 an Act was assented to which constituted Anzac Day a holiday under the *Holiday Act of 1912*. Hotels are closed on this day and no race meetings are held.

**South Australia:** Act assented to on 21 December 1922, providing that in addition to the several days mentioned in the Second Schedule of the Principal Act, 25 April (Anzac Day) shall be a Public Holiday and a bank holiday and when the day falls on a Sunday the holiday shall be held on the following Monday.

**New South Wales:** *Bank and Bank Holiday Amendments Act of 1924* assented to on 10 November 1924 provided for an amendment by inserting in Part I after the words 'Easter Monday' the words 'the twenty-fifth day of April' Anzac Day.

**Victoria:** On 2 November 1924 an Act was assented to which constituted Anzac Day a Public and Bank Holiday for other purposes. It was provided that Anzac Day shall be observed as a holiday within the Public Service Acts and as a holiday in all Banks within the meaning of the *Bank and Currency Act of 1915*.

All factories, shops and warehouses are required to close on Anzac Day with the exception of certain places such as fish and oyster bars, eating houses etc. and all employees

shall be given a whole holiday on that day. No race meetings to be held. In Sec. 7 of the *Theatres Act of 1915* after the word Sunday the words, 'or Anzac Day' are inserted, which means that Theatres are closed.

**Tasmania:** Act of 14 November 1927 adds 'Anzac Day' to list of holidays to be observed annually as a close holiday in all Banks. Every Bank Holiday is by law observed throughout the State as a Public Service Holiday. All shops are required to be kept closed on 25 April each year and it is the practice in every determination made under *Wage Board Act 1920* to preserve Anzac Day as a public holiday in the trade to which the determination relates.<sup>1</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Memorandum to the Prime Minister: 'Laws governing observance in various States and New Zealand', AA Series A461, Item 90926; *Brisbane Courier*, 1 December 1927, p. 12; *Mercury*, Hobart, 14 December 1927, p. 12.

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## ANZAC DAY ORIGINS

### CANON DJ GARLAND AND TRANS-TASMAN COMMEMORATION

The disastrous loss of human life on Turkey's Gallipoli peninsula between April and December 1915 prompted a wave of shock and grief in Australia and New Zealand. When the ANZAC casualty lists were published and digested, two questions were most pressing. How could so much personal grief be managed? What might the two nations do to commemorate their war dead? Throughout both Dominions politicians, leading citizens and churchmen were advancing schemes to help both nations move forward. Above the cacophony of discordant voices, an Anglican priest from Brisbane – Canon David John Garland (1864–1939) – attracted the attention of those seeking to redeem the loss of so many souls from the spectre of terrible waste. His previous experience as a secretary-organiser of the Bible-in-Schools League on both sides of the Tasman had made him a household name in Australia and New Zealand. By the end of his life, Canon Garland became known as the “architect” of Anzac Day and was widely esteemed for promoting a vision of commemoration that spanned the trans-Tasman experience of war, that honoured the war dead and brought comfort to those who mourned. *Anzac Day Origins* addresses the often vaguely understood beginnings of Anzac Day in Australia and New Zealand, and adds significantly to the self-understanding of both nations.



**The Rev'd Dr John Moses** was born in Atherton, North Queensland of Lebanese-Scottish parentage. He entered St Francis Theological College in 1952 to train for the Anglican priesthood. Following a BA Hons at the University of Queensland he studied for five years in Germany for his Master's thesis and a D.Phil degree. He taught History at the University of Queensland from 1965 to 1989 and is the author of many books and articles on German and Australian history. He is currently Professorial Fellow at Charles Sturt University.



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