Avenue and Arch: Ballarat's Commemoration

How are community attitudes to war and peace reflected in the civic management of the Avenue of Honour and the Arch of Victory?

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This thesis is submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis examines the importance of memory, commemoration, heritage and militarism in relation to Ballarat's Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory.

Inspired by Ken Inglis and other historians who have analysed war commemoration, the thesis argues that, led by the Lucas clothing company, Ballarat civic leaders and community members commemorated the war service and sacrifice of local soldiers, airmen, sailors and nurses by planting the 22-kilometre Avenue during 1917–19 and by constructing the prominent Arch in 1920. Although Ballarat voted against conscription in 1916 and 1917 and was a 'divided' society, the Avenue and Arch were able to unite members of the local community.

From the 1920s, through memory and mythology during the civic maintenance of the Avenue and Arch, Australian community attitudes to war and peace were reflected, and a determined effort was made to remember the service and sacrifice of military personnel for all Australian wars. Discussion of the need for peace remained in the background until recent years. Important influences on the civic management were the collective memory of the so-called Lucas Girls, a group of former female employees of the Lucas clothing company, and of the members of the Arch of Victory/Avenue of Honour Committee. Increasingly, the embracing of the Anzac legend and an emphasis on loss and grief was reflected in the civic management.

By 2017 the Avenue and Arch were in pristine condition and, through the Garden of the Grieving Mother, had transformed to symbolise the importance of remembering the sacrifices and grief of war and the need for peace.

The project was based on documentary research and oral history, using an examination of newspaper and other documentary accounts from 1917–2017, a study of Arch of Victory/Avenue of Honour Committee papers and conservation management plans, research of relevant books and articles, landscape fieldwork and interviews with 26 people.

Ethics Approval

Principal Researcher:	Dr Anne Beggs-Sunter
Other/Student Researcher/s:	Mr Phil Roberts
School/Section:	**Faculty of Education and Arts**
Project Number:	**A15-104**
Project Title:	**'Avenue and Arch: Ballarat Commemoration.' 'How are attitudes to peace and war reflected in the history of the Avenue and Arch?'**
For the period:	26/06/2015 **to** 01/12/2017

Quote the Project No. A15-104 in all correspondence regarding this application.

Please note: Ethics Approval is contingent upon the submission of **annual progress reports** and a **final report** upon completion of the project. It is the responsibility of researchers to make a note of the following dates and submit these reports in a timely manner, as reminders may not be sent out. Failure to submit reports will result in your ethics approval lapsing.

REPORTS TO HREC:

Annual reports for this project must be submitted to the Ethics Officer on:
26 June 2016
26 June 2017

A final report for this project must be submitted to the Ethics Officer on:
1 January 2018

These report forms can be found at:
http://federation.edu.au/research-and-innovation/research-support/ethics/human-ethics/human-ethics3

Fiona Koop

Ethics Officer
26 June 2015

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I thank the staff and volunteers for their generous assistance at libraries and at the archive centres. This includes at the Federation University Mount Helen and SMB Libraries, the Ballarat Public Records Office, the Australiana Room at the Ballarat Municipal Library, the State Library of Victoria, the Ballarat City Council Archives and the Ballarat Historical Society Archive Collection housed at the Gold Museum. The newspaper collection and other archival material at the Ballaarat Mechanics' Institute was a rich source of information.

The members of the Arch of Victory/Avenue of Honour Committee have provided valuable assistance with information about the history of the Avenue and the Arch and of the Lucas connection to this thesis. In particular, Bruce Price, Jeremy Johnson, Paul Jenkins, Dr Ross Squire, Garry Snowden, Noel Perry, David Grant and Debra Cartledge have been very helpful

As a colleague, Dr Joan Hunt has assisted collaboratively and with advice and Lyn Moore provided editorial advice. Finally, I acknowledge the support of my family members and, in particular, my wife Geraldine, who has been a constant and valuable source of support in countless ways.

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Editorial Notes

This thesis has been written and formatted to meet the requirements of the History Discipline in the School of Education and Arts, Federation University. For source citation, the discipline requires candidates to use the Chicago 16 note system with a bibliography. The Federation University Australia *General Guide to Referencing* 2016 Edition was used as the reference for this system. For additional guidance on non-bibliographic conventions, such as capitalisation and hyphenation, the thesis has been guided by the Commonwealth of Australia's *Style Manual for Authors, Editors and Printers* (Canberra: John Wiley & Sons, 6th Edition, 2002).

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Glossary

AIF	Australian Imperial Force
Anzac legend	The suggestion that Australian and New Zealand soldiers possess shared characteristics, specifically the qualities those soldiers allegedly exemplified on the battlefields of World War One. These perceived qualities include endurance, courage, ingenuity, good humour, larrikinism and mateship
AGHS	Australian Garden History Society
ANA	Australian Natives Association
Arch	Used to denote the Ballarat 'Arch of Victory'
AVAHC	Arch of Victory/Avenue of Honour Committee
Avenue	Used to denote the Ballarat 'Avenue of Honour'
CMF	Citizen Military Forces—the reserve units of the Australian Army
CRB	Country Roads Board (1913–83, Road Traffic Authority 1983–89, VicRoads since 1989)
DVA	Department of Veterans' Affairs (established in 1976)
Lucas Company	The registered company name was E. Lucas & Co. Pty. Ltd.
Lucas Girls	A group of female employees and former employees of the Lucas Clothing Company
PM	Prime Minister
RSL	Returned and Services League of Australia From 1916 to 1965, it was known as the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA)
The Courier	Used to denote *The Courier* in 1867–68, 1881–1913, 1945–2017 and *The Ballarat Courier* 1869–80, 1914–44
The Star	Used to denote *The Star* in 1855–64 and *The Ballarat Star* in 1865–1924
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Chapter 1: OVERVIEW

1.1 Preamble

On the King's Birthday holiday of 4 June 1917, the first plantings of an extensive avenue of trees along the Burrumbeet Road in Ballarat took place. More than 500 trees were planted—most by the Lucas Girls from the city's Lucas clothing factory. This was the first of eight plantings that established Ballarat's historic Avenue of Honour [1]that is central to the fabric of this thesis.

Three years later, Ballarat's Arch of Victory, located at the commencement of the Avenue of Honour, had a similar story. After extensive fundraising, especially by the Lucas Girls, the Arch was built over a period of four months. On 2 June 1920, the Prince of Wales, the future king of Great Britain, officially opened it before a large crowd that venerated Britain's royalty and paid homage to its imperial might.

Exactly one hundred years after the Anzac landing by Australian soldiers at Anzac Cove, Gallipoli, in Turkey, at dawn on 25 April 2015 about 25,000 people gathered at Ballarat's Arch in commemoration. The crowd of the aged and the young, mothers, fathers and their children stood in respectful silence contemplating the disasters of Anzac and the horrors of World War One. Subsequent chapters discuss the reasons for such a large crowd.

Recently, Australia's governor-generals officiated at Ballarat's Arch. In 2011 Governor-General Quentin Bryce (later Dame Quentin Bryce) rededicated the refurbished Arch, and in 2017 Governor-General Sir Peter Cosgrove dedicated the statue in the Garden of the Grieving Mother, which is situated just south of the Arch. No longer was Britain's imperial might contemplated—the focus during the ceremonies had shifted to the tragedy of war and the grief for those left behind.

The central research question is 'Avenue and Arch: Ballarat's Commemoration. How are community attitudes to war and peace reflected in the civic management of the Avenue of

[1] The spelling used in this thesis is 'Honour', although many newspapers and other publications used 'Honor'

Honour and the Arch of Victory?' In light of this question, this thesis traces changes in community attitudes to the commemoration of war and peace that have occurred in the past century.

1.2 Content and Scope

This thesis is a wide-ranging historical project with a focus on war commemoration in an Australian city over a period of one hundred years. It examines, in depth, issues concerning the origin, impact and long-term care of the Avenue and the Arch. Associated with this is an evaluation of Ballarat's place within war commemoration in Australia. It will enhance an understanding of a community's approach to war commemoration.

The study of Australian war commemoration encompasses a wide field of information that continues to grow at a fast pace. This is particularly the case with World War One in that over the past century how this war has been remembered has gone through many changes. As the Avenue and Arch are tied to this war, a twofold approach is undergone—an analysis of World War One commemoration history is followed by discussion of subsequent Australian wars and peacekeeping missions. The analysis of local war and peace commemoration includes a case study involving interviews of 26 Ballarat people that have connections in some way with the Avenue and Arch. The case study verifies that the attitudes of the interviewees fall into five broad areas: the comparative importance of the Avenue and the Arch; the contribution of the Hargreaves/Price/Lucas family and the Lucas Girls[2] to the Avenue and Arch; the commemoration of war and peace in Ballarat; the civic management of the Avenue and Arch; and other associated issues.

Ballarat is an important regional city in Victoria. Estimates suggest Indigenous people of the Kulin nation and of the Wathaurong (also called Watha wurrung) language group traversed the area for at least 40,000 years.[3] Europeans first squatted with their sheep in the area in 1838 before the 1851 gold rush that totally transformed the landscape. For the

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[2] Chapter Six details the Hargreaves/Price/Lucas family history and the background of the Lucas Girls.

[3] Gary Presland, *The First Residents of Melbourne's Western Region* (Rev.ed, Melbourne: Harriland Press, 1997), 1; Fred Cahir, *Black Gold* (Acton, ACT: ANU Press, 2012).

second half of the nineteenth century, Ballarat was the second most populous city in Victoria with a population of 22,000 in 1861.[4] The discussion contained in this thesis is centred on this city that has had steady population growth so that by 2017 it had a population of more than 100,000 people.[5]

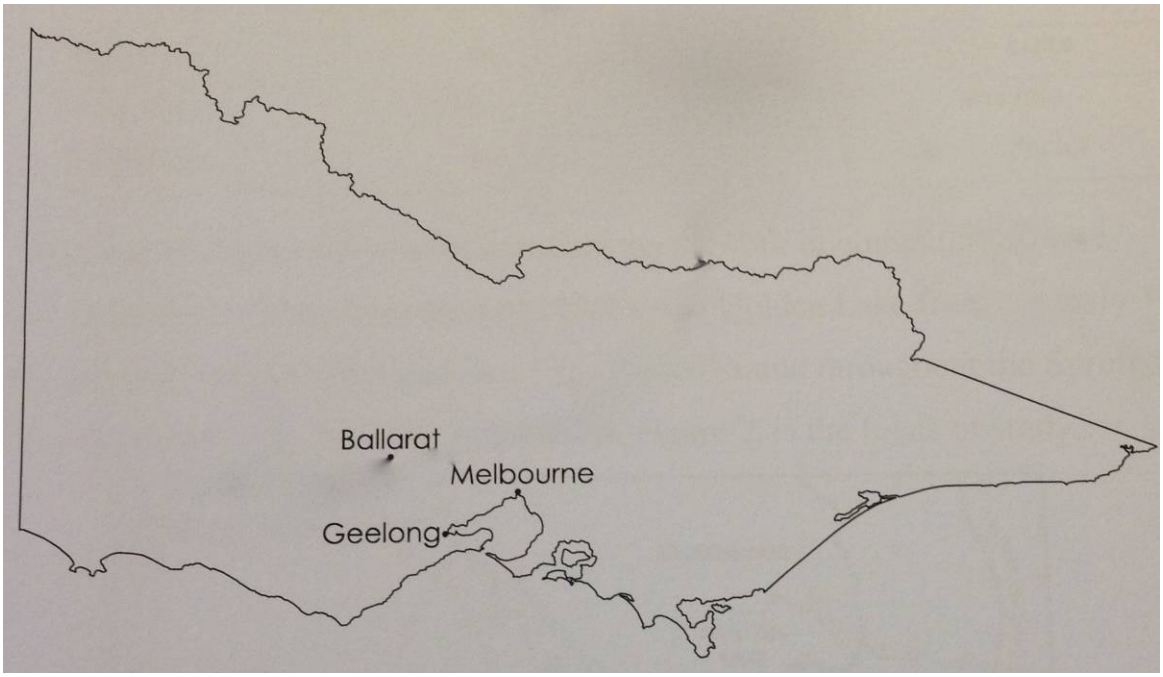

Figure 1: Map of Victoria showing the location of Ballarat

Almost 4000 servicemen and women registered in Ballarat to take part in World War One in overseas locations. Out of the carnage of this war came a determination to remember the bravery, dedication and the many instances of selfless endeavour of the Australian and New Zealand troops. Much has been written about the Anzac legend and many have claimed it was the coming of age of a newly formed nation that had passed the severest of tests through the heroic bravery of the Australian soldiers.[6] In recent years, critics have noted the government expenditure on World War One commemoration is excessive and

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[4] Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1963), 370.

[5] "2016 Census QuickStats Ballarat," Australian Bureau of Statistics, last modified August 11, 2017, accessed August 11, 2017, http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/LGA20570. Estimated residential population.

[6] The history of how Australians have approached the Anzac legend is discussed in detail in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

pointed out that there is far more to the development of the Australian nation than what happened on the Gallipoli peninsula in 1915.[7]

Whatever views are held about the Anzac legend and World War One, the fact that the first plantings of the Avenue of Honour took place in Ballarat in 1917 is significant. At 22 kilometres (14 miles), the Avenue to the west of the city is the longest existing avenue of its type in Australia and one of the longest in the world. Then, in 1920 a memorial arch at the start of the Avenue was built. This prominent structure is the only arch in Australia across a major roadway and its associated symbolism evokes victory and power.[8]

A major focus of this study is how the Avenue came about in a city where the union movement and the Labor Party had a strong foothold and where the conscription campaigns in 1916 and 1917 had caused major rifts within the society. Despite this, the planting of the Avenue gained considerable community support from the people of Ballarat, and a number of disparate community groups were involved in the Avenue plantings of 1917 to 1919. The thesis examines how this community support has continued throughout the Avenue's history. Important background information for the study involves an understanding of the development of Ballarat as a city in the nineteenth century. In particular, the contrast between the impact of the Eureka Stockade event of 1854 and the growth of the metropolis into a conservative garden city is analysed.

Eleanor Lucas nee Hargreaves founded a clothing factory in Ballarat in 1888. Initially, the factory manufactured mainly women's underwear and, in the period prior to World War One, grew into a substantial business, employing up to 500 'girls'. Most employees were low-paid, young and single women that became heavily involved in fundraising for the war effort during World War One. Edward Price, the son of Mrs Lucas from her first marriage, managed the factory during the war. He was very prominent in decisions that were made to initiate and continue the planting of the Avenue of Honour. In a similar way, he had a strong involvement in the decisions to construct and fundraise for the Arch of Victory.

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[7] Detailed discussion about the views of authors who have criticised the way Australians have used the Anzac legend is included in subsequent chapters.

[8] Detailed discussion about the items in this paragraph takes place in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

At first, the Shire of Ballarat was responsible for the civic management of the Avenue and Arch, although in 1925, Burrumbeet Road became the Western Highway and the Country Roads Board (CRB) became involved. When, in 1931, the Arch of Victory/Avenue of Honour Committee (AVAHC) was formed, it oversaw maintenance. In recent years, the City of Ballarat and VicRoads have also had major responsibilities for the civic maintenance. As well, the Hargreaves/Lucas/Price family and the former employees of E. Lucas & Co. have played a central role in the Avenue and Arch upkeep. In particular, Bruce Price, the grandson of Edward Price, has been chairman of the AVAHC since 1980. Despite the Lucas clothing factory going out of existence in 1968, former employees have continued to meet monthly with the main purpose of retaining an interest in the Avenue and Arch. The support of the Lucas Girls through fundraising, and as members of the AVAHC, has continued right through to 2017.

While the word 'peace' is included in the title of this thesis, the majority of the discussion concerns the community attitudes to war. It can be argued that peace and war are inextricably linked and that the issue of the need for 'peace' rather than war remained in the background until recent times. A discussion about this view takes place in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

1.3 The Purpose and Rationale

This thesis consolidates an understanding of the cultural history and civic upkeep of the Avenue and Arch over 100 years and how since 1917 their history has reflected community attitudes to the commemoration of war and peace. It is anticipated this thesis will add considerably to the body of knowledge about war commemoration in Australia and about the contribution of many Ballarat citizens to that commemoration.

Theories about commemoration and war discussed in the literature review in Chapter Two underpin the research undertaken for this thesis. The aim is to discover the extent of mythology in the commemoration evidenced by Ballarat's Avenue and Arch and in other commemorations in Ballarat, and to bring them into sharp focus. In the 2015 lead-up to the centenary of the Gallipoli landing, there was great interest shown by government agencies and the media in war commemoration, and this research provides a valuable case study of how national government policies have been reflected in one locality. It explores

the question of whether inventing tradition applies to the Avenue and Arch and to other types of commemoration, such as the annual Remembrance Day.

It is envisaged that the research will provide a case study of war commemoration in Australia and, in particular Ballarat, during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and will discuss how Australian community members dealt with their understanding of the ambiguities inherent in war. It may lead to a community rethink about an uncritical veneration of war exploits and to an increased focus on the need for peace.

Of great interest is the recent book by former Australian Defence Force Captain James Brown. In the publication *Anzac's Long Shadow: The Cost of Our National Obsession*, Brown argues that Anzac commemoration has created 'a lavish festival of the dead'[9] by excessive expenditure of federal government finances and that this money would be better spent adequately looking after armed forces personnel who have recently returned from involvement in foreign conflicts. This thesis has tested Brown's contentions in this regard.

1.4 Theory

In recent years, there has been heightened debate among historians concerning how the past is best understood. The concept of memory and the interplay of memory and history have been widely debated. For this thesis, theory about memory and history was central to the investigation.

In *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal made a detailed study of 'how we know the past'.[10] He argued:

> The simple answer is that we remember things, read or hear stories and chronicles, and live among relics from previous times. The past surrounds and saturates us; every scene, every statement, every action retains residual content from earlier times. All present awareness is grounded on past

[9] James Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow: The Cost of Our National Obsession* (Collingwood, Vic.: Redback, 2014), 24.

[10] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

> perceptions and acts; we recognise a person, a tree, a breakfast, an errand because we have seen or done it before.[11]

Lowenthal then discussed the importance of memory, history and relics and how they interplay. He stated, 'As the past seems to recede from us, we seek to re-evoke it by multiplying paraphernalia *about* it—souvenirs, mementoes, historical romances, old photos—and by preserving and rehabilitating its relics'.[12] Lowenthal's arguments can be applied to preserving a row of trees as an avenue of honour in remembrance of servicemen and women from a past era as part of this process of memory about the past. Those people involved in the preservation are part of the collective memory of the past.

Using theoretical perspectives derived from the study of commemoration and nationalism, this thesis provides a case study of Australian attitudes to peace and war. The theory underpinning the study is based on the 1980s and 1990s publications of Frenchman Pierre Nora[13] about an understanding of the interaction between history and memory. Nora's works are pivotal for historians in understanding this interaction.

Using the works of Nora as a basis, the literature review of Chapter Two discusses how historians and sociologists have written about the influence of memory in historical contexts. In particular, the theory outlined in the works of Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*[14] and Jay Winter in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*[15] and *Remembering War*[16] are discussed. Anderson postulated that elements of nationalism promoted by the state explain the preponderance of war commemoration. Winter, in contrast, contended that the psychological elements of war, including grief, tragedy and remembrance, were the most important elements. In light of these aspects of war commemoration, he argued that 'the Great War set in motion the forces producing both the later world war and the

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[11] Ibid., 185.

[12] Ibid., 259.

[13] Pierre Nora's three-volume collection *Les lieux de mémoire* was published in part in English translation as *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* in 1998 by University of Chicago Press.

[14] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).

[15] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[16] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between History and Memory in the 20th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

forms in which contemporaries understood its meaning'.[17] Joan Beaumont pointed out that their war commemoration theories complement each other by the 'interaction between the state and individual agency'.[18]

Another important work is Alistair Thomson's article 'Anzac Memories: Putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia'.[19] In tracing how during his lifetime World War One veteran Fred Farrell related to his war experiences, Thomson analysed how memory changes over time. Also, important theoretical perspectives are gained by examining the works of Australian historians such as Beaumont, Joy Damousi, Graeme Davison, Marilyn Lake, Bruce Scates, Christina Twomey and Bart Ziino. In particular, *Sacred Places* by Ken Inglis is the seminal work concerning war commemoration in Australia. Along with many other historians worldwide, Inglis researched and discussed the importance communities place on commemoration of past events. This applies particularly to war commemoration. He found that by 2008 in Australia there were more than 6000 memorials commemorating war involvement.[20]

As part of a theoretical understanding, this thesis discusses relevant works published before and during the 2014–18 centenary of World War One events. Many of the publications concentrate on how Australians have commemorated the Anzac legend. *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*,[21] *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*,[22] *The Honest History Book*[23] and *Anzac's Long Shadow*[24] are four recent books that assist our understanding of changes in remembering Anzac.

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[17] Ibid., 2.

[18] Joan Beaumont, "ANZAC Day to VP Day: Arguments and Interpretations," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 40 (February 2007): 2, accessed August 20, 2017, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/journal/j40/Beaumont.

[19] Alistair Thomson, "Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 2008), 244–54. First published in *Oral History* 18, no. 2 (1990), 25–31.

[20] Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, 3rd ed. (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 471.

[21] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, eds., *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: New South, 2010).

[22] Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2014).

Another insight into studying commemoration is outlined by Jo Guldi in 'Landscape and Place'.[25] She highlighted the importance of the spatial turn in historical research and suggested the rise of these spatial concerns came through the ideas outlined by French cultural historians in the 1970s. Guldi noted that the landscape, the built environment and mapping provide evidence for local through to national insights so that previous historical understandings can be reconceived.[26] In the 1950s and 1960s, WG Hoskins and Maurice Beresford studied the effects of enclosure on English villages. Hoskins mentioned the traveller on foot 'needs to be a botanist, a physical geographer, and a naturalist, as well as an historian'. Guldi followed the history of such analysis and noted the importance of landscape painting, architecture, urban planning, studying community buildings and the role of memorials and cemeteries in establishing national identity.[27]

Guldi's comments sharpen an awareness of the importance of landscape when analysing the history of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour. A special lens needs to be used to view the surroundings of the Avenue's trees. Guldi concluded:

> For History is not some jewel locked in a rare archive, only accessible to the funded and privileged few. History is around us all the time, in the ever-present archive of the built environment … everyday journeys through ordinary environments inspire historians to draw together diverse methods, for they train the eye to read many stories on the same page.[28]

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[23] David Stephens and Alison Broinowski, eds. *The Honest History Book* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2017).

[24] Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*.

[25] Jo Guldi, "Landscape and Place," in *Research Methods for History*, ed. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), Part 1, 5.

[26] Ibid., 66.

[27] Ibid., 69.

[28] Ibid., 75.

Figure 2: View of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour in 2017—looking eastwards
Photograph taken by Terry Hope in April 2017

1.5 Methodology

In this thesis, a series of historical methods are used in the research encompassing a detailed analysis of primary sources, landscape analysis of the Avenue and Arch, and oral history through interviews with a cohort of Ballarat community members. Overall, the focus is on matters involving memory, commemoration, heritage and militarism.

The extensive documentary research includes detailed analysis of public records, especially those concerning the City of Ballarat and the Shire of Ballarat; Ballarat's newspapers; and the archives of the AVAHC, which commenced in 1931. The National Library of Australia's Internet repository, Trove, and the archives of the Ballaarat Mechanics' Institute have proved invaluable resources for the research of newspapers, especially Ballarat's daily newspapers. As the city developed, Ballarat had three established daily newspapers—*The Star* (*The Ballarat Star* from 1865), *The Courier* (*The Ballarat Courier* 1869–80 and 1914–44) and the *Evening Post*. *The Star* began as a liberal newspaper in 1855, but from 1856 under the ownership of TD Wanliss, it took a conservative stance that continued throughout its history.[29] *The Evening Post* began in

[29] Colin Cleary, *Ballarat Labor* (Epsom, Vic.: privately printed, 2007), 20-21, 23–24.

1864, the first evening and first penny paper in Ballarat.[30] In September 1924, *The Star* was taken over by its rival *The Courier*, which commenced in 1867 with liberal-minded editorials,[31] although at times during its history, such as during World War One, it took a more conservative stance.

The *Evening Echo* developed from the *Evening Post*, commencing in 1895 and showing strong support for the fledgling Labor Party. It became the only Labor daily in Victoria as an organ of the Ballarat branch of the Australian Workers Union in 1910[32] and its editor during 1913–22 was future Prime Minister (PM) Jim Scullin.[33] During World War One, it played a crucial role in opposing policies of PM Billy Hughes and it was the rural voice of the anti-conscription adherents. Its twice-daily editions were widely read. However, once Scullin moved to Melbourne in 1922 to represent the electorate of Richmond, it lost its impetus and it stopped production in 1929.

An important aspect of the methodology used for this thesis is the fieldwork undertaken by myself. Through observation of a series of recent projects in Ballarat, I was able to gain an intimate knowledge of the current issues with which the AVAHC and the City of Ballarat were involved. My method of discovery included cycling and car travel along the length of the Avenue of Honour on a number of occasions, attending quarterly AVAHC meetings as a participant observer during 2012–17 and attending many Ballarat commemorative events during the same years. This brought an in-depth understanding of the major issues involved with Avenue and Arch ceremonies and with other aspects of their civic management.

Further fieldwork took place when, with a group of more than 30 people from across Australia, I travelled to Gallipoli in Turkey and the Somme in Belgium and northern France in July and August 2015. Over a period of 20 days, we visited the battlefields on

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[30] William Withers, *History of Ballarat* (2nd ed. 1887. Facsimile of the second edition. Carlton, Vic.: Queensberry Hill Press, 1980), 65.

[31] Cleary, *Ballarat Labor,* 21–23.

[32] Anne Beggs-Sunter, "Ballarat's Crusading Evening Echo: Fighting Militarism in World War 1," in *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Phillip Deery and Julie Kimber (Melbourne: Leftbank Press, 2015), 104–20.

[33] Cleary, *Ballarat Labor,* 181–87.

which Australians fought in World War One and the cemeteries where many Australian World War One soldiers are buried. In particular, group members took a walking tour from the Nek to Anzac Cove on the Gallipoli Peninsula and visited the Menin Gate at Ypres in Belgium for the daily commemorative ceremony. A poignant moment occurred in a British military cemetery near Villers-Bretonneux, France, when I stood in quiet contemplation by the grave of Donald McKenzie, the brother of my grandmother, who was killed in battle in July 1918. In a mix of emotions, the sadness of his death, the feeling of the need for commemoration and the realisation of the tragic and senseless nature of war flooded into my mind.

A further aspect of the methodology used in this thesis is a focus on the landscape of the Avenue and Arch. In line with the comments made earlier in this chapter, many issues involved with the landscape need analysis in this thesis. They included discussion of the route of the Avenue of Honour from Ballarat to Learmonth, the length of the Avenue compared to other memorial avenues, the manner in which the 3801 trees were and are presented, aspects of the initial planting of the trees and the ways in which the community has engaged with the Avenue during its history. Likewise, the Arch of Victory presents issues requiring analysis. These include the symbolism associated with the term 'victory' and with the Arch itself, the way the people of Ballarat have viewed the Arch and the many ceremonies connected with the Arch precinct from 1920 to 2017.

Figure 3: View of Ballarat's Arch of Victory in 2017—looking westwards
Photograph taken by Terry Hope in April 2017

In this thesis, oral history is undertaken in two different ways. In the next chapters, information obtained from interviewing people involved in some way in the narrative of the thesis is used to verify aspects of the study. In the second last chapter, a case study covering the five main areas previously outlined is used to discover and reinforce information about the views of interviewees towards war and peace commemoration. It is noticeable that most of the people interviewed have what many people would consider conservative views. Permission to undertake the interviews was obtained after a detailed application to the Federation University Human Research Ethics Committee. The submission, outlining the case study as part of the thesis project, was submitted in late 2014. After the Ethics Committee required adjustments to some of the proposed questions, these adjustments occurred and Ethics Approval was granted in June 2015.

1.6 Outline of Chapters

The investigation of the thesis topic 'How are community attitudes to commemorating war and peace reflected in the civic management of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory?' provided a blueprint for research undertaken in this thesis.

In order to discover answers, it was necessary to pursue, in depth, a number of areas that are considered in a sequence of chapters. The second chapter encompasses an overview of relevant literature and sets the scene for a detailed analysis of the issues considered. Once a theoretical basis for the study is established, a review of the pertinent literature concerning the commemoration of World War One, the commemoration of subsequent wars in which Australia has been involved, war and peace commemoration in Ballarat and the origins of commemorative avenues and arches is undertaken.

The third chapter discusses the relevant history of Ballarat to aid an understanding of local war and peace commemoration. The city has a number of commemorative structures and a long history of undertaking ceremonies to mark significant military occasions. An analysis of the impact of the Eureka Stockade event is included.

The fourth and fifth chapters outline the major issues involved with the planting of the Avenue and the construction of the Arch. The sixth chapter analyses the contribution of the Lucas Company and a section of the company's employees known as the Lucas Girls

to the Avenue and the Arch. The contribution, both from 1917 to 1968 when the company was in full production and after 1968, has been a most significant one.

The seventh chapter discusses the history of the civic management of the Avenue and the Arch from commencement until 2017, and the eighth chapter records the findings of the case study. Finally, the ninth chapter draws together the conclusions of the research.

1.7 Contribution

This thesis provides an original contribution to knowledge in a number of areas. It adds considerably to the body of knowledge about war commemoration in Australia and about the contribution of many Ballarat citizens to the commemoration of war and peace. This thesis provides an in-depth, critical enquiry into Ballarat's Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory. As a result of the research undertaken, a detailed book about the Avenue and Arch for the general public was launched on 9 November 2018.

The thesis consolidates an understanding of the origin and history of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory, answers many questions pertinent to these memorials, clarifies the Hargreaves/Lucas/Price contribution to the Avenue and Arch and provides guidance to local authorities to assist in their management of the Avenue and Arch. Further, the case study investigates new areas in analysing commemoration in the Ballarat area and consolidates a view about the understanding and attitudes of Ballarat people to commemoration and to war. Through this study, a valuable insight into a particular Australian community's 'attitudes to war' is gained.

Chapter 2: MEMORY, COMMEMORATION AND HERITAGE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses memory, commemoration and heritage in the context of the influence of militarism. While the core of the study concentrates on the Australian regional city of Ballarat, many comments are made in a broader national or international context. Although historical events from the nineteenth century and early twentieth century are included in the study, the main area of concentration is from 1917 to 2017.

In part this thesis analyses how far the civic history of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory is in line with the theories postulated by the main theorists concerning memory and commemoration, especially in the context of war commemoration and, to a lesser extent, peace commemoration. The epistemological basis for this study is focused on the theoretical insights into memory, nationalism and trauma culture articulated by Pierre Nora in 'Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*',[1] the contributors in *The Heritage of War* edited by Martin Gegner and Bart Ziino,[2] the contributors in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger,[3] David Lowenthal in *The Past is a Foreign Country*,[4] the contributors in *Commemorations* edited by John Gillis,[5] the contributors in *Contested Sites* edited by Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrell,[6] James Fentress and Chris Wickham in *Social Memory*,[7] Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*,[8] and Jay Winter in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*[9] and in

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[1] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*," in "Memory and Counter-Memory," special issue, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–24.

[2] Martin Gegner and Bart Ziino, eds., *The Heritage of War* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2012).

[3] Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[4] Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*.

[5] John Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[6] Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrell, eds., *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, England: Burlington, 2004).

[7] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

[8] B Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[9] Winter, *Sites of Memory*.

Remembering War.[10] These authors have examined the influence of memory in historical contexts and outlined the worldwide evolution of commemoration.

The literature review has encompassed the main issues relevant to the research question. Overall, there is an examination of how community attitudes to the commemoration of war and peace are reflected in relation to the civic management of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. There are many associated issues that assist an understanding of the research question, including assessing the vast and ever-increasing amount of literature concerning memory, commemoration and heritage. The focus in this study is on literature that has developed an understanding of war and peace commemoration, the ways in which memory and history have intertwined and the importance of understanding the landscape sites, especially in relation to Ballarat.

The main study this thesis has used for understanding the issue of war commemoration in Australia is the third edition of *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*[11] by Ken Inglis, first published in 1998. In the foreword to the third edition, published in 2008, Jay Winter stated:

> The study of war memorials is now at the core of the cultural history of the twentieth century and beyond. No one anywhere has done more to illuminate this landscape of remembrance than Ken Inglis. In this book, now updated to include the record of recent developments in the still growing space of commemorative activity, Inglis shows us elegantly and authoritatively the ways ordinary people continue to fashion their own history, and construct in the light of day what we have come to call the collective memory of the Great War.[12]

In this chapter, after a discussion of the theoretical basis for this thesis, there is a discussion of the theories and findings of prominent historians in the fields of memory, commemoration and nationalism. Next, commemoration in the Australian context is addressed with the initial focus on the commemoration of World War One. Since that war, there have been considerable changes in its commemoration. This is followed by an analysis of commemoration of subsequent wars in which Australia has been involved. Views about how peace is recognised are included in this analysis. Following this, a study

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[10] Winter, *Remembering War*.

[11] Inglis, *Sacred Places*.

[12] Ibid., iii.

is made of Ballarat's war and peace commemoration. Finally, the literature concerning commemorative avenues and arches is discussed. In recent years, there have been a number of studies of avenues of honour and these are analysed.

2.2 Theoretical Basis

It is significant how the study of war commemoration has become a pervasive research topic in recent years and has continued to expand. In *Sacred Places*, Inglis observes:

> As recently as 1980, war memorials had almost no scholarly literature. Now the interested reader can gather a small shelf of books and a thick file of articles, and historians from three continents converged on Paris in 1991 for a colloquium on the subject.[13]

He argues this new interest came from the passage of time, the urge to study World War One and the development of comparative history and theoretical studies. From the 1970s, investigations of French writers—Maurice Agulhon's studies of national image, symbol and ceremony and Antoine Prost's analysis of *monuments au morts*—were founding works of iconographic history that, along with the work of another Frenchman, Pierre Nora, 'committed to the interpretation of monuments and other texts as bearers of collective memory'.[14]

In a series of influential works that span the publication of the first volume of *Les lieux de mémoire* in 1981 to the third volume of *Realms of Memory*[15] in 1998, Nora wrote about how and why society was changing and the importance of memory. In a time of mass culture, many past values were lost and as historiography entered its epistemological age, with memory ineluctably engulfed by history, the historian became, in himself, a *lieu de mémoire* (place of memory). In the interaction between memory and history, there must be a will to remember—otherwise virtually everything would be worthy of remembrance.

> For if we accept the most fundamental purpose of lieux de memoire is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalise death, to materialise the immaterial—just as if gold were the only memory of money—all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs, it is also clear that the *lieux de memoire* only exist

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[13] Ibid., 7.

[14] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7.

[15] Nora's three-volume collection *Les lieux de mémoire* was published by Gallimard.

> because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications.[16]

These words are very pertinent to both the study in Chapter Seven of this thesis about how the Anzac legend has changed over time and the case study outlined in Chapter Eight, where answers given by some interviewees allude to the immortalisation of the death of those who died in World War One. Nora noted that the gap between historical and literary writing was blurring: 'A new kind of history has been born, which owes its prestige and legitimacy to the new relation it maintains to the past.'[17]

The existence of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour fulfils the drive for memory discussed by Nora. In 'Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*' he states, 'The imperative of our epoch is not only to keep everything, to preserve every indicator of memory—even when we are not sure which memory is being indicated'.[18] Unlike other localities, since the first planting of the Avenue in June 1917, every endeavour has been made to preserve it. As is ascertained in the case study, the members of the AVAHC have a strong belief about the importance of retaining Avenue memories of World War One, although they do not clearly articulate the theoretical basis for this belief. The focus on memory reached its zenith on 25 April 2015 on the centenary of the Gallipoli landing when across the country vast crowds of Australians gathered in commemoration.

Yasmin Khan in 'Remembering and Forgetting: South Asia and the Second World War'[19] in *The Heritage of War* points out that in recent years Nora's ideas have been challenged. She states that 'within post-colonial studies there has been a robust critique of Pierre Nora and his project of *lieux de memoire* in a rigid, nation-centered French history'. She states that, rather than war memorialisation being a statist projection of national ideals, it can be regarded as an area of accommodation and adaptation to the popular needs of local and regional mourners.[20] This comment is pertinent to Australia, where the continuing evolution of the meaning of the Anzac legend has occurred. In recent years, the regional

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[16] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 19.

[17] Ibid., 24.

[18] Ibid., 15.

[19] Yasim Khan, "Remembering and Forgetting: South Asia and the Second World War," in Gegner and Ziino, *The Heritage of War,* 177–94.

[20] Ibid., 181.

mourners of Ballarat have taken on the Garden of the Grieving Mother project as part of the memories of the Avenue and Arch.

A further detailed critique of Nora's ideas is found in the article 'Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory'[21] by Hue-Tam Ho Tai, who labels Nora's ideas as 'artifacts' of the late twentieth century. The author notes:

> The gap of nearly two decades between the publication of the first volume of *Lieux de mémoire* in 1981 and the third volume of *Realms of Memory* in 1998 makes the task of evaluating the impact of Nora's project on scholarship outside France difficult. During the time span, the field of memory studies exploded, with works by David Lowenthal, John Bodnar, John R. Gillis, Raphael Samuel, and Simon Schama, to name but a few.[22]

She also points out that in his works Nora had a focus on the French nation but by the end of the twentieth century, globalisation had altered many of Nora's contentions. 'If imperialism is the nineteenth-century version of universalism, globalism is its twentieth-century reincarnation.'[23] By that time, it was not the French republic that was spreading its ideals and practices abroad but the United States.[24] Nevertheless, Nora's works do provide a firm basis for understanding the concepts surrounding memory.

The study of German and Soviet memorials in Berlin by Martin Gegner in *The Heritage of War*[25] alerts us to the dynamic and changing nature of memorialisation. He notes that after the Cold War these memorials were 'reinterpreted' by a wider public, thus generating new meanings from the memorial landscape. Memorial meanings change over time and over one hundred years the interpretations of Ballarat's Arch and Avenue will have changed. In the introduction to *The Heritage of War*, editors Gegner and Ziino note that understanding heritage requires multiple perspectives of the past. As well as state-sponsored memorialisation, individuals respond to the trauma of war through communal memories: 'We need to understand the politics of war heritage as a continuing, uneven,

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[21] Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001): 1–18.

[22] Ibid., 1.

[23] Ibid., 14.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Martin Gegner, "War Monuments in East and West Berlin: Cold War Symbols or Different Forms of Memorial?," in Gegner and Ziino, *The Heritage of War*, 64–87.

contest and negotiation between state and private agencies.'[26] Later in this section, this theme receives further comment in relation to the arguments presented by the historian Joan Beaumont.

The manner in which communities undertake commemoration is associated with the changing nature of memorialisation. In discussing commemoration, Hobsbawn and Ranger's book *The Invention of Tradition*[27] illustrates that many so-called long-term traditions in western countries are invented and are of recent origin. The 'invention of tradition' is pertinent for historians due to the contrast between constant change and innovation in the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within this modern world as unchanging and invariant. For example, we see this in inventions of Scottish Highland traditions—it was not until the 1820s that the Scots began to have distinct tartans for clans and originally, the harp rather than the bagpipes was used for music. Likewise, invention arises in the development and forgeries of a Welsh past in the romantic period, in the phases of understanding of British monarchy ritual from 1820 to 1977, in how authority was represented in Victorian India, in colonial traditions in Africa and in traditions mass-produced in Europe during 1870–1914.

It is clear from the examples cited that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries political institutions, ideological movements and nationalist groups were so new that historic continuity was invented by creating an ancient past beyond the effective historical continuity of the present, by either semi-fiction or forgery. We may ask, 'Is Ballarat's Avenue of Honour an example of invention of tradition?' This question is analysed in Chapter Four of this thesis during discussion about the Avenue's history.

Another important publication in understanding the ever-changing role of the past in explaining the present is David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country*.[28] In his wide-ranging book using examples taken mainly from England and America, Lowenthal analyses the role of the past in shaping personal and national identity. He states that

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[26] Gegner and Ziino, *The Heritage of War,* 3.

[27] Hobsbawn and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

[28] Lowenthal, *Foreign Country.*

'remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity'[29] and that 'awareness that memory forms identity is relatively recent'.[30] His perceptions aid our understanding of how, over time, both Ballarat's Avenue and Arch, while remaining significant features of the landscape, have changed through commemoration mythology in how they have been viewed by the community. This issue is followed through in later chapters of this thesis.

Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity[31] is a further book that discusses issues of memory and identity. The 13 chapters are organised into four sections, 'The Problem of Identity and Memory', 'Memory in the Construction of National Identities', 'Memories of War and Wars over Memory' and 'Politics of Memory and Identity'. In the introduction, the history of commemoration is traced through to the 'proliferation of anniversaries, memorial services, and ethnic celebrations that suggested that while memory has become more democratic, it has also become more burdensome'.[32] Vast changes in the role of memories in modern living were traced and it is argued that 'today everyone is her or his own historian'.[33] The nation-state has become desacralised and racial and sexual minorities, women, youth, new nations and ethnic groups aspire to sovereign status.[34]

In this book, in the chapter 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', Thomas Laqueur analyses the history of how the war dead were commemorated.[35] In nineteenth-century wars, it became the practice to commemorate the deaths of officers, and by the Boer War the practice of placing small iron crosses to mark the graves of soldiers who had fallen had evolved. By the Great War, the responsibility of the care and registration of the graves became the responsibility of the state. By 1938, when the Imperial War Graves Commission had completed its World War One work, the construction of 1850 cemeteries, mostly in Belgium and France, had been undertaken.[36] Part of this work was

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[29] Ibid., 197.

[30] Ibid., 198.

[31] Gillis, *Commemorations*.

[32] Ibid., 14.

[33] Ibid., 17.

[34] Ibid., 19.

[35] Thomas Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," in Gillis, *Commemorations*, 150–67.

[36] Ibid., 153.

the burial of the 'unknown soldier' in Westminster Abbey in 1920, a practice that also occurred in many other countries. In a similar manner to other European countries, the British War Graves Commission ensured that all graves were uniform in appearance, bringing 'a levelling of death'.[37] What was put in place was done for all. 'No soldier who died overseas, with the exception of the unknown warrior, was allowed to return home.'[38] Major monuments such as the Menin Gate at Ypres and the large memorial structure at Thiepval became little more than venues for lists of names of soldiers who fell.[39]

Laqueur points out that 'meaning … is squeezed out of the forms so that the tablets and names—signs of the army of the dead—are all that remain'.[40] As a result, communities found other ways in which to commemorate the war dead, and in Europe 'the names recorded at sites on the front and in village squares were the primary sites of mourning'.[41] In Australia other ways, which included the planting of an Avenue of Honour, were found for commemoration. Later in this thesis, the egalitarian nature of Ballarat's Avenue and the symbolism of the Arch are discussed in this context.

Another insight into studying commemoration is in line with comments made by Jo Guldi about the importance of landscape painting, architecture, urban planning, studying community buildings and the role of memorials and cemeteries in establishing national identity.[42] The landscape surrounding Ballarat's Avenue and Arch provides messages to establish insights into our historical understanding. Their instigators in 1917–20 had in mind lasting memorials to those who served in World War One. Certainly, they were intent on recognising local military service, but whether at that time they had a vision of a national memorial is an area requiring further analysis. Later, when Australia took part in further wars, plaques were added to the Arch to ensure commemoration of these theatres of war. Recently, when more emphasis has been placed on the tragedy and grief of war, a reconceiving of the Avenue and Arch's significance has occurred at a time when AVAHC members desire national recognition for the Avenue and Arch.

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[37] Ibid., 161.

[38] Ibid., 162.

[39] Ibid., 163.

[40] Ibid., 163.

[41] Ibid., 164.

[42] Guldi, "Landscape and Place," 69.

In their 2004 study, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in 19th Century Britain*, Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrrell[43] throw further light on commemoration. The book analyses how until recent years British historians have mostly disregarded the artefacts of earlier eras, especially in comparison to the United States of America, France and Germany. The book quotes Melissa Dabakis in her study of the representation of labour in American sculpture: 'Ultimately, it is the viewer, standing before the monument … who completes the memory process.' Pickering and Tyrell then observed that 'viewers bring a wide variety of experiences to bear on interpretations'.[44]

In the introduction to *Contested Sites*, Pickering and Tyrell point to the theoretical basis for writing the history of modern memorials. Fundamental to this is the study of collective memory from the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs that has much in common with cultural anthropology, especially the form advocated by Clifford Geertz.

> For both scholars, the written and spoken word is no longer privileged as the source of memory and culture. Halbwachs 'framework' is embedded in localities and artefacts imbued with social meaning: Geertz's 'frame' is of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances.[45]

Again, there is a direct connection with Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. Their location is imbued with the social meaning mentioned by Halbwachs and they are associated with the stories, ceremonies, insignia and formalities noted by Geertz.

Pickering and Tyrell argue that this concept of collective memory has assisted the study of public memory and memorials. Memorials are a type of speech articulating a sense of the past and as origin myths they bring a focus of group loyalty.

> Following the example of social anthropologists who borrow metaphors from the dramatic stage and religion, historians refer to 'performative memory' and 'dramaturgy' of public life that portrays 'mythic narrative' through memorials that are 'catechisms in stone' erected on 'sacro-secular political sites' which serve as a 'pedagogical space … to teach the people the new civic virtues'. Those who visit these sites go on a 'funerary pilgrimage' and take part in ritual performances that mobilize the group.[46]

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[43] Pickering and Tyrell, *Contested Sites*.

[44] Melissa Dabakis, *Visualizing Labor in American Sculpture: Monuments, Manliness, and the Work Ethic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), cited in Pickering and Tyrell, *Contested Sites*, 2.

[45] Pickering and Tyrell, *Contested Sites*, 8.

[46] Ibid.

In *Social Memory*, anthropologist James Fentress and historian Chris Wickham[47] dissect the concept of memory. This study commenced with the premise that memory is attached to membership of social groups, extolling the theory of collective memory first articulated by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925. The authors use the term social memory because the Emile Durkheim school could be seen to put 'excessive emphasis on the collective nature of social consciousness', neglecting the way individual consciousness might relate to the consciousness of the group to which the individual belongs.[48]

Fentress and Wickham observed that:

> Halbwachs was certainly right to say that social groups construct their own images of the world by establishing an agreed version of the past and to emphasise that these versions are established by communication, not by private remembrance.

The authors state that 'social memory is, in fact, often selective, distorted, and inaccurate'.[49] What distorts memory is not anything inherent about the process of recall, but rather the influence of external constraints. After analysing many historical situations, the authors drew the conclusion that 'the transmission of social memory is a process of evolution and change'[50] and also wrote:

> Memory has an immense social role. It tells us who we are, embedding our present selves in our pasts … For many groups, this means putting the puzzle back together: inventing the past to fit the present, or equally, the present to fit the past. We preserve the past at the cost of decontextualizing it, and partially blotting it out.[51]

Keir Reeves and Gertjan Plets provide another understanding of the operation of social memory. In their paper 'Cultural Heritage as a Strategy for Social Needs and Community Identity', they discuss social needs and argue, 'Because social needs play out in different

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[47] Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*.

[48] Ibid., ix.

[49] Ibid., xi.

[50] Ibid., 200.

[51] Ibid., 201.

levels of society, and different social institutions are involved, heritage is similarly ideally understood and tackled through in-depth ethnography'.[52]

Reeves and Plets point out that heritage is itself a social need and that, ultimately, without heritage there can be no society. They state, 'The need to engage in practices of community preservation through heritage is a feeling that can arise in the face of contemporary trends that are often perceived as compromising the social fabric'.[53] Their study emphasises the importance of heritage in constructions of community cohesion and identity and assisted an understanding of the 'drive' of community representatives to retain symbols of the past, such as the Avenue and Arch. In this thesis, the concepts of social memory, or collective memory, and heritage are central tenets during discussions about the history of the Avenue and Arch over a period of 100 years.

One specific interest in invented traditions and commemoration is that the historical innovation, the 'nation' and its associated phenomena—nationalism, national symbols, histories—all rest on exercises of social engineering, often deliberate, always innovative. Drawing on the work of Halbwachs, the origins and development of nationalism are analysed by Anderson in *Imagined Communities*.[54] He argues that in medieval times the power of religion, whether it was in the Christian world, the Muslim world or other worlds, and the belief that monarchs were people apart who had cosmological dispensation prevented the development of nationalism. Starting in Western Europe from the 1500s once these 'certainties' were challenged, in a slow and uneven decline of the monarchies, the influence of print-capitalism on the mass population brought new entities and gradually nation-states evolved. Anderson points to the crucial influence of print, especially the novel and the newspaper, and stated that 'the book was the first modern-style mass-produced industrial commodity'.[55] These changes led to a search by growing numbers of people to link fraternity, power and time meaningfully together.

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[52] Keir Reeves and Gertjan Plets, "Cultural Heritage as a Strategy for Social Needs and Community Identity," in *A Companion to Heritage Studies*, ed. William Logan, Máiréad Nic Craith, and Ullrich Kockel (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 203.

[53] Ibid.

[54] B Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[55] Ibid., 34.

Anderson states that the answer to this was nation-states. From 1760 to 1820, nationalist movements took hold in North, Central and South America and then, in the period 1820–1920, an age of nationalism took hold in Europe. He argues that the general growth in literacy, commerce, industry, communications and state machineries created powerful new impulses for linguistic unification within each dynastic realm.[56] Further, 'the First World War brought the age of high dynasticism to an end. By 1922, Habsburgs, Hohenzollerns, Romanovs and Ottomans were gone'.[57]

During the twentieth century, a rise in Asian and African nationalism occurred. This was driven by the physical mobility of modern transportation, European colonisation that inevitably raised the national consciousness of those colonised (especially youth) and the spread of modern-style education. Anderson analysed the power of dying for one's country and nationalist language such as the symbolism of a national anthem. The preface to the second edition of 1991 notes the recent breakup of the Soviet Union: 'History seems to be bearing out the "logic" of Imagined Communities.'[58]

On reflection, these comments relate directly to the recent use of the Anzac legend in Australia to fortify nationalism. Successive prime ministers on commemorative occasions have used the Anzac tradition to bolster their own personal concepts of Australian national identity. As well, Ballarat's Arch of Victory, by using the term 'Victory', created a powerful, eye-catching, yet unspoken, symbolism of Australian nationhood. The triumphant portrayal of an Allies victory unfortunately created the fertile ground in Germany for the rise of the Nazi Party.

An important theorist about war memory and commemoration is the American historian Jay Winter, who has made a close study of World War One and its place in twentieth-century European history and culture. In *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, he advocates an international focus for the study of war and its impact on the culture of countries involved in each war.[59] Also, he analyses how the people of Germany, France

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[56] Ibid., 77–78.

[57] Ibid., 113.

[58] Ibid., xi.

[59] Winter, *Sites of Memory*.

and Great Britain mourned the deaths of their soldiers during and after World War One and 'the universality of grief and mourning in Europe from 1914'.[60]

In his book *Remembering War*, Winter argues that World War One, the inter-war period and World War Two were better understood as one 'European Civil War'. The focus of this book was 'the long shadow of the First World War'.[61] Images, languages and practices that appeared during and after the two world wars focused on the need to acknowledge the victims of war and shaped the ways in which future conflicts were imagined and remembered. Winter states that, at the core of the memory boom, an array of collective meditations on war and the victims of war were in place.[62]

A difference between the comments made by Winter and the reality of the Ballarat Avenue is that the Avenue commemorated soldiers who served rather than just those who lost their lives through war conflict. Many other Australian commemorative avenues do, in fact, only include the war dead, but the instigators of Ballarat's Avenue were determined to honour all local people who had served during World War One. The criteria used for tree allocation was that the soldier, sailor or nurse had registered at the Ballarat recruiting depot.

Joan Beaumont in 'ANZAC Day to VP Day: Arguments and Interpretations'[63] outlines developments in Australian war historiography. She contends:

> There were two dominant approaches in the burgeoning literature on war memory and commemoration; one, which has been identified with Eric Hobsbawn and Benedict Anderson, argues that war memory is shaped centrally by the state. An alternative approach, dominated by the work of Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, has a 'psychological' emphasis, seeing war memory and commemoration 'as an expression of mourning and a human response to the death and suffering of war'. This approach, while not denying the importance of state, downplays its significance and focuses more on 'the work of remembrance performed by the agencies of civil society'.[64]

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[60] Ibid., 223.

[61] Winter, *Remembering War*, 12–13.

[62] Ibid., 1.

[63] Beaumont, "ANZAC Day."

[64] Ibid., 4.

She argues that this polarity is 'unhelpful' as we cannot understand the resurgence in interest in the memory of war, unless we see an interaction between state and individual agency.

The argument and evidence produced in this thesis supports Beaumont's view. In fact, it is central to the argument of the thesis. Subsequent chapters outline how in relation to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch, the interaction between the directions developed by the Australian Government in war commemoration have interacted with the desires and actions of the local AVAHC and a section of the Ballarat community. In recent years, in line with the views outlined by Nora, there has been a noticeable increase worldwide in war commemoration.

2.3 Australian World War One Commemoration

The study of Australian war commemoration encompasses a wide field of information that continues to grow at a fast pace, especially in relation to the changing memory of World War One. As Ballarat's Avenue and Arch are tied to this war, an analysis of the history of World War One commemoration is undertaken first, followed by a discussion about the commemoration of other twentieth and twenty-first century wars or peacekeeping missions that have involved Australia.

In *The Causes of War*,[65] Geoffrey Blainey analyses wars that have taken place between 1700 and 1971. He sifts through explanations for war and states that probably the most revealing stage of a war was the outbreak of peace. He discusses many aspects of war including dreams and delusions, the use of power and myths, and their time span. He concludes that there would be no war unless at least two nations prefer war to peace, frequently (erroneously) one nation can be blamed for causing a war and no wars are unintended or accidental—the unintended aspect is the length and bloodiness of the war. Defeat too is unintended. Since his book was written, comments he made have continued to apply to warring nations and his insights provide a background to considering issues that bring about the commemoration of war.

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[65] Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War* (London: Macmillan, 1973).

Since 1914 the commemoration and memory of World War One have been controversial areas. A number of publications have analysed the war's causes, events and impact. Recently, the Anzac legend has been amplified among the Australian community. Many politicians have embraced it, while other people have expressed dismay that Australians increasingly appear to have favourable attitudes to militarisation. Recent publications, *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*,[66] *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*,[67] *Anzac's Long Shadow: The Cost of Our National Obsession*[68] and *The Honest History Book*,[69] as well as the Honest History website[70] are all central to the criticism of the heightened view that Australia was born at Gallipoli.

Charles Bean edited a 12-volume *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–18*.[71] In *Broken Nation*, Joan Beaumont notes that early in the war Bean decided the only memorials worthy of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) were a history of their role in World War One and an Australian war museum. While writing journalism for immediate publication in Australia, he kept a diary and filled 283 notebooks with observations about AIF battles. These led to the *Official History* that was published in sequential volumes from 1921 to 1942. Beaumont admits that 'many decades later the official histories remain an indispensable resource for the historian of Australia's experiences of war'.[72] Indeed, Bean's views have left an indelible mark on Australian history authors. As Inglis has pointed out, he was very influential concerning the character of Australia's 1941 War Memorial in Canberra.[73]

Recently, a worldwide focus has shifted to analysing and commemorating World War One and there is a plethora of literature concerning Australia's involvement. Much of the

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[66] Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*

[67] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*.

[68] Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*.

[69] Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*.

[70] "Honest History," http://honesthistory.net.au/.

[71] Charles Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–18*, 12 vols. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1921–42). Bean personally wrote the first six volumes covering the Army involvement.

[72] Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2014), xxiv.

[73] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 316.

conversation concerns the 1915 Gallipoli campaign and the Anzac 'story'. *Sacred Places* recorded this recent upsurge and Inglis provides a comprehensive description of the many memorials in various forms throughout Australia. In his second edition, he observes:

> For this edition I have added an epilogue on the ten years since the book was first published (in 1998). To my surprise, there has been more making and remaking of war memorials in those years than at any time since the decade after 1918. In the epilogue I document this activity, and explore its connections with changing ideas and sentiments, sometimes harmonious, sometimes in conflict, about war, grief, history, education, and the relationship between the public and private sphere.[74]

Sacred Places, subtitled 'War Memorials in the Australian Landscape', is a key reference in understanding the history and symbolism of these memorials and is a base reference for this thesis. In the epilogue, Inglis concurs with concerns of some historians about the excessive promotion of the Anzac legend by PMs Howard and Rudd and states that this has brought a 'relentless militarisation of historical memory'.[75] The views of all recent prime ministers about the way the Anzac legend should be viewed are analysed in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

As outlined in Chapter One of this thesis, an important article concerning Australian war commemoration is Alistair Thomson's 'Anzac Memories: Putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia'.[76] In the late 1980s, Thomson interviewed World War One veteran Fred Farrell about his war memories and then showed how Farrell's identity was shaped by these memories. In turn, changes in cultural memory and in Farrell's subsequent life experience affected how Farrell was able to remember war.

Initial interviews by Thomson of 20 Melbourne World War One veterans showed many interviewees entangled their own experiences with those of the Anzac legend. For example, some men related scenes from Peter Weir's film *Gallipoli* as if they were their own experiences. As a result, Thomson devised interview questions for a second interview with each man and found that some of the men who seemed to be uncritical of

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[74] Ibid., xvi.

[75] Ibid., 574.

[76] Thomson, "Anzac Memories."

the Anzac legend had contrary and even contradictory understanding of the legend's key terms.[77]

In Fred Farrell's case, Thomson continued interviews over a prolonged period and gradually realised Farrell's memory of war had passed through three distinct phases—immediately after World War One when he was shell shocked and felt inferior but due to the legend of the Australian soldier being 'the best fighter in the war' repressed his feelings; the 1920s and 1930s when he joined the labour movement, did not attend Anzac Day ceremonies and recalled particular experiences as a soldier who was an unwitting victim of an imperialist war; and thirdly, from the late 1960s when he started to re-engage as a returned soldier, which he explained as the renewed interest of an old man about his youth and the respect, even veneration, which the few remaining Great War diggers received. Thomson adds that from the 1980s history books and films altered perceptions:

> In the resurgence of interest in the Anzacs, the specific and often contradictory experiences of individual veterans are being clouded by a generalised, almost nostalgic version of the diggers … their war experiences which were once taboo are now publically acceptable. The Vietnam War and the influence of the peace and anti-war movement have altered public perceptions of war so that the soldier as victim is a more acceptable character—though he still takes second place to the Anzac hero. Fred can now talk more easily about his experiences of 'the war as hell', and his own feelings of inadequacy as a soldier.[78]

Thomson notes that in the 1980s Fred visited the Australian War Memorial in Canberra and viewed the war memorial as a 'Peace Memorial' but Fred's political critique was displaced. The war memorial portrays that war was hell for the infantry, yet the digger hero and the Anzac legend are promoted. Fred did not see how aspects of his experience were ignored—the lack of depiction of tensions between officers and the ranks, the post-war digger disillusionment and war as a business.

> Fred assumes that any museum depicting the horrors of the western front must be a 'peace memorial', but doesn't recognise the political ambiguity of a museum in which little boys clamber over tanks and want to grow up to be soldiers.[79]

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[77] Ibid., 246.

[78] Ibid., 252.

[79] Ibid., 253.

Thomson states, 'Fred Farrell's case study highlights the dynamic relationship between individual memory and national myth'.[80] This article is pertinent to the oral history undertaken in this thesis, in that throughout the thesis there is frequent discussion about the importance of memory, especially collective memory, and on many occasions its relationship to national myth. In the case study discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis, views articulated by those interviewed, in the main, conformed to the views of the Australian Government in 2017.

Thomson notes concerning memories that we compose memories to help us feel relatively comfortable with our lives, while we remake or repress painful memories because they do not fit in with our present identity or because they have never been resolved. Also, we construct memories to fit with what is publically acceptable or we seek out particular public groups that affirm our identities and the way we want to remember our lives.[81]

He contends, 'Oral history can help us understand how and why national mythologies work (and don't work) for individuals, and in our society generally'. Also, he reflected, 'These understandings can enable us to participate more effectively as historians and in the collective struggle for more democratic and radical versions of the past and of what we can become'.[82] This is an important comment in that by enabling community members to gain an understanding of the way in which society operates, historians can assist the community to guard against excessive militarisation and work towards enduring peace.

In *Memory and History in Twentieth Century Australia* edited by Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton and published in 1994, the contributing authors dissect the part memory has played in marking conflicts involving Australian soldiers. It is pointed out that in country towns and in cities, material symbols are devoted to mourn those who died and to celebrate the masculine identity of warfare. The introduction notes:

> Participation in overseas conflicts has been awarded a unique status in the collective memory of Australian society. In Australian historiography, the First World War, the Second World War and the Vietnam conflict have all been regarded as historical events more significant than any other, as

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., 245.

[82] Ibid.

> the cause of social, political and economic change, and as the watershed between the chronological periodization (pre-war, post-war, inter-war) of the twentieth century.[83]

As the authors illustrate, memories of war are constantly and dynamically contested. Friction exists between official and individual memorialisation. In light of official statements, many Anzac soldiers repressed aspects of their own war experiences and in the Vietnam era different groups constructed competing memories. The avenues of honour were part of the war memorials in country towns and cities. In a survey published in 2013, Darian-Smith and Hamilton discussed recent articles in the fields of oral history and memory studies in Australia. They observed that although memory and history were once assumed oppositional, 'they have come to be understood as inextricably entangled in terms of scholarly definitions and in the circulation of historical knowledge'.[84]

Our understanding of war commemoration is enhanced further by studies of approaches to the war graves of Australians in Belgium, northern France and Turkey. The article by Bruce Scates 'In Gallipoli's Shadow: pilgrimage, memory, mourning and the Great War'[85] points to the strength of the Anzac legend and notes how pilgrimages to the cemeteries of the Great War continue to increase. The emotional world of travellers is reconstructed via interviews and surveys, and the complex intersection between personal and collective memory is explored. The invention or reinvention of ritual and a reappraisal of both gender and national identity are involved. Also, his book *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War*[86] examines the journeys of pilgrims and the significance sacred sites have acquired for successive generations. Through interviews, he found memory, like tourism, is now something of an industry.

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[83] Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, eds., *Memory and History in Twentieth Century Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5.

[84] Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton, "Memory and History in Twenty-First Century Australia: A Survey of the Field," *Memory Studies* 6, no. 3 (2013): 372.

[85] Bruce Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow: pilgrimage, memory, mourning and the Great War," *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 119 (2002): 1–21.

[86] Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

In *Pilgrimage: A Traveller's Guide to Australia's Battlefields*,[87] Garrie Hutchinson travelled to overseas locations where Australians have taken part in war. He observes:

> Australia like Britain and other Commonwealth countries buries its military dead close to the place where they fell. There are more than 100,000 of us buried or remembered in more than 1800 cemeteries and memorials in 77 countries.[88]

Similarly, Bart Ziino[89] examines through archival research the roles of war graves and cemeteries in private grief and mourning. In *A Distant Grief*, he discusses the communal responses of Australians mourners who were a long distance from the war graves. World War One devastated a generation. From the 1990s, Australians have shown an increasing interest in their country's war experience and commemoration, the place of veterans in their society and the meaning of wartime 'sacrifice'. Ziino stated, 'Perhaps the most visible and intriguing element of this resurgent interest is the phenomenon of travel to the battlefields, particularly to Gallipoli'.[90] This has parallels in Ballarat where many people, often those closely connected to the Avenue, recently travelled to World War One sites.

A similar study to a *Distant Grief* was published in 1999. Joy Damousi in *The labour of loss; mourning, memory and wartime bereavement in Australia*[91] explore how in Australia relatives of servicemen and women dealt with their experiences of grief and loss during and after World War One and World War Two. Also in 1999 a study relevant to this thesis was published. In 'Too Proud to Fight? Victorian Anti-War Groups in Victoria & Responses to Wilsonian International Liberalism, 1914-1919',[92] John Daykin wrote about the impact of the international liberalism of United States President Woodrow Wilson and the extensive anti-war opposition that existed in Victoria during World War

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[87] Garrie Hutchinson, *Pilgrimage: A Traveller's Guide to Australia's Battlefields* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006).

[88] Ibid., 2.

[89] Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2007).

[90] Ibid., 188.

[91] Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss; Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[92] John Daykin, "Too Proud to Fight? Victorian Anti-War Groups in Victoria & Responses to Wilsonian International Liberalism, 1914-1919," (BA Hons thesis, University of Ballarat, 1999), 6–8.

One. This study was a reminder that tensions during the war split the loyalties of the community and led to trauma for the soldier's families, the advocates for the war and the opponents of the war. As is discussed later in this thesis, Ballarat was a location where there was considerable division over the conscription issue.

In her article 'The State of Australian History of War', Beaumont argues that there was a need to redress 'the study of war' as it has tended to be on the margins of the academic community.[93] In 'ANZAC Day to VP Day: Arguments and Interpretations', she emphasises the fragmentary nature of recent military historiography and argues for a more integrative and comparative approach.[94] After outlining the increased attention by the Australian defence forces in writing their service history, she explains that the professionalisation of defence history has coincided with the recent striking development of the memory industry:

> In fact, the national calendar of war ritual and commemoration that has emerged in the last two decades has been carefully orchestrated by federal governments of both political persuasions. The 'memory industry' has also been implemented with considerable finesse and enthusiasm by government agencies, notably the Department of Veterans' Affairs and the Australian War Memorial, who have a strong institutional logic in promoting it.[95]

Strident criticism of the views of members of the 'Left', who were involved in the 'revisionist attack on the core components of the Anzac tradition', was made in a 2009 article by Mervyn Bendle, 'Gallipoli: Second Front in the History Wars'.[96] He argues that the exploits of the Anzacs were important and that people seek an empowering vision of their nation's past that is dynamic. He states:

> The Anzac legend is too precious to be left to the mercy of these ideologues. The centennial of the outbreak of the Great War approaches: it may soon be time for those who value the sacrifices of

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[93] Joan Beaumont, "The State of Australian History of War," *Australian Historical Studies* 34, no. 121 (2003): 165–68.

[94] Beaumont, "ANZAC Day."

[95] Ibid., 2

[96] Mervyn Bendle, "Gallipoli: Second Front in the History Wars," *Quadrant Online* (1 June 2009): 1–16, accessed August 20, 2017, http://quadrant.org.au/magazine/2009/06/gallipoli-second-front-in-the-history-wars.

> their forebears, the national identity of their country, and all that its people have achieved, to follow the Anzac spirit in the battle of ideas, and go over the top.[97]

Some of the authors Bendle criticised were those who contributed to the 2010 publication *What's Wrong with Anzac?* Following an extensive analysis of the events of 1915 in Gallipoli and the way Australians have viewed them since then, Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, Carina Donaldson, Joy Damousi and Mark McKenna were in close agreement that the disastrous and brutal campaign had disappeared into the world of mythology.[98]

Lake states, 'To write about what's wrong with Anzac is to court the charge of treason'.[99] When, in 2009, she enunciated her views, an avalanche of correspondence descended, mostly in the form of accusations of disloyalty.[100] We should move on from this 'imperial myth of militarist values to a free and independent republic that values equality of opportunity, justice and the right to a good life'.[101] World War One and the Vietnam War were unpopular wars deeply dividing the nation.[102]

Reynolds discusses the faults about the widely held view that 'nations were made in war'.[103] He notes that previous Australian historians, including the radical nationalists of the 1960s and 1970s, emphasised the nineteenth-century bush legend and gave little credit to Anzac in developing nationhood. He states, 'the idea that the Anzac landing made the nation has raised so many questions'[104] and 'The belief that nations are made in war provokes many troubling thoughts.[105] Then he argues that the myth of Anzac ignored progressive reforms like recognition of women's rights, a living wage and old age pensions. The Anzac rhetoric dwells on suffering endured but 'what about suffering

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[97] Ibid., 16.

[98] Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*

[99] Marilyn Lake, "Introduction: What Have You Done for Your Country?," in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 1.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., 2.

[102] Ibid., 13.

[103] Henry Reynolds, "Are Nations Really Made in War?" in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 24-44.

[104]Ibid., 25.

[105] Ibid., 28.

inflicted?'[106] In the era of Social Darwinism and Edwardian militarism, the aristocratic authority of the senior serving British officers projected the view that those who died were heroes and real men needed blood on their hands. Authors such as Charles Bean turned tragedy into glory.[107] In his chapter 'Colonial Cassandras: Why weren't the warnings heeded?, Reynolds points out that many European countries stayed out of World War One, yet Australian leaders thought loyalty was a sufficient reason for war.[108]

Donaldson and Lake discuss the anti-war movement from the time of World War One. Often, returned soldiers were disillusioned and felt betrayed, especially during the 1930s depression. Many people viewed World War Two as a 'just war' needing Australia's involvement, but by the 1950s and 1960s the peace movement strengthened. Conservative forces, led by the Returned Soldiers League (RSL), frequently labelled pacifists as communists, a view supported by the Menzies government. During the Vietnam War, Anzac Day was a time of protest by anti-war activists, and conscientious objectors burnt draft cards. In the mid-1970s, social histories such as *The Broken Years*[109] and *The Anzacs*[110] and Peter Weir's film *Gallipoli* led to reassessment. The view that Anzacs were youthful victims was reinforced by the bitterness of many Vietnam veterans. Further attitude shift occurred when Alan Seymour rewrote the play *The One Day of the Year*—the enemy were the RSL leaders who sent innocent diggers to the trenches.[111] By the 1990s, the RSL was sacrificed to consolidate the Anzac legend, and the government assumed custodianship of the spirit of Anzac through the Australian War Memorial and the Department of Veterans' Affairs (DVA).[112] In line with the insights of Anderson about nationalist language and symbolism in *Imagined Communities*,[113] in 1990 the Hawke Labor government discovered the power of an outpouring of nationalist pride

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[106] Ibid., 28.

[107] Ibid., 42.

[108] Henry Reynolds, "Colonial Cassandras: Why Weren't the Warnings Heeded?" in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 70.

[109] Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1974).

[110] Patsy Adam-Smith, *The Anzacs* (West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1978).

[111] Carina Donaldson and Marilyn Lake, "Whatever Happened to the Anti-War Movement?", in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?,* 92.

[112] Ibid., 92-93.

[113] B Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 204-10.

when some diggers, who had fought on Gallipoli in 1915, were taken to the seventy-fifth anniversary Anzac ceremony held at Anzac Cove.

In the next two chapters of *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 'Why Do We Get So Emotional about Anzac?[114] and 'Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia's National Day?'[115], Damousi and McKenna argue that PMs Hawke, Howard and Rudd and the media used Anzac Day as a 'festival' of national pride. PM Keating had a different view, seeing Anzac as a tragedy. The authors consider whether the Anzac legend had aroused sentimental responses since the emergence of military and family history and, since 1994, the government's generous funding of militarist publications. The 'Anzac myth' discourages accurate historical analysis and was a 'civil religion' in a post-Christian society. 'White guilt' associated with Aboriginal dispossession led PMs Hawke and Howard to focus instead on Anzac bravery. Similarly to populist media decrying disloyalty displayed by Vietnam War protesters, Anzac Day was becoming Australia's national day. In chapter six of *What's Wrong with Anzac?* Lake points out that serious community discourse was needed about alternative traditions.[116]

The issues outlined in *What's Wrong with Anzac?* are discussed further in Chapter Seven of this thesis. The history of the Avenue and Arch civic management encompasses many of the issues outlined in relation to the commemoration of war and peace. What was happening nationally in Australia had parallels in Ballarat. This is amplified further during the case study interviews reported in Chapter Eight.

Another valuable book about the commemoration of war is *The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War* edited by Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper and published in the year 2000. The editors argue that war memory and commemoration

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[114] Joy Damousi, "Why Do We Get So Emotional about Anzac?," in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac*? 94 -109.

[115] Mark McKenna, "Anzac Day: How Did It Become Australia's National Day?" in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?* 110-134.

[116] Marilyn Lake, "How Do Schoolchildren Learn about the Spirit of Anzac? in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?* 154-156.

have had increasingly high profiles in public and academic debates in 'recent years'.[117] This volume examines some of the social changes that have led to this development, among them the passing of the two world wars from survivor into cultural memory.

The book contains important critiques and analyses a range of forms of remembrance, from public commemorations orchestrated by nation-states through to the personal testimonies of war survivors; from the cultural memories of war represented in films, plays and novels through to investigations of wartime atrocities in courts of human rights. It presents a wide range of international case studies in a diverse range of national contexts including in Argentina and Portugal, in South African during the Boer War, in Australia and Finland in relation to racial exclusion, in Norway and Britain in relation to Second World War films, as well as Israelis' films about the Holocaust, nostalgia concerning the First World War in Australia and post-traumatic stress after involvement in war. Issues examined in this book are discusses further in Chapter Four of this thesis.

In the twenty-first century, many pivotal World War One books have been published in Australia. They include scholarly works such as Janice Pavils's *Anzac Day: The Undying Debt* that traces the history of rituals of Anzac Day from a South Australian perspective[118] and two books by Ross McMullin *Pompey Elliott,* a biography of an outstanding military leader[119] and *Farewell Dear People: Biographies of Australia's Lost Generation*, highlighting the tragic loss of potential community leaders.[120]

Further in recent years, driven by the amplification of the Anzac legend and a desire to commemorate one hundred years since World War One, a number of World War One populist books by journalists and others about the events of the war and personal testimony about the war were published. The list includes *Gallipoli*[121] and *The Great*

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[117] Timothy G Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, eds., *The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War* (Routledge, London, 2000)

[118] Janice Pavils, *Anzac Day: The Undying Debt* (Adelaide: Lythrum Press, 2007).

[119] Ross McMullin, *Pompey Elliott* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2002).

[120] Ross McMullin, *Farewell Dear People: Biographies of Australia's Lost Generation* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2012).

[121] Les Carlyon, *Gallipoli* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2001).

War[122] by Les Carlyon and a trilogy by Peter FitzSimons of *Gallipoli*,[123] *Fromelles & Pozières: In the Trenches of Hell*[124] and *Victory at Villers-Bretonneux*.[125] Each author had his own focus, although there was a concentration on the horrors of the battles in Turkey and the Western Front in Europe in every work.

Towards the end of his book *The Great War*, Carlyon outlines observations pertinent to this study. He was concerned to detail the 'reality' of the World War One events and to unmask the proliferation of mythology that occurred since the war and wrote:

> The soldiers' private memories were mostly bad and sad: friends lost, acts regretted, sights that were unspeakable, sounds that were indescribable, smells that belonged to an abattoir and all the terrible 'what-ifs' of war. Their silences and brooding at least ensured that Australia would never again trip off to war as thoughtlessly as it had in 1914. It wasn't the case of the men, or the nation, doubting the rightness of the cause; rather it was the realisation of how cruel war truly was.
>
> There was no logic in the way the war came to be seen in popular memory. Gallipoli, the foundation story, had an aura and Fromelles did not … Folklore took over the war. The soldiers knew much of the folklore was wrong.[126]

As part of the populist revival of interest in World War One, books containing personal testimony were published. The list includes *Somme Mud: The Experiences of an Infantryman in France, 1916–19* that provides vivid details about life in the trenches of France. In 1921 Private Edward Lynch recorded his experiences in 20 exercise books, and in the early 1930s he typed an unpublished manuscript. Then, in 2002 Will Davies became involved and eventually the book was published in 2006.[127] *Hard Jacka*,[128] the story of a Victoria Cross winner at Gallipoli, and *Gallipoli Sniper*[129] by John Hamilton traces the life of Billy Sing at Gallipoli and during the aftermath of war. Another book,

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[122] Les Carlyon, *The Great War* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2006).

[123] Peter FitzSimons, *Gallipoli* (North Sydney: Heinemann, 2014).

[124] Peter FitzSimons, *Fromelles & Pozières: In the Trenches of Hell* (North Sydney: Heinemann, 2015).

[125] Peter FitzSimons, *Victory at Villers-Bretonneux* (Sydney: Random House, 2016).

[126] Carlyon, *The Great War*, 753–54.

[127] E. P. F. Lynch, *Somme Mud: The Experiences of an Infantryman in France, 1916–19* (London: Transworld Publishers, 2006).

[128] Michael Lawriwsky, *Hard Jacka* (Chatswood: Mira Books, 2007).

[129] John Hamilton, *Gallipoli Sniper: The Life of Billy Sing* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2008).

Watson's Pier [130] by Joshua Funder, outlines the remarkable story of how the Australian forces withdrew from Gallipoli without any loss of life during the withdrawal, and a further publication, *The Spirits of Gallipoli: A Centenary of Anzacs*[131] by Kim Phillips, outlines stories of 100 Australian soldiers in book and CD form.

Gallipoli: The End of the Myth[132] by Robin Prior re-examines the events of 1915 and the parts played by the British, French, Australian, New Zealand and Indian troops and the British generals and politicians. In total during the 260-day campaign, 46,000 lost their lives and more than 86,000 were wounded.[133] Prior then states that the Turkish casualties are much harder to establish, although he notes that, on balance, the battle casualties for each side were about even.[134] After his thorough analysis, he declares:

> Despite the bravery of the Allied troops who fought there, the campaign was fought in vain. It did not shorten the war by a single day, nor in reality did it ever offer that prospect ... the downfall of Turkey was of no relevance to the deadly contest being played out on the Western Front.[135]

This was 'an unwelcome' conclusion about Gallipoli and the Dardanelles.

In 2012 Rosalie Triolo's book *Our Schools and the War*[136] was published. It provides valuable insights to understanding the basis of views expressed in Ballarat and other locations during World War One. The detailed analysis of how Victorian state schools portrayed the events of World War One is of considerable interest in light of the comments of the contributors to *What's Wrong with Anzac?* The main way students (and parents) found out the 'official' view was through the monthly *Education Gazette* and *School Paper*. Victorian Education Department officers Frank Tate, first Director of Education from 1902 to 1928, and Charles Long, foundation editor of both publications from 1896 to 1925, dominated the views expressed.

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[130] Joshua Funder, *Watson's Pier* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2015).

[131] Kim Phillips, *The Spirits of Gallipoli: A Centenary of Anzacs* (North Ryde: Rawson Graphics, 2015).

[132] Robin Prior, *Gallipoli: The End of the Myth* (Cornwall: TJ International, 2009).

[133] Ibid., 242.

[134] Ibid., 243.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Rosalie Triolo, *Our Schools and the War* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012).

British war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett's portrayal of Australians as 'a race of athletes' was recounted at length and annually Anzac Day was promoted with countless tales of Anzac heroics. Other organisations such as the RSL, Australian Natives Association (ANA) and churches played major roles in institutionalising the day. Historian Deborah Hull surveyed *School Paper* war-year items and argues in 'The Old Lie: Teaching Children about War 1914–1939'[137] that through it children learned Australians in battle were 'totally fearless, flawless, fighting machines … *never* afraid'. Triolo asserts that this is a generalisation and the departmental leadership admitted at times soldiers were fearful and horrified by war.

Triolo outlines the views of the department, which had a pro-war stance, although responses to the Great War were diverse and complex. It was assumed the British and their allies were in the right, representing the greater good for mankind. Schools were encouraged to engage in patriotic activities and donate resources to needy soldiers. Fetes, concerts, dances and socials were arranged as fundraising efforts and recycling was extensive. Boys were groomed to be soldiers and *School Paper* articles alluded to masculine bravery, chivalry, self-sacrifice and 'heroic youth'. The pro-conscription department railed against strikers and slackers. After the first conscription plebiscite failed nationally in 1916, Tate wrote an article in *The Argus* stating that the three states which showed a 'Yes' majority—Victoria, Tasmania and Western Australia—were those in which the Victorian *School Paper* was used.[138] Further, Triolo points out that teachers became recruiting agents and schools such as Melbourne High School conducted recruiting drives. Throughout the war, Tate and Long retained their opinion that it was a just war and it was important for children to learn about service and sacrifice. As Triolo points out in Chapter Eight 'Our Anzacs' in *Our Schools and the War*, the *School Paper* institutionalised the Anzac legend.[139]

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[137] Deborah Hull, "The Old Lie: Teaching Children about War 1914–1939," *Melbourne Historical Journal* 20 (1990): 90-91, cited in Triolo, *Our Schools*, 271.

[138] *Argus* (Melbourne), November 4, 1916 quoted in Triolo, *Our Schools*, 59. She quoted Frank Tate's article..

[139] Triolo, *Our Schools*, 259-287.

As the centenary of World War One approached, an important analysis of Australian troop involvement in the war and the impact for Australians on the home front was outlined in Joan Beaumont's *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*.[140] This book that integrates battles, the home front, diplomacy and memory was written to provide a comprehensive history of Australians at war in the period 1914–19.[141] In discussing the war battles in which Australians took part, Beaumont records, 'The current memory "boom", fuelled as it is by national pride, a surge of interest in family genealogy and a fascination with mass trauma and victimhood, has established its own elite set of battles. Gallipoli is clearly pre-eminent for Australians and universally known'.[142]

Beaumont explains how the seeds of the Anzac legend were sown almost as events occurred on the Gallipoli peninsula during 1915. The central role of war correspondent Charles Bean and how the press and politicians embraced and developed the Anzac mythology were analysed in depth. Bean was in Egypt with the AIF in 1914, accompanied the force to Gallipoli and lived with the Australian infantrymen during 1915–18. From his observations and from the eyewitness accounts of soldiers, he developed a profound respect for the Australian soldiers' distinctive qualities and, as he saw it, natural fighting ability, independence of spirit, independent thought, resourcefulness, egalitarian ethos and above all, mateship. Beaumont continues:

> These characteristics, which Bean attributed to the relative classless nature of Australian society and the influence of the bush, were celebrated in the official histories and other writings that he published after the war. In these, Bean also gave voice to the view that resonates strongly in Australian political culture even today: that 'it was on the 25th April 1915, that the consciousness of Australian nationhood was born'.[143]

In the 'Remembering Gallipoli' section of Chapter Two, Beaumont concludes:

> So victory was salvaged from defeat and Gallipoli began to assume a central and lasting place in the national memory of war … the Anzac legend would evolve over the ensuing century to become

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[140] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*.

[141] Ibid., xv.

[142] Ibid., xviii.

[143] Ibid., xxiv.

> a signifier of national identity and the discourse within which all later experiences of war would be positioned. This complex journey has yet to be fully understood. [144]

Two books published in 2014 related closely to the Anzac legend. Captain James Brown, a former army veteran of ten years in Iraq, the Solomon Islands and Afghanistan, in *Anzac's Long Shadow*[145] is scathing about the approach of Australian governments to commemoration and grants for World War One ceremonies, monuments and publications. Brown states:

> A century ago we got it wrong. We sent thousands of young Australians on a military operation that was barely more than a disaster … Are we doing enough to make sure Australian soldiers never again lose their lives in a poorly devised and executed campaign?[146]

He argues that Australians have 'Disneyfied' the terrors of war like so many ghosts and goblins and that Anzac Day has become a time to dress up in any handy military costume.[147] He points out that, in the next four years, governments planned to spend $325 million on Anzac, an amount three times more than the British Government. Brown asserts that the day had turned into 'a commercial festival of the dead'. He records that by contrast, little funding was allocated to caring for recently returned Australian soldiers.

A second Anzac book of 2014 traces the 'twists and turns' of the Anzac story from 1915 into the twenty-first century. In *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*,[148] Carolyn Holbrook discusses the different interpretations of the Anzac legend and the ways in which Anzac Day has been commemorated during its history. Joy Damousi comments that this is the first comprehensive study of how the history of the Great War has been written during the twentieth century.[149] The book shows how, since 1915, Australia's memory of the Great War declined and surged, reflecting the nation's complex history. The question was asked why so many Australians persisted with the 'fiction' that the nation was born on 25 April 1915. Stuart Macintyre observed that there were many

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[144] Ibid., 152.

[145] Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*.

[146] Ibid., 15.

[147] Ibid., 4.

[148] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*.

[149] Ibid., 2. This was in a section containing reviews of the book.

accounts of the Anzac legend, and now this book provides its history.[150] In the foreword, Kim Beazley notes Anzac was a 'bottom-up' manifestation. The drive came from the returning servicemen taking up the cause from the Gallipoli men redeployed to Egypt and, recently, from a variety of war commemorative occasions, an active DVA, the outreach of the war memorial and a sense of Australian nationalism.[151] Further, in recent years, through the opening to the public of the National Archives enlistment files of servicemen and women, family historians have increasingly become significant custodians of the Great War memory. Holbrook contends that the 'nation-making war' of World War One was seen as one of mateship, courage and trauma, and the imperialist and militarist features had been downplayed. Memories became selective and often what 'actually happened' was neglected.

In 2015, *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century*[152] was published. It contains 16 chapters by individual writers who examine aspects of the Australian war experience and, in particular, World War One. In the book's introduction, Phillip Deery and Julie Kimber note that at the Great War centenary, given 'the destabilisation of much of the globe, and the increasing militarisation of domestic politics by Western Governments, it is not unsurprising that a widespread movement for peace is momentarily lost'.[153]

The Anzac legend is uniquely powerful and the horrors of Gallipoli, the Somme and other World War One theatres of war are a continuing area of fascination for many people. Critics have continued to argue that it is a mistake to state that the Australian nation commenced in 1915 during events in Turkey. They point out that Australia has an Indigenous history extending back thousands of years before European settlement and also that the pioneering European settlers have an extensive history. Despite this, the Anzac legend continues to grow in strength and the majority of Australians in 2017 appear to have embraced it in some form. Ballarat is no exception. In Chapter Eight of

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[150] Ibid. This was in a section containing reviews of the book.

[151] Kim Beazley, foreword to Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, ix-x.

[152] Deery and Kimber, *Fighting Against War*.

[153] Ibid., 1.

this thesis, it will be illustrated that most of the 26 interviewees in the Case Study hold views supporting the main tenants of the Anzac legend.

2.4 Australian Commemoration of Subsequent Wars

A study of Australia's involvement in war in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries reveals that for about half those years Australia has been involved in overseas wars. Since the Boer War of 1899–1902, Australians have fought in World War One during 1914–18; World War Two 1939–45; the Malayan 'emergency' 1948–60; the Korean War 1950–53; in Malaya 1962–66; the Vietnam War 1964–72; in Iraq 1990–present; in East Timor 1998–2012 (peacekeeping); in the Solomon Islands 2003–13 (peacekeeping); in Afghanistan 2005–13 and 2014–17 (both peacekeeping); plus other theatres on occasions. Australians were keen to commemorate the efforts of military personnel who participated in these conflicts. The planting and care of Ballarat's Avenue is an example of this.

In World War One, there were 60,000 deaths and 400,000 enlisted from a population of five million. World War Two brought fewer Australian deaths than World War One with 30,000 killed out of a million enlistments from the population of seven million. The post–World War Two community erected many war memorials but not to the same extent as after the Great War. Overall, the commemoration of World War Two appears less controversial than that of World War One.

Christina Twomey's *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners*[154] documents the history of ex-patriot Australians in the Pacific area in the 1940s. She wrote:

> In a historical period when the victims of warfare have become rather more central to public forms of commemoration and remembrance than the battlefield heroes and generals of an earlier era, and when stories of suffering, trauma and survival are an increasingly popular form of life writing, it is somewhat surprising that we still know so little about the experiences of Australian civilians interned by the Japanese.[155]

The war was uniquely characterised by enemy attacks on Australian territory, creating an unprecedented fear of invasion. Civilian internees suffered in wartime, but internment

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[154] Christina Twomey, *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[155] Ibid., 14.

camps were not part of the battlefield or the home front and did not fit into the usual war pattern. Internees received limited sympathy on repatriation to Australia.

Twomey observes:

> As citizens of a country fixated on the military experience of war, there have often been limited places where the voices of civilians affected by war might be heard … Internees paid a terrible price for their presence in a foreign land, as one coloniser replaced another.[156]

The descriptions about the treatment of Australian prisoners in *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners* have a parallel with the treatment in Australia in World War One of people of German descent, who were interned and were not treated particularly well.

World War Two is covered extensively by scores of war books and films about many 'stories' of land, air and sea battles. Similarly, the Vietnam War has received detailed literary and cinematic coverage with more than 100 books written about Australia's war involvement. It is notable that many have federal government sponsorship through grants from the Australian War Memorial or from the DVA. This has ensured that the 'state' or government view of war history has remained predominant. Interestingly, fewer publications consider Australia's involvement in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

Recently, historians have analysed further war commemoration involving Australians. A DVA-funded publication, *Remember Them: A Guide to Victoria's Wartime Heritage*,[157] by Garrie Hutchinson catalogued 250 metropolitan and regional Victorian war memorials and graves and told the stories of those involved. In *Prison: Cultural Memory and Dark Tourism*,[158] Jacqueline Wilson makes the point that memory is often tied to sites of events that occurred elsewhere and, in *The Use & Abuse of Australian History*,[159] Graeme Davison lays bare stages of Australian history and observes that 'the Vietnam War, the most divisive event in half a century, radicalised historians of the 1970s and led to a "battle cry" by labour historians, feminist historians and Aborigines'.[160] The Vietnam

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[156] Ibid., 18.

[157] Garrie Hutchinson, *Remember Them: A Guide to Victoria's Wartime Heritage* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2009).

[158] Jacqueline Wilson, *Prison Cultural Memory and Dark Tourism* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

[159] Graeme Davison, *The Use & Abuses of Australian History* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2000).

[160] Ibid., 14.

War had a significant impact on the community and created deep divisions that did not start to heal until the 1980s.

A further valuable book is *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance*[161] by Bruce Scates. The Shrine, located in Melbourne and Australia's largest war memorial, was dedicated in November 1934 before 300,000 people. The author charts the changing patterns of the way the people of Melbourne have viewed the Shrine. After World War Two, many did not relate to the 'extravagant stone structure of the Shrine' and Vietnam proved particularly difficult to accommodate in public memory.[162] Protestors used the shrine as a battleground but by the twenty-first century the age of protest had past. Scates concludes:

> Most of the men who fought the Great War read the Anzac mythology in a very different way. However, it is the porous quality of legends that makes them so enduring. The changing meanings we bring to our memory of war have shaped the history of the Shrine.[163]

This is very much the experience concerning Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. The 'changing meanings' of how war is memorised and commemorated has been reflected in their civic management over many years. In a similar manner, *Bigger Than Gallipoli: War, History and Memory in Australia* by Elizabeth Reed[164] outlines how nostalgia, memory and commemoration are linked to explorations of how Australia as a nation seeks to reconstruct its identity. This book analyses the 1994-1995 Australia Remembers program that commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of World War Two. The author illustrates that by this anniversary Australians had found new ways to represent previously ignored groups such as women and Indigenous people.

A further publication discussing the concept of cultural memory is *Cultural Memory and Western Civilisation: Functions, Media, Archives* by Aleida Assman.[165] The book

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[161] Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[162] Ibid., 179.

[163] Ibid., 251.

[164] Elizabeth Reed, *Bigger Than Gallipoli: War, History and Memory in Australia* (Crawley, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 2004).

[165] Aleida Assman, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilisation: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011).

includes an analysis of the interaction of cultural memory with individual memory and the ways in which cultural memory itself supports or subverts social and political identity constructions. The publication *Nation, memory and Great War Commemoration: mobilizing the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand* edited by Benedick Wellings and Shanti Sumartojo[166] contains seventeen essays that explore both the weaknesses and strengths of World War One narratives in Europe, Australia and New Zealand a century after the commencement of this war. In relation to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch over the century since World War One, the changes that have occurred in the narrative about them, along with issues concerning World War Two, the Vietnam War and subsequent wars, are explored further in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

A publication produced in a populist fashion that provides an overview about Australia's war memorials is *Remembrance* by Geoff Hocking with Christopher Atkins and Julie Millowick.[167] Containing 100 stories about military memorials from across Australia and overseas, the illustrated book highlights the diversity of the memorials from all parts of Australia and how memories of war have continued to resonate in multiple ways. In assessing the memorials, it can be seen that Ballarat's Avenue and Arch are very prominent among them and it can also be ascertained that war memorials are very prevalent throughout Australia.

In this analysis, the main concentration has been on the World War One period when Ballarat's Avenue and Arch were established and later Australian engagement in wars has been addressed to a lesser extent.

2.5 Ballarat Commemoration

Ballarat has garnered a wealth of publications about its history. To my knowledge, though, there has been no study of commemoration in Ballarat and this remains an untapped area. The amount and depth of commemoration in the city and district is

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[166] Benedick Wellings, and Shanti Sumartojo, eds, *Nation, Memory and Great War Commemoration: mobilizing the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang Publishing, 2014)

[167] Christopher Atkins, Geoff Hocking, and Julie Millowick, *Remembrance: 100 Years, 100 Memorials, 100 Australian Stories* (Scoresby, Vic.: Five Mile Press, 2014).

notable. Not only does it boast one of the longest avenues of honour in the world and the only location with a pairing of an arch and avenue, it has the unique Prime Ministers Avenue; the Australian Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial; an impressive array of statues, especially along its main avenue, Sturt Street, and in the Ballarat Botanical Gardens; and memorials in local churches and other locations.

In dealing with commemoration connected with Ballarat, the issue of the place of the Eureka Stockade is an important consideration. The 3 December 1854 incident between government soldiers and gold diggers on the Eureka lead is often quoted as Australia's only armed rebellion. Viewing it on both the national and local level, many historians have written about Eureka.

The first regional history written in Australia was *History of Ballarat* by William Withers[168] in 1870. Chapter Five addressed the Eureka Stockade and states:

> Ballarat has not been famous alone for its golden wealth. It has historic fame also, as the site of the collision, in the year 1854, between the Queen's troops and the armed diggers at the Eureka Stockade.[169]

In this chapter, the author describes events in detail—he took an even-handed approach towards the Eureka episode and did not view it as a rebellion. He saw it as 'the battle ground of the political freedom of Victoria'.[170] He was careful in his word use and portrayed his underlying feelings that the end result was political reform for Victoria. The phrases he used in his 1870 account are telling.

He mentioned 'the rashness of a few diggers', 'the greater blunders of the Government', 'the reforms which were eagerly desired by the whole population' and that 'the armed insurgents were wanting in the calm sagacity which has always won reform under British rule'. Next, he states:

> They were for the most part not wanting in personal courage, and the result of their policy, as we have intimated, did certainly hasten the coming of those reforms whose fruits the whole colony now enjoys. For all this, then, let the gold-fields men who fell at the Eureka Stockade be honoured.

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[168] Withers, *History of Ballarat*.

[169] Ibid., 65.

[170] Ibid., 185.

> They stood up, with their lives in their hands, for freedom; and in that we may well forgive the mistakes they committed, and the follies they purposed. Of the soldiers who fell, their record is in the roll of the army whose traditions are a history of which the race is proud. [171]

In 1854 Ballarat's population was multicultural with Europeans and Americans, as well as many from the British Isles. Then, from 1855 many Chinese came to the district. Bate notes that when a memorial was suggested in 1884 for the Eureka site, 'most people wanted to forget about the insurrection … Eureka was too obvious a symbol of disloyalty to be popular in imperialist Ballarat, where fealty to the British was almost a fetish'.[172] It should be observed, though, that despite the reluctance of many of Ballarat's population, the construction of a memorial was commenced at the Eureka site in 1884.

Many historians have analysed the events, outcomes and causes of Eureka. Various interpretations have been advanced and, in a 2008 article, historian Anne Beggs-Sunter wrote about the complexities of the interpretation of Eureka and its multicultural nature in 'Gathering the Oppressed of All Nations' in the *Journal of Australian Colonial History*. She states that in the last 150 years, the meaning of the Eureka Stockade has been characterised in different ways:

> To some it has been the birthplace of Australian democracy, to others the germ of republicanism, or the cradle of the labour movement. Eureka can also be celebrated as an early expression or example of internationalism in Australia … Issues of race, gender and class have always been fundamental to discussions about the meaning of Eureka.[173]

Further, Beggs-Sunter observed that while the language of the militant diggers appeared to be 'all embracing', certain groups, including women, Aboriginal people and those who did not subscribe to the Chartist principles based on 'European Enlightenment', were excluded. Also, protest groups adopted its symbolism for conflicting purposes.[174]

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[171] Ibid., 66.

[172] Weston Bate, *Lucky City: The First Generation at Ballarat 1851–1901* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1978), 252–53.

[173] Anne Beggs-Sunter, "Gathering the Oppressed of All Nations," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 10, no. 1 (2008): 15.

[174] Ibid., 16.

The literature about Eureka is overwhelming. The interpretations of Eureka have had both national and local consequences. Nationally, there has been widespread debate about its importance in the development of Australian identity. At the local level, it has been part of Ballarat's development. At times, it has been highlighted by the city and, at other times, interest has waned and few in the community have embraced it.

The Legacy of Eureka: Past, Present and Future edited by Anne Beggs-Sunter and Kevin Livingston contained articles from the 1994 Ballarat Conference '140 Years After Eureka'.[175] Michael Evans notes that the recurring theme of the second anniversary was that of memory—the community was aiming to find a place for Eureka in its collective memory.[176] Eureka commemoration was neglected until the 1880s when it was realised that the generation of pioneers was passing, and an unfinished memorial was erected on the Eureka site in 1884. Eventually, this became a place to remember Eureka. Evans concludes by linking the remembrance of Eureka to the diggers of World War One:

> [It] provided a fruitful ground in which to plant seeds of new national histories and new mythologies of national identity. After World War One this was given literal form. The Lone Pine Memorial tree stands close by the stockade memorial.[177] The space between the two monuments resonates for us even now, with echoes of sacrifice and patriotism, of victory rising from defeat, of Australian diggers.[178]

Lucky City: The First Generation at Ballarat 1851–1901[179] by Weston Bate contains a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the city and its pioneer settlers. Bate concludes that Eureka provided a release of pent-up energies that gave a whole generation at Ballarat a sense of national purpose and a hatred of English stuffiness.[180] Also, he analyses the features of the city by 1900[181] and surmised that Ballarat had moved from its radical position at the time of Eureka in 1854 to a conservative city, loyal to the British

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[175] Anne Beggs-Sunter and Kevin Livingstone, eds., *The Legacy of Eureka: Past, Present and Future* (Ballarat: University of Ballarat, 1998).

[176] Michael Evans, "From a Hollowed Spot to a Miniature Marathon: Remembering Eureka, 1855–1886," in Beggs-Sunter and Livingstone, *The Legacy of Eureka*, 43–50.

[177] The Lone Pine memorial tree has since been cut down.

[178] Ibid., 50.

[179] Bate, *Lucky City*.

[180] Ibid., 73.

[181] Ibid., 251–66.

Empire and in a prominent position within Australia. This was at a time when gold mining returns had become minimal and the city had developed as an important centre for industry, agriculture, tourism, transport and the service industry.

Bate's *Life After Gold: Twentieth-Century Ballarat*[182] includes a general study of Ballarat's history for most of the twentieth century. Using insights gained from taking a close examination of the society every tenth year, he draws a picture of a conservative community that after the demise of gold mining was able to capitalise on its secondary industry, rich agricultural surrounds and social institutions. The city lost about 10% of its population in each of the decades 1901–10 and 1911–20, but then it expanded in population during and after World War Two and in 1947 there were 40,000 people.[183]

Bate describes the continuing influence of symbols of the military in Ballarat after World War One. He states:

> War memorials, like the Arch of Victory and Avenue of Honour, and ceremonies like Anzac day kept the experience of war and the triumphs of the AIF at the forefront of people's minds. The committee of the RSL were like priests in a secular religion devoted to keeping the community's eyes on the returned men—young gods they had been called.[184]

He also records that in Ballarat the RSL enshrined the myth of Anzac and paid homage to the exploits of local war heroes like General 'Pompey' Elliott and Lieutenant William Dunstan, VC.[185] Interestingly, in years to come statues of both these war heroes were added to the median strip in Sturt Street, Ballarat's main throughway.

Neil Leckie's *Country Victoria's Own*[186] provides a detailed study of the history of Citizen Military Forces (CMF) in country Victoria. Leckie notes the CMF strength in the Ballarat area, as well as providing information about the forces in other Victorian country cities. In 1903 the 3rd Battalion (based in Ballarat) was reorganised into eight companies

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[182] Weston Bate, *Life After Gold: Twentieth-Century Ballarat* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1993).

[183] Bate, *Life After Gold*, xv.

[184] Ibid., 106.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Neil Leckie, *Country Victoria's Own: 150 Years of 8/7 RVR and its Predecessors, 1858–2008* (Loftus, NSW: Australian Military History Publications, 2008).

as the 7th AIR (Australian Infantry Regiment). The book also contains information about the army structure for those who volunteered for World War One and World War Two.

Books about the histories of Ballarat schools contained relevant information about world wars. *Duty Always*[187] and *High School: A Hundred Years, Thousands of Footsteps*[188] emphasise the high regard given to the school cadets at the time of World War One. *Golden Heritage: History of College and Clarendon 1864–2004*[189] outlines the remarkable World War One record of the school's past students and staff. A book tracing the college's military history and the war record of former students is James Affleck's *In the Footsteps of Pompey*[190]. Another local book, *History and Heritage 1983–1993: St Patrick's College Ballarat*,[191] shows that the school honour board listed 289 former students as serving in World War One and of those 39 were killed in action. Published in 2015, *Our Bravest: SPC Old Boys in the Wars—Volume 1: The Great War (1914–1918)*[192] by Catriona Banks contains biographies of 213 of the 297 former students who served in World War One. A number of Ballarat primary schools had World War One honour boards commemorating large numbers of past students who served in the war.

In 2006 Amanda Taylor's book *Dinkum Oil: Letters to Ballarat from the Great War*[193] reprinted 870 letters written by soldiers at the front and published in the Ballarat *Courier*. This publication provides a rich source of information about war conditions and the thoughts of those serving.

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[187] Phil Roberts, *Duty Always: The History of Ballarat High School 1907–82* (Ballarat High School Council: Dominion Press, Maryborough, 1982).

[188] Phil Roberts, *High School: A Hundred Years, Thousands of Footsteps* (Ballarat High School Council: Sovereign Press, Ballarat, 2007).

[189] Phil Roberts, *Golden Heritage: History of College and Clarendon 1864–2004* (Ballarat & Clarendon College Council: Sovereign Press, 2005), 64–67.

[190] James Affleck, *In the Footsteps of Pompey* (Ballarat: Ballarat Clarendon College, 2012).

[191] P.C. Naughtin, *History and Heritage 1893–1993: St Patrick's College Ballarat* (Ballarat: St Patrick's College, 1993), 85.

[192] Catriona Banks, *Our Bravest: SPC Old Boys in the Wars—Volume 1: The Great War (1914–1918)* (Ballarat: St Patrick's College, 2015).

[193] Amanda Taylor, *Dinkum Oil: Letters to Ballarat from the Great War* (Ballarat: XSPOT Printing, Ballarat, 2006).

Another valuable primary source is contained in Garry Snowden's *They Answered Their Country's Call*:[194] the stories of 1350 World War One servicemen and women who are mentioned on the headstones of the Old and New Ballarat cemeteries. As previously stated, it was the Australian tradition to bury those killed in theatres of war in the countries where they were killed. Many relatives, though, chose to mention them on the headstones of another family member in their local Australian cemetery.

A few publications focus directly on Ballarat's Arch and Avenue: a family booklet, *Edward H. Price*,[195] tells the early history of the Hargreaves/Lucas/Price family and the life story of Ted Price; a 24-page souvenir pamphlet[196] was published for the Arch opening in 1920; *The Golden Thread*[197] is a 64-page story of the E. Lucas & Co. 'fashion house' from 1888 to 1963; the 1997 *Ballarat Avenue of Honour Management Strategy Plan*[198] by landscape architect Mark McWha provides a detailed analysis of the trees planted in the Avenue; and the previously mentioned *Conservation and Management Plan* of 2014 by Planning and Heritage Consultant John Wadsley contains many recommendations.

An article directly relevant to the story of the Lucas Girls is Rob Hess's 'Playing with Patriotic Fire: Women and Football in the Antipodes during the Great War',[199] in which he discusses the Ballarat fundraising football match between the Lucas Girls and the Khaki Girls (from the Commonwealth Clothing Factory in South Melbourne) on 28 September 1918. In 2016 this information was published in the book *Play On*.[200]At this

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[194] Garry Snowden, *They Answered Their Country's Call* (Ballarat: Ballarat Heritage Services, 2015).

[195] Price Family, *Edward H. Price – A Memoir* (Ballarat: Family Booklet, 1947).

[196] Souvenir Booklet, *The Arch of Victory & Avenue of Honour* (Ballarat: 1920).

[197] Mollie White, *The Golden Thread: The Story of a Fashion House—E. Lucas & Co 1888–1963* (Ballarat: Wilke & Co, 1964).

[198] Mark McWha, *Ballarat Avenue of Honour: Management Strategy Plan* (Ballarat: City of Ballarat, 1997).

[199] Rob Hess, "Playing with 'Patriotic Fire': Women and Football in the Antipodes during the Great War," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 10 (2011): 1388–408.

[200] Brunette Lenkić & Rob Hess, *Play On: The Hidden History of Women's Australian Rules Football* (Richmond, Echo Publishing, 2016), 37-41.

event, £320 was raised towards planting trees in the Avenue. It was an historic event as Victoria's first recorded Australian Rules football match for women.

Overall, besides the many primary source documents, Ballarat has a surprisingly large collection of secondary publications about aspects of its history.

2.6 Commemorative Avenues and Arches

In Australia since the bicentennial celebrations of 1988, there has been a marked change in the amount of war commemoration. Fuelled by federal government initiatives and support, members of the public have increasingly embraced the need to recognise past military deeds of the Australian armed forces. This culminated on Anzac Day 2015 when throughout Australia thousands of people paid homage to the World War One diggers. As part of this resurgence in commemoration, in Australia in the twenty-first century there has been a renewed interest in avenues of honour, most of which were planted towards the end of, or immediately after, World War One.

Information about the avenues is steadily being uncovered. More than 580 avenues have been identified as existing in the past or are in existence in 2017, with more than 300 located in Victoria. Research includes the postgraduate thesis of Janine Haddow, 'Avenues of Honour in Victoria';[201] contributions by John Dargavel—'Trees Age and Memories Change in the Avenues of Honour and Remembrance',[202] 'More to Grief Than Granite: Arboreal Remembrance in Australia'[203] and 'Memorial Avenues: A Historical Perspective';[204] contributions by Michael Taffe—'Victoria's Avenues of Honour to the

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[201] Janine Haddow, "Avenues of Honour in Victoria," (BA Hons thesis, University of Melbourne, 1987).

[202] John Dargavel, "Trees Age and Memories Change in the Avenues of Honour and Remembrance," in *Australia's Ever-Changing Forests IV: Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference on Australian Forest History*, ed. John Dargavel and B. Libbis (Canberra: Australian National University, 1999).

[203] John Dargavel, "More to Grief Than Granite: Arboreal Remembrance in Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies* 64 (2000): 187–95.

[204] John Dargavel, "Memorial Avenues: A Historical Perspective," in *Proceedings of the 5th National Street Tree Symposium* (Adelaide: TREENET, 2004), 2–5, accessed May 24, 2017. https://www.treenet.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/2004-Symp-Proceedings001F.pdf.

Great War Lost to the Landscape'[205] and 'A New Nation—A New Landscape';[206] articles such as 'Avenues of Honour: Location, Assessment and Management of War Memorial Tree Avenues in Australia'[207] by Sarah Cockerell; and many recent community-based articles sponsored by the TREENET organisation, which commenced in Adelaide in 2004. Sarah Cockerell and then David Lawry have been directors of the Avenues of Honour 1915–2015 TREENET project. In 2017 TREENET is an independent environmental organisation.

In 2006 Taffe noted:

> Victorians in particular, created a landscape that was for a time, unique in its type and 'universal' spread … The existence and symbolism of the avenues has, until recently, been little researched and remains open to misinterpretation.[208]

In her thesis, Haddow makes a number of pertinent comments about avenues of honour, which she viewed as part of the cultural landscape. She states:

> By documenting and analysing Memorial Avenues of Honour an Australian cultural landscape will have been discussed. These Avenues are symbolic landscapes, repositories of myth and meaning which tell us much about the social, political, economic and environmental history of Australia in 1914–18 and 1939–45. The emphasis of the study is on the processes which created these places called 'Avenues of Honour', and the relationship between people and landscape.[209]

Haddow's thesis discussed theories about the interpretation of landscapes that were advanced in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, Rene Dubos,[210] argues that the landscape modification by humans was 'a source rich in information about the social, economic and

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[205] Michael Taffe, "Victoria's Avenues of Honour to the Great War Lost to the Landscape," (BA Hons thesis, University of Melbourne, 2006).

[206] Michael Taffe, "A New Nation—A New Landscape: Victoria's Great War Avenues of Honour," *Australian Garden History* 23, no. 6 (2012).

[207] Sarah Cockerell, "Avenues of Honour: Location, Assessment and Management of War Memorial Tree Avenues in Australia," in *Proceedings of the 9th National Street Tree Symposium, 2008*, ed. David Lawry, Jennifer Gardner, and Sascha Smith (Adelaide: TREENET, 2008), 55–61.

[208] Taffe, "New Nation," 29.

[209] Haddow, "Avenues of Honour," 14.

[210] Rene Dubos, *The Wooing of the Earth* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1980) .

political values of society',[211] while Denis Cosgrove[212] sees the landscape as symbolic of the power of political and economic elites.[213]

Haddow uses Ballarat's Avenue and the avenue at Mt Macedon as case studies but in her comments about Ballarat there were errors: she noted that the Ballarat Avenue was the 'earliest recorded avenue in Victoria',[214] but later research has shown other avenues existed in 1916 (as is discussed in Chapter Four); she has the first Ballarat planting on 3 June 1917 instead of 4 June; she stated 3912 trees were planted, instead of 3771 (another 30 were added in 1993); and she has the Arch opening on 3 June 1920 instead of 2 June.[215]

Nevertheless, her study contains an important analysis of commemorative avenues in Australia and her arguments about them are discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this thesis. It should be noted, though, that it is a study of a particular time. She stated that in 1987, the time of the publication of her thesis, in Victoria there were 142 known avenues, 128 of which were planted to commemorate World War One, and that by 1987 there were only 64 avenues remaining.[216] As discussed earlier in this thesis, in the twentieth-first century there has been a revival of interest in avenues and many communities have received federal government finance to revitalise past avenues.

It is also notable that Haddow's thesis and an associated journal article written by her have been used as being authoritative by other authors, including the signature book about Australian memorials, *Sacred Places*.[217] Inglis downplayed the importance of avenues of honour and this is an area where his otherwise outstanding work is lacking. He notes that 'planting of commemorative trees was considered and rejected in a number of places by

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[211] Haddow, "Avenues of Honour," 15.

[212] Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

[213] Haddow, "Avenues of Honour," 15.

[214] Ibid., 46.

[215] Ibid., 51, 52.

[216] Ibid., 35, 105.

[217] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 599. Inglis quotes Haddow's article, "Avenues of Honour," *Meanjin* 47, no 3 (1988): 421–25.

people who had seen avenues of honour die of neglect and their plaques stolen'.[218] He did mention that avenues were important in Victoria and highlighted Ballarat but his overall comments need further research. Beaumont's *Broken Nation* had similar inaccurate information about avenues of honour in stating, as does Inglis, that avenues were 'a distinctively Australian phenomenon'.[219]

In 2013–14, John Wadsley undertook a conservation management plan for Ballarat's Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory.[220] The plan contains a summary of Australian avenues and similar memorial plantings in Germany, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, Italy and France. Wadsley included a comprehensive section about commemorative arches internationally and in Australia, and he notes these arches go back to the Roman Republic during the second century BC.[221] He provides a comparative analysis about commemorative arches and followed their history in Britain, France, Belgium, United States, Canada, New Zealand and each Australian state. This provides a useful reference base for Chapter Five of this thesis.

Dargavel made an interesting observation about stone memorials (arches) compared to avenues. He states:

> Like the stone memorials, the avenues were created by local committees and were not centrally organised. However, the avenues had a much more domestic and personal ambience and were often planted by women or children. This contrasts markedly with the stone memorials—and the later ANZAC Day ceremonials around the stone memorials—from which women were virtually excluded. The Avenues enhanced the town's amenity by creating a green entry, whereas memorials took a central position.[222]

In part, this applies to the Ballarat Avenue and Arch. It is correct that, initially, women planted most of the trees on the Avenue, the Arch was placed in a prominent location and men dominated the ceremonies associated with the Arch, but at no time were women and children excluded from these ceremonies.

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[218] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 337.

[219] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 376.

[220] John Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan—Ballarat Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory* (Ballarat: City of Ballarat, 2014).

[221] Ibid., 68.

[222] Dargavel, "Memorial Avenues," 5.

In *Places of the Heart: Memorials in Australia*,[223] published in 2012, the authors indicate how in the past 40 years commemoration has moved from military memorials into other areas. They discuss memorials to community members, Indigenous people and animals, as well as memorials on roadsides and for natural disasters. Changes to public memory occur within a 'culture of commemoration' emerging in western societies. It is possible to investigate memorials in many ways—physical placement and appearance, materiality and design, location and condition, history of their setting up and study of their use and meaning. Scholarly work has occurred in anthropology, sociology and cultural studies, as well as by folklorists, scholars of religion and historians.

In *Places of the Heart* a connection to Ballarat's Avenue is the observation that 'memorials allow us to mark death by physical means in space and time, the anniversary being a central and potent ritual for commemoration'.[224] Members of the AVAHC are very conscious of the potential ceremonial anniversaries of the first planting on 4 June 1917 and the Arch opening on 3 June 1920. Also, the memorials are 'archives'. The authors note that Erica Doss argues that memorials are 'archives of public affect—repositories of feelings and emotions embodied in their material form and narrative content' and state:

> Central to memorials is the struggle over locus and control of the process of commemoration. Some are remarkably effective in mobilising action and have a strategic role to play politically and culturally. Others serve only the immediate family. And others still, live on in wood, stone or cement. But their reason for existence is no longer remembered.' [225]

Certainly, the reason for the existence of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch is well remembered and they remain 'repositories' for the emotional aspects of memory.

Reading the Garden: The Settlement of Australia[226] by Katie Holmes, Susan Martin and Kylie Mirmohamadi relates the story of the permanent British occupation of Australia. The authors include a discussion of avenues of honour and their importance. Kings Park's

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[223] Paul Ashton, Paula Hamilton, and Rose Searby, *Places of the Heart* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012).

[224] Ibid., 97.

[225] Ashton, Hamilton, and Searby, *Places of the Heart*, 97.

[226] Katie Holmes, Susan Martin, and Kylie Mirmohamadi, *Reading the Garden: The Settlement of Australia* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2008).

Avenue of Honour in Perth 'is a distinctive combination of garden and memorial'.[227] Further, in random order, each plaque lists the rank, name, battalion or unit of the serviceman, how he died, where he died, date of death, his age and who planted or dedicated the tree (parents, wife, relative or friend). The trees at Kings Park are natives of varying sizes and there are many replacement trees as the east-coast eucalypts planted early in the twentieth century proved unsuitable'. The avenue is well maintained by the RSL and runs alongside an impressive area that is used extensively as a public park. The authors argue that the avenues are an egalitarian form of memorial, that they are the most obvious public connection between planting and grieving in Australia, and that they pre-date roadside memorials by about 60 years. Most original avenue plantings used English trees like oaks and elms, and in Victoria only seven avenues used native trees.

In Ballarat the Avenue commemorates all locally enlisted service people. The order of the trees was strictly in order of enlistment at the Ballarat Barracks, while in some other localities the order was decided by ballot. For mourners of those lost in war, the trees were an important focus in the absence of an Australian grave. Holmes, Martin and Mirmohamadi state, 'Avenues of honour move private grief into public grief. While war memorials list names, the avenues give a special sense of loss, or an absent loved one, or even just a life affected by war. The length of the avenue, as one drives through, is a growing horror'.[228] While Australian avenues commemorate the war service of local people, the trees planted are symbolic. Trees are living, growing and prominent, symbolising ongoing recognition of past sacrifices.

Subsequent chapters of this thesis discuss the history of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch in the context of their civic management. As the literature review has shown, memory, heritage and landscape are important elements in the war commemoration that the Avenue and Arch symbolised. First, though, in Chapter Three a discussion about military commemoration within Ballarat is undertaken.

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[227] Ibid., 146.

[228] Holmes, Martin and Mirmohamadi, *Reading the Garden*, 149.

Chapter 3: BALLARAT COMMEMORATION

3.1 Introduction

Following the literature review about memory, heritage and landscape in relation to war commemoration in Australia outlined in Chapter Two, this chapter focuses on war commemoration within Ballarat, especially in relation to World War One. Ballarat has a notable preponderance of statues and memorials. During an examination of the growth of the city, the influence of its history as the home of the Eureka Rebellion and a centre for the fledging union movement is discussed. In contrast, its background as the epitome of loyalty to the British Crown is analysed also.

Weston Bate states that when Britain declared war on Germany on 5 August 1914 Australia was almost automatically involved.[1] In the case of Ballarat, he observes:

> Like a Christmas turkey, fattened on patriotism, Ballarat was ready to be plucked of its finest young men and put into the oven of Armageddon. Within hours the local militia was called to arms from offices, shops, factories, mines and farms, and ready to put to the test ten years of training and to consolidate its reputation as one of the most effective units in the country.[2]

Unbeknown to Australians, including those from Ballarat, this was the start of a gruesome war. Although the war theatres were across the world, the impact was overwhelming and long lasting.

The major issue was how to deal with losses experienced as a result of the war. One answer was planting commemorative avenues. The 1917 *Mayor's Report* states:

> During the year a magnificent tribute has been paid to those who have volunteered from this City and District for active service in the Australian Imperial Forces, by the planting of an 'Avenue of Honour' on the Ballarat-Burrumbeet Road.[3]

Port Phillip, which became the colony of Victoria in November 1850, grew rapidly in population during the gold rush decade from 77,000 in 1850 to 540,000 in 1861. The

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[1] Bate, *Lucky City*, 48.

[2] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 48

[3] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1917* (Ballarat: City of Ballaarat, 1917), 4.

'golden city' of Ballarat, founded in 1838, also had rapid growth from a sparsely populated sheep run in 1850 to 22,000 in 1861, when Bendigo had a population of only 13,000. Geelong had 23,000 in 1861 but thereafter declined.[4] Ballarat's population was 47,000 in 1871, although by that time its rapid growth had ceased, and in coming years the population numbers stabilised at about 40,000.[5] Geelong surpassed Ballarat in population in about 1932 and in 1936 an article in *The Argus* noted Geelong had displaced Ballarat as Victoria's largest provincial centre, stating that Geelong had a population of 39,223; Ballarat, 37,411; and Bendigo, 29,131.[6]

Thus, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Ballarat was the second largest city of Victoria[7] and a city with complex loyalties from its experiences during that period of history. As is outlined in Chapter Two of this thesis, in the nineteenth century Ballarat exhibited twin loyalties—it showed strong loyalty to the British Empire, while the city was closely associated with the origins of Australia's trade union movement and the Labor Party. Since its beginnings in 1891, Ballarat labour has played a very significant role within the Australian labour movement.[8]

This chapter begins with an analysis of the way in which the city's commemoration has been influenced by memory and history and how closely this is attuned to the theories of authors whose work is discussed in Chapter Two. The city was known for its penchant for commemoration and the historian Spielvogel states in 1936, 'Ballarat is famous for the many statues and monuments which have been presented to the city by generous citizens'.[9]

This is followed by a discussion concerning Ballarat's development as an important city in Victoria. While it was the site of the renowned Eureka Stockade, it was also by the 1890s a foundation stone of 'Empire and Nation', to use the title of Bate's final chapter in

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[4] Serle, *The Golden Age*, 370.

[5] Bate, *Lucky City*, 114, 187.

[6] *Argus* (Melbourne), April 28, 1936, 10.

[7] Withers, *History of Ballarat*, 240–241.

[8] Cleary, *Ballarat Labor*, 1–19, 271–73.

[9] Nathan Spielvogel, "Statues and Monuments," *Spielvogel Papers*, ed. Peter Mansfield (Ballarat: Ballarat Historical Society, 1981), 1:177.

Lucky City.[10] Next, there is an analysis of Ballarat during World War One and the way the city commemorated its contribution to this war. An important aspect about the commemoration was the role of the city's educational institutions and a further issue for Ballarat was the community's response to the federal government request for conscription.

Finally, there is a discussion about how Ballarat has commemorated wars subsequent to World War One and about peacekeeping in which Australia has participated. In recent years, Ballarat has added a number of memorials, including those that have national significance. While war commemoration has continued, the emphasis during ceremonies has shifted from the World War One focus on sacrifice in the name of the British Empire towards an emphasis on the grief of war and the need for peace.

3.2 Memorials in Ballarat

Sturt Street, the main 'east–west' boulevard of Ballarat, has an impressive array of memorials and a number of these have military connections. The Sturt Street median strip was formerly a stock route, measuring three chains wide (60 metres) to allow sufficient room for bullock teams to turn with ease and contained a central reservation used for gardens. It and the Ballarat Botanical Gardens to the west of Lake Wendouree are ideal locations for these memorials. While local people tend to take these structures for granted, visitors touring Ballarat notice their prevalence. As well, there are many memorials in other parts of the city and the district.

The Ballarat Botanical Gardens on the shores of Lake Wendouree is an area resplendent with memorials. Many visitors to the city are attracted to the garden's Statuary Pavilion and fernery and to the unique Prime Ministers Avenue. As a result of a bequest from Colonel Richard Crouch, the world-renowned statue gallery and Statuary Pavilion at the gardens were complemented in 1940 when this avenue was established. Through the avenue of statues and the Prime Ministers Avenue, a symbolic link between the city's political identity and its cultural heritage was established. Subsidised by the City of Ballarat, the bronze busts of the prime ministers mounted on granite pedestals have

[10] Bate, *Lucky City*, 251.

continued to be installed along the 'north–south' pathway and are admired by countless visitors. Four prime ministers have close connections with Ballarat—Alfred Deakin, James Scullin, John Curtin and Robert Menzies—and the federal electorate of Ballarat has had an almost even Conservative/Labor split.[11]

Why does Ballarat have so many statues, memorials and monuments? This intriguing question is important to analyse as part of this study of war commemoration in Ballarat. It is more than having ideal locations. The people of Ballarat set out in the nineteenth century to consciously create an environment that had reminders about the British and European origins of many of the Ballarat pioneers. As postulated by Nora, this conscious creation of the European environment was a 'drive for memory' as discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.[12]

In *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, John Gillis in his introductory discussion, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', makes pertinent comments about memory that apply to Ballarat.[13] He contends that 'we are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities. Memories help us make sense of the world we live in'.[14] Also, he states, 'the relationship between memory and identity is historical: and the record of that relationship can be traced through the various forms of commemoration'.[15] The many statues and other memorials in Ballarat assist both local people and visitors in making sense about the city's past. They are signposts to the area's history and to the culture that was valued in earlier times. The prevalence of war memorials provides an indication of the efforts of past generations to remember what was significant to them, and they also create a repository of memory to which contemporary Ballarat residents can relate.

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[11] Phil Roberts, *This is Ballarat* (Mud Group, Geelong West: Sovereign Press, Ballarat, 2010), 124.

[12] See section 2.2 of this thesis where Nora's article, 'Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*' is discussed.

[13] Gillis, *Commemorations*, 3–20.

[14] Ibid., 3.

[15] Ibid., 5.

Lowenthal postulates how memory operates in these circumstances. He contends that 'remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity'.[16] Also, he emphasises the importance of history:

> We accept memory as a premise of knowledge; we infer history from evidence that includes other people's memories. Unlike memory, history is not given but contingent: it is based on empirical sources which we can decide to reject for other versions of the past … History's collective nature sets it apart from memory, however. Whereas the past that I remembered is partly shared with others, much of it is uniquely my own. But historical knowledge is by its very nature collectively produced and shared; historical awareness implies group activity.[17]

The various Ballarat memorials, established during the history of the city, have enhanced the memories of the local people in relation to the past. For example, once the tradition of producing busts of recently retired prime ministers was created, successive Ballarat city councils continued to promote and assist the financing, often aided by public subscriptions, of these commemorative and picturesque structures. Ballarat people have been conscious of their reputation for retaining historical memory, and this awareness has been an important factor in ensuring that both the Avenue and Arch are maintained in the best possible physical condition.

Other complementary factors leading to so many commemorative structures include that Ballarat has been a 'city of gardens' with many open public areas. The Begonia Festival operating each March since 1953 has maintained the garden impetus of the city and increased the collective memory of its citizens. Also, a Ballarat-centric view displayed by community leaders is a factor. Bate, in his two major studies of Ballarat in *Lucky City* and *Life After Gold*, emphasises how civic and newspaper leaders constantly lauded the city. He wrote about Tom Cotton, *Courier* editor during 1911–35:

> Like Bateman and Williams before him, Cotton used the golden city rhetoric, although as the great mines closed and tourism became more important, he adopted the Progress Association's slogan, 'Beautiful Ballarat'.[18]

The *Courier's* centenary issue published in 1967, when Ballarat's population was 57,000, trumpeted the city's assets when it stated:

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[16] Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*, 197.

[17] Ibid., 212–213.

[18] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 138–39.

> Sturt Street—Australia's Finest—Gardens, Trees and Statuary
>
> Ballarat is a wonderful city in which to live and work, because it has all the amenities, all the social contacts, all the services to be found in a metropolitan area with none of the disadvantages of transport crowding, noise and inconvenience.[19]

Recently, the city has grown to more than 100,000 people, become more multicultural in composition and is recognised as the capital of western Victoria. In October 2016, *Courier* editor Eugene Duffy pointed out that Ballarat was one of the state's most vibrant regional cities: 'The vision that laid out Ballarat's great boulevards, heritage buildings and open space is needed again.'[20] Similarly, Justine Linley, Ballarat's Chief Executive Officer from May 2016, stated:

> There are exciting times ahead for our city. There's major investment and development from the government and the private sector, plans for improvements to infrastructure and facilities, and a number of events that will keep us entertained and informed … Ballarat is a city of good fortune … we need to have courage to follow plans we make so we can continue to enjoy a quality of life that is the envy of many and the aspiration of many more.[21]

By 2017 Ballarat had entered an era of substantial growth and was an optimistic city.

3.3 Development of a City

The first Europeans to settle in the Ballarat district came in 1838 as squatters occupying vast tracts of land as sheep runs. Australia's first regional historian, the journalist William Withers, notes in the preface to his *History of Ballarat*, published in 1870, how the pastoral settlement had changed rapidly after the gold discovery:

> The compiler has seen the growth of the town from a mere collection of canvas tents among the trees and on the grassy slopes and flats of the wild bush to its present condition. Less than twenty years ago there was not a house where now stands this wealthy mine and farm-girdled city, whose population is nearly equal to the united populations of Oxford and Cambridge.[22]

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[19] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 10, 1967, 5.

[20] *Courier* (Ballarat), October 29, 2016, 1

[21] Ibid.

[22] Withers, *History of Ballarat*, v.

Certainly, over the period from 1851 to 1870, Ballarat gained great wealth from the gold rush and developed into a well-established city remarkably quickly.[23] When Queen Victoria's son Prince Alfred visited in 1867, the city was a major service centre adorned with stately buildings. *History of Ballarat* traced the city's vast changes over a short period of time and Withers' colourful description of the rudimentary goldfields scene, in contrast to the celebratory events of the city and its suburbs, was of interest:

> Since the days when the might of the British Empire was locally represented by a Commissioner in a drugget-lined tent, and a ragged regiment of hangers-on, composed of clerks and constables and cooks, Ballarat has been visited by Governors and a Queen's son. The Prince Alfred made a 'joyous entry' on the 9th of December, 1867, when both town and suburbs held high holiday. After two or three days' stay, all full of feasting, dancing, levees, processions, presentations of addresses, laying memorial stones, or doing, or suffering, other things common to royalty and loyalty, His Royal Highness departed.[24]

The visit of Prince Alfred had shown the loyalty to Britain of the people of Ballarat and, despite a downturn in gold production and a change to more company mining after 1870, it consolidated as a prosperous inland city. Its agricultural and manufacturing industries were well established and, by the time Withers published his second edition of *History of Ballarat* in 1887, the city had moved into its second generation of inhabitants. As part of this development as a city, the erection of statutes was well underway:

> Mr. Thomas Stoddart, a wealthy mining speculator of refined tastes and liberal ideas, has given to Ballarat possession of an art gift unique in all Australasia. None of the public grounds of even the metropolitan cities of Australia are graced with marble statues in such profusion as are the Botanic Gardens of Ballarat.[25]

Withers adds that Stoddart donated a 'splendid present' of 12 Carrara marble statues to the city in 1884; a £3000 bequest from James Russell Thompson was being used in 1887 to purchase for the botanical gardens marble statues including *Flight from Pompeii* and, possibly, a statue of the Scottish hero Wallace; a statue of poet Robert Burns was erected in 1887; a statue of Tom Moore was in the process of being erected; and plans had been

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[23] Ballarat was officially proclaimed a city in 1871.

[24] Withers, *History of Ballarat*, 180.

[25] Ibid., 280.

made for a statue of Queen Victoria to be erected opposite the city hall to commemorate the occasion of her jubilee.[26]

In *Lucky City*, Bate emphasises how the 'Golden City' of Ballarat had become a cultural centre led by its energetic and refined pioneers. He quotes the view of the editor of *The Courier* in 1890, RE Williams:

> The go-aheadism of the Ballarat people is proverbial, and the wonderful results achieved of late years are deserving of highest recommendation. The gentlemen who have made their fortunes in mining or other pursuits all seemed imbued with the one spirit, that of adding to the beauty of the Golden City.[27]

Bate then records the beauty of Lake Wendouree and the botanic gardens and the 'joys' of the paddle steamers and other craft taking holidaymakers and tourists for trips on the lake and contended that the lake and gardens had become powerful elements in shaping Ballarat's self-image.[28] In *Lucky City*, Bate summarises the nature of Ballarat by 1901. The city had become very British as a 'city of statues, city of trees, city of pictures, city of song, golden city. These were not enough. Ballarat was also to be loyal city, and was vying with all comers to be the most loyal city of the empire'.[29]

This statement by Bate is significant. He argues that while the pioneers of the 'golden city' no longer had the restrictions of the class structure that was imposed on people living in the British Isles, they had, nevertheless, established their own identity that included adopting British institutions. Bate perceived that the people of Ballarat were confident in the opinion that throughout the worldwide and powerful British Empire, they had become Queen Victoria's most loyal citizens. He continued his analysis by stating:

> No other Britons, they felt sure, had had their advantages, and no others, they firmly believed, could have made so much of them. Having left their parents behind, they carried to a feverish pitch the worship of Queen Victoria as a symbol not only of British power and piety but also of motherhood.[30]

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[26] Ibid., 280–81.

[27] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 12, 1890, 1, quoted in Bate, *Lucky City*, 220.

[28] Bate, *Lucky City*, 225.

[29] Ibid., 253.

[30] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 24, 1899, 2, quoted in Bate, *Lucky City*, 253.

Parallel in time to the development of Ballarat as a loyal city to the British Empire, were the memories established in regard to the tumultuous Eureka Stockade events. The armed opposition to the Victorian Government by a band of aggrieved diggers in early December 1854 was a major occurrence in Australia's history.

Ballarat people were uncertain about how they should commemorate the events of the Eureka Stockade. As noted in Chapter Two of this thesis, in later years Eureka has been characterised in different ways by a range of groups. In the nineteenth century, a section of the population was proud of the notoriety Ballarat's community had received and were conscious that Eureka was a catalyst for Victorian Government democratic reforms, while another section of the population was embarrassed by the actions of the diggers in taking up arms against the government. The attitude of local people towards Eureka was ambivalent and, as the city became more conservative, there was reluctance on the part of a number of citizens to erect a memorial to a 'lot of rebels'.[31]

Not far from the east side of Lake Wendouree, the Ballarat Old Cemetery contains many memorials to significant Ballarat people, including those closely connected to Eureka. At the cemetery, there are graves for the Eureka diggers; Eureka soldiers; James Scobie, who was murdered outside Bentley's hotel; and Dr Timothy Doyle, who amputated Peter Lalor's left arm after the event. Nathan Spielvogel in a radio broadcast in 1936 stated:

> Ballarat is famous for the many statues and monuments which have been presented to the city by generous citizens. The first gift was made in 1856 by James Leggett, a sculptor of Geelong. It was a simple but artistically graven monolith to be placed over the graves of the diggers who died in the fight of Eureka in 1854. It may be seen at the Old Cemetery.[32]

On 3 December 1856, the second anniversary of Eureka, 200 people gathered at the site of Eureka to hear an oration by John Lynch, one of Peter Lalor's captains at the 1854 Eureka event. Following this, a march was made to the Old Cemetery for a further oration at the memorial to the 21 diggers identified as being killed at the stockade.[33] In 'Remembering Eureka',[34] Beggs-Sunter describes the scene of the march to the cemetery

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[31] Bate, *Lucky City*, 253.

[32] Spielvogel, Statues and Monuments, 1:177.

[33] Withers, *History of Ballarat*, 153–54.

[34] Anne Beggs-Sunter, "Remembering Eureka," *Journal of Australian Studies* 25, no. 70 (2001): 49–56.

by those wishing to honour the memory of the Eureka rebels in 1856:

> Diggers marched two by two, wearing crepe ribbon on their left arms, from the stockade to the new memorial at the Ballarat cemetery. The cemetery became a hallowed spot, where they could 'cherish the memories of those martyrs to tyranny and injustice'.[35]

Beggs-Sunter analyses public discussion in local newspapers about the appropriate gathering place—the stockade itself, 'Lalor's stump' on Bakery Hill or the burial site at the cemetery—and she concludes the cemetery became the favoured commemoration site:

> From the beginning there were debates about whether the event belonged to Ballarat or had a wider interest, debates about whether political groups should use it for propaganda purposes, about public versus private remembering. The cemetery became accepted as a private place remembering old friends, away from the glare of publicity.[36]

Also, she addresses how the Eureka event quickly moved into national mythology:

> Almost immediately Eureka began to be incorporated into the national myth of democracy, equality and mateship. For some it represented the triumph of parliamentary democracy, for others the right of ordinary workers to a 'fair go'. The flag became a metaphor for radical action—used by nationalists, trade unionists, civil libertarians and republicans. All have found some symbolic nourishment in the 'stockade everlasting'.[37]

While there was a national focus on Eureka and it's meaning, as I have contended, in Ballarat most of the locals were not so certain about its importance and how it should be commemorated. A section of the population retained a strong sympathy for the diggers who participated in Eureka, but many people appeared to be more focused on making a living during the gold rush times. It is significant that it took a quarter of a century from the Eureka event before a worthy memorial to the soldiers killed at Eureka was erected in the Ballarat area. There was a strong feeling that the place where the military was buried at the Old Cemetery was, as Withers put it, 'a neglected wilderness, a disgrace to the place'.[38] In 1879, through the services of the local colonial government member, William Collard Smith, an impressive memorial grave for the six soldiers killed at Eureka was established. This can be deemed Ballarat's first military memorial.

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[35] Ibid., 51.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., 49.

[38] Withers, *History of Ballarat*, 155.

Also, in the east of Ballarat, the issue about memorials at the site of Eureka Stockade had a long history. Once a number of years had passed since the Eureka event, there was considerable disputation about the actual location of the site.

Nathan Spielvogel in his 1936 radio broadcast stated:

> Gradually the anniversary was allowed to pass by unnoticed and the whole affair became a misty legend talked over only when old diggers met together for a yarn …
>
> When the matter was brought up at a meeting of the Ballarat East Town Council, one councillor is reported to have said, 'To erect a memorial in honour of this pack of rebellious curs would disgrace the patriotic citizens of Ballarat'.[39]

Spielvogel related that in 1884 a fund was established to build a monument at the site of the battle with the inscription "Eureka Stockade 3rd December 1854"
Those words and nothing more!'[40]
By 1886 the monument was built, bizarrely surrounded by four cannons donated by the government.[41]

It is telling that the next statue concerning a person involved with Eureka, the bronze statue of Peter Lalor that was erected in 1892 in the median section of Sturt Street between Dawson and Lyons Streets, is not depicting Lalor as the leader of the Eureka rebels but as the Victorian Parliament Speaker. Despite the scenes on the statue panels containing the names of diggers killed at Eureka, the emphasis is on Lalor's respectability and status within parliamentary democracy. Costing £2200, the statue was a gift by James Oddie to the city. The words of Spielvogel and Bate sum up the indifferent view towards Eureka of the contemporary citizens of Ballarat. The city had become a loyalist outpost of the British Empire and, at this stage of the city's history, remembering the Eureka rebellion was low on the agenda of many local people.

Once the federation of the Australian colonies occurred on 1 January 1901, for some years Ballarat had added importance. Besides being Victoria's second most populous city,

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[39] Nathan Spielvogel, "The Eureka Stockade Movement," in *Spielvogel Papers*, ed. Peter Mansfield (Ballarat: Ballarat Historical Society, 1981), 1: 35.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Bate, *Lucky City*, 253.

its location was significant in that before the federal parliament moved to Canberra in 1927 the seat of the federal parliament was in Melbourne. Only 70 miles (110 kilometres) away, Ballarat's close proximity to Melbourne ensured it was an influential centre in national and state politics. It is of interest that in 1898 it was suggested that Ballarat could become Australia's capital.[42]

The early years of the twentieth century were difficult ones for Ballarat: gold mining was on the wane with only a small number of company mines in operation, the Phoenix Foundry lost its production of train locomotives to Newport in Melbourne and Hugh McKay transferred his production of harvesters from Ballarat to the Melbourne suburb of Sunshine. Yet Ballarat held on—its rich agricultural hinterland, its strong base of heavy industries and its stately urban service centre built on the wealth gained in the 1851–70 gold period – enabled it to survive. From 1904, the work of the Ballarat Progress Association and its promotional booklet *Beautiful Ballarat* helped consolidate the city's strength.[43] Tourism and showcasing the city's attractions were important and, annually through the Ballarat Progress Association, 5000 free copies of this publication about the city were distributed to visitors.[44]

As indicated previously, by 1914 Ballarat exhibited strong loyalty to the British Empire but also was associated with the origins of Australia's trade union movement and the Labor Party.[45] The continual growth of secondary industries manufacturing agricultural implements, building and industrial materials and household products gave the city many employees who were attracted to the emerging Labor Party. The first miners' union in Victoria was formed in Ballarat in January 1870,[46] and in 1880 a monument to one of the eight-hour day founders, James Galloway, was erected in Sturt Street. From 1883, an annual march of unions near the monument assisted the formation of the Ballarat Trades and Labour Council.[47] An important union organiser was William Guthrie Spence of Creswick, who in 1874 helped form the Victorian Amalgamated Miners' Association and

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[42] Ibid., 266.

[43] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 29.

[44] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1923* (Ballarat: City of Ballaarat, 1923), 7.

[45] Cleary, *Ballarat Labor*, 1–19, 271–73.

[46] Bate, *Lucky City*, 204.

[47] Cleary, *Ballarat Labor*, 88.

in 1882 became the union's secretary. Then, in June 1886, he and David Temple organised the Australasian Shearers Union, which was established at Fern's Hotel in Ballarat.[48]

During 1860–90, most political allegiances in Victoria involved liberalism or conservatism. Loyalty to particular political persuasions was not strong and often politicians moved among political alliances. Once unionists moved into the political arena in the 1890s, this changed as the rapidly developing Labor Party sought a pledged support to the party. Through organisation in rural Victoria, local branches were established and maintained, but it took until 1913 before Labor had federal representation in Ballarat. In the new federal parliament, Liberal Protectionist and Australia's second PM, Alfred Deakin, represented Ballarat during 1901–13 before Labor's Charles McGrath was successful in winning the seat. From March 1916 until April 1918, McGrath served in the Australian armed forces in Europe and was re-elected unopposed in 1917. McGrath was a Labor representative until 1931 when he moved to the United Australia Party.[49]

Ballarat in the early twentieth century, therefore, was a city of mixed loyalties. The very British city had a prevalence of statues linking it to the 'Old World', yet it had an independent spirit, its own institutions and boasted acceptable living conditions. Many, especially those in Ballarat East, had an affinity with the emerging Labor Party.

3.4 Ballarat in World War One

As throughout Australia, Ballarat embraced the Great War in 1914. In spite of its initial rebelliousness in the Eureka Stockade in 1854, Ballarat showed remarkable loyalty to the 'mother country' and its empire.[50] The war affected all sections of the local population and left deep scars on many people.

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[48] Coral Lansbury and Bede Nairn, "Spence, William Guthrie (1846–1926)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, 1976), accessed September 22, 2014, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/spence-william-guthrie-4628.

[49] Cleary, *Ballarat Labor*, 303.

[50] Bate, *Lucky City*, 251–66.

Once World War One commenced on 4 August 1914, there was widespread euphoria about the war effort. In Ballarat, headlines in *The Star* included 'Men Eager For Service' and 'Splendid Patriotic Response'.[51] Soon, under the command of Major General William Bridges, the AIF was established. Bridges had insisted that Australian units should remain discrete formations and not be subsumed into British forces as the War Office in London proposed. This created a volunteer national army.[52]

Ballarat men were very prominent and well represented in the AIF. Besides the promise of a substantial regular wage once a volunteer joined the AIF, the fact that young men had taken part in military training before World War One encouraged men to join up once war was declared. Under the Fisher government's *Defence Act*, from 1 January 1911 military training was compulsory for all young men aged 18 to 25, requiring them to train with the CMF for 16 days a year,[53] and boys aged 12 to 18 were to take part in a preliminary training scheme. The 1st Australian Division, raised in 1914, was made up of three brigades, each of four battalions. The first brigade was raised in New South Wales, the second in Victoria and the third from the other states.[54] Many Victorians who enlisted became members of Ballarat's 8th Battalion, although Ballarat men served in a variety of army units and in the navy. As well, a number of Ballarat women became army nurses, as is emphasised in the 1917 second planting of Ballarat's Avenue.

During the first fighting against the Turkish forces at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, the Victorian forces of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Battalions were in the second wave to land. Three of the four Battalions were led by Ballarat men—Lieutenant Colonels William Bolton, Harold 'Pompey' Elliott and David Wanliss. Most of the Ballarat men were in the 8th.[55]

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[51] *Star* (Ballarat), August 6, 1914, 7.

[52] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 31–32.

[53] David Day, *Andrew Fisher* (Pymble, NSW: Forth Estate, 2008), 202, quoted in Beggs-Sunter, "Ballarat's Crusading *Evening Echo*," in Deery and Kimber, *Fighting Against War*, 108.

[54] Leckie, *Country Victoria's Own*, 32.

[55] Letter from Newton Wanliss, 14 August 1914, Ballarat Clarendon College Archives, Ballarat, quoted in Roberts, *Golden Heritage*, 65. The letter contains an error as it states the four commanders had Ballarat

One measure of the depth and extent of Ballarat's involvement in the war is the contribution of war service by local schools. Many of the soldiers filling local battalions were recent graduates and it is evident the percentage of enlistment in Ballarat was one of the highest in Victoria. Most secondary students were from private schools, as the state did not enter secondary education until the founding of the Melbourne Continuation School in 1905. Some primary schools had classes through to Form Two (Year Eight), so many who enlisted had not attended secondary schools, such as 1916 Victoria Cross recipient William Dunstan, who attended Mount Pleasant Primary School. The Pleasant Street Primary School honour board lists 244 former students that served in World War One and Dana Street Primary lists about 300. Each of Ballarat's 18 primary schools had many army enlistments among their former students.

The first government secondary school in Ballarat began as the Ballarat Continuation School. It was located in Sturt Street in term two 1907 and in Dana Street from term three 1907 to term one 1910. Then, it relocated to Gillies Street as the Ballarat Agricultural High School. In *The History of the Ballarat High School 1907–1947*, Helen Cotton states:

> From our opening years we had sent cadets to Duntroon and had been proud of the military bearing and training by our Cadet Team. Now these lads were ready to give the service for which they had been so well prepared … The Honour Board in Peacock Hall shows in letters of gold the names of those who enlisted in the Forces and the names of those who died occupy its central panel.[56]

The Ballarat Agricultural High School cadet team built a strong, militaristic tradition within the school. The cadets in 1913–14 had success at the South Street and Ballarat 18th Brigade competitions and the military sports in Stawell. In 1914 they were the Victorian State Champions and came second to Brisbane Grammar in the Commonwealth contest. At the outbreak of war, this young school had 14 past students studying at the recently established Officers School of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, in Canberra.[57] Governor-General Sir Roland Munro-Ferguson stated more boys from this school were at Duntroon than from any other Victorian school. During 1914–18, 275 former Ballarat Agricultural High School students enlisted with the tragic loss of 43 lives.

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connections. In fact, the fourth, Lieutenant Colonel James Michael Semmens, was from the Rushworth area of Victoria.

[56] Helen Cotton, *The History of Ballarat High School 1907–1947*, (Ballarat High School, 1947).

[57] Roberts, *Duty Always*, 42.

Those enlisting represented 72% of those eligible by the age of 18 (a further 10% were rejected on grounds of health) and 52 obtained commissions, 75 reached non-commissioned rank and 36 won military decorations.[58]

Among the private schools, the enlistments from Ballarat College were no less remarkable than the Ballarat Agricultural High School record. Ballarat College had a long military tradition under Major John Garbutt, headmaster from 1877 to 1909, who was a long-time member of the local militia and was revered by past students.[59] Newton Wanliss attributed his influence as a major factor in producing the college's war record,[60] where 305 former students and teachers saw active service. This occurred despite a total school enrolment at Ballarat College in 1904–13 of 294 students. Of those who served, 103 attained commissioned rank, 44 had non-commissioned rank and, tragically, 65 of those serving lost their lives.[61] The officers included one Rear Admiral (Sir Guy Gaunt), one Brigadier General (Harold Elliott) and five Colonels or Lieutenant Colonels (CAN Olden, TH Sargeant, C Wanliss, DS Wanliss and HB Wanliss). As a fully-fledged AIF battalion in 1914 comprised about one officer for 30 other ranks, one in three attaining a commissioned rank was a very high proportion.[62] This highlighted the army practice of promoting a high percentage of men from private school backgrounds and attests to an underlying class prejudice favouring those men from a financially wealthier background.

In his history of Geelong Grammar, Weston Bate states:

> Among Victorian schools, the highest casualty rates seem to have been at Ballarat College and Geelong Grammar School—from Ballarat, the most empire-conscious of towns, and Geelong Grammar, the most empire conscious of schools. At Geelong Grammar one in five who enlisted was killed. At Ballarat the death rate was even higher—twenty-two per cent.[63]

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[58] Roberts, *High School*, 47, 51.

[59] Roberts, *Golden Heritage*, 63–64.

[60] Gordon Mein, *The History of Ballarat College: 1864–1964* (Ballarat: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1964), 73.

[61] Affleck, *Footsteps of Pompey*, *x*.

[62] Research of Newton Wanliss, father of Lieutenant Colonel Harold Wanliss (killed in 1917 at Polygon Wood), brother of Ewen (served in the Boer War) and Cecil, David and Neville (served in World War One). He gave a Ballarat Historical Association speech on 17 June 1941 that outlined information quoted in Mein, *History of Ballarat College*; Roberts, *Golden Heritage*, 65; and Affleck, *Footsteps of Pompey*, x.

[63] Weston Bate, *Light Blue Down-Under: The History of Geelong Grammar School* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), 162.

Also, Wanliss noted that ten of the duxes of Ballarat College enlisted and six were killed:

> A striking and pathetic incident was the death rate among the Duxes of the college ... These young men were the intellectual flower of the college, some of them probably destined for brilliant futures. They did not seek soft jobs, as so many do in all wars, but fought intrepidly in the front of the battle doing their duty to the last. All were members of well-known Ballarat families and their names should not be forgotten. These are GS Elliott (1903), JM Walker (1904), JG Allan (1906), HG Cornell (1907), HB Wanliss (1908), and HC Ross (1911).[64]

The tragedy of the loss of these young men was devastating to the community. As a further study of the contribution of former students and staff of the school, in 2012 James Affleck's *In the Footsteps of Pompey*[65] recorded biographical details of the war service of individual Ballarat and Clarendon collegians in the Boer War, World War One, World War Two and subsequent conflicts involving Australian armed forces.

The neighbour of Ballarat College, St Patrick's College, recorded the names of 289 former students on its Roll of Honour 1914–18. It was estimated there were about 1000 past students that potentially could have served[66] at a time when about 20 per cent of Ballarat's population were Roman Catholics.[67] The lower percentage of volunteers reflects the widespread Irish Catholic scepticism about the war, especially in the aftermath of the Dublin Easter 1916 uprising against the English.

Further evidence of this comes in an analysis of the home addresses of those who served. In *Our Bravest: SPC Old Boys in the Wars—Volume 1: The Great War (1914–1918)*,[68] Catriona Banks states 297 former St Patrick's College students enlisted. Of these, a total of 219 have places of residence recorded in Banks' book—177 boarders and 44 'day' students. This is significant in that about 60 per cent of the annual school population of close to 200 were boarders,[69] while of those serving the number of boarders is closer to 80 per cent. Of the day students, 27 were from Ballarat and nine from East Ballarat. The other eight were from the Ballarat district—one each from Beaufort, Clarke's Hill,

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[64] Mein, *History of Ballarat College*, 66. Also quoted in Affleck, *Footsteps of Pompey*, x.

[65] Affleck, *Footsteps of Pompey*.

[66] Naughtin, *History and Heritage*, 81.

[67] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 38.

[68] Banks, *Our Bravest*.

[69] Naughtin, *History and Heritage*, 22.

Learmonth, Smeaton and Talbot and two from Mount Prospect. Only one came from east of Ballarat, Warrenheip, a 'Roman Catholic and Irish' area. This leads to speculation that few people from the area served in the Australian armed forces in World War One. This may come back to the influence of Archbishop Mannix and his strong opposition to engagement in the war.

On the other side of Lake Wendouree, Ballarat Grammar commenced in 1911. By 1917 it had 24 former students and three teachers serving.[70] A further Ballarat secondary school was Grenville College, whose most famous student was future PM Sir Robert Menzies. This school closed in 1910 and records are not readily available, although it is known that one of the first leaders of troops in Egypt and Gallipoli, Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, was a former student. Overall, many young men educated in Ballarat went to war during 1914–18. This is an important factor in the community's desire to commemorate their war service and led to strong support for the concept of an avenue of honour.

In Ballarat both *The Star* and *The Courier* gave strong support to the war effort, despite the federal government censorship and the slow discovery of the war's full horror. The Gallipoli landing was reported as a 'magnificent achievement'.[71] A message from King George V to PM Andrew Fisher was highlighted: 'I heartily congratulate you upon the splendid conduct and bravery displayed by the Australian troops in the operations at the Dardanelles, who have indeed proved themselves worthy sons of the Empire.'[72] Myths and legends about the heroic Anzac campaign were already in the making.

An illustration of the attitude of many people in Ballarat during World War One was the actions of Ballarat Agricultural High School teacher and senior mistress, Jeannie Jobson. Early during World War One, there was considerable euphoria about the role of Australians, but, once the first casualty lists were published in 1915 after the landing at Gallipoli, the euphoria was shattered and the realities of war began to be realised.

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[70] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 65.

[71] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 30, 1915, 3.

[72] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 1, 1915, 3.

On reading about the deaths of two former Ballarat Agricultural High School students, Stanley Close and Arthur Curwen Walker, Jobson poured out her thoughts in an open letter addressed to Australian soldiers lying in the Malta hospital where the wounded men from Gallipoli were being treated. She wrote, in part:

> Dear Australian Boys
>
> I don't know which of you will read this letter: I don't care, for you are all alike, dear and precious to every Australian at home. Every Australian woman's heart this week is thrilling with pride, with exultation, and while her eyes fill with tears, she springs up, as I did, and says, Thank God I am an Australian! Boys, you have honoured our land: you, the novices, the untrained, the untaught in war's grim school, have done the deeds of veterans! Oh, how we honour you! How we glory in your matchless bravery, in your yet more wonderful fortitude, which the war correspondent says was evinced so marvellously as your boatloads of wounded cheered and waved amid their pain as you rowed back to your vessels! What gave you the courage for that heroic dash to the ridge, boys? British grit. Australian nerve and determination to do or die …
>
> God have you living or dying in His keeping. If any one of you would like to send me a pencilled note or card, I'll answer it to time by return.
>
> Your countrywoman,
>
> Jeanie Jobson.[73]

After an initial batch of 60 letters was sent to the Ballarat Agricultural High School, a *London Times* correspondent heard about Jobson's letter and it was printed in his paper and Australian newspapers. Jobson explained that she was writing on impulse. From then until the end of the war, a dedicated Miss Jobson aided by staff members answered thousands of letters from the troops.[74]

Among the 870 letters from *The Courier* analysed by Amanda Taylor in *Dinkum Oil: Letters to Ballarat from the Great War*,[75] a number are addressed directly to Miss Jobson.

A sample of the letters from the front to Miss Jobson included the following:

> *Courier* 13 May 1915

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[73] Cotton, *History of Ballarat High*, 28–29; Roberts, *High School*, 48. The letter is referenced as 12 May 1915 in "Home Front, Ballarat," Ballarat & District Genealogical Society Inc, accessed September 4, 2017, http://www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au.

[74] Roberts, *High School*, 48.

[75] Taylor, *Dinkum Oil*.

> … our lads have shown three strong traits—sheer heroism, endurance and incomparable resource
> (Lieutenant Everett James, former Ballarat Agricultural High School student, who was promoted to Captain in November 1915 and killed on 24 July 1916)

Courier 20 December 1915

> I read with interest a letter by you in the Malta 'Chronicle.' I have read it over and over again, for I think it is the most cheerful letter I have ever seen … It was on 21st November that I was blown up … Well I have done my duty and can do no more … Best wishes from one who has served his country, as more should do …
> (Sergeant E Fisher, a member of the 2nd Light Horse)

Courier 24 April 1918

> Such is life under service conditions. Day after day we are up against it. Fresh dangers are continually before us … Life is sweet to every man and woman on this earth, I know. But from a soldier's standpoint, when the way is clear, and a task is to be achieved, the words of the poet are appropriate—
> '*Theirs not to reason why,*
> *Theirs but to do or die.*'
> (Flight Lieutenant Leslie Primrose who was killed on 4 June 1918)[76]

The context of Jeannie Jobson's letter writing needs further comment. It appears her strong pro-war stance came from her family background. Her brother Alexander was a member of the AIF and rose to the rank of brigadier general during World War One. Born in 1875 in Clunes, Victoria, from 1902 he was an accountant and actuary in Sydney. He joined the New South Wales Scottish Rifles, moving through the ranks to lieutenant colonel in 1913, and fought in World War One in France in 1916–17 alongside General Monash.[77] It is likely Jeannie Jobson was heavily influenced by her brother's occupation. Triolo in *Our Schools and the War* indicates that Jobson's letter to the troops was in line with the pro-enlistment stance of the Victorian Education Department *School Paper* and

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[76] Ibid., 87, 106, 309.

[77] *Wikipedia*, s.vv. "Alexander Jobson," accessed September 4, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Jobson.

Education Gazette, which noted newspaper reports about the magnificence of the Anzacs.[78]

In late 1917, Jennie Jobson wrote a further letter exhibiting the same style and tone as the 1915 letter—'a Christmas letter to the A.I.F.',[79] printed as a leaflet for distribution to the troops, but as Triolo observes:

> Most of Jobson's readers would have responded to her sentiments with much less enthusiasm than before. Indeed, her letter was by then more the exception for its time: the knowledge of the suffering of many Australians had crushed the nation's exuberance. The letter might have helped stimulate patriotic efforts by Victorian teachers on the home-front; but it might have stirred cynicism and anger. The figures for monthly enlistments by Departmental men suggest, however, that Jobson's letter of 1917 had less resonance with potential volunteers … the communities were bearing the enormous pain of the sacrifice.[80]

Triolo's view is accurate. By the end of 1917 after three years of carnage and stalemate, troops of all nations were extremely war-weary, the Australian community was divided about involvement in World War One as was evidenced by the conscription debates of 1916 and 1917, and a person writing with enthusiasm about the war effort was hardly likely to strike a positive chord with the Australian troops and community.

In the introduction to *Dinkum Oil*, Taylor notes that by the end of World War One the number of enlistments from Ballarat proper numbered more than 4000 and that *The Courier* played a vital role in informing the public about the events of the war. She states:

> It is difficult if not impossible in the age of the Internet and satellite television to comprehend the isolation imposed by the tyranny of distance that was experienced in Australia during the Great War … In many instances copies of *The Courier* that had been sent to the frontline also became a source of information for the soldiers themselves.[81]

Both *The Courier* and *The Star* maintained support for the war effort throughout the war. The day before the federal election of 5 May 1917, *The Courier* carried a large advertisement authorised by the National Campaign Council, Melbourne, which

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[78] Triolo, *Our Schools*, 115.

[79] *Courier* (Ballarat), December 20, 1917, 4.

[80] Triolo, *Our Schools*, 142–143.

[81] Taylor, *Dinkum Oil*, iv.

proclaimed, 'If you neglect to vote for the Nationalists tomorrow you betray the Anzacs, Australia and the Empire'.[82] Later in May 1917, *The Courier* lauded Britain's war effort:

> By a wonderful feat of organisation Britain has built up, trained and equipped the most formidable fighting force in Europe. In the financial sphere Britain has been the sheet-anchor of the allies. While making provision for the empire's needs, the Motherland has at the same time advanced loans to the allied countries to enable them to weather the financial storm.[83]

As Bate illustrates in *Life After Gold*, patriotic efforts were particularly strong in Ballarat. Recruiting committees, the 'Forward Ballarat' movement, the Mayors' Patriotic Fund, a Queen Carnival in 1916 (raising £8279) and the Red Cross (raising £29,263 during the war, with the 1918 total of almost £12,000 easily topping the state list) were all attuned to fundraising for the war effort. He observes that no one could escape fundraisers for the Young Men's Christian Association, the Red Cross, the Citizens Camp Committee, the RSL, the Mayors' Patriotic Fund and many special efforts: 'Tins were shaken, doors knocked and raffles, concerts, fetes and excursions held.' Also he points out that the forerunner of the RSL and the promotion of a soldier settler scheme originated in Ballarat. Concern was shown for the repatriated men that were sick and wounded and the 'Soldiers Institute'—described as the best equipped in Australia—was set up to look after them.[84]

Local governments and religious leaders in Ballarat were also very supportive of the war effort and often were part of recruiting campaigns. On 4 August 1916, the war's second anniversary, at the direction of Premier Peacock to have public meetings, a large audience gathered at the Alfred Hall. A patriotic motion was moved by Archbishop Tucker (Anglican), seconded by Father Kennelly (from St Patrick's Cathedral) and supported by Rev Joyce (from the Council of Churches), Rev Smith (Presbyterian), Rev Snell (Methodist), Brigadier Bickerton (Salvation Army) and Rabbi Lenzer (from the Jewish synagogue). After musical items, collections were taken up for the Red Cross and the Lady Mayoress Patriotic League.[85]

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[82] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 4, 1917, 4.

[83] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 14, 1917, 2.

[84] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 66–68.

[85] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence VPRS 2500/Box 111, 18 July 1916; *Courier* (Ballarat), August 5, 1916, 4.

In line with Australia-wide campaigns during 1916 and 1917, Ballarat was involved with recruiting efforts. Heavy Western Front losses in the battles at Fromelles in July 1916 and Pozières in July and August 1916 led to urgent calls for more enlistments. Many thought conscription would take place as had occurred in Great Britain, but despite the intense efforts of PM Hughes and many people in positions of authority, in the two conscription referenda of 1916 and 1917 Australians voted against conscription.

Recruiting committees were formed Australia-wide. Recruiting sergeants were appointed to many city and country districts and usually received strong support from local municipal councils. The State Recruiting Committee of Victoria undertook many initiatives, such as encouraging married men to join up by advertising 'attractive' wages for men with a wife and a number of children. Local newspapers recorded in an advertisement authorised by the State Recruiting Committee of Victoria on 31 March 1917 that a private with a wife and no children would receive £4 9s 10d a fortnight, while a private with a wife and four children received £5 10s 10d a fortnight, and promotion in rank would mean a considerable increase.

In April 1917, *The Star* reported:

> Recruiting Appeal —The following recruiting appeal has been issued by Mr G. H. Wise, M.H.R., chairman of the State Recruiting Committee: 'The urgent need for more men is shown by the cable message announcing the authorities in Great Britain are calling back men for enrolment who have suffered and been discharged. Surely this will appeal to Australians who have not yet enlisted to come forward and 'do their bit', when we are told that it is no exaggeration to say that Great Britain is in deadly peril at this present time.'[86]

Despite these attempts by the various recruiting committees, the number of recruits dwindled. The reality of what was happening on the battlefields of World War One was gradually becoming clear to the population during 1916–18 and, increasingly, communities were becoming disillusioned about the war.

The main outlet for opposition in Ballarat to the manner in which the Australian government was conducting the war was the Labor paper, the *Evening Echo.* Due to the War Precautions Act, it was difficult for anti-war material to be published, so the paper

[86] *Star* (Ballarat), April 5, 1917, 4.

used the tactics of asking questions about the government's war efforts, arguing strenuously against the policy of conscription of Australian men of military age and being supportive of the Australian troops. As war lists of the dead lengthened and evidence of financial war gains came to light, Archbishop Mannix spoke out against 'imperialists'. Once the British suppressed the 1916 Irish Easter uprising and the carnage of Fromelles and Pozières became public, war opposition hardened.

The *Evening Echo*, under its banner of 'Fearless, Truthful, Just', ran sustained campaigns against conscription's introduction. At the May 1917 federal election, PM Hughes, originally the Labor member for West Sydney and as a result of being expelled by the Australian Labor Party, stood for the National Party in Bendigo and was successful. Remaining as PM, he visited Ballarat as he worked strenuously to further the war effort, gain more war recruits and counter the arguments of those opposed to the war. The *Evening Echo* editors, Jim Scullin and Richard Jordan, argued that conscription was based on the philosophy that 'might is right' and that conscription 'places military law above civil law'. Further, they argued conscription would take away the rights of individuals. In August 1916, the *Evening Echo* editorial stated:

> The seeds of liberty which were sown in the blood-stained soil of Eureka, has created an Australian environment which is responsible for bold, courageous, and self-sacrificing characteristics, which have made our sons admired by all in the world. If you would preserve these freedom-loving aspirations, which is the very soul force of true patriotism, then fight to the last gasp against the introduction of conscription into your country, because conscription is the very foundation and corner stone of a servile state.[87]

Beggs-Sunter commented about this editorial:

> Scullin here uses the memory of Eureka, still so strong in Ballarat, when the military attacked innocent bystanders, including women and children. Again during the strikes of the early 1890s, the military had been used against the strikers. In an appeal to trade unionists, Scullin argued that if conscription is enforced, every soldier when he returns will be treated as a conscript, amenable to military laws. Workers would not be able to demand a living wage and would have to accept whatever wage was offered.[88]

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[87] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), August 29, 1916, 2.

[88] Beggs-Sunter, "Ballarat's Crusading *Evening Echo*," 111.

In September 1916, the *Evening Echo* stated that *The Courier* supported the 'stinking fish party' that was driving Australia's young manhood out of the country. Further, it stated that in its 'lather', *The Courier* had fatally spoken out of turn: '*The Courier* is fiercely determined others shall be compelled to risk their lives.'[89] Before the May 1917 federal election, the *Evening Echo* wrote about a speech PM Hughes delivered in Bendigo. It stated, 'The "Age" and the "Argus" and the "Courier" and the "Star", and all the anti-Labor papers received advanced copies of his speech—but the "Echo" did not. The fact is not without its significance'.[90]

The *Evening Echo* editors were upset that the other newspapers were devoting many column inches to pro-war advocates involved in promoting recruiting needs and only reporting minimal comments about the views concerning opponents of the war and conscription. The issue of conscription was hotly debated in Ballarat and surrounding townships. While local councillors, Protestant church leaders, large manufacturing businesses and military organisations promoted the pro-conscription 'Yes' campaign, the 'No' campaign also received heavy support from trade unions and Irish groups.

On 17–19 October 1916, Jim Scullin spoke at anti-conscription rallies in Ascot and Miners' Rest (Tuesday 17th), Brown Hill (Wednesday 18th) and Waubra and Learmonth (Thursday 19th).[91] At a 'Yes' rally at Bungaree on 17 October, Colonel Bolton organised for Private Tolliday and another returned serviceman to speak to this strongly Irish Catholic community. About 200 people stood outside and refused to enter until the speakers left. Then, in the hall, a 'No' rally meeting organised as many anti-conscription votes as possible.[92]

The campaign of the *Evening Echo* and the anti-conscription rallies had an impact. In the first conscription referendum of 28 October 1916, Victoria voted 'Yes' overall, but Ballarat recorded 'No' 15,375 to 'Yes' 13,831. In the second referendum of 20 December 1917, Ballarat had a slightly increased percentage of 'No' votes—'No' 12,367 to 'Yes'

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[89] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), September 27, 1916, 2.

[90] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), March 28, 1917, 2.

[91] *Star* (Ballarat), October 17, 1916, 2.

[92] *Star* (Ballarat), October 18, 1916, 1.

10,777. Ballarat had a mixed response—while many volunteered for military service and a strong fundraising ethic for the war effort existed, people were not prepared to conscript the 'unwilling'.

After more than four years of heavy combat and the loss of many thousands of lives in senseless battle, at 11 am on 11 November 1918 peace was declared. A huge sense of relief and of celebration of the end of the war gripped Ballarat. The war was over! In *Life After Gold*, Bate describes the colourful scene outside the city hall:

> The throng soon clogged Sturt Street, stopping all traffic. The Alfred Bells pealed 'God Save the King', the band joined in, men bared their heads and everyone sang. The sea of people, choppy with flags, cheered.[93]

As with other areas in Australia, the people of Ballarat had suffered war fatigue. Once officially the war had concluded, a time of readjustment, 'counting the cost' and pondering memorialisation commenced.

3.5 Ballarat War Commemoration

Ballarat has a long history of commemoration, especially war commemoration, and is a conservative city full of tradition. Since the arrival of the first British settlers in 1838 and the immense wealth created by the major gold rush period of 1851–70, the city has had a strong link to Britain. It is notable that a large number of Ballarat memorials have a war connection. While the main war memorials in Ballarat, including the Avenue and the Arch, have a focus on commemorating World War One, the city and its district possess a number of other memorials commemorating other wars.

Bate describes Ballarat as a city loyal to the British Empire.[94] A manifestation of this loyalty was the city's strength in providing many members of the local militia. Bate states that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Ballarat sustained a militia of over 400 men in a population of 40,000. Melbourne could not fill two 500-strong battalions

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[93] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 70.

[94] Bate, *Lucky City*, 253.

and numbers in units in Sandhurst (Bendigo) and Castlemaine were far smaller.[95] In *Country Victoria's Own*,[96] Leckie elaborates about Ballarat's strong contribution in both World War One and World War Two. The Ballarat infantry linked with other major Victorian military centres in Geelong, Mildura, Bendigo, Shepparton and Warrnambool. The prominent Ranger Barracks were located in central Ballarat until they were sold to commercial interests, and in 2003 new Ranger Barracks were opened in Alfredton near the junction of Sturt Street and the Ballarat Ring Road.

Besides the strength of the local militia in Ballarat, another aspect of loyalty to Great Britain was the city symbolism of royal statues and the desire to host visits by members of the British royal family. In Victoria Square outside the Ballarat Town Hall and west of the granite Boer War Memorial was the statue of Queen Victoria erected to celebrate her jubilee. It was unveiled before a large crowd in 1902. A further royal statue, a bronze sculpture of King George V by Victor Greenhaugh, was unveiled during Ballarat's 1938 centenary year in Sturt Street and was financed by the public.

After Queen Victoria's second son, Prince Alfred, came in 1867, 12 further visits occurred: Victoria's third and fourth sons, Princes Albert and George, in 1881; Prince George, Duke of York, and his wife Mary (later George V and Queen Mary) in 1901; Edward, Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII), in 1920; Duke and Duchess of York (later George VI and Queen Elizabeth) in 1927; Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester, in 1934 and 1945 (later Australia's Governor-General 1945–47); Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh in 1954; Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, in 1958 (second visit); Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1974, and again with Princess Diana in 1983; Edward, Earl of Wessex in 1994; and Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh in 2000 (second visit and Ballarat was the only Victorian regional centre visited).[97] During each visit, large crowds of flag-waving children and adults greeted the royal visitors. For most of the twentieth century, Ballarat had a Victoria League organisation that met regularly to discuss promotion of the British royal family and to lobby for royal visits to the city.

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[95] Ibid., 259.

[96] Leckie, *Country Victoria's Own*.

[97] Roberts, *This is Ballarat*, 116.

A significant war commemoration statue was unveiled outside the Ballarat Town Hall in 1906. The Boer War statue was erected as a tribute to soldiers from Victoria who fought in South Africa in 1899–1902. The 2nd Victorian contingent reached Cape Town, South Africa, on 5 February 1900 and, after an exhausting campaign, they returned to Australia in April 1901. Fifteen men associated with Ballarat fought in the Boer War.[98] The statue foundation stone was laid by HRH the Duke of York in May 1901 and, in November 1906, Governor-General Lord Northcote opened it before a crowd of 'many thousands'.[99] The towering sculpture features a soldier on horseback and a soldier standing by the horse. Inglis notes that it was at once 'imperial, national, provincial and municipal':[100]

> The longest list of names appeared in Victoria's second city, Ballarat, where the monument unveiled in 1904[101] recorded the names, arranged by contingent and rank, of some 250 Victorians serving in Victorian and other units who had died at the war. The memorial identified itself as at once imperial, national, provincial and municipal: Ballarat's tribute 'In Honour of Australian Soldiers who fought in South Africa 1899–1902', commemorating individually 'Victorians who died for the Empire'. In the rich prose of the *Ballarat Courier,* they had poured out their warm blood on kopje and velte and cemented the foundation of empire'.[102]

Figure 4: Boer War statue in Sturt Street
Photograph taken by Phil Roberts in September 2015

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[98] Max Chamberlain and Robin Droogleever, *The War with Johnny Boer 1899–1902* (Loftus, NSW: Australian Military History Publications, 2003).

[99] *Star* (Ballarat), November 2, 1906, 5.

[100] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 44.

[101] Inglis incorrectly states the unveiling was in 1904 when it actually took place in 1906.

[102] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 44.

The creation of the Boer War statue in such a prominent place outside the Ballarat Town Hall and centrally placed in Ballarat's main street was by design. In no uncertain terms, the impressive statue, coupled with the nearby Queen Victoria statue, stated to the local citizens and visitors that Ballarat was providing full support to Britain and the empire. But the statue was more than a local memorial in that it identified soldiers from throughout Victoria that served in the Boer War and was symbolic of the belief of the people of Ballarat that their city was important on the national stage.

In Sturt Street, to the west of Victoria Square, there are a series of military commemorations. Doveton Street is 'graced' by the George V statue. Then, further west the memorial plaque to Gallipoli hero and Victoria Cross winner, William Dunstan, was dedicated in 2000 as a result of the federally funded Australia Remembers project of 1995. Moving westward, a statue sculpted by Louis Laumen of another World War One hero, Major General Harold 'Pompey' Elliott, was unveiled in 2011. Ross McMullen's masterful book, *Pompey Elliott*, details the career of this charismatic, controversial, outstandingly successful military leader and prominent post-war senator and records:

> Elliott was a household name and widely admired in his time, he was a prominent identity in the traumatic Great War era that influenced Australia profoundly, and the life he lived constituted a remarkable story.[103]

Figure 5: Pompey Elliott statue in Sturt Street
Photograph taken by Phil Roberts in September 2015

[103] McMullen, *Pompey Elliott*, xiii.

The move for a statue of Elliott was 'spearheaded' by former students of Ballarat College. After Elliott tragically committed suicide in March 1931, from the late 1940s on the anniversary of his death, supporters gathered at Elliott's graveside in Burwood to honour and remember him. Elliott's statue was unveiled on 7 May 2011 during Ballarat's Heritage Weekend. The Ballarat Foundation had financed the statue that came about through the efforts of John Birt and David Shaw, both Ballarat College Old Collegians and champion Essendon footballers, supported by another Essendon footballer and Ballarat Gold Bus proprietor, Don McKenzie, and media personality Tony Charlton. At the unveiling, the guest speaker was Ross McMullen and the Ballarat Clarendon College band provided the music. Birt stated, 'I don't think I have ever spent a better day. I responded with emotion to both the speeches and the music. I am proud to have an association with this great man'.[104]

Another memorial connected to World War One is further west along Sturt Street. To commemorate both the renowned poet Adam Lindsay Gordon and the horses used in World War One, the Adam Lindsay Gordon Society had a bronze statue of a horse erected in 1969. This marked the centenary of the poet's living in Ballarat during 1867–68 when he resided in Bath Lane behind the town hall and commemorated the death in World War One of 958,600 horses and mules used by Australians.

In 2015 a book concerning World War One commemoration at Ballarat's cemeteries was published. In the foreword of *They Answered Their Country's Call*, Senator Michael Ronaldson, in noting the sacrifice of World War One volunteers who were killed, states:

> There was simply no way for local families, save the well-to-do, to visit the battlefields in the immediate aftermath of the war. So, instead, they supported the erection of public memorials at home and, as this book shows, they remembered their loved ones on private headstones once parents or other siblings had died.[105]

Garry Snowden states a quiet stroll in Ballarat's Old and New Cemeteries is revealing about the Great War. Many headstones bear the Australian Rising Sun military insignia marking the graves of World War One servicemen and women who returned home. But

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[104] Phil Roberts, *Ballarat Clarendon College: One Hundred and Fifty Years* (Ballarat: Ballarat Clarendon College, 2014), 150.

[105] Michael Ronaldson, "Foreword" to Snowden, *They Answered*, 5.

other headstones reference 'our dear brother' or 'our beloved son' or simply 'our Jack' who were killed in action at Gallipoli, Belgium or France. The book pays brief tributes to 1350 soldiers and nurses from all walks of life that did not return from the war. The headstone inscriptions are important connections from that time to today.[106]

Events in Ballarat have mirrored Australian World War One commemoration. Since the 1990s, Anzac Day has had prominent federal government promotion and has led to an increasing community desire to remember the sacrifice of past servicemen, as well as women volunteers in different capacities, in April and also on Remembrance Day in November. In Ballarat this culminated in the dawn service on 25 April 2015 when approximately 25,000 stood in silence. In recent years, *The Courier* and a weekly newspaper, *The Miner*, have carried many articles about the commemoration of World War One. Many Ballarat people, young and old, women and men have made a pilgrimage to Gallipoli and the Western Front.

Both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day have become national and local occasions to eulogise the service of the military and reflect on war. At the local level, the Ballarat Commemorative Days Committee has organised well-attended services at the cenotaph in Sturt Street. Typically, the services take about an hour and are attended by local dignitaries, representatives from many community groups and the public. The ceremonies have a catafalque party of local soldiers, a guest speaker, wreath laying, the Ode, the Last Post, One Minute's Silence, the Response and a hymn.

The 2014 Remembrance Day Service ended with a blessing by Padre John Furness before the National Anthem was played. In part, he stated:

> Creator God, this day reminds us of all those lives lost in war and conflict, as well as the carnage that has been done to your creation. We remember all those who fought in the heat of the battle with courage—those who fell in terror—those unable to help their mates—and those who came through their ordeals of sunken ships, stricken aircraft, and those taken as prisoners who either died or returned home in the poorest of health. We remember those left behind—wives, husbands, sweethearts, parents, siblings and children who grew up without a parent to know and love.[107]

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[106] Snowden, *They Answered*, 9–10.

[107] Part of prayer spoken by Furness, Padre John at the Remembrance Day Service on 11 November 2014.

The tone of this blessing was designed to evoke thoughts about the ordeal and sacrifice of war. The padre was steering away from a militaristic approach and was focusing on both the hardship for those involved in the fighting and for those left 'at home'.

Every year across the nation, daily newspapers carry articles and reports of commemorative occasions associated with Anzac Day and Remembrance Day that are both based on the events of World War One. Journalists and others have attempted to come to terms with what they mean to Australia. In 2011 in a special Anzac Day edition of *The Age*, journalist Steve Meacham stated that Anzac Day was undergoing a transformation but 'will never die'. He discussed the pilgrimages of young Australians each year to Anzac Cove, Villers-Bretonneux and Kokoda and asked, 'Who could have foretold this 50 years ago?' He then recalled:

> 'In the late 1960s, even as Australian soldiers again fought overseas in a bitterly divisive war in Vietnam, virtually everyone in the academic world confidently predicted Anzac Day itself would fade inevitably into insignificance as, one by one, the veterans of the two world wars went to their graves'.[108]

In 2013 author and former diplomat Bruce Grant wrote:

> Why Anzac Day Works As Our Unofficial National Day
> Australians have struggled with celebrations of nationhood. We don't have the necessary symbols of 'revolution' or 'independence'; we are most naturally gifted at managing sporting fixtures. So Anzac Day stands out—well-organised, with a dramatic beginning (dawn service) a core of emotion (danger and sacrifice) and a moral lesson ('lest we forget'). And the benefit of infrastructure. Memorials throughout the country are ready-made stage settings.[109]

While many writers have explained the resurgence of World War One commemoration in the terms mentioned above, others have attempted to emphasise the futility of this war. In an *Age* article, historian Bruce Scates made pertinent comments stating that 'Gallipoli was a global calamity, the futility of war is best acknowledged by mourning the suffering of all nations, not just our own and that it is time to see Gallipoli for what it was: pointless and obscene'.[110] In *The Courier* in 2014, an article by army veteran James Brown summarised information in his book *Anzac's Long Shadow*. He questioned Australia's

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[108] *Age* (Melbourne), April 25, 2011, special Anzac Day edition, 2.

[109] *Age* (Melbourne), April 27, 2013, 15.

[110] *Age* (Melbourne), April 25, 2012, 13.

spending on commemorating the Anzac tradition over four years that will cost 20 times the amount allocated by New Zealand. He added, 'Inexplicably, while we are planning to construct more war memorials, our Defence Force remains under-funded'.[111]

Ballarat has commemorated other wars and war experiences besides those in World War One. Along the central Sturt Street gardens, Ballarat has a number of commemorative items connected with World War Two. During this war, Ballarat, in keeping with other Australian cities, had reacted in a different manner than in World War One. News of the start of the war came through quickly on 3 September 1939 when listeners to Ballarat's 3BA or the national ABC heard British PM Neville Chamberlain say that sadly Britain was at war. Once the dangers of Japanese invasion became a possibility in 1941, support for the war effort was much stronger than in the earlier conflict. This time, the threat to Australia of attack from foreign forces appeared much more real and immediate. In *Life After Gold*, Bate contends that 'the nation was more self-confident, and Union Jacks were less in evidence than Australian flags. People felt more vulnerable; the civil war in Spain had shown what air power could do to cities'.[112]

During this war, Australian men and women were in military forces involved in many areas of the world and, due to possible attack on Australia, most people readily accepted national conscription. Nearly one million served in the navy, army, or air force in war zones and on the home front. About half of those serving saw active service, with the rest manning coastal defences, headquarters, supply depots, bases, training and other military areas around Australia. Initially, women could serve only in the Australian Army Nursing Service and Voluntary Aid Detachments (supporting nurses), but from mid-1941 women served in non-medical roles in all three armed services, performing military duties for the most part within Australia, as well as serving in the air force and naval nursing services. In the army, most Ballarat men were in the 2/8th of the 17th Brigade.[113]

The number of people from Ballarat serving was similar to World War One. Community members had had more formal education and secondary schools had larger enrolments.

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[111] *Courier* (Ballarat), February 28, 2014, 17.

[112] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 165.

[113] Leckie, *Country Victoria's Own*, 69.

Ballarat College had 274 former male students enlisted: 143 in the army, 98 in the air force, 25 in the navy and 8 nurses. Of the 30 killed, 20 were in the air force.[114] It is not known how many nurses served from the sister school, Clarendon. At Ballarat High School, the honour board records the names of 57 men and one nursing sister who gave their lives and 632 servicemen and women who returned.[115] At St Patrick's, 638 former students served with 38 of this number giving their lives.[116] Overall, there was strong community support for Australia's World War Two involvement.

Figure 6: Sir Albert Coates statue in Sturt Street
Photograph taken by Phil Roberts in September 2015

Close to the Pompey Elliott statue is one of World War Two prisoner of war surgeon Sir Albert Coates. The statue was sculpted by Louis Laumen and dedicated in 2000. Coates was a Ballarat boy who left school at eleven years of age, worked as a butcher, then bookbinder, matriculated through part-time studies, served in World War One, graduated as a doctor in 1924, and served in World War Two in Singapore, Sumatra, Burma and Thailand before becoming a prisoner of war in 1942, after which he saved many soldiers. The Albert Coates Memorial Trust was created in 1998 to raise funds for the statue that is surrounded by nine plaques depicting stages in Coates's life. The trust continued and

[114] Affleck, *Footsteps of Pompey*, xii.

[115] Roberts, *Duty Always*, 95.

[116] Naughtin, *History and Heritage*, 163–165.

provides annual lectures and scholarships for Mount Pleasant Primary School students and post-graduate training of rural emergency-care nurses.[117]

Figure 7: Cenotaph in Sturt Street
Photograph taken by Phil Roberts in September 2015

In the central gardens along Sturt Street by Dawson and Lyons Streets is the cenotaph, which was dedicated in November 1949 by Governor Sir Dallas Brooks before 3000 people. Mayor Cr N Callow said, 'I hope our citizens will come to regard it as sacred ground and to recognise its purpose each time they pass'.[118] Originally close to the RSL building, it quickly became the site for the Anzac and Remembrance Day services. Nearby, the *Eternal Flame*, a Peter Blizzard sculpture unveiled in 1995 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War Two, is green on three sides and gold on the fourth side to catch the light.[119]

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[117] Albert Coates Memorial Trust. Accessed September 10, 2017. www.albertcoates.com.au.

[118] *Age* (Melbourne), November 25, 1949.

[119] Ballarat Visitor Information Centre, "Ballarat's Historic Statues Walking Tour," accessed September 10, 2017, http://www.visitballarat.com.au/uploads/media/default/0001/66/3bf642c2c8317d1e4aaa99208ea2f1ccc42b983c.pdf.

Figure 8: Australian Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial in Ballarat
Photograph taken by Phil Roberts in September 2015

The major work of local sculptor Peter Blizzard is at the southern end of the botanical gardens. The Australian Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial has six central basalt obelisks recording countries where Australians were held prisoner and a 130-metre black granite wall naming 37,000 imprisoned by the enemy during the Boer War, World War One, World War Two and the Korean War (there were none in the Vietnam War). Since Governor-General Michael Jeffery dedicated it in February 2004 before a large gathering, many people have appreciated the memorial and in 2008 the Rudd Government classified it as a National Memorial. This was the only memorial of its kind outside of Canberra to be given the honour.[120] On most days, visitors attend the memorial and it is now a major attraction that brings visitors to Ballarat.[121] In February 2017, Governor-General Sir Peter Cosgrove assisted in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the fall of Singapore, where of the 15,000 Australians taken prisoner over 8000 died.

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[120] ABC Ballarat, accessed on September 10, 2017, www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2008/09/30/23781.htm.

[121] Australian Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial, accessed September 10, 2017, www.powmemorialballarat.com.au.

Two more structures in the central gardens along Sturt Street commemorate wars that are more recent. The continuation of construction of war memorials reinforces the argument, postulated in this thesis, that the people of Ballarat have made a determined effort to remember the service and sacrifice of military personnel for all Australian wars. To the west of the cenotaph is the *Lest We Forget* Korean, Borneo, Malayan and Vietnam conflict memorial dedicated in 2000. Rosemary, the plant of remembrance, frames the memorial and the sawn bluestone cross powerfully commemorates the South East Asian wars. The timing of the building of this commemorative structure is significant in that Vietnam and other veterans of the time were in the process of recognition after many years of hostility. Throughout Australia in the late 1960s and early 1970s, opposition to Australia's involvement in Vietnam peaked, and soldiers returning home from Vietnam were often met with a mood of indifference and, in some cases, open hostility.[122] The formation of a Vietnam Veterans' Association in 1980 began the process of Australians changing their attitudes to those who had served in Vietnam. By the time the *Lest We Forget* memorial was dedicated in 2000, it appears the majority of Australians had come to respect the Vietnam veterans.[123]

In February 2008, a memorial featuring a large bluestone boulder with a plaque recognising the service of Ballarat's conscripted national servicemen and women was unveiled on National Service Day, 14 February. This was a further move towards 'healing' for those who had been conscripted during 1965–72 and at last the 'Nashos' had a memorial recognising their contribution to the Australian defence forces. In 2013 Bob Elworthy, president of the Victorian Vietnam Veterans Association, observed:

> For the Vietnam veterans 1972 was almost like a national washing of your hands of the whole (war) … the attitude was: 'Let's forget about it". When you had 50,000 veterans here who had served their country really well, who hadn't had a chance to express how they felt about the war and hadn't had a chance to be publically acknowledged … a lot went to ground, shunned society and it took a long time for that feeling of being dishonoured to heal.

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[122] The last Australian combat troops came home from Vietnam on December 22 1972. *Sunday Age* (Melbourne), December 22, 2013, 7.

[123] Discussion re Australian community acceptance of the Vietnam veterans is in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

He stated many young lives were shattered permanently and an official homecoming parade was not held until 1985.[124] Recently, there is more awareness about recognising veterans, and in Ballarat and elsewhere, annually on 18 August the Vietnam veterans mark the anniversary of the 1966 decisive battle of Long Tan.[125]

In the background, although Ballarat has had a strong union and labour history and has had a federal Labor member, Catherine King, since 2001, the city and district retain a conservative and traditional bias. Besides the Avenue and Arch, the prominent symbolism in Ballarat in 2017 embraces the Boer War statue, the military statues along the spine of Sturt Street and the Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial. These memorials provide an opportunity for the people of Ballarat, through their collective memory, to embrace the traditions of the past. In coming chapters of this thesis, the question of why many people in the Ballarat community have a strong attachment towards the commemoration of military events is explored further and this provides a focus for the case study in Chapter Eight.

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[124] *Sunday Age* (Melbourne), December 22, 2013, 7.

[125] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 18, 2014, 7.

Chapter 4: THE AVENUE OF HONOUR

4.1 Introduction

In 'Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*', Nora writes:

> Memory is blind to all but the group it binds … memory is by nature multiple yet specific, collective, plural, and yet individual … memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects.[1]

These words are very appropriate for Ballarat's Avenue of Honour. The group that binds is the set of soldiers, nurses, airmen and seamen commemorated, the descendants of each person who has a commemorative tree, members of the Ballarat community and especially those connected with the Lucas clothing factory and other visitors to the Avenue from locations outside Ballarat. In this thesis, the importance of collective memory is emphasised and, in a sense, the individual trees in the Avenue become, in Nora's words, 'concrete in spaces, gestures, images and objects'.[2]

Further, in the abstract to his Doctor of Philosophy in Geography at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, JM Morgan makes pertinent comments about avenue of honour trees:

> The commemorative tree has been a popular commemorative marker for royal events, the marking of place and as memorial for war dead. It has been as effective an anchor of memory in the landscape as any other form. The memory ascribed to these trees must be understood in terms of the era in which the tree was planted and not just from a distance. Over time the memory represented by the trees and its prescribed meanings, has changed.[3]

The comments of Nora and Morgan apply to Ballarat's Avenue of Honour. The discussion in this chapter is focused on World War One when the Avenue tree planting occurred, while later in this thesis there is an analysis of how the memory and purpose represented by the trees has changed over time.

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[1] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 9.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. M. Morgan, "Arboreal Eloquence: Trees and Commemoration" (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2008), ii.

This chapter and the following chapters consolidate the main theoretical argument of this thesis that the planting and long-term maintenance of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch was to commemorate the sacrifices of World War One servicemen and women. As previously discussed, the influential works of Nora and other theorists emphasised the importance of memory as part of commemoration. How the planting of the Avenue fulfilled this drive for memory and its relationship to heritage is analysed. Nora indicates that an important part of war commemoration was sustaining memory as part of remembrance.[4] The planting of the Avenue combined nationalistic fervour, as postulated by Anderson,[5] and attempts to overcome individual grief caused by war, as discussed by Winter[6] and Ziino.[7] The nationalistic impetus was partly created by Ballarat's belief in its importance within Australia and its desire for national recognition.

The Avenue, planted during 1917–19, was a major landmark that commemorated World War One. Since 1838, Ballarat, just 110 kilometres from Melbourne, developed into a stately, proud and prosperous city. The Avenue was planted in a city where the union movement and the Labor Party had a strong foothold and where the conscription campaigns of 1916–17 caused major rifts within the society. Despite this, the community united to undertake this significant war commemoration, and since then the Avenue has remained an outstanding feature among the city's memorials and garden culture.

In explaining the context of the Avenue's planting, a discussion is undertaken about the origins of avenues of honour and their relationship to movements such as the annual Arbor Day plantings, the nineteenth-century impetus towards a garden culture and memorial tree planting during World War One. Next, this chapter focuses on why such a highly publicised avenue was planted in Ballarat and on details about the eight Avenue plantings in 1917–19. Although the Lucas Girls completed most of the planting, many Ballarat community organisations were involved. During 1917, a tug-of-war between the Lucas organisation, as key Avenue supporters, and representatives of other Ballarat communities, who wished to promote other avenues, took place. In contrast to many other

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[4] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 12–13.

[5] B Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[6] Winter, *Remembering War*.

[7] Ziino, *A Distant Grief*.

areas where memorial avenues deteriorated over time, on the western Ballarat Avenue a small but determined group continued to ensure it was maintained.

4.2 The Origins of Avenues of Honour

Avenues of honour are a phenomenon with a long history. Trees symbolise life and growth so they are viewed as an appropriate vehicle to commemorate the dedication of a nation's military. Frequently, avenues were about the 'war dead', although the Ballarat Avenue was planted to recognise local people who enlisted in World War One. They were a permanent visual reminder of the armed forces' service of local residents, the deaths of many who served and the impact of war on a particular community.

It is difficult to define exactly the requirements of an avenue of honour. For example, in 1902 two oak trees were planted at Apsley in the West Wimmera Shire to remember the Boer War 'Relief of the Siege of Mafeking' in South Africa. Beside the oak trees, an explanatory plaque was added.[8] Does this qualify to be an avenue? In general, an avenue of honour consisted of a row of trees that usually was planted on both sides of a prominent local road or highway. In many cases, individual trees had commemorative plaques attached or placed nearby, although often, instead of the plaques, a roadside sign announced an avenue.

In reality, there are examples of memorial avenues worldwide and many theories exist about their origin. During the Roman Empire, rows of trees were planted in countries that the Romans had conquered. Wadsley states, 'The tree once common for memorial purposes in Greece and Rome, was revived as a symbol of wealth and power with the rise of the garden'.[9] In the 'Middle Ages', timber produced from forests was vital to the way of life of many communities and often rows of trees were planted. In overseeing the French Army in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had trees planted to create shady areas for the French army and, after the American Civil War of the 1860s, there were commemorative plantings. In the mid-

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[8] Heritage Council of Victoria, "Victorian Heritage Database Report: Apsley Mafeking Trees," accessed June 5, 2017, vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/161954/download-report

[9] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 50.

nineteenth century, there was a global movement to bring nature into cities in parks, avenues and boulevards. Central Park in New York, where a park of 750 acres of prime land on Manhattan Island was established in the 1850s, is an example of this new movement.

Robert Freestone in *Urban Nation: Australia's Planning Heritage*[10] traces the history of the development of parks and open spaces in Australia and observed that 'a major achievement of the nineteenth century was the reservation of large tracts of open space for commons, public domains, botanic gardens, and government farms'.[11] Also, he states:

> Early visions saw the landscape transformed by the picturesque tradition of improvement and beautification. The early directors of botanical gardens were Australia's major open space designers from the 1860s to the 1890s.[12]

It can be argued that the avenues of honour were part of this movement to beautify the landscape. Oline Richards in 'The Avenue in Peace: Honour Avenues in the Great War in Western Australia'[13] discusses this link and wrote:

> Memorial parks, gardens and tree plantings feature as an important category of memorial in Australia, when viewed in the context of the largely undeveloped open landscapes of many of the cities and towns. These living memorials combined features of the practical and symbolic. They provided places for commemorative services and private contemplation, as well as facilities for community recreation and importantly, contributed to the enhancement of the designed urban landscape.[14]

In contrast to the environmental beautification through the garden movement, in Australia, and particularly in central Victoria, the gold rush period of the 1850s and 1860s devastated the landscape. Miners cut down trees in the vicinity of the areas of gold mining as the timber was used to shore up the sides of the shafts or in winter for firewood. This was very much the situation around Ballarat and Bendigo. A report of the Royal

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[10] Robert Freestone, *Urban Nation: Australia's Planning Heritage* (Collingwood, Vic.: CSIRO Publishing, 2010).

[11] Ibid., 241.

[12] Ibid., 242.

[13] Oline Richards, "The Avenue in Peace: Honour Avenues of the Great War in Western Australia," *Australian Garden History*, no. 1 (2003): 109–23.

[14] Ibid., 110.

Commission on State Forests and Timber Reserves in 1901 revealed the extent of the wholesale destruction of Victoria's forest areas through excessive harvesting and gold mining activities.[15] In Ballarat there was a clear distinction between the landscape in the east and in the west. Generally, the east, the main surface-mining area, had a scarred surface, while the west was part of 'Beautiful Ballarat'.

Despite the landscape destruction brought about by the gold rush, Ballarat and surrounding districts had a strong tradition of gardening and beautification of the environment. Following the December 1851 survey by WS Urquhart, the first major street established in Ballarat was Sturt Street with a substantial three chains (60 metres) width and two carriageways with a wide central medium strip. Trees were planted and a garden bed was laid out between each row, leaving a central path.[16] Towards the end of the decade, in 1858 the Ballarat Botanical Gardens were founded on the western shores of Lake Wendouree. Bate in *Lucky City* describes the development of the garden city:

> The *Star* pictured strangers in the future greeting 'our home here' as the abode of taste and natural beauty as well as wealth—as Trollope did in 1871—and it urged private citizens to plant wattles, gums, chestnuts, mulberries, and numerous other trees, looking to the export of fruit and silk and the acclimatization of more and more plants.[17]

Community leaders in the late nineteenth century were conscious of the importance of afforestation and embraced the new Arbor Day movement that was the genesis for Australia to re-establish forested areas. This movement began in Nebraska in 1872, reached Ballarat by 1890 and, from then, tree planting became an annual feature. The first Ballarat Arbor Day plantings were in Victoria Park[18] and, by the early twentieth century, local schoolchildren were encouraged to plant trees as part of Arbor Day celebrations.

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[15] Suzanne Hunt, "Where the Sweet Australian Peas Bloomed: State School Gardens in Victoria 1901–1914" in *Planting the Nation*, ed. Georgina Whitehead (Hawthorn, Vic.: Australian Garden History Society, 2001), 22.

[16] Katrina McDougal and Elizabeth Vines, *Sturt Street Gardens Ballarat, Victorian Conservation and Landscape Management Plan* (Ballarat: City of Ballarat, 2007), 4.

[17] Bate, *Lucky City*, 180.

[18] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 24, 1890, cited in Maxwell S. Harris and Jennifer J. Burrell, *Panoramas of Ballaarat* (Ballarat: Mid City Printers, 1998), 77.

This planting of trees was part of a broader encouragement for schoolchildren to plant trees. In the late nineteenth century, the Superintendent of Schools in California expressed the patriotic view that 'trees everywhere assert a controlling influence', and 'every sapling planted makes homes happier' and continued with the following:

> Our schools bear a relation to the State, but a much closer relation to the family, and when school opens the family life of the whole district is stirred up as if it were a festival day. We should not be satisfied till the school grounds, as well as our homes, are such in themselves and in their surroundings as shall not only be attractive, but shall surely tend to strengthen, elevate and ennoble human character.[19]

His views were recorded in the Victorian *Education Gazette* of April 1901.[20] A year later Frank Tate, as the incoming Victorian Education Department Director of Education, further revitalised the state's education system and added to the impetus to plant trees. As noted in Chapter Two of this thesis, Tate and Charles Long through the monthly *Education Gazette* and *School Paper* played crucial roles in developing the directions of school education.[21] Tate had a vision that schools needed to move from the rigid study of the 3Rs—reading, writing and arithmetic—to a much more expanded curriculum. His philosophy included encouraging a focus on the care of the environment and embracing scientific study, nature study and physical education. Prizes were given for the creation of school gardens and Arbor Day tree planting was encouraged. Suzanne Hunt emphasises this occurrence by stating that by the time of World War One the state school garden movement was well and truly entrenched as an educational tool—to learn through gardening experience.[22]

The move towards planted tree avenues in Australia evolved from the early twentieth century. During the second Boer War of 1899–1902, it is known that four avenues of honour were planted in Australia—in 1900 an avenue with 107 trees was planted at West Maitland, New South Wales, and then in 1902 three avenues were established. At Beaconsfield, Tasmania, 200 trees were planted, just 4 trees at Huonville, Tasmania, and

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[19] Hunt, "Where Sweet Peas Bloomed," 23.

[20] Victorian Education Department, *The Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, April 1901, 135, quoted in Hunt, "Where Sweet Peas Bloomed," 23.

[21] See section 2.3 of this thesis.

[22] Hunt, "Where Sweet Peas Bloomed," 29.

80 at Horsham, Victoria. Also, as previously indicated, in 1902, 2 oak trees were planted at Apsley, Victoria, to commemorate Mafeking's relief.[23]

The information about the commemorative tree planting associated with the Boer War is of recent origin. After the establishment of many avenues of honour during and after World War One, and to a lesser extent after World War Two, in most localities the memory of this activity was lost. Often avenues deteriorated when trees aged and died, not to be replaced. Memories about the planting and existence of these avenues moved into the world of mythology.

4.3 Early World War One Tree Planting

As indicated, planting trees as part of commemoration was well established before 1914. Once the extent of the carnage caused by the war was realised by the Australian community, ways of dealing with the horror were explored. Avenues of trees provided an inexpensive and immediate solution as a community memorial.

Just 25 days after the war commenced, a commemorative tree was planted in South Australia. During a ceremony as part of Wattle Day celebrations on 29 August 1914, the Governor of South Australia, Sir Henry Galway, in the company of Lady Galway and other dignitaries, planted an English Oak that still stands by the East Gate entrance to the Adelaide Oval. Known as the 'War Memorial Oak', it is considered to be of national importance for it is recognised as the 'first memorial tree to be planted for the Great War by any of the countries involved'.[24] Also, as recognition of the states and territories forming the Commonwealth of Australia, attending dignitaries planted eight wattle trees.

In late 1914, commemorative tree planting was proposed in Germany by landscape architect Willi Lange. Using the research of Stepan Goebel in *The Great War and*

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[23] Australian Garden History Society (AGHS), "Avenues of Honour, Memorial & Other Avenues," accessed June 16, 2016, https://gardenhistorysociety.org.au/news/download_pdf/59,12, 28, 33; Heritage Council of Victoria, "Apsley Mafeking Trees."

[24] RSL Virtual War Memorial. "An Outstanding Innings - 102 Not Out! Adelaide's War Memorial Oak." Accessed August 29, 2017. https://rslvirtualwarmemorial.org.au/research/home-page-archives/adelaides-war-memorial-oak/.

Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940,[25] Wadsley mentions that Lange's concept was for oak trees to be planted for fallen soldiers in heroes' groves (*Heldenhain*) and circular groves of honour (*Ehenhain*).

In 1987 Haddow completed a Master of Arts thesis and then published two articles about her thesis topic of 'Avenues of Honour in the Victorian Landscape'.[26] Haddow's thesis and articles were key studies in rediscovering the importance of memorial avenues but, as indicated in Chapter Two of this thesis, she made some inaccurate comments and subsequent authors, such as Inglis and Beaumont, quoted her claims about the avenues.

Australia has by far the greatest number of avenues, often leading to the belief that they are an exclusively Australian phenomenon. The initial World War One Australian avenues appear to be the 25 oak and 18 birch trees planted at Mount Lofty, Stirling, in South Australia in September 1915[27] and the 26 trees that were planted at Eurack (near Colac) in Victoria in May 1916.[28]

However, it is likely that there were earlier avenues of honour planted during World War One. An item in *The Courier* at the end of June 1917 mentioned the first planting of the Lal Lal Avenue 'commencing two years ago'. Under the heading, 'Lal Lal Anzac Avenue', the article states:

> Arbor day was observed by the local school on Friday when a number of Cyprus trees were planted on the Lal Lal to Clarendon road, completing an avenue named by the children 'Anzac Avenue' that commenced two years ago. The first tree was planted by the youngest pupil, Sheila Maher, in memory of the late Pte Charles Way (an old scholar of the school), who died of wounds

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[25] Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75, cited in Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 52.

[26] Janine Haddow, "Avenues of Honour: A Victorian Cultural Landscape," *Landscape Australia* no. 3 (1988): 306-309; Janine Haddow, "Avenues of Honour," *Meanjin* 47, no. 3 (1988): 421-425.

[27] *Register* (Adelaide), September 10, 1915, 10; *Country* (Stirling, SA), September 10, 1915, 8.

[28] Heritage Council of Victoria, "Victorian Heritage Database Report: Eurack Avenue of Honour," accessed June 10, 2017, vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/125409/download – report.

> received in action in France last August: and the last tree was planted by Mr R. Viccars, postmaster, just outside the post office.[29]

In a book published in 2016, Richard Aitken[30] cites a statement in the *Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record* of 22 July 1915 that the people of Renmark in South Australia planted an avenue of honour for men who volunteered for the front.[31] There may be other avenues that were planted in 1915 and in future they may be rediscovered.

As mentioned previously, from the early years of the twentieth century teachers and children were encouraged to plant trees in the vicinity of their schools. By 1916 the *Education Gazette* and the *School Paper* advocated the planting of memorial avenues and many schools complied. Before Arbor Day, meetings were held of school and local council representatives to plan plantings on the designated day. Triolo in the chapter 'Our Grief and Obligation' in *Our Schools and the War*[32] discusses school war memorials. Although she does not specifically mention avenues of honour, she alludes to the importance at schools of 'leafy memorials' during World War One. She states:

> Trees dedicated to the fallen were probably the most inexpensive, non-controversial, expansive and romantic memorials. In school grounds they provided shelter for generations of children, boughs on which to climb, leafy play-spaces, and homes for the 'Nature' that facilitated Nature Study, Arbor Day and war-related commemorations.[33]

A Victorian 1916 *Education Gazette* gave tree-planting guidance. It stated:

> In connexion with the instructions for the celebration of Arbor Day, 1916, published on page 76 of last month's number of this paper, the valuable suggestion has been made by Mr. Donald Fraser, an inspector of schools in New South Wales, that, to commemorate the landing of the Australian and New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli, avenues of native trees should be planted on the coming Arbor Day. On Anzac Day, an 'Anzac avenue' was established in the Domain, Melbourne, and there is no reason why every school should not have a leafy memorial in honor of the brave dead.[34]

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[29] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 30, 1917, 10.

[30] Richard Aitken, *Planting Dreams: Shaping Australian Gardens* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2016), 135.

[31] *Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record*, July 22, 1915, 4.

[32] Triolo, *Our Schools*, 231–57.

[33] Triolo, *Our Schools*, 247.

[34] Victorian Education Department, *The Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, May 18, 1916, quoted in Gemma Starr, "Campaign for an Avenue of Honour," *Australian Garden History* 28, no. 4 (April 2017): 5.

Interestingly the *Education Gazette* article continued by stating that: 'If there was not room in the school playground, the planting could, with the consent and co-operation of local authorities be carried out in a public reserve, or alongside some road in the vicinity of the school.'[35]

A Victorian Heritage Council report of 2014, noted that after encouragement by the Education Department to plant trees specific to Australia, 39 known Anzac Avenues were planted by schools' Arbor Days during June and July 1916. [36] One of these avenues was at the recently reopened Bendigo East Primary School. In an 'Anzac Avenue', 16 native Australian trees—sugar gums planted beside wattles or flowering gums in a regular pattern—were planted on Arbor Day 16 June 1916.[37] This was unusual in that most World War One avenues had non-native trees.

It is possible that Tate received inspiration from a suggestion about avenues of honour made by Professor Ernest Scott of Melbourne University in a letter to the Town of Brighton and reported by the *Preston Leader* on 20 April 1916:

> The association of heroes with trees is so entirely appropriate that one would venture the suggestion that a tree should be planted in honor of every soldier who has gone from Australia to take part in the war.[38]

The *Preston Leader* journalist included pertinent observations about the avenues and mentioned, 'Keeping green the memory of our boys in this way has been discussed by local Councils including in Northcote'. He added:

> A move should be made soon to identify sites before the planting season commences. While achieving the primary purpose of immortalizing our heroes, such plantations will give an added beauty and healthfulness to what ever locality is blessed with them, whether it be in city, town or

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Heritage Council of Victoria. "Assessment of Cultural Heritage Significance and Executive Director Recommendation to the Heritage Council." Accessed June 24, 2017. http://heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/East-Bendigo-Primary-School-and-Avenue-of-Honour-ED-report.pdf.

[37] Starr, "Campaign for an Avenue of Honour," 5.

[38] *Preston Leader* (Melbourne), April 20, 1916, 2.

> country ... it should be known to every man serving that somewhere in his own country there would grow a tree telling his tale.[39]

The 1916 avenues planted by school communities preceded the Ballarat Avenue, where the first plantings were on 4 June 1917. Nevertheless, Ballarat's Avenue was one of the first and most significant in Australia and many other communities looked to the Ballarat Avenue as the forerunner of their avenue. It was central to the Western District area, where the largest concentration of Victoria's more than 200 World War One avenues occurred. Tourist information about Ballarat printed in the 1920s often stated that the Ballarat Avenue was the first Australian avenue but, clearly, this is incorrect.[40]

Another major impetus to the planting of Ballarat's Avenue was the effort of the Hughes government to improve recruiting of eligible men to serve in the Australian overseas military forces. Inglis ties the avenues directly to recruiting and in *Sacred Places*, after stating that the cenotaph was a 'deeply imperial form' of memorial, records:

> One other novelty, the Avenue of Honour, was indigenous. The first examples were planted during the war in response to official initiative, when the Victorian State Recruiting Committee wrote to all municipalities and shires in 1917 recommending that an assurance should be given to every intending recruit that 'his name will be memorialised in an AVENUE OF HONOUR'. Among the towns which responded, Ballarat was committed by 1918 to nearly 4000 plaqued trees. [41]

Inglis references Haddow and an article in *The Soldier at Home and Abroad* on 7 September 1917[42] and implied the initial planting of the avenues came as a result of the recruiting letter. Clearly, this is incorrect—the first Ballarat planting was well before the letter was sent.[43] The *Soldier* article states that tree planting was to provide returned soldier employment and commemoration[44] and then quotes the Victorian State Recruiting Committee letter:

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Annually, the booklet *Ballarat the Beautiful* was distributed by the Ballarat Tourism organisation.

[41] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 149.

[42] Ibid, 599.

[43] Ibid. 149.

[44] Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (NSW Branch), *The Soldier at Home and Abroad* (Sydney), September 7, 1917, 25.

> With a view to doing justice to the (returned) soldier, and to stimulate recruiting, an assurance should be given to the intending recruit that his name will be memoralised and perpetuated for all time in an AVENUE OF HONOR, to be erected in your district.
>
> This will confer the honor to each man who is asked to fight, and, if necessary, die for his country. Honor will then be paid to him in the BEST POSSIBLE FORM and when he returns he will feel that the tree which has been planted in his honor is a fitting and permanent memorial of the worthy part he has taken in defending the Empire, his country, his flag, and civilization. His family will be equally proud of his living memorial.

The letter continues by stating that the government leaders and the Governor-General supported the 'system of tree planting' and mentions avenues of honour planted in Ballarat, Bendigo, Sunshine and various other places in Victoria. The article concludes by stating that the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA) wanted cooperation from all Australian citizens in this.[45]

It is notable that the recruiting letter wording emphasises soldier recognition. Speakers at the time of the plantings also alluded to this. Dargarvel, in a 1999 article,[46] focused on the comments of Colonel Hardy at the occasion of the third 1917 planting of the Avenue on 1 September. The *Courier* report stated that after Mayor Cr Bell spoke, 'cheers were then given for Lucas and Co. and their young ladies', and following this:

> Col Hardy spoke of the cheering effect which news of what was being done for them in Australia had upon the boys at the Front. They would look upon themselves as very greatly indebted to those who had planted that beautiful avenue, which would stand for years, and draw the attention of everybody who passed. He was rather proud of being one of their boys himself, and wished to thank them for planting a tree for him.[47]

The *Star* report of the same occasion emphasised recruiting and mentioned Lieutenant Colonel Hardy stating that 'the lads at the front would stick it out even if they could not get the reinforcements which should be forthcoming'.[48] Previously a report in *The Courier* on 11 July stated:

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[45] Ibid., 25–26.

[46] Dargavel, "Trees Age," 41.

[47] *Courier* (Ballarat), September 3, 1917, 5.

[48] *Star* (Ballarat), September 3, 1917, 5.

> That the City of Melbourne should follow the example set by Ballarat and plant avenues of trees to commemorate the names of soldiers is suggested by Capt. GJC Dyett, vice-president of the Returned Soldiers' League, in a letter to the Lord Mayor.[49]

In his thesis, 'Arboreal Eloquence: Trees and Commemoration', Morgan alludes to Dargavel's comment above and states that 'the active promotion of the "avenue of honour" concept was undertaken by the Victorian State Recruitment Committee'.[50] In turn, Wadsley uses Morgan's comment to state that the recruiting recommendation came in 'response' to the Ballarat planting, rather than before it.[51]

The wide publicity the first planting of the Ballarat Avenue on 4 June received no doubt led members of the State Recruiting Committee to perceive the potential for more recruits. Glowing reports in early June were recorded in many publications including *The Age,*[52] and *The Argus.*[53] The *Draper of Australasia* reported under the heading of 'Ballarat Business takes the lead':

> A noble and Affecting Memorial to the Soldiers who enlisted from Ballarat has been originated by the firm of E. Lucas & Co. Pty. Ltd., Ballarat, wholesale manufacturers of costumes, blouses, children's dresses and underwear, and has been carried out with the help of friends in the district by their staff of 450 young ladies.[54]

This extensive publicity about the memorial to individual soldiers is likely to have come to the notice of many people, including those who wished to promote the war effort by encouraging further enlistments of eligible men.

A further piece of important information from the previously mentioned recruiting letter quoted in *Soldier* on 7 September 1917 appears in the third paragraph of the letter where it states:

> This system of tree planting was first publicly advised by the Victorian Minister of Forests, the Hon. T. Livingston and has been enthusiastically approved by the Governor General, the Prime

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[49] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 11, 1917, 2.

[50] Morgan, "Arboreal Eloquence," 142.

[51] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 20.

[52] *Age* (Melbourne), June 5, 1917.

[53] *Argus* (Melbourne), June 5, 1917; *Argus* (Melbourne), June 7, 1917, 8.

[54] *Draper of Australasia* (Melbourne), June 27, 1917.

> Minister, the Minister of Defence and the Premier of Victoria at public ceremonies of planting Avenues of Honor to soldiers at Ballarat, Bendigo, Sunshine and various other places in Victoria.[55]

It is significant that the Victorian Minister of Forests, Thomas Livingston, is mentioned in this letter as initiating tree planting. Livingston, who as a student had attended the state school at Scarsdale and was formerly a schoolteacher and then a journalist,[56] had toured Scarsdale and the Ballarat District on Anzac Day 1917. A report in *The Age* recorded:

> AFFORESTATION: TREE PLANTING IN THE BALLARAT DISTRICT
> BALLARAT—The Minister for Mines and Forests, Mr T Livingston, visited Ballarat on Wednesday. He made a call at Scarsdale, where in company with Mr Chatham, MLA and other representative men, he inspected the local plantation which is associated with the afforestation movement.

The report continued in noting that the party—which included the mayor of Ballarat East, Cr Levy; A Bell, MLC; R McGregor, MLA; and WF Coltman of the Forward Ballarat Movement—inspected the country at Canadian, Eureka and the Ballarat Orphanage farm at Mount Xavier. Coltman had 'submitted a scheme to the Minister embodying tree planting proposals, in furtherance of the district repatriation movement' and 'the Minister approved of a number of suggestions in the scheme'.[57]

This report provided evidence that, before the Ballarat Avenue was first planted in June 1917, discussions about tree planting had been occurring in the local community and an environment favourable to tree planting had been established. Further, the mention of 'repatriation' in the newspaper report emphasised the connection between returning soldiers and tree planting.

4.4 War Commemoration during World War One

Many factors came together to bring about the planting of the avenues during and after the war. Grieving families on the home front were struggling to cope with the reality of the wartime including the sense of loss as the lists of war dead were recorded in the local newspapers.

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[55] *Soldier*, 25.

[56] *Wikipedia*, s.vv. "Thomas Livingston," accessed January 12, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Livingston.

[57] *Age* (Melbourne), April 26, 1917, 8.

People searched for a way in which to recognise the sacrifice of local servicemen and women and to remember them and their actions. This was part of the 'heritage of war'. As Australian communities explored ways in which the deeds of overseas voluntary forces could be remembered and legitimised, planting an avenue of honour was one method of the 'production of heritage'. Living trees provided a way to develop an enduring identity during the process of remembrance. As well, an indication of the death of a soldier by a cross close to the tree brought an 'enduring legacy of trauma'.

In the introduction to *The Heritage of War* Gegner and Ziino point out:

> If heritage can be understood as the selective use of the past as cultural and political resources in the present, then there are few fields more productive for understanding that process than the heritage of war. War mobilizes militaries, labour and material, but it also mobilizes identities, mentalities and emotions; it produces its heroes and its victims, and enduring legacies of trauma.[58]

They then argue that the remembrance of war is fundamentally a political process. The 'production of heritage is deeply implicated' in the process of shaping and sustaining identities, providing legitimacy to political systems and underscoring territorial claims.[59] As is discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, this argument is in line with Anderson's contention in *Imagined Communities*[60] that war commemoration was connected with the directions created by the nation or state. Under the direction of the prime minister who was in office for most of World War One, Billy Hughes, the federal government was very keen to promote the importance of the war effort and assist with commemoration of the efforts of the nation's voluntary army.

A further aspect of Australian war commemoration was that those killed in World War One were buried overseas. A substantial number of the bodies of the dead were not identified and they were buried as 'Known only to God'. Beaumont states in her chapter concerning '1917: The Worst Year':

> Not surprisingly, then, it was a monument to the missing that became the dominant site of memory of 1917 in the post-war years. On the outskirts of Ypres, at a point where millions of men set off to battle, the British Government erected the Menin Gate in 1927. A huge arch designed by Reginald Bloomfield, its walls were inscribed with the names of 54,896 Allied soldiers, including 6000

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[58] Gegner and Ziino, *The Heritage of War*, 1.

[59] Ibid.

[60] B Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

> Australians who were lost in the Ypres salient and unidentified. So numerous were the missing that a further 35,000 names were recorded in the nearby Tyne Cot memorial, in the largest Commonwealth war cemetery in the world.[61]

Ziino in *A Distant Grief*[62] elaborates on the trauma for the families and friends of those left behind in the time of war. The overseas burials added to the grief. Producing war memorials in their local district was one way in which Australians dealt with sadness and grief.[63] This theme is taken up by Bruce Scates in his book about Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance, *A Place to Remember*. In the introduction, 'Sites of Memory, Shrines of Remembrance', he observes that 'war memorials possess biographies whose social and cultural resonances are multi-layered and multi-vocal'. Then, he argues:

> War memorials were built at the busy intersection of private and collective memory … there is one theme that all these monuments have in common. The Australian (and imperial) policy not to repatriate the war dead made each such monument a surrogate grave, an empty tomb for 'boys' who would never march home, a 'site of memory', a shrine of remembrance.[64]

As outlined in Chapter Three,[65] in a similar manner to many other communities within Australia, Ballarat underwent a series of emotional phases during World War One. In 1914 there was excitement about the overseas adventure for the young Australians volunteering to take part in a major overseas conflict. Few imagined that the war would turn into a horrific stalemate, where frequently the military leaders on both sides used nineteenth-century tactics against the twentieth-century war machinery, and that many of the troops were, in reality, 'cannon fodder'.

By 1916 community members were in shock as newspaper casualty lists lengthened, and flags flew at half mast at the Ballarat City and the Ballarat East town halls on Sundays to pay respect to the two or three soldiers that had died that week, as well as the six or seven wounded.[66] Division within the community was heightened, as the conservative newspapers, many clergymen and the local recruiting sergeants urged those eligible to do

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[61] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 390.

[62] Ziino, *A Distant Grief*.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Scates, *A Place to Remember*, 1.

[65] See section 3.4 of this thesis.

[66] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 63.

their 'duty' and volunteer to enlist. At the same time, especially among the Irish Catholic community, opposition hardened to what they considered a 'senseless, imperialistic war'. The conscription debates of 1916 and 1917 brought the underlying divisions within the community into the open.

In 1915 and 1916, the economic base of Ballarat was threatened by the downturn in gold mining and the attempt by companies to force miners into contractual arrangements.[67] Despite many men enlisting in the armed services, unemployment remained high. From May 1916, the newly formed Forward Ballarat Movement made strenuous efforts to strengthen the economic base of Ballarat and, at the same time, support the war effort by encouraging eligible men to enlist. On Friday 20 October, the movement held what was claimed as Australia's first Factory Day when more than 50 firms exhibited their products and schools closed so students could flock to view the company displays.[68]

As Beaumont outlines in *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, 1917 was 'the worst year' of the war.[69] At a time when all of the major participating countries suffered huge losses of human life on the battlefields of Belgium and northern France, Australian troops shared the burden. In the first battle at Bullecourt, France, on 11 April, Australia had more than 3500 casualties and 1164 soldiers taken as prisoners of war.[70] In *The Encyclopaedia of Australia's Battles* Clark emphasises the poor planning involved and states, 'Carriage of the attack was entrusted to two brigades (4th and 12th) of the 4th Australian Division which was marched up in extreme haste'.[71] Similar tragic outcomes took place later in the year during a series of battles at Ypres in Belgium.

As outlined in Chapter Three of this thesis,[72] on the Ballarat home front, efforts by many groups, such as the Ballarat Progress Association, the Forward Ballarat Movement, local municipalities, the Lady Mayoress Patriotic League and many Protestant churches, to support the war effort increased. In the war years, two annual special occasions—25 April

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[67] Ibid., 57.

[68] Ibid., 58.

[69] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 263–392.

[70] Ibid., 290.

[71] Chris Clark, *The Encyclopaedia of Australia's Battles* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010), 125.

[72] See section 3.4 of this thesis.

Anzac Day and 4 August, the date of the war commencement—were viewed as times to commemorate the war efforts of those at the front, usually at church services, and to take the opportunity to push for further recruits to enlist. Beaumont records:

> In 1917, First Bullecourt fed directly into the emerging rituals of Anzac Day. The second anniversary was a similar mix to 1916: triumphalism and exhortations to the population for ongoing sacrifice, intertwined with individual grief.[73]

In a similar manner to other parts of Australia, Ballarat community members were grieving about the traumas of war and the time was right for the planting of trees in commemoration. Dargavel suggests three factors came together to initiate the planting of avenues of honour. First was that people could plant the trees for individual men and women, sometimes their relatives. This personal connection was barely possible when a committee engaged a mason or builder to erect a monument. Second was the 'sense of a future with planting a small tree; a monument only has a past'. Third was the 'natural dynamic of a tree's life' with ageing and dying that is similar to the 'destiny of man'. Further, he argues that the ageing of trees seems to parallel how memories of war change and how mourning eases with time. Monuments remain and remind; fading avenues allow us to forget.[74]

This last statement requires further comment in relation to the Ballarat Avenue of Honour. While it is true that trees age and die, in the case of the Ballarat, the champions of the Avenue have made sure that those trees that have died are replaced. Secondly, as is illustrated later in this thesis, those involved with the maintenance of the Avenue have ensured that the sacrifices of the servicemen and women have continued to be remembered and that the Avenue has become a symbol of the sacrifice of all service people in each of the wars and peacekeeping endeavours in which Australia has engaged.

On 4 July 1917, an item in a letter to the *Courier* editor by 'Wattle Blossom' had echoes in the February 2017 planting of the Garden of the Grieving Mother adjacent to the Arch of Victory. The letter stated:

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[73] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 307.

[74] Dargavel, "Trees Age ," 38.

> Much is being done to honor the brave boys who are fighting for us. Tree planting is being carried out with an enthusiasm; all honor to these plans and the promoters of them. But what about the women's part in the Great War—the mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts of our men? These splendid women who are knitting, sewing, giving, and sacrificing for the sake of the Empire: the brave hearts who weep during the silent, dark hours of night and work with patient smiles during the day, week in and week out: these great workers and sufferers, of whom we expect so much, and of whom we hear little except through the medium of the Red Cross … A suggestion occurs to me that a perpetual memorial might be raised to them in Ballarat by tree planting.[75]

Unfortunately, it does not appear that the suggestion of Wattle Blossom was put into action and, although a number of memorial avenues were planted in the Ballarat district during and after World War One, they all commemorated enlisted forces.

In August 1917, at the planting of trees on the eastern Avenue, the Hon. Robert McGregor, MLA for Ballarat East, alluded to the theme of the sacrifice of the mothers and sisters. He said:

> It afforded him the highest gratitude to plant a tree in honor of those lads who had responded to the Empire's call. Too much could not be done for the lads who had devoted every facility they possessed to the cause of the Empire, and had sacrificed their lives in the country's service. He hoped they would never forget them and the great work they had done. He paid a tribute also to the mothers and sisters, who, he said, were true heroines and were suffering greater sorrow than outsiders knew.[76]

It is of note that McGregor has coupled the cause of the empire and the implication that it was a 'righteous cause' with the grief of the women left behind. At the Avenue planting in August 1918, Sir Alexander Peacock spoke of 'the magnificent sacrifices of the women of Australia' before alluding to the Allies cause of justice and civilization.[77] On most ceremonial occasions involved with the Ballarat tree planting, the guest speakers mentioned the importance of the soldiers' support for the just cause of the empire.

4.5 The Origins of Ballarat's Avenue

The Avenue planted during 1917–19 is a major landmark in western Ballarat. A number of organisations were involved in these plantings, although by far the most significant

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[75] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 4, 1917, 6.

[76] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 27, 1917, 6.

[77] *Star* (Ballarat), August 19, 1918, 3.

contribution came from the employees of E Lucas & Co. known as the Lucas Girls.[78] The first plantings for the Avenue on the western edge of Ballarat took place on the King's Birthday holiday on Monday 4 June 1917. Once the last official planting occurred on 16 August 1919, this avenue, at 14 Miles (22 kilometres), was one of the longest in the world with 3771 Ballarat servicemen and women who served in World War One each commemorated in order of enlistment by the planting of a tree. The number of the last tree planted was numbered 3912.

How Ballarat came to possess such an impressive and extensive avenue is an intriguing story. All three local newspapers—*The Star, The Courier* and the *Evening Echo*—contained detailed accounts of the plantings and exhibited strong local pride about the efforts of the Lucas Girls in fundraising for (and planting) the trees on the Avenue. Despite its constant criticism of PM Hughes and his supporters, who were pro-conscription, the Labor paper the *Evening Echo* carried similar reports about the Avenue to those of *The Courier* and *The Star*.

The short time span from the proposal of an avenue to the first plantings is remarkable. On 2 June 1917, *The Star, The Courier* and the *Evening Echo* all noted, 'It is less than three weeks since the suggestion was made to the young ladies of Lucas' establishment, who have been in the forefront in all patriotic and charitable works'.[79] *The Courier* revealed that the Avenue idea originated with Lucas saleslady Tilly Thompson on 10 May 1917.[80] At a Wednesday 16 May meeting convened by the Ballarat Progress Association to discuss arrangements for the 21 and 22 June Arbor Day, once discussions about a program for local schools and progress associations concluded, further suggestions for tree planting were made. Police Sub-Inspector Alexander Nicholson, representing the Newington Branch of the ANA, floated the idea that an avenue should be planted on the continuation of Sturt Street along the Burrumbeet Road to commemorate the great achievements of 'our gallant boys' at Bullecourt on the Somme.

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[78] As noted in the Glossary, in this thesis E Lucas & Co generally is referred to as the Lucas Company.

[79] *Star* (Ballarat), June 2, 1917, 6; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 2, 1917, 2; *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 2, 1917, 2.

[80] *Courier* (Ballarat), February 9, 1920, 2.

Then, at the meeting after Nicholson had made his suggestion, managing director of the Lucas factory, Edward Price, the son of Mrs Lucas, revealed recent discussions had taken place at the whitework factory and 'the young ladies were going to plant 400 to 500 trees' to begin commemorating all Ballarat's enlisted soldiers. Also, he stated this suggestion had originated with Mrs Thompson, who had heard about it being done at Mount Lofty at Adelaide.[81] A start was being made to commemorate the first 500 who had enlisted. He believed there were over 3000 altogether, which would make an avenue ten miles long. The *Courier* report continued:

> They would like the assistance from Progress Associations and each soldier's next of kin who could perhaps contribute to a plate that would list the name and rank of the soldier. It was decided the site for the avenue would be selected next Saturday in conjunction with the City Council. A motion was passed that representatives of the organisations present meet with the Mayors of the City and Town to discuss the schemes proposed by Inspector Nicholson and Mr Price.[82]

The *Evening Echo* in a report of the same meeting noted that the Lucas Girls had already arranged to plant the trees. Mr Caldwell mentioned that a scheme for Black Hill was similar to that proposed by Inspector Nicholson—avenues would be planted and named after different battles in which Australians had taken a prominent part. Inspector Nicholson had questioned in the scheme proposed by Mr Price the expense of providing the plates.[83] The *Star* report noted that it was a 'largely attended meeting' at the Ballarat Progress Association rooms. Among those present were representatives of three local ANA branches (Ballarat, Canadian and North), four Progress Associations (Ballarat, Canadian, North and Black Hill), the Sebastopol Council and various school committees and headmasters.[84]

It is notable that the Melbourne-based newspaper, *The Argus*,[85] also carried a summary of the meeting and its outcome. In analysing the four newspaper reports of this meeting, it emerges that two planting schemes were proposed: Nicholson's Bullecourt avenue and

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[81] Presumably this is the Stirling planting.

[82] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 17, 1917, 2.

[83] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), May 17, 1917, 2.

[84] *Star* (Ballarat), May 17, 1917, 3.

[85] *Argus* (Melbourne), May 17, 1917, 11.

the avenue suggested by Edward Price, where he stated that the young women employed at Lucas's factory were preparing a special arbor memorial of their own'.[86]

As a result of the two schemes, the progress association secretary, W Coulthard, proposed a motion that 'representatives of the bodies represented at the meeting wait upon the Mayors of the City and Town with respect to the schemes proposed by Insp. Nicholson and Mr Price'. After discussion that included negative comments from Mr Callow that it was too late in the year for a large planting scheme and pine trees were hardly long-lived enough for commemorative purposes, the motion was carried.[87]

Soon the idea of extensive tree planting was consolidated. On Friday 18 May at 11 am, City Mayor Hill and Town Mayor Levy (Ballarat East mayor)[88] met with representatives of ANA branches, progress associations and other bodies. Mrs Thompson explained that the girls at the Lucas establishment wished to plant the avenue of 500 trees on the Burrumbeet Road. It was proposed to plant oaks and elms alternatively, but City Clerk George Morton said oaks would not be suitable for the Ballarat district and he recommended English ash, sycamore, maple and elm.[89] *The Star* reported that Mr Coulthard, as secretary of the progress association, outlined the suggestion made by Mr Price of Lucas & Co. that avenues should be planted, with each tree to bear the name of a soldier who had enlisted from Ballarat. It had also been proposed to plant an avenue in commemoration of the magnificent deeds of the Australians at Bullecourt. Both mayors were in full accord with the objects of the deputation and Mayor Hill said there would be no difficulty in obtaining the trees required. Mrs Thompson, on behalf of the employees of Lucas & Co., had said it was the intention of the girls of the factory to pay for the cost of the planting and the tree guards. It was decided members of the deputation should visit certain parts of the City and Town to decide on suitable sites for the avenues.[90]

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[86] *Star* (Ballarat), May 17, 1917, 3.

[87] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 17, 1917, 2.

[88] The municipality of Ballarat East existed from 1857 to 1863. It was a borough from 1863 and in 1872 it became a town. From 1872 to 1921 the Ballarat East Council was known as the Town Council. In 1921 it became part of the City of Ballarat.

[89] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 19, 1917, 4.

[90] *Star* (Ballarat), May 19, 1917, 4.

The Courier and *The Star* reported that on the afternoon of Saturday 19 May at the invitation of Mr Price and Mrs Thompson of Lucas & Co., cars took a party consisting of representatives of the City ANA, Newington ANA, Ballarat Progress Association, Council and Town to the proposed Burrumbeet Road planting site and the City Council nursery in Victoria Park, from which the trees to be set in the avenue would be largely drawn. Also, that evening a meeting was held at the progress association office.[91]

It is of note that at this Saturday evening progress association meeting, no representatives of Lucas & Co. were present as they were involved in speaking to the Shire of Ballarat representatives.[92] *The Courier* stated:

> On Saturday night representatives of the Progress Associations and various bodies were at a meeting at the office of the Progress Association, Inspector Nicholson presiding. The meeting decided that two representatives from each association would form an executive committee to carry out the scheme and seek patronage from the Mayors of the City, Town and Sebastopol.

The meeting appointed an executive of president JF Martell, vice-president Inspector Nicholson, secretary and treasurer W Coulthard and assistant secretary R Bickett, and it was decided to appoint a general committee at the next meeting. It was noted that although it was agreed to plant the first avenue along the Burrumbeet Road in the Shire of Ballarat,[93] other avenues would probably be planted on the streets and highways of other municipalities in the future.[94] *The Star* provided further detail about the meeting. From the chair, Inspector Nicholson outlined the purpose of the meeting as to organise the 23 June Arbor Day program to continue planting after the tree planting on 4 June. He stated about the Avenue of Honour:

> This plan originated with Lucas and Co and is to be initiated by the girl employees of that firm … Mr Price and Mrs Thompson were desirous of the help of the ANA and Progress Associations … it is expected the avenue will eventually reach Burrumbeet Park ...[95]

Preparations for the Avenue took place quickly. On Saturday 26 May, many Lucas 'young ladies' accompanied by 100 Boy Scouts began preliminary work by digging holes

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[91] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 21, 1917, 2; *Star* (Ballarat), May 21, 1917, 4.

[92] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 21, 1917, 2.

[93] The Avenue was proposed to commence at the boundary of the City of Ballarat and the Shire of Ballarat.

[94] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 21, 1917, 2; *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), May 21, 1917, 2.

[95] *Star* (Ballarat), May 21, 1917, 4.

for the tree planting, and this was followed up in a similar way on the next Saturday, 2 June. On this day, *The Star* described preparations:

> A personal letter has been sent by the young ladies of Lucas' establishment who is to plant the tree to the next of kin of each soldier, requesting their presence and assistance. The function is to commence at 3pm on Monday 4 June by Sir Alexander Peacock and Brigadier-General Williams planting the first and second trees, then 450 will be planted by the young ladies and 50 by Parliamentary representatives for the district and councillors of Ballarat, Ballarat East, Sebastopol and the Ballarat Shire.

The Star also mentioned the variety of trees to be planted—320 elms in the first mile and mountain ash in the following half mile. Trees were to be numbered with the even numbers on the right side and the odd on the left, starting from the golf links.[96]

The *Evening Echo* was fulsome in its praise for the project. On 2 June, it stated:

> Soldiers' Avenue: A Fine Effort: One of the most striking memorial tributes to the valor and heroism of our Ballarat boys will be the avenue of honor that is to be planted on Monday afternoon at three o'clock at the west end of Sturt Street commencing at the High School, when 500 trees will be planted, tree guards erected, and the name plates attached to each guard.[97]

A similar report to that of the *Evening Echo* was carried in *The Courier* and it appears the reports came from the one source. Both papers stated the Lucas Girls were to sell souvenir catalogues for one shilling and would have one of their large flags used in the 1917 Eureka pageant on which the public would be able to shower their loose coins.

Figure 9: Delivery of tree guards to the Avenue in June 1917
Photograph from Ballarat Municipal Library collection

[96] *Star* (Ballarat), June 2, 1917, 6.

[97] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 3, 1917, 2.

4.6 Planting the Avenue in 1917

As with the analysis of why Ballarat planted such a prominent and long commemorative avenue, the story of the eight plantings was an intriguing one. While the drive for the remembrance of those from Ballarat who fought in the World War One displayed sentiments similar to other parts of Australia, the desire for the commemoration came from the local people. As well as enabling them to honour enlisted men and women providing overseas support, the planting of trees enabled dignitaries to highlight the need to recruit more soldiers to take part in the war effort.[98]

After all the preparations, at last the planting day arrived. It was on Monday 4 June 1917, a public holiday to officially celebrate the King's Birthday. Trams left the city centre at Grenville Street at 2 pm to go to Hamilton Street. Then, those planting at the far end spent 20 to 30 minutes walking the distance of 1¾ miles to their tree. At 3 pm, a trumpet played by Sergeant Slade Hedlam signalled the planting and six buglers at intervals relayed the signal. A team of 25 professional gardeners supervised the planting of the 505 trees and 25 carpenters fixed tree nameplates. The first 380 trees were three varieties of elms and the rest were American ash and English ash.

Those commemorated had enlisted from 17 August 1914 to 20 April 1915. The first 50 had enrolled on 17 August 1914 and most were allocated to the 8th Battalion. Apart from tree one that was for Lieutenant Colonel William Bolton and was planted by Sir Alexander Peacock, other trees were placed in order of those who enlisted on a particular day. Tree two, for Lieutenant Stanley Kinsman, was planted by Brigadier General Williams and tree three, for Henry Dowsing, by Mrs Lucas. Both Kinsman and Dowsing were killed in battle. The Lucas Girls planted 454 trees and the other 51 trees were planted by dignitaries, including five local politicians and the wife of David McGrath, MHR, who was serving overseas; 33 councillors from the City, the Town, the Shire of Ballarat and the Shire of Sebastopol; Edward Price and his son Keith; Tilly Thompson; Inspector Nicholson; and five others.

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[98] See pages 111-113 of this thesis.

Figure 10: Three views of the 4 June 1917 Avenue planting
Photograph from the *Weekly Times*, June 16, 1917

Unfortunately, about 3 pm it commenced raining just as the planting began. Despite the rain, the *Evening Echo* thought the planting was 'a fine effort'.[99] Premier Peacock was to make a speech near the high school and Boy Scouts were to march from the far end of the tree planting to the platform for the speeches, but apart from a brief speech by Peacock this was abandoned. The *Star* report read:

> The weather was exceedingly boisterous, and the sky threatened rain, but despite this thousands of people, some in trams, some in motor-cars and other vehicles and many on foot, wended their way to Sturt street west to do honor to Ballarat's heroic soldier boys … it was a magnificent tribute to the first 505 soldiers to enlist … Unfortunately before ceremonies were over the rain came down very heavily.[100]

The report in *The Star* continued by recording those who had assisted with the planting and needed to be thanked:

> Mr J Williams of Victoria Park who supervised the arrangements, Mr L Charles, who erected the tree guards in the record time of 2½ days; Messrs R Sim & Co., who manufactured the guards and delivered them on the site well within the scheduled time; Messrs T Kift & Son and Mr Sol Flohm, who had a heavy task to get all the name-plates written; the Boy Scouts, who rendered valuable

[99] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 9, 2.

[100] *Star* (Ballarat), June 5, 1917, 6.

> assistance in digging the tree holes; and also the students of the Ballarat High School, who sank no fewer than 100 holes.[101]

Figure 11: Two further views of the 4 June 1917 Avenue planting
Photograph from the *Weekly Times*, June 16, 1917

Despite the rainfall, the first planting was deemed a success. It was soon decided to undertake a second planting event and on 9 June the *Evening Echo* under the heading 'A Fine Effort' stated:

> The whole cost in connection with the planting of the 500 trees in the Avenue of Honor, amounting to £250, has been met by the patriotic efforts of Lucas' young ladies. The success that has attended their efforts and the pleasure and gratification that the soldiers and soldiers' relatives have shown, both by letter and personal interviews, has made them feel another effort should be made to plant another 500 trees this season. A conference has been held with Mayor WD Hill, Cr Brawn and Col Morton, with the result that the Mayor has had pleasure in opening a public fund to defray the cost of the next 500 trees (estimated £250).[102]

The first two public fund donations came from local identities Cr Fred Brawn and Walter Coltman.[103] Donations were acknowledged in the local press and the target was soon passed. The first planting had developed the Avenue blueprint. Significantly, the idea of listing the rank of each person commemorated was dropped and those memorialised were in order of enlistment, thus bringing an egalitarian approach. All who enlisted were

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[101] Ibid.

[102] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 9, 1917, 2.

[103] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 9, 1917, 2.

included, although plaques indicated those who had died, and the idea of commemorating various war battles was not taken up. The Avenue was to be a long-lasting reminder of community contribution. Families identified with the particular tree that commemorated their relative and many relatives made the effort to visit. Bate in *Life After Gold* observed that some soldiers could visit their own trees as, by December 1916, there were 450 returned men in the Ballarat district.[104]

Donations were made by local bodies to help defray the expenses of the tree planting. It was estimated the first planting cost over £200[105] and, before the second planting, many donations to the Avenue of Honour Fund were made. They included 10 guineas from the Burrumbeet Park Race Club[106] and as *The Courier* recorded:

> In recognition of the part taken by 15 of their employees in the war, the Ballarat Woollen and Worsted Company yesterday voted 10/6 in respect of each towards the Avenue of Honor. Prior to their departure the company also presented each representative with a wristlet watch.[107]

Before the second planting occurred on Saturday 18 August 1917, there was disputation between representatives of Ballarat's Trades and Labour Council and Edward Price of Lucas—this is discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis. There was also a tug-of-war between the executive committee of the progress association and Edward Price as the representative of the Lucas Company about whether the second planting should be a continuation of the Burrumbeet Road or in some other Ballarat location. On 12 June, a letter was published from 'Wattle' who pointed out that Lucas had appealed to the public for donations for their second planting and 'had upset the whole arrangements' of the ANA and other associations' schemes.[108]

A letter appeared in *The Courier* on the next day. Under the name EH Price and labelled 'Do It Now', Price replied to what he termed 'the condemnatory letter of Wattle'. He outlined a history of the events before the first planting and the forming of a committee:

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[104] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 66.

[105] *Draper of Australasia* (Melbourne), June 27, 1917.

[106] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 14, 1917, 2.

[107] Ibid.

[108] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 12, 1917, 4.

> We were not asked to be represented on this committee, nor were we consulted in any way. We had asked for assistance and received none, and so the whole arranging for the first 500 trees was left to us. From the time this committee was formed until the announcement that we were prepared to plant the second 500 appeared in the Press, we were not aware that the committee had done anything … we do not wish to monopolise this work … if the committee want to take the work over we shall be pleased to help them in any way possible.[109]

On Saturday 16 June, JM Reed, Secretary for Lands, in the company of WF Coltman, president of the Forward Ballarat Movement, visited the Black Hill and Sovereign Hill lookouts, the White Horse Ranges, the Avenue of Honour on the Burrumbeet Road, the Ballarat Common tree plantation on the Learmonth Road and the Ballarat East Mount Xavier area in the vicinity of the orphanage to view the furtherance of afforestation in and around Ballarat. Mr Reed spoke in 'enthusiastic terms' about what he viewed, including about the Avenue of Honour. The *Courier* report indicated he said:

> The Avenue of Honour was an excellent idea, and the scheme had been well carried out. Apart from the patriotic sacrifices it symbolised it would be of immense value from the utilitarian point of view, adding to the picturesque effect, besides affording protection from the bleak winds in winter time and the incinerating sun in summer. He emphasised the advisability of carefully nurturing the trees until they had become firmly established.[110]

Eventually, many organisations agreed to support a second Burrumbeet Road Avenue planting, although preparations were also made for planting other Ballarat avenues.[111] The letter requesting support came from W Coulthard, secretary of the progress association's Avenue of Honour Committee rather than from Lucas. This committee had decided to take up the offer of Edward Price to be more involved and to oversee the requests for support of the second planting on Saturday 18 August. By that day, the committee worked in association with the Lucas organisation.[112]

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[109] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 13, 1917, 6.

[110] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 18, 1917, 2.

[111] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 12, 1917, 2; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 14, 1917, 10; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 16, 1917, 8; *Star* (Ballarat), June 14, 1917, 4; *Star* (Ballarat), June 20, 1917, 4; *Star* (Ballarat), June 29, 1917, 4.

[112] *Star* (Ballarat), August 20, 1917, 6.

In contrast, the City ANA branch decided not to be involved with the Burrumbeet Avenue planting and[113] the Sebastopol Council determined to plant an avenue in their borough.[114]Also the Ballarat North Progress Association decided to plant an avenue in Lydiard Street and Howitt Street[115] and the Town Council of Ballarat East to plant on the Melbourne Road.[116] A second issue about the Burrumbeet Avenue was under discussion—the distance the trees should be set away from the crown of the road. Letters to the editor[117] stated that Lucas had placed the trees too close to the road centre, but 'others' disputed this and argued that at the second planting they should be kept in the same alignment, and this is what happened.[118]

For the second planting, as the Ballarat–Ararat railway line was near Burrumbeet Road, a special excursion train from Ballarat Station travelled via the Ballarat North and Wendouree stations to the Cardigan station. Return fares cost one shilling and sixpence (first class) and one shilling (second class). Again, the planting took place during wet weather but *The Courier* claimed that it did not affect the attendance greatly:

> Those who were interested in the movement showed so much enthusiasm for it, and much indifference to rain and mud, that a cyclone would not have stopped them. There were 801 trees planted for the soldiers,[119] and 47 for nurses, bringing the total to 1353 trees. Senator Pearce and Sir Alexander J Peacock gave addresses.[120]

On the day, 703 trees were planted for soldiers who enlisted by July 2015 and 47 for nurses who enlisted from November 1914 to July 1917. The nurses were grouped in an area distinguished by two large red crosses. The Lucas Girls and dignitaries planted 450 trees; local clubs, associations, businesses and employee groups planted 203; and

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[113] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 10, 1917, 2.

[114] Ibid.

[115] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 12, 1917, 2.

[116] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 24, 1917, 2.

[117] *Star* (Ballarat), June 19, 1917, 4; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 14, 1917, 6; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 15, 1917, 5; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 16, 1917, 5.

[118] *Star* (Ballarat), June 12, 1917, 5; *Star* (Ballarat), June 15, 1917, 2; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 14, 1917, 6; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 16, 1917, 8.

[119] Note: The figure of 801 is incorrect—it should have been 701. This error probably occurred as numbers 1242 to 1342 were reserved for the Ballarat East Avenue.

[120] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 20, 1917, 2.

residents of the Ballarat Shire's South Riding planted 50. Deciduous trees were planted: mountain ash or rowan tree (trees 506–605 and 926–1000), North American maple (trees 606–755), scarlet oak (trees 756–805), Norway maple (trees 806–55), broad leaf maple (trees 856–75), English maple (trees 876–95), alder tree (trees 896–925), limes (trees 1001–50), two varieties of elms (trees 1051–1150), Ontario poplars (trees 1151–1200) and silver birch (trees 1201–41 and 1343–54).[121]

The wide cross section of society indicated the strong community support. Of all the Avenue plantings of 1917–19, this was the one occasion when so many organisations took part. In examining the list of those bodies represented, it is apparent that the list included sporting bodies, women's groups, business people, as well as a number of unionists. This is an important factor in arguing that the Ballarat community had a strong collective memory concerning World War One commemoration.

Those involved in the second planting represented the Ballarat City Fire Brigade, who planted 50 trees; Ballarat Post and Telegraph Office, 20; Burrumbeet Park Racing Club, 21; Australasian Women's Association, 14; Sunnyside Woollen Mill employees, 12; Coulthard's Ballarat Business College, 10; Ballarat Gun Club, 10; Ballarat Drapers' Association, 11; Ballarat Horticultural Society, 10; Ballarat North Railway Workshops, 8; Federated Carters' and Drivers' Union of Australia, 6; Newington ANA, 5; Allchin Brothers staff, 4; Ballarat Exhibition Commissioners, 4; Royal Society of St. George, 4; Morris and Walker Pty. Ltd., 3; Operative Bakers' Society, 3; Painters' Union, 2; Ballarat Sub-Branch Bread Carters' Federation, 2; Ballarat Ironworkers' Association, 2; and employees of WE Longhurst, 2.[122]

Similar preparations to the first planting involving the Lucas Girls, souvenir booklets, and gardeners, carpenters and others were made, although this time one side of each tree guard was taken off to facilitate the process. At 3 pm, the bugle sounded for work to begin. From 4 pm, the Minister for Defence, Senator Pearce, and the Victorian Premier,

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[121] *Lucas's Staffs Appreciation of Brave Men* (Ballarat: n.d. [ca. 1937]). This was a Lucas Company souvenir booklet. The cover shows a date of July 1919, but this is incorrect because it includes a poem written in 1937; *Courier* (Ballarat), September 14, 1917, 1.

[122] *Lucas's Staffs Appreciation*, 16–33.

Sir Alexander Peacock, made speeches and all enjoyed the afternoon tea supplied by the Windermere Red Cross Branch as a fundraising activity.[123]

Soon, further Ballarat district plantings took place. Residents and organisations in eastern Ballarat and the Ballarat East Town Council were keen to have their own avenue. Previously, at a meeting of the Ballarat East ANA branch on 19 June, it was suggested by Inspector Nicholson that the eastern Avenue could be a continuation of the western Avenue to become a grand avenue of honour extending from Melbourne right through Victoria.[124]

During the 21–23 June Arbor Day program, local schools planted many trees, the Eureka Committee added 60 trees to the Eureka Stockade Reserve[125] and the Canadian Progress Association planted an avenue of 60 pine trees from the Buninyong Road to the Sovereign Hill lookout.[126] In July the Sebastopol Borough planted about 100 trees in Birdwood Avenue to honour local soldiers,[127] and on 3 August Governor-General Sir Roland Munro Ferguson, accompanied by Lady Munro Ferguson, planted the first tree in front of a large crowd at the Mount Xavier Park to formally open the new Arthur Kenny Avenue at the Ballarat Orphanage.[128] In August, 36 trees were planted in close proximity to the New Cemetery as a Ballarat North Soldiers' and Sailors' Avenue of Honour.[129]

The main Avenue of Honour Committee decided to allocate tree numbers 1242–1342 to an eastern avenue that extended from the Caledonian bridge eastwards along Victoria Street (also called the Melbourne Road). On Saturday 25 August, dignitaries attended the official ceremony of the Ballarat East Avenue of Honour. In a difference to the western Avenue, 101 trees were planted to honour generals, admirals and nurses. They were for Lord Kitchener, Lord French, Sir Douglas Haig, Sir William Birdwood, Brigadier

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[123] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 20, 1917; 2, 20; *Star* (Ballarat), August 20, 1917, 5.

[124] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 20, 1917, 2.

[125] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 2, 1917, 2.

[126] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 25, 1917, 2.

[127] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 24, 1917, 2; *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 31, 1917, 2.

[128] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 30, 1917, 2; *Courier* (Ballarat), August 4, 1917, 2, 5.

[129] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), August 13, 1917, 2.

General Bridges, Brigadier General Holmes, General Sir Ian Hamilton, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, Admiral Sir David Beatty, Nurse R Medwell and Nurse Curnow.[130]

Also on 25 August, following the Ballarat East ceremony, 30 North American maple trees were planted on the Burrumbeet Avenue. This third planting on the western Avenue had fewer trees involved: 30 on 25 August and 105 on 1 September. Lucas Girls planted just 14 trees and a variety of other community representatives undertook the planting task. In an unusual occurrence, during this planting Cr Archibald James Fiskin, Buninyong Shire President, planted three consecutive trees: 1380 commemorated his brother-in-law Colonel Cecil Wanliss; 1382, his brother-in-law Colonel David Sydney Wanliss; and 1384, his nephew Captain Harold Boyd Wanliss, who tragically was killed in Belgium at the battle of Polygon Wood just one month after the planting of his tree. Charles Bean reported the opinion of Monash that Wanliss was 'possibly destined to lead Australia'.[131]

On Saturday 1 September, the planting continued. On the eastern Avenue, a second planting took place at 3 pm with another 63 trees added, while from 4.30 pm as a continuation of the western Avenue's third planting, a further 73 maple and cypress trees were planted to honour soldiers and 31 oak trees to honour 'Our Navy Boys', where four large anchors were placed on the ground at each end of the section. This brought the total for 1917 to 1558 trees, comprising 1390 on the western Avenue and 164 on the eastern Avenue.[132]

In late 1917, considerable disagreement occurred between the progress association committee, especially its secretary, Coulthard, and Edward Price, who was very protective of the Lucas Girls. The main area of dispute was the balance sheet for the second Avenue planting, which showed a loss of £53 12s 6d that had been 'made good' by Lucas & Co. and the cost of £21 as Coulthard's secretarial salary for seven weeks to organise the planting.[133] Coulthard accused Price of deliberately providing the

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[130] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 27, 1917, 2; Town of Ballarat, *Ballarat East Avenue of Honor Booklet 1917* (Ballarat: 1917).

[131] Bean, *Official History of Australia,* quoted in Affleck, *Footsteps of Pompey*, 102.

[132] *Lucas's Staffs Appreciation*, 5–36.

[133] *Courier* (Ballarat), September 14, 1917, 1.

newspapers with the information that painted Coulthard in a poor light and he asked that a new balance sheet be drawn up. The progress association appointed a subcommittee to examine the costs involved and, after two vitriolic meetings on 17 October and 25 October, the subcommittee sided with their secretary and opposed Edward Price. Underneath, long-held divisions between the 'east' and 'west' in Ballarat bubbled along, with progress association members focusing on planting avenues in other areas of Ballarat, while City and Shire representatives lauded the main Avenue.[134]

In order to overcome the impasse, it was decided to form a Committee of Control of Avenues of Honour with a membership of the mayors of the City and Town and their town clerks, Mr Price and Inspector Nicholson. This committee met at the City Hall on 22 December, when Price explained he had 'waited on' the shire council, whose councillors were agreeable to the shire president and secretary joining the committee, as long as matters about the width of the Avenue and removal of trees were referred to the shire council.[135]

4.7 Planting the Avenue in 1918–19

During 1918–19, the planting of Ballarat's Avenue past Burrumbeet continued. By early 1918, Tilly Thompson and Edward Price, on behalf of the Lucas Company and with the agreement of the Committee of Control, had taken back the reins of organising the planting. Strong community support for the project continued and Ballarat's civic leaders and media outlets highlighted the importance of Ballarat's 'famous' avenue.[136]

As a result of the animosity shown in the balance sheet saga of late 1917, in early 1918 arrangements for the planting of the west and east Avenues ceased. In a May 1918 letter to the Committee of Control, Lucas managing director, Edward Price, stated:

> Understanding that the Ballarat East Committee have decided to ignore this committee and plant trees contrary to the rules and conditions adopted, thereby breaking up the present system of planting, we apply for permission to plant trees in the Avenue on Burrumbeet Road, for the whole

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[134] *Courier* (Ballarat), September 15, 1917, 9; *Courier* (Ballarat), October 17, 1917, 4; *Courier* (Ballarat), October 18, 1917, 6; *Star* (Ballarat), October 18, 1917, 6.

[135] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/Box 114, Minutes of 22 December 1917.

[136] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1920* (Ballarat: City of Ballaarat, 1920), 7.

> of the Soldiers of Ballarat, who are not already represented there, thus making a complete avenue.[137]

The committee granted permission for this to happen and during 1918 further extensive planting took place at a time when many nearby townships established their own avenues.

The first 1918 planting on the Avenue took place on 1 June when 501 trees were added for soldiers enlisting by January 1916. *The Courier* reported that the staff of E Lucas & Co. had engaged all the available drags, 16 vans and 4 motor lorries to carry about 800 people and tickets were available from their employees.[138] On this occasion, many community members, rather than the Lucas Girls, planted the exotic trees that consisted of 50 purple leaf elms, 50 silver poplars, 50 tulip trees, 50 Huntingdon elms, 50 Ontario poplars, 50 scarlet oaks, 100 Canadian Giant elms and 100 Oriental planes. A total of 36 gardeners assisted by placing trees within the tree guards and then Premier Sir Alexander Peacock and the mayor of Ballarat, Alex Bell, MLC, made brief speeches that gave praise to the firm of Lucas & Co. for the idea of the Avenue.[139]

The fifth planting occurred on 20 July 1918 with 605 trees for enlistments by 1916. At 3.30 pm, twelve buglers signalled the start of the planting. Flags were added to each tree on the Avenue so that an impressive 2600 flags were in evidence at the end of the planting. Again, 36 gardeners took part, each one being responsible for the planting of about 17 trees that consisted of black Italian poplars (50), scarlet oaks (125), Giant elms (50), English ash (50), mountain ash (60), sugar maples (25), silver poplars (50), Oriental planes (50), purple elms (50), Ontario poplars (40) and tulip trees (50). These trees were obtained from Messrs RU Nicholls of Ballarat and Nobelious and Sons of Emerald.[140] This time, Lucas Girls planted 55 trees and there were many politicians, local councillors and community members organised to plant other trees. In fact, all had a day out as the Ballarat mayor, Alex Bell, had invited a party from Melbourne to participate in the planting and to consider an avenue west from Melbourne through Ballarat and across the state.[141] The Lord Mayor and his wife, five councillors and their wives and the deputy

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[137] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/Box 107, 24 May 1918.

[138] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 29, 1918, 2.

[139] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 3, 1918, 2.

[140] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 20, 1918, 2.

[141] This statewide avenue never occurred.

town clerk arrived in the morning. Accompanied by local politicians and councillors, the visitors lunched at Craig's Hotel before a motorcade went to the tree planting sites. All visitors were allocated a tree to plant—the Lord Mayor, Cr F Stapley, planted tree 2607 and the Lady Mayoress, tree 2608—and local dignitaries did likewise.

The Courier provided glowing reports: 'Lord Mayor of Melbourne takes part, Entertained by Mayor Bell'. The article stated that a striking testimony had struck the state's imagination and the party from Melbourne had a view of setting foot a movement at the Melbourne end to link with Ballarat's Avenue of Honour. Below this report, the second heading was 'Tree planting—Impressive Ceremony'. This article reported Mayor Bell as stating that 'the marvellous girls of Lucas and Co had initiated a movement to create a lasting monument to the brave men who had gone to fight for all they held near and dear'. In response, the Lord Mayor spoke of 'the noble sentiment of trying to keep green the memory of those noble fellows who had given service and in many cases their lives for King and Empire'. The report ended by noting that the formal business of the afternoon concluded with cheers for the soldiers and for the Lucas Girls and then the national anthem was sung.[142]

The Star provided further information. It stated that the cost of the 1500 trees to be planted on the Burrumbeet Road in 1918 was about £800—all raised by the Lucas Girls. Already they had £500 in hand and had just received an order from Sydney Snow Ltd. of Sydney for £600 worth of dolls. The doll heads, made in Ballarat, were of metal and were specially designed. A tree maintenance fund established. Arrangements for the ceremony were 'exceptionally carried out' by Tilly Thompson and Edward Price.[143]

The planting of other avenues in the vicinity of Ballarat continued in 1918. For example, on 10 August, the North Progress Association planted a North Avenue of Honour along Creswick Road, the Smythesdale community planted 100 trees and Ripon Shire representatives planted 500 deciduous trees on the Ballarat-Beaufort Road.[144]

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[142] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 22, 1918, 5.

[143] *Star* (Ballarat), July 22, 1918, 4-6.

[144] *Star* (Ballarat), August 10, 1918, 4; *Star* (Ballarat), August 12, 1918, 3.

The sixth planting, the final one for 1918, took place on 17 August with 533 trees planted for those enlisted by December 1917. This time, tree varieties consisted of 163 scarlet oaks, 270 elms of two varieties, 50 black Italian poplars and 50 Oriental planes, and Lucas Girls planted 476 trees and dignitaries, 57. It was noted that during the planting five of Mrs A Kerby's sons, two of whom had paid the supreme sacrifice, had trees planted: Norman VG Kerby, tree number 3058—killed; Major Edwin JT Kerby, 3059; Sergeant Mack JM Kerby, 3060—killed; Royal R Kerby, 3061; and Noble VC Kerby, 3062. Also, five sons of Mr and Mrs Stevenson were commemorated: Perce Stevenson, tree number 2889; Leslie Stevenson, 2891; William J Stevenson, 2893; George Stevenson, 2895; and Stanley Stevenson, 2897.

The Avenue now spread to a mile beyond the Burrumbeet Railway Station and to tree number 3180. At last, the weather was 'splendid' and upwards of a thousand attended by train and a great crowd more by road.[145] As a Red Cross fundraising effort, the ladies of the Windermere and Burrumbeet Red Cross sold flowers and provided afternoon tea. *The Courier* noted the striking and animated scene[146] and *The Star* emphasised the beautiful sunshine and the unusually large crowd from Ballarat and other parts of the state.[147] Speeches were made at the Burrumbeet Park gates—the event being chaired by Mayor Bell, the Orphanage Band played selections, Percy Code played a coronet solo and a series of politicians spoke. Then, local district recruiting officer Lieutenant Fredman in a brief address pointed out the need for reinforcements and urged all 'eligibles' to consider joining up, but people drifted away as he spoke.[148]

In an address in October 2017, Anne Beggs-Sunter described central Victoria at the conclusion of World War One in November 1918:

> At the end of the war there was mass grieving for lost husbands and fathers, with Avenues of Honour and Honour Rolls erected in most townships of central Victoria, and in most Protestant churches and state schools. Honour rolls were not erected in Catholic churches or schools, with the

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[145] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 19, 1918, 1.

[146] Ibid.

[147] *Star* (Ballarat), August 19, 1918, 3.

[148] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 19, 1918, 2.

> conspicuous exception of St Patrick's College, which had a proud cadet tradition and had offered many old boys to the carnage in Europe.[149]

By 1919 the memorialisation of war sacrifices intensified. Once World War One had concluded, Avenues of Honour became very important to the bereaved. As Scates has shown in *Return to Gallipoli*,[150] during World War One Avenues of Honour were associated with recruitment. After the war had concluded, Avenues were associated with a shift to mourning. He notes that in Australia Avenues line the approaches to towns and suburbs standing like 'silent sentinels to grief.' He continues:

> … planting a tree served as a substitute for internment. Unable to bury their dead, families and friends gathered together to lay these surrogate bodies to rest. Once a nature's reserve, King's Park in Perth soon took on a 'funeral appearance.' Clad in black and bearing shovels, wives, siblings, parents, uncles scratched out a space for loved ones in the soil.[151]

The Ballarat Avenue of Honour served bereaved families in a similar way, although the plantings in 1919 had many similarities to those in 1917 and 1918 with the Lucas Girls and dignitaries continuing to be prominent during the planting.

The issue of the route taken by the Avenue was finalised in that it was decided to remain within the Shire of Ballarat boundaries and to move towards Lake Learmonth and the small township of Weatherboard. Also, the offices of the Shire of Ballarat were located in Learmonth. This meant that instead of heading west towards Lake Burrumbeet and entering the Shire of Ripon, the Avenue headed due north to Weatherboard, which was located close to Learmonth. Interestingly, this route associated the Avenue with three lakes – Wendouree, Burrumbeet and Learmonth. Before the initial plantings of the Avenue took place, in May 1917, Edward Price had estimated the Avenue would be ten miles long and for 3000 enlisted people.[152] But as the world war continued beyond 1917, there were many more Ballarat enlistments of servicemen and women. By the 1918 armistice the number enlisted was closer to 4000.

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[149] Anne Beggs-Sunter, "1917: Conscription and War in Ballarat during World War One" (address at the Ballaarat Mechanics' Institute, Ballarat, October 27, 2017).

[150] Scates, *Return to Gallipoli*, 29-30.

[151] Ibid. 29.

[152] Courier (Ballarat) May 17, 1917, 2 – noted in section 4.5 of this chapter.

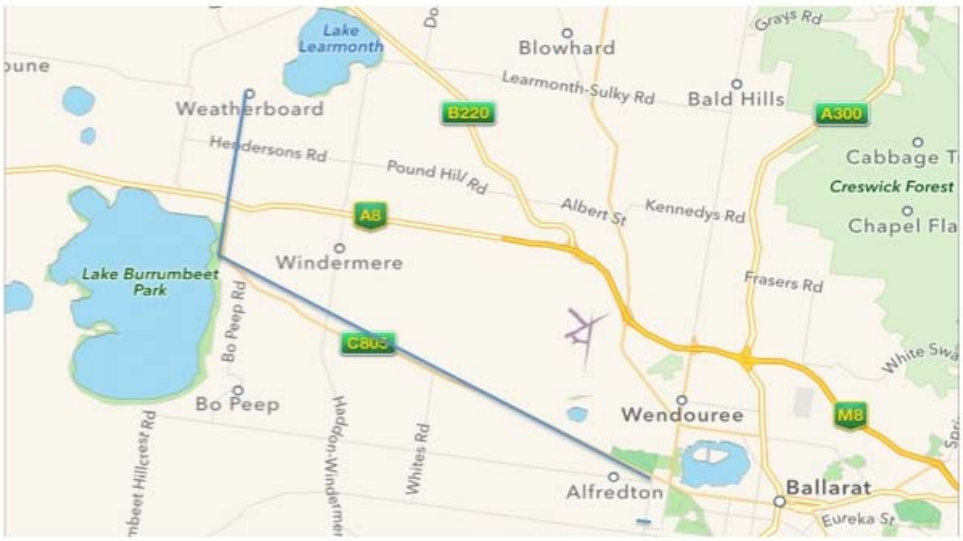

Figure 12: Map of the route of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour
Map prepared by Phil Roberts

In June 1919, 549 trees were added to the Avenue for soldiers in order of enlistment from August 1914 to September 1918. As the Eastern Avenue planting had discontinued, a tree was added for those who had a tree in the east from 1917. Ballarat's Mayor TT Hollway planned this to be a 'grand occasion' to celebrate the 'final' planting of the Avenue. It was the King's Birthday holiday on Monday 9 June and he invited 20 state dignitaries, including Premier Lawson, Geelong's Mayor Cr Hitchcock and Brigadier General Brand. *The Courier* stated, 'In some respects, today's gathering due to the background of those invited will be unique in Ballarat's history when the visitors assemble for the tree planting'.[153] Unfortunately, heavy rain spoilt the proceedings. After lunch at the City Hall, the visitors planted their allotted trees but the rest of the plantings were postponed.

On Saturday 14 June, during fine weather, most of the planned seventh and final planting scheduled for 9 June occurred. A special train left the Ballarat station to Burrumbeet station at 1.50 pm, while many other planters and spectators came by road. This time, varieties of trees were planted alternatively: 100 planes and elms, 100 mountain ash and silver poplars, 60 scarlet oaks and chestnut oaks, another 100 planes and elms, 50

[153] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 9, 1919, 2.

American ash and mountain ash, 100 silver poplars and elms and, finally, 50 mountain ash and elms.[154] Now the Avenue extended 14 miles, almost to Learmonth.

An actual final and eighth planting was on 16 August when 184 trees were added[155] to the far northern end of the Avenue, ending at the junction of the Weatherboard-Learmonth Road. Many tree types were planted and the trees commemorated soldiers whose relatives had added names missed in the initial plantings. *The Courier* commented that the ceremony was presided over by City Mayor Hollway and Victoria's Chief Secretary Major Matthew Baird: 'So much has been said about the Avenue that little remains to be said about it; but it was a memorable occasion, and that fact was appreciated by all present.'[156] Soon after, a further nine trees were planted, bringing the total for the western Avenue to 3771.

4.8 Summary

The Avenue was a permanent visual reminder on the landscape of the sacrifice of those who served and war's impact. Tragically, of the 3801 commemorated by a tree, 759 (originally stated as 743) or one in five lost their lives during the war.[157] Plaques attached to the tree guards provided each individual's name and battalion. The cost of the 3771 trees planted in 1917–19, the tree guards and the plates was £2659 10s 11d.[158] Ballarat achieved something, which in terms of commitment and scale would not be repeated around Australia.[159] This statement could be extended to 'around the world'.

The numbering discrepancy occurred as trees 1242–1342 and 1490–1552 (totalling 164 trees) were reserved for the Ballarat East Avenue and a further 20 trees were planted on the western Avenue with an 'a' or 'b' added to an existing number and, in one case, four trees had one number—2590, 2590a, 2590b and 2590c. To arrive at 3771, the final tree

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[154] *Lucas's Staffs Appreciation*, 73–86.

[155] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 18, 1919, 4.

[156] Ibid., 2.

[157] In 2015–17 AVAHC Member Garry Snowden researched army service records to correct the number.

[158] Avenue of Honour accounts audited by Alex Hunter, 20 December 1921, Price family private collection. See Figure 17 in Chapter Five of this thesis.

[159] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 23

number 3912 had the East's 164 deducted and 23 added as outlined above. In 1993, designated by the AVAHC as a 'one-off', 30 trees (3913–42) were planted bringing the total to 3801. In all, 23 species of exotic deciduous trees were planted at regular intervals of 10–12 yards. Usually in blocks of 25 trees on either side of the road, the elms and poplars were the dominant trees.

To my knowledge, the only other similar avenue longer in distance than Ballarat's was from Abbottstown to Wrightsville in York County, Pennsylvania, where in 1919–22 a Road of Remembrance was planted to honour 1500 local men and women who served in the war in 1917–18. Oak, maple, elm and poplar trees were spaced 30 metres apart on each side of the road for about 25 miles (40 kilometres). Unlike Ballarat, the upkeep was poor and by 1925 tree replacement funds were depleted. By the 1950s, disease and road widening reduced the memorial to a few trees.[160] Across the world, in 2017 there are other memorial avenues, such as the 51-kilometre Avenue of Giants that runs through the Humboldt Redwoods State Forest in northern California. In 1921 a section was dedicated to a high-ranking American officer, but individual soldiers are not commemorated.[161]

In Australia in 1953, an ambitious plan for a Remembrance Driveway as a memorial avenue from Canberra to Sydney was conceived and plantations were established in 1955–57, 1967, 1973 and 1979. Since the early 1990s, the federal government has funded its revival and now the driveway along the Hume and Federal highways has memorial parks and rest areas commemorating Victoria Cross winners. It is very different to Ballarat's Avenue.[162] After World War One, avenues were established in Canada, England, France, Italy, New Zealand and the United States. Sometimes they were clusters of trees, commemorative gardens or had different names such as memorial avenues and remembrance drives.[163] As previously indicated, during and soon after World War One, many Australian avenues were planted, particularly in Victoria's Central Highlands.

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[160] "York County's Road of Remembrance," Universal York, accessed May 10, 2016, http://www.yorkblog.com/universal/2007/10/17/road-of-remembrance-1/.

[161] *Wikipedia*, s.vv. "Avenue of the Giants," accessed August 15, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avenue_of_the_Giants.

[162] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 338, 511–12.

[163] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 50–59.

All states have examples of memorial avenues but, as stated, it is often difficult to be precise about their number or placement. Unlike the Ballarat Avenue and many Victorian avenues, most Australian avenues, and especially those in Tasmania, only commemorate the war dead.[164] Recently, historians have 'rediscovered' the many memorial avenues planted towards the conclusion of, and immediately after, World War One and the Avenues to commemorate World War Two. Since Haddow's research,[165] considerable information has re-emerged. In particular, the survey by Sarah Cockerell[166] and the TREENET organisation[167] uncovered details about avenues planted throughout Australia.

Frequently, due to the lack of care, road widening, landscape alterations, council amalgamations, closer settlement and the selling off of school and other lands, avenues were lost, depleted or in poor condition. They are typically on public land and managed by local councils or management committees. By 2008 at least half of Australia's avenues were lost.[168] In 2013 Cockerell stated exotic trees like elms and oaks do well in Europe, but in Australia our climate means that often trees are under water stress.[169] Recently, through federal or local government grants and renewed community interest, many avenues have been renewed and others established.

These changes make it difficult to be precise despite extensive surveys completed by TREENET in the Avenues of Honour Research Pilot Project;[170] by the Australian Garden History Society (AGHS) for its 69-page database, 'Australian Avenues of Honour, Memorial & Other Avenues and Lone Pines';[171] and by Cockerell in her 2006 research.[172]

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[164] Ibid., 66.

[165] Haddow, "Avenues of Honour in Victoria."

[166] Sarah Cockerell, "Avenues of Honour Survey" (Adelaide: TREENET, 2004), Accessed May 24, 2017. https://www.treenet.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/2004-Symp-Proceedings001F.pdf.

[167] "2004 TREENET Avenues of Honour Survey." In *Proceedings of the 5th National Street Tree Symposium*, 11–26. Adelaide: TREENET, 2004. Accessed May 24, 2017. https://www.treenet.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/2004-Symp-Proceedings001F.pdf.

[168] John Wiseman, "History Taking its Toll on Avenues of Remembrance," *Australian*, April 25, 2008.

[169] Sophie Thomson, ABC interview, April 20, 2013, accessed June 28, 2016.

[170] TREENET, "Avenues of Honour 1915–2015."

[171] Australian Garden History Society. "Avenues of Honour, Memorial and Other Avenues, Lone Pines – around Australia and in New Zealand". Accessed on July 7, 2017.

Official state heritage databases have been established in most Australian states. Numbers recorded vary extensively across different surveys—for example, in 2014 John Wadsley listed 526 known Australian avenues of honour (over half at 298 in Victoria) and included 378 Australian avenues commemorating World War One and 143 commemorating World War Two[173] and in 2017 the AGHS database listed TREENET as naming 588 avenues across Australia.

In *Shadowed Ground*,[174] Kenneth Foote postulates that shrines to America's civil religion have left a lasting imprint on the American landscape:

> Shrines dedicated both to events and to individuals celebrate the values of heroism, valor, loyalty, and patriotism. Together these shrines outline a carefully filtered vision of the national past and present a heroic vision of American history.

Further, he argues that 'the act of enshrinement forces people to grapple with the meaning of the past in ways they might otherwise avoid':

> Landscape is more than a passive reflection of a nation's civil religion and symbolic totems. Landscape is the expressive medium, a forum for debate, within which these social values can be discussed actively and realized symbolically. Moreover the debate never ends.[175]

Foote's arguments apply to the Avenue and Arch. They are 'shrines' of the landscape that inform us about many aspects of Ballarat's cultural and historical past and present. We grapple with a debate about the meaning of the way in which the AVAHC has maintained them and the various ceremonies in which they have been involved.

As the Avenue grew in length, the importance of 'landscape' was highlighted. As indicated in Chapter Two, a number of publications such as *Memory and History in*

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https://www.gardenhistorysociety.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Avenues-of-Honour-sorted-by-states-July-17.pdf .

[172] Sarah Cockerell, "Avenues of Honour: Location, Assessment and Management of War Memorial Tree Avenues in Australia," (PhD thesis, Adelaide University, 2008).

[173] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 61.

[174] Kenneth E Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*, rev. ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

[175] Ibid., 292.

Twentieth Century Australia,[176] *Places of the Heart* [177] and *Reading the Garden*[178] have pointed out the link between landscape and commemoration. The trees, flanked by the individual plaques, created 'marks' on the landscape that signified clues to the past history and became markers as memorials. Private memories turned into public ones. For some, the trees became a site for family remembrance; for others, as is pointed out in *Reading the Garden*[179] and in *What's Wrong with Anzac?*,[180] the horror of the number of crosses on plaques indicating death led to a total revulsion of war.

We can return to Nora and his analysis of the importance of memory. Nora in analysing the symbolic element of 'memory' describes *lieux de mémoire* as 'places of refuge, sanctuaries of spontaneous devotion and silent pilgrimage, where one finds the living heart of memory'.[181] The Avenue is a 'place of refuge' and a 'sanctuary' where visitors are able to undertake a 'silent pilgrimage' when they are contemplating the sacrifices of those commemorated.

The planting of Ballarat's Avenue provided strong evidence of widespread community support as an important site for the commemoration and sacrifice of Ballarat's servicemen and women. While certain dignitaries—Sir Alexander Peacock, MLA; Lady Peacock; Major Baird, MLA; Robert McGregor, MLA; Frederick Brawn, MLC; Alexander Bell, MLC; Cr W Hill; Cr Hollway; Cr Crocker; Cr Treadwell; Cr Barker; Brigadier General Williams; Edward Price; Keith Price; Tilly Thompson; and Mr Thompson—took part in all or most plantings, many other community members from widespread backgrounds also provided continual support and were part of this collective memory of war.

In Chapter Seven of this thesis, which concerns the civic management of the Avenue and Arch from 1920 to 2017, I will return to a discussion concerning the role of the Ballarat Avenue and other avenues in both war and peace commemoration.

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[176] Darian-Smith and Hamilton, *Memory and History*.

[177] Ashton, Hamilton, and Searby, *Places of the Heart*.

[178] Holmes, Martin, and Mirmohamadi, *Reading the Garden*.

[179] Ibid., 149.

[180] Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 69.

[181] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 23.

Chapter 5: THE ARCH OF VICTORY

5.1 Introduction

The Arch of Victory to the west of the City of Ballarat was built and opened in 1920. As a large and prominent structure, it made a strong statement about the importance of the Avenue of Honour. As well, it was symbolic that the title included the word 'Victory' and that on its top, centrally, was a depiction of the rising sun emblem of the Australian Military Forces at that time. Also it was a powerful reflection of community attitudes to war in 1920.

This chapter discusses how the Arch came into existence, the ceremony to lay the foundation stone, the Arch opening by a member of the British royal family and the symbolism projected by the Arch that strengthens the main contentions of this thesis. As with the Avenue, the Arch was symbolic of the views of Ballarat people that it was of the utmost importance that the sacrifice of those soldiers, seamen, airmen and nurses who went to World War One was acknowledged. Also, at the time of the aftermath of the Great War, imperial sentiments and nationalistic fervour invested in the Arch showed a 'desire' by the people of Ballarat to continue loyalty to the British Empire.

As outlined by Jay Winter[1] and Bart Ziino,[2] international and Australian national commemoration of war occurred when communities were struggling with the grieving process of war. The erection of the Arch was part of this war commemoration. As discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, avenues of honour were one response to the devastation wrought by war. In Ballarat, though, there was more than war grief alone. At a time when the city had seen the demise of gold production during World War One and was divided over the conscription issue, it was important to Ballarat's leaders that the Arch was a prominent and powerful monument that reflected unity and strength. In fact, it was part of Ballarat 'boosterism'[3] and the use of the word 'Victory' over the Arch was

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[1] Winter, *Remembering War*, 174–78.

[2] Bart Ziino, "Claiming the Dead: Great War Memorials and Their Communities," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 89, no. 2 (2003): 145–61.

[3] 'Boosterism' was a term used in Ballarat in relation to the Ballarat Progress Association and the 'Forward Ballarat' movement

part of the assertiveness of civic leaders as they strove to trumpet the continuing importance of Ballarat as Victoria's second most populous city.

5.2 Origins of the Arch

As with the Avenue of Honour, the Lucas Company was central to the creation of Ballarat's impressive Arch of Victory. In mid-1918 the company advertised a competition for monument designs for an appropriate avenue entrance into the City of Ballarat.

The planning for the Arch took some time and involved a number of changes. It is presumed that the idea of placing a prominent structure at the commencement of the Avenue of Honour came about during conversations between Edward Price, owner and manager of Lucas & Co., and Lucas Girls, including their supervisor Tilly Thompson. Briefing notes for the June 1920 opening of the Arch stated, 'The idea of erecting a suitable entrance to the Avenue of Honour was decided on in June 1918'.[4]

During speeches following the Avenue planting undertaken on Saturday 17 August 1918, City Mayor Alexander Bell made the following statement:

> In regard to the erection of a steel arch over the entrance to the Avenue and placing the names of each of the girls of E Lucas and Co, who have helped establish the Avenue, on the arch, the girls wish it to be known that they have in hand the erection of a suitable entrance, and have expressed a wish not to have individual names placed thereon and they are honouring our brave soldiers and not themselves. They are arranging to hold a football match against a team selected from the ladies connected with the combined Ballarat drapers.[5]

Planning for a fundraising women's football match continued in late August 1918, but instead of playing the Ballarat Drapers, it was decided to create a match against a Melbourne-based team, the Khaki Girls. This was the first recorded women's Australian Rules football match played in Victoria. In an article analysing women's football during World War One, Rob Hess notes that during 1915–17 Western Australian retail firms sponsored charity matches between shop assistants and factory employees from Perth

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[4] *Star* (Ballarat), May 29, 1920, 3.

[5] *Courier* (Ballarat), August 19, 1918, 1.

firms such as Foy & Gibson, Boans, Economic and Bon Marche and Fremantle retailers. Also, a women's soccer match was organised in Ulverston, England in December 1916.[6]

> It is not altogether clear whether or not a template of women's involvement in charity matches with strong military and patriotic overtones, a template set in Western Australia during the Great War, at a time when masculine and feminine ideals were being redefined, was taken directly from the British experience.[7]

Hess states that the football fundraising concept had connections with Ballarat. The idea evolved at a time when the retail entrepreneur Harry Boan was living near Ballarat before he went to Western Australia and other Perth businessmen were customers of Ballarat's Lucas Company. Hess notes that the Khaki Girls were single women who were making Australian troops' uniforms and were involved in raising money for the war effort.[8]

Figure 13: Women's football teams at the Ballarat match in September 1918
Photograph from the Lucas Company souvenir booklet *An Appreciation: The Arch of Victory & Avenue of Honour, Ballarat*, 2nd ed. (Ballarat: n.d. [ca. 1921]), 15

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[6] Hess, "Playing with 'Patriotic Fire'," 1388–1408.

[7] Ibid., 1395.

[8] Ibid.

Ballarat was abuzz with excitement when the Khaki Girls of the Commonwealth Clothing Factory in South Melbourne arrived by train in Ballarat on the morning of Friday 27 September to be billeted overnight by individual Lucas Girls. On the Saturday morning, they were conveyed along the Avenue of Honour in motorcars driven by local luminaries, including the Bishop of Ballarat. In the afternoon, a City of Ballarat band led a parade of the Khaki Girls' Bugle Band, rifle squad, football team and physical culture company to the Eastern Oval. After the football, which was won by the Lucas Girls 3 goals 6 behinds (24 points) to 1 goal 2 behinds (8 points), the visitors gave displays of physical drill and bayonet exercises before a crowd estimated to be 7000 spectators. Hess observes that the displays by the Khaki Girls were highly militarised and 'masculinist' and that Ballarat, and particularly the local press, displayed patriotic fervour.[9] The event was successful as a fundraiser and £322 11s 2d was raised towards the construction of a suitable entrance to the western Avenue.

The decision about a favoured design for a structure at the entrance to the Avenue's entrance coincided with the declaration of the Armistice on 11 November 1918. The people of Ballarat, excited and relieved, had 'joyous demonstrations' that Bate described in vivid detail in *Life After Gold*.[10] The prominent role of the Lucas Girls was notable.

Figure 14: The Lucas Girls leading the Ballarat Armistice Day procession
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 18

[9] Ibid., 1400.

[10] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 69–73.

In late 1918, nine designs were submitted in the design competition for this entrance. Messrs Henderson and Campbell, who were members of the Victorian Institute of Architects, had been engaged by the Lucas Company to undertake the judging. Just after the armistice, HH Smith, principal of the School of Mines Technical Art School, received notification from Edward Price of Lucas that the Art School's design was awarded first place.[11] Second place was given to well-known local architect Percy Richards. Previously he designed Ballarat College in Sturt Street and the Provincial Hotel in Lydiard Street.

The winning design was placed on view to the public in the window of Tunbridge's furniture warehouse on the northwest corner of Armstrong and Sturt Streets. *The Star* wrote about this 'beautiful design': 'the whole of one window space is taken up with a model of the design as it would be carried out in actuality. It has gained the attention of a large number of people and many appreciative comments have been made.'[12] *The Courier* also praised the winning design and noted that the selected design had 'dignity and suitability' and that it would be 'a monument to the patriotism of the Lucas Company. Its artistic taste and merit will be a noble and unselfish work for all time'.[13]

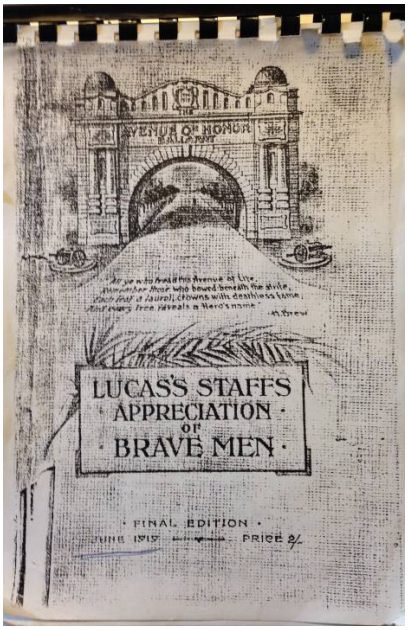

Figure 15: The original Arch design on the June 1919 Lucas' souvenir booklet cover
From *Lucas's Staffs Appreciation*, cover

[11] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 18, 1918, 2.

[12] *Star* (Ballarat), November 27, 1918, 4.

[13] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 18, 1918, 2.

The awarding of first place in the Arch design competition did not go smoothly. A November 1918 *Courier* letter to the editor indicated this. In part, the letter read:

> Sir—As one who has contributed to the funds of the Avenue of Honour, I think some explanation is necessary regarding the contradictory statements made in the Press regarding the competition. Lucas and Co decided on an ornamental entrance to the Avenue and newspaper statements said the firm had asked HH Smith, Principal of the Art School, to prepare a suitable design. Then a public competition for a design was announced with Melbourne architects as adjudicators. Later it was publically stated that the competition had closed and that Mr Smith's design had been selected.

Then, in the letter a series of clarifying questions were put forward.[14] The actual details about the winning entry are difficult to trace. Local architect George Clegg was teaching the Architecture and Building Construction class at the School of Mines Technical Art School, and in August or September 1918 two of his students, Deane White and Robert Ellis, drew the initial designs for the Arch.[15] Clegg left the School of Mines soon after this. After a three-week period when Lewis Smith was the instructor, the previously mentioned Percy Richards was the class teacher.[16] Later, Richards worked on the Arch drawings, as the 1921 Arch accounts indicated he was paid £10 for work.[17] In 1920 the two students were pupils of leading Melbourne architects—White of FS Mackay and Ellis of PG Pick.[18] In mid-November HH Smith was announced as the winner of the design competition as he was the principal of the Technical Art School. At the time, School of Mines classes undertook many orders for public work on items such as honour boards, decorative books and shields.[19]

Although the design lacked detailed architectural technical plans and drawings, the overall concept was pleasing to all at the Lucas Company. Plans were submitted to the City and the Shire and, in November 1919, the City approved the plans to erect an Arch at

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[14] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 27, 1918, 7.

[15] *Star* (Ballarat), May 29, 1920, 3.

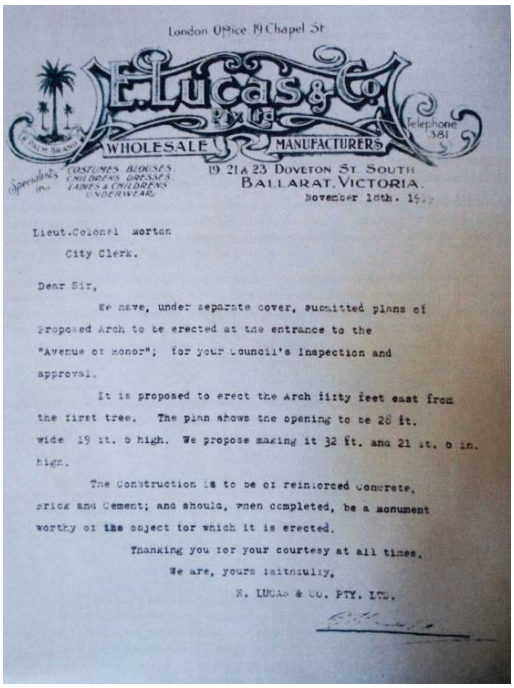
[16] *Star* (Ballarat), October 25, 1918, 3.

[17] 'Avenue of Honour audited accounts' and 'Arch of Victory audited accounts', 20 December 1921, Price family private collection. See Figure 17 in this chapter.

[18] *Star* (Ballarat), May 29, 1920, 3.

[19] School of Mines Annual Reports 1918–1920.

the entrance to the Avenue of Honour on the Ballarat-Ararat Road. This was followed by approval from the Shire in December of that year.[20]



London Office 19 Chapel St

F. Lucas & Co. Ltd.

WHOLESALE MANUFACTURERS

Telephone 381

Specialists in COSTUMES BLOUSES CHILDREN'S DRESSES LADIES & CHILDRENS UNDERWEAR

19 21 & 23 DOVETON ST. SOUTH
BALLARAT. VICTORIA.

November 16th. 1919

Lieut.Colonel Morton
City Clerk.

Dear Sir,

We have, under separate cover, submitted plans of Proposed Arch to be erected at the entrance to the "Avenue of Honor"; for your Council's Inspection and approval.

It is proposed to erect the Arch fifty feet east from the first tree. The plan shows the opening to be 28 ft. wide 19 ft. 6 high. We propose making it 32 ft. and 21 ft. 6 in. high.

The Construction is to be of reinforced Concrete, Brick and Cement; and should, when completed, be a monument worthy of the object for which it is erected.

Thanking you for your courtesy at all times.

We are, yours faithfully,

F. LUCAS & CO. PTY. LTD.

Figure 16: Letter from Lucas submitting Arch plans in November 1919
Document from PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/P/000123

The next issue for the Lucas Company was ensuring sufficient funds were available to build the Arch. The Lucas Girls' fundraising efforts, coordinated by Tilly Thompson, were spectacular. They had already raised considerable funds for the Avenue and other wartime projects, through exhibitions of the firm's season's samples and the sale of thousands of dolls, bead necklaces and buttons overseas and in Australia, kept a YMCA secretary at the front for three years at a cost of £200 per annum, paid the rent of £156 on the Returned Soldiers Institute for 12 months and raised £450 for the Red Cross, £220 for the Comforts Fund and £50 for the YMCA. *The Courier* reported in February 1920 about the Arch fund:

> The nucleus of the fund to build the Arch was when the Khaki Girls came to Ballarat and gave their display and played a football match—the proceeds were £330. Since then other funds have been raised and now total £550. It is expected the sale of miniature bricks on Saturday will raise

[20] PROV, Shire of Ballarat, Minute Book, VPRS 13492/P/0001, 268; PROV, City of Ballarat, Minute Book, VPRS 2500/P/0000 Box 114, Minutes of November 1919.

> £200 to £300. The Arch will take about four months to complete. Already £300 has been spent on avenue maintenance.[21]

Weekly payments were made by all the Lucas Girls of twopence in every £1 on wages received—some funds went to the Avenue planting and maintenance and some to the Arch account.

AVENUE OF HONOUR

Dec. 20th, 1921. RECEIPTS.				Dec. 20th, 1921. EXPENDITURE.						
To Donations:—				By Preparing and Compiling List of Names from Base Records: Lieut. Cobby and Sergt. Headlam				£32	7	0
City Mayor's Fund	£279	5	9	Do. W. Coulthard				21	0	0
Ballarat City Fire Brigade	2	10	0	Cost of Name Plates				63	10	8
Ballarat Shire, South Riding	24	0	0	Cost Painting Name Plates				275	11	5
Donations from Friends	91	15	9	Cost Timber for Tree Guards				671	19	3
Donations on Flag	18	11	10	Cost Trees				271	11	1
Donations E. Lucas and Co. Pty. Ltd.	133	12	6	Wages Paid for Digging Holes, Levelling Ground, Erecting Tree Guards				661	11	8
Employees' Collections	642	0	11	Postage Stamps				20	9	1
Proceeds from Exhibition of Firm's Samples	56	6	11	Freight				9	7	6
Proceeds from Sale of Dolls, 1917-18	838	13	7	Advertising				13	14	1
Proceeds from Sale of Beads	40	18	8	Sundries, Rope, etc.				5	12	8
Proceeds from Sale of Bags	9	13	0	Cost of Printing Catalogues				196	2	9
Proceeds from Sale of Gifts	175	14	0	Cost of Planting Avenue				£2,242	17	2
Proceeds Afternoon Tea and Concert	20	4	8	Maintenance Account—						
Total Proceeds from Sale of Souvenir Catalogues	305	5	8	Cost of Watering Trees—						
Money collected on "Man in Moon"	3	2	10	Wages to man	£360	12	9			
Profit on Drags and Chars a Banc	13	4	3	Chaff for Horse	24	1	1			
Profit on Excursion Trains to Burrumbeet and Learmonth	54	13	2	Bicycle, etc.	14	19	8			
				Wire, Rope, etc.	17	0	3			
								416	13	9
				Balance Cash in Hand				50	2	7
	£2,709	13	6					£2,709	13	6

Audited and found correct, ALEX. HUNTER. 20th Dec., 1921.

ARCH OF VICTORY

Dec. 20th, 1921. RECEIPTS.				Dec. 20th, 1921. EXPENDITURE.						
To Proceeds from Football Match	£322	11	2	By Richards (Architect)				£10	0	0
Proceeds Sale of Miniature Bricks	391	5	9	Bricks				205	3	9
Proceeds Sale of Arch Buttons	226	16	0	Timber				115	3	11
Proceeds Reserving Arch Gallery Seats	16	16	0	Lime and Cement				230	12	8
Proceeds Post Cards and Photos	51	17	7	Steel Rails				67	3	5
Proceeds Anzac Remembrance Souvenirs	153	12	2	Stones and Tablets, including Engraving				105	5	9
Proceeds Anzac Afternoon Tea	7	17	4	Rising Sun Emblem				81	10	0
Proceeds Sale of Dolls, 1919	83	2	9	Cost of Removing Telegraph Pole				4	7	6
Proceeds Sale of Dolls, 1920	81	4	1	Carting Gravel and Freight				135	17	10
Balance left over from Y.M.C.A.	51	12	11	Sundries, Nails, etc.				55	17	3
Employees' Collections, 1920	134	5	2	Electrical Fittings and Lightning Conductor				10	11	6
Sundry Donations	3	1	0	Labour—Plasterers, Carpenters and Contractor				993	3	6
Donation, Mrs. Lucas	115	0	0	Cost of Arch				£2,014	17	1
Donation, Mr. A. E. Daking-Smith	60	5	0	Concrete Enclosure round Guns—						
Donation, E. Lucas and Co. Pty. Ltd.	300	0	0	Cartage of Gravel, etc.	£10	14	0			
Donation, E. H. Price	100	0	0	Iron	8	19	1			
Donation, Mr. McKenzie Kirkwood	5	5	0	Plumber	3	3	8			
Sale of Timber	25	0	0	Timber	5	7	0			
				Cement	28	14	0			
				Blacksmith	1	0	0			
				Nails	0	8	6			
				Labour—Plasterers and Carpenter	37	5	0			
				Cost of Enclosure				95	11	3
				Credit Balance				19	3	7
	£2,129	11	11					£2,129	11	11

Audited and found correct ALEX. HUNTER. 20th Dec., 1921.

Figure 17: Avenue and Arch audited accounts, 20 December 1921

Documents from Price family private collection

[21] *Courier* (Ballarat), February 9, 1920, 2.

The accounts in Figure 17 are instructive. They show that the Lucas Company contributed more than £2200 or over 80 per cent of the Avenue income, strengthening the argument that Lucas was central to the Avenue plantings. Also, they reveal that apart from donations from AE Daking-Smith and McKenzie Kirkwood and the sale of timber, Lucas, through direct contributions and fundraising efforts, contributed more than 95 per cent of the income for the building of the Arch. It can be seen that there were no direct donations from the City or Shire Councils but, in the building, some in-kind work by council workmen assisted the project.

5.3 Building the Arch

By early 1920, the Lucas Company, the City of Ballarat and the Shire of Ballarat authorities thought sufficient fundraising had occurred to build the Arch. It had come to their notice that the British General, Sir William Birdwood, was visiting Australia from 20 January to 9 February and arrangements were made to invite him to Ballarat.

A large gathering of community members witnessed the laying of the foundation stone by Birdwood on 7 February 1920. Before the ceremony, Birdwood met relatives of soldiers killed in the war and lunched at the City Hall. The site of the Arch was decked out in banners and hundreds of Lucas Girls stood on platforms with a sign between them stating 'Lucas' Staffs Appreciation of Brave Men'. There was a display of memorabilia by Lucas staff and the ceremony included the singing of 'God Save the King' and 'Rule Britannia' by a Lucas Staff and Diggers Choir.[22] Former Premier Sir Alexander Peacock and Birdwood praised the efforts of the Australian soldiers in World War One.

[22] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/P/000123, General Birdwood Visit Folder.

Figure 18: Foundation stone ceremony February 1920—Birdwood's arrival
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 6

As predicted in *The Courier*, the construction took four months. The contractor was Leo Charles, a friend of Edward Price, and there were 13 bricklayers, plasterers and carpenters. As well as the foreman, George Brookes, they included three other Brookes—Alf, Jim and Dave. The Arch was built of bricks and faced with cement rendering. For one-third of the height on each side, the pillars were filled with concrete as abutments to prevent movement. It was known that HRH Edward, Prince of Wales, was visiting Australia in June and that if the Arch were completed, he might officially open it.

Figure 19: At the Arch—Leo Charles (centre back), Edward Price (right)
Photograph from private collection of George Brookes, the son of George Brookes senior (centre front)

In June 1970, in an interview 50 years after the construction of the Arch, the then 77-year-old George Brookes spoke about the challenge of building the Arch. He stated that he had a 1:8 scale plan, drawn up by three Melbourne students, as a guide—with no details and no architect to supervise. The Arch accounted for about 70,000 bricks that came from the local manufacturer Selkirks.[23] Also in an interview, John Nolan, returned soldier and bricklayer, revealed the original plans had a statue of a soldier placed centrally on the parapet. The design was altered to substitute the Army emblem of the rising sun.[24]

During April the construction was affected when Selkirk brick factory management instructed its workmen that bricks could not be loaded and transported to the Arch site as they were required for another job. In response, as men were not to load the bricks, under the supervision of Tilly Thompson, the Lucas Girls went to the factory after work and loaded the bricks onto carts before transporting them to the Arch site. Selkirk's gave in![25]

Figure 20: Lucas Girls loading bricks in April 1920
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 11

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[23] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 17, 1970, 10. It is of interest that Brookes mentioned three students, while Wadsley named two. It is likely that Deane White and Robert Ellis were the Arch designers and either they collaborated with a third student or Brookes was mistaken.

[24] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 9, 1970, 2.

[25] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 30, 1970, 21; Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 29.

HRH Prince Edward visited New Zealand in May 1920 and then Australia, so it was a coup to have him officially open the Arch. Both *The Star* and *The Courier* were besotted about Ballarat having a royal visit, but the *Evening Echo* used the opportunity to criticise the visit. On 14 May, it pointed out that the Prince delivered a speech in New Zealand prepared for Australia and, in realising the Prince's horrible faux pas, most press suppressed the speech. It stated that his publicity agents had recorded what he wore, how he backed tote winners, how he smiled, how he golfed and how he danced with pretty girls but somehow his wonderful speeches have not yet reached us.[26] On 26 May, it noted that the Prince's trip was appallingly expensive at the people's expense. It was a pageant with a lot of 'flag-flapping', addresses and singing of the national anthem.[27] On 1 June under the heading 'Princeitis', after noting *The Age* was full of 'tripe' about the Prince's ten-day Victorian visit, the *Evening Echo* recorded:

> Whilst the average man and woman can afford to laugh at the absurd manifestations of so-called loyalty for which the visit of the Prince of Wales is responsible, it must not be forgotten that behind the visit is a purpose at which we cannot afford to laugh. That purpose is to entangle free Democratic Australia in the web of Imperialism. With considerable cunning, the organisers of the trip are directing much of their attention to the children.[28]

It is pertinent that the *Evening Echo* report had alluded to the 'imperialism' involved with the actions of the Prince. In contrast, *The Courier* aimed to have a temperate approach:

> In welcoming the Prince of Wales, Australians have shown that it is possible to extend a sincere, wholehearted and affectionate greeting to the heir of the Throne without lowering their dignity or offering an affront to the Royal visitor by indulging in fulsome praise.[29]

Nevertheless, the *Courier's* editor was very annoyed that the organisers of the royal visit had found it impossible to allot more than two hours to the visit of his Royal Highness to 'Ballarat, the most important inland city in the Commonwealth'.[30] The stage was now set for the official opening of the Arch.

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[26] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), May 14, 1920, 2.

[27] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), May 26, 1920, 2.

[28] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 1, 1920, 4.

[29] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 2, 1920, 2.

[30] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 3,1920, 2.

Figure 21: The crowd at the Arch opening, 2 June 1920
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 7

5.4 The Opening

When the Prince of Wales arrived in Ballarat on 2 June 1920 at 2pm, despite the 'threatening' weather, the streets were packed with thousands of people from throughout the district. After arriving by train, the Prince toured Ballarat's main streets in sunny conditions before arriving at the Arch at 3.15 pm in the first car with 24 cars following with dignitaries seated in strict order of rank. Ballarat High School army cadets were devastated as they were to be a guard of honour, but rain developed and the Prince's car drove by.[31]

[31] Interview with Edgar Bartrop in April 1982. Bartrop was a Ballarat High School cadet in 1920. He stated in the interview that this occurrence was one of the 'big disappointments' in his life.

Figure 22: Eleanor Lucas presenting gold scissors to the Prince of Wales
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 8

Steady rainfall led to a brief official ceremony before a large crowd. Nevertheless, Eleanor Lucas presented the Prince with a pair of golden scissors to cut ribbons across the Arch. As these did not work, Edward Price produced small scissors that did work and then the Prince declared the Arch open. The words spoken by Eleanor Lucas in making the presentation are significant in terms of their imperialistic, religious and besotted nature:

> Your Royal Highness—
>
> It is with great pleasure, through the love and loyalty of those around me, I have the honor to stand before your Highness and say we thank God from Whom all blessings flow for conferring upon us this great favour, giving us a fitting finish nothing less than the living touch, nothing less than the hand of Your Royal Highness, heir to the British Throne, with its vast dominions, to open for all time the gate of this living, lasting memorial of the brave men and women who gave themselves for British glory and for the freedom and liberties of our beloved Empire. On behalf of the girls who have worked so untiringly, sustained by the firm, and backed up by the loyal citizens of Ballarat, I have much pleasure in presenting this gift with which to remove the barrier and as a token of their love and loyalty.[32]

[32] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 3, 1920, 4.

Following this, Tilly Thompson presented the Prince with a suit of silk pyjamas and all the dignitaries left for a brief Town Hall reception.[33] Again, it is of interest to note that, symbolically, all female Lucas employees, the Lucas Girls, had placed an individual stitch in the pyjamas when they were under preparation. *The Courier* reported:

> A large number of people visited the Showroom of E Lucas & Co Pty Ltd today to inspect the Royal pyjamas. They are of maize satin charmeuse, elaborately embroided on the breast pocket with a representation of the Arch of Victory, embroided in silk in color tones of cement. Through the archway the trees of the avenue can be seen. On the right side of the pocket is a spray of Australian gum, on which are perched three kookaburras, all of which are exquisitely embroided in their natural colors. On the left pocket is a spray of golden wattle blossom, so perfect in outline and color that it almost looks real. The right sleeve represents the Australian Coat of Arms in colors, and the monogram of his Royal Highness worked in red and gold adorns the left sleeve. The whole of its work reflects great credit on the Lucas Girls.[34]

This report reinforced the Lucas contribution to the fundraising and building of the Arch. The *Evening Echo* along with *The Courier* and *The Star* wrote with pride about the city's appearance for the Prince's visit and the new Arch of Victory. 'The railway station was adorned with gum branches and flags' and 'Lydiard Street was a blaze of color'.[35] The prominent Arch stood at 57 feet (17.5 metres) high and 64 feet (19.7 metres) wide and soon became a major landmark.

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[33] Ibid.

[34] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 1, 1920, 2.

[35] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), June 2, 1920, 4.

5.5 Symbolism of the Arch

Figure 23: The Arch with howitzer cannons added on Anzac Day 1921. In the booklet, the photograph was labelled 'The Lucas Girls Tribute to Ballarat Soldiers'.
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 3.

Ballarat's Arch of Victory symbolised both national and local sentiments about World War One. Despite the anguish and feelings of severe loss caused by World War One, the large and impressive structure heralded its national importance in the eyes of the community. In 1920 the Arch spoke in terms of victory in World War One by Britain's imperial forces and it can be seen as part of an international and national movement towards war monuments. Further, its height and width depicted strength. As the years passed, the speechmakers at the site of the Arch were less inclined to speak in imperial terms and became more conscious about emphasising the grief of war.

Ballarat people had strong feelings of pride about the Arch. In 1920 the mayor of the City, Cr George Crocker, wrote about it in glowing terms in the annual *Mayor's Report*, mentioning that it was the entrance to Ballarat's 'famous' Avenue. Once again, the role of the Lucas Company received prominence in the report:

> The firm and staff of E Lucas & Co have been very active during the past year, and have completed the erection of the magnificent 'Arch of Victory' at the entrance to the famous Avenue of Honor … The Arch is a monument of which citizens are justly proud, and is a fitting

> consummation to the magnificent work of Lucas & Co. and their staff. It completes the formation of possibly the greatest memorial to our brave soldiers who fought so gallantly in the Great War; and I consider that too much praise cannot be extended to Mrs WD Thompson, Mr EH Price, and the employees of this firm for their untiring efforts which resulted in such a splendid memorial.[36]

The report also stated, 'Peace Has Been Achieved'. In 'the most awful war in the history of the World', it was implied the Allies were innocent victims:

> Peace has come in the triumph of Right over Might; in the enthronement of Humanity over Barbarity; in the Destruction of arrogant Autocracy; in the impregnable safeguarding of the Freedom of the World. We may fitly and justly hope that even the people who began the war, in a scheme for the spoliation of the world, will derive more benefits from this Peace, in the end, than they could have got from subjugating the people whom they sought to conquer and despoil.[37]

These sentiments help explain why the words 'Arch of Victory' were emblazoned on the top of both sides of the structure. Mayor Crocker encapsulated the common Australian view that the Germans caused the war and that the British and their allies were victorious. Little did the people of 1920 realise that the seeds of World War Two were being sown.

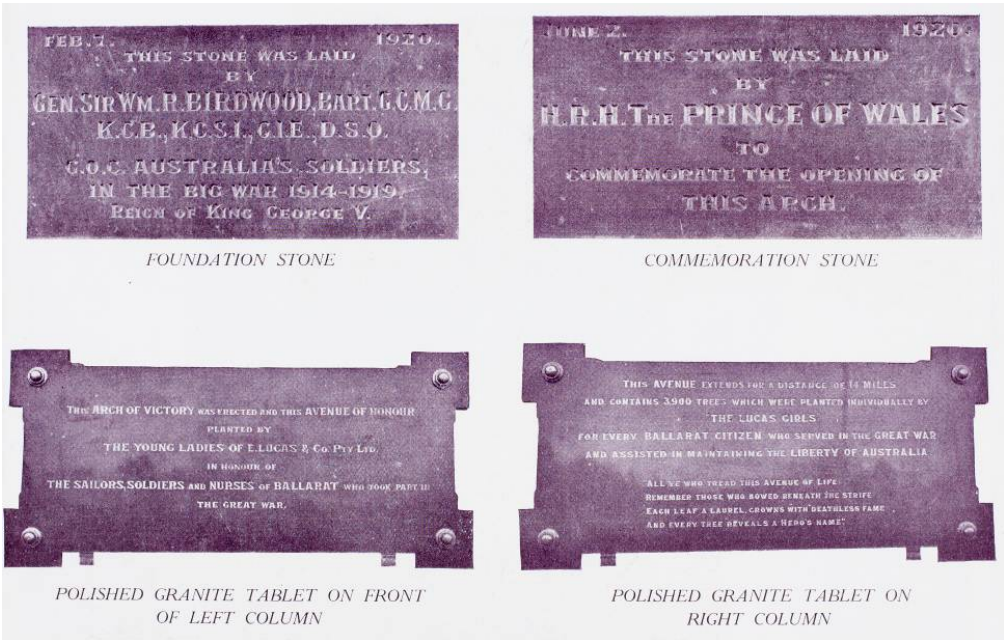

Figure 24: Arch tablets and foundation stones
Photographs from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 4

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[36] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1920*, 7.

[37] Ibid., 1.

Two large plaques were placed on the city side of the Arch. The northern plaque (on the right column) in part stated, 'The Avenue extends for a distance of 14 miles and contains 3,900 trees which were planted individually by The Lucas Girls' (which, in fact, was not accurate as in 1920 the Avenue contained 3,771 trees and only some of these trees were planted by Lucas Girls). This was followed by the phrase 'For every Ballarat citizen who served in the Great War and Assisted in maintaining the Liberty of Australia'. Again, this partly explains the word 'Victory' that was placed on the top of the Arch. The civic authorities and Lucas management that devised the wording on the Arch and decided to use the Australian Imperial Forces symbol of the rising sun, appeared to be deliberately emphasising that Britain, the Commonwealth Forces and their allies were fighting a 'just' war in defence of the Australian nation's values.

Victory was a word strongly associated with World War One. In *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*,[38] Beaumont heads Chapter Five '1918 Crisis and Victory' and she states at the start of the chapter, 'The year 1918 is routinely described as the year of Allied victory, a victory so comprehensive that a punitive and humiliating peace could be imposed on the Central Powers in 1919 and beyond'.[39] *The Star* in Ballarat headed its November 12 edition 'VICTORY! VICTORY! VICTORY! Great War Ended! Armistice Signed' in the largest headlines ever used by that newspaper.[40] It seemed like a victory and was celebrated as such by crowds in the cities and towns of the Allies, but, in truth, it was more about battle fatigue for the troops involved and a grinding to a halt by the war-weary countries involved in the prolonged and bloody war. Although the Germans and other central powers were considerably weakened towards the end of 1918, the armistice was a halt to proceedings and could, in reality, be termed peace without victory. Another interesting decision with the presentation of the Arch was the dates of 1914 and 1919 that were placed on both sides of the structure. The war had concluded on 11 November 1918 with the armistice, so why 1919? A number of other war memorials use this date. I am unaware of any written statement to explain this but can speculate about possibilities—the Treaty of Versailles that set out war reparations was signed in June 1919 and in Russia World War One fighting was still occurring in 1919.

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[38] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*.

[39] Ibid., 393

[40] *Star* (Ballarat), November 12, 1918, 1; Bate, *Life After Gold*, 70.

In Ballarat, Bate saw the building of the Arch as symbolic. In *Life After Gold*, he states:

> This last response to the war by Lucas (the building of the Arch), although only brick and stucco and a little wider than the highway, was in spirit a linking of the valour of warrior Australians with mighty deeds and great traditions, both ancient and modern.[41]

Local leaders pointed out that Ballarat boasted Australia's only location with a pairing of an arch and avenue and where an arch spanned a major road. They were a constant reminder of the sacrifice and involvement in war of the local community. On the Arch, this was reinforced by adding information about World War One locations where Australians fought. On the side of the Arch facing away from the City of Ballarat, information about World War One locations where Australians fought was included. On the northern side, six 1915 Gallipoli sites and 15 sites for Sinai and Palestine were listed. On the southern side, 35 sites in France were listed for 1916–18.

It is significant that the emblem of the rising sun from the badge of the AIF was placed at the top of Ballarat's Arch, thus bringing it into a nationalistic and militaristic context. Its building can be seen as part of the worldwide war commemoration after World War One. Winter noted 'the locus classics of remembrance in the interwar years and beyond are war memorials. These sites, statues, and sculptures have been subject to a vast literature'.[42]

Figure 25: Thiepval Memorial in northern France commemorating war dead
Photograph from Barker, *Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 34

[41] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 74.

[42] Winter, *Remembering War*, 135.

As part of the grieving process after 1918, the English, French, Germans, Turks and others erected massive memorials across Europe, often to commemorate the war dead. An example was the 'Thiepval Memorial to the Missing' in northern France, a tall and powerful tower in the 'killing fields of the Somme', that was designed by English architect Sir Edwin Lutyens. It was inscribed with 73,357 names of those who fell in the Battle of the Somme and had no grave and was unveiled by the Prince of Wales on 16 May 1932.[43] Over a 20-year period, many memorials were built, especially in Belgium and northern France. Perhaps the best-known memorials were the London Cenotaph, Tyne Cot, Menin Gate and at Étaples.[44]

The Australian national desire to erect monuments of sufficient stature to commemorate the sacrifices of the armed forces was influenced by these European memorials. Inglis [45] and other authors pointed to the World War One commemoration with Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance that was dedicated on 11 November 1934, Sydney's Anzac Memorial dedicated on 24 November 1934 and Canberra's Australian War Memorial dedicated on 11 November 1941, as well as the influence of the historian Charles Bean on the creation of the Anzac legend (as discussed in Chapters Two and Seven of this thesis).

As AIF survivors sailed home in 1919 and 1920, people from all over Australia planned to honour the returning soldiers and their dead comrades. Inglis states:

> To memorials erected after the South African war and during the Great War were now added tributes which would transform the landscape, as committees all over the country raised money, chose a site, decided on what form the tribute would take and how it would be inscribed, and then invited the whole community to a ceremony at which the memorial was unveiled and its meaning proclaimed.[46]

This is what occurred in Ballarat in relation to the building of the Arch. It was part of the Australian war memorial movement. Ziino has pointed out, though, that the involvement of the community in the creation of war memorials after World War One was much more

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[43] Michael Barker, *Sir Edwin Lutyens* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2005), 34.

[44] In July 2016, in groups led by Garry Snowden of the AVAHC, I visited many war cemeteries at Gallipoli and the Somme area of northern France and Belgium.

[45] Inglis, *Sacred Places*.

[46] Ibid., 117.

complex than Inglis has stated. In noting that the study of war memorials must now probe beyond the strictly public and civic, Ziino states:

> While Inglis is right to point out that the imagined community to which memorials referred remained empire and nation after the Great War, the meaning of 'community' goes much deeper than a basic commitment to these broad notions. In affirming their values, communities also helped define and mediate transmission of the developing national culture of Anzac. War memorials spoke to a diffused need to acknowledge communities' very particular loss and celebration, while mediating those values that the war brought into relief nationally.[47]

In his article, Ziino discussed the war commemoration at the Melbourne Teachers' College. This has parallels with the World War One commemoration in Ballarat that is described in Chapter Three of this thesis. This can be seen in the publishing of soldiers' letters supplied by readers in local newspapers, the consolidation of wartime lists of honour boards and memorial volumes in schools and churches, and the planning for the building of appropriate war memorials.

In his concluding paragraph, Ziino states, 'The distinctiveness of commemoration in particular communities offered comfort by providing continuities between their values and the deaths of loved ones'. He argues that the memorials communities produced acknowledged the specificity of their loss, but they also 'mediated their members' relationships to a developing national culture'. His final statement relates directly to the Arch of Victory:

> War memorials facilitated the very particular comfort sought by the bereaved, while promoting identification with that national iconography, and show us clearly how the private and personal related to the national. Disparate memories of grief and pride informed the language of Anzac, and facilitated the confluence of communal and national sentiment in the memorials they produced. Those memorials remain traces, not of a national legend antagonistic to private memories, but of a search for comfort that integrated meaningful communal supports with a vindicating, and to some extent malleable, national myth.[48]

However, the Arch was more than a symbol of grief and pride and a connection to the Anzac legend. For Ballarat's community leaders, it was about the importance of the city. A letter to the editor of *The Courier* in November 1918 concerning the entrance to the

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[47] Ziino, "Claiming the Dead," 145.

[48] Ibid., 159–60.

Avenue of Honour contained some telling phrases in appealing to the Ballarat public to support Arch fundraising:

> Sir.—Once more a Ballarat institution has upheld the reputation of the city as an art centre. The noble and dignified design now on view at Tunbridge and Sons would form an imposing entrance to the splendid Avenue of Honor so enthusiastically commenced and so thoroughly completed by the Lucas girls. The girls have set a standard for the whole State in that method of recognising the service and perpetuating the memory of our gallant soldiers … The design can only be carried out in the most durable material, granite and bronze: both are available in the State, and could be executed in our own city. This is a splendid opportunity for the patriotism of the Ballarat public to encourage its artistic talent and once more enable the Lucas' girls to get to work and complete this magnificent memorial in honor of our victorious soldiers.—Yours EXCELSIOR[49]

In this letter, Excelsior, as well as emphasising Ballarat's reputation as a leading art centre, the need to commemorate its gallant soldiers and the role of the Lucas Girls in the construction of the Arch, has alluded to Ballarat's leading role in Victoria by setting the standard. The term 'victorious soldiers' is also telling in relation to the Arch of Victory.

By the end of World War One, gold mining in Ballarat had ceased and, as outlined in Chapter Three of this thesis, the city fathers conducted a 'Forward Ballarat' campaign that was also tied to its 'Beautiful Ballarat' image. As Victoria's second city to Melbourne, where the federal parliament was sited, city leaders considered that Ballarat needed to show its strength. In speeches at Craig's Hotel to the visiting political and civic leaders at the time of the Avenue plantings, the importance of Ballarat was emphasised. That Ballarat could attract the future king of England to open the Arch in 1920 at the entrance to this famous avenue was symbolic of the city's importance. In reality, it was part of Ballarat 'boosterism', a term used locally to promote Ballarat.

After the completion of the Arch of Victory, three German Howitzer 'short guns' with 77mm gun barrels, which had been captured in August 1918 during the battle of Amiens in France, were donated to Ballarat, and in April 1921 the Shire of Ballarat granted permission for two guns to be placed either side of the Arch.[50] They were acknowledged at an Arch ceremony on Anzac Day 1921. A similar captured gun was given to Ballarat

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[49] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 28, 1918, 6.

[50] PROV, Shire of Ballarat, Minute Book, VPRS 13492, 4 April 1921, 323.

High School in 1920.[51] This was part of a national program to distribute captured artillery to towns around Australia. The guns were located at the Arch of Victory until the 1960s.[52]

An issue concerning the maintenance of the Avenue and Arch was the role of the Shire of Ballarat in contrast to the City of Ballarat. The Avenue was located in the shire and the Arch was within its boundary. Former shire councillor Barbara Hughes in *Praevius—Leading the Way: A History of the Shire of Ballarat* provides hearsay evidence from a former shire secretary that the City Council lacked interest in the Arch project. She indicates that he stated the City rejected a proposal from the Lucas Girls to have the 'magnificent archway' built.[53] She explained that the Shire, which at that time had its headquarters in Learmonth, was approached by the Lucas Girls and, after a meeting between Lucas representatives and shire councillors, the Shire agreed to support the building of the Arch 'one foot inside the Shire boundary'.[54]

This story is not supported by newspaper reports or official correspondence and seems to have no factual basis. The words of City Mayor Crocker quoted earlier in this chapter indicate that the City councillors were, indeed, proud of the Avenue and were supportive of the building of the Arch. On 3 November 1919, the City councillors granted the request of Lucas & Co. for a loan of the city's water cart to regularly water the trees on the Avenue. Returned soldiers were to water and dig around the trees at the expense of the Lucas Company.[55] On 17 November 1919, the City councillors directed that the mayor and the City engineer confer with Lucas to supply '100 loads of gravel for the making of concrete at the entrance of their Avenue of Honor'.[56] From 1920 the City Council contributed £25 annually to the Avenue maintenance, while the Shire Council contributed

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[51] Gordon Reynolds (former Ballarat High School Deputy Principal), email message to author, October 30, 2014.

[52] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 13.

[53] Barbara Hughes, *Praevius—Leading the Way: A History of the Shire of Ballarat* (Ballarat: Waller & Cheshire, 2013), 94. In correspondence, she suggested the shire secretary may have been Harry Truman.

[54] Ibid., 94.

[55] PROV, City of Ballarat, Minute Book, VPRS, 2500/P/0000 Box 114, 1918–22, 169.

[56] Ibid., 175.

the much smaller sum of £2 2s 0d annually.[57] In 1938 the City Council contributed £45 for floodlighting of the Arch.[58] (This ceased once World War Two commenced).

Inglis notes that memorial arches were considered and rejected by a number of committees who decided that triumph was not the message they wanted their monument to transmit. He notes further:

> When people did choose an arch they gave it more often than not the character of an entrance to a park or a sportsground, with gates attached, prompting rhetoric not about winning but about crossing a threshold from peace to war. Arches actually proclaiming Victory are rare.

Inglis then points out that a few—Ballarat in Victoria, Burwood in Sydney and Ayr in north Queensland—would fit into the landscape of the Roman Empire.[59]

In his *Conservation Management Plan* for the Avenue and the Arch completed in November 2014, John Wadsley makes a detailed analysis of commemorative arches.[60] He notes that the construction of arches to commemorate victory in war appears to have its origins in the Roman Republic during the second century BC, where elaborate arches were built across the Roman Empire.[61] The Arc de Triomphe in Paris completed in 1836, the Wellington Arch at Hyde Park, London, completed in 1830 and the Siegestor (Victory Gate) in Munich completed in 1852 are perhaps the best-known nineteenth-century European arches.

After World War One, many arches were constructed in Europe, often as memorials to those who died in war. These include the previously mentioned Memorial to the Missing at Thiepval, France, and Menin Gate at Ypres, Belgium. In the United States, soon after the conclusion of World War One, temporary and elaborate arches were built for victory parades and included the Peace Arch in North Carolina and the Victory Arch in New York. The Victory Arch in Virginia started as a temporary arch, but was rebuilt in stone in 1962. In Australia and countries such as Canada and New Zealand, arches were built

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[57] AVAHC Minutes, 25 June 1935.

[58] AVAHC Minutes, 1 November 1938.

[59] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 149–50.

[60] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan* 68–81.

[61] Ibid., 68.

but most were after the opening of Ballarat's Arch in June 1920. Wadsley states that the Arch of Victory stands alone in terms of its design and sheer scale:

> It also appears that arches directly associated with commemorative avenues appear to be a rare combination in Australia—the only other confirmed example identified apart from Ballarat is that located at Lawson, South Australia, a much smaller memorial arch. And, similar to overseas experience, a number of arched gateways in Australia were constructed as entrance ways to civic buildings, memorial gardens or parks. It is therefore considered that the Ballarat Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory are linked in a unique manner, unique in Victoria, certainly rare elsewhere in Australia and, indeed, probably in the world.[62]

Another important development is the way in which the Arch has come to be used by many Ballarat people. Once the Arch was built, it quickly became more than a structure indicating the entrance to the Avenue of Honour. As noted, it was laden with symbolism, especially of an imperialistic flavour. But it also became a shorthand symbol for Ballarat itself, as had the Eureka Stockade event for nineteenth-century Ballarat.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, Ballarat tourist information, tourist booklets and postcards[63] invariably had photographs of the Arch, often with the heading 'Ballarat the Beautiful' and mostly on the front cover or early in the publication. These were being used to promote Ballarat as a place to visit, rather than concentrating on the Arch as a symbol of war commemoration. This use of the image of the Arch for tourism has continued since these earlier times. In general Ballarat publications, photographs are mostly of the Arch and rarely of the Avenue of Honour. Perhaps the exception is *Life After Gold*, where Bate has a small photograph of the Arch under construction in 1920 that is labelled 'The Victory Arch'.[64]

Section five of Wadsley's *Conservation Management Plan* is labelled 'Iconography' and includes many photographs showing how the Arch is a city 'icon' and the variety of artistic, commercial, promotional and tourism purposes for which it has been used. The photographs included the Arch depicted in or on souvenir and fundraising booklets,

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[62] Ibid., 81.

[63] A collection of 'Ballarat the Beautiful' booklets is available in the Ballarat Municipal Library, Australiana Room.

[64] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 74.

postcards, souvenir plates, cups and saucers, badges, and accommodation and real estate signs.[65] Often, Ballarat people's casual language mentioned the Arch. Statements such as 'past the Arch', 'through the Arch', 'the other side of the Arch' and 'near the Arch' were and are common. The centenary history of Ballarat Golf Club is titled *Golf at the Arch*.[66] In 2017 there is an Arch Fish Shop in Sturt Street and an Arch Laundrette in Longley Street, Alfredton.

Once the Arch was built as a major gateway to the Avenue, it became the site for significant events in the coming century to commemorate further wars in which Australia took part. These events are outlined in Chapter Seven of this thesis. Originally very much associated with Britain's imperial cause, as time passed, the Arch became a site to remember war's tragedy and grief and the importance of peace. This reinforced the symbolism discussed in this chapter.

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[65] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 46–48.

[66] Phil Roberts, *Golf at the Arch: A Centenary History of the Ballarat Golf Club 1895–1995*, (Ballarat: Ballarat Golf Club, 1995).

Chapter 6: LUCAS CONTRIBUTION

6.1 Introduction

The role played by the Lucas organisation was crucial in the planting of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour, the building of its Arch of Victory, the long-term civic management of the Avenue and the Arch and the development of its community attitudes to war and peace. Previously in this thesis, the involvement of Lucas and of the Lucas Girls has received prominent comment and in this chapter the influence of their collective memory is analysed.

Influenced by the theories of Max Weber concerning the Protestant work ethic, included in this chapter is an examination of the origins and growth of the Lucas Company; the role of the company and the Lucas Girls in World War One; the history of the company, including its role in the maintenance of the Avenue and the Arch; and, finally, the history of the collective memory of the Lucas Girls in relation to sustaining their connection to the Avenue and Arch.

Although the Lucas Girls were paid low wages similar to other female workers in the clothing industries, a strong case can be made that they were unusual as clothing factory employees in their fundraising and their loyalty to the Lucas Company. During the history of this company, an aura and strong self-image was established for those known as Lucas Girls. Although they were in an occupation that required repetitive and tedious work, the evidence attests that over the years a collective memory was established and, recently, has been amplified. The favourable media publicity and approbation received reinforced the positive image of being a Lucas Girl.

The collective memory was reinforced many times since the first planting of Ballarat's Avenue in 1917. The transmission of oral history about the Avenue from past Lucas employees, favourable media reporting about the role of the Lucas Girls in World War One and in the succeeding years of the twentieth century and the presence of Lucas Girls on ceremonial occasions at the Avenue and Arch all contributed to this collective memory.

James Fentress and Chris Wickham observe:

> Memories about the past can themselves change across time, but, even when they do not, they will certainly be selected, out of the potentially infinite set of possible memories, for their relevance to the individuals who remember them, for their contribution to constructing personal identity and relationships … shared memories, indeed the sharing process itself, that is to say, the production of spoken or written narratives about the past, will take form within the framework of the meaning given them by the group inside which they are told.[1]

During 1917–2017, which covers the period that is the focus of the investigation in this thesis, the collective memory of the Lucas Girls about their roles concerning the planting of the Avenue, the fundraising for the construction of the Arch and the long-term maintenance of the Avenue and the Arch was enhanced in a selective manner. The shared memories of the contributions that are outlined, over time, continually reinforced the focus on their crucially important actions during World War One and in the following years. The result of this was that, on many ceremonial occasions, the role of the Lucas Girls was lauded and brought to the forefront of the ceremony.

It should be noted that E Lucas & Co. operated from 1888 to 1968. Once the business ceased officially, a succession of clothing companies based on Lucas continued in Ballarat but the records of the Lucas Company no longer exist. The main sources of information about Lucas are newspaper articles and reports; a book, *The Golden Thread,* by Mollie White, who in the early 1960s was commissioned by the Price family to write a history of the Lucas business; two Price family booklets—*E. Lucas & Co. Pty. Ltd. 1888–1938* and *Edward H. Price—A Memoir*— produced after the death of Edward Price in 1947; company quarterly magazines, *The Spectator,* which were published from 1948 until the early 1960s: and interviews of appropriate people. This means that a statistical analysis of the Lucas Company and its employees is not possible.

6.2 Lucas Early History

In order to illustrate the importance of the Lucas connection to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch and to influencing community attitudes to war commemoration, in this section a detailed analysis of the origins of E. Lucas & Co. is made.

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[1] Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 88.

The Lucas Company founder Eleanor Lucas started a home-based sewing business in 1878. In understanding her success and her drive and determination, it is pertinent to discuss the views of Weber outlined in a series of essays in 1904 and 1905 that were then composed into a book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.[2] The Price family booklet *Edward H. Price—A Memoir* noted that Lucas was imbued with a 'Christian spirit' and, throughout their family life, her children were brought up in a Christian atmosphere with regular bible readings and family prayers.[3]

In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Weber argues that capitalism in Northern Europe evolved when the Protestant ethic, involving values that embraced hard work, thrift and progress, influenced many people to engage in work in a secular world. He shows that Protestantism supported worldly activities dedicated to economic gain, seeing them as being endowed with moral and spiritual significance. This recognition was not a goal in itself; rather, it was a by-product of other doctrines of faith that encouraged planning, hard work and self-denial in the pursuit of worldly riches.[4] Weber argues that, due to their beliefs, there was a smaller participation of Catholics than Protestants in business life.[5]

American sociologist Gerhard Lenski has recorded that more than a century prior to the statements by Weber, John Wesley, a Methodist church founder, observed that 'diligence and frugality' made Methodists wealthy. Protestant asceticism and dedication to work, as noted by Weber and Wesley, were important contributors to economic progress by facilitating the accumulation of capital, so critical to the economic growth and development of nations.[6] The life of Eleanor Lucas followed the features outlined by Weber. Her steely determination, perseverance and Protestant-based unwavering Christian spirit overcame obstacles.

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[2] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Unwin Hyman, 1930). The book was originally published in German in 1905.

[3] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 3.

[4] Bendix Reinhard, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 1977).

[5] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 3-12.

[6] Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life*, rev. ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1961), 350–52.

Eleanor was born on 24 March 1848 to John and Jane (nee Rhodes) Hargreaves, of Bradford, England, as a sister to Richard. John was a Yorkshire businessman who was looking to migrate to make a fresh start for his young family, and it is likely that the family was influenced by the strength of the Wesleyans and Evangelicals in the northern part of England. In 1851 the family travelled to Australia, from where word of fabulous gold riches had reached England, and soon after arrival they made their way to Ballarat to settle on this goldfield.[7] As fare-paying migrants, the family had sufficient wealth and status to be confident of a sound start to their Australian life.

In 1855 Jane, Eleanor's mother, died. *Edward H Price: A Memoir* states:

> …in the course of his business her father, John Hargreaves, was obliged to be constantly on the move and it was necessary for him to place the children with sympathetic friends. Because of the circumstances Eleanor commenced work at an early age and was reputed to have had the benefit of only two years' schooling.[8]

At the age of 18, Eleanor married a Welshman, John Pittard Price, who was a marginally successful Ballarat gold prospector. They had six children—three boys and three girls. One son, John, survived for ten months[9] and another son, Alfred, died at the age of ten in May 1878 and then, just four months later, in September her husband, John, aged 48, was killed in a fall at Kelsall's Soap Works, where he worked as a carrier. Eleanor was left in difficult financial circumstances[10] with four children: daughters Eleanor, Emily and Annie and seven-months-old baby Edward, born on 19 February 1878. Using her initiative and determination from her Protestant and middle-class background, she rallied people to her aid.[11] Through J Kelsall, her husband's employer, and Martin Hosking of the Ballarat Town and City Mission where she attended services, a fund was set up to support her family. Sufficient money through local donations was raised to help her buy a four-roomed cottage in James Street, Ballarat East, near the city's shopping centre—and a sewing machine that proved to be a 'god-send'.

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[7] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 1.

[8] Ibid.

[9] In the nineteenth century, there was a comparatively high infant mortality rate.

[10] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 2.

[11] White, *The Golden Thread*, 8.

It is of interest that Eleanor received community support. The willingness of powerful institutions, such as the Protestant Church to which she belonged, to support her financially is testament to her middle-class status, which led to her being viewed as respectable and blameless. Christina Twomey in *Deserted and Destitute* illustrats that, in nineteenth-century Australia, a middle-class widow received much more support than a deserted wife, who often lived in poverty, and, as the head of the household, was blamed for her situation.[12] She explains that, as there was no colonial government-based welfare system, destitute and deserted women often received support from middle-class women. In effect, this reinforced and consolidated the social standing of these women and 'intersected with social circles that were run by complex networks of friendships, marriages and other alliances'.[13] White stated that Eleanor Lucas was 'virtually penniless' in 1878 at the time of the death of her first husband,[14] but this statement needs qualification because, as Twomey illustrated, the status of Eleanor as a middle-class widow ensured community support and enabled her to quickly recover herself financially.

Eleanor had never worked a sewing machine but soon learnt. For eight years, she ran a successful home-sewing business that kept her family together while she sewed underclothing and shirts from material supplied by drapers in nearby Bridge Street. She earned four shillings and sixpence a dozen for making men's shirts.[15] The form of payment per completed item was not favoured by the Victorian Tailoresses' Union. In 1882–83 this union had an unsuccessful strike in Melbourne for better pay[16] and for payment for the time worked rather than per clothing item, but the economic downturn by the end of the 1880s led to a low level of union membership and limited negotiating power by the union.[17] In 1886 Eleanor married William Lucas, a widower miner who lived at Redan near Sebastopol's gold mines. Eleanor's family moved to the Lucas home, where William ran a few house cows on several acres. At the age of 38, Eleanor was no

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[12] Christina Twomey, *Deserted and Destitute: Motherhood, Wife Desertion and Colonial Welfare* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2002), xix-xxi.

[13] Ibid., 99.

[14] White, *The Golden Thread*, 8.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Tom Touchstone, *Courier*, February 14, 1883, 4.

[17] Susan Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists* (Sydney: University of NSW, 2001), 135.

doubt looking to retire from sewing to become a homemaker, but in 1888 William was killed in a mining accident.[18]

Eleanor decided to return to James Street and reinvigorate her sewing business by starting E Lucas & Co. in 1888. Her daughters assisted—16-year-old Eleanor as a machinist, 14-year-old Emily as a cutter and 12-year-old Annie as a material collector from local drapers and a deliverer of finished garments.[19] It is interesting that Annie was under the age of 14 when in Victoria all children should have been in schooling as part of the free, compulsory and secular 1872 *Education Act*. In the garment industry both overseas and in Australia, child labour in home and factory settings was common at this time.[20] The Lucas business prospered—two rooms were added to the cottage and a partition in the old James Street dwelling was knocked down to make a room of 24 feet by 20 feet.[21] A cottage industry was developed and mechanisation started when 12 treadle sewing machines were placed in the cottage. Soon, 16 staff members were employed—added one by one as orders increased. A major Ballarat business had started!

In the early 1890s, campaigns against clothing industry sweating and decisions by the Victorian Wages Board had ensured the previous practice of outwork that entailed payment per item completed was virtually eliminated.[22] This had been a major issue during the Tailoresses' Union 1882–83 strike that was mentioned previously. The coming years for the Lucas Company were ones of growth. Despite the economic downturn of the early 1890s, clothing orders continued to flow in. Through the widespread reputation for high quality products, her factory, known as the 'Busy Bee', prospered and in 1894 the first specially designed factory was built at the rear of the James Street house.

According to White, Eleanor 'had no problem getting labour'. She only took on reliable and skilful employees, insisting 'on the highest standard down to the least detail' and

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[18] White, *The Golden Thread*, 9.

[19] Ibid., 9.

[20] Elisabeth Prügl, *The Global Construction of Gender—Home Based Work in the Political Economy of the 20th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 25–31, 50–59.

[21] White, *The Golden Thread,* 9.

[22] Magarey, *Passions of the Feminists*, 135.

'provided congenial employment and reasonable hours of work'.[23] In writing the Lucas history, White is likely to have exaggerated the positive aspects of the fledging business. It does appear, though, that Eleanor had a firm hold over her workplace and had set high standards for her employees. No doubt, several employees were disgruntled about aspects of their laborious work but, in general, Eleanor achieved a harmonious workplace.

The workers were low paid in line with wages provided to women throughout Australia. From the 1850s, the ideas of Englishman John Stuart Mill about female equality had found public expression in the Australian colonies,[24] but 'the concepts of women in the nineteenth century were synonymous with marriage, domesticity and reproduction'.[25] A key feature of Australian gender relations was women's unequal access to paid work, and women consistently earned far less remuneration than men did. The *Shops and Factories Act 1873*, the first in Australia, was aimed primarily at controlling the physical conditions in factories and limiting the hours of female workers, but it was largely ineffective.[26]

During the new unionism movement of the 1880s and 1890s, where many unskilled workers were unionised in attempts to improve wages and working conditions, attempts to improve women's wages were again unsuccessful. Raewyn Connell observes, 'Attempts to form unions of working women ran into obstacles that were not met when unionizing men'.[27] The result was that frequently the wages for women were about half the wage of males completing equivalent work. The *Shops and Factories Act 1896* by requiring worker registration provided regulation and some worker protection. In November 1896, the wages board fixed minimum rates of seven shillings and sixpence per day for men and three shillings and four pence per day for women.[28]

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[23] White, *The Golden Thread*, 10–11.

[24] Katie Spearritt, "New Dawns: First Wave Feminism 1880–1914," in *Gender Relations in Australia—Domination and Negotiation*, ed. Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans (Sydney: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 332.

[25] Margaret Anderson, "Good Strong Girls: Colonial Women and Work", in Saunders and Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia*, 229.

[26] Shurlee Swain, *The City Past & Present* (Carlton, Vic.: University of Melbourne, 2008).

[27] Raewyn Connell, *Gender & Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 29.

[28] Edna Ryan and Anne Conlon, *Gentle Invaders—Australian Women at Work 1788–1974* (West Melbourne: Nelson, 1975), 40.

From 1878 for a 20-year period, the personality of Eleanor Lucas and the drive and ambition emanating from her Protestant work ethic led to the growth of the Lucas Company. In coming years, the roles of two other key personalities—Edward Price and Tilly Clennell nee Thompson—were important influences in the progress of the Lucas Company in the context of a changing society. In a similar way to Eleanor Lucas, the Protestant enterprise and diligent work ethic articulated by Weber[29] were important influences for Price and Thompson.

6.3 Company Growth

In 1896 Eleanor's son, 18-year-old Edward (known as Ted), left his trade of furniture making to join the business. In 1897 he oversaw a further building extension at James Street, the addition of a gas engine and the mechanisation of the treadle machines. Instead of making up drapers' materials on contract, the firm began to manufacture garments for sale on the open market. In the new century, growth continued through the high demand for women's underclothing at a time when multiple petticoats were fashionable. Also shirts, underpants, chemises, knickers and nightdresses were made and the company diversified by introducing women's blouses, children's frocks, infants' ware and women's dresses. New premises were required and in 1903 a large upper floor in an Armstrong Street factory building was leased in central Ballarat. In his personal life, Edward was a keen athlete, although restricted by a knee injury. An enthusiastic cyclist, once he rode the adventurous trip from Ballarat to Melbourne.[30] In December 1902, he married Elvina Morris at the Dawson Street Church of Christ where they were members and, in coming years, they had five children—Elvie, Keith, Eleanor, John (Jack) and Morris (Morrie).

In 1905 the other key Lucas Company personality, Matilda Louise (Tilly) Clennell, joined the company as the principal sales representative. Previously a buyer for Tyler's Drapery store in Bridge Street, Ballarat, she had befriended Eleanor Lucas.[31]Reputed to be the first woman in Ballarat to obtain her car licence, after obtaining a motorcar she became a

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[29] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic.*

[30] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 7.

[31] White, *The Golden Thread*, 16.

travelling sales lady. Her task was to display new fashion designs and to take orders throughout southern Australia.[32] Tilly soon became known in the clothing industry as a colourful personality promoting the products of Lucas.

The Armstrong Street premises were outgrown and in 1907 E Lucas & Co. purchased the former Phoenix Foundry building and its two-acre site in Doveton Street South (in 2017 this is the Target retail chain building). This was an ideal site in central Ballarat, although it did have one drawback in that it was located next door to the pig market that operated on Wednesdays. In years to come, Lucas Girls delighted in telling stories about escaping and squealing pigs.

Figure 26: Eleanor Lucas, Edward Price and Tilly Clennell (soon to be Tilly Thompson), c. 1912
Photograph from the Price family private collection

Edward Price as the managing director of Lucas & Co. was extremely busy. As well as his family role, he controlled the company's financial policy, raw material purchases,

[32] Peter Mansfield, "Thompson, Matilda Louise (1871–1959)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, 1990), accessed June 10, 2017, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thompson-matilda-louise-8791/text15417.

production, staff management, plant requirements and merchandising policy. Often working back late at night, he unpacked cases of raw materials or packed finished garments ready for despatch.[33] White noted that for years he was the only man in the Lucas business and he was a leader in Ballarat's growing industrial community: 'the trusted friend and adviser of people within and beyond his direct business contacts'. He had 'his mother's tenacity and driving purpose' and a close rapport with his female employees.[34]

As his mother did, Price displayed the attributes of Protestantism outlined by Weber.[35] A member of the Dawson Street South Church of Christ from 1894,[36] he and his family attended church regularly. The parents of his wife Elvina, Mr and Mrs Charles Morris, were leading members of this church and this was where Edward first met Elvina.[37] White noted that, using his Christian principles of hard work and sacrifice in pursuing worldly riches, Edward courageously backed his own judgement, even when it involved business risk.[38]

In the years before World War One, the Lucas factory in Ballarat was well established. It sold its products throughout Australia and to overseas locations—in 1905 a buying agency was established at 24 Coleman Street, London. Due to the high quality and reliability of its products, throughout Australia it had prominent buyers such as Sidney Myer, Francis Foy, Mr Stephens and Harley George in Melbourne, John Snow in Ballarat, JN Grace and George Wright of Sydney, Mr CE Moore of Broken Hill, Harry Boan and Mr T Ahern of Perth, Mr TC Beirne and James Allen of Brisbane, Chas Moore of Prahran and Adelaide, and John O'Dea of Adelaide. As well, James Smith of Wellington, New Zealand, was dedicated to buying Lucas garments.[39]

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[33] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 11.

[34] White, *The Golden Thread*, 14.

[35] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic.*

[36] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 5.

[37] White, *The Golden Thread*, 15.

[38] Price, *Edward H. Price*, 10.

[39] E. Lucas & Co., *E. Lucas & Co. Pty. Ltd. 1888–1938* (Ballarat: E. Lucas & Co., 1938), 16–17.

In the early 1900s, the pay for the Lucas Girls and other clothing industry females had not improved and remained far less than that of male workers completing equivalent work. As Jocelynne Scutt observed, '*The Conciliation and Arbitration Act* of 1904 did not require the Court to set wage rates for men and women in a particular way'. This meant there was no provision for equal pay for men and women.[40] This discrepancy was reinforced by the Harvester Case judgement brought down by Justice Higgins in the Commonwealth Industrial and Arbitration Court in 1907. Higgins determined a minimum wage for a man should be seven shillings per day to cover the basic needs of rent, food and fuel for the man, his wife and three children. This concept of a family wage was fine for men but the situation for women was unresolved. In particular, women who were of a working-class background often were left in very difficult circumstances.

Grimshaw et al. observes:

> Higgins clearly viewed the compulsion of impoverished wives to be breadwinners as a burden to be avoided, and saw no reason to ask employers to indulge with high wages young single women, who were presumed to contribute only towards their own keep within a family household. And so women's capacity to earn a fair wage, judged by the criteria of equity and individual needs, was dealt a severe blow, which would bedevil their fortunes for decades.[41]

At Doveton Street, Edward Price renovated and extended the factory building to accommodate more mechanised sewing machines and the company rapidly increased its number of staff members—from 220 in 1907 to 400 in 1914[42] and 500 in 1916.[43] In 1910 the Lucas factory was enlarged and trade developed with New Zealand and South Africa. Edward Price in 1908, in the company of his brother-in-law TR Morris, took the first of nine overseas trips when he visited Europe and America to study the latest ideas in factory organisation and to contact suppliers of raw materials.[44] Then Tilly Thompson, in

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[40] Jocelynne Scutt, "Inequality Before the Law: Gender, Arbitration and Wages," in Saunders and Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia* , 267.

[41] Patricia Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation 1788–1990* (Ringwood, Vic.: McPhee Gribble, 1994), 200–1.

[42] White, *The Golden Thread*, 18.

[43] M M McCallum, *Ballarat District Citizens and Sports 1916* (Wendouree, Vic.: Tulloch & King, 1916), 82.

[44] White, *The Golden Thread*, 19.

1913–14, visited Europe to evaluate new machinery and fashion trends.[45] These overseas trips were beneficial to the Lucas Company and assisted its continual advancement.

It is of note that the clothing orders for retail companies were provided by businessmen in a male-dominated area. At Lucas, though, once Edward Price contacted with the buyers, often a female—Tilly Thompson nee Clennell—finalised the order. In *The Golden Thread*, White painted an almost frightening portrait of Tilly. She notes she was a 'fiery individualist', who saw everyone else as individuals, whether opposed or in alliance:

> Impatient and impetuous, she brooked no obstacles. It was said of her: 'When she came into the factory, you didn't have to look up to see who it was—you heard the whirr of wheels'. She proved the right team worker for Mr Price. He knew when to apply the brake, and matched her adventurous flights with a quieter, steadying enterprise of his own. Their relationship was based on respect for individual quality more enduring than any statutory definition of the rights of employer and employee.[46]

In this account, White indicates the contented nature of the factory workers. She also notes in her 1964 publication:

> One Lucas employee who recently completed fifty years' service, summed up its unique character in these words: 'If you're to be happy at work, you must think that whatever you're doing you are important. With Lucas, all of us could think we were important in the place.[47]

Again, these are exaggerated claims by White. Edna Ryan and Anne Conlon in *Gentle Invaders: Australian Women at Work 1788–1974* recorded the low wages and restrictions for female factory workers in Australia in the early 1900s.[48] As stated by Charles Fahey and John Lack in 'Harvester Men and Women: The Making of the Harvester Decision', 'in 1907 most women worked in a labour market where gender inequalities were already entrenched'.[49] This applied throughout Victoria, including with the Lucas Girls.

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[45] Mansfield, "Thompson, Matilda Louise (1871–1959)."

[46] White, *The Golden Thread*, 16–17.

[47] White, *The Golden Thread*, 16.

[48] Ryan and Conlon, *Gentle Invaders*, 61–68.

[49] Charles Fahey and John Lack, "Harvester Men and Women: The Making of the Harvester Decision," in *The Time of Their Lives: The Eight Hour Day and Working Life,* ed. Julie Kimber and Peter Love (Melbourne: Southwood Press, 2007), 81.

In 1914 Tilly married William Daniel Thompson, a wealthy mining company manager and speculator, who was a widower with six children and 19 years her senior.[50] Similarly to Price and his mother, Tilly and her husband were imbued with Protestant ethics and belonged to Ballarat's respectable middle class. At Lucas, Tilly moved to a senior managerial position overseeing production and managing staff and remained at Lucas, although it was common practice at this time for married women to leave employment. As Anderson noted, single women in the workforce were seen as working for only a short time before marriage and their wages were commonly about half the male rate, denoting their dependent status. They were viewed as homemakers and were not seen as needing to receive a wage that would support all family members.[51] Thompson's marriage age of 43, her early favourable work experiences and her senior position as a Lucas Company employee appear to explain her continuing employment.

The analysis of the people involved with the Lucas organisation in this section and in the following section of this thesis, provides an insight into the Lucas contribution to war commemoration in Ballarat at the time of World War One. People connected with the Lucas Company played a very prominent role.

6.4 Lucas Role in World War One

As related in Chapter Four, the role of the Lucas Girls was central to the founding of Ballarat's Avenue of Honour. This section analyses the progress of the Lucas factory in the war period; aspects of the firm's involvement with fundraising, especially for the Avenue and Arch; wartime recruiting and Ballarat 'boosterism'; and issues, including unionism, associated with the Lucas Girls during the war.

World War One, also labelled 'the Great War', was a time of immense change. This included a rewriting of the map of the world and the loyalties of various countries, especially in the European context, and changes in the work and social roles of men and women. The 'war to end all wars' ground on for years and resulted in new alignments.

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[50] McCallum, *Citizens and Sports 1916*, 102.

[51] M. Anderson, "Good Strong Girls," 227–29.

In Ballarat the Lucas Company was in a sound position to survive the pressures of wartime. The management had adjusted to wartime conditions and was prepared to make concessions to its employees. An issue was the company's motives in becoming so involved in the war effort. Was it just patriotism or was there an underlying and disguised reason for the intense support of the imperial project? A newspaper article of March 1915 headed 'A Prosperous Business' confirmed that the Lucas Company increased its business during World War One:

> Today the firm has 460 employees and 300 machines. Despite the delays in receiving raw materials from the 'old country', there are sufficient orders for many months to come … Lucas and Co is operating in every State of the Commonwealth and extends even to the island of Fiji.

Further, the article stated that the preference for locally manufactured goods, the uncertainties of imports through the 'ousting of Germany from the markets of the world' and the 'prejudice against American goods' had all assisted this expansion.[52] The prosperity of the business no doubt produced a positive outlook from the company managers, Eleanor Lucas, Edward Price and Tilly Thompson, and led them to a patriotic and nationalistic stance. It is also likely that the managers were mindful of the need to 'give back' to the community and not to be seen as 'capitalists' who were capitalising on the war.

The part played by Thompson was vital in assisting the company's progress. In an exaggerated statement, *The Golden Thread* noted that the company was 'prosperous and happy' and 'output was not dependent upon rigid factory discipline'. There was 'genuine co-operation among all who had part in its productivity'.

> It was certainly not run on conventional lines. Mrs Thompson thought nothing of taking girls from their machines to watch sunlight on a spring morning flood the hawthorn blossom in the city gardens, or, later, during the First World War, to hand out comforts and sing choruses when troop trains drew in or out of the Ballarat station.[53]

Thompson exhibited a forceful personality to the many buying customers, both from Australian states and overseas countries, assisting in ensuring the company had sufficient orders during the war to remain profitable and to keep its employees fully occupied.

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[52] *Star* (Ballarat), March 27, 1915, 7.

[53] White, *The Golden Thread*, 17.

> It was not long before her name was a byword amongst buyers throughout the Commonwealth, and her home a certain rendezvous for anyone visiting Ballarat on a buying trip. As one well-known businessman said, 'She was the only one I can remember who could handle nine different buyers at the same time and keep them all happy.'[54]

By 1915 Eleanor Lucas was nearing seventy years of age. She had taken an active part in the company's business until, in that year, she retired to her daughter's property, Granthaven in Healesville West, at a time when the business was formed into a limited proprietary company and she had sold the company to her son Edward Price.

The Lucas Company had become increasingly busy as production changed from a focus on ladies fashion garments to utility clothing for women in a time of war. It appears an average of 450 Lucas Girls were employed during World War One but, at times, this peaked to a staff of 500. They were mainly from a working-class background, many were farm girls who resided on Ballarat district farms, most had a Protestant background and all were single as it was the practice for girls to resign once they were married. The Company did not begin to employ people of a Catholic background until the mid-1950s.[55]

As World War One developed into a stalemate and dragged on, as with most places throughout Australia and, in particular, in Victoria, other businesses and organisations in Ballarat and district were also highly motivated and generous in embracing the need for sacrifice and financial generosity in the time of war. For 1914–18 Bate notes:

> The community was encouraged to think that its savings would help to pay the soldiers, and firms were able to organise employee contributions. The Woollen Mill subscribed £3660 on behalf of the workers and £10,000 itself. No one could escape fund-raisers. For the YMCA, the Red Cross, the Citizens Camp Committee, the RSL, the Mayors' Patriotic Fund and many special efforts, tins were shaken, doors knocked and raffles, concerts, fetes and excursions held. A Queen Carnival in 1916 raised £8279—half for the Ballarat Hospital and half for the Patriotic Fund … With 52,561 articles made at home or at their public work rooms, Ballarat's Red Cross volunteers easily topped the State list in 1918.[56]

As outlined in Chapter Five of this thesis, the patriotic support by the Lucas Company was prominent in Ballarat's war effort and it appears that the Lucas Girl's comradeship at

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[54] E. Lucas & Co., *E. Lucas & Co.*, 15.

[55] Interview with Bev Shears (Lucas Girl of 1955–60), April 20, 2016.

[56] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 67.

work and shared belief in community service came to the fore. As noted, Tilly Thompson coordinated the fundraising efforts. It is likely her husband, William, was a pro-war supporter, although there is no direct evidence to support this contention.

A 1970 newspaper report noted that 'the girls' raised money in many ways and were led by the dynamic Mrs Tillie Thompson[57], a director of the firm known throughout the Commonwealth. The report mentioned the girls donated twopence from every £1 they earned in wages.[58] We do not have evidence whether all the Lucas employees or their parents were happy about the imposition of the compulsory donation from their wages. The Lucas-commissioned historian White in *The Golden Thread* did not comment about this but she did provide an unsubstantiated view that the Lucas Girls were content with the considerable fundraising.[59] As working-class employees, this commitment was notable.

An article in the Lucas Company quarterly magazine, *The Spectator*, provides evidence of the sacrifice the young Lucas employees were making. A 1961 edition, 'Local Girl Makes Good', mentions that Beattie Davies married in 1960 to become Mrs Beattie Thompson and she was leaving the company after working for years as a designer at the Flinders Street, Melbourne, section of the business. She began at Lucas in 1921, when as a teenager from Sebastopol she earned two shillings and sixpence per day for work entailing standing at a pressing board all day. As the weekly Sebastopol to Doveton Street tram fare was three shillings and sixpence per week, she preferred to walk.[60]

In Melbourne, especially in the inner suburbs such as Brunswick, there were many clothing factories[61] and, despite the frequently harsh conditions, women preferred to work in factories rather than as domestic servants. Beverley Kingston notes:

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[57] Note in this article Tilly Thompson is named as 'Tillie'—in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Peter Mansfield, "Thompson, Matlida Louise (1871-1959)." noted that Tilly's full name was Matilda Louise Clennell.

[58] Rodney Shaw, "Patriotism Led to Arch", *Courier Saturday Magazine*, May 30, 1970, 21.

[59] White, *The Golden Thread*, 21–23.

[60] *The Spectator*, March 1961, 2–3.

[61] Kaye Hargreaves, *Women at Work* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982), 342.

> The great attractions of the factory were the company it provided at work, the sense of being one in adversity with one's fellow-sufferers, the regulated and relatively short hours, and the relatively generous pay. All this, the companionship, the free evenings and weekends and the pay packet, added up to a kind of freedom quite unknown to any housewife or girl in service.[62]

The Lucas Girls had the same incentives of comradeship and regulated conditions, but they also had media and community attention for their patriotic works. The regional loyalty to a provincial city, the past favourable employment history of Eleanor Lucas, the paternalistic approach of Edward Price to his employees and the zest of Tilly Thompson led to the widespread reputation of accomplishment. The *Mayor's Report* for Ballarat for each of the years 1917–20[63] and local and Victorian newspaper reports reinforced this. For example, *The Frankston and Somerville Standard* under the heading 'A Wonderful Record' noted:

> The following extract from a recent issue of *The Argus* shows what wonders can be accomplished with proper organisation. The wonderful story of what has been accomplished by the 'Lucas Girls' at Ballarat reads almost like a romance, and yet it is true in every detail. These girls who are employees at Lucas' clothing factory, have a record of voluntary service during the war period which may be well envied by many. [64]

During World War One, Australian society and the role of women in society had undergone significant change. Women had shown that they could undertake the tasks formerly only allocated to men. Through necessity they had 'ridden motor cycles and driven ambulances, operated telegraph keys, made munitions of war, filled and set sandbags, ploughed fields and built haystacks'.[65] Yet as Joy Damousi in 'Marching to Different Drums' shows, during World War One, despite middle-class, upper-class and working-class female employees participating in patriotic fundraising activities, 'any

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[62] Beverley Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann: Women and Work in Australia* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 2000), 58–59.

[63] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1917*, 4; City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1918* (Ballarat: City of Ballaarat, 1918), 7; City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report, 1919* (Ballarat: City of Ballaarat, 1919), 5; City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report*, *1920*, 7.

[64] *Frankston and Somerville Standard*, May 21, 1924, 3.

[65] White, *The Golden Thread*, 24.

attempts made to transcend these duties and to become active in decision making or military service were scorned'.[66]

One aspect that involved the Lucas employees was the effort by federal and state governments, local municipal councils and other authorities, such as church representatives, to advertise the need for increased recruiting of males from 18 to 45 years to serve in the Australian armed forces. Besides promoting public meetings at locations such as the Alfred Hall in Ballarat, where the program typically featured speakers, bands and other musical items, recruiting teams visited factories such as the Lucas factory and the Ballarat Woollen Mills with 'a view to securing the co-operation of young women working there'.[67]

As the war dragged into an unresolved stalemate and the losses of Australian troops through injury and death rose alarmingly, recruiting efforts increased and eventually led to the conscription crises of 1916 and 1917. In Ballarat the strong recruiting efforts involved the churches holding frequent patriotic services, the Ballarat branch of the Lady Mayoress Patriotic League leading fundraising efforts, the Victorian premiers directing local municipalities to hold public recruiting meetings[68] and Prime Minister Hughes coming to Ballarat on 9 and 10 October 1916. It is safe to assume a number of Lucas employees, including Tilly Thompson, took part in these recruiting initiatives.

The Lucas Company became involved in the 'boosterism' of Ballarat that took place towards the end of World War One. Due to the loss of the two major industries—the Phoenix Foundry and the Sunshine Harvester Works—to Melbourne in the early twentieth century and the closing of the Ballarat gold mines by 1918, strong initiatives were needed to promote Ballarat's industries. These took place as part of the Forward Ballarat Movement in October 1916 and 1917 when Factory Days to showcase Ballarat industries were held.

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[66] Joy Damousi, "Marching to Different Drums: Women's Mobilisations 1914–39" in Saunders and Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia*, 353.

[67] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/Box 107, 2 July 1915.

[68] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/Box 111, 18 July 1916; PROV, Shire of Ballarat Minutes 1914–1924, VPRS 13492, 92, 30 July 1917; PROV, Shire of Ballarat Minutes 1914–24, VPRS 13492, 143, 203. Meetings were to be held on 4 August 1916, 1917 and 1918.

In 1916 there were 48 Ballarat places of work opened on the 20 October Factory Day. They included the premises of agricultural machinery plants, printers, carriage factories, ladies' and men's clothing factories, food manufacturers, breweries, soft drink producers, foundries, brickworks, electrical businesses, furniture manufacturers, builders and woollen mills. The Lucas factory was highlighted and *The Star* recorded:

> The magnificent factory of Messrs Lucas and Co. in Doveton Street will be open for inspection on Friday next. Here visitors will come to see over 400 employees busily engaged in the production of some of the prettiest blouses and ladies underclothing which are put on the market. The factory is airy and up to date, and when the girls are in full swing should provide an interesting half-hour for those who care to inspect it.[69]

In a similar fashion, before the 1916 Factory Day *The Courier* promoted the virtues of Lucas & Co. It noted that the 'whitework establishment' was one of the best examples of Ballarat enterprise and business ability: 'It is one of the show places of Ballarat and employs a small army of young ladies and girls.' It is a veritable hive of industry and the 'class of work produced is responsible for the fame of Lucas and Co. have won throughout Australia'.[70] It is significant that Edward Price was a member of the Forward Ballarat Movement Information Committee and he was also vice-president of the Industrial Exhibition Committee.[71]

The themes of Forward Ballarat, recruiting and the Lucas war effort came together in a report in *The Courier* at the time of the Factory Day in October 1917. It was noted:

> The Sportsmen's Thousand Recruiting Band paid a visit to Lucas' works yesterday afternoon and played selections in front of the establishment as a mark of their appreciation of the great work the girls have done for the soldiers. Having requested to be permitted to serenade the girls inside the works they were conducted to the gallery at the rear of the main workroom, where they played a selection. The Recruiting Sergeant voiced their appreciation of the girl's service in a few graceful sentences.[72]

Underlying the promotion by the media of the Lucas Company was local pride in the firm's success and, for the female employees, an aura about belonging to the Lucas Girls

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[69] *Star* (Ballarat), October 14, 1916, 3.

[70] *Courier* (Ballarat), October 14, 1916, 1.

[71] McCallum, *Citizens and Sports 1916*, 82.

[72] *Courier* (Ballarat), October 20, 1917, 2.

group. Certainly, the concentration of many females at the one workplace, when nearly all had a father, brother or brothers, fiancé or boyfriend or a combination of these at World War One, assists in explaining the focus on fundraising and the strong emphasis in Ballarat on war commemoration It can be argued that the Lucas Girls led the strong emphasis on war commemoration in the City.

In 'Anzac: Memory and Forgetting in Local Landscapes', Chris McConville hints that the involvement of the Lucas Company in planting the Avenue of Honour was from 'an industrial firm' and that it was not a community-focused effort. He notes:

> The avenue, running from Ballarat's western fringe, is now seen as a solemn memorial gesture, driven by one group of factory workers, the women employed at the Lucas clothing factory. In fact these avenues allowed a simple and cheap act of connection, with none of the complexity, craft skills or cost of a stone, stained glass or metal memorial. The Ballarat avenue was a gesture from one industrial firm and not a communally-directed project.[73]

Contrary to McConville's view, as illustrated in Chapter Four of this thesis, the planting of the Ballarat Avenue had widespread community support from all sides of the political spectrum. The attitude expressed in the *Evening Echo* is testament to this. By using the term 'industrial', McConville may have been pointing out that Lucas supported the war effort to enhance company business through decreased overseas competition and preference for locally manufactured goods. Also, he appeared to downplay the Avenue's importance to Ballarat and claims:

> For landscape designers and botanists, the avenues of the goldfields may have one significance, for friends and relatives of a Ballarat soldier another. Heritage groups value the avenues' distinctive historicity rather than any connection to war. For the convinced environmentalist, regardless of the avenues' war associations, its plantings remain alien intrusions into the ecology of western Victoria. In the long run there is little that is disruptive in the memorials or their settings. The Ballarat Avenue of Honour seems more recognised for the fund-raising energies of the Lucas Girls than for the men whose memory it was supposed to make permanent.[74]

McConville's comments discount the fact that the Avenue has had constant amplification as an important part of Ballarat's heritage. City forefathers, Ballarat tourist promoters and

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[73] Chris McConville, "Anzac: Memory and Forgetting in Local Landscapes," in Deery and Kimber, *Fighting Against War*, 320.

[74] McConville, "Anzac: Memory and Forgetting," 323.

other community leaders continued to emphasise the prominent place of both the Avenue and the Arch within the infrastructure and heritage of the Ballarat district.[75] His statement did allude to the exotic trees on the Avenue. This was criticised in 1917 by an *Evening Echo* article that noted English, American and Canadian trees were planted instead of Australian trees.[76] Katie Holmes noted that the planting of English trees was often brought about through a 'pining for home' and colonists creating a place of memory.[77]

Another issue about the Lucas Company that needs examination is its stance regarding unionism during World War One at a time when there was considerable conflict between the management of clothing factories and union organisers in Australia. Again, this is important to gaining an understanding of the Lucas attitude to war commemoration. Union organisers were of the opinion that the factory workers were underpaid and were exploited. As well, they contended that the considerable 'out of work hours' fundraising for the war effort was unpaid overtime and further exploitation.[78] In contrast, the factory owners felt they were being generous with the pay and conditions provided and, in the case of Lucas, the company employers argued that a bonus pay system existed.[79] Price was of the view that the Lucas Girls were undertaking their fundraising in a voluntary capacity and he argued that philanthropy could not be unionised.[80] This provided a background to the previously mentioned first recorded Victorian women's football match.

The issue of unionism in Ballarat came to a head in July 1917. After the first planting of the Avenue in early June 1917, as discussed in Chapter Four, a community fund was established to gain donations for the planting of the next section of the Avenue. A circular

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[75] *Courier* (Ballarat), March 9, 2006, 5; *Courier* (Ballarat), August 11, 2007, 7; *Courier* (Ballarat), June 23, 2011, 5; *Herald Sun* (Melbourne), November 19, 2007, 22.

[76] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 20, 1917, 2.

[77] Katie Holmes, "Planting Hopes With Potatoes: Gardens, Memory and Place Making," in *Memory, Monuments and Museums*, ed. Marilyn Lake (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2006), 173.

[78] *Star* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 6; *Star* (Ballarat), July 16, 1917, 6; *Courier* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 2; *Courier* (Ballarat), July 16, 1917, 2.

[79] White, *The Golden Thread*, 20.

[80] Brunette Lenkić and Rob Hess, *Play On: The Hidden History of Women's Australian Rules Football* (Richmond, Vic.: Echo Publishing, 2016), 284. This was in a footnote.

signed by W Coulthard from the combined Arbor committees asking for support of the fund was sent to Ballarat organisations, including the Trades and Labour Council.

On 11 July 1917, Trades and Labour Council representatives—EHA Smith[81], Trades Hall vice-president, and J Kean, Trades Hall secretary—decided to visit Edward Price at the Lucas Company in Doveton Street. Aware that Lucas was a non-unionised premise, they were keen to convince Price that he should allow employees to join the union. Reports of the meeting in *The Courier* and *The Star* stated that Price received the visitors courteously but he said that the employees had good conditions and there was no intention to have unionism at the factory. In fact, Price said the end result would be that the factory would be shut. He stated, 'If they argued a thousand years they would never convince him'. Further, he stated that if Mrs Lucas were there, she 'would sweep them off their feet with her knowledge of the bible'. Smith retorted, 'You might know the written word, but you certainly don't know anything about the spirit of Christianity'.[82]

On the following Thursday evening, the two Trade Union officials reported the details of their meeting with Edward Price to a Trades Hall meeting chaired by J McNeill. This was detailed in *The Courier* and *The Star* the following day. *The Courier* reported:

> Mr Price was very frank with them and they were very frank with him. The position was one that they would never have believed to exist in any civilized community. They had a system there of benevolent despotism. In other words the firm were the masters and the females employed were simply the slaves … He [Mr Smith] was quite satisfied these girls were simply under a reign of terror. Mr J Kean addressing the Council following on Mr Smith, said he did not see how they could countenance Lucas and Co. in view of their hostile attitude towards trade unionism … he realised that today 500 employees in Lucas were nothing more or less than serfs because they dared not display that independence which should belong to free persons in a free country … they treat their employees as they would treat pet dogs.[83]

The Star added under the heading 'Lucas and Co. Attacked: Trades Hall Vituperation':

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[81] A footnote of Lenkić and Hess *Play On*, 284 noted that a few days previously Smith was nominated to a Ballarat committee to lobby the prime minister for a Royal Commission into the standard of living and basic wage. Smith argued unpaid overtime was exploitation.

[82] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 2; *Star* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 6.

[83] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 2.

> Mr Smith reported it was a damnable thing that such a place existed. One could not conceive it outside Russia. He was satisfied those girls were under a reign of terror. He knew girls working there who were Laborites, and if the name union was mentioned to them, they became panic-stricken and trembled. He hoped the firm of Lucas and Co. would realise they were unfair in subjecting their employees to a system which, after all, was nothing but feudalism.[84]

Towards the end of his report to the Trades Hall meeting, Mr Kean moved that:

> … while the Council has every sympathy with the project itself, and will take measures to honour the men at the Front, we have no moral regard for Lucas and Co., and therefore we cannot associate ourselves with a firm whose actions as regards the conduct of their affairs shows them to be not patriots but mock patriots.

The motion was carried. It was reported that the Carters and Drivers had carried a resolution to join in the planting of some trees. A further resolution was passed stating that the work on the plantation was under the auspices of the Progress Association of Ballarat and only a continuance of the Lucas Company's plantation.[85]

The reports about the Trades Hall meeting upset the majority of the Lucas Girls and, on the next day, a letter of protest to the editors of both *The Courier* and *The Star* signed by 412 Lucas Girls was published in both newspapers. It is possible Price was involved in constructing the wording of the published letter. In part, it read:

> Sir,—On behalf of the employees of Messrs E. Lucas and Co., manufacturers we wish to give an emphatic denial to the scandalous statements made by Messrs Smith and Kean at the Trades Hall on Thursday night. We have not, we are glad to say, the command of abusive language possessed by those gentlemen. Every one of the employees of the firm strongly resents the application to her of the words 'serfs,' 'pet dogs,' 'lick spittles,' and 'mock patriots' to choose a few of the choice epithets culled from their elegant phraseology. We can state that never have our employers attempted to dictate to us as to whether we should or should not join a union.
>
> … What seems to hurt the sensitive feelings of these Trades Hall agitators is the fact that we and the employers are living and working harmoniously together … Kean and Smith, whose business is to foment strife between employer and employee in these times of national crisis. Further, the fact that the girls would rather deduct from their wages money for the benefit of the Soldiers' Institute, Avenue of Honour, and other patriotic efforts than subscribe towards the salaries of the officials of the Trades' Hall is no doubt sufficient reason for Thursday night's outburst.

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[84] *Star* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 6.

[85] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 13, 1917, 2.

Previously the Lucas management stated many Lucas Girls were receiving more than the minimum wage and, in the following days, a number of letters to the editor gave support to the comments in the letter of the Lucas employees. Not to be outdone, Kean and Smith replied to the accusations published in *The Courier* and *The Star*. They amplified the virtues of unionism and its recent achievements and claimed many girls had signed blank sheets of paper, meaning that the girls were unaware of the contents of the letter published in the newspapers.[86]

A week after the controversial Trades Hall meeting, the *Evening Echo* joined the fray. In an open letter to the employees of the Lucas Company, the editor wrote, 'Let us have a quiet chat over this matter. A clever attempt is being made to rouse your resentment against Unionism by leading you to believe that you have been insulted by leading officials of the Trades and Labor Council'. The article went into great detail about the issue and concluded that the Lucas Girls, by not becoming union members, had been living in a state of false security.[87]

Next, the Trades Hall organised a public meeting at the Ballarat Mechanics Institute on Tuesday 24 July 1917 at 8 pm to be addressed by Alf Wallis, the secretary of the Victorian Branch of the Federated Clothing Trades of Australia. The large attendance packed the ground floor and gallery areas and clearly had a bias towards the union case. The heading in the *Evening Echo* was 'Unionism Triumphant'.[88] Comments from the chairman, McNeill, were followed by comments from union spokesmen Smith and Kean and then Alf Wallis stated that the union had assisted in bringing about a rise in the wages for the clothing trade and that 23 Lucas employees had decided to join the union.

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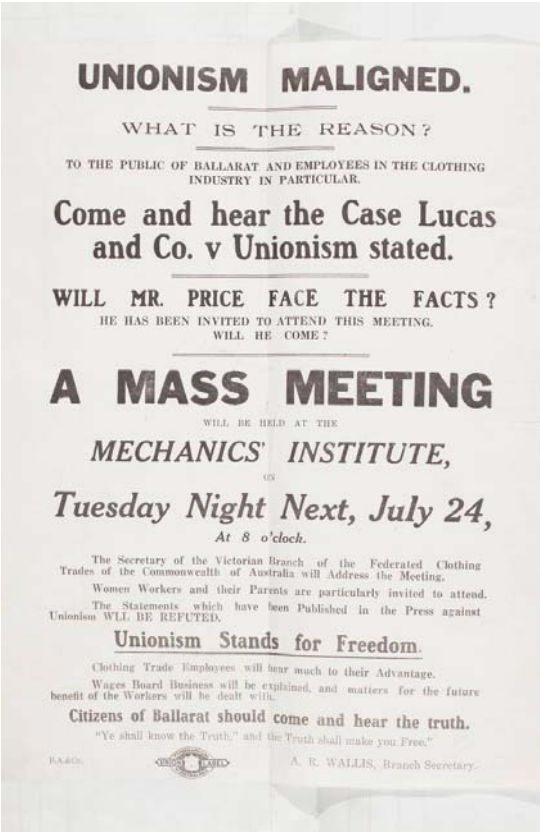
[86] *Star* (Ballarat), July 16, 1917, 6.

[87] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 19, 1917, 2.

[88] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 25, 1917, 2.



UNIONISM MALIGNED.

WHAT IS THE REASON?

TO THE PUBLIC OF BALLARAT AND EMPLOYEES IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN PARTICULAR.

Come and hear the Case Lucas and Co. v Unionism stated.

WILL MR. PRICE FACE THE FACTS?

HE HAS BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND THIS MEETING. WILL HE COME?

A MASS MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE

MECHANICS' INSTITUTE,

ON

Tuesday Night Next, July 24,

At 8 o'cloch.

The Secretary of the Victorian Branch of the Federated Clothing Trades of the Commonwealth of Australia will Address the Meeting.

Women Workers and their Parents are particularly invited to attend.

The Statements which have been Published in the Press against Unionism WILL BE REFUTED.

Unionism Stands for Freedom.

Clothing Trade Employees will hear much to their Advantage.

Wages Board Business will be explained, and matters for the future benefit of the Workers will be dealt with.

Citizens of Ballarat should come and hear the truth.

"Ye shall know the Truth," and the Truth shall make you Free."

B.A.&Co.

A. R. WALLIS, Branch Secretary.

Figure 27: Poster advertising a mass meeting at the Mechanics' Institute on 24 July 1917
Poster from the Price family private collection

The reports of the meeting in *The Courier* and *The Star*, although in substantial agreement with the *Evening Echo*, provided a different perspective. *The Star* noted:

> The building was packed to the doors. The great majority of those present were in sympathy with the speakers, Messrs J Kean, EHA Smith and AR Wallis (secretary of the Federated Clothing Trades Union), but there was a compact minority, composed of members of the fair sex, one or two of whom injected frequently, and were not backward in pointedly questioning the speakers.[89]

On Wednesday 25 July at the Lucas factory close of work, the manager, Price, addressed his employees to explain his views. As a Wages Board member representing the employers of the Clothing, Trades and Dressmakers', Price said he was falsely accused of lowering the wages for employees in country districts. Also, he disputed that it was union action that obtained higher clothing trades wages after 1910. Further, he stated:

> I do not object to unionism pure and simple, but I certainly do object to the political unionism that is dominated by the Trades Hall Council. Mr Wallis held up to ridicule the remark I made when I

[89] *Star* (Ballarat), July 25, 1917, 2.

> stated that before we would put up with outside interference from the Trades' Hall coming into our establishment and causing trouble, and dictating how we were to run our business, that we would close down the place ... We do not want anyone to remain with us who is not contented. If any have a grievance let them come to me and see if the same can be remedied, otherwise they are perfectly free to seek work in fresh fields.[90]

When Price was introduced to make his statement, he was 'received with applause' and, during his speech, he drew ironic laughter about unions.[91] The *Evening Echo* noted Price was anti-union and any employee identified as a unionist would be asked to leave.[92] While stating its reporters were not invited to the briefing, it indicated Lucas union supporters anonymously provided details. The bonus only went to fully paid hands and the company employed many 'children'.

In reality, it was a daunting situation for Lucas unionists. A further contentious issue was the ratio of apprentices and improvers (the term for the first year after an apprenticeship) to fully paid workers or hands. The unions accused Price of angling on the Wages Board for more apprentices and improvers to reduce factory payroll costs. Price explained to his employees his thinking and noted that because of the union forcing the Wages Board to have one improver for every two hands, there would be fewer apprentice positions and the company would need to put off some hands in the whitework section to meet costs.[93]

The Ballarat daily newspapers had so much correspondence about the above issues that *The Star* on 28 July noted, 'Correspondence is now closed'.[94] It appears that after this flurry of activity and the gaining of ground by both sides—Lucas management and the Ballarat Trades Hall—the issue died. Lucas held its ground and owner Price had strong support from most Lucas Girls, while the Trades Hall signed some Lucas employees as union members and its officials had put their case to the people of Ballarat. The *Evening Echo* carried strong stories about 'Unionism Vindicated' and 'Unionism Scores'.[95]

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[90] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 26, 1917, 2.

[91] *Star* (Ballarat), July 26, 1917, 4.

[92] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 26, 1917, 2.

[93] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 26, 1917, 2.

[94] *Star* (Ballarat), July 28, 1917, 4.

[95] *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), July 27, 1917, 2; *Evening Echo* (Ballarat),July 28, 1917, 1.

An interview in 1983 with Muriel Williams, a former Lucas girl, provided a further insight into the union situation during World War One and the conduct of Edward Price as the owner and manager of the Lucas factory. She stated:

> Those days there was no union. He wouldn't have let anybody join the union. Like we used to sometimes have to work overtime and you should have got double money. Yes, double time and they didn't pay. Anyway this day, the word was just passed along the girls, we had to work overtime tonight. Well, it was always a day when there was a holiday that week. You didn't get overtime you see, because you hadn't worked the full time. The girls got up when it came the time and took off their aprons and said, 'We're not going to work tonight'. Mr Price, he was the son of the old lady Mrs Lucas. Well, I thought he was the nastiest man that I had ever seen. The way he spoke to those girls. Well, do you know it was only the next day when we were all at work, they got letters, sacked them. I never forgot him. I thought it was an awful way he treated them and spoke to them. I didn't think it was in him because he was a great Church man.[96]

The memories of Muriel Williams confirm that Edward Price could be ruthless towards staff members if they opposed his directions. Clearly, he was anti-union and, if any staff members appeared to be initiating any combined action, his response was to remove those staff members from the Lucas workforce. While the outward appearance of the Lucas Girls as a group was to convey that they were all a happy family, in reality, especially as most were young, single girls, it is difficult to ascertain how much fear of losing their jobs was a factor in their conduct.

The union dispute laid the ground for the women's football match in Ballarat in September 1918 that is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis.[97] Lenkić and Hess commented in *Play On*:

> While connections with businesses that fielded women's workplace football teams in WA appear to underpin the reasons why Lucas & Co. staged a match in Ballarat, it does not adequately explain the involvement of the opposing team. The employees of the Commonwealth Clothing Factory, nearly all single women, were responsible for making uniforms for the troops, hence the nickname 'Khaki Girls', but they enthusiastically devoted their time and contributed money from their limited wages to the war effort. [98]

Using research from Raelene Frances, the authors of *Play On* stated that the Commonwealth Clothing Factory was, like many other female workplaces, strongly anti-

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[96] Muriel Williams, interview, 1983, Oral History Program, Ballarat Library.

[97] See section 5.2 of this thesis.

[98] Lenkić and Hess, *Play On*, 33.

unionist.[99] The anti-union mindset of Lucas and the Commonwealth Clothing Factory management appears to be the connection bringing about this first Victorian women's football match. *Play On* revealed that, prior to Ballarat's match during World War One, women's football games were held in Perth, Adelaide and Broken Hill.[100] A planned return Lucas Girls and Khaki Girls match to take place in the Carlton Gardens in Melbourne on 9 November 1918 was cancelled. The suggested reasons for this were that it was close to the 11 November Armistice or, possibly, that it was as a result of the worldwide restriction on sport that occurred in late 1918 due to the outbreak of the Spanish influenza epidemic, which in 1919 killed at least 12,000 in Australia.[101]

South Melbourne's Commonwealth Clothing Factory, which opened in 1911 to provide clothing and uniforms to federal departments, had similarities to Ballarat's Lucas factory. Jan Bassett observes that, for single women and girls, the war years were ones of financial hardship as real wages fell: 'A study of employment figures of this and other war-related factories supports the argument that women provided a reserve labour force that was exploited in times of necessity, such as war, and abandoned in others.'[102]

As a method of retaining employee loyalty, Lucas provided above-award wages and a bonus system. Brian Nunn, a senior manager for Lucas and associated companies in 1950–74, recalled that about 40 male boilermaker attendants belonged to either the Textile or Boilermaker Union, but in his time at Lucas none of the female employees belonged to a union. In 2017 he stated, 'As a result of the incentive scheme the girls were quite well paid. There was little discontent as Lucas was a very good place to work. In effect, it was a "happy family". I can't recall any union problems in all the years I worked there'.[103]

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[99] Lenkić and Hess, *Play On*, 34 cited Raelene Frances, *The Politics of Work: Gender and Labour in Victoria, 1880–1939* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), 98.

[100] Lenkić and Hess, *Play On*, 21–42.

[101] Ibid., 41.

[102] Jan Bassett, "The Commonwealth Clothing Factory" in *Double Time: Women in Victoria—150 Years*, ed. Marilyn Lake and Farley Kelly (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1985), 269.

[103] Interview with Brian Nunn, March 10, 2017.

White in *The Golden Thread* emphasises the strong rapport between the management and the workers before and during World War One and observes, 'The quality of the output held its high standard … The building was well heated during cold Ballarat winters by radiators and hot water pipes were set at the feet of each machinist'.[104] Next, White makes a sweeping claim about the company's industrial relations. Aware of the favourable personal relationships of Eleanor Lucas, the Price family members and Tilly Thompson with staff members, she appears unaware of the Trades Hall agitation of 1917 and states, 'These were days of growing and militant unionism within the clothing industry, but it is highly significant that there exists to this day [1964] not one single record of a major industrial dispute in the Lucas Company'.[105]

World War One was a significant time for Lucas. Eleanor had left Ballarat, her son Edward managed the successful business and Tilly Thompson initiated much fundraising. While war's sadness remained, the projects of planting the Avenue and building a spectacular Arch as a gateway to western Ballarat assisted the Lucas Girls in tolerating the tragedies of war. This led them to exhibit dedication and determination in ensuring that Ballarat's Avenue was planted and maintained.

6.5 Lucas Between the World Wars

In order to understand the roles played by the Lucas Girls in assisting the civic management of the Avenue and the Arch, a summary of the 1920s and 1930s progress and history of the Lucas Company is included in this and the next section. During these years, the role of women in Australian society underwent change and this was reflected in the work history of the Lucas Girls. While they retained their desire to work for a number of charitable causes, interest in the Avenue and Arch continued in the background.

Once the Avenue was planted and the Arch built, it fell to Lucas employees to oversee their ongoing maintenance. They were within the Shire of Ballarat boundaries but this

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[104] White, *The Golden Thread*, 20.

[105] Ibid. Note: in August 1949 the Lucas Factory was shut down due to the New South Wales coal strike that reduced the amount of electricity available for industry in Victoria. Many other factories closed at the same time.

altered in 1925 when the CRB declared the Burrumbeet Road as the Western Highway and took control of the road. From 1931 until the current day, the AVAHC has overseen the maintenance. Unlike many other World War One Avenues of Honour, the Ballarat Avenue has had diligent and ongoing oversight.

Figure 28: Lucas Clothing Factory in 1920
Photograph from White, *The Golden Thread*, 24

Figure 29: External view of the Lucas Factory in Doveton Street South, Ballarat, in 1920
Photograph from *Appreciation: Arch & Avenue*, 22

After World War One, the Lucas Company continued to prosper. In 1919 the factory was extended to provide extra work space, in 1923 embroidery machines were introduced and in 1928 a showroom was added along with warp-knitting looms used to make foundation lingerie garments and spectator sportswear production. Then, in 1929 land in Doveton Street opposite the garment factory was purchased for a new knitting factory. Edward Price's three sons—Keith, Jack and Morrie—started at Lucas and, despite a major downturn during the worldwide 1929–33 depression, by 1935 the company returned to the position of a leading Australian garment manufacturer through the introduction of rayon 'ready-to-wear' frocks. Agencies were set up in Adelaide in 1931 and Perth in 1932 and in 1934 two floors and the basement at Sackville House in Flinders Lane, Melbourne, were leased. In 1935 a showroom was added to the Grace building in Sydney and in 1936 a showroom and office opened in Brisbane.[106]

Until 1929, the Lucas Girls continued to contribute twopence per £1 (a weekly wage contribution of about 1%) towards the ongoing maintenance of the Avenue and Arch. Over time, many employees who had planted trees in 1917–19 had left Lucas to be replaced by new staff members. As Australia was moving towards a deep economic

[106] White, *The Golden Thread*, 29–32.

depression, a compulsory donation from an employees' wage began to be discussed as an imposition and in 1929 the Lucas Company ceased to deduct this money.[107]

The ongoing maintenance of the Avenue was still a factor and, until July 1931, the Lucas Company carried all costs involved. Company Secretary Fred Hook, who commenced with Lucas in 1927, attended to the payment of accounts for replacement trees and other ongoing maintenance. Tilly Thompson had retired from Lucas as a full-time saleswoman and manager in 1927 and spent some time in Europe in the late 1920s.[108] She still retained a strong interest in the Avenue and continued to monitor the maintenance needs and to organise others to undertake this.

In July 1931, the formal AVAHC was established after Edward Price had preliminary discussions with Ballarat City Mayor Stewart, who then called a meeting of interested persons. It was significant that the committee members with the three main ongoing roles of the AVAHC were directly connected to the Lucas Company. The chair, with the responsibility of spokesperson for the committee, was Edward Price, the person overseeing the maintenance needs was Tilly Thompson and the person responsible for all the financial transactions was the Lucas company secretary, Hook. This continued until the death of Edward Price in January 1947 (although in 1946 Keith Price acted in the role as his father was bedridden), so that a structure for the Avenue and Arch maintenance was in place right through the difficult times of World War Two.

The AVAHC functioned independently of the Lucas Company, although on occasions Lucas had direct fundraising to assist the Avenue. As a celebration of the firm's golden jubilee year, a mannequin display to aid the Avenue of Honour Maintenance Fund was held in Her Majesty's Theatre in September 1938.[109] White records an overall picture of Lucas:

> By 1938, when Ballarat's Centenary celebrations coincided with the Lucas Golden Jubilee, the firm could lay proud claim to being the only women's clothing factory in Victoria which had been in continuous operation for fifty years. Its annual payroll was now £55,000 and it employed five hundred workers in Ballarat and a staff of seventy-five in the Melbourne sales offices and

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[107] *Courier* (Ballarat), July 25, 1931, 10.

[108] Mansfield, "Thompson, Matilda Louise (1871–1959)."

[109] White, *The Golden Thread*, 34.

> workroom. Its output was 356,966 garments during the year. Full page colour advertisements in *Women's Weekly* emphasised their quality and publicised complete ranges of dresses in 'half size' for the shorter woman—a system of standardisation unique in Australia which was based on American stands imported for the purpose.[110]

The Lucas Company had undergone a number of management changes. In 1935 Edward Price was appointed governing director and RJ (Bob) Hughes company chairman. Gordon Dickson as managing director oversaw the daily running of the company from 1935 until March 1951 when the three Price brothers, Edward's sons, were appointed as joint managing directors, supported by Rod Rexton and Brian Nunn as directors.

Again, it is significant in discussing gender relationships that although the vast majority of Lucas employees were women, apart from Tilly Thompson, who remained on the board of directors after she retired from Lucas employment, those in control of the company were males. Despite the moves in the late nineteenth century towards the treatment of men and women as equals and the obtaining of the vote by Australian women in the 1894–1908 period,[111] little real progress had been made. During World War One, through necessity women took on some formerly male roles, such as tram drivers, but views about equality of the sexes were set back. Damousi states:

> Masculinity found its fullest expression in war, as war became pre-eminently a test of manliness. Men were represented as warriors and providers; women were mothers and bearers of children. They were to be stoical, invisible and courageous, their functions defined primarily as reproductive and passive.[112]

Using the psychoanalyst ideas of Sigmund Freud and Alfred Adler, post–World War One discussions about sexuality, femininity and masculinity showed gender divisions were not fixed from the start of life. Damousi states that 'adult patterns were constructed in a conflict-ridden process of development over the life-course'. This was a decisive shift in ideas about gender as, in the nineteenth century, there were fixed views about the characters of men and women.[113] Thus, the 1920s and 1930s were a time of heightened

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[110] Ibid.

[111] Women's suffrage was obtained in South Australia in 1894, Western Australia in 1899, New South Wales and federally in 1902, Tasmania in 1903, Queensland in 1904 and Victoria in 1908.

[112] Damousi, "Marching to Different Drums," 351.

[113] Raewyn Connell, *Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 121.

interest in debating women's role in society and discussions about sexuality, although the worldwide economic depression of the early 1930s diminished moves towards social change.[114] At Lucas traditional roles of men and women remained very much in vogue. A layer of males undertook the managerial roles, while the supervisors of the Lucas Girls were female section heads that were often thought to be very strict by the female workers.

6.6 World War Two and Beyond

This section covers the years of World War Two and the post-war years until the Lucas Company closed in 1968. During this time, there was considerable change within Australian society, including the role of women. A further understanding of the attitudes of Lucas Girls to war commemoration is gained during the analysis in this chapter. Their attitudes to war commemoration can be seen to be representative of general community attitudes, especially of females within Australia.

By September 1939, Australia was embroiled in another world war and, again, Lucas did all it could to support Australia's war effort. The firm built up its stocks of raw materials, especially viscose and acetate yarn, and the service pay of employees who enlisted was subsidised to their civilian earnings.[115] By the time Japan entered the war in December 1941, Australia's secondary industries were fully mobilised and most Lucas output went to supplying the armed services. Up to October 1943, the firm's 12 looms had turned out more than a million yards of textile materials for service use, and the clothing factory had made more than 500,000 uniform and equipment articles. Parachutes were stitched, overalls, uniforms and other dresses were made and underwear was produced. White states:

> Rolls of rayon mosquito netting were knitted, cut and made up into 300,000 head veils, 100,000 mosquito-proof tents and nearly 1,200 sets of hospital curtains at a total cost of £245,428. Much of this vital equipment was dyed in the factory, rot-proofed and packed for despatch to the Australian forces in New Guinea and the Pacific Islands.[116]

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[114] Damousi, "Marching to Different Drums," 364.

[115] White, *The Golden Thread*, 35.

[116] Ibid., 36.

Civilian clothing, especially children's wear and armed services items, was produced and the Lucas Girls made generous war contributions. During 1940-46, the Red Cross received £2634 to which the Lucas directors added £1725. Later, 4941 food parcels were sent to Britain and the Ballarat branch of the Melbourne Mission for Seamen was given £2400, as well as stocks of pyjamas, flannel shirts, scarves and balaclavas. Edward Price, as Red Cross Society Ballarat president, assisted Australian and American servicemen in Ballarat and promoted a Ballarat Youth Centre to which Lucas contributed £6500 to its support during 1944-61.[117] In May 1945 on VE Day (Victory in Europe), 100 Lucas Girls worked voluntarily all morning on dressing gowns for European war victims. *The Courier* wrote, 'Hats Off to the Lucas Girls' for their 'public-spirited' efforts on VE Day.[118]

The war hastened changes in Australian society. In contrast to World War One, women were involved in many roles in the armed forces and the Land Army. Bate notes:

> With a drift in politics towards Labor, there was a greater emphasis on social justice. The ability of women to replace men in a great range of occupations set the scene for debates about equal pay—perhaps confirming the government's fear that allowing women to wear uniform was the thin edge of the wedge. Female doctors had been invaluable; no one argued that they should be paid less; and more girls were encouraged to enter professions like medicine and law.[119]

Just two days after VE Day, on 13 May 1945, a disastrous fire in Doveton Street South completely destroyed about two-thirds of the Lucas garment factory, practically all the sewing machines, and garment patterns, as well as considerable stocks. The estimated cost of the damage was about £100,000.[120] Edward Price and his sons took this severe blow with characteristic calmness. Temporary machinery was erected in the unburnt showrooms, office and stockrooms. Within two weeks, 328 employees were back at work and the factory was in production[121] and, over the next two months, day and evening shifts took place to catch up with the production lost as a result of the fire. It was an effort typical of the Price family and the company's employees.

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[117] Ibid., 36-37.

[118] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 11, 1945, 3.

[119] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 171.

[120] White, *The Golden Thread*, 38.

[121] Ibid., 39.

The company recovered well from the setback of the fire and in September 1946 Victoria's Lieutenant Governor Sir Edmund Herring officially opened the rebuilt Lucas garment factory in Doveton Street South. It incorporated modern features to increase efficiency and a large dining and recreational hall had been added. In August 1948, the entire staff, including those employees in Melbourne, worked two hours overtime and contributed their pay to the United Nations Appeal for Children and the Ballarat Orphanage. Subsidised by the company, £575 was raised. In December of that year, the firm's diamond jubilee was celebrated by a reunion of 300 past employees. Also at the time, the first issue of *The Spectator* was published. This was to become a quarterly company magazine that catalogued company achievements, other highlights and social events. Managing Director Gordon Dickson wrote in the introduction:

> I am told by people everywhere that 'Lucas' on a garment means more to Mrs or Miss Public than probably any other name in the fashion industry. For women have learnt that it stands for the best in style, fabric and workmanship … the goodwill surrounding the name 'Lucas' comes from the combined efforts and skill of hundreds of people.[122]

In 1953, Graeme Price, the great-grandson of Eleanor Lucas, joined the Lucas Company, followed in 1958 by his brother Bruce. This was at a time in the 1950s when Australia was a country awakening to delightful possibilities. The war had forced up wages and there was too much work for too few hands. Using its long-held penchant for innovation, Lucas prospered. White notes:

> In the post-war decade of boom, Lucas entered another period of expansion and development. There were two reasons—its shift to nylon yarn in production, and the growing demand among Australian women for ready-made dresses. Both factors arose naturally from the post-war pattern of national life.[123]

In the 1950s and 1960s, Ballarat Lucas factory employees were contented and enjoyed work that others would often see as repetitious and uninspiring. The company had many garment orders, the girls enjoyed mixing with their colleagues socially and they valued working for Lucas. In the 1940s and 1950s, through visits from Tilly Thompson as a guest on social occasions, the Lucas Girls retained their interest in the Avenue and Arch

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[122] *The Spectator*, December 1948.

[123] White, *The Golden Thread*, 45.

in that Tilly had a strong focus on the Avenue and Arch and reminded 'the girls' about their original contribution to their existence.

In order to keep abreast of their competition, Lucas continued to improvise. In 1954 a large finishing and screen printing building of 12,000 square feet was added to the northern end of the Doveton Street factory, and in 1956 the first of two full-scale screen printing tables, fifty yards long, was installed. In the mid-1950s, the production of infants and children's wear ceased so the factory could concentrate on women's dresses and lingerie. Further innovations took place in 1959 when Lucas negotiated close affiliations with the Unites States business of Vanity Fair Mills and with the Paris fashion house of Pierre Cardin. By the early 1960s, Lucas was concentrating on the highly specialised and competitive foundation garment business. Employees were able to purchase beautiful fabrics from Italy and other countries from the firm's shop. For its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1963, mannequin parades highlighting the latest Lucas garments were held in Ballarat's Regent Theatre and at Ormond Hall, Melbourne.

The Spectator quarterly magazine continued to be published right through the 1950s. In June 1950, Company Secretary Hook wrote that 'the magazine serves a dual purpose, being both informative and entertaining',[124] but, in reality, it was a method of controlling the workers. As well as informing the employees about forthcoming factory changes and factory progress, the magazines consistently contained articles about the virtues of the Lucas business, members of the British royal family, members of the Price family and religion. December issues focused on the religious aspects of Christmas.

Lucas became one of Australia's leading clothing companies that concentrated on women's fashion and, from its commencement in 1953, Lucas regularly exhibited at the Australian Gown of the Year awards. Conducted by the Shop, Distributive and Allied Employees' Association, the Gown of the Year became a highlight on the Australian calendar of events bringing together designers, manufacturers and models. For some years the event was waning, but from 1964, through the work of event host Barbara Permezel,

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[124] *The Spectator*, June 1950, editorial.

high profile sponsors were obtained and the Gown of the Year raised millions of dollars for charities.[125]

Lucas senior management were ambitious for the business and wished to retain a premier position among Australia's clothing trade. In the 1960s, new clothing designs, other innovations and machinery purchases continued. After the 1961 purchase of 32 hectares at Alfredton's Ring Road, in 1963 an elaborate new factory for printing, knitting and dyeing was opened, and the Lucas operation on the west side of Doveton Street South was moved there.

The 'rag trade' had become an area of 'cut-throat' competition and many Australian companies were vulnerable and ripe for competitors to move in and take over. Asian countries such as China, Korea and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) had commenced using mass production with a labour force that was low-paid compared to First World countries. By 1968 the Lucas Company as a business was no longer—it was taken over by Courtauld and the main factory was merged with Morley's in North Ballarat.

This demise of Lucas was part of a series of mergers and takeovers—Courtauld's took over many Australian textile businesses, including Dunlop, Hilton, Morley and Lucas. Bate views the 1968 takeover of the Lucas Company as a disaster for Ballarat. He states:

> Lucas, the strength and joy of Ballarat from the 1880s, was wiped out. This cost the city the prestige the company had earned across Australia, the employment it provided and the skills it nurtured among women, who had been a social force of unparalleled importance. The firm's reputation for quality had grown like a vine on to the framework of Ballarat tradition. Nothing could replace it.[126]

Once Lucas closed, a merged Morley Lucas factory was set up in Doveton Street North at the former site of Morley's factory. The three Price brothers retired, but Bruce Price stayed until 1972 when he took up a position with the Ballarat Water Commissioners and Ballarat Sewerage Authority and Brian Nunn stayed on as production manager. The new company traded as CHL Apparel employing former Morley and Lucas workers. The company profile noted:

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[125] *Herald Sun* (Melbourne), September 6, 1995, Obituaries section.

[126] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 192.

> - CHL Apparel designs, manufactures, sources and efficiently supplies quality intimate apparel and night ware and is '*innovative, branded and highly fashionable'* both in Australia and Internationally.
>
> - CHL Apparel has fashion range release twice a year, following the fashion trends of Europe
>
> - CHL Apparel has a unique design quality in that it has a staff of ten qualified designers creating the latest fashion direction based on international trends. Quality fabrics mixed with beautiful laces create the uniqueness that is *Hilton, Eleanor Lucas and Kayser*
>
> CHL brands commenced as—*Morley in 1788, Eleanor Lucas 1888, Kayser 1933 and Hilton 1940*[127]

Manufacturing in Australia was struggling and, between 1973 and 1980, 46,000 jobs were lost in the clothing and textile industries, while imports of these goods increased rapidly.[128]In Ballarat, by 1974 Brian Nunn had taken up a position at Sovereign Hill and CHL Apparel was struggling to survive. It was taken over by the Bradmill Group in 1984 and then Hilton Fabrics took over Bradmill in 1986. Hilton Fabrics lasted until 2010 before closing down with many debts. The clothing trade was no longer viable in Ballarat—an era had ended!

6.7 Collective Memory of the Lucas Girls

Part of the story of Ballarat's commemoration through the Avenue and Arch comes back to individuals and their actions. The 'Lucas' connection to Ballarat has remained strong and, through the agencies of the Lucas Girls and other Lucas employees their collective memories have added to and reinforced the Avenue and Arch mythology.

The collective and individual memories of the former Lucas employees relate directly to the theories of Pierre Nora that are discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. Nora posited that 'the *lieux de memoire* only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications'.[129] The former Lucas employees become the vehicle for the 'endless

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[127] CHL Apparel advertising leaflet, 1969, Price family private collection.

[128] Grimshaw et al., *Creating a Nation*, 310.

[129] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 19.

recycling' of meaning about the Avenue and Arch. The continuing presence of the commemorative trees on the Avenue and the towering presence of the Arch at the gateway to the Avenue continued to reinforce and preserve the memories of the sacrifices made by servicemen and women in World War One.

In *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal provides a detailed analysis about how we view and learn from the past. He distinguishes between memory and history and notes that while they have many differences, aspects of each intertwine with the other. In particular, he notes that 'history differs from memory not only in how knowledge of the past is acquired and validated but also in how it is transmitted, preserved and altered'.[130] Also, he observes:

> To discriminate the historical and memorial components of our recollections is extremely difficult ... Just as memory validates personal identity, history perpetuates collective self-awareness. To understand 'what they are or what they might become', notes Gordon Leff, groups 'define themselves through history as an individual does through memory.[131]

This analysis by Lowenthal is important in considering the collective memory of the Lucas Girls and other Lucas employees. The heavy concentration on the planting of the Avenue and the raising of funds for the Arch during 1917-20 by those at the Lucas Company, reinforced by newspaper reports and pamphlets about these activities, provided the basis of the history of these activities, alongside the long-term collective memory of those at Lucas.

The collective and individual memories of the former Lucas employees also relate directly to the changes in the ways former World War One soldiers viewed the Anzac legend as described by Alistair Thomson.[132] As noted, over time the former soldiers viewed the events of World War One and their role in the war in different ways. Thomson in 'Anzac Memories' noted, 'Fred Farrell's case study highlights the dynamic relationship between individual memory and national myth'. Farrell had gone through three distinct stages in his views about World War One. At first, he repressed his inferior feelings, then

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[130] Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*, 212.

[131] Gordon Leff, *History and Social Theory*(New York: Dobleday/Anchor, 1971), cited in Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*, 213.

[132] Thomson, "Anzac Memories." Previous discussion about this article is in pages 30-32 of this thesis.

he saw himself as a victim of an imperialist war and, finally, he took pride in veneration as a World War One digger.

Likewise, a case can be made that Lucas workers had different perceptions and memories over time. During the following detailed discussions about this proposition, it will be seen that the collective memories of the Lucas employees, especially the Lucas Girls, transformed through various stages over the past one hundred years.

During the last years of World War One, all Lucas Girls and the Lucas management were involved in the various tree plantings on the Avenue of Honour. Due to the favourable media publicity and the support of many sections of the Ballarat community, it appears most Lucas employees had an immediate positive reinforcement about their considerable fundraising and the physical sacrifice of planting commemorative trees in their free or non-work time. Despite the tragedy of war, Lucas workers had a sense that they were supporting those who served overseas and the general war effort.

Similar arguments can be advanced about the building of the Arch of Victory. Again, the considerable fundraising and the continual highlighting by the media of the sacrifices made by the Lucas Girls brought further amplification of their status. The community and media hype about Victoria's first women's Australian Rules football match in September 1918 when the Khaki Girls from Melbourne visited Ballarat for four days added to this Lucas image and collective memory of success and sacrifice. Councillors and politicians heaped praise on the Lucas Girls.[133] During 1920, at the laying of the Arch foundation stone in February, the carting of bricks from Selkirk's brick factory in April and the official opening in June, the aura of the Lucas Girls was enhanced further.

In the 1920s, as it was so recent, the glow about being a Lucas Girl and the credit for the World War One charity work remained. As well as this, money was still being contributed from the weekly wage of the Lucas Girls towards Avenue and Arch maintenance and Tilly Thompson was ensuring the factory employees were kept informed about any issues involved with the Avenue or Arch. In May 1924, an article in

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[133] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report*, 1919. The report stated, "Nothing but the highest praise and credit can be given to their (Lucas Girls) patriotic and energetic efforts".

Melbourne's *Argus* in the Women's Views and News section under the heading 'Lucas Girls: A Wonderful Record' emphasised that the reputation of their work had spread far beyond Ballarat:

> In the history of voluntary service done by our womenfolk during the years of the Great War there is no finer record to be found than that in the chapter which belongs to the work of the women employees of the Lucas's clothing factory in Ballarat. And it provides also a chapter in the history of their city of which it is, and might well be, proud. But the finest thing about that service is the fact that it has been, and will be, continuous.[134]

However, by the 1930s and 1940s, the collective memory of the Lucas Girls themselves was changing. They no longer had a compulsory donation from their wages towards Avenue and Arch maintenance and new employees had arrived. To balance this, they still had the presence of Edward Price and Tilly Thompson and long-term employees as a link to the Avenue planting and the Arch construction. Despite hardship during the 1929–33 economic 'downturn', the Lucas Girls retained their positive attitude towards the company and their pride in their previous actions in regard to the Avenue and Arch.

Once the Lucas Company and then the AVAHC took over responsibility for maintenance, the connections with the Arch and Avenue waned to an extent. While the Lucas Girls and the Lucas Company continued to support local charities and, in particular, the Red Cross, the exclusive concentration on the Arch and Avenue lessened. The aura of being a Lucas Girl continued and, as shown earlier in this chapter, the reputation for fine quality work and high standards gave the employees pride in their place of employment. Often the Lucas Girls had mothers and grandmothers who had worked there and traditions were passed down.[135] Some fundraising efforts, such as the 1938 mannequin parade, still had a focus on providing adequate Arch and Avenue maintenance funding.

In a sense, Tilly Thompson was a gatekeeper to the Avenue and Arch traditions. Although retired from Lucas employment in 1927, she retained a strong interest in Avenue and Arch maintenance while encouraging Lucas employees to continue with fundraising for charity. She was venerated by the Lucas Girls and retained her seat as a director of Lucas.

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[134] *Argus* (Melbourne), May 2, 1924, 14. These comments are similar to those quoted in this chapter on page 179.

[135] Interview with Bev Shears (Lucas Girl of 1955–60), April 20, 2016.

A woman of considerable energy, besides encouraging the Lucas Girls to ensure enough funds were raised to maintain the Avenue and Arch, she used her large house at Sunways on the northern shores of Lake Wendouree as a temporary refuge for any ex-serviceman who was down on his luck.[136]

It is significant, though, that in 1939 Thompson received a Certificate of Appreciation and a gold medal from the federal executive of the RSSILA[137] for 'honorary unselfish service and assistance rendered to the members of the League and the dependents of sailors and soldiers fallen in the Great War' and, in January 1941, she was awarded a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) medal for 'Red Cross work in the last war and as a supporter for the benefit of returned soldiers'.[138] There was no mention of the Avenue or the Arch in the awards acknowledgement, indicating she had other interests and achievements. During many Lucas social occasions, she was the guest of honour, and she remained alert until her death at the age of 87 on 7 April 1959.[139]

Not all Lucas employees revered Tilly Thompson, especially young male employees. In December 1949, Brian Whykes started at Lucas as a 17-year-old straight from Ballarat High School. In an interview in 2017, he remembered Tilly in less than flattering terms and described her as 'domineering' and 'although she was no doubt good hearted, she was an eccentric old lady'. His role was to administer production control at the factory and, in the mid-1950s he was president of the Lucas Welfare Association. He recalled employees paid a weekly contribution of sixpence to the association that went towards an annual dinner and charity causes. The Ballarat Youth Centre, Aboriginal Advancement League and Red Cross were supported. Also, in 1955 £180 was contributed to the Avenue maintenance funds and in 1957 the Welfare Association contributed £98 towards floodlighting of the Arch.[140]

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[136] Mansfield, "Thompson, Matilda Louise (1871–1959)."

[137] In 1965 the RSSILA became the Returned & Services League (RSL).

[138] *Courier* (Ballarat), January 1, 1941, 1; *Courier* (Ballarat), January 2, 1941, 2.

[139] Mansfield, "Thompson, Matilda Louise (1871–1959)."

[140] Interview with Brian Whykes, July 25, 2017.

The Lucas organisation celebrated milestones and, in the process, the traditional view about the Lucas Girls continued to be enhanced. At the 1948 diamond jubilee celebrations, the important role of the Lucas Girls in World War One was emphasised and Keith Price made a floral presentation to Jean Philpot, who had worked for Eleanor Lucas at James Street in Ballarat East before the Doveton Street factory was built.

MR KEITH PRICE, director of E. Lucas and Co., with Mrs S. Philpot (Jean Sansum), oldest surviving member of the original factory, started by the late Mrs Lucas 60 years ago. Another to receive a lovely sheaf of flowers was Mrs F. G. Martin (Lavinia Caller), who cut out the first dress.

Figure 30: Presentation to Lucas Girl by Keith Price at the December 1948 celebrations
Photograph from the *Courier (*Ballarat), December 11, 1948, 14

In an interview in 2015, Brian Nunn recalled that when he started work at Lucas in 1950 the company had a staff in Ballarat and Melbourne of 584 employees, including 40 men who worked the knitting and pressing machines. Society was moving on from World War Two, a time when many of the Lucas female employees had lost husbands and boyfriends. He stated, 'At Lucas in senior management you were automatically involved in the Avenue and the Arch'.[141]

Nunn's comments are significant in two ways. They indicate that as a new company employee in a senior position, it was obvious to him that the company employees had great pride in their connections to both the Avenue and Arch. Secondly, there were more male employees at the company than may be indicated by the term 'Lucas Girls'. Once

[141] Interview with Brian Nunn, November 10, 2015.

Thompson retired, all the senior management and most of the Australia-wide sales people were males. It appears that the men had similar views to the women about the Lucas pride in the Avenue and Arch.

Following the success of the 1948 jubilee reunion when 300 past employees attended a reunion dinner and mannequin parade, in 1950 the Lucas Past Employees Association was formed. This association quickly became a major fundraising body, as well as a social outlet, and members looked forward to the monthly meetings from February to December. Former employees gravitated to the association meetings and reinforced their earlier favourable status of being a Lucas Girl.

In its early years, the Lucas Past Employees Association fundraised for many causes. While past employees saw themselves as part of a large family and had an appreciation of the Lucas contribution to the history of the Avenue and Arch, in the 1950s and 1960s the association focused on a variety of charitable causes. These included the United Nations Appeal for Children, the Ballarat Orphanage, the Red Cross, the Anti-Cancer Campaign and the Seamen's Union. Alongside the Past Employees Association, a Welfare Association was established for current employees. Annual dinners were fundraising events whose program included comedy concerts and an invited guest speaker. Frequently, the Welfare Association Christmas dinners were a highlight.

When Lucas ceased to exist as a separate firm in 1968, a new era commenced—raising money for the maintenance of the Avenue and Arch became the focus. It is at this point that it becomes obvious that the concentration of the former Lucas Girls on the Avenue and Arch was, in fact, an invention of tradition as described by Hobsbawn and Ranger.[142] The company history, *The Golden Thread*, mentions the Avenue and Arch for the 1917–20 years but has no other reference to them. Also, the quarterly issues of *The Spectator* contain few direct references to the Avenue or the Arch. The exceptions were an article about Tilly Thompson in the June 1952 edition, an article 'History of the Company' in the March 1957 edition and a cover photograph of the Arch in the June 1958 edition.[143]

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[142] Hobsbawn and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. See Section 2.2 of this thesis.

[143] *The Spectator*, June 1952, 10–11; *The Spectator*, March 1957, 2–5; *The Spectator*, June 1958, cover.

During this period of history, the historical role of women in Australian society was in the process of revision and reassessment. As Jill Conway observed, 'up until the late 1960s whether working in the mainstream or charting new historical courses, Australian historians took little note of women and their experience'. She then reviewed six Australian books written in the 1970s that had commenced this review of women's place in society and notes about the six books:

> The six works reviewed here are points of departure for Australian women attempting to understand why the so-called Lucky Country should be a society where, early women's suffrage, baby bonuses, and maternal allowances notwithstanding, male dominance in economic, cultural, and political life is so entrenched. These books reveal the degree to which Australian women scholars work in isolation from the study of social history which has been pursued so vigorously in Western Europe and North America over the last twenty years.[144]

The books included discussion about the period 1888–1968 when the Lucas Girls were working for the Ballarat clothing business. As indicated in these books, despite a few exceptions like Tilly Thompson, throughout this period in Australia the roles of women and opportunities for women remained limited. Most female employees at Lucas were comparatively young as during most of the firm's history once they married they resigned from employment. A small number of single women stayed for many years, and in 1961 two employees, Miss Lillian Prior and Miss Evelyn Upham, were presented with gold wristlet watches to mark 50 years of service to the company.[145]

Once Bruce Price became chair of the AVAHC in 1980, the tradition of an annual donation from the Lucas Girls, often in the vicinity of $1000 or more, was established. A *Courier* feature article in February 1984 added to the Lucas image. It stated:

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[144] Jill Conway, Book Review, *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 1 (1979): 169-70. The books to which Conway was referring were Miriam Dixson, *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia, 1788–1975* published in 1976; Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonisation of Women in Australia*, 1975; Edna Ryan and Anne Conlon, *Gentle Invaders: Australian Women at Work, 1788–1974*, 1975; Beverley Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter, and Poor Mary Ann: Women at Work in Australia*, 1975; Beverley Kingston (ed.), *The World Moves Slowly: A Documentary History of Australian Women*, 1977; Kay Daniels (ed.), *Women In Australia: An Annotated Guide to Records*, 1977, two volumes.

[145] *The Spectator*, March 1961; *The Spectator*, June 1961; *The Spectator*, September 1961.

> The Avenue and Arch are a permanent monument to the public spirit of a group of young women, little known to the younger generation but an unforgettable example to their contemporaries—the Lucas Girls. For patriotic and community service, fundraising and devotion to duty, probably no group in our city's history has equalled the record of the employees of Ballarat's great clothing manufacturing firm, E Lucas & Co.[146]

Despite numbers dwindling through old age and death, the Lucas Girls continue to meet monthly and in 2011 meetings moved from St Andrews Kirk to the Redan Football Club rooms, at the Ballarat City Oval. Typically 15 to 20 members attend.[147] In 2015 a reunion weekend for Lucas Girls attracted more than 200 attendees, some from interstate.

The Lucas Girls had a high profile during Ballarat events during 2010-2017. In 2010 'Dot' Roberts, the current president of the Lucas Past Employees, undertook an interview and was profiled in the book *This is Ballarat*[148] where she discussed the recent activities of the Lucas Girls. In 2015–17 special displays of Lucas memorabilia were at the Ballarat Library, the Ballaarat Mechanics' Institute and the Ballarat Gold Museum. Dorothy Roberts, Lynette Singleton, Joan Benton and Jean Elford were profiled in *The Courier* and *The Miner*. The Lucas Girls have taken part in significant commemorative occasions at the Arch including at the opening ceremony of the Garden of the Grieving Mother, AVAHC members Lynette Singleton and Joan Benton laid wreaths.

From November 1916 until April 1917, a short film about memories of the Lucas Company was shown at the Ballarat Gold Museum. It showed interviews with four Lucas Girls: Joan Benton, who worked at Lucas from 1951 to 1959; Joan Bulluss, 1954–61; Lauren Sharp, 1957–59; and Lynette Singleton, 1960–68, and at the amalgamated firm, 1969–74. As expected, memories of the Lucas experience were glowing. The high quality of the workmanship and garments produced, the comradeship and loyalty to the business among the workers, the favourable rapport with the bosses and the strong loyalty to the family company were emphasised.

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[146] Margaret Rotherman, " Lest We Forget … the Lucas Girls," *Courier* (Ballarat), February 25, 1984, 27.

[147] Interview with Joan Benton, March 11, 2016.

[148] Roberts, *This is Ballarat*, 120–21. The interview with Dorothy (Dot) Roberts in November 2009 was reported in the book.

In an interview in April 2017, former employee Garry Turnbull recalled that as a young man he worked for Lucas. He said, 'It was a very good company to work for—they looked after their employees extremely well. It is so different to today when contractors are brought in for much company work and there is little loyalty to the employees'.[149]

It can be seen that the Lucas Girls have remained a repository of collective memory. Clearly, as with Fred Farrell and his perceptions about how he viewed his World War One experiences and the Anzac legend, the Lucas Girls and other Lucas employees have viewed their company's connection to the Avenue and the Arch in various ways over the years.

In the long run, though, through their desire to keep the traditions of the Lucas Company alive, the Lucas Girls monthly meetings, attendance at connected ceremonies and fundraising have embedded and consolidated the original memory of the role that Lucas played in the planting of the Avenue and the building of the Arch. Generations of Lucas Girls have transmitted their memories to those that followed them as employees at the Lucas factory. Their collective memory has created the Lucas tradition and in doing this, the Lucas Girls, working alongside the members of the AVAHC, had become an important part of war commemoration in Ballarat.

[149] Interview with Garry Turnbull, April 1, 2017.

Chapter 7: CIVIC MANAGEMENT7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the civic management of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. It examines their ongoing upkeep against the background of fluctuating community attitudes to war and peace, the domination of their maintenance by the Lucas community in contrast to the general community, and the parallels with the vagaries of worldwide war commemoration. Discussion then continues about the influence of memory in an historical context and, as postulated by theorists, the changing nature of commemoration. In Chapter Two of this thesis, after a discussion of Hobsbawn and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*,[1] the question 'Is Ballarat's Avenue of Honour an example of the invention of tradition?' was posed. In the civic maintenance of the Avenue and Arch, this is an underlying theme.

The first sections, concentrating on 1920 to 1968, discuss the formal founding of the AVAHC, events during World War Two and changes after this war. The Lucas business was taken over in 1968 at the height of Australian agitation about the involvement of Australian troops in the Vietnam War. This was a time of uncertainty about war commemoration and had a long-term effect on Australian society.

From the 1980s, attitudes to commemoration in Australia were changing. Federal governments strongly promoted national values and the Anzac legend was brought to the fore. Also, the way Vietnam veterans had been negatively viewed immediately after the war was reversed and, apart from Paul Keating, Australian prime ministers led the impetus for Anzac Day to be seen as Australia's national day.

The last section discusses recent history, when the Avenue has become a symbol of the sacrifices of Australia's military personnel and the Arch a site for significant commemoration. In this time of heightened memory, the full Avenue was reunited, considerable maintenance and renewal of the Avenue occurred, the Gallipoli landing centenary was commemorated and a moving statue, *Grieving Mother*, located adjacent to the Arch of Victory, was unveiled. Also, there has been a strong drive for Ballarat's Avenue and Arch to be recognised as nationally significant.

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[1] Hobsbawn and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

7.2 Early Years of Maintenance

Once the Avenue was fully planted in 1919 and the Arch was opened in 1920, their ongoing maintenance and overall control were major issues for the Ballarat community. After discussing the symbolic nature of the Avenue and Arch in the European context and of the Arch in relation to the ideas discussed by Inglis[2] and Ziino,[3] this section details issues in the light of the history of war and peace commemoration in Australia.

Certainly, during the Avenue's planting and the construction of the Arch, there was widespread community interest and, in some cases, excitement about the projects. The descriptions of the planting in earlier chapters provide ample evidence of this. As outlined in Chapter Four and Chapter Five of this thesis, it is possible to view the Avenue planting and the building of the Arch as part of the worldwide movement towards the construction of war memorials.

Many writers have made detailed studies about the effects on the community of the two major twentieth-century world wars. Jay Winter in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History*[4] and in *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*[5] has undertaken a detailed study of the effects of war on the people of Europe and, in particular, the people in Germany, France and Great Britain. He discussed the burials of the war dead; the mourning of communities; the proliferation of war memorials, especially in Belgium and Northern France; and how societies accommodate wars through art forms, including film and literature, and the provision of war museums. He analyses the recent memory boom and remembrance practices and argues:

> In the twentieth century, warfare became everybody's business. Before 1900, commemorative statues mostly celebrated individual commanders; after 1900, and even more after 1914, ordinary people became the focus of commemoration. This is why the preservation of names on war memorials is so important.[6]

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[2] Inglis, *Sacred Places*.

[3] Ziino, "Claiming the dead," 145–61.

[4] Winter, *Sites of Memory*.

[5] Winter, *Remembering War*.

[6] Winter, *Remembering War*, 281.

It can be shown that the planting of the Ballarat Avenue was part of this memory boom to which Jay Winter referred. Once the realities of World War One were apparent after the long lists of war dead eventually made their way into the local newspapers, local populations, including the people of Ballarat and district, were searching for ways to acknowledge the ordinary people who were serving overseas in the theatres of war. In a similar way to listing names on war memorials, plaques for trees with the names of individual soldiers, seamen and nurses who were serving ensured local people received recognition.

The destruction wrought by World War One was devastating. Millions of soldiers and civilians died, many people had long-term physical and mental injuries and the landscape of Western Europe, in particular, suffered major damage. Recently, Stephens pointed out that although 61,000 Australian soldiers were killed in World War One, after 1918 there were about three times as many families living with returned, physically and mentally damaged soldiers as there were bereaved families.[7] Also, as Laqueur observes, the buried dead were far away in Europe.[8] People deeply affected by the war sought solace, and the creation of war memorials and avenues of trees provided conduits to channel grief.

As discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, in Australia many Avenues of Honour were planted to commemorate the armed forces that took part in World War One. This is particularly the case in western Victoria, which had the greatest concentration of avenues in Australia. Over time, often these avenues faded from view and withered away. Unlike the situation with many of these other avenues, those people involved with the Ballarat Avenue remained dedicated and vigilant about retaining the integrity of the Avenue.

In theory, during 1920–31, as the Avenue and Arch were inside the shire boundaries, the shire controlled them. An executive committee consisting of the mayor of Ballarat, the Shire president, Inspector Nicholson, Edward Price and the City clerk was appointed in September 1917 to 'deal with all matters connected with the Avenue of Honour'.[9]

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[7] David Stephens, "Anzac and Anzackery: Useful Future or Sentimental Dream?," in Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*, 125.

[8] Laqueur, "Memory and Naming," 162.

[9] PROV, City of Ballarat, Correspondence, VPRS 2500/Box 107, 8 August 1917.

A search of the shire and the City archives for the 1920s provides evidence that councillors had a passing interest in the Avenue and Arch but appeared to leave major maintenance issues to the Lucas Company. Once the Avenue was planted, the executive committee disbanded—one factor was that Police Inspector Nicholson had left Ballarat in early 1922 to become Victoria's ninth Commissioner of Police—and the driving force behind dealing with Avenue and Arch maintenance and financial issues was the Lucas Company led by Edward Price and supported by Tilly Thompson.

The Lucas Company was concerned about 'the way in which the tree guards were being knocked about through the wandering stock nuisance' and, on occasions from November 1917, the company wrote letters to the Ballarat Shire about the issue.[10] As a result, the shire appointed a ranger who worked with the shire pound keeper to deal with the stock problem. In October 1927, the shire councillors decided to impound any horses on the Avenue during the day and at night all stock wandering were to be impounded.[11]

An item associated with the wandering stock issue was the maintenance of the tree guards with the attached nameplates bearing each soldier's name, rank and unit. From 1925 the Lucas Girls began fundraising for the installation of permanent nameplates and, in coming years, built up a substantial fund. In 1925, under the *State Highways and Vehicles Act*, the Burrumbeet Road became a state highway known as the Western Highway and, while the Lucas Company continued to ensure the Avenue and Arch were maintained, the overall responsibility passed from the Ballarat Shire to the CRB.[12]

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[10] PROV, Shire of Ballarat, Minutes, VPRS 13492/P/0001, Unit 000011, 5 November 1917, 160, 7 July 1919, 246, 5 July 1920, 292, 2 October 1922, 390; PROV, Shire of Ballarat, Minutes, VPRS 13492/P/0001, Unit 000012, 11 October 1926, 84, 10 October 1927, 84, 10 December 1928, 166.

[11] PROV, Shire of Ballarat, Minutes, VPRS 13492/P/0001, Unit 000011, 10 October 1927, 84.

[12] William Keys Anderson, *Roads for the People: A History of Victoria's Roads* (South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1994), 60.

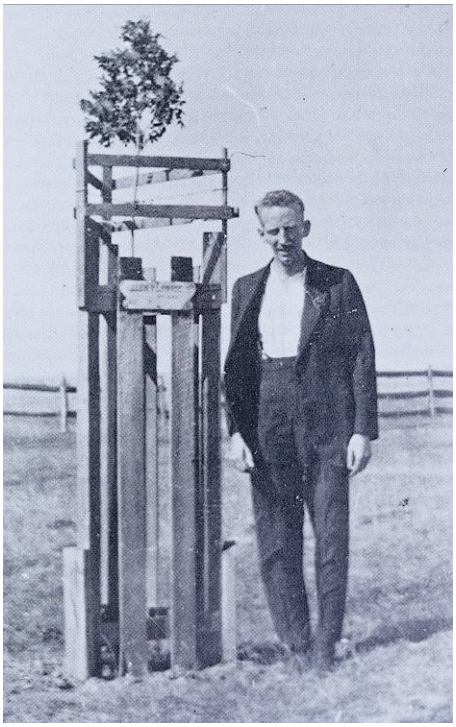

Figure 31: Ex-serviceman A Lawrie standing beside his tree 3002 c. 1921
The original name plaques were at shoulder level.
Photograph from Bate, *Lucky City*, 78 (courtesy of Museum of Victoria)

As noted previously,[13] the maintenance of the Avenue trees moved from the Lucas Company to the AVAHC. At the initiative of the Ballarat mayor, Cr AR Stewart, a conference of City, shire, returned soldiers, community and CRB representatives was held on 24 July 1931 to establish this new committee. The chair was Edward Price and other committee members were Tilly Thompson representing Lucas; Morgan WB John and David Ronaldson, the community; Stan Walker and Clem Hoskin, RSSILA; Cr Stewart, City; Cr J Charles, shire; and FG Hook, Lucas, who was also the secretary and treasurer.

The CRB looked after the issue of the wandering stock and, in October 1933, wrote to the shire stating that cattle would not be impounded on the Western Highway if they were herded between 9 am and 4 pm.[14] In March 1936, the shire requested the CRB to permit people to allow cattle to graze on the highway during the day to decrease the possibility

[13] See section 6.5 of this thesis.

[14] PROV, Shire of Ballarat Minutes, VPRS 13492/P/0001, Unit 000012, 9 October 1933, 342.

of the long grass being a fire hazard. The CRB gave permission as long as the cattle were under control so as not to trespass on traffic on portion of the road.[15]

From 1932 the new committee investigated the types and costs of nameplates. After trials, in 1934 the tender of the Ballarat firm of Mann Brothers was accepted for the production of permanent gunmetal plaques to be placed at the base of each tree. It was resolved that there would be no reference to any title on these new plates—a significant decision in reinforcing the concept of equality of all those who served. Mann Brothers were paid £216 for the installation of the permanent nameplates.[16]

Figure 32: Memorial cairn erected in 1936 at the Learmonth (Weatherboard) end of the Avenue
Photograph taken by Terry Hope in April 2017

Another initiative of the AVAHC was the installation of temporary floodlighting on the Arch as part of the 1935 Centenary of Victoria celebrations. Also, in 1936 with assistance from Tilly Thompson and Thomas Toop, the curator of the Botanical Gardens, the Returned Soldiers' Fathers' Association erected a memorial cairn and cross of

[15] PROV, Shire of Ballarat Minutes, VPRS 13492/P/0001, Unit 000012, 9 March 1936, 426, 6 April 1936, 427.

[16] AVAHC Minutes, 25 September 1934, 27 November 1934.

remembrance at the Learmonth end of the Avenue. The cairn was unveiled in November of that year.

In 1938 Ballarat celebrated the centenary of European settlement and, on Saturday 12 March, held a grand pageant at the showgrounds attended by 25,000–30,000 people.[17] On the same day, 700 people were at the unveiling of a pedestal and roll of honour that was erected two hundred yards west of the Arch of Victory and in front of the Ballarat Golf Links. The rotunda also contained a book of remembrance consisting of steel sheets upon which were inscribed the names of the district soldiers, sailors and nurses who had an Avenue tree. Interestingly, the chairman at the unveiling ceremony was the Ballarat mayor, Cr JH Trekardo, rather than the Ballarat shire president. At the ceremony, he used the word 'sacred', invoking a religious connection to the Avenue. Cr Trekardo stated:

> I hope that as long as time lasts, we as individuals shall never forget our pledges of 1914–1918. Let us all unite in perpetuating their sacred memory, and let us never forget to help those who returned. Remember our sacred trust to the Legacy children, and do all in our power to lighten their burden. Let us help those who are now at the age when they are feeling the strain of their war service.[18]

Next, Stan Walker, the president of the Ballarat branch of the RSSILA and an AVAHC member, unveiled the pedestal. He spoke of the 'glorious avenue' and, interestingly, he emphasised helping the next generation, rather than simply 'remembering'. In referring to those who had served, he stated, 'Surely their spirit of service and sacrifice would form a link with the future that the generations which followed would never betray'.[19] After this ceremony, a service of remembrance for Eleanor Lucas took place. Once again, this underlined the close connection between the Avenue and the Lucas Company.

The second issue concerning the 1920s and 1930s to be discussed at this stage is the comparative importance of international and national occurrences compared to what was happening locally in relation to the Avenue and the Arch. As outlined in Chapter Five, while the amount of Ballarat community interest in war and peace commemoration at various times during these years paralleled the international and the national scene, a case

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[17] *Courier* (Ballarat), March 14, 1938, 1.

[18] Ibid., 2.

[19] Ibid.

can be made that an invention of tradition concerning the Avenue and Arch was taking place through local impetus.

In 'Anzac: Memory and Forgetting in Local Landscapes', McConville points to the amount of memorialisation on the Victorian goldfields. He states:

> Perhaps the most remarkable material artefacts of popular culture created between 1915 and 1935 can be found in a war-derived monumentalism; statues, plaques, tree plantings and buildings. On the Victorian goldfields, and with a locus in Ballarat, there can now be seen as constituting a memorial landscape for which the goldfields are, if not unique, then at least highly distinctive. The drawn-out construction of these marks on the landscape was certainly infused with memory, of individual local volunteers rather than of any symbolic 'Anzac'.[20]

McConville goes on to point out the close personal connection between individual combatants and families they left behind.

> Names on plaques represented familiar and real neighbours, friends or relatives. This memory stands as quite distinct from the constructed sense of memory which is implied in today's assumptions of 'Lest We Forget' or 'The Spirit Lives'.[21]

Then he downplays the importance of memorial landscapes:

> In the long run historians read too much into memorial landscapes. For almost all days of the year, war memorials are fixed as background, contributing elements to the streetscape or natural environment, rather than existing as icons of war memory,[22]

In contrast, as is contended in this thesis, the Ballarat Avenue and Arch were very much 'marks on the landscape' and the Avenue records familiar names. Ballarat was leading the way with its long Avenue of trees and impressive Arch and was, in fact, consciously ensuring that fitting and prominent memorials to the World War One servicemen and women were well maintained and part of the local remembrance culture.

As well, throughout western Victoria in the 1920s and to a lesser extent in the 1930s, in most country towns, both large and small, war memorials were placed in central township areas. In *Remember Them: A Guide to Victoria's Wartime Heritage*,[23] Garrie Hutchinson

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[20] McConville, "Anzac: Memory and Forgetting," 318.

[21] Ibid., 319.

[22] Ibid., 322.

[23] Hutchinson, *Remember Them*.

provides many examples of these memorials and their importance to local communities. Many of these communities, especially in the western part of Victoria, looked to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch for inspiration, and publicity about them brought motivation to local communities to develop and maintain their own war memorials.

A further relevant comment is made by Marilyn Lake in 'Monuments of Manhood and Colonial Dependence: The Cult of Anzac as Compensation', where she points out that the Australian landscape has been transformed by war memorials, small and large, local and national by the cult of Anzac.[24] She states:

> We have no equivalents of the American monuments to political achievement—The Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial and the Lincoln Memorial that grace the US capital—not in Melbourne our first national capital, nor in Canberra, our permanent capital.[25]

Lake also observed Australia's founding federal fathers, such as Alfred Deakin, are not honoured in the manner of the United States. Australia failed to gain independence at the time of federation and World War One consolidated Australia's colonial dependence on Britain. As a result, the 'cult of Anzac' became a 'cult of military sacrifice' and Australia's history was 'militarised'. 'War commemoration now dominates historical memory.'[26] The issue of excessive Anzac commemoration in Australia is discussed further later in this chapter.

I have noted in previous chapters the importance of collective memory. In Chapter Four, the involvement of the Lucas/Price family and the Lucas Girls in the planting of the Avenue was analysed and, in Chapter Five, fundraising for the Arch was analysed. Then, in Chapter Six, the role of the Lucas Girls was examined in more detail. The collective memory of those involved during World War One was transmitted to generations of the Lucas Girls that followed them as employees at the Lucas factory. Media articles that transmitted the memory of the Lucas Girls' commendable actions during World War One to the broader community aided this process and assisted in reinforcing the positive Lucas image. In a similar way to the Lucas Girls, those involved in the maintenance of the

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[24] Marilyn Lake, "Monuments of Manhood and Colonial Dependence: The Cult of Anzac as Compensation," in Lake, *Memory, Monuments and Museums*, 45.

[25] Ibid., 44–45.

[26] Ibid., 56.

Avenue, including Lucas-connected personnel and other AVAHC members, ensured that the importance and the significance of the Avenue was retained.

Through this process, the collective memory of the Lucas organisation dominated and influenced the broader community memory. The national and international impetus in the 1920s and 1930s certainly had an influence on local initiatives, but it needs to be emphasised that local memory was crucial to the continual interest in the Avenue and Arch. The decision to plant the Avenue was made in 1917 well before the national and international monuments were erected.

7.3 World War Two and Beyond

As outlined in Chapter Three of this thesis, the worldwide and Ballarat reaction to the commencement of World War Two was very different to that of World War One when many had thought the war an adventure. By 1939 the reality of the horrors of war were known to all and, while most people agreed that the expansion of Nazi Germany needed to be stopped, many in the community dreaded the thought of Australia's involvement in another world war.

As in World War One, many Ballarat-based men volunteered for the armed forces and, as in other parts of Australia, women had a direct involvement in the war. The conflict had an overpowering effect on the community, especially on all young men and women who were swept up by the prevailing manpower regulations. Once the war ended in 1945, after almost six years of further fighting just twenty years after the gruelling experience of World War One, many in the community wanted to forget war and get on with their lives by involvement in social and economic reconstruction. This war had been closer to home with the Japanese in New Guinea and the bombing of Darwin. There was a different mindset to that of 1918–19. Bate notes that in August 1945, although in Ballarat a victory parade occurred two weeks after the war ended, there was 'huge relief that the greatest peril Australia had faced was past'.[27] He observes:

> Because the news came over the radio, there was no need for crowds to gather, as in 1918, for an official announcement; society anyway was more individualist. The night-long spontaneous

[27] Bate, *Life After Gold*, 171–72.

> processions of the previous era were not repeated, but a crowd gathered at the Alfred Hall to give thanks, and clergyman began to prepare sermons for the following Sunday.[28]

While the war was in progress, the AVAHC met bimonthly until 1942 when this changed to quarterly as some serving committee members had died. In the years following World War Two, informal discussions took place in Ballarat about the best way for the community to recognise those who had served during the war and in particular, those who had died. As Inglis notes:

> Australia's armed forces suffered comparatively light losses in a war that caused at least fifty million deaths, more than twice as many as the one hitherto called Great. Fewer Australians died at war in 1939–45 than in 1914–18. Seven million people had not quite thirty thousand to mourn, out of around a million enlistments, compared with more than sixty thousand out of four hundred thousand for the five million of 1918.[29]

Using these figures, in World War One 15 per cent of those Australians involved in combat were killed, while in World War Two it was 3 per cent. Some schools, churches and other organisations chose to add a Second World War section adjacent to the honour boards of World War One, while other communities chose not to add to the World War One commemoration. In what Inglis termed 'the triumph of utility',[30] rather than building memorials, many Australian communities decided to remember those who had served in a practical way by allocating funds to a particular community need. Ballarat followed the lead of many other communities and funds were provided to improve accommodation at the Base Hospital, where the new manager, Plummer, set up a successful public appeal for the 'Peace Memorial Hospital'.[31] Bate notes:

> … funds for a major war memorial were raised not to provide more sculptures or add to the Avenue of Honour, but as a practical measure to improve accommodation at the Ballarat and District Base Hospital, whose manager, JL Plummer, a former RAAF flight-lieutenant, had floated the idea.[32] ,

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[28] Ibid., 172.

[29] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 333.

[30] Ibid., 334.

[31] Anthea Hyslop, *Sovereign Remedies* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 287–91.

[32] Bate, *Lucky City*, 175.

In this way, through the post-war fundraising focus on improvements to the Base Hospital, Ballarat followed the lead of many other Australian communities. In 1950 the official Anzac Day dawn service shifted from the Arch to the newly erected cenotaph in Sturt Street, very close to the headquarters of the Ballarat Sub-Branch of the RSSAILA (from 1965, the RSL) in Lyons Street South. In future years, the tradition of laying wreaths at the Arch of Victory on Anzac Day continued through brief ceremonies that followed the cenotaph dawn ceremony.

Ballarat community leaders thought the Arch of Victory provided an appropriate site for major commemorative events. Through informal discussions at the Lucas Company, supported by the RSSAILA, it was decided to place two granite tablets in the south side of the Arch structure to commemorate the service of members of the army, navy and air force during World War Two. One tablet named the contributing forces and the other theatres of war.[33] The Australian forces operated on 12 sites in the Middle East during 1940–43, 12 sites in the Pacific in 1942–45 and five in Europe in 1939–45.

On 'Remembrance Sunday' afternoon, 7 November 1954, former Mount Pleasant State School student and decorated soldier of the two World Wars, Lieutenant General Sir Leslie Morshead unveiled the two tablets commemorating the World War Two armed forces. The 8/7th Infantry Battalion provided a guard for the official party and the Regimental Band and a civic male choir were featured. Among the 1500 in attendance were past and current armed forces representatives, civic leaders, past and current members of the Lucas Welfare Organisation, guides, scouts, cadets, St John Ambulance Corps and the general public, including many 'young people who were learning about the Avenue and Arch traditions'.[34] The Lucas Company had provided the £400 for the production of the tablets.[35] *The Courier* noted this was 'a further tribute to the patriotic and civic-minded outlook of the Lucas welfare organisation, past and present employees, and particularly, Mrs WD Thompson'.[36]

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[33] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 6, 1954, 3.

[34] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 8, 1954, 2.

[35] AVAHC *Correspondence* October 21, 1954.

[36] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 8, 1954, 2.

In his speech, Morshead stated that he welcomed the opportunity and privilege. In relation to the Lucas Company, he added, 'It was a remarkable achievement, and is evidence of what can be done when there is proper appreciation, understanding and mutual trust and regard between employer and employee'. He then stated, 'In proud and grateful recognition of all those who rendered service to their King and country I unveil these tablets'.[37] After the unveiling, further speeches were made. In thanking those in attendance, Lucas Company joint managing director Keith Price referred to Tilly Thompson as 'a wonderful lady, who had a lot to do with the memorial after the first war'. The Ballarat mayor thanked Sir Leslie and then asked for a period of silence that was followed by the playing of the Last Post and Reveille.[38]

Through this ceremony before the large crowd, the traditions surrounding the Lucas Girls and, in particular, Tilly Thompson was reinforced. Under the heading 'Arch of Victory Records New Page of History', *The Courier's* Saturday paper carried a more detailed article about the contribution of the Lucas Company to the Avenue and Arch.[39] Again, this was part of the invention of tradition about Lucas.

A further aspect of the company's involvement with this ceremony was the signing of a mortarboard daubed with cement from the foundation stone of the Arch. It was explained to Morshead that the signing was part of a long tradition and, in years to come, this Lucas tradition continued with each notable visitor. At the laying of the foundation stone in February 1920, Sir William Birdwood, Edward Price and Tilly Thompson signed the mortarboard. Thereafter, at each Arch significant occasion, the principal visitors signed the board. This included the Prince of Wales in June 1920, the Duke of Gloucester in November 1934 and Queen Elizabeth in March 1954. Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh signed in 1994 and 2000, Prince Charles signed in 1966, 1974 and in 1983 when Princess Diana signed. Other members of the royal family who signed were Princess Alexandra, Princess Anne and Mark Phillips, and Prince Edward. Three governor-generals signed—Sir William Slim in March 1955, Dame Quentin Bryce in 2011 and Sir Peter Cosgrove in 2017. Others to sign were Victorian governors Sir Dallas

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 6, 1954, 19.

Brookes, Sir Rohan Delacombe and Brian Murray (also his wife Jeanette); Lieutenant Governor Sir Edmund Herring; soldiers Sir John Monash, Sir William Morshead and Sir 'Weary' Dunlop; politician Sir Robert Menzies; and William, Bishop of Ballarat (in 1946). On occasions, the board was taken to the person if they were not visiting Ballarat. For safekeeping, since 1980 the AVAHC Chairman, Bruce Price, has kept the mortarboard.

The decision to use the Arch to commemorate those involved in Australian wars after World War One was significant as it enabled the Arch to remain relevant to following generations of people. As the Avenue was connected with the Arch, this sentiment applied to the Avenue in the same way.

Due to the deaths of past members, including Edward Price in early 1947, the AVAHC had become inactive and had ceased to meet formally. Its first meeting since 1946 was held in 1957 with Edward Price's eldest son, Keith Price, as chair. Tilly Thompson had continued to oversee the maintenance of the Avenue and Arch and the Lucas company secretary, Hook, attended to the necessary business transactions. A substantial fund for Avenue and Arch maintenance had grown to £1614 through yearly income of £70 from an annual City Council grant of £25 and £45 from bank and bond interest.[40] In 1957 permanent floodlighting of the Arch was installed after the Lucas Past Employees and Welfare Association contributed £112 and the City and shire councils agreed to share the annual cost of £36 for the floodlighting.[41] In March 1959, the memorial cairn at the western end of the Avenue was renewed in permanent materials by the Ballarat Shire Council and dedicated on Anzac Day. Then, on 6 September the Ballarat Shire Council planted a scarlet oak tree just west of the memorial cairn in memory of Tilly Thompson who had died in April of that year.[42]

In the post-war years, Australian foreign policy began to look to the Asia–Pacific region rather than the old British Empire. Events in World War Two, including the fall of Singapore and United States troops residing in Australia, had led to a change of focus

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[40] AVAHC Minutes, 25 January 1957.

[41] City of Ballaarat, *Mayor's Report 1956-57*; AVAHC Minutes, 26 March 1957.

[42] *Courier* (Ballarat), September 7, 1959, 8.

away from the Old World to involvement with Asia. Changes in society were illustrated in Alan Seymour's play *The One Day of the Year*, first seen in Adelaide in 1960. The play probed the generational and class conflicts occurring in a family on Anzac Day. The disillusioned and bigoted veteran father, Alf, sparred with his arrogant son Hughie, who refused to attend the annual Anzac Day parade. Alf was portrayed as using Anzac Day as a boozy time to socialise with his mates and forget disappointments in civilian life, while Hughie and his girlfriend worked on an anti-Anzac feature for a student newspaper. The play proved to be prophetic in that this generational conflict highlighted the changing perceptions of the educated younger generation in the lead-up to the Vietnam War.[43]

Holbrook argues that, in the 1960s, the former servicemen, historians and 'radical nationalists' Russel Ward, Ian Turner and Geoffrey Serle, basing their theories on the ideas of Brian Fitzpatrick that were published during World War Two,[44] searched for connections between the bushmen of nineteenth-century Australia and the diggers of the Great War as part of a national identity.[45] She states that Ward's book, *The Australian Legend*, published in 1958, 'was the study of the emergence of an Australian national type: the noble bushman'.[46] The bushman was viewed as a political radical and an anti-British Australian nationalist, while the returned soldier was a conservative, Australian–British imperialist.[47] In the 1960s, the peace movement strengthened and, as Carina Donaldson and Marilyn Lake point out, the conservative forces, often led by the RSL, frequently labelled pacifists as communists, a view supported by the politicians in the Menzies federal government.[48]

In a *Meanjin Quarterly* article published in 1965, Ken Inglis challenged the views of the 'radical nationalist historians' such as Fitzpatrick, Turner and Serle, who Inglis argued

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[43] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, p 118-19.

[44] Brian Fitzpatrick, *British Imperialism and Australia, 1788–1833* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1939) and Brian Fitzpatrick, *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History 1834–1939* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing, 1941).

[45] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 91–115.

[46] Ibid., 97.

[47] Russel Ward, *A Nation for a Continent: The History of Australia 1901–1975*, rev. ed. (1977; Melbourne: Heinemann Education Australia, 1983), 104, 127.

[48] Donaldson and Lake, "Whatever Happened?", 71–93.

saw the defeat of the 1916 and 1917 conscription referenda as a great victory for the working class, when, in fact, the victories were narrow and compulsion was supported by many Catholics and workers.[49] Further Inglis stated, 'A study of the ceremonies of life and death performed on Anzac Day should tell much about our society; and a national history which does not explore the meaning of these ceremonies is too thin'.[50] Holbrook, in referring to the article above, argued that Inglis wanted to shift the basis for thinking about war from the realm of politics to that of ritual and commemoration and that Inglis saw Anzac Day as a quasi-religious event, a 'civic religion'.[51]

In Ballarat during the 1960s, the main issues the AVAHC considered were working with the CRB to realign dangerous sections of the Western Highway and planting replacement trees. Fatal accidents had occurred on the highway and plans to duplicate it and to widen the Avenue were devised. After discussions in 1965–66, this did not occur and further planning took place in the late 1960s and the 1970s. The focus on the Avenue had turned from commemoration of war to saving lives on the Western Highway.

While the AVAHC and the CRB were working to improve the safety of the Western Highway in the vicinity of the Avenue, nationally the war in Vietnam became a strong focus. Under President Johnson from the mid-1960s, the United States was increasingly drawn into the Vietnam War through the belief that the spread of communism needed to be halted. Controversially, in 1964 the Menzies government announced the introduction of conscription of 20-year-olds chosen by a ballot of birthday dates. Under successive Coalition administrations, Australia committed troops to Vietnam in support of its key ally. Many in the community opposed this and became openly rebellious. In 1968–71 Vietnam protests in Australia's capital cities involved marches by thousands of people and skirmishes between police and youth were common. In Melbourne Michael Hyde went from Christian pacifist to student revolutionary. He recalls:

> The annual July Fourth demonstration was coming up [in 1968] … We wanted this to be a major turning point in the movement against the Vietnam War. With Prime Minister John Gorton's

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[49] Ken Inglis, "The Anzac Tradition," *Meanjin Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1965): 34–35.

[50] Inglis, "The Anzac Tradition," 44.

[51] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 107.

> words ringing in our ears—'we will tolerate dissent as long as it remains ineffective'—we set about organising a demonstration that would be as effective as possible.[52]

The Vietnam War changed Australian society and created many myths, as Mark Dapin illustrates:

> There has always been an abundance of myths, a treasury of fool's gold, clouding our understanding of national service and the Vietnam War … As to post-war misconceptions, fewer than a quarter of the sixty-three thousand men conscripted ever went to Vietnam, and many of those never saw combat … The majority of the mainstream media supported both the Vietnam War and national service and, while its enthusiasm for the conflict faded with the years the popular press hardly ever criticised the diggers, nor lost its happy zeal for the idea of conscription.[53]

Although these words of Dapin may be accurate, in Australia the impression left about the Vietnam War was that strong divisions were created in society. This led to a breakdown and a rethinking of previous traditions such as community members standing still with head bowed at 11 am on 11 November to remember the significance of the conclusion of the World War One conflict, a practice that originated in London in 1919.[54] In many schools, it was common for students on a Monday morning to commence the day at a school assembly that included a recitation of the words 'I honour the flag, my parents, and my teachers', but by 1970 generally this practice no longer occurred.

The certainty about the need to annually commemorate Anzac Day on 25 April and Remembrance Day on 11 November was replaced with uncertainty. My personal experiences as a secondary school teacher at Seymour in 1967, Glenroy 1968–70, University High 1972–75 and Ballarat High from 1976 (I taught in England in 1971), illustrated the changing nature of commemoration. While in the 1960s Anzac Day was acknowledged at school assemblies, by the 1970s ceremonies had ceased. In the Australian community, Anzac Day was mainly attended by those who were members of the RSL, had a military background or whose relatives had undertaken war service, and few people stood for a minute's silence on Remembrance Day.

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[52] Michael Hyde, *All Along the Watchtower: Memoir of a Sixties Revolutionary* (Carlton North, Vic.: Vulgar Press, 2010), 127.

[53] Mark Dapin, *The Nashos' War* (Penguin Random House, Australia: Viking, 2014), 57–58.

[54] Winter, *Remembering War*, 141.

In many cases, memorabilia from previous wars, especially World War One, was devalued. Rosalie Triolo in *Our Schools and the War* notes:

> Changes in social attitudes after the Vietnam War also resulted in the loss or devaluing of records. On Empire Day in 1917, a series of photographs of former pupils was unveiled at Briagolong. The photographs hung there until the 1980s when deemed 'unsuitable'. Ouyen's portrait of teacher-soldier Edgar Williams disappeared in the 1970s. And in 1982, when Don Garden wrote his history of the Teachers' College, the memorial windows were 'hidden behind an internal curtain' and could only be viewed, 'unlit and unsatisfactorily' from outside.[55]

In 1968, the year that the Lucas factory closed, a significant event occurred in Ballarat on Anzac Day when before a large crowd Australia's newly elected PM John Gorton led the march of the Anzac Day ex-servicemen. *The Courier* editorial saw this as 'an honour to the thousands of Ballarat men and women who have served their country'.[56] Next, it noted that 'today' many were misled by 'idle propaganda' that regarded Anzac Day as a day on which war is glorified. The editorial stated that 'nothing is further from the truth' as on Anzac Day the community is asked to remember with sorrow, and yet with pride, the unstinting service given to this country by the men and women who went out to protect it. Finally, the editorial observed that a minority of Monash University students had acted in 'a shameful, dishonourable and disgusting manner' and had abused their freedom.[57]

The following day, the front page of *The Courier* stated that Ballarat had had a most impressive Anzac Day when more than 400 men, including 40 members of the 1st AIF, took part in the best-attended march for many years.[58] During the parade, 24 former members of the crew of HMAS Ballarat (most having travelled from interstate) followed the prime minister, who led the march. In 1941 during World War Two, Gorton was 'rescued' by their corvette after the hospital ship on which Gorton was travelling was sunk by a Japanese submarine. He revealed that he had accepted the invitation to come to Ballarat before he was elected as prime minister. Anzac Day had commenced as usual with a 6 am dawn service at the Sturt Street cenotaph that was attended by a crowd of 500

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[55] Triolo, *Our Schools*, 232.

[56] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 25, 1968, 2.

[57] Ibid., 3.

[58] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 26, 1968, 1.

and then, at 8.15 am, there was a wreath laying ceremony at the Arch of Victory. The 11.15 am march preceded a commemorative service at the cenotaph. In Melbourne the annual parade had 20,000 ex-servicemen marching, including 2500 World War One veterans, but audience numbers were down.[59]

7.4 Post the Lucas Company

The closing of the Lucas factories in Doveton Street South and at Ballarat's Ring Road occurred at a most controversial period in Australian history. As mentioned previously, the late 1960s and early 1970s were years of rebellion of youth in many Western countries. Many of the traditions established during the first part of the twentieth century were questioned and, at times, ceased. Ballarat followed national trends in relation to these changes in society, although the population was generally more conservative than in the capital cities of Australia. While during 1967–71 Vietnam War demonstrations were common in the capital centres, protests in Ballarat involved few protesters.

On Anzac Day 1969, *The Courier* reported on an Anzac Day school visit to Ballarat East High where the president of the Ballarat Legacy Club, Mr WJC North, stated:

> There is a moral conflict between the older generation where Anzac was the fitting and sacred symbol of the heritage of nationhood, while the younger generation argued that the Anzac story had been romanticised and that it concerned events too far back in time and too far away in distance to worry about … the men of Gallipoli, by their demeanour under tremendous hardship, had shown the ideals on which Australia grew up in the pioneering days of the last century.[60]

The statement by North illustrates the different views of many in the older generation who had experienced World War Two, and in some cases World War One, and those born in the baby boom generation post–World War Two. Often, war veterans were aghast at the apparent disrespect of young people who opposed the Vietnam War and who paid little attention to the Anzac Day ceremony. Most war veterans and others of the older generation saw Anzac as a sacred symbol of the Australian nation. They were aghast that people who were anti-war were also opposed to the Australian soldiers. I witnessed this through personal experience at Glenroy High School in 1969. At a full school assembly of

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[59] Ibid., 5.

[60] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 25, 1969, 3.

about 1000 students, the deputy principal, a World War Two veteran, indicated he was very upset about an article in the quarterly school newspaper. The article questioned Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. At the assembly, he harangued those present about the poor and disrespectful attitudes shown by today's young people towards those who had 'fought to save Australia'.[61]

In Ballarat on Anzac Day 1969, 200 ex-servicemen marched and *The Courier* headline was 'The Thinning Ranks of Anzac'. Surgeon Rear Admiral Lionel Lockwood, a former Ballarat High School student and a surgeon for the British royal family, led the Anzac Day parade. In Melbourne the Anzac Day march had 15,000 participants and the crowd watched the march quietly. Vocal anti-war demonstrations took place in Sydney, Newcastle and Perth, and in Melbourne an RSL official stated that public interest in the march 'seemed to be dwindling'.[62] For the successive Australian governments of Harold Holt, John Gorton and William McMahon, the Vietnam War 'proved the heaviest millstone round the conservatives' neck'.[63]

In 1970 the Ballarat Anzac Day dawn service was attended by 230 people and local solicitor Hugh Morrow addressed the cenotaph service where he stated that Anzac was not a 'glorification of war' but the significance of Anzac was the ideal of mateship and the unthinking desire to help others.[64] His words were an attempt to bridge the gap between generations. A major turning point in the hostility towards Australia's role in the Vietnam War occurred after the Vietnam moratorium protests on 8 May 1970, 18 September 1970 and 30 June 1971, which involved strongly attended rallies around Australia. In Ballarat in May 1970, a full-page *Courier* notice named 500 people who believed 'this useless war' must stop and a 'chain of conscience' outside the town hall attracted 150 protesters.[65]

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[61] The deputy principal at Glenroy High in 1969 was Tom Dickinson.

[62] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 26, 1969, 1.

[63] Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 3rd ed. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 231.

[64] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 26, 1970, 3.

[65] *Courier* (Ballarat), May 9, 1970, 1.

At this time of considerable agitation about the war in Vietnam, in June 1970 another important event took place at the Arch of Victory when the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Arch was commemorated. Keith Price, AVAHC president, told the audience, estimated to be 300 people, about the history of the Arch and noted that it was the only arch in Australia that stretched over a highway. Next, Cr A McDonald, the president of the Ballarat Shire, paid tribute to the foresight of the Lucas Girls and spoke about the importance of the Avenue. City of Ballarat town clerk, Frank Rogers, explained a letter had been received recently from the Duke of Windsor, who as HRH Prince Edward had opened the Arch. It part it read:

> With pleasant recollections of my visit to Ballarat in June 1920, and the impressive ceremony at the official opening of the Arch of Victory and the Avenue of Honor, I send my cordial greetings to the citizens of this important city in the State of Victoria.

Following the reading of the letter, City Mayor Cr A Mills said he hoped everyone would think about what had happened in the First World War and the wars that followed. He stated, 'We should all strive for a more peaceful and better world to live in'. Next, representatives of more than 32 organisations, including former Lucas employees, laid wreaths and the Ballarat City Band played selected items.[66] Through this ceremony, attended by 30 Lucas Girls from the 1917-20 period, and the recent fundraising of the Lucas Past Employees Association (Lucas Girls) the connection of Lucas Girls to the Avenue and Arch was in the process of consolidation and amplification.

A start in reducing Australian forces in Vietnam was made in November 1970 when a returning Australian army battalion was not replaced. In 1971 the Ballarat Anzac Day had 250 marchers, the usual six-hour pattern of Anzac Day observation continued and 42 wreaths were laid at the cenotaph,[67] while in 1972 *The Courier* noted, 'The ranks of marchers and onlookers were thinning'.[68] The election of the Whitlam government on 5 December 1972 was crucial in bringing major change to Australia. Soon after, Australia's armed forces were completely withdrawn from Vietnam and the current conscription laws were repealed. The defeat of the McMahon government ended a record 23 years of Coalition government.

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[66] *Courier* (Ballarat), June 8, 1970, 3.

[67] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 26, 1971, 1.

[68] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 26, 1972, 1.

In 1973 in Ballarat 300 people marched in the Anzac Day parade and in Melbourne 13,000 marched with 10,000 onlookers – this was the lowest in many years.[69] The Vietnam War agitation resulted in a reduction in any type of war commemoration within the Australian community for the rest of the 1970s and most of the 1980s.[70] Many of this war's veterans and 'nashos' that served in Australia kept a low profile about their Vietnam involvement, due to general community disillusionment, and often hostility, about Australia's role in that country.[71]

In Australia to many, especially the young, Anzac Day rituals were indistinguishable from the glorification of war.[72] During the 1970s, Anzac Day was attracting the ire of other social movements, including women's and homosexual groups. Holbrook describes a group that laid a wreath at the Shine of Remembrance on Anzac Day 1979:

> A Melbourne-based organisation called Women Against Rape in War claimed that Anzac Day glorified the role men play in wartime and ignored the fact that 'in war, as in peace, women have always born the brunt of male violence'. Dressed in black robes with the words 'Remember women raped in war' daubed on their backs in bright red letters, the women laid a wreath.

The way Australians thought about Anzac Day was a topic of constant consideration and revision. In *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, Donaldson and Lake noted that, during the Vietnam War, Anzac Day became a time of protest by anti-war activists when 'conscientious objectors' burnt draft cards. In the mid-1970s, social histories such as Bill Gammage's *The Broken Years*, Patsy Adam-Smith's *Anzacs* and Peter Weir's film *Gallipoli* led to an Anzac reassessment with an emphasis on the Anzacs as youthful victims. This was reinforced by the bitter feelings of many Vietnam veterans. A further attitude shift was seen in the revision of Seymour's play *The One Day of the Year*.[73]

Holbrook contends that, by the late 1960s, the Anzac legend and Anzac commemoration was in decline. It was based on the belief in the superiority of the British race, but the atrocities committed by the Nazis as racial science had deprived this race-based

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[69] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 26, 1973, 1.

[70] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 472

[71] See interviews on pages 283 and 286 of this thesis.

[72] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 120.

[73] Donaldson and Lake, "Whatever Happened ?," 82–90.

nationalism of credibility. Unexpectedly, in the early 1980s a revival of the Anzac legend occurred when a 'gentler brand' prizing mateship, loyalty and sacrifice was invoked.[74] Further Holbrook observes:

> Bill Gammage's *The Broken Years* and Peter Weir's *Gallipoli* succeeded so profoundly in influencing public memory of the Great War because they caught the New Nationalist mood … Given the stench that has surrounded nationalism since Hitler and the revulsion that the Vietnam generation felt towards war in general, it is extraordinary that the Anzac story re-emerged as strongly as it did.

Holbrook argues that the themes of tragedy and sacrifice had proved to be effective in the service of Australian nationalism.[75] This became the impetus for Anzac's re-emergence.

From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, few major Avenue and Arch changes occurred, although the shire was involved increasingly with maintenance works. As outlined in Chapter Six, in June 1970 the fiftieth anniversary of the Arch opening was commemorated at a ceremony attended by about 300 people. During 1973–80, the AVAHC chairman was Cr Bill (William) Walton of the shire—the only time a Price family member was not chairman. In 1974 the City Council informed the AVAHC that they were no longer included in the City's annual grants[76], and in 1976 the committee unsuccessfully approached a number of government departments for support. Following more fatal accidents, the Avenue was shown to have one of the worst accident rates in Victoria on a state highway, and in response the CRB introduced safety improvements, including trebling the number of guide posts, increasing their reflector intensity, installing corner cube delineators, adding reflective pavement markers and completing edge lining. Also, a small number of trees were relocated a small distance to safer locations. [77]

In 1977 the AVAHC failed to receive any tenders for painting the Arch—this work needed to occur about every seven years. The committee sent personal letters to all Ballarat painters and, from the five replies, chose Mr Van Stekelenburg for work to seal the walkway across the parapet and repaint the Arch at a cost of $3,504.28.[78] In 1983

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[74] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 116.

[75] Ibid., 142–43.

[76] AVAHC Minutes, 14 November 1974.

[77] AVAHC Minutes, 23 July 1976, 3 December 1976.

[78] AVAHC Minutes, 28 February 1978.

fundraising commenced for repairs on the Arch, memorial cairn, rotunda and nameplates. A survey by the Eureka Apex Club during 1984 found that 430 trees, 860 nameplates and 600 stakes needed replacing[79] and, three years later in a joint project, 20 members of the club assisted City and shire staff in repair works; cuttings came from the City nursery and holes for new trees were dug, stakes added and nameplates replaced.[80]

In 1985–86 the Arch was restored to its natural render colour in a major project that decreased its need for frequent repainting. The work was carried out acting on the advice of architect Meredith Gould, who stated that the Arch was structurally sound but that water was getting into the structure. Once the paint was removed and repairs made, the Arch was left unpainted as she had recommended. The parapet was roofed and air vents placed in the columns of the Arch to alleviate dampness.[81] The total cost was $12,448 that included $4360 for the chemical removal of the old paintwork, $3384 for plastering repairs and $4704 for the travel tower.[82] The City and shire contributed $3750 each and the balance came from AVAHC funds accrued over previous years.[83]

The composition of the AVAHC had undergone change. Bruce Price became the chair in 1980 and the shire secretary became the secretary and treasurer. In 1986 Jeremy Johnson replaced John Kellock as shire secretary. Traditionally, the committee had representation from two Lucas Girls, the City mayor, the shire president, other councillors, the RSL and the CRB.

7.5 Anzac Revitalisation

From the mid-1980s, a change was taking place concerning the commemoration of Anzac Day. Led by PM Bob Hawke, the federal government gradually increased its focus on the day and the allocation of finance for the commemoration. Instead of Anzac Day fading away and few in the Australian community becoming involved in Anzac ceremonies, the

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[79] AVAHC Minutes, 29 March 1984, 28 August 1984.

[80] *Courier* (Ballarat), 27 July 1987

[81] Gould, Meredith, Advice on repainting of the Arch of Victory, 6 November 1985, file 707/1 box A 1985, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

[82] AVAHC Minutes, 17 June 1986.

[83] AVAHC Minutes, 28 August 1984.

opposite occurred. A century after the 1915 Gallipoli landing, a crescendo of commemoration took place. It is intriguing to trace how and why this happened. Events in Ballarat mirrored this national scene. From the mid-1980s the Avenue and the Arch underwent many changes due to a strong impetus towards a significant community-wide acknowledgement of the Anzac centenary in 2015.

Christina Twomey traces the resurgence of war-centred nationalism in Australia since the 1980s, arguing that the empathy inspired by the post-1980s incarnation of Anzac offered a superficial understanding about the cost of war.[84] She notes the contrast to the early 1980s when there were dwindling attendances on Anzac Day:

> Yet within a few short years, much had changed. Anzac Day crowds thronged the streets of Australian cities. Politicians once again embraced the nation's military heritage. The feminist presence at Anzac day marches, so conspicuous and controversial in the early to mid 1980s, had almost vanished by the end of the decade. Federal money, and plenty of it, poured into war commemoration. By the 1990s, a visit to Gallipoli, preferably on Anzac Day, had become a highlight of the backpacker circuit, as young tourists wrapped themselves in Australian flags … The days of 'demos' were gone: Anzac Day and the Anzac legend were now a cause for celebration, not critique.[85]

Twomey points to the marked resurgence in Australian nationalism. In contrast to the situation during the Vietnam War, many community members, including the young, embraced uncritically the concept that the nation of Australia was born at Gallipoli. Starting with the Hawke government, a succession of Australian governments, with the exception of the Keating government, did all in their power to reinforce this concept and use it to their advantage.

It can be argued this re-emergence of nationalism was part of a worldwide movement in the twentieth century. Anderson in *Imagined Communities*[86] illustrates how nationalism developed and spread throughout the century. In discussing the modern culture of

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[84] Christina Twomey, "Trauma and the Reinvigoration of Anzac: An Argument," *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013): 85.

[85] Ibid., 86.

[86] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

nationalism, he argues that the public ceremonial reverence at cenotaphs was 'saturated with ghostly national imaginings'.[87]

McKenna asserts a major factor in Anzac Day becoming Australia's national day was the white guilt associated with Aboriginal dispossession during the settling of Australia in 1788 and the subsequent Australia Day commemoration.[88] In 1980 the Fraser government established the Australian Bicentennial Authority to preside over the 1988 bicentenary but, despite the allocation of 'millions of taxpayer's dollars', there was a lacklustre response from the Australian public, and Aboriginal protest that 'White Australia has a Black History' led the Hawke government to focus instead on celebrating the bravery of the Anzacs.[89]

This focus was assisted by the rise of interest in family history from the 1970s—membership of genealogical societies in Australia grew tenfold during the 1970s and 1980s.[90] This change, coupled with the increased resources provided by the DVA, were major factors in encouraging Australians to place their personal stories within the larger story of national Anzac commemoration.[91]

As part of this increased focus on nationalism, a distinct change in attitude towards Vietnam veterans occurred. In the years after the veterans returned home, their presence within the community was very low key and a number of community members exhibited hostility towards them. By the mid-1980s, they were increasingly viewed as victims and the Hawke government set about addressing their needs. This was in line with events in the United States, where in June 1986 a Welcome Home event saw 250,000 veterans march in Chicago before 500,000 people lining the streets.

As a commemoration of 25 years since Australia committed troops to serve in the Vietnam War, a weekend of activities was organised by seven Vietnam veterans in Sydney. On 3 October 1987, around 22,000 Vietnam veterans from all parts of Australia

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[87] Ibid., 7.

[88] McKenna, "Australia's National Day?," 114–17.

[89] Ibid., 14.

[90] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 232.

[91] Ibid., 153.

marched in a Welcome Home parade through the streets of Sydney in front of a crowd estimated to be at least 100,000 strong and including PM Hawke. The marchers carried more than 500 flags representing soldiers who lost their lives during the Vietnam War.[92] In response to previous negative community views, the parade signified reconciliation and recognition that the 'vets' had played their part representing Australia as servicemen and were now part of the Anzac tradition.

Ballarat was one of the first regions in Australia to duplicate the welcome home idea for Vietnam veterans when, on Sunday 25 October 1987, a ceremony was held to dedicate a memorial plaque to the veterans of the Korea, Borneo, Malaysia and Vietnam wars. The plaque was added to the Arch of Victory. More than 300 veterans, including three women, marched from Ballarat High School to the Arch before an enthusiastic crowd of around 1000 people.[93] Police halted the traffic on the busy Western Highway while the Last Post and Reveille were sounded. Veteran of the four Asian wars Frank Dean unveiled the plaque and the president of Ballarat Legacy, Monsignor 'Hank' Nolan, provided the dedication.[94] Master of ceremonies Bob O'Brien stated:

> Ballarat's war veterans had recognised a need to honour the Australians who took part in the Asian wars. The Arch of Victory had been a tribute to the veterans of the First and Second World Wars. It is appropriate that there be also a tribute to the other wars. Over ten years, 50,000 Australian troops had served in Vietnam—496 soldiers were killed, 220 wounded and a further 1200 had since died as a result of the Vietnam War.[95]

The ceremony was organised by the AVAHC, the Vietnam Veterans' Association and the Shire of Ballarat. Ballarat Legacy member John Dellaca was the Vietnam Veterans' Association state president in 1983–88. He recalls:

> When I came home after 13 months in Vietnam in 1968–69 the local RSL in Ballarat was okay. This didn't happen to everyone in other localities where the Vietnam Vets often felt unwelcome. A former teacher Jack Hawley welcomed me into the RSL and said joining it was one of the world's greatest bonds. Ballarat had one of the first social groups for Vietnam Vets with 26 veterans as

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[92] *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 5, 1987, 4.

[93] The *Ballarat News*, October 29 1987 recorded 1500, while *The Courier*, October 26 1987 noted 900.

[94] *Ballarat News*, October 29, 1987, 16.

[95] *Courier* (Ballarat), October 26, 1987, 3.

> members. We were encouraged to go on the Anzac Parade but we met separately to the large group of Second World War fellows and we sat in a separate section at RSL and Legacy meetings.[96]

After the Sydney Vietnam Veterans Parade, PM Hawke announced the previous Long Tan Day of 18 August would be known as Vietnam Veterans Day. During a Vietnam veterans' international reunion in Melbourne on 12–16 October 1988, with veterans from New Zealand, Thailand, the United States and Korea, representatives of the Veterans Federation of Immigrants from South Vietnam thanked Australian soldiers for their support.[97] During the reunion, 20,000 veterans marched along Swanston Street and then Sir Edward 'Weary' Dunlop addressed those present, stating that Australians had finally taken the Vietnam veterans into their hearts.[98]

Further memorials for the Asian Wars were added to sites around Australia. These included a commemorative tablet unveiled by John Dellaca in Ararat on 11 November 1988[99] and the Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial on Anzac Parade in Canberra that was dedicated in October 1992 in the presence of Governor-General Bill Hayden and PM Keating.[100] Through these measures, wounds suffered by those who served in Vietnam were healed somewhat but some veterans affected by Agent Orange never returned to their full health.

While alterations in community perceptions of the Vietnam veterans were taking place, in Ballarat a number of significant changes occurred concerning the Avenue and Arch. In 1987 the City of Ballarat increased its annual donation to the AVAHC from $250 to $500. Further, in 1989 the AVAHC applied to become an incorporated body to offer tax deductibility and this was granted from 30 January 1990.[101] The main initiatives of the AVAHC in the late 1980s and early 1990s, though, were connected with the moves of the committee to gain recognition from outside bodies and ultimately to gain national recognition for the Avenue and Arch. In recent years, this has been a major underlying

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[96] Interview with John Dellaca, March 2, 2017.

[97] Vietnam Veterans' International Reunion pamphlet October 1988. Price family private collection.

[98] *Sun News-Pictorial* (Melbourne), October 17, 1988.

[99] *Ararat Advertiser*, November 12, 1988, 4.

[100] Australian War Memorial (blog), accessed June 15,2017, www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/Vietnam.

[101] AVAHC Certificate of Incorporation, file 707/1 1990, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

theme of the AVAHC and of the people of Ballarat who held similar views. In early February 1988, the Avenue was placed on the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) Register of Significant Trees with a classified status due to the Avenue's historic value and contribution to the landscape. The Trust recorded, 'These trees are of considerable significance to the heritage of Australia and must be preserved'.[102] *The Courier* noted:

> National Trust Lists Avenue
> The Avenue of Honor has been classified by the National Trust for its historical value and its contribution to the landscape. Advice of the classification was received yesterday as renewed appeals were made for the introduction of speed limits in the area, following recent fatal accidents on this section of the Western Highway.[103]

The report went on to explain that the Avenue was classified in the two categories of landscape contribution and historic value as a World War One commemorative planting.

Interestingly, the Trust's statement about the Avenue relied on an article by Haddow in *Landscape Australia*. The inaccurate comment that it was the first commemorative planting in Victoria[104] after World War One and that it initiated a trend that led to about 130 other avenues in Victoria, is discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. Haddow had also stated this in her thesis about avenues of honour.[105]

Once the National Trust (Victoria) listing was achieved, AVAHC members were keen to receive national recognition and during 1990 applied for listing on the National Estate Register. In November 1990, the Australian Heritage Commission placed the Avenue on an interim list of the Register of the National Estate.[106] *The Courier* reported:

> Avenue on Estate Registration
> Ballarat's magnificent Avenue of Honour, now on National Estate Register
> The Avenue, already listed with the National Trust and on the register of Significant Trees of Victoria, has been listed as part of the National Estate following a prolonged and intensive campaign by the Ballarat Arch of Victory and Avenue of Honour Committee. Federal Member for Ballarat Michael Ronaldson said he had made representations to the chairman of the Australian

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[102] Notice of Entry in the Register of the National Estate, 30 June, 1992, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

[103] *Courier* (Ballarat), February 4, 1989, 7.

[104] Accompanying papers to Notice of Entry in the Register of the National Estate, 30 June 1992, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

[105] Haddow, "Avenues of Honour in Victoria."

[106] AVAHC Minutes, 15 November 1990; *Ballarat News*, November 29, 1990, 20.

> Heritage Commission supporting the application which was heard last week. 'The Avenue of Honour is a world famous landmark and also one of Australia's leading war memorials,' he said. 'Nobody would dispute the fact that the Avenue is a national treasure. Placing it on the register of the National Estate is a fitting recognition of its value.' Avenue of Honour committee chairman Bruce Price said he was delighted with the Commission's decision to recognise one of Australia's most significant memorials.[107]

Unfortunately, the heritage listing carried no legislative protection and, under the Howard government's stringent regulations, was removed in 2007. The AVAHC faced challenges in a number of areas. In order to improve safety features along the Western Highway, the Road Construction Authority realigned eight intersections and removed 119 trees in 1989 and realigned another three intersections and 102 trees in 1990. New trees were replanted nine metres from the edge of the road seal.[108] As well, 435 dead, damaged or missing trees were replaced with five-year-old trees of a variety nearly equivalent to the original planting. Trees were obtained from the Ronneby Tree Farm in Berwick.[109]

In order to reduce fire hazards, the State Electricity Commission undertook pruning along the Avenue but the AVAHC was concerned that the pruning was too heavy and damaging trees. Also in 1990, across Victoria, elm leaf and bark beetles, which feed off dead wood and spread a fungus leading to Dutch elm disease, endangered the elm trees.[110] The Shire of Ballarat took action to check the 1885 elms on the Avenue and remove dead wood.[111] This was part of a state government program that introduced parasites to eradicate the beetles.

The main challenge, though, was the splitting of the Avenue by the construction of the Western Highway Bypass Road and the closure of the Burrumbeet Railway Crossing. The AVAHC fought a protracted battle against this, which included a detailed submission and appearance before a Shire of Ballarat Planning Panel by the AVAHC chairman, Price, and the secretary, Johnson, in early 1990 and a visit by a state government minister, Steve

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[107] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 24, 1990, 2.

[108] Letters from Road Construction Authority to AVAHC, 14 April 1989, 20 June 1989.

[109] AVAHC Minutes, 7 February 1991.

[110] *Courier* (Ballarat), February 21, 1990, 5.

[111] Gavin Jamieson, Elm Surveyfor the Shire of Ballarat, June-July 1990. City of Ballarat archives, Ballarat.

Crabb, in July 1991. Despite this, by the end of 1991, after obtaining some concessions, the committee unhappily consented to the new arrangements.[112]

In 1991 the AVAHC initiated a public appeal for a Memorial Wall project (target of $100,000) and an Arch and Avenue Preservation and Enhancement Fund target of ($50,000). This was the committee's first public appeal as previously the Lucas Company, Lucas Girls, Lucas Welfare Association, the City and the shire had covered maintenance and improvement costs. Launched on Anzac Day 1991, the public appeal was a major undertaking and, after considerable fundraising, the Memorial Wall was dedicated on 16 May 1993 by Sir Edward 'Weary' Dunlop who addressed the 2500 people in attendance. Ten metres long and almost two metres high, it recorded in numerical order information from the Avenue tree nameplates. The relocated rotunda, previously outside the Ballarat Golf Club, provided an alphabetical listing of those commemorated, enabling speedy location of appropriate trees by visitors. Also, a ground-level plaque for a Lucas Girls plantation of four trees was unveiled.

Figure 33: 1993 Memorial Wall dedication—Price, Dunlop, Mayor Coghlan
Photograph from Price family private collection

[112] Interviews with AVAHC members as discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

Many in the community contributed to the new arrangements. Selkirk's Bricks donated the 4000 Memorial Wall bricks, discounted their price for the pavers used in the wall surrounds and produced paperweight-size bricks. The local RSL branch organised stalls at Ballarat's main shopping centres to sell these commemorative bricks, bronze lapel badges and a Lucas Girls book of slice recipes. As well, the Lucas Girls raised $15,000 through luncheons and other efforts and the Eureka Apex Club ran film evenings at the Ballarat cinema. Besides many public donations, major contributions were received from the Ballarat Shire ($25,000), the Ballarat City Council ($5000), the Rotary Club of Ballarat South ($12,000) and the Timken Wendouree Charitable Trust ($30,000). In September 1991, *The Courier* sponsored an eight-page supplement about the project whose final cost was $140,000. The widespread response echoed the community support during the World War One planting of the Avenue.

Using information from the Memorial Wall and the rotunda, with its alphabetical listings, relatives and friends were able readily to locate a particular tree. In a controversial decision, due to their considerable expense[113] and arguing that the Memorial Wall provided the necessary information, the AVAHC decided to return to relatives the name plaques of individual trees. The committee asked people to write to the secretary, Johnson, who was also the Ballarat Shire secretary, to claim their family nameplate. They were asked to provide the full name of the person whose plaque they wished to claim, the tree number (if known) and who was to receive the plaque.

From April 1992 to April 1993, just 22 letters were received. Then, from May to October 1993, a flood of 398 letters arrived. In a major effort, Johnson replied personally to each correspondent about the history of the tree and the Memorial Wall project. A letter of particular interest came in May 1993 from Barry Videon, convenor of the Royal Australian Air Force Association, naming 55 ex-members of the air services who had trees on the Avenue. Nameplates were to be displayed at a proposed RAAF Association Memorial Village. Johnson replied, enclosing a project brochure, and wrote:

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[113] Letter from Jeremy Johnson to Wendy Jacobs, 7 September 1993, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat. It contained an estimate of the cost per plaque as $150 to $200.

> For your information the tree plaques will remain at the base of the trees until the project is complete. At that time the Committee will further consider the final stage of this project and a list of those requesting plaques will be presented to the Committee's attention.[114]

Letters in the *Ballarat News* in September headlined 'Avenue plaques to go' and 'Relatives scramble to claim Avenue of Honour plaques',[115] as well as bringing further relatives' claims, led to a hostile reaction from the National Trust. Local heritage architect, Wendy Jacobs, also a National Trust member, wrote to the AVAHC recording her dismay and stating that the name plaques were an integral part of the classified Avenue. Further detailed letters from the Victorian branch of the National Trust and the Australian Heritage Commission protested about the plaque removal and asked the AVAHC to reconsider its decision.[116]

The AVAHC relented and decided to leave the nameplates at the foot of each Avenue tree. The issue of finance to maintain them remained and led the committee to increase its efforts to seek donations for its Preservation and Enhancement Fund. Through the assiduous work of committee members and support from the City and shire, sufficient funds were sourced to ensure the upkeep of the plaques. The Rotary Club of Ballarat South, using its ability to source funds from the weekly Trash and Trivia market at the Ballarat Showgrounds, became an important annual contributor to the AVAHC. As a result of the letters claiming the family name plaques, a further 'one-off' decision was made by the AVAHC to add 30 trees to the Avenue, which were named for soldiers registered in Ballarat in 1917–19 but whose names were inadvertently missed.[117] This action by the AVAHC aimed to make the Avenue 'complete' as a commemoration of World War One overseas volunteers.

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[114] Letter from Jeremy Johnson to Barry Videon, 18 May 1993, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

[115] *Ballarat News*, September 2, 1993, 1; *Ballarat News*, September 9, 1993, 3.

[116] Letter from National Trust of Australia, (Victoria) 17 September 1993 to AVAHC, 17 September 1993, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat; Letter from Australian Heritage Commission to AVAHC, 13 September 1993, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

[117] Interview with Bruce Price (chairman of AVAHC), July 2015.

7.6 Further Focus on Anzac

While these events were occurring locally, on the national scene there was an increased impetus towards military commemoration, in particular, of Anzac Day. In recent years, historians have traced the vital role played by Australian prime ministers in the re-emergence of the Anzac legend and the allocation of vast sums of federal money to the commemoration of World War One events.[118]

The 1988 bicentennial celebrations were held in the time of PM Hawke but, as noted previously,[119] there was 'an uneasiness' about the 'celebrations' as many Australians felt conflicted by the treatment provided for the indigenous people over the 200 years of European settlement. Hawke certainly was unsettled—Holbrook noted his bicentenary speeches failed to resonate with the public, 'paralysed as they were by Aboriginal resentment and the desire to avoid offending non-British Australians'[120]—and preferred to focus on commemorations centred on Anzac Day. In 1990, along with 52 veterans from World War One, he visited the Gallipoli peninsula in April to be at the ceremony to mark 75 years from the first landing by Australian and New Zealand troops. The 'Gallipoli pilgrimage' as it became known was a success for Hawke. Holbrook notes:

> Bob Hawke's invocation of the Australian legend, which was televised live to Australian audiences, could trace its lineage all the way back to the official historian CEW Bean. Hawke spoke of the courage, devotion to duty, ingenuity, good humour and comradeship of the Australian soldiers, whose exploits defined the character of the nation.[121]

Holbrook observes that by the late twentieth century, the myth whose beginnings lay in the fighting skill, humour, stoicism, pragmatism and mateship of the Anzacs had morphed into the inspiration for a nation of universal mateship.[122] Janice Pavils in *Anzac Day: The*

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[118] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*; Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*; Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*.

[119] See section 7.5 of this chapter.

[120] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 175.

[121] Ibid., 177–78.

[122] Ibid., 178.

Undying Debt points out that 'Hawke delivered a speech that defined the tradition of Anzac as a commitment to mateship, with no reference to women'.[123]

Holbrook notes that ironically Hawke's successor, Keating, who disputed that Australia's nationhood was born at Gallipoli and tried to erect an alternative Kokoda legend, spoke eloquently about Anzac during his eulogy for the 'Unknown Australian Soldier' during his November 1993 Remembrance Day speech. His words 'one of us' evoked a communal sense of belonging to Australia that Holbrook termed 'quietly republican'.[124]

The long prime ministership of John Howard (1996–2007) consolidated the Anzac legend. Both his grandfather and father were World War One veterans and he had a strong emotional connection to this war and the legend. Increasing worldwide security fears, including the horrors of the terrorist 9/11 attack on the New York Trade Centre in September 2001, Australian border security issues and involvement in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, led to a heightened emphasis on the military in Australia.

By the late 1990s, using the increased availability of computer technology, many people in retirement from the paid workforce embraced family history and enquired about the past. As Holbrook observed, the memory of World War One had a profound shift with family historians becoming significant custodians of the war memory. She observed that at the National Library there were 51 personal World War One narratives in the 1970s, 98 in the 1980s, 153 in the 1990s and 215 in the 2000s decade.[125] Other factors in the time of the Howard government and, following this the Rudd government, led to an increased focus on Anzac. From the 1990s, according to Donaldson and Lake in *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, the RSL were sacrificed in the consolidation of the Anzac legend. In its place, the federal government through the Australian War Memorial and the DVA assumed national custodianship of the spirit of Anzac.[126] In the same book in the chapter 'Why do we get so emotional about Anzac?'Damousi concludes:

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[123] Pavils, *Anzac Day*, 188.

[124] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 114–15.

[125] Ibid., 144–45.

[126] Donaldson and Lake, "Whatever Happened?." 93.

> Once an occasion for personal mourning, for the expression of grief, regret and remorse about the loss of life and the casualties of war, Anzac Day has been transformed during the last decade under the political leadership of prime ministers Howard and Rudd into a festival of national pride and collective rejoicing.[127]

Donaldson and Lake argue that major factors in this recent shift in sentiment about Anzac are the emergence of military and family history and the federal government's generous funding of militarist publications. Further, they postulated that the existence of the Anzac myth has discouraged accurate historical and political analysis.[128] In the same book, the way schoolchildren learn about the Anzac story is analysed by Lake. She notes that in the last decade a 'tidal wave of military history' has engulfed the nation.[129] She focuses on the role played by the DVA in distributing material to schools, where in 2007–08 the DVA spent almost $6 million on school curriculum materials. The relentless militarisation of Australian history marginalised other stories. Lake detailed that from 1994 to 2008 the various government grants to commemoration of military history amounted to millions of dollars. This treatment of the Anzac story has brought patriotic pride, sentimentality and nationalist mythology.[130]

In a 2006 speech, Ann Curthoys discussed how, under PM Howard and Education Minister, Julie Bishop, there was a deliberate government policy to promote the teaching of history in schools that emphasised key historical events and their influence on Australia's development.[131] She stated, 'They were all for remembering the past when Anzac Day was involved, or military commemoration more generally'[132] and observed that the boost to war commemoration started when the Keating government launched an

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[127] Joy Damousi, "Why Do We Get So Emotional about Anzac?," in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 109.

[128] Donaldson and Lake, "Whatever Happened?," 95.

[129] Marilyn Lake, "How do Schoolchildren Learn about the Spirit of Anzac?," in Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 135.

[130] Ibid., 140–54.

[131] Curthoys, Ann. "History in the Howard Era." Talk to Professional Historians Association, Sydney, July 19, 2006. Accessed June 10, 2017. http://www.phansw.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/CurthoysHistoryintheHowardEra.pdf.

[132] Ibid.,5.

ambitious program, which became known as Australia Remembers, to commemorate the end of World War Two. Curthoys continued by stating:

> Before then, there was no national commemoration program focused on remembering military history … The Howard Government continued the emphasis on public commemoration, with substantial funding to the DVA and the War Memorial especially for this purpose. In 2002 this program was stepped up, with a new program called 'Saluting their Service' … The Department (DVA) has provided education resources to every school in Australia, spent a lot on developing websites, and in 2004, distributed *Working the Web: Investigating Australia's Wartime History* to all schools.[133]

Graeme Davison asserts that in Australia, especially during the Howard years, a similar abuse of history to that in the time of the Germany of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was occurring.[134] He states Friedrich Nietzsche's assertion in *The Use and Abuse of History* (1873–76) that man uses history for moral inspiration (monumental), for preservation of the past (antiquarian) and for radical rejection of the past (critical history).[135] He states that Nietzsche hinted each of the areas are corrective of the defects in the other history uses: critical history for false analogies of monumental history, antiquarian history for preconceived ideas that corrupt monumental and critical history, and monumental history for the cynicism and disillusionment infecting critical history. Great historians blend the three areas in complex and distinctive ways. Davison noted that the Vietnam War, 'the most divisive event in half a century', radicalised historians of the 1970s and led to a battle cry by labour historians, feminist historians and Aborigines.[136]

Frank Bongiorno states that PMs Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard went along with the Anzac legend but 'added little to the contours of Anzac commemoration established by their predecessors'.[137] He also notes that PM Tony Abbott moved away from its previous secular emphasis towards the spiritual. At Gallipoli on Anzac Day 2015, Abbott referred

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[133] Ibid., 5–6.

[134] Graeme Davison, *Uses and Abuses*, 10–11.

[135] Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Use and Abuse of History*—a series of essays published during 1873–76. ThoughtCo, accessed June 24, 2017. https://www.thoughtco.com/nietzsches-the-use-and-abuse-of-history-2670323

[136] Davison, *Uses and Abuses*, 11.

[137] Frank Bongiorno, "A Century of Bipartisan Commemoration: Is Anzac Politically Inevitable?," in Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*, 116.

to 'Yes they are us—Australians, dead and living, formed into a single spiritual body, a nation reconsecrated as an Anzac Communion of Saints'. Bongiorno comments that 'this vision momentarily reconceived Australia as a sacred fellowship, bonded by its descent from the original Anzacs and its continuing faith in what the Anzac represent'.[138]

In *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, Reynolds and Lake discuss this recent military focus that has swept across the wider community. Avenues of trees replanted, monuments restored and new ones built have resulted from partnerships between the federal government, municipalities and local enthusiasts. They call for a re-examination of the realities of the Anzac campaign and engagement in serious discussion about looking to alternative national traditions in defining our national heritage and national values.[139]
In Ballarat and district, events regarding the Avenue and Arch and commemoration echoed the national scene in the 1990s and 2000s. There were increased attendances at the Anzac Day services at the Sturt Street cenotaph at dawn, at the Arch at 8 am and at the cenotaph at 11.30 am. Local primary and secondary schools began to embrace commemorative ceremonies prior to Anzac Day and, as had occurred in previous eras, invited local military or legacy personnel to be guest speakers on the occasion. As was occurring nationally, the November Remembrance Day was commemorated through formal services and media recognition.

In 1994 the maintenance of the Avenue was transferred from VicRoads to the City of Ballarat and, in that year, council amalgamation took place, at first under three commissioners and from 1996 as an elected council covering previous local government areas of the City of Ballarat, the Shire of Ballarat and the Borough of Sebastopol and parts of the shires of Bungaree, Buninyong, Grenville and Ripon. Once the new City of Ballarat Council was formed, the mayor and two councillors became part of the AVAHC ensuring a close relationship with the committee and giving it access to the services of council workmen.

A powerful lobby group, the AVAHC ensured the Avenue was well maintained. City arborist David Grant, who first joined the AVAHC in 1995, remained on the committee,

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[138] Ibid., 118–19.

[139] Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 157–67.

which increased its membership to 20 and included the continuing representation of two Lucas Girls, the RSL, the National Trust, the Rotary Club of Ballarat South, VicRoads and the community. The committee, meeting quarterly, had a full agenda. For the first time, in April 1996, the AVAHC with the support of the City Council commissioned a management strategy plan.[140] Completed by landscape architect Mark McWha, the detailed report was presented in February 1997. It concentrated on the history and heritage of the Avenue, a landscape assessment and precinct management areas. There were 30 recommendations about the restoration, conservation and enhancement of the Avenue trees, and a blueprint was provided for the future management of the Avenue.[141] The study showed that of the original 3771 trees, 439 trees were missing and, of the rest, more than half were in poor condition.[142]

As a result of the McWha recommendations, a Restoration Project public appeal was established. With the strong support of Ballarat South Rotarians, during 1996–99 the appeal received cash donations of $153,000, including $40,000 from the City, $25,000 from the Sidney Myer Trust and $135,000 in in-kind donations from Flemings Nursery, Mid-West Earthmovers, Ballarat Regional Industries and VicRoads. Planting commenced in 1998 and, in coming years, the management and appearance of the Avenue improved markedly as a result of this project. Using McWha's *Management Strategy Plan* as the basis, by 2010 the AVAHC oversaw the replacement of 1500 trees.[143]

As the City planned for future growth, from 2007 studies were commissioned through VicRoads and the City. Once the Western Freeway bypass road was completed in 1994, traffic under the Arch was reduced but suburban growth in Ballarat's west soon saw a traffic increase. In 2009 the former highway, renamed Remembrance Drive, was duplicated from Learmonth Street to the Ring Road. North of the Avenue, a new road was built for eastbound traffic, while westbound traffic continued under the Arch and a roundabout was constructed east of the Arch. In 2010 the City adopted the 16-kilometre

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[140] *Courier* (Ballarat), April 5, 1996.

[141] McWha, *Management Strategy Plan*, 47–68.

[142] Ibid., 47.

[143] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 33; Squire, Ross, "Ballarat Avenue of Honour Restoration Plantings (1998–2008)," 2009 Audit Paper.

Ballarat West Link Road Project that in future will link the Western Freeway and Midland Highway, crossing Remembrance Drive at Dyson Drive.[144]

In February 2011, the City announced that a new suburb, Lucas, named after Eleanor Lucas, was to be established. In an interview, Kath Leonard recounted the Lucas Girls' contribution, stating, 'We are absolutely chuffed about this'.[145] Later in 2011, the City stated Lucas would cover about 750 hectares and provide for 14,000 homes and 40,000 residents.[146]An AVAHC subcommittee of Bruce Price, Noel Perry and Ted Lynes met with the state government Surveyor-General's office and the City of Ballarat street naming officers to discuss appropriate street names. Many potential names were ruled as ineligible as similar names existed within 30 kilometres. As a result, 226 names of soldiers with an Avenue tree and who died in the war were deemed suitable.[147] Names were provided to the developers, Integra, who then allocated them to particular streets.

An important consideration in understanding the civic management of the Avenue and Arch in recent years is a focus on the people involved with the AVAHC. As indicated previously in this thesis, the role played by key committee participants was vital in securing many initiatives assisting the Avenue and Arch maintenance and improvements.

In *The Heritage of War*, Gegner and Ziino point out the importance of agents in the process of the remembrance of war and the retaining of heritage. They argue that 'the heritage of war, is not natural but contingent, and dependent on the work of those agents who bring it into being and sustain it'.[148] It can be seen that the members of the AVAHC have worked diligently on behalf of the people of Ballarat and the descendants of those commemorated in the Avenue to maintain and sustain the heritage of the Avenue and Arch. It can be argued that the desire not to forget is a strong motivational factor for the members of the AVAHC.[149]

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[144] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*, 11.

[145] Dellaram Jamali, "Recognition for Lucas Girls," *Courier* (Ballarat), February 12, 2011, 4.

[146] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 4, 2011.

[147] Interview with Bruce Price, July 18, 2017.

[148] Gegner and Ziino, *The Heritage of War*, 2.

[149] Discussed by interviewees on 275, 283 and 290 of this thesis.

Further, as recorded in Chapter Two of this thesis, Beaumont argues that we cannot understand the resurgence in interest in the memory of war, unless we see an interaction between state and individual agency.[150] In relation to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch, the directions developed by the Australian federal government in war commemoration have interacted with the desires and actions of the local AVAHC and a section of the Ballarat community. This theme was also discussed in *The Heritage of War*, which states:

> We must analyse the interrelations between the processes linking individual, civil society and the state. And we need to understand the politics of war heritage as a continuing, uneven, contest and negotiation between state and private agencies.[151]

The members of the AVAHC, as well as being advocates for local people, have a strong belief that the need to continually look after and sustain the Avenue and Arch goes well beyond local boundaries and has importance nationally. As a result, committee members look to the state and federal governments for support in many of their endeavours.

An example of this took place during 2011. Concerns had been raised that the long-term viability of the Arch was at risk, so specifications for full refurbishment were developed, and in May 2011 works began on the $800,000 project. The main funding came from a $335,000 grant from the federal government's Regional and Local Community Infrastructure Program and $175,000 from the federal government's National Sites Program. The project included new lighting; the repair and replacement of deteriorated, cracked and otherwise damaged render; new machined moulding to replace deteriorated moulding or to reinstate original moulding; the removal of lichen and other organic growth from the rendered surfaces; and a coating of paint to the new and existing render.

At the official opening of the restoration project on Sunday 6 November 2011, about 1000 people were in attendance to view Governor-General Quentin Bryce cut the ribbon with the same pair of tiny silver scissors that Prince Edward had used in 1920. The University of Ballarat Pipe Band followed by the Creswick RSL Light Horse Troop of fifty horses and riders led a march of veterans before the ceremony, and in her speech the Governor-

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[150] Beaumont, "ANZAC Day," 4.

[151] Gegner and Ziino, *The Heritage of War,* 3.

General spoke about Ballarat's history, the fundraising role of the Lucas Girls and the current service of Australia's fine soldiers in Afghanistan.[152] Also, she stated:

> I think that an avenue of trees makes the most touching, evocative and powerful memorial … What a poignant way to honour brave men and women … This Arch of Victory stands as a lasting memorial to all those who fought for our freedom during the last century. It stands for future generations of young people as a symbol of inspiration and courage.[153]

Following the ceremony, Ms Bryce signed the 'Mortar Board' as previous dignitaries had done before her and the official party and other guests adjourned to Ballarat High School for a luncheon. Once again, the AVAHC had conducted a dignified ceremony involving many organisations and community members.

An issue central to this thesis is an assessment of the strong community focus on war commemoration. It is significant that Australia has few peace memorials and, under the heading 'Peace Monuments in Australia', the website Peace Monuments Around the World records only 32 peace memorials or buildings with a peace memorial name.[154] Often these memorials are little known.

Figure 36: Peacekeepers plaque on the Arch's north side, unveiled in 2012
Photograph taken by Terry Hope in April 2017

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[152] Dominic Brine, "Arch of Victory Re-Opened," ABC Ballarat, November 8, 2011. Accessed March 28, 2017, http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2011/11/06/3357413.htm.

[153] Bryce, Quentin. "Official Opening of the Arch of Victory." Speech, Ballarat, November 6, 2011, transcript, accessed September 10, 2017. http://www.gg.gov.au/speech/official-opening-arch-victory.

[154] "Peace Monuments in Australia," Peace Monuments Around the World, accessed July 24, 2017, http://peace.maripo.com/x_australia.htm.

On 11 November 2012, Remembrance Day, a peacekeeping plaque was added to the north side of the Arch. In mid-2012 the Ballarat Peacekeeper Veterans Association, which has since disbanded, donated $1000 for the plaque that was unveiled by Captain Dr Mark Harris, a former peacekeeper medical officer in East Timor and Bougainville and former mayor of the City of Ballarat. Harris stated:

> We've needed to acknowledge the 40,000 Australians that have been involved in peacekeeping operations since 1947. There's been 70 to 80 peacekeeping operations Australia has been involved in, including the very first United Nations peacekeeping operation in Indonesia … Operations have included truce supervision, humanitarian aid relief, monitoring forces and training teams. Since the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, Australia has sent thousands of troops to conflict zones in the world, including East Timor, Afghanistan and Iraq.[155]

This plaque was the first mention of 'peace' on the Arch and was in keeping with recent changes of sentiment by the AVAHC members, who in 2015 rejected the Wadsley report recommendation to return the two Howitzer guns to their original location by the Arch.[156]

From 2008 the AVAHC became an advisory committee of the City[157] and the inclusion of the City mayor and two City councillors on the AVAHC ensured a close working relationship between the two bodies. Bruce Price, the chair of the AVAHC since 1980, has played a crucial role in the Lucas story. His grandfather Edward in 1931–47 and father, Keith, in 1947–72 held the same AVAHC role.[158] Representing the Hargreaves/Lucas/Price family, he has been tireless in pursuing projects to enhance the Avenue and Arch and is very conscious of the key role Edward Price played in their formation. A chemical engineer, he worked at Lucas during 1958–72 and joined the AVAHC in 1972. He was world president of Y's Men International in 1977–78, spending most of those years overseas. Interestingly, at the official opening of the Garden of the Grieving Mother in February 2017, there were 16 Price relatives in attendance.

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[155] *Courier* (Ballarat), November 12, 2012, 4. The exact numbers are difficult to establish—Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 489–90 recorded about 50 operations by 2004 and state government figures recorded 30,000; Veterans 66,000.

[156] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan,* 127, 143.

[157] In 1990 the AVAHC became an incorporated body, in February 1999 it became a Special Committee of the City of Ballarat and then in December 2008 it became a Council Advisory Committee.

[158] The AVAHC was in recess during 1947–57 although Keith Price was still the nominated chairman.

The other key AVAHC member and pursuer of major Avenue and Arch projects is Jeremy Johnson. As stated, from 1986 as shire secretary, he became AVAHC secretary and treasurer and, since that time, he retained that position. Since 1995 he has worked at Sovereign Hill, where from 2002 he has been chief executive officer. Despite many commitments, including being chairman of the Victorian Employers Chamber of Commerce and Industry, president of the Victorian Industry Council and chairman of the Central Highlands Water Board, he has been successful in accessing federal, state and local government and philanthropic organisations grants for AVAHC initiatives. He has an honorary doctorate from Federation University.

Especially in the last decade, Price and Johnson have assembled a high calibre and dedicated group of AVAHC members. Successive City mayors—Vendy, Verlin, Phillips, Harris, Hudson and McIntosh—have been very supportive. Generally, the two City councillors on the committee appear to value the opportunity. Former councillor of 2008–12 Noel Perry, previously a high-ranking Victorian police officer, remained on the AVAHC once he left the council and, in 2017 is part of the AVAHC executive.

In 2017 other key AVAHC members included Paul Jenkins, Victorian Member of the Legislative Assembly for Ballarat West 1992–99. He assisted the committee first as a Ballarat South Rotarian and then joined the AVAHC in 2006, where he continued to foster the Rotary link. Garry Snowden, formerly a teacher and a Conservation Volunteers Australia officer has a strong passion about war commemoration and has led many overseas excursions to theatres of war and since 2012 many AVAHC events. Dr Ross Squire was a member of an Avenue Restoration Committee in 1997–99 and since then has been a member of AVAHC. A scientist, with a forestry and botany background, his contributions have concerned the establishment, healthy growth and protection of the Avenue trees. He has worked alongside AVAHC member and City employee David Grant, who has been dedicated to ensuring that all Avenue trees remain healthy.

Further prominent members of the AVAHC in 2017 included Alexandra Tascas, Ballarat RSL president of seven years; Vic Bradley, Buninyong RSL stalwart and member for 34 years; heritage architect Wendy Jacobs, National Trust representative since 2010; Rex Cartland, former Ballarat Regional Industries chief executive officer, who from 1996 to 2010 assisted the AVAHC with sourcing tree saplings from Ballarat Regional Industries'

Creswick nursery; Lynette Singleton, Lucas Past Employees (Lucas Girls) president and member since 1991; Joan Benton (secretary), member since 2010; and Phillip Hills, retired army colonel from Queensland and a member since 2016. Depending on their work role, VicRoads representatives attend—when the Learmonth end of the Avenue was reconnected, Michael McCarthy was the representative and later in 2017 Sam Brown was the representative. Daryl Wallis, City parks and gardens coordinator, is a regular attendee to provide an Avenue works report. Other people have been AVAHC members in various capacities and, on occasions, outside representatives attend the meetings. It is noticeable that few AVAHC members are absent from the meetings. The minute secretary of the committee is a City Council employee that in 2017 was Debra Cartledge.[159]

In September 2016, it was decided that the full agenda for the regular meetings meant that it was advisable to have an AVAHC executive that met monthly and helped progress various items. Price, Johnson, Perry, Jenkins, Squire and Snowden, with power to co-opt others, became the members of this group and have met regularly since that time, although due to his many commitments Johnson is the least regular attendee. As outlined, the calibre of the membership of the AVAHC has ensured that the Avenue and Arch have been fully maintained and that they have continued to be sites of war commemoration for the people of Ballarat.

7.7 Recent Commemoration

Anzac Day in 2015 in Australia was a time of heightened commemoration as the centenary was remembered at well-attended dawn services, marches and other services.[160] Many Australians were aware of the World War One sacrifices of servicemen and women and wanted to be included in these commemorative ceremonies. As discussed previously, the heightened commemoration had its origins in the mid-1980s and was driven by successive prime ministers and their governments. These events concurred with the views of Pierre Nora, who in discussing the 'realms of memory', argues:

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[159] Since September 2013, the author of this thesis has attended the quarterly AVAHC meetings as a guest and observer.

[160] Discussed by interviwees on 282-83, 285.

> The 'acceleration of history' confronts us with the brutal realization of the difference between real memory—social and unviolated, exemplified in but also retained as the secret of 'so-called' primitive or archaic societies—and history, which is how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organise the past.[161]

While many in the Australian community wished to commemorate Anzac Day, others criticised its emphasis. Ian Syson in 2013 wrote about 'a unity that didn't exist':

> The problem of the contemporary remembering of Anzac is that the narrative it drives is wrong, one of an already united nation forging its identity on a Turkish beach. When we see Collingwood and Essendon players lining up before the clash we are led to see them in unity, as different factions of one overarching national brotherhood. We are encouraged to believe in a myth.
>
> A mature and sophisticated Anzac Day footy narrative would see the teams representing divergent positions across the Catholic/Protestant, republican/imperialist divides. It would tell the story of both protest and loyalty.[162]

In a review of *The Landing of Anzac, 1915*, reviewer Harvey Broadbent stated that while the book deals with the complexities of the Anzac campaign, it does not address 'the effect of the weapons on the human body and their role in the obscene loss of life and limb'.[163] In *The Honest History Book*, many of the writers point to the mythology of the Anzac legend. In particular, Stephens pointed to the excesses of the legend.[164]

Holbrook points out how in recent years Anzac has captured Australia's imagination. In 2013 before Anzac Day, Governor-General Sir Peter Cosgrove was in a prominent television advertisement imploring Australians to 'raise a glass' and attend the local dawn service. She was astounded that a leader would couple drinking alcohol with the Anzac legend and that through 'the extraordinary currency of the Anzac legend in contemporary Australia' the RSL was to receive $1 million a year from a brewery.[165] Later in her book, she asserted that Australians needed to reconsider their attitude to the Anzac legend. Further, Holbrook argues that while in its contemporary form, Anzac represents universal

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[161] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 8.

[162] Ian Syson, "Anzac Sport Celebrates a Unity That Didn't Exist," *Age* (Melbourne), April 25, 2013, 18.

[163] Harvey Broadbent, *Australian*, April 27, 2013, 25.

[164] Stephens, "Anzac and Anzackery," 120–33.

[165] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 1–3.

values such as courage, comradeship and sacrifice, the use of the term 'the birth of a nation' is a conceit.[166]

> One hundred years on, it is time to separate myth from history: the Great War was a devastating event in which young Australians fought for the interests of a nation that was born on 1 January 1901.[167]

Other critics also highlighted the vast amounts of federal money spent on World War One commemoration. In 2014 Brown pointed out that Australia was spending $325 million, three times the amount that the British Government was spending.[168] Then, in 2015 PM Abbott announced a $100 million commitment to create the Sir John Monash Centre at Villers-Bretonneux, to 'tell about Australian victories in France'.[169] In 2016 Stephens estimated the federal government war commemoration spending was $566.8 million.[170] French historian Romain Fathi has calculated Australia plans to spend 75 times more on commemoration per dead soldier than France does.[171] Also, he argues Anzac precludes a wider understanding of Australian history:

> What about Indigenous Australians? Australian women, too often relegated outside of the Anzac narrative and Australian history in general? What about the history of Australia's remarkably successful democracy? Or that of Australia's multiculturalism? The militarisation of Australian history and its commemoration overshadow other aspects of the country's rich past and this ought to be addressed.[172]

In analysing the vast amounts of finance dedicated to World War One, contributors to the Honest History website[173] and authors such as Brown[174] pointed to the lack of support for

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[166] Holbrook, *The Unauthorised Biography*, 216.

[167] Ibid., 216–17.

[168] See section 1.3 of this thesis that discusses James Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*.

[169] Peter Stanley, "Australian Heroes: Some Military Mates Are More Equal Than Others," in Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*, 207–8.

[170] Honest History. "Kaching! Another $5 million from Corporates to the Anzac Spend." Accessed June 24, 2017. http://honesthistory.net.au/wp/kaching-another-5-million-from-corporates-to-the-anzac-spend.

[171] Honest History. Romain Fathi, "Is Australia Spending Too Much on the 'Anzac Centenary'? A Comparison with France." Accessed June 24, 2017. http://honesthistory.net.au/wp/is-australia-spending-too-much-on-the-anzac-centenary-a-comparison-with-france/.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Honest History, http://www.honesthistory.net.au/.

soldiers returning from the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts in the twenty-first century. Private organisations like Soldier On and Mates4Mates have had to be established to deal with the aftermath of Australia's most recent wars.[175]

The flurry of article and book writing to do with the centenary of World War One events has led to a detailed analysis of the worldwide changes over the past century and the works of Winter, discussed previously, are central in this analysis. Beaumont has made telling comparisons between World War One and recent times. After stating that the role Australia played in the Great War was exaggerated in that the AIF was a 'very small part of the larger imperial armies',[176] she observed that the conscription issue centred on the question of the extent to which human right should be limited and constrained, an issue we have today in the debates about national security and cybersecurity. Secondly, both eras faced the issue of citizens surrendering democratic control to executive government during war. Thirdly, the loyalty issue of people who share the same ethnicity as the states being fought against at a particular time—in World War One it was Australians of German and Austrian extraction, today it is Muslims from the Middle East—has potential to be divisive.[177]

Stephens argues that 'respect for the dead' stopped military personnel asking the hard questions, such as 'Was that war worth it?' and 'Did those men die in vain?'. This brings jingoism where people are inclined to 'wrap themselves in the flag' and go to war again. He wanted a more honest appraisal of past wars and more attention devoted to the non-military parts of Australia's history.[178] Alison Broinowski in 'Australia's Tug of War: Militarism Versus Independence' observes that since 2003 prime ministers have bypassed the parliament when committing Australian troops to several disastrous wars.[179] She

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[174] Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*.

[175] Stephens, "Anzac and Anzackery," 126.

[176] Joan Beaumont, "Broken Nation, Shattered Myths," *Inside History*, no. 27, 2015, 33.

[177] Ibid., 35.

[178] Stephens, "Anzac and Anzackery," 132–33.

[179] Alison Broinowski, "Australia's Tug of War: Militarism Versus Independence," in Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*, 275.

argues that Australia has become obsessed with national security and has changed from a welcoming, prosperous land to a timid, hostile and selfish place.[180]

Interestingly, in Australia there had been a shift in the attitudes of people opposed to war. As observed earlier in this chapter,[181] those involved in anti-war protests in the 1960s were also anti the soldiers. In contrast, by the twenty-first century, those opposed to war have empathy for the soldiers. The sentiments outlined in *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, strike a cord with many in the community and, at the same time, these people display very strong support for Australia's troops.

At a time when many nations were remembering events of World War One, the people of Ballarat were also involved in planning commemoration. Members of the AVAHC were very conscious of marking the 2015 centenary of the Anzac landing and assiduously worked towards this landmark event. In August 2013, part of this planning occurred when the AVAHC commissioned John Wadsley, a Tasmanian planning and heritage consultant, to undertake a conservation management plan. AVAHC members thought that so much had occurred with the Avenue and Arch in the past 16 years since the McWha study that a new report was warranted.[182] In late 2014, Wadsley submitted his detailed and comprehensive 150-page report.[183] The document included extensive research about the Avenue trees and Australian and overseas avenues and commemorative arches and provided a blueprint for the future conservation.

Another important part of the centenary preparations was the reuniting of the Avenue. Committee members were most unhappy when in 1993 the new Western Highway Bypass and the railway line running parallel to the highway separated the Avenue.[184] Through submissions and lobbying of politicians by 2012 funds of more than $1 million were promised from the federal government's 2015 Commemoration Project Fund to create an overpass by VicRoads and an opening of the railway line by VicTrack.

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[180] Ibid., 285.

[181] See section 7.4 of this thesis.

[182] Interview with Bruce Price, July 18, 2017.

[183] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*.

[184] See section 7.5 of this thesis.

In early April 2015, local historian and AVAHC member Snowden published *They Answered Their Country's Call*,[185] a compendium of 1350 World War One servicemen and women who are commemorated in Ballarat's Old Cemetery and New Cemetery. Interestingly, once again, the focus was on World War One. In the introduction, Snowden explained that many of the graves commemorate a 'dear brother', 'our beloved son' or simply 'our Jack' who was killed in action during World War One and buried overseas. As a way of honouring their service, their name was added to the family headstone to create a place of reflection and a place to lay a wreath on Anzac Day.[186]

Figure 35: The railway crossing in 2015, reopened to reunite the Avenue
Photograph taken by Terry Hope in April 2017

On 12 April 2015, an official opening of the reconnected Ballarat Avenue took place. Witnessed by 400 people, Senator Michael Ronaldson, Minister for Veterans Affairs, cut the ribbon using the same scissors previously used by HRH Prince Edward in 1920. For the AVAHC members, the reopening was somewhat of a triumph, as it had proved quite difficult to have VicTrack agree to the reopening of the railway crossing.[187] This was a major project for VicRoads as the overpass road had a special noise-absorbing asphalt to soften traffic sounds to 'allow a momentary quiet period for road users to reflect while driving over'. The red retaining walls had panels with recessed text showing where World War One battles were fought and the names of the serving units.[188]

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[185] Snowden, *They Answered*, 9.

[186] Ibid., 9.

[187] Letter from City of Ballarat to VicTrack, March 2015, City of Ballarat Archives, Ballarat.

[188] *Courier* (Ballarat), March 11, 2015, 4.

Negotiations took place with the Ballarat RSL to have the 2015 Anzac Day dawn service, traditionally held at the Sturt Street Cenotaph, moved to the Arch. In cool, misty rainfall, thousands of people of all ages stood in reverential silence as the ceremony unfolded.[189] The speeches centred on sacrifice, tragedy and the need for peace. After the ceremony, members of the crowd melted away, almost in silence, as they contemplated the horrors of war that the ceremony had amplified.[190] By the centenary, all Avenue trees in a poor condition had been replaced by young saplings and all damaged plaques removed and replaced with new plaques. As occurred all across Australia, in Ballarat and district later in the day, large crowds gathered for the Anzac marches and centenary services.

Again, as across Australia, many people from Ballarat visited the sites of World War One battles. During 2014–17 there were frequent tours to Gallipoli in Turkey and the Somme and the Flanders Fields areas of Belgium and northern France. AVAHC members had taken tours in previous years and Garry Snowden led tours to Gallipoli 14 times. It could be argued that for many people with a military background reliving the battles of World War One had a compelling attraction and personal grieving had been incorporated into the tourist industry.[191]

In keeping with this increasing emphasis on peace, the members of the AVAHC had a strong desire to emphasise the grief caused by war. This led to the commissioning of Peter Corlett to sculpt a six-foot high statue of a grieving woman as part of the Garden of the Grieving Mother and on 15 February 2017 Australia's Governor-General Sir Peter Cosgrove unveiled the statue located adjacent to the Arch. The background to the 2017 ceremony was intriguing. In 2013 the AVAHC had purchased two blocks of land adjacent to the Arch and determined that the land should be used for a garden for quiet reflection. In January 2015, by chance, Garry Snowden met Lambis Englezos at the Melbourne Shrine. Englezos explained to Snowden that the Trustees of the Shrine had rejected the idea of a Peter Corlett statue of a grieving mother and the City of Melbourne was to be

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[189] As noted on page 32 of this thesis, the crowd estimated at the Anzac Day dawn service at the Arch was 25,000. The figures were supplied by the City of Ballarat to the AVAHC in April 2015.

[190] The author of this thesis was a member of the dawn ceremony crowd and witnessed the events.

[191] See 33-34 of this thesis.

approached. Snowden stated: "I know the place for that statue!" Through subsequent discussions Corlett was engaged by the AVAHC.[192]

The commissioning of the statue was in line with the increasing emphasis in war commemoration in Australian 'trauma culture', with an emphasis on suffering and loss. Holbrook observes:

> The dominant interpretation of the Great War in contemporary Australia is one of subdued martial nationalism. The elements of racial superiority and imperial unity that fuelled the original version of the Anzac legend have been discarded. In their place is an emphasis on tragedy and mateship that borrows much from the memory boom and its desire to assuage trauma. Nevertheless, the fundamental conceit of the martial baptism remains in place: the insistence that the Australian nation was born at Gallipoli. [193]

At the ceremony Sir Peter Cosgrove along with Mrs Kaye Baird, whose son Cameron Baird, VC, had died in Afghanistan four years previously, unveiled a statue in the Garden of the Grieving Mother at the Arch of Victory precinct.[194] The Governor-General observed that in remembering the mothers and fathers, we realise that sometimes being left behind is the hardest part when sons or daughters die before their parents. Peter Corlett had produced the sculpture - he had completed 30 major sculptures over 45 years, including *Simpson and his Donkey*, *'Weary' Dunlop* and *Cobbers*.

Beneath the sculpture was a poem:

> <u>The Grieving Mother</u>
>
> I had no skill to offer,
> I had no wealth to spend;
> Mine was a greater glory,
> I had a son to send.
>
> Silently the shades of evening
> Gather round my lonely door,
> Silently they bring before me
> The face I shall see no more.[195]

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[192] Garry Snowden interview, 22 September 2017.

[193] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*, 215.

[194] *Miner,* 16 February 2017, 3.

[195] Words sourced by AVAHC member Garry Snowden.

Figure 36: Garden of the Grieving Mother in May 2017
Photograph taken by Terry Hope in May 2017

At the ceremony, Dan Tehan, Minister for Veterans' Affairs & Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Centenary of Anzac, noted that the young men and women killed in war were volunteers and had families who had an immense sense of loss. The *Grieving Mother* symbolised personal grief and loss.

The garden was another highly symbolic gesture by the AVAHC. The strong emphasis on the personal grief of those left behind in the time of war was a deliberate undertaking by AVAHC members to create an inclusive memorial to stand beside the Arch. In Australia since the 1980s the Anzac legend has moved towards commemorating the tragedy and sacrifice of those involved in war. In line with this change, the Garden of the Grieving Mother was a stark reminder that those on the home front experienced considerable grief. In the eyes of the AVAHC members and many members of the Ballarat community, the garden applied to all wars that Australia took part in, not just to World War One. The construction of the garden by the AVAHC was to create further emphasis on the need for peace and to move away from the jingoism prevalent at the time the Arch was built.

In the months following the opening of the garden in February 2017, the final accounts for the event were paid. In conjunction with the Ballarat City Council, two blocks of land adjacent to the Arch had been purchased in recent years and these became the site for the new statue. In all, including the purchase price of the land and the landscaping, the project cost close to $1 million. Through various sources, the AVAHC was able to receive

enough finance so all costs were covered.[196] This was part of the generous funding by the federal government towards World War One commemoration.

A further Arch precinct ceremony was held in Ballarat on the 4 June 2017 to mark the centenary of the Avenue's first planting. A brief wreath laying service to remember the 16 soldiers with an Avenue tree who were killed in the following week one hundred years before was followed by a 3 pm trumpet call and a ceremonial planting of two replacement trees a short distance from the Arch. As occurred in 1917, Boy Scouts, Ballarat High students and Lucas Girl representatives, assisted by council workmen, were on hand to take part and witness the tree planting.

7.8 Summary

This chapter has covered a wide timeline and has illustrated for the Avenue and the Arch how symbolism connected with them has changed over time.[197] The Avenue began as an acknowledgement of the sacrifice of servicemen and women for an imperial cause and the Arch commenced as a symbol of the British Empire's victory in World War One. Unlike other areas of Australia or internationally where avenues faded away, their civic management has been important in their ongoing maintenance and long-term survival.

Once the Garden of the Grieving Mother was in place, it reinforced the view that the Arch and Avenue should be viewed as an important national commemorative area. In March 2017, AVAHC member Phillip Hills visited Canberra to research an application for the National Heritage Listing of the Avenue and Arch precinct. A 2004 application had been denied, as 'it was not established that it had outstanding value to the Nation'.[198] Since then, AVAHC members believed that the significant new garden memorial, the VicRoads building of the Western Highway overpass and the VicRail opening of the rail crossing to reunite the Avenue and John Wadsley's *Conservation Management Plan*[199] all added to the AVAHC case for National Listing. In July 2017, VicRoads received the Australian

[196] Interview with B. Price, July 18, 2017.

[197] Comments in this chapter are related to the events outlined in section 5.6 of this thesis.

[198] Phillip Hills, "Ballarat Avenue of Honour and Arch of Victory Precinct" (paper presented at AVAHC, Ballarat, February 7, 2017).

[199] Wadsley, *Conservation Management Plan*.

Institute of Landscape Architects' (AILA) Infrastructure Award of Excellence for the Remembrance Drive interchange that was part of the reuniting of the Avenue.

AVAHC members are convinced a National Listing should occur and, in preparation for a nomination, Hills has compiled statements to argue this heritage site has outstanding significance as a national, even international memorial. He stated:

> The Arch is the largest commemorative arch in Australia and one of the earliest permanent arches constructed anywhere in the world for the Great War. It is featured in the Arc de Triomphe Museum in Paris as one of the world's most significant World War One memorials.

Hills alerted the AVAHC that the application needed to emphasise the precinct's values and significance to the nation, as well as the community support. It is planned to submit a new application early in 2018 with the aim of receiving National Listing in time for the 2020 Arch centenary.[200]

The Arch is very symbolic. In 1920 it stood for the imperial glory of a victory in World War One. Over time its precinct has evolved to become a site for events involved with war commemoration and, by 2017, through the addition of the Garden of the Grieving Mother, members of the AVAHC had ensured the Arch focused on the tragedy of war. The Lucas contribution to the Avenue and the Arch has continued and the following chapter analyses, in depth, this contribution and the associated traditions.

Through local volunteer work and in parallel to changes in national ways of viewing warfare and World War One, over time the Avenue has come to symbolise the sacrifices of the military personnel for all the wars in which Australia has participated and the Arch has become a site for the commemoration of significant military-based events. These changes have been in line with Australia's amplification of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day and have reflected the desire of many in Ballarat for the national recognition of the Avenue and Arch as landmark symbols.

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[200] Hills, "Ballarat Avenue and Arch," 6.

Chapter 8: MEMORY AND TRADITION

8.1 Introduction—Case Study

This chapter discusses a case study investigating the commemoration of war and peace in the Ballarat area. The focus is on gaining an understanding of a selected cohort's attitudes to a series of questions based on the civic management of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. The findings gained from the oral research outlined in this chapter support the conclusions drawn from the documentary records in earlier chapters of this thesis.

The results of the author's approximately hour-long interviews of the 26 interviewees are reported and then analysed. Included are brief comments about how the attitudes expressed relate to the theoretical discussion in earlier chapters of this thesis. It is the author's understanding that this may be the first community 'attitudes to war and peace' case study related to Ballarat of this type.

The people interviewed were not chosen at random. They needed to have a personal connection to Ballarat's Avenue, either as members of the AVAHC, former Lucas Girls or with another link, such as a tree planted for a relative. The profiles of those interviewed included eight females and eighteen males; sixteen interviewees were members of the AVAHC; five had a relative who had an Avenue tree planted in their honour and one's relative had planted an Avenue tree; four were Lucas Girls and one was a granddaughter of a Lucas Girl; seven had undertaken military service; five were current or former City of Ballarat councillors (including a former mayor) or City of Ballarat officers; three were RSL members, four belonged to Rotary Clubs and one was a former state government politician. The youngest person interviewed was 23 years old and the oldest 93 years old.

Approval for the study was first sought from the Federation University Ethics Committee in January 2015. As a result of the committee's advice, proposed questions were altered and final approval was granted on 26 June 2015. This committee stipulated that the identity of interviewees was to be anonymous; that interview approval was to be by email or postal mail (not telephone); that interview notes were to be approved by the interviewee and adjusted if requested; and that the interviewee was at liberty to ask for

withdrawal from the interview process. It should be stated that these parameters were followed in full and that no interviewee asked for withdrawal. The conditions for the interviews followed the guidelines of ethical practice outlined by the Oral History Association of Australia in the *Oral History Handbook* by Beth Robertson.[1] Careful preparations were made for the interviews in line with those outlined in the Handbook and it can be observed that all interviewees welcomed the interview and were passionate in responses to the questions asked. The interviews, all held "face-to-face", mainly took about one hour. In one case, where the interviewee gave detailed answers to each question, the interview lasted for three hours. Also the insights of in *The Oral History Reader*[2] provided guidance to the oral interviews. In particular, the analytical strategies used in Thomson's chapter: 'Anzac Memories: putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia,' discussed previously in this thesis[3] proved very useful.

Underlying the comments of the interviewees was a concern that the deeds and sacrifices of the armed forces in World War One should not be forgotten. As has been pointed out by Winter,[4] war memory and commemoration is an expression of mourning and human response to death. This view has interacted with views consolidated in the past 30 years by the increasing Australian national emphasis on commemorating war anniversaries. These views are in line with the theories of war memory identified by Hobsbawn[5] and Anderson[6] where the importance of the state and nationalism is emphasised.

Another underlying emphasis of those interviewed was the importance of landscape. The interviewees exhibited a strong pride in maintaining the integrity of the 22-kilometre Avenue of trees and the prominent Arch. Views expressed concurred with those outlined by Guldi where she noted changes to the landscape can provide evidence towards how previous historical understandings can be 'reconceived'.[7]

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[1] Beth Robertson, *Oral History Handbook*, (Fifth Edition, Unley, South Australia: Openbook Publishers, Adelaide, 2006).

[2] Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008).

[3] See pages 8, 30-32 and 209 of this thesis.

[4] Winter, *Sites of Memory*; Winter, *Remembering War*.

[5] Hobsbawn, *The Invention of Tradition*.

[6] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[7] Guldi, "Landscape and Place," 66.

Interviews for the case study occurred from October 2015 until June 2016. Each interviewee was asked 13 questions using five main subheadings. A record of interview was supplied to the interviewee, who was at liberty to alter or rephrase his or her response, and many interviewees took this opportunity to clarify their responses. Overall, the interviews were beneficial—in most areas, there was a strong concurrence about attitudes to war commemoration and many insightful comments were made. It is significant that few areas were contested, and it is likely that the cohort held similar views about commemoration due to the criteria requiring a connection with Ballarat's Avenue.

In discussing Ballarat's commemorative practices and attitudes to war and peace, it is recognised that those people interviewed were a selected cohort and that, in order to gain a balanced view of the attitudes and the wider views of Ballarat people, many further interviews and other indicators, such as recent media articles and attendances at Ballarat commemorative events, would need to be used.

8.2 Comparative Importance of the Avenue and the Arch

Questions asked were as follows:

1. *How important is Ballarat's Avenue and Arch? Why do you hold this view?*
2. *Comment on their historical importance—the roles the Avenue has fulfilled since planting and the ways the Arch has been used since construction.*

In response to question one, all interviewees viewed the Avenue and Arch as very important and of national significance. Three stated they were of international significance[8] and general comments emphasised that the Avenue trees were a daily visual reminder of Ballarat's voluntary World War One service and sacrifice and they ensured local people will never forget the sacrifices of those from the Ballarat area who served in all wars. An area emphasised by interviewees was that we shouldn't forget what others did for our way of life. Other comments included that through the planting of the trees in order of enlistment, egalitarian principles are emphasised. One interviewee noted that the Avenue and Arch assist in attracting people to Ballarat and its tourism industry.

[8] Formal UNESCO 'criteria' to judge international significance is rarely understood by non-specialists.

These statements are in keeping with the theories of memory outlined by Nora[9] and Winter.[10] The existence of Ballarat's Avenue fulfils the drive for memory discussed by Nora. In 'Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*', he contended, 'The imperative of our epoch is not only to keep everything, to preserve every indicator of memory—even when we are not sure which memory is being indicated'.[11] Unlike other localities, since the first planting of the Avenue in June 1917, every endeavour has been made to preserve it. Winter has focused on the psychological emphasis of war that is in keeping with the view that we must remember what the World War One soldiers did to preserve their countries' way of life.

The responses of the interviewees concurred with those outlined by Anderson in *Imagined Communities* where he traced the growth of nationalism in the twentieth century. He stated, 'No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exists than the cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers'. He then argued that these structures created an 'illicit public ceremonial reverence' that was 'saturated with ghostly national imaginings.'[12] In a similar way, underpinning many of the comments of the interviewees were references to the importance of Australian nationalism. Many interviewees pointed out the importance of Australian attitudes to 'supporting one's mates', to 'dying for one's country' and to 'sacrifice as areas we should commemorate and not forget'. The Avenue trees and, to a lesser extent, the Arch structure were seen as symbols of the attitudes of the World War One soldiers, and it was stated that it was the 'duty' of Australians to preserve the Avenue and the Arch as lasting commemorations.

In regard to the second question, frequently it was stated that due to their history, it was most important that the Avenue and Arch were used to commemorate the lives and contributions of those who served from the Ballarat area. Included in the comments of the respondents were the following statements. 'Our heritage is a silent, historic tribute to those who went before. Some returned worse off. For the broader community, it is a reminder of the past'; 'it reflects homage to these people who were involved in sacrifices

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[9] Nora, "Between Memory and History."

[10] Winter, *Remembering War*.

[11] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 15.

[12] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

and often who felt the impact of gassing many years after. We lost a generation of young men. A tree reflects life and goes on living. Relatives still come back to visit the Avenue, maintaining the interest of forebears.'

It was pointed out that historically each Avenue tree represented an individual World War One soldier, nurse or sailor. There is nothing in Australia similar to the sheer length of the Avenue and this makes the history of the management of the Avenue and the Arch very important. Also it was recognised that historically the Avenue trees were remembrance points for family members unable to visit European war graves. The living, prospering trees are seen as unique memorial stones. One interviewee concentrated on the issue that, especially after World War One, there were many avenues of honour created in western Victoria but the Ballarat Avenue had survived and remained the best kept of all the local avenues. Many interviewees stated that the Avenue at 22 kilometres is reputedly the world's longest memorial avenue. This is an example of 'myth making', as in Chapter Four of this thesis it has been pointed out that longer avenues exist in other countries.[13]

The Arch was viewed as an imposing memorial providing an impressive entrance to the western side of Ballarat. Five respondents used the term 'icon' in its relationship to Ballarat and one interviewee commented that: 'It is up there with the Arc de Triomphe in Paris and the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, but better than the Marble Arch in London.' Interviewees exhibited knowledge about the 1920 construction of the Arch and two comments were that it was constructed with 70,000 locally made Selkirk bricks and that it is a magnificent gateway to the Avenue that cost £4000 to build. This second interviewee added: 'In contrast, in 2011 the Arch restoration cost was $700,000. This restoration was well and truly worth it and has made a beautiful precinct.' Two other views were that when the Arch is lit up at night it is beautiful and that the Arch has made a huge civic statement of pride and recognition of service.

It is noticeable in this first section that respondents held strong views about the continuing need for the commemoration of the sacrifices of Australia's servicemen and women and, secondly, that both the Avenue and Arch were important symbols revered by local people and appropriate commemorative sites.

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[13] See section 4.8 of this thesis.

8.3 Contribution of the Price Family and the Lucas Girls

Questions asked were as follows:

3. *How important has the contribution of the Hargreaves/Price/Lucas family and the Lucas Girls been to the commemoration in Ballarat? Why do you hold this view?*
4. *Can you provide any valuable information about their contribution? If so, provide details.*

The contributions of both the Hargreaves/Price/Lucas family and the Lucas Girls were viewed as highly significant. A small number of interviewees were unaware of their background but the majority made glowing comments. It was emphasised that the Lucas Girls made a major contribution to Ballarat commemoration by raising money for and assisting in the planting of Avenue trees, by assisting in fundraising for the building of the Arch and, at the time of World War One, by contributing from their weekly wages.

The Hargreaves/Price/Lucas family was viewed as the inspirational driving force behind the creation and maintenance of the Avenue and Arch. As outlined in earlier chapters of this thesis, the owner of the Lucas Company, Edward Price, organised the logistics of the planting of the Avenue while company saleswoman Tilly Thompson coordinated the Lucas Girls. Edward, Keith and Bruce Price have all been chairmen of the AVAHC.

Interviewees made statements about the AVAHC and its long-time chairman Bruce Price including that Price deserves a pat on the back as an excellent chairman and, as an example of Civic cooperation, assembling capable people around the table. A total of 12 interviewees praised Bruce and the Price family in general for their support of Avenue and Arch projects and of the Lucas Girls. Also it was stated that Mrs Lucas was very important, bringing energy, intelligence and ambition to the Lucas organisation.

Three Lucas Girls made these statements: ‘Bruce and his family were very important. They were all very close and good bosses—you could go to them with any problem and they were very community-minded’; ‘The Prices were addressed as Mr Keith, Mr Jack and Mr Morrie and wives as Mrs Keith, Mrs Jack and Mrs Morrie. “Brethren girls” were employed and, in the late 1950s, the firm started to employ Catholics. The Prices

belonged to the Church of Christ'; 'The Price family were very generous—overseas, they purchased gifts such as stockings or paintings on silk for the Girls as Christmas presents. Annually, they were involved in high fashion and the Gown of the Year. People who worked at Lucas were well respected.'

Interviewees thought the Lucas Girls contribution was extremely important, outstanding and invaluable. It was stated that without them, we would not have the Arch and Avenue. Comments by the interviewees included that the Lucas Company encouraged staff members through fundraising to be supportive of the Arch and Avenue; before it closed the Lucas factory was important for the place of women in a male era as employees were not factory girls but 'Lucas Girls'; Lucas Girls are one family that still fundraise today by passionately rolling up their sleeves and have contributed $80,000 to the Avenue and Arch through fashion parades, garden parties, cookbook sales, bus trips and Christmas functions. Two further insightful observations were made. It was stated that planting in the time of World War One was difficult. Today we have backhoes and bobcats; then they had horses and hard, backbreaking work and secondly it is highly appropriate that Ballarat's newest suburb from 2011 is named Lucas.

Lucas Girls themselves reinforced observations made by others about their organisation. Their statements included: 'annually at least $1000 is donated and every four years big reunions are held, including in 2015 at the Ballarat Health Services' Lucas premises when $1500 was raised.' 'In 2016 there were 22 paying members, while until recently there were 50 to 60 members.' 'Formerly we met at the Lucas factory canteen, then moved to the St Andrews Hall and next to council premises at the Redan Hall for ten meetings a year. Fashion parades are held in May and October with clothes from Melbourne and a good baked afternoon tea with donations in the Arch Box. Previously, we had two "pokey" trips a year to the Rich River Golf Club, Moama.' The Lucas Girls recalled: 'Tilly Thompson would come in for a visit to the Lucas premises in Doveton Street South in 1950s. She was way ahead of her time. There was great excitement when she came and a great "to do". She would be dressed in black. When money was raised for the Avenue in earlier times, she hosted garden parties at her place in Wendouree Parade, where Sunways is today.'

A former middle manager at the Lucas Company noted: 'in the 1950s to the 1960s the Lucas staff group always supported the Avenue and contributed money weekly. The senior management at Lucas always impressed on you about the importance of the Avenue and Arch. Eleanor Lucas and Tilly Thompson were important. Tilly was a grand old lady who drove her car until long after she should. She had stopped working but was still on the Board in name only. She was a determined lady involved with the drive and management of the girls. In the early 1900s she was reputed to be the first travelling saleswomen in Australia. The demise of the Lucas Company came about when the company was caught up in takeovers. From 1968 there were five Boards over a 12-month period involving Dunlop, Kayser, Hilton, Morley, Courtauld and Lucas. Courtauld won out and oversaw a Lucas/Morley factory at the Doveton Street North premises, formerly occupied by the Morley Company.'

The interviewees' answers about the contributions of the Price family and the Lucas Girls provided evidence of the collective memory of the Lucas contribution as outlined in Chapter Six.[14] Interviewees stated that most Lucas Girls had close links to the enlisted servicemen who were fathers, brothers, fiancés, other relatives or friends. The Girls had a strong interest in the First World War events and close emotional attachments to it. This has an affinity with the comments of Beaumont in her book *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*.[15] In another publication, Beaumont noted, 'If the code words for war and society history are "change" and "conflict", then the leitmotifs of memory are "tragedy", "loss", "mourning", and "suffering" '.[16]

Two interviewees stated that the dedicated work of the Lucas Girls in World War One came from selfless community contributions in an era of commitment that was long gone. These comments portray the past as a time of voluntarism for community 'good'. In contrast, in recent times many people appear too busy for voluntarism. On reflection, though, it depends on personal experiences. The AVAHC work is voluntary and many hours are spent selflessly to enable community members to commemorate the deeds of the past. Further, critics imply the Lucas Company had business motives with the Avenue

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[14] See section 6.7 of this thesis.

[15] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*.

[16] Beaumont, "ANZAC Day ," 5.

project. As is stated in Chapter Six of this thesis, McConville contends that the Avenue mainly had support from the 'industrial firm' Lucas and was not a communally directed project.[17] This is a contentious claim—as shown in Chapter Four, a number of organisations were involved in the second planting of 1917 and the evidence suggests the Avenue had widespread community support.[18] Overall, in response to this second section of questions, the views expressed by interviewees were very complimentary about people associated with the Lucas organisation.

8.4 Commemoration of War and Peace in Ballarat

Questions asked were as follows:

5. *In your view how are peace and war commemorated in Ballarat? Can you explain why Ballarat people have undertaken commemoration in this way?*
6. *What is it about Ballarat that has led to this amount of commemoration? How far is the commemoration in line with prevailing community attitudes?*
7. *Are you in favour or opposed to the commemoration of war? Explain why you hold this view.*
8. *Should more emphasis be placed on peace commemoration? If so, how should it be done?*

In response to question five, the general view was that the commemoration of war and peace was through the ceremonies held each Anzac Day on 25 April and, to a lesser extent, on the 11 November Remembrance Day. Many took the attitude that it was important for communities to take part in commemorative ceremonies, and the contrast to previous years when there was less commemoration was emphasised. Most interviewees concurred that Anzac Day and Remembrance Day are done very well in Ballarat. Overall, those interviewed took a conservative stance and were fully in favour of the heightened commemoration of Anzac Day that has occurred in recent years and supported the federal governments expenditure on military commemoration.

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[17] McConville, "Anzac: Memory and Forgetting," 320. See page 182 of this thesis.

[18] See section 4.6 of this thesis.

An interviewee, who held strong views about war commemoration, stated: 'the commemoration tells the history of Ballarat and surrounds. Thousands left for World War One by train and for each world war. Ballarat is passionate about remembering as the evidence shows, where right along Sturt Street there are a number of memorials. Ballarat people do get involved as was illustrated in 2015 at the Anzac dawn service at the Arch (some were annoyed that it wasn't at the cenotaph "where the souls of soldiers rest") but there were nearly 30,000 at the Arch for a one-off service. It was appropriate at the Arch as the Arch was about World War One. The older generation are trying to engage young students and give them our history. We do not want to be warmongers but for them to know part of our history.'

A further interviewee displayed similar sentiments in stating that the community view was demonstrated at the 2015 Arch Anzac Day dawn service when in drizzling rain a mind-blowing 25,000 plus attended. The interviewee stated: 'dawn services numbers have grown during the past decade, while marches have been maintained. In Canberra a third of the population attended the dawn service and it was similar at Melbourne's Shrine. 8000 attended the cenotaph dawn service in Ballarat in 2014. "We" planned for 10,000 at the one-off Arch service in 2015 but more than 25,000 attended. It was similar to my memories of community involvement at the end of World War Two in 1945. Community attitudes to war and peace were reflected in honour boards through schools and churches. The 3801 Avenue trees reflect 55 per cent of the eligible ages in the community enlisted and of those under 30 years-of-age, probably 70 per cent enlisted which affected many families. Some think the Avenue and Arch promote war, but "we" abhor war and believe all community remembrance services and memorials promote the cause of peace.'

A common view held by interviewees was that the ceremonies at the Arch were commemorations, not glorifications, of war. A number of interviewees observed that in the community there is now more of a push for continuing peace. It was argued that the Arch and Avenue symbolise the desire for peace and recognise the service of the 3801 soldiers and nurses who enlisted. They also commemorate the ultimate sacrifice of the 757 soldiers and two nurses who were killed. Another interviewee put comments in these terms. 'Commemoration is about the service of Australia's armed forces. War was the medium and we are not commemorating war. In the World War One generation, thousands were prepared to step up. This is worthy of commemoration. We are not

wishing to glorify war, nor turn our backs on people who served when asked to by their country. I would cringe if people said we shouldn't commemorate Gallipoli. They miss the point. The decisions were made by the politicians of the time. It's not about winning or losing. Commemoration is because so many willingly put their lives on the line.'

An interviewee, who was a member of the AVAHC and a Rotarian made a series of comments. He stated: 'Ballarat still has a loyal "small-town" view that remembers the fallen. At the 2015 Anzac Day dawn service, the respect shown by the large crowd was amazing. There were no mobile phones and the young were all very quiet. From 2011, a gunfire breakfast at the George Hotel follows the dawn service. The RSL provides the food and the Rotary Club of Ballarat South cooks the barbeque. In 2014 there was a very long queue all along Lydiard Street. For the parade, Rotarians drive golf buggies for veterans and I became emotional during the march when people congratulated and cheered the veterans.'

He continued by stating: 'annually we have Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. Back in the 1960s when I was with the Fire Brigade, I remember at Sebastopol an Anzac Day when numbers of about eight were at the RSL commemorating the day. There was resistance to the Vietnam War and anyone in uniform such as Scouts, Guides or the Boys Brigades were related to the anger about Vietnam. The situation has had dramatic change illustrated by the Arch dawn service in 2015. In the future, commemorative days will be embellished through the education of the young as schools who now recognise the importance of commemoration. For example, in 2014 at the Ballarat High service prior to Anzac Day, there were 1400 students and 200 from Alfredton Primary School. They had a field of poppies made through art classes, students spoke and there was a band in the 30-minute ceremony. Names in Peacock Hall were referred to and then students looked towards the Arch. A pre–Anzac Day service was held at the Phoenix College in the Assembly Hall where school prefects led this first recent service.'

As well, he noted: 'in a good project, just before the 2015 Anzac Day along the Avenue, poppies were attached to plaques. About 70 students from Phoenix College assisted by Lions Club personnel and police led by Superintendent Andrew Allen (whose grandfather had a tree planted) placed poppies on 3000 trees. The next morning 800 students, some in wheelchairs, from Ballarat's Specialist School added poppies to 800 plaques. The

coordination and planning was a major task. During the event Lions Club members drove along Remembrance Drive with their headlights on and the police and VicRoads were most cooperative.'

A further interviewee noted that the scale and impact on Ballarat of World War One was widespread but the smaller communities such as Buninyong, Learmonth, Miners Rest, Creswick and Sebastopol are very proud of their service. They have their own halls and memorials and are proudly independent.

One interviewee noted that there are other days of commemoration in Ballarat. Vietnam Veteran's Day is commemorated on the Sunday closest to 18 August in memory of the Long Tan Battle in 1966 during which 17 Australians were killed and one died the next day. Another commemorative day is the National Serviceman's Day on the Sunday closest to 6 February.

In the answering questions five and six, many interviewees thought that commemoration was stronger in Ballarat and district than in most other parts of Australia, although it was observed that capital cities had significant marches. The Arch and Avenue, the 2004 Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial, the "military-inspired" memorials along the spine of Sturt Street and the memorials in district towns were viewed as creating a strong impetus towards Ballarat area commemoration. It was noted that many people come to live in Ballarat because of its history and celebration of heritage.

Two other respondents' views about Ballarat commemoration included the following comments. 'I have the sense that Ballarat is more moved than in other places. I'm not sure if the Avenue plays a role, although it is a constant physical reminder. Ballarat has the Prisoner of War Memorial and is prepared to respond to commemoration.' The second respondent stated: 'when you drive around Australia, you see avenues that recognise the participation and sacrifice of the First World War. Ballarat, not to be outdone, took up the challenge. Touring the Western Front impacted on me—there are so many unnamed graves labelled "known only to God". It is very emotional and the grave area is immaculately maintained. In the late 1960s, Vietnam veterans had no recognition and for decades it appeared inappropriate to mention Anzac Day or Remembrance Day. Recently, there has been more recognition of the service of the armed forces overseas, the role of

Australia as a small nation and the importance of World War One in the making of a nation. We aren't glorifying war but hoping for peace around the world and we recognise Australia has been at the forefront of many battles. I recalled this at the 2015 Anzac Day dawn service with 25,000 to 30,000 people of all ages—a desire to know and acknowledge the past.'

A further comment about the 2015 Ballarat Anzac dawn service was that the City of Ballarat had an aerial photo where a City officer calculated the attendance using the measure of 1.3 persons per square metre. The interviewee stated: 'this experience of large attendances at the 2015 Anzac Day dawn service happened Australian wide. Australia is a very proud country as the Japanese experienced in World War Two when it was shown that the Australian way is to fight to the last man and not to shirk the issue. We stand as a nation and push the barrow as hard as we can. In World War One, the soldiers were very naïve and thought the war was a tour of the world and then reality came crashing back. When I toured Europe in 2008 to 2009, I was amazed in France about the respect Australians had earned. War graves in the middle of paddocks surrounded by picket fences were kept in pristine condition. Australians have earned respect as they keep to their word and follow through their commitment.'

An interviewee with a military background stated that commemoration is a lot bigger in Ballarat than in most other places. There is more enthusiasm and larger crowds compared to Perth. It was difficult to move at Ballarat's 2015 dawn service due to the large crowd, and in 2016 I was in the Anzac Day march in Ballarat.

A former Vietnam veteran observed that the 2015 Ballarat dawn service made a strong impression on him. He stated: 'I was impressed by the march in Ballarat, in which I took part. There was a good relationship with the people on the side of the road that was similar to what I experienced in Brisbane. Community attitudes have changed. Now everywhere there is a feeling of "thank you for your service". This is similar to in the United States. As a Vietnam veteran, I have seen a swing in society. In the past, Vietnam soldiers were denied entry into some RSLs as they hadn't fought in "a real war" and weren't "real warriors". In the capital cities, the vast majority of Vietnam soldiers on return quickly changed into civvies. In country towns with smaller populations, people

were more respectful, especially with people dying in the war. In Vietnam 504 soldiers were lost. It is different now, especially through the television coverage.'

An interviewee contended that commemoration fell away in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. He stated: 'as the Anzacs alive diminished, the story became more important. This led to major commemorations for the one hundred years since Gallipoli. Ballarat has the right amount of commemoration. The early service [dawn] provides an opportunity for people to feel part of the connection to the commemoration. After the Vietnam War, the RSL was not welcoming to the Vietnam veterans but, nationally, this has certainly changed. There is now more sympathy for their cause and their plight. In Ballarat, there has never been a "warmonger" speaker as speakers have been carefully chosen. They have concentrated on the consequences of war and there has been a lot of goodwill at commemorative services. At the Arch in 1987 a plaque was added to commemorate the Asian conflicts and, about ten years ago, a peacekeeping plaque was added. The commemorations provide an opportunity to acknowledge war's impact and futility.'

A female interviewee argued: 'Ballarat doesn't differ from elsewhere. The Sturt Street plantation and cenotaph have a central position and the Arch is on a main artery. It is similar to Melbourne with its big Anzac Day march. It's more to do with your connection with someone involved. In my household it was big as my grandfather was an original Gallipoli soldier (in communications) and he survived and fought in France. My father was in the air force in World War Two. He trained in Ballarat and was in the RSL and Legacy. Connections are tighter in country towns as you are close to everybody.'

Another female interviewee held a view with similarities to the view articulated above. She contended: 'war commemoration on Anzac Day occurs everywhere in the community, not just Ballarat. The number of wreaths laid is extraordinary. We are commemorating a failure and should ask why? My father went on the Anzac march but didn't join the RSL until the fiftieth anniversary, partly as he was not a drinker. On the sixtieth anniversary, he travelled to Israel and, in later years, was a proud of Anzac.' Various other comments were made in relation to Ballarat and prevailing community attitudes. Responses noted the Ballarat attitudes to war commemoration are in line with prevailing community attitudes in other areas of Australia. A change occurred in 1987 when Vietnam veterans were welcomed home for the first time. It was remembered that

the Vietnam War was from the government, not the soldiers, and the whole attitude to commemorating war changed. Numbers attending commemorative occasions increased. In 2016 there is a clear change in attitude to those who served in Vietnam compared to the divisions in the society just after the Vietnam War. Another interviewee pointed out on Anzac Day in 2015, there was overwhelming community support for the purchase of badges when about $80,000 worth minus the cost of tokens was sold. The money was used for the welfare of veterans in house maintenance and upkeep.

A further view was that in Ballarat the response to the recent 2015 dawn service is an indication of what the community thinks about commemoration. There is an abhorrence of war although the current generation are confronted by war on the television every night. While another stated that Ballarat is like the rest of the country in the last 20 years as commemoration is now appreciated and accepted back in the community. Today we don't have a divisive war like Vietnam. This view is Australia-wide. Ballarat has the unique Arch and the Avenue that belong to us, while Melbourne has the Shrine.

Many of the comments of the interviewees about recent war commemoration resonate with the situation described in Ziino's book *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War*.[19] After researching the World War One cemeteries of Australian soldiers buried in Belgium and France, he points to Australian's recent increase of interest about war experiences and commemoration. This is shown through the vast growth in attendances at Anzac Day ceremonies across Australia. A detailed analysis of the causes for this phenomenon has occurred in previous chapters of this thesis.

Question seven requested interviewees to comment about war commemoration. Again, the comments by the respondents showed close agreement and reflected the collective memory of people who have a connection to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. Those interviewees with a military background were forthright in their views. One interviewee stated that: 'I'm well and truly in favour as we are celebrating retaining our way of life. Otherwise, we may be speaking German or Japanese. We thank the men and women who fought for us that we keep our way of life'.

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[19] Ziino, *A Distant Grief,* 1.

A sample of statements about war commemoration included: 'We don't commemorate or glorify war as we commemorate the service of soldiers, sailors and nurses'; 'The Arch and Avenue provide a vehicle for people to reflect and reminiscence about the sacrifices people made'; 'Each tree in the Avenue honours a soldier, sailor or nurse who served and the AVAHC is the custodian to ensure they are represented by a worthy tree'; 'War is futile, we commemorate the sacrifice of those who were called and went'; 'It is important to retain commemorations as in World War One, we lost most of a generation, although it was not in our backyard and we didn't have to rebuild'; 'When we commemorate war we remember the values we work towards, what people have done for their country and we need to continue to honour the sacrifices made'; 'I abhor war. As I delve into family history and explore war records, I'm more conscious of the sacrifices made in war'; 'I'm against glorifying "war" as war is the medium. It is the willingness to serve and the courage soldiers displayed. It is similar to Black Saturday fire fighters displaying courageous responding in adversity' and 'I am in favour of commemoration in the way we do it. We honour those who served and give an opportunity to descendants to come to terms with what happened, so there is some resolution of grief. For non-descendants, it is similar and is comparable to attending a war museum. It is not a celebration and does not promote war as desirable'.

Further views included: 'I like the idea of Anzac Day. It allows people to retain a continuous memory about what happened in a particular war. We don't go overboard with commemoration to any great extent but I think it needs to be a continuation down through history'; 'this is to remember the values to work towards, what people have done and given for the country. We need to continue to respect and honour it, not glorify war. We need to aspire to remember and hold in the highest respect the sacrifices'; 'the recognition of war and conflict is important but we need to focus on service and sacrifice. We shouldn't 'bury our heads' but recognise what happened and learn from it. For example, the Holocaust, Japanese treatment of women and Aboriginal treatment and finally it shows our young what's been before and teaches them it should never happen again.'

A female interviewee articulated a view opposing war commemoration. She stated: 'I'm opposed to the commemoration of war. If women were in charge, we wouldn't have sons sent to war. I'm not opposed to commemoration once the war is finished. My husband's

father was killed at Fromelles in the first wave in 1916. He had five children and should never have gone to the war.'

As noted earlier, the attitudes of interviewees towards war commemoration has much in common with the writings of Winter.[20] Nearly all statements are in line with his views about war memory where there is a "psychological" emphasis on remembering the sacrifices, adversity and grief associated with war.

In answer to 'Should more emphasis be placed on peace commemoration?', a variety of views were expressed. Most interviewees stated that the Anzac and Remembrance days emphasised peace and there was no need for further commemoration. One stated: 'we do not need peace commemoration. Each year war is only commemorated for a few days. In between we forget the injured soldiers.' In contrast, others held the view that there should be 'more emphasis on peace. If every speaker at the commemoration spoke about peace it would help. Anzac Day is not commemorating peace.'

Two interviewees who have lived in Ballarat for many years observed changes to Remembrance Days. One stated; 'the only peace commemoration is on 11 November. In the 1930s, everything stopped for two minutes. Trams stood still, men took their hats off. This has faded, as has saluting the national flag. By the flagpole, school students recited; "we honour the flag, king and country". During 1935 to 1938 we attended Anzac Day services at the Regent where packed audiences listened to boring speeches made by clergymen and others.' The other stated; 'in the past, there was more emphasis on Remembrance Day. When I was young, all in the community stopped at 11 am. These days, younger people just don't realise.'

It was recognised by interviewees that the issue of bringing about a peaceful world was a complex question and it was difficult to decide how best to commemorate peace. Further views about peace commemoration included the following: 'peace commemoration is part of the commemoration ceremonies. We need to educate young people as to why they need to remember what happened in the wars'; 'at the RSL, we talk about peace and the end of war. Small community groups celebrate peace, for example at the Vietnam Memorial.

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[20] Winter, *Sites of Memory*; Winter, *Remembering War*.

The community wants an end to conflict and war'; 'peace commemoration comes in a reverse way by indicating the horrors of war'; 'the statement "Lest we forget" is not glorifying war. We stand in silence for a minute'; 'war and peace are inextricably tied. In our commemoration, there is peace emphasis'; 'we should be thankful that we have peace and that we can always enjoy our life'; 'if we remember, it will help drive to a more peaceful community. Until something goes wrong, we think everything is peaceful. But, as recently in France, we can realise the importance of peace and strive to be more peaceful'; 'no, we do not need more peace commemoration. I don't think you can differentiate between peace and war commemoration as they go together.'

One interviewee stated: 'in a curious way, the message from the Arch and Avenue is generally peace commemoration. They focus on when fighting stopped and the armistice. We were fighting for peace, not war'. This comment, though, conflicts in a sense with the label "The Arch of Victory". It can be argued the term "victory" is very different to that of "peace". Eight interviewees mentioned the Garden of the Grieving Mother as a site for contemplation and a focus on peace. Interviewees made specific comments about the importance of the project in terms of the garden as a memorial for peace. This form of memorial brings a focus on the brave details of the soldiers and shifts towards peace and away from battle.

It can be seen in this section about war and peace that there is a strong concurrence of views or a collective memory among those interviewed. As is argued in this thesis, since World War One, there has been a distinct shift in the commemoration of war and peace. In relation to Ballarat, the Arch precinct has moved away from the 1920 "victory" term at the top of the Arch to the 1993 Memorial Wall that is headed "Lest We Forget", the 2011 explanation panels placed adjacent to the Memorial Wall that include the statement, "The Arch and Avenue will remain a lasting memorial for Peace and a source of inspiration for future generations" and the 2017 Garden of the Grieving Mother. As discussed in Chapter Seven, in 2012 a small plaque was added to the Arch northern wall about Australian peacekeepers.[21] Those interviewed had a collective memory that in emphasising the need for frequent local commemoration ceremonies, they were also mindful about acknowledging the importance of peace.

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[21] See section 7.7 of this thesis.

8.5 Civic Management of the Avenue and Arch

Questions asked were as follows:

9. *How well do you believe the Shire of Ballarat managed the presentation of the Avenue and Arch in the past and the City of Ballarat currently? Provide reasons for your view.*
10. *Are there further comments about this civic management? If so, outline them.*

Most of those interviewed showed a keen appreciation of the work of the custodians of the Arch and Avenue. It was recognised that strong contributions to the civic management have come from the AVAHC members, the Lucas Girls, the City of Ballarat and VicRoads. Also, it was highlighted that other organisations have assisted with the ongoing Avenue maintenance. The interviewees exhibited detailed knowledge about the Avenue and Arch and supplied valuable information to supplement the discussion about recent civic management as outlined in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

A summary of comments about the civic management included: 'the City does a "fantastic" job, there are many volunteers and seedlings are grown at the Specialist School nursery'; 'up to 1993, the shire secretary was the AVAHC secretary and since then the former shire secretary, Jeremy Johnson, has remained in the position. The study of the Avenue by McWha and Associates led to the annual replacement of about 120 trees. About 1500 original trees exist, mainly at the Learmonth end. Over the 100 years, the Avenue has never looked better than in 2015'; 'in the past, the Avenue grass was cut twice yearly using big slashing equipment but now the City cuts it six times a year and mowers have good access. Twice yearly a two-metre circle around each tree is sprayed to kill the grass. This ensures the trees receive sufficient water and the mowers are kept well away from the trees; 'It is 20 years since amalgamation. The shire had limited budgets and limited specialised tree knowledge. Since amalgamation, Ross Squire and his voluntary team have worked on tree replacement. Ross's group and David Grant have "kick-started" council's efforts. During 2012-2015, state government grants and council's forward planning have made a real difference. The passion of council employees has been a big part of it'; 'It is easier for an overview of civic management now that there is one municipality and the Avenue is linked. The shire managed the city entrance but lacked resources. Now the Avenue is a well managed, tourist destination.'

Another interviewee commented about the recent mowing practice along the Avenue: 'From 2008 the City Council supported a budget allocation to clean the area between trees and the fence line, poison around the trees, align all plaques and protect the trees whereas in the past mowing knocked about the plaques. Now a subcommittee looks at future budgeting and maintaining the mowing regime. Having spent the money, it is important that continual maintenance prevents it from deteriorating again. Much preparation for the Anzac Centenary occurred and VicRoads officers were most helpful with the Western Highway duplication.'

An interviewee involved directly with Avenue maintenance stated: 'The management and appearance of the Avenue improved enormously through the Restoration Project that occurred from 1997 to 1999 and through preparation for the 2015 commemoration. The AVAHC was successful with Commonwealth funding from the 2015 Commemoration Project for the Arch restoration and the reopening of the railway crossing north of the new Ballarat Avenue overpass. The AVAHC and the Ballarat City Council also contributed funds. Water stress over many years left some trees stunted but the revised planting technique alongside rigorous weed control, should improve soil water availability. In the past 18 years, the civic management has been outstanding. The City has been very generous and acted in a cooperative manner which is extremely impressive and I am unaware of a better example elsewhere.'

Two interviewees made further telling insights. 'In recent years annually, the City puts funds aside for Avenue upkeep. In the past as a major highway, there was a great deal of traffic, fumes from semi-trailers and accidents. The Conservation Management Plan has given the committee targets and guidelines for the future. This ensures any planning for changes along the Avenue is referred to the AVAHC for approval. It stops extra service road traffic and inappropriate signage' and 'in the past, the Avenue was in disrepair across various phases. No one could have foreseen the Remembrance Drive closure would have a "fairy-tale" outcome with the building of Australia's best bridge. We must maintain the Avenue and never allow it to fall into disrepair. The Grieving Mother landscape ends the story'.

Another interviewee noted: 'the 1997 McWha Landscape Plan was the first step after the 1993 construction of the Memorial Wall with its alphabetical and numerical listings.

Next, there was a focus on the trees themselves. Also, the Arch was sandblasted and paint was removed so it could "breathe". Later, it was rejuvenated through works provided by the City. After amalgamation, it was difficult obtaining sufficient funding to support the Avenue/Arch, until the City Council led by Judy Verlin in 2008-10 and the current 2013-15 council were in place. The improved Avenue and Arch has seen them viewed as nationally significant memorials. The developer, Integra, to its advantage, based its planning on the McWha landscape report. The landscaping has been very complementary to the Avenue and the Arch. Rotary and the civic contractors have provided amazing community commitment.'

Other insights from interviewees included; 'in 1995 to 1996, a program of replacement was laid out for the next 30 years. Forester Ross Squire has individually inspected each tree and, annually, other AVAHC members walk the Avenue to inspect the trees'; 'in 2015 the City and its officers do a very good job with the Avenue. It is a sleeping giant with a spin-off tourist opportunity to promote the City. Compared to 20 years ago, there are now "ownership" and commercial possibilities. Tourism will tag along and sell it. The highway overpass is a lovely piece of engineering. Ballarat has a more complete picture now with the completion of the Prisoner of War Memorial'; 'it is important to note the dedication of the AVAHC. Without it, the Avenue would degrade and disappear. Since the 1990s, the preservation of the Avenue and Arch has been ensured through the actions of various committee members, who have lobbied federal and state politicians. The freeway overpass story with VicRoads was a complete turnaround. The AVAHC and VicRoads went to extraordinary lengths to put in the overpass and to supply heritage protection. The positive relationship now is very different to what it used to be.'

Another interviewee also commented on the recent favourable relationship of the AVAHC and VicRoads and stated: 'over the five-year period from 1990 to amalgamation, the shire was doing its best within VicRoads constraints. They called the shots on "their road". Later, the City was involved. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a view in VicRoads that the road should be widened but the AVAHC and the City combined to fight the proposal. In 1996 to 1997, a joint effort brought the McWha Management Plan that identified the importance of Avenue management. It clarified the restoration work that was needed when half the trees were missing or in poor condition. In the mid-1990s the amalgamation of the City and shire occurred at the right time, as VicRoads was able

to widen other intersections and built the freeway bypass. This was opportune in preserving the Avenue and it took VicRoads away from a focus on widening the highway.'

The Invention of Tradition[22] contained case studies that detail how across the world, traditions were established and, in effect, invented. The recent history of the maintenance of both the Avenue and Arch has many similarities to the case studies. The Avenue and the Arch have been "reinvented" in the twenty-first century by the actions of the AVAHC and associated groups. The interviewees' attitudes towards war commemoration have ensured retention of the view that it is important to maintain the Avenue and Arch in the best condition possible and that the Avenue and Arch are appropriate sites for the continuing remembrance of the service and dedication of World War One servicemen and women and those troops that have taken part in subsequent Australian wars.

Further, the comments of the interviewees have a close connection to Guldi's view that it is important to consider landscape changes as they provide evidence of reconceiving our historical understandings. Significant extensions to the Arch precinct, such as the Memorial Wall and Garden of the Grieving Mother, have added to the landscape. Guldi states:

> History is around us all the time, in the ever-present archive of the built environment … everyday journeys through ordinary environments inspire historians to draw together diverse methods, for they train the eye to read many stories on the same page.[23]

Comments about the changes in the civic management, especially in recent years, provide significant evidence of how the maintenance of the Avenue and the Arch have been improved and, thus our historical understandings are viewed very differently to the ways in which they were viewed in past years.

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[22] Hobsbawn and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

[23] Guldi, "Landscape and Place," 75.

8.6 Other Associated Issues

Questions asked were as follows:

11. *The future—do you think in future years World War One will continue to be commemorated or will commemoration move to other areas/wars?*
12. *Critics state that too much government finance and time is expended on the Anzac Legend and World War One. How do you respond to this view?*
13. *Any other comments?*

In this section, there was strong agreement about question eleven but, for question twelve, there was more variation in views than for all previous questions. For question eleven, all respondents except two—one's view was neutral, the other's lukewarm—thought that the Australian armed forces efforts in World War One and the landmark Anzac Day will continue to be commemorated as they were markers for Australia's involvement in all wars. These responses indicate the interview cohort had a particular view that is reflected in a large section of Australian society in 2017.

Recently, others have questioned the role of the Anzac legend and World War One commemoration. As outlined previously, this is strongly articulated in *What's Wrong with Anzac?,*[24] where the contributors—Lake, Reynolds, Donaldson, Damousi and McKenna—express the view that the Anzac legend has disappeared into the world of mythology and that, through the agency of successive federal governments, this mythology has been implanted into the Australian population's psyche. Other publications from the past decade, such as *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*,[25] *Anzac's Long Shadow*,[26] *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*[27] and *The Honest History Book*[28], and the Honest History website[29] agree about the Anzac mythology and explore aspects of it.

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[24] Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*

[25] Beaumont, *Broken Nation*.

[26] Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*.

[27] Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*.

[28] Stephens and Broinowski, *The Honest History Book*.

[29] Honest History, http://www.honesthistory.net.au/.

Inglis in a new edition of his seminal study *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*[30] discusses in depth the recent upsurge worldwide of commemoration and the literature analysing this. He analyses the concerns about World War One commemoration of writers such as McKenna and Lake and notes that 'with Federal politicians tripping over one another to praise the fallen heroes, media outlets whipping up patriotic fervour, the day is now more holy than December 25'.[31]

These views need to be kept in mind when evaluating the responses of interviewees to question eleven. It is clear the interviewees were united in the view that the commemoration of World War One and, in particular, Anzac Day was important.

Views expressed by interviewees confirming the need for the continuation of World War One commemoration included that 'World War One was the first big battle for Australians as the South African War [Boer War] involved Colonial forces, and when Australian forces arrived the war was over' and 'World War One symbolises all conflicts and wars for all who went. Each year it is a reminder. The Ballarat Commemorative Days Committee is deliberately involving different themes such as Vietnam or Afghanistan veterans in commemorative services.'

Most interviewees were forthright in their views and suggested that annual war commemoration is likely to continue into future years. A sample of comments about this included; 'it hasn't occurred to me that the World War One commemoration might not continue. Recently, I toured the War Memorial in Canberra and noted that in all wars in which Australians fought 102,000 were killed. Of this number 100,000 died in World War One and World War Two and these two wars stand out. The sacrifice was huge and I think the commemoration will continue. I don't think there will be another avenue'; 'although the Avenue of Honour commemorates World War One, tablets on the Arch of Victory recognise all theatres of war, including peacekeeping operations'; 'we will never have another war like World War One. It was total madness fighting a twentieth century war with nineteenth-century tactics. Today we have drones and war is remote. I hope the commemoration of World War One will continue'; 'yes, Anzac commemoration will

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[30] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 573–74.

[31] Ibid., 573.

continue as it is indelibly etched into Australians' psyche. It may come into the debate about the republic. Monash saved a lot of people's lives. Commemoration ceremonies are likely to remain, as Anzac is the start of that process'; 'significant occasions will continue to be commemorated. The next commemorations will be for Singapore, Tobruk and Kokoda for 75 years. For the first generation descendants of soldiers that were still living commemoration remains important. There is no more powerful word added to our lexicon than Anzac and its major battles will continue to be significant. The most thrilling "Boys Own" Beersheba battle doesn't get the same commemoration.'

Further relevant comments from interviewees included the Arch has memorial plaques attached that cover all wars and thus it becomes part of our history and a memorial area. A common view of interviewees was that World War One was the start of a nation. As outlined in Chapter Seven of this thesis, critics of the Anzac legend have disputed this view. Those supporting the view about the national importance of Anzac Day linked it as a symbol of all wars in which Australia has fought. One interviewee stated that: 'we are also remembering other fields of war. I remember my father's service in World War Two in New Guinea and his brothers in Tobruk and the Middle East. We don't just focus on World War One, it is more than that, Anzac Day recognises all wars Australia has taken part in, including Afghanistan, the Middle East, Korea, Vietnam. The sacrifice was no different.' Other interviewees stated: 'World War One will always be the gauge. As time moves on, loved ones will remember their family members in other wars. They will not forget'; 'Anzac Day is forever enshrined as new generations embrace it. It was the first great stamp of authority of a young nation on the world stage. Australians showed their character at Gallipoli and would not leave anyone behind' and 'World War One will be the benchmark for the long term. Anzac has a place in the hearts of Australians and will stay. Also Kokoda is recognised and many Australians are walking the track.'

One interviewee pointed to the importance of the 'Spirit of Anzac' display that toured Australia in 2015-17. It was stated that the commemoration of World War One is likely to continue and it incorporates all other wars. 'I was a volunteer at the Spirit of Anzac display that people appreciated. Visitors came from all walks of life and all ages to view the brilliant display.'

Another interviewee, in comments, concentrated on the importance of family connections to commemoration. 'We will continue to have commemoration. The Anzac ceremony in 2015 brought it home. It involved lots of family replanting and the young from three or four generations on have an interest. Current generations still have an interest in what happened 100 years ago so the commemoration will continue for at least the next generation. My grandfather's tree was missing so we replanted it in about the year 2000. My son had just left the Army after five years service. Slowly the focus will go to other more recent conflicts.'

One respondent's view for question eleven was lukewarm. 'World War One seems to have grabbed the imagination, even though many people have lived through World War Two. Other wars appear to be pimples compared to World War One. The casualties in World War One led to the loss of a generation and many single women and single aunts.' Another respondent was neutral in stating that I'm not sure if commemoration of World War One will continue. It is one hundred years since Gallipoli and this is a long time for remembrance to continue. Multiculturalism might dilute it a little. In terms of current Australian culture, World War One is a very important event. It was the shock of the first "modern" war bringing the ease of mass destruction. Australia was largely a rural country and many country boys went to war.'

The set of responses to question eleven is illuminating in terms of the thesis research question. The comments provide strong evidence that community attitudes prevalent in Ballarat are being reflected in the civic management of the Avenue and Arch. The strong attendance at the dawn service at the Arch on Anzac Day 2015 and the recent media coverage evidenced in Ballarat for commemorative events is further evidence that the views of the interviewees are in line with prevailing community attitudes within Australia. There is little evidence that the concerns of historians such as Lake and McKenna are resonating with Ballarat people.

Concerning question twelve, the majority of respondents agreed with the use of government finance for the commemoration of World War One events, although a number thought the finance would be better spent on the rehabilitation of Australia's twenty-first century returned servicemen. A small number disagreed with the government

spending large amounts of money on war commemoration: seventeen were in favour, five opposed and four were neutral.

Responses in favour of the government's actions included the following comments. 'The RSL puts in a lot of the funding. Relatives who went to war need to be remembered by their families. It is part of who we are as Australians and it is a good use of government money compared to many other government expenditures'; 'critics do not have a full understanding of the incredible social impact war had as it changed Australia completely. The class structure, especially in the Army, was changed. Men were promoted from the ranks. It was very egalitarian. There was a huge change in society and eyes were opened to possibilities. You could spend money in worse ways. A century on, World War One still has a huge impact in what it did to society and how it changed Australia'; 'we must spend the money so that people know about the past. Money should be spent at the appropriate time for any special occasions'; 'those who forget history are doomed to repeat it! The commemoration is well and truly justified. Without it, we risk forgetting where we came from'; 'the government money should be spent to recognise what the soldiers did—we don't want it to die'; 'the government spending is warranted. The nation that honours its war dead is a civilized nation! The monumental battles provide an Australian story focus and have an enduring legacy. They create a reinvestment and reinvigorate the nation' and 'I don't agree that the government has spent too much on commemoration of World War One. It needs to be remembered and people need to think about the sacrifice and you can't put a price on that.'

Views opposing current government actions were; 'with Gallipoli there is too much spent on it. Instead, more attention and acknowledgment is needed about what happened in Europe'; 'I agree with the proposition that too much government money has been expended on World War One. It is one conflict out of many. Each conflict needs to be commemorated. They all contributed, one is not more important than another. There has been dedicated service and commitment and sacrifice by all people. I think the commemoration money should be spread more evenly as other conflicts are just as important but I am comfortable with the amount being spent'; 'I would rather the money be spent on the recently returned soldiers'; 'too much money was spent on the centenary anniversary of Anzac. It was overdone and the community was Anzacked out.'

Reynolds and others questioned whether Australia should have taken part in World War One at all. Reynolds points out that many European countries most directly involved, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland and Spain, remained out of the World War One conflict, yet Australia had a generation of leaders who thought loyalty was a sufficient reason to go to war. Reynolds states that he is haunted every time he sees a war memorial to World War One in a small country town that reminds him of the terrible loss of life.[32] This comment could apply to Ballarat's Avenue of Honour in that its length indicates that 3801 people from the Ballarat region went to World War One and the plaques indicate that 759 died.

Question thirteen provided respondents with an invitation to add further comments although few availed themselves of this opportunity. One respondent noted that, as part of a continuing pattern, in the past year five families contacted the Ballarat RSL so that a service could be conducted at the Avenue of Honour next to the soldier's tree on the anniversary of the soldier's date of birth or death. Another respondent noted that 'Ballarat has gone above and beyond with war commemoration. There is a strong community outlook compared to other places. Even in schools, there is an effort to be involved in commemoration'.

It is of interest that a quantitative survey by Caroline Winter of the Ballarat and district community, entitled "Public Perceptions of War Memorials: A Study in Ballarat"[33] and reported in 2014, came to similar conclusions to the study in this thesis. In 2009 Winter distributed 2600 mail packages containing a questionnaire and received usable data of 428 records. After a detailed analysis of questionnaire replies, she found that a relatively well-educated, older sample had a high personal connection with the remembrance of war and that people whose family had served or had acted as their family history custodian had stronger views on most aspects of war remembrance than those without such a connection.[34]

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[32] Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 71.

[33] Caroline Winter, "Public Perceptions of War Memorials: A Study in Ballarat," in *Australasian Journal of Regional Studies* 20, no. 1 (2014): 210–30.

[34] Ibid, 210.

Winter observed that Ballarat residents valued a range of monuments and materials for remembrance and that education was important and closely associated with remembrance activity. Ballarat was fortunate in having a number of substantial war memorials, which were valued by its community and would form the basis of a range of commemorations of the centenary of World War One.[35] The findings mentioned have been verified by various comments made by the interviewees for the study in this thesis.

Through the case study in this thesis, a wealth of information about the opinions of those interviewed has been ascertained. This has enabled the author to gauge a clear picture of the thoughts about commemoration that each of those responding hold and, as illustrated, there is a strong concurrence of views among the interviewees. In fact, it can be ascertained that they have a collective memory about war and peace commemoration.

The literature, and especially that of recent years, that has centred on the issues of memory, commemoration and heritage in the context of militarism has provided important insights with which to evaluate the comments of those interviewed. In discussing these comments and the attitudes reflected, further important considerations include understanding the respondents' personal backgrounds, the workings of the AVAHC and changes in attitude by many in Australian society.

As is ascertained in this chapter from the comments of those people connected with Ballarat's Avenue, there is a strong mindset about Ballarat's commemoration. Rather than the 'horror of the length of the Avenue', the emphasis is about the need to commemorate the service and sacrifice of those who volunteered to serve in World War One. This is viewed as symbolic of remembering all those who served in all wars in which Australia has been involved.

An important process that involves the interviewees is the development of this collective memory. As many of the theorists mentioned in this thesis have indicated, over time particular groups of people gain a similar understanding and way of approaching a specific issue. This has been discussed in Chapter Six as part of the study of the collective

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[35] Ibid 226-7.

memory of the Lucas Girls.[36] French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs coined the term 'the collective memory' and it was the title of his 1980 book. [37] In Chapter Two of this thesis, Halbwachs's concept of collective memory is discussed and it is stated that his framework indicated that localities and artefacts are imbued with social meaning.[38]

The historian Winter cautions that the concept of collective memory needs to be considered carefully:

> States do not remember; individuals do, in association with other people. If the term 'collective memory' has any meaning at all, it is the process through which different collectives, from groups of two to groups in their thousands, engage in acts of remembrance together.[39]

Nevertheless, the concept is useful and Lowenthal uses the theory articulated by Halbwachs to explain how collective memories developed within a group of people. He states:

> In fact, we need other people's memories both to confirm our own and to give them endurance. Unlike dreams, which are wholly private, memories are continually supplemented by those of others. Sharing and validating memories sharpens them and promotes their recall; events we only know about are less certainly, less easily evoked. In the process of knitting our own discontinuous recollections into narratives, we revise personal components to fit the collectively remembered past, and gradually cease to distinguish between them.[40]

This can be applied directly to Ballarat's Avenue and Arch. As can be ascertained from the comments of interviewees reported in this chapter, people associated with the Avenue and Arch developed a strong collective memory. This is particularly the situation with the 15 members of the AVAHC interviewed. The Avenue can be viewed as a "locality" and the Arch as an "artefact". Since the time of the World War One the mythology involved with both the Avenue and Arch has consolidated into firm beliefs about the importance of their place in war commemoration. The traditions surrounding the Lucas Company and Lucas Girls is an associated factor that has combined with the Avenue and Arch mythology to produce a powerful impetus to local war commemoration.

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[36] See section 6.7 of this thesis.

[37] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1980).

[38] See section 2.2 of this thesis.

[39] Winter, *Remembering War,* 4.

[40] Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*, 196.

A further important consideration concerns how, over time, war memory has changed. Darian-Smith and Hamilton pointed out that as there were almost no local combat sites and major wars were fought overseas, war memory has become a major industry in Australia.[41] World War One cast a long shadow over twentieth-century Australia and the community used monuments and ceremonies to compensate for war trauma.[42]

Since 2000 an extraordinary number of new war memorials have been erected. During the time of the Howard government, 13 memorials to Australia's military efforts were constructed overseas and those on the symbolic axis of Anzac Parade in Canberra grew from two in 1983 to eleven by 2010.[43] Jay Winter argues that, in the contemporary world, 'we are dealing with a dissonant chorus of voices' in the memory boom. Many individuals and groups are drawn to memory with different agendas.[44] Darian-Smith and Hamilton, using Winter's observations, state that, recently, there has been an 'over-determined' obsession with remembering as a response to trauma and violence.[45]

It can be argued that, on the local Ballarat scene, a similar commemoration impetus to that common in other areas of Australia has occurred. As illustrated by the responses of the interviewees in the case study, there has been a heightened awareness and desire for increased war commemoration. The 2011 and 2017 ceremonies at the Arch with Australia's governor-generals and the 2015 Anzac Day event are the main examples of this heightened move to commemoration.

As discussed in previous chapters and through the comments of those interviewed as part of the case study of this thesis, there is evidence of a distinct shift over time in the views articulated by a particular cohort of Ballarat people. This shift is detailed in the final chapter of this thesis that provides a concluding summary of the findings discovered in relation to how community attitudes to war and peace have been reflected in the civic management of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch.

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[41] Darian-Smith and Hamilton, "Memory and History," 372.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., 373.

[44] Winter, *Remembering War*, 19.

[45] Darian-Smith and Hamilton, "Memory and History," 373.

Chapter 9: CONCLUSION

In analysing the history of Ballarat's Avenue and Arch, this thesis has argued that during the past one hundred years the local community has continually acknowledged the importance of war commemoration. During this time, the nature of the commemoration has changed in line with changes that have taken place in other Australian localities.

In this thesis, I have shown that community attitudes to war and peace have been reflected in the civic management of the Avenue and Arch through the collective memory of the Ballarat community and, in particular, through the agency of the members of the AVAHC and the Lucas Girls. In the area of remembrance, this thesis has illustrated the importance of memory, especially collective memory. As the works of Nora[1] have shown, in a time of mass culture, many past values have been lost and, in the modern age, the importance of commemoration has been emphasised. In Australia this has provided a strong impetus to consolidate the Anzac legend.[2]

The works of many authors have assisted my study of war commemoration, the interplay of memory and history, and the understandings developed in the invention of tradition. In particular, the works of European and American theorists Anderson, Gillis, Hobsbawn, Lowenthal, Pickering and Winter and Australian historians Beaumont, Holbrook, Inglis, Lake, Reynolds, Scates, Stephens and Ziino have provided valuable critical insights into my analysis of war memorials, memory and community.

In particular, Nora has shown that an important part of war commemoration was sustaining memory as part of remembrance and in *Sacred Places* Inglis has shown how war memorials are at the core of Australian cultural history. The planting of the Avenue combined nationalistic fervour as postulated by Anderson and Hobsbawn and attempts to overcome individual grief caused by war as discussed by Winter and Ziino. Beaumont has argued that in understanding the resurgence of interest in the memory of war, it is important to understand the interaction between state and individual agency.

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[1] Nora, "Between Memory and History".

[2] See section 2.2 of this thesis.

The civic management of the Avenue and Arch has mirrored community views. At the time of World War One, Ballarat's people united to plant the longest avenue of honour in Australia in order to acknowledge the service and sacrifice of almost 4000 local servicemen and women who were involved in the overseas war effort. The opening of the Arch of Victory in 1920 in the presence of the future king of the British Empire was patently symbolic of Britain's imperial power and the belief that, in World War One, Germany and its allies were defeated by Britain and its allies. This view of the world prevailed in Australia until the events of World War Two, after which Australians commenced looking towards America rather than Britain.

This thesis has demonstrated, though, that there has been a major shift in emphasis about war commemoration. As discussed in Chapter Seven,[3] during the Vietnam War the opposition to that war created so much turmoil throughout Australia that many in the community recoiled from involvement in any remembrance ceremonies.

Historians such as Holbrook[4] have shown that, under the Hawke government, there was a return to commemoration of the Anzac legend and, since the 1980s, successive prime ministers and their governments have lavished so much finance on the commemoration of past wars, especially World War One, that the Australian community had fully embraced the mythology associated with Anzac by the 2015 centenary of Gallipoli. The attitudes expressed by the case study interviewees in Chapter Eight displayed that they were comfortable with this increased emphasis on Anzac and the associated mythology.

The major change about war commemoration over the past century outlined in this thesis concerns the shift from the emphasis on the heroic war deeds of Australian soldiers and the imperial glory of a British 'victory' in World War One to an increased realisation about the need for peace and sympathy for the war grief of those intimately affected by war. In Ballarat the 1993 construction of the Memorial Wall in the Arch precinct and the 2017 unveiling of the Garden of the Grieving Mother in the same precinct symbolised this marked change in mood.

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[3] See section 8.4 of this thesis.

[4] See section 7.3 of this thesis.

In Chapters Three and Four, I have examined the question of why Ballarat as a city has so many war memorials. Despite the events of the 1854 Eureka Stockade uprising, the memories of the 1850s and 1860s gold rush pioneers played their part in developing Ballarat as a conservative garden city. It was described by the historian Bate as a golden city that by 1901 was 'also to be loyal city, and was vying with all comers to be the most loyal city of the empire'.[5] The Boer War statue placed strategically outside the Ballarat Town Hall was symbolic of the city's loyalty to the British Empire.

After the demise of gold mining, Ballarat's industrial and agricultural sectors grew quickly. At the time of World War One, the Australian conscription referenda of 1916 and 1917 caused strong division within the Ballarat community and there was considerable trade union disputation. I have argued that the planting of many district avenues of honour and, in particular, the main Avenue along the Burrumbeet Road to commemorate local servicemen and women went a long way to reuniting the community. Also, the living trees were most appropriate as war memorials that beautified a city that had a ravaged landscape in its eastern region.

This thesis emphasises the important contribution to the Avenue and Arch made by the Lucas Company and Lucas Girls. I have analysed their actions during World War One that included commendable fundraising and assistance during the Avenue planting. In later years Lucas representatives played a key role in the maintenance of the Avenue and Arch. The importance of collective memory in creating and extending the Lucas tradition was illustrated in the final section of Chapter Six. This tradition was consolidated further in 2011, when the City of Ballarat named a new suburb adjacent to the Avenue 'Lucas' after the founder of the Lucas Company, Eleanor Lucas.[6]

Through the methodology used in this thesis, which has included a detailed analysis of primary sources about the Avenue and Arch, local landscape analysis and oral history, I have shown that the attitudes towards commemoration of a selected cohort of people associated with the Avenue have similarities to the attitudes of many other Australians. The thesis has highlighted the history of the maintenance of the Avenue and Arch by civic

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[5] Bate, *Lucky City*, 253. Quotation is in section 3.3 of this thesis.

[6] See section 7.6 of this thesis.

authorities, the AVAHC and the CRB. Also, it has analysed the ways in which war and peace commemoration have occurred in Ballarat and how this has paralleled the ways in which Australian attitudes have changed over time in relation to the Anzac legend. The case study reported in Chapter Eight has illustrated that, despite recent writers pointing to the excesses of the Anzac legend and the way successive Australian governments have brought it to the fore, the interviewees have in the main strongly supported the official view promulgated by the Australian Government. The large attendances throughout Australia at the 2015 dawn Anzac Day commemorations provided strong evidence that many Australians viewed taking part in such ceremonies as very important.

My case study consolidated earlier views about the penchant for war commemoration of Ballarat people. Those interviewed were united in their belief that it was vitally important to commemorate the war sacrifices of local military personnel and that the Avenue and Arch commemorations stood as symbols for the service of troops for all wars and peacekeeping missions in which Australia has taken part. In particular, the members of the AVAHC were adamant that it was most important that the Avenue and the Arch were retained in pristine condition as a mark of respect to those who served.

During this study, which examined the civic history of the Avenue and Arch, analysed militarism and Ballarat's memorial culture and explored the Lucas contribution, two key insights emerged.

Through a number of recent publications and website postings, the first insight is the narrow view of Australian history brought about by Anzackery.[7] As historians have emphasised, this unfortunate fashion recently led by a number of Australian prime ministers and reinforced by the DVA has brought a blighted view of Australia's past. The DVA has supplied many educational materials about Anzac and World War One for schools. Many vital aspects of the country's past history have been ignored in the rush to create Anzac mythology. Future historians and other community leaders need to take measures to redress this imbalance. While this emphasis on the Anzac legend has

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[7] Stephens and Broinowski in *The Honest History Book* (121) stated, 'The second edition of the *Australian National Dictionary* defines "Anzackery" as "the promotion of the Anzac legend in ways that are perceived to be excessive or misguided" '.

occurred, as pointed out by Brown in *Anzac's Long Shadow*, Australia has neglected the needs of recent servicemen and women, especially those who have served overseas. Again, this is an area needing to be redressed. As illustrated in Chapter Eight of this thesis, the views of the 26 people interviewed are allied closely to the prevailing community attitudes to war commemoration across Australia. The majority of the interviewees were in favour of the Australian Government promoting war commemoration and the increased awareness about war commemoration was illustrated by the large attendance at the dawn service held at the Arch on Anzac Day 2015.

The second insight is the small amount of peace commemoration within Australia. As noted previously,[8] few peace memorials exist in Australia, but there is a plethora of war memorials. In recent times, the AVAHC has recognised this lack and the 2012 peacekeeping plaque added to the north side of the Arch is a small recognition of the role of the many Australian troops involved in peacekeeping. Although the 2004 Australian Ex-Prisoners of War Memorial in the Ballarat Botanical Gardens and the 2017 Garden of the Grieving Mother essentially highlight the grief caused by war, they are moves in the direction of redressing this lack of emphasis on peace.

In recent years, those responsible for Ballarat's Avenue and Arch have worked diligently to maintain them in their best possible condition and are confident that this pristine condition will be retained for a long time to come. The AVAHC has recommenced initiatives to receive national recognition for the whole precinct as an area of significant national heritage. Those responsible for the application are ensuring all requirements are met and it is predicted that this may occur in 2019 or 2020. This thesis has provided evidence of strong community support for the national listing and, it is difficult to imagine such efforts will go unrewarded. For generations to come, Ballarat's significant Avenue is most likely to be maintained as a national treasure.

[8] See section 7.7 of this thesis.

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