

ANZAC BISCUITS – A CULINARY MEMORIAL

Sian Supski

Australia Research Institute
Curtin University of Technology

Anzac biscuits form an integral part of commemoration of the Anzac tradition in Australia. Symons (1982) argues that Anzac biscuits may be regarded as only one of two distinctly Australian foods. Inglis (1998) does not mention them in his work on memorials, yet it is possible to argue that Anzac biscuits may be regarded as a culinary memorial (Hillier 2002).

The story of Anzac biscuits has become mythologised in Australian cultural history and is an important signifier of Australian national identity. However, the origin of Anzac biscuits is contested, in particular the 'moment' of invention, including the naming and origin of the recipe. Moreover, Anzac biscuits have such a central place in the Australian public memory that it is not necessary to gain permission from the Minister of Defence to use the word 'Anzac' in relation to Anzac biscuits (Topperwien 1997).

This paper seeks to propose that Anzac biscuits are a culinary memorial, that they represent a lasting commemoration of the Anzac spirit. Through an examination of a number of texts, including cookbooks and recipes, I will argue that Anzac biscuits represent a unique window into exploring Australian national identity and public memory.

Biography:

Dr Sian Supski is an Adjunct Research Fellow in the Australia Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology. Her research interests include gendered space, in particular, kitchens in 1950s Australia, gender and architecture, Australian cookbooks and food writing in Australia. Her book based on her PhD thesis *'It was another skin: The kitchen in 1950s Western Australia* will be published in 2006 by Peter Lang AG. An article entitled "We still mourn that book": Cookbooks, Recipes and Foodmaking Knowledge in 1950s Australia' was published in *New Talents 21C*, API Network, 2005

Anzac Biscuits – A Culinary Memorial

Anzac biscuits were a staple of my grandmother's culinary repertoire. Almost every Saturday, along with the bread that she baked, my Scottish grandmother would make a batch of Anzac biscuits. As a child they were not one of my favourites; they were not sweet enough for me and their crunchy texture was unlike my favourite shop-bought biscuits. I liked creamy biscuits. Anzacs, as she called them, were easy to make — the ingredients were kitchen essentials, especially in a kitchen that bought flour in five-kilogram calico bags. I am unsure whether my grandmother made Anzacs because of her Scottish heritage or because they were easy to make and because my grandfather loved them. I suspect it was a combination of all three. The focus of this article is Anzac biscuits — the combination of rolled oats, sugar, desiccated coconut, butter, flour, bi-carbonate soda, boiling water and golden syrup — and how these biscuits are powerfully connected to Australian cultural identity and commemoration.

Michael Symons in *One Continuous Picnic* and Barbara Santich in *Looking for Flavour* both contend that Anzac biscuits are one of only three 'all-Australian' foods, along with lamingtons and pumpkin scones.¹ Why is it important to have foods that are distinctly Australian? Writers such as Bell & Valentine, Mintz and Sutton argue that food connects us deeply to our society; it provides a sense of place.² It can be argued that food defines who we are — 'we are where we eat'.³ I argue that Anzac biscuits have, over the years, become a 'signature food because they stand for something more than themselves'.⁴ Following Sidney Mintz, if one extrapolates his definition of cuisine to what might define a national food, then Anzac biscuits could be considered as Australia's national biscuit. Specifically, Mintz argues, 'a genuine cuisine has common social roots; it is the food of a community ... [and] such [foods] unite people culturally'.⁵ Similarly Janet Siskind, writing about the significance of Thanksgiving in North American culture, argues that the Thanksgiving meal is a ritual that connects Americans and affirms their national identity. Siskind states: 'it is impossible to be an American and be unaware of Thanksgiving'.⁶ I would argue that observance of the Anzac tradition, including eating Anzac biscuits, similarly affirms membership of the Australian nation. Following Siskind, Morley suggests that 'participation in this ritual ... allows its participants to connect themselves back to the

cultural history of the “founding” of their nation’.⁷ Eating Anzac biscuits links Australians to what is regarded as the birth of the Australian nation: the landing at Gallipoli in 1915.⁸

As with other aspects of Anzac mythology (discussed below) Anzac biscuits are an ‘invented tradition’. According to Eric Hobsbawm invented tradition, ‘includes both “traditions” actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period — a matter of a few years perhaps — and establishing themselves with great rapidity’.⁹ I suggest that the baking of Anzac biscuits belongs to the latter definition. As I argue below, tracing the origins of Anzac biscuits is not as simple or as straight-forward as it first appears. Moreover, the ‘tradition’ of baking Anzac biscuits, much like the Anzac legend itself, although establishing itself very quickly, has also waxed and waned over the years.¹⁰ It also seems important to ask why Anzac biscuits are significant, or at least, play a role in commemorating Anzac Day. I contend that the importance of this invented tradition is because it links powerfully with women’s role on the homefront.

If we define memorial as ‘serving to preserve remembrance’, Anzac biscuits serve as a potent reminder of world war one, Gallipoli and the Anzac spirit. Importantly, Anzac biscuits bring into sharp relief the significant role women played in the war effort. Women in their everyday lives, through the simple creation of biscuits, contributed to one of Australia’s most enduring forms of public memory: the remembrance of Anzac Day. Further, Anzac biscuits have become so firmly embedded within Australian cultural narrative that the use of the word ‘Anzac’ in Anzac biscuits does not have to be approved by the Minister of Defence.¹¹ Anzac biscuits can be regarded as a product of Australian culinary creativity. They feature in many cookbooks, including classics such as *The Green and Gold Cookery Book*, the *PWMU Centenary Cookbook*, the *CWA Cookbook*, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, and *Donna Hay Magazine*.¹² Every year in April recipes for Anzac biscuits regularly appear in newspapers and magazines. They also feature on internet sites: if one ‘Googles’ Anzac biscuits a number of recipes appear from such diverse sites such as ABC Radio, CSR sugar and anzacday.org.au. There are also a number of commercially baked Anzac biscuits — Unibic, Emu Bottom Homestead, Mrs

McNally's — available all year round from supermarkets and gourmet food retailers. What is intriguing about these recipes is that they are all slightly different. The ingredients are basically the same, but the quantities and method all vary. Furthermore, the cultural narrative that accompanies recipes and packaged Anzac biscuits varies quite considerably.

There are two aspects of Anzac biscuits I will explore in this article: how Anzac biscuits link with Australian cultural narrative and national identity, and the recipes.

Cultural Narrative and National Identity

The origin of Anzac biscuits is apocryphal. However, there are three narratives that circulate in public memory which outline the likely origin of Anzac biscuits. I will outline all three, beginning with the least probable. The first theory is that soldiers baked the biscuits at Gallipoli. Kirsten Wehner, a curator from the National Museum of Australia who has done research on the Anzac biscuit, believes it is unlikely that this occurred, as the soldiers would not have been able to obtain the ingredients, nor would they have had the time or the proper baking facilities. A second theory suggests that the recipe could have been devised at the 1st Australian Field Bakery on the island of Imbros, off the coast of Gallipoli, which provided bread to the troops and where there were proper baking facilities. It is unlikely that this occurred — in Charles Bean's *Official History* there is no mention of any food other than bread being baked in the Field Bakery.¹³ The most probable story of origin is the narrative with which we are most familiar: that women in Australia created the recipe. It is this cultural narrative that has gained permanence in the public memory and which I will discuss below.

In a recent radio program — Radio National's Saturday Morning Breakfast (23 April 2005) — Alan Saunders interviewed Kirsten Wehner about Anzac biscuits. Along with other writers, Wehner suggested that the recipe for Anzac biscuits was developed from a Scottish oatcake recipe. As with oatcakes, Anzac biscuits do not use eggs to bind the ingredients. However, unlike oatcakes, the originality of Anzac biscuits is the use of golden syrup. Eggs were not included because of the need to keep the biscuits fresh on the long journey. The packages sent to troops at Gallipoli and the Western

Front took several months to arrive because of the slow-moving Merchant Navy ships. According to anzacday.org.au: ‘Most of these were lucky to maintain a speed of ten knots (18.5 kilometres per hour). Most had no refrigerated facilities, so any food sent had to be able to remain edible after periods in excess of two months.’¹⁴ This is where golden syrup becomes important — golden syrup is used to bind the biscuits. Women’s culinary creativity inspired the use of golden syrup and, in doing so, ensured the freshness of the biscuits when they reached their loved ones.

Barbara Santich discusses the origins of Anzac biscuits, stating that they ‘were probably baptised during the first world war when they were apparently sent to soldiers as a gift from home’.¹⁵ The anzacday.org.au website is less equivocal and states:

During World War 1, the wives, mothers and girlfriends of the Australian soldiers were concerned for the nutritional value of the food being supplied to their men ... (W)omen came up with the answer — a biscuit with all the nutritional value possible. The basis was a Scottish recipe using rolled oats. These oats were used extensively in Scotland, especially for a heavy porridge that helped counteract the extremely cold climate.

The anzacday.org.au narrative reinforces the important role women played in creating Anzac biscuits. Women received letters from loved ones discussing the unappetising rations of bully beef, jam and army biscuits — the original Anzac wafer, or tile. The Anzac tile was essentially a hardtack biscuit that was used as a bread substitute and was extremely hard.¹⁶ Women responded with an easy-to-make, economical and tasty biscuit that would survive the long journey to Gallipoli (and later to the Western Front). This is where the story gets interesting: How did the biscuits that Australian women were making and sending to their loved ones come to be known as Anzac biscuits? Kirsten Wehner suggests that this came about through a combination of factors.¹⁷ The soldiers were already eating the hard and unappetising Anzac tiles. After the 1915 Gallipoli landings, when women began to send their homemade biscuits, an affiliation between the Anzac tile and the biscuits sent from home evolved, thus creating a convergence between the two. The homemade biscuits then came to be known as Anzac biscuits. A further link that reinforces that women baked Anzac biscuits for soldiers is evident in the list of goods that the *Australian Comforts’ Fund* (Victorian Division) requested the public to donate during the war.¹⁸ The list

requests biscuits and cakes packaged in sealed tins. Although the list does not explicitly request Anzac biscuits, it seems probable, given the ingredients and the need for the biscuits to be fresh, that a biscuit like an Anzac biscuit would have been sent to the soldiers.

The biscuits have come to represent the courage of the soldiers at Gallipoli and signify the importance women played on the homefront. However, within this narrative is also a sleight of hand: Anzac biscuits link Australians to a time past, to a time that is regarded as “the birth of our nation”. In this sense, Anzac biscuits link Australians powerfully and instantly to a time and place that is regarded as the heart of Australian national identity. In the words of Graham Seal, ‘Anzac resonates of those things that most Australians have continued to hold dear about their communal sense of self’.¹⁹ Importantly, women are at the centre of the story of Anzac biscuits. However, Marilyn Lake has written of the absence of women from the Anzac legend and the birth of the nation:

Gallipoli was hailed as the nation’s birthplace. Australia had had her ‘birth and her baptism in the blood of her sons’. ‘A nation was born on that day of death’ ... The metaphor of men’s procreation involved a disappearing act. In this powerful national myth-making, the blood women shed in actually giving birth — their deaths, their courage and endurance, their babies — were rendered invisible ... Though women gave birth to the population, only men it seemed could give birth to the imperishable political entity of the nation.²⁰

And yet, as Lake points out, it was women who gave birth to the soldiers who served at Gallipoli, and it was women who also nourished and loved them by sending packages of food, including Anzac biscuits.

Anzac biscuits have gained a place in our public commemoration of Anzac Day — they are baked in April, when the recipe is given to school children and parents are requested by children to bake them. Moreover, Anzac biscuits have a permanent place on supermarket shelves, and they are staples at fetes and cake stalls and on Qantas international flights. Arnott’s, in Newcastle, New South Wales, were the first company to bake Anzac biscuits commercially in 1935. Unibic, an Australian company, now bakes Anzac biscuits commercially and part of the proceeds of their sale is donated to the Returned and Services League. In this way, Anzac biscuits

continue the tradition of supporting and keeping alive the Anzac spirit. A unique Anzac story is told on the Unibic packaging:

The ANZAC biscuit, as it is known today, played a vital role in Australia's war effort since the days of the ANZACs.

It is symbolic of the marvellous work carried out by the women in the 'home effort' who tirelessly baked these treats for the soldiers abroad, to keep morale high.

Even today we should never lose sight of the purpose of these biscuits, because we should never lose sight of the real meaning of ANZAC (Unibic, Anzac Biscuits packaging).

Anzac biscuits have become embedded in the public memory because of the tradition of Anzac. Graham Seal argues that Anzac is an invented tradition. He quotes historian Eric Hobsbawm: 'Invented traditions have significant social and political functions, and would neither come into existence nor establish themselves if they could not acquire them'.²¹ Anzac biscuits too are an invented tradition that reinforces national identity — they are regarded as Australia's national biscuit. But it is the link with the myth of Anzac that reinforces their status — 'Whatever the future of the myth, it is now — and has been for a long time — omnipresent in the Australian experience ... [It is] the central mythology of the Australian people'.²² The tradition of the commemoration of Anzac is passed from generation to generation, just as the baking of Anzac biscuits is passed from generation to generation.

Recipes

Writers do not agree on a specific date when the first Anzac biscuit recipes were published. The Anzac biscuit recipe can be found in cookery books from the 1920s onwards.²³ Importantly, these early cookbooks were contributory cookery books in which women donated their best and tried recipes. Kirsten Wehner states that a 1925 recipe for an 'Anzac Crisp' appears to be the earliest published recipe for what can now be recognised as an Anzac biscuit, and was published in the *South Australian Green and Gold Cookery Book*, second edition.²⁴ The third edition of the *Green and Gold Cookery Book* also has the recipe for Anzac Crisps, donated by Miss K Shannon, but additionally has recipes for 'Rolled Oats Biscuits' and 'Soldiers' Biscuits' which are all very similar to the Anzac biscuit recipe.²⁵ Another South Australian cookbook *The Barossa Cookery Book, 1000 Tried Recipes* also has a

recipe from the early 1920s, donated by A Heidenreich.²⁶ The first edition of this cookbook, *The Barossa Cookery Book, 400 Tried Recipes* was published in 1917 by the South Australian Soldier's Fund.²⁷ This earlier version did not have a recipe for Anzac biscuits or Soldiers' biscuits, but it is interesting to note that all proceeds of the book were donated to the South Australian Soldiers' Fund.

By the late 1920s and early 1930s the recipe appears to be entrenched in cookery books and magazines, including the *CWA Cookery Book* and the *Australian Women's Weekly*.²⁸ Colin Bannerman who has researched early Australian cookery books lists early recipes in *The Presbyterian Cookbook*, New South Wales and Victoria published in 1931 and *The Commonsense Cookery Book* published in 1933.²⁹

Archival research indicates that the Anzac biscuit may have been called a different name, for example, in the *Australian Women's Weekly* 17 June 1933, a recipe entitled 'Nutty Biscuits' appeared. This recipe is the "exact" recipe (see below) for Anzac biscuits. The name is misleading — there are no nuts in the ingredient list. On this evidence I examined early editions (1906-1922) of the *PWMU Cookbook* and found no recipes that could be regarded as Anzac biscuits.³⁰ The first Anzac biscuit recipe in the *PWMU Cookbook* — Anzac Crispies — appears in 1931 (and contains an egg). The earliest recipe in the *CWA Cookery Book (NSW)* is also 1931.

The recipe has slight variations and this may indicate the quantities that can be baked by each recipe or, as with culture, it indicates that recipes are always in process. Janet Theophano suggests that, 'recipes [are] memory aids for the cook, especially for baked goods, where precision in ingredients and measurements is critical'.³¹ In the *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, the 'Anzac Crisps' recipe calls for, 'Two cupsful rolled oats, one-half cupful sugar, one cupful flour, one teaspoonful cream tartar, one-half teaspoonful of soda, one-half cupful melted butter, one tablespoonful golden syrup, four tablespoonsful boiling water'.³² Margaret Fulton's recipe has slightly different measurements using 1½ teaspoons of bicarbonate of soda, two tablespoons of boiling water, one cup of sugar and importantly includes ¾ cup of desiccated coconut.³³ Donna Hay, the well-known Australian cookbook writer in her magazine *Donna Hay*, Autumn 2001 also has a slightly different recipe to Anzac Crisps with variances of ⅔ cup of sugar, instead of ½ cup of sugar, two tablespoons of golden

syrup, rather than one, one teaspoon of bicarbonate soda, instead of half a teaspoon and two tablespoons of boiling water, instead of four.³⁴ Significantly, none of the later recipes I have examined include cream of tartar, perhaps because it was considered not necessary for the biscuits to rise.

The ingredients as well as the quantities change. The variations in ingredients reinforce each woman's own recipe for Anzac biscuits. Janet Theophano goes on to state, 'Once published, cookbooks do not continue to change. They do so only in the hands of the practitioner (... through actual practice)'.³⁵ A major variation to the recipe is the inclusion of coconut. In the *Green and Gold Cookery Book* Anzac Crisps recipe, there is no desiccated coconut. Many people assume that desiccated coconut, or cocoanut as it was first spelled in early cookery books,³⁶ has always been included in the recipe. However, it was a later addition to the recipe, probably added in the mid-1930s.

Significantly, the method also dates the recipe. The more "scientific" approach to recipe writing was not adhered to until the mid-twentieth century. It is now common practice for recipe ingredients to be listed by the order of use. The *CWA Cookbook* and the *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, both community cookbooks, simply list the ingredients (see Appendix 1) and then describe the method. The other recipes I have given above (see Appendix 1) list the ingredients in order of use and the method reinforces the order of use. Anzac biscuits are made by first combining the "dry" ingredients, flour, sugar, coconut and oats and then combining "wet" ingredients, melted butter, golden syrup, bicarbonate of soda and boiling water. It does not seem to matter in which order the dry and wet ingredients are combined except that they must be combined separately and then mixed together.

The 19th edition of the *CWA Cookbook* also has a recipe for Anzac kisses. The ingredients include butter, eggs, sugar, cinnamon and self-raising flour. Two biscuits are joined together with jam and then iced on the top. I suggest that these were possibly named for the jam and would not have been sent to soldiers because of the inclusion of the eggs and the jam. Anzac kisses do not seem to be as well-known as Anzac biscuits and they do not appear in later editions of the *CWA Cookbook*.

A recent adaptation of Anzac biscuits is the addition of wattleseed. The Emu Bottom Homestead, the oldest homestead in Victoria sells ‘Anzac biscuits with Wattleseed’.³⁷ The marketing information states: ‘Baked from an old and well-loved recipe, these delicious biscuits blend the traditional taste of oats, golden syrup and coconut perfectly with Australia’s indigenous wattleseed, which has been used in aboriginal cooking for thousands of years’. There is an implication that with the addition of wattleseed, Anzac biscuits are now ‘truly’ Australian. The addition of wattleseed is a further commercialisation of the Anzac myth. It is important to note that Indigenous Australians fought at Gallipoli, however, this connection is missing from the marketing and packaging of Emu Bottom Homestead Anzac biscuits. The packaging only states that, ‘[t]he Wattleseed used in these biscuits is gathered by Aborigines from certain species of the Wattle tree which grows in the Australian bush’.

As I have suggested above, Anzac biscuits can be regarded as Australia’s national biscuit.³⁸ However, as with the pavlova, New Zealand also claims that they are a New Zealand invention. Unlike the pavlova I doubt that it will be possible to decide which country “owns” Anzac biscuits.³⁹ Anzac biscuits are just as popular in New Zealand and it could be argued that the recipe is a New Zealand invention because of the large Scottish immigrant population that arrived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New Zealanders suggest that the Anzac biscuit is derived from their Scottish oatcake recipe and Australians “stole” it from them.⁴⁰ Notwithstanding this dispute of origin, Anzac biscuits hold similar importance for New Zealanders as they do for Australians.

It is through practice — baking and eating — that the Anzac biscuit recipe has gained its variations. In this way Anzac biscuits link us to the past, to our great-grandmothers and grandmothers, and to the present to our mothers and daughters (and sons). The tradition of making Anzac biscuits powerfully connects the story of Anzac and shows that the food we eat connects us to our society, culture and our public memory.

Conclusion

The story of Anzac biscuits as I have elaborated above may have become legend or mythologised in Australian public memory, but as Graham Seal contends, the Anzac

tradition ‘must possess dimensions or elements that can motivate popular sympathy and participation. It is impossible to establish or maintain for long a public tradition that does not attract popular participation and support’.⁴¹ I have argued that the baking and eating of Anzac biscuits is an integral part of commemorating Anzac Day in Australia. The continued emphasis placed on Anzac Day, which seems to grow every year as evidenced by the revival in attendance at Anzac Day parades and pilgrimages by Australians to Gallipoli, ensures that Anzac biscuits will remain a feature of Anzac Day commemoration and celebration.⁴²

Anzac biscuit recipes continue to be published in cookbooks, magazines and newspapers every year. The National Museum of Australia in 2005 held an “Anzac biscuit bake-off” with Margaret Fulton as the judge. The *Weekend Australian* magazine published a feature on Anzac biscuits also in 2005, with an outline of the Anzac biscuit story and three variations on the recipe — the Anzac tile, an Anzac biscuit recipe supplied by a digger at Anzac and an updated version, ‘Anzac-inspired biscuits’.⁴³ Thus, the biscuit is always in process, as is the story. The story and recipe can be regarded as literature of the kitchen and as Janet Theophano argues such literature, ‘obscures the boundaries of past and present, private and public, self and other, cerebral and corporal. Reading a recipe, preparing and consuming it are, in the end, the word and body become one’.⁴⁴ Concomitantly, much in the same way as other aspects of the Anzac myth have become a form of civil religiosity, Anzac biscuits can be regarded as the communion wafer — through eating the biscuits one “belongs” in/to the Australian nation.

Anzac biscuits are a powerful reminder of an event that is regarded as one of Australia’s pivotal moments as a nation. They also signify women’s input to the war effort on the home front. Importantly, Anzac biscuits link generations of grandmothers, mothers and daughters. The story of the origin of Anzac biscuits may never be “uncovered” or definitively explained. Their importance is the role they play in commemorating Anzac Day and because of this, Anzac biscuits can indeed be regarded as a culinary memorial.

Green & Gold Cookery Book (1927)

Anzac Crisps

two cupsful rolled oats

one-half cupful sugar

one cupful flour

one teaspoonful cream tartar

one-half teaspoonful of soda

one-half cupful melted butter

one tablespoonful golden syrup

four tablespoonsful boiling water

Dissolve soda in water. Mix dry ingredients, then add syrup, then water and soda.

Miss K Shannon, Encounter Bay

(There is no mention in this recipe of how big the dough rounds should be, the oven temperature or how long to cook the biscuits).

Anzac Biscuits

125g butter or margarine
1 tablespoon golden syrup
2 tablespoons boiling water
1 ½ tablespoons bicarbonate of soda
1 cup rolled oats
¾ cup desiccated coconut
1 cup plain flour
1 cup sugar

Preheat the oven to 150C. Melt the butter and golden syrup over a gentle heat, and then add the boiling water mixed with the bicarbonate of soda. Pour into the mixed dry ingredients and blend well. Drop teaspoonsful of mixture onto greased trays. Bake for 20 minutes. Cool on trays for a few minutes, remove, and store in airtight containers when cool. Makes about 48.

Anzac Biscuits

1 cup rolled oats

1 cup plain flour

2/3 cup sugar

3/4 cup desiccated coconut

2 tablespoons golden syrup

125g butter

1 teaspoon bicarbonate of soda

2 tablespoons hot water

Preheat the oven to 160C. Mix the oats, flour, sugar and coconut in a bowl.

Place the golden syrup and butter in a saucepan over low heat and melt. Mix the bicarbonate of soda with the water and add to the butter mixture.

Pour the butter mixture into the dry ingredients and mix well. Spoon tablespoons of the mixture onto baking trays lined with non-stick baking paper and flatten to about 7cm in diameter, leaving space between each for spreading.

Bake for 8-10 minutes or until a deep brown. Cool on baking trays for 5 minutes, then transfer to wire racks to cool completely. Makes 28.

-
- ¹ Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*, Duck Press, Adelaide, 1982, p 256. Barbara Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1991, p 112.
- ² David Bell & Gill Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*, Routledge, London, 1997. Sidney Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1996. David Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Berg, Oxford, 2001.
- ³ Bell & Valentine, *ibid*.
- ⁴ Mintz, *op. cit.* p 95.
- ⁵ Mintz, *op. cit.* p 96-97.
- ⁶ Janet Siskind, 'The invention of Thanksgiving: A ritual of American nationality', *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol 12, No 2, 1992, p 167.
- ⁷ Siskind, *op. cit.*, p 168; David Morley, *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*, Routledge, London, 2000, p 19.
- ⁸ Charles Bean, (ed.), *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, 12 Vols, Sydney 1921-37; Marilyn Lake, 'Giving birth to the new nation', in Pat Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath & Marian Quartly (eds), *Creating a Nation 1788-1990*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, 1994, pp 205-229; Alistair Thomson, 'The Anzac legend: Exploring national myth and memory in Australia', in Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds), *The Myths We Live By*, Routledge, London, 1990, pp 73-82.
- ⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Invented Traditions' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridgeshire, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p 1.
- ¹⁰ Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 2004, p 171.
- ¹¹ Bruce Topperwien, 'The Word "Anzac"', *Sabretache*, Vol 38, September, 1997, pp 33-36, The word/acronym ANZAC is protected by Commonwealth legislation and all uses of Anzac must be approved by the Minister of Defence.
- ¹² *The Green and Gold Cookery Book: Containing many good and proved recipes*, Adelaide, R M Osborne Ltd, 1927, 3rd ed., p 133; *Presbyterian Women's Mission Union Centenary Cookbook 1904-2004*, South Melbourne, Lothian Books, 2004; *CWA Cookery Book and Household Hints*, Belmont, Perth, E S Wigg & Son Pty Ltd, 1956, 19th ed.; Margaret Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, Hardie Grant Books, South Yarra, 1968/2004; *Donna Hay Magazine*, Issue 2, Autumn, 2001, p 45
- ¹³ Bean, *op. cit.*, Vol 1, p 364.
- ¹⁴ anzacday.org.au
- ¹⁵ Santich, *op. cit.*, p 113.
- ¹⁶ <http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/anzac/biscuit/recipe.htm>
- ¹⁷ Kirsten Wehner, Curator, National Museum of Australia, interview on Radio National, ABC 810, Saturday Morning Breakfast with Alan Saunders, 23 April 2005.
- ¹⁸ Australian War Memorial — Anzac Day Souvenirs Collection 8:2/3/1.
- ¹⁹ Seal, *op. cit.*, p 170.
- ²⁰ Lake, *op. cit.*, p 218.
- ²¹ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridgeshire, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p 307, quoted in Seal *op. cit.*, p 169.
- ²² Seal *op. cit.*, p 172.
- ²³ Santich *op. cit.*, p 113; Symons *op. cit.*, p 140.
- ²⁴ Personal communication, 13 July 2005.
- ²⁵ Kirsten Wehner, Curator, National Museum of Australia, personal communication, 22 July 2005. The Rolled Oats biscuits and Soldiers' Biscuits use different quantities of ingredients and use treacle instead of golden syrup.
- ²⁶ *The Barossa Cookery Book: 1000 Selected Recipes*, published by the Tanunda Soldiers' Memorial, Tanunda, South Australia, 192?, 3rd edition.
- ²⁷ The full publication details of the first edition are *The Barossa Cookery Book, 400 Tried Recipes Issued in conjunction with the Tanunda Australia Day September 8, 1917*. The later edition was renamed with a change in the subtitle, from *400 Tried Recipes* to *1000 Selected Recipes*. In the forward of the 3rd edition it states that after the first edition, published in 1917, sold out quickly a second, revised edition was published and was also so successful that a 3rd edition, (published in the 1920s) was necessary and included a further 500 recipes. My thanks to Belinda Tiffen, Reference Librarian, National Library of Australia and Marjery O'Gorman, Education Liaison Librarian, State Library South Australia for help with these references. Thanks also to Dr Barbara Santich for alerting me to the *Barossa Cookery Book*.

-
- ²⁸ *CWA Cookery Book* op., cit.; *Australian Women's Weekly* 10 June 1933; 20 July 1935, p 45
- ²⁹ Personal communication, 13 July 2005 regarding cookbooks and the *Australian Women's Weekly* 20 July 1935; see also Colin Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*, Kenthurst, NSW, Kangaroo Books, 1996.
- ³⁰ The *PWMU* is one of the earliest published cookbooks post-Federation. The first edition of *Green and Gold Cookery Book* was not published until 1923. Other 20th century Australian cookbook 'bibles' such as the *CWA Cookery Book and Household Hints* were not published until much later after the First World War. The *CWA Cookery Book* first published in Victoria in 1933 and in Western Australia in 1936.
- ³¹ Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives Through the Cookbooks They Wrote*, New York, Palgrave, 2002, p 129.
- ³² *Green and Gold*, op.cit., p 133.
- ³³ *Margaret Fulton*, op. cit., p 235.
- ³⁴ *Donna Hay*, op. cit., p 45.
- ³⁵ Theophano, op. cit., p 276.
- ³⁶ Santich, op. cit., p113.
- ³⁷ These Anzac biscuits are given to Qantas domestic and international passengers as part of their in-flight food service.
- ³⁸ Jill Dupleix, 'Anzac Biscuits', 23 April 2004, www.timesonline.co.uk, accessed 27 April 2005; Santich op. cit., Saunders op. cit., Symons op. cit.
- ³⁹ For discussion of the origins of the pavlova, see Hillier, 'The Pavlova and the "Fate of Nations"', in Arthur Grimes, Lydia Wevers and Ginny Sullivan (eds), *States of Mind: Australia and New Zealand 1901-2001*, Wellington, New Zealand, Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2002.
- ⁴⁰ Wehner, op. cit.
- ⁴¹ Seal, op. cit., p 169.
- ⁴² See also, Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 2005; Bruce Scates, 'In Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, memory, mourning and the Great War', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol 119, 2002, pp 1-21; Brad West, 'Independent travel and civil religious pilgrimage: Backpackers at the Gallipoli battlefields', in Brad West (ed), *Down the Road: Exploring Backpacker and Independent Travel*, Perth, API Network Books, 2005, pp 9-31.
- ⁴³ *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 23-24 April 2005. 2005 is significant because it was the 90th year remembrance of the landing at Gallipoli.
- ⁴⁴ Theophano, op. cit., p 280