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**Australia's Martial Madonna: the army nurse's commemoration in stained  
glass windows (1919-1951)**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the portrayal of the army nurse in commemorative stained glass windows commissioned between 1919 and 1951. In doing so, it contests the prevailing understanding of war memorialisation in Australia by examining the agency of Australia's churches and their members – whether clergy or parishioner – in the years following World Wars I and II. Iconography privileging the nurse was omitted from most civic war memorials following World War I when many communities used the idealised form of an infantryman to assuage their collective grief and recognise the service of returned menfolk to King and Country. Australia's religious spaces were also deployed as commemorative spaces and the site of the nurse's remembrance as the more democratic processes of parishes and dioceses that lost a member of the nursing services gave sanctuary to her memory, alongside a range of other service personnel, in their windows.

The nurse's depiction in stained glass was influenced by architectural relationships and socio-political dynamics occurring in the period following World War I. This thesis argues that her portrayal was also nuanced by those who created these lights. Politically, whether patron or artist, those personally involved in the prosecution of war generally facilitated equality in remembrance while citizens who had not frequently exploited memory for individual or financial gain. Regardless of motivation, and unlike the Digger – who evolved from a tradition of using soldier saints to allegorise death during battle – the nurse's portrayal in stained glass occurred without precedent following World War I. Hers reflected prevailing social and cultural attitudes towards women at war while simultaneously contesting the ascendant masculinity developing around civic remembrance.

This thesis also challenges the belief that the Hall of Memory at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, is a secular space. Analysis of a complex series of symbolic relationships in its stained glass reveals that artist M. Napier Waller allegorised *Devotion* – the nurse in the South Window – as the Virgin Mary. Subverting his patron's brief for realism, he equated the nation's sacrifice with that of Christ's and created a religious scheme of glass. Drawing on a commitment to tradition, architectural relationships and his own philosophical beliefs and life experiences, Waller also embedded other aspects of sacrifice and loss in the form of the nurse. In doing so, he covertly contested prevailing societal attitudes about women and war to rectify a significant omission from the Australian commemorative landscape.

Her experiences during World War II endowed the nurse with a greater commemorative presence than her World War I forbear. Elevated from a position of passive femininity a generation earlier, a greater public awareness of her experiences and the increased agency of women in Australian society also contributed to a more central and prominent position in commemorative windows commissioned in the first five years after the war. Artisans of trade firms created windows that reflected a community's desire to recognise the active sacrifice of the nurse in its memorial but used existing expressions of remembrance or the work of others to do so. However, artists – men with an academy education – drew upon the philosophical as well as the applied underpinnings of their art and designed windows in which the nurse became an active participant in war alongside the Australian serviceman. For M. Napier Waller, combat was not an experience to be valourised but an opportunity for atonement and enlightenment. Drawing again on the medieval foundations of his art and using the nurse as a powerful symbol for man's resurrection and redemption, Waller cemented her status as Australia's *Martial Madonna* – allegorical Virgin Mary and mother of the nation – in stained glass.

## **Declaration by author**

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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### **Peer-reviewed Papers:**

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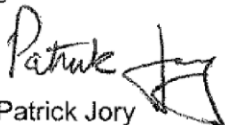
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**Ethical Clearance for Research Involving Human Participants**

Dear Susan,

Please be advised your Application for Ethical Clearance has now been approved by the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics.  
Your Application was approved November 2010.

Regards



Dr Patrick Jory  
Postgraduate Coordinator

I dedicate this manuscript to my heroes:

*of Love*  
**St George**  
- 554239 -

*of Truth*  
**St James of Ulm**  
- 20188 -

&  
*of the Lonely Way*  
**St Maurice**  
- 318627 -

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## Abbreviations

AAMWS	Australian Army Medical Women's Service
AAMSH:	Australian Archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart
AAB:	Anglican Archives of Brisbane
AAMC:	Australian Army Medical Corps
AANS:	Australian Army Nursing Service
ADBA:	Anglican Diocese of Bathurst Archives
ADNA:	Anglican Diocese of Newcastle Archives
AGH:	Australian General Hospital
AHS:	Australian Hospital Ship
AIF:	Australian Imperial Force
AMF:	Australian Military Force
AWAS	Australian Women's Army Service
AWM:	Australian War Memorial
CCS:	Casualty Clearing Station
DoI	Department of Information
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
LBHHMRC	Land of the Beardies History House and Museum Research Centre
LWP	Louis Williams' Papers
MLC	Methodist Ladies College
ML	Mitchell Library
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NGA	National Gallery of Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSW	New South Wales
NZANS:	New Zealand Army Nursing Service
OLSHR	Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Randwick
POW/s:	Prisoner/s of War
QAIMNS:	Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service
QAIMNSR:	Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service Reserve
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force

RAAFNS	Royal Australian Air Force Nursing Service
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RANNS	Royal Australian Naval Nursing Service
RMO	Regimental Medical Officer
RSL	Returned and Services' League of Australia
SSACV	ST Stephen's Anglican Church Vestry
SAPCB	St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Barton
SAPOM	St Augustine's Parish Office, Merewether
SDA:	Sydney Diocesan Archives
SJPA:	St James' Parish Archives
SLV:	State Library of Victoria
SWPA:	South West Pacific Area
VA:	Voluntary Aid
VAD:	Voluntary Aid Detachment
WAAAF	Women's Australian Auxiliary Air Force
WMP	William Montgomery's Papers
WRANS	Women's Royal Australian Navy Service

## Introduction: Nursing the memory of war

This thesis examines the commemoration of the army nurse in stained glass windows installed in Australia's religious spaces following the world wars. Much of the nurse's work was rendered invisible as they were completely omitted from the iconography of the civic war memorial and appeared only rarely on State monuments around the nation. However, when church communities looked at how to remember the contribution of their parishioners in a context partly removed from the masculine Anzac legend, they often granted the nurse commemorative space in stained glass. By revealing the decisions and debates that clergy and committees undertook when deciding to portray – or allegorise – nursing service in stained glass, this thesis augments the limited scholarship addressing the memorialisation of the army nurse and challenges the contention of some historians that she was ignored, overlooked or sidelined in Australia's rich commemorative traditions.<sup>1</sup> Windows honouring the nurse were few in number following World War I. However, after World War II, societal change married with the experiences of a second generation of the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) generated a proliferation of its remembrance in glass. Simultaneously, the nurse's depiction underwent profound change. From a passive position of femininity a generation earlier, she assumed an active role in the prosecution of war as one artist in particular reshaped the art of commemoration within the religious context.

Breaking new ground within the scholarship of memorialisation, this thesis examines stained glass as a commemorative form within selected parishes and dioceses of Australian churches. As distinct communities of memory operating within the broader scope of civic remembrance, these populations, along with the artefacts they produced, have yet to be closely considered by historians. Likewise, the scheme of glass in the nation's premier commemorative space – the Hall of Memory, the Australian War Memorial (AWM), Canberra – has likewise been overlooked within the nation's historiography. This thesis reveals that the creation of commemorative windows reflected multiple influences within local and broader societal contexts: diocesan, parish and regional politics; financial

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<sup>1</sup> Rupert Goodman, *Our War Nurses: The History of the Royal Australian Army Nursing Corps 1902 - 1988* (Bowen Hills: Boolarong, 1988), 108; Peter Rees, *The Other Anzacs: Nurses at War, 1914 - 1918* (Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2008), 307; Annabel Cooper, "Textual Territories: Gendered Cultural Politics and Australian Representations of the War of 1914 - 1918," *Australian Historical Studies* 25, no. 100 (1993), 403, 406.

imperatives; masculine attitudes regarding the role of women in war; and the proclivities of the artist or artisan executing them.

This thesis is the first in Australia to analyse the public image of the army nurse following World Wars I and II. It is also the first anywhere in the world to use the medium of art to do so. International research within the discipline of nursing has utilised factual and fictional sources – news reports, popular literature, motion pictures, television series and professional journals and recruitment material – to determine the prevailing historical stereotypes of the nurse.<sup>2</sup> The subject matter of stained glass, like all art, reflects the personal and political ideologies of those who created it along with the social attitudes of the time which it was made.<sup>3</sup> The imagery contained within the commemorative windows examined in this thesis provides a means by which to analyse the image ascribed to the army nurse within Australian society in the wake of two world wars.

Maurice Halbwachs' concept of collective memory underpins this thesis. Halbwachs perceived memory to be an inherently social process whereby individuals acquire and retrieve their recollections as members of a communal group.<sup>4</sup> He postulated the existence of a 'collective memory' and the social frameworks upon which it is formed and recalled.<sup>5</sup> A memory gains significance when many individuals come together to share it, a process characterised by many frameworks overlapping. This is best typified by the annual activities conducted independently of each other (but in unison) around the nation on the 25 April to remember the landing at Gallipoli in 1915: Anzac Day. Without these active frameworks, a memory is lost.<sup>6</sup> Described as 'widely accepted group narratives [that] merge into history,' memories formed within the collective sense are highly discriminatory and therefore subject

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<sup>2</sup> Philip A. Kalisch and Beatrice J. Kalisch, "Nurses on Prime Time Television," *American Journal of Nursing* 82, no. 2 (1982); "The Image of the Nurse in Motion Pictures," *American Journal of Nursing* 82, no. 4 (1982); *The Changing Image of the Nurse* (Menlo Park: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1987), chap. 1; Julia Hallam, "From Angels to Handmaidens: Changing Constructions of Nursing's Public Image in Post-War Britain," *Nursing Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (1998); Gerard Fealy, "'The Good Nurse': Visions and Value on Images of Nurses," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 46, no. 6 (2004).

<sup>3</sup> Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Mary Clerkin Higgins, *The History of Stained Glass: The Art of Light Medieval to Contemporary* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 9, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. L. A Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

to distortion.<sup>7</sup> Herein lies a major limitation of collective memory: historical reality may be rejected if it does not conform to the dominant collective's view of the past.<sup>8</sup>

The commemoration of war and the artefacts it produces have become areas of burgeoning academic interest in Australia and abroad since the 1980s.<sup>9</sup> To date, research into commemorative practices and war memorials has focussed largely upon those located in public environments.<sup>10</sup> Examining the actions of communities operating in and around the University of Melbourne during and after World War I, Bart Ziino writes that understanding the agency of smaller populations within Australia's commemorative landscape is equally essential. The memorials produced by these communities reflect and affirm individual values in contrast to those broader civic standards embodied by the local war memorial.<sup>11</sup> Trinity College represents one such population Ziino explores with a stained glass window in its chapel depicting a warrior saint – an allegorical reference to the soldier it remembered – one of its memorials. The Church of England, like the army nurse, emerges as an area in need of further analytical attention in respect to commemorative agency following the war.<sup>12</sup>

While the army nurse found her local commemorative form in stained glass windows following both world wars, the memorial practices of significant sub-groups of the Australian community – the clergy and congregations of the nation's dioceses and parishes – have not yet been examined in detail. Brief entries in many parish histories often reference honour boards, and sometimes a stained glass window, but the variety of private and congregational war memorials dedicated to individuals and collectives in many churches from the period –

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<sup>7</sup> U. Neisser and L. K. Libby, "Remembering Life Experiences," in *Oxford Handbook of Memory*, ed. E. Tulving and F. I. M. Craik (New York: 2000), 324.

<sup>8</sup> Duncan Bell, "Agonistic Democracy and the Politics of Memory," *Constellations* 15, no. 1 (2008): 152.

<sup>9</sup> K.S. Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* 3, no. 2 (1985); George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Jay Winter, "Notes on the Memory Boom: War, Remembrance and the Uses of the Past," in *Memory, Trauma and World Politics*, ed. Duncan Bell (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, 3rd ed. (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 584; John Stephens, "Memory, Commemoration and the Meaning of a Suburban War Memorial," *Journal of Material Culture* 12 (2007); "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma in the Western Australian State War Memorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 37, no. 4 (2013); Craig Melrose, "Triumphalism and Sacrificialism: Tradition in the Public Memory of the First World War in Australia, 1919-39." In *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Martin Crotty. (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2009),

<http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/fullText;dn=725747951064259;res=IELHSS>

<sup>11</sup> Bart Ziino, "Claiming the Dead: Great War Memorials and their Communities," *Royal Australian Historical Society* 89, no. 2 (2003): 145, 159.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-53.

furniture, fittings, chapels, entire churches, altar linen, lych gates, even fences – introduce a degree of complexity to the taxonomy of remembrance that challenges even the most ardent of researchers.<sup>13</sup> Additional issues of ownership further complicate matters. Perceptions that memorials within the ecclesiastical context represented a faith rather than a local community echoed the religious divide evident in Australian society following World War I.<sup>14</sup> Jay Winter cautions that an object's status as secular or religious is inconsequential to its primary purpose as a war memorial.<sup>15</sup> Individual parishes and dioceses, as examples of the smaller commemorative communities that Ziino refers to, provide us with an opportunity to further examine the remembrance practices of Australians following the wars.<sup>16</sup> As such, they emerge to form other examples of Winter's *fictive kinship* whereby small-scale 'families of remembrance,' unrelated by genetic or matrimonial bonds, unite independently of formal movements to memorialise war.<sup>17</sup>

War memorialisation in Australia arose in response to practical necessity during World War I. Returning the remains of tens of thousands of the Empire's soldiers to their homelands from distant battlefields was always a logistical impossibility, particularly for a country such as Australia located half a world from the front.<sup>18</sup> Sixty thousand men from the Australian Imperial Force (AIF), just over eighteen per cent of a deployment of 330 000, perished during the war. As dictated by the mandates of an imperial policy, their remains, when located, were reinterred alongside those of other dominion forces in Commonwealth war cemeteries abroad.<sup>19</sup> Twenty-one members of the AANS, which numbered under 2500 nurses, also died with fourteen buried outside Australia.<sup>20</sup> The local war memorial provided family, friends and communities across the nation with substitute gravesites, "sites of grief" where they could

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<sup>13</sup> Colin Holden, "Anglicanism, the Visual Arts and Architecture," in *Anglicanism in Australia*, ed. Bruce Kaye (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 257.

<sup>14</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 129.

<sup>15</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 90.

<sup>16</sup> Ziino, "Claiming the Dead," 159.

<sup>17</sup> Jay Winter, "Forms of Kinship and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Great War," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 40-41.

<sup>18</sup> Clem Lloyd and Jacqui Rees, *The Last Shilling: The History of Repatriation in Australia* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 179.

<sup>19</sup> M. Heffernan, "For Ever England: The Western Front and the Politics of Remembrance in Britain," *Ecumene* 2, no. 3 (1995): 298.

<sup>20</sup> Kirsty Harris, "'Rubbery Figures': The Puzzle of the Number of AANS On Active Service in WWI," *Sabretache* 1 (March 2008): 9; Rees, *The Other Anzacs*, 316-19. Seven nurses died as members of the AIF and were buried in Australia.

gather and mourn in an individual or collective manner.<sup>21</sup> Monuments relocated a loved one's memory to a local context and gave rise to alternative bereavement rituals that developed around the absence of a body.<sup>22</sup> In the context of the figurative imagery that likewise arose on some memorials, the relationship between the monumental and the remembered was crucial.<sup>23</sup> Sculptors and stonemasons favoured an absence of bloody wounds and bodily pain in subject matter; physically whole, beautiful young men appeared in direct juxtaposition to the corporeal manner of death in which they had 'sacrificed' themselves.<sup>24</sup>

No figure representing the AANS appeared on a local monumental war memorial erected in Australia following World War I. Some historians credit this to the failure of a member of the nursing service to emerge as a popular heroine during the war or a lack of public interest in honouring the women.<sup>25</sup> Seven members of the AANS were, like men, awarded the Military Medal for courage when units they were stationed in came under fire; the nation did have contemporary nurse heroines.<sup>26</sup> However, no nurse died as a direct result of enemy action and the twenty-one who perished did so as non-battle casualties. Countries such as New Zealand and Canada which, unlike Australia, lost members of their nursing services as a result of enemy engagements, unveiled monuments to them following the war.<sup>27</sup> They were financed and erected not by grateful countrymen but by nursing bodies. The Royal College of Nursing, Australia, belatedly undertook this duty in 1997 just prior to the centenary of the nation's military nursing service. Located symbolically on Anzac Parade, Canberra, the sinuously

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<sup>21</sup> K.S. Inglis, "The Unknown Australian Soldier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 23, no. 60 (1999): 9; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 118, 99; Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australian War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley: UWA Press, 2007), 34.

<sup>22</sup> Pat Jalland, *Changing Ways of Death in twentieth-century Australia: War, Medicine and the Funeral Business* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006), 96.

<sup>23</sup> Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 140.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 112, 115, 140; Catherine Moriarty, "The Absent Dead and Figurative First World War Memorials," *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 39 (1995): 20; Katie Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters: World War I Nurses and Sexuality," in *Gender and War*, eds. J. Damousi and M. Lake (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57.

<sup>25</sup> Goodman, *Our War Nurses*, 108-09; Rees, *The Other Anzacs*, 307.

<sup>26</sup> Ruth Rae, *Veiled Lives: Threading Australian Nursing History into the fabric of the First World War* (Burwood: The College of Nursing, 2009), 275-80.

<sup>27</sup> Dianne Dodd, "Commemorating Canadian Nurse Casualties During and after the First World War," in *Routledge Handbook on the Global History of Nursing*, eds. Patricia D'Antonio, Julia A. Fairman and Jean C. Whelan (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 57, 62; Sarah Christie, "The Sinking of the Marquette: Gender, Nationalism and New Zealand's Great War Remembrance," in *Nation, Memory and Great War Commemoration*, eds. Shanti Sumartojo and Ben Wellings (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 237.



feminine monument of glass honours the service and sacrifice of all nurses who served in the Australian Defence Forces over the previous century (Figure 1).<sup>28</sup>



**Figure 1:** Robin Moorehouse, *Australian Service Nurses' National Memorial*, 1999. Glass. Anzac Parade, Canberra. Author's image.

Some historians contend that nurses were excluded from monuments built following World War I based on a prevailing narrative that privileged masculinity.<sup>29</sup> In writing that 'no pile of bricks and stones can cause us to remember what we have not seen', Samuel Hynes cautions that the intrinsic meaning assigned to a war memorial was confined to those who built it; we cannot judge it, or its maker, against contemporary beliefs or attitudes.<sup>30</sup> Only 13.8 per cent of the war memorials erected following World War I housed a soldier statue but the impression that these figures elicit today is profound. They appear to overshadow the plaques

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<sup>28</sup> Dodd, "Commemorating Canadian Nurse Casualties," 62; Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 389; Christchurch City Council Planning Policy Unit, "Nurses' Memorial Chapel." *The Architectural Heritage of Christchurch*, vol. 7. (Christchurch: Christchurch City Council Planning Policy Unit, 1990); Commonwealth Department of Veterans' Affairs, *A Memorial in Glass and Light: The Australian Service Nurses' National Memorial Order of Service* (Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Veterans' Affairs, 1999), 1.

<sup>29</sup> Janice Monk, "Gender in the Landscape: Expressions of Power and Meaning," in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, eds. K. Anderson and F. Gale (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1992), 125, 26; Catherine Speck, "Women's War Memorials and Citizenship," *Australian Feminist Studies* 11, no. 23 (1996): 131, 32; Katie Pickles, "Mapping Memories for Edith Cavell on the Colonial Edge," *New Zealand Geographer* 62, no. 1 (2006): 21.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel Hynes, "Personal Narratives and Commemoration," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 206.

that most carry along with the names inscribed upon them.<sup>31</sup> Around ten per cent of local monuments list the name of a nurse and Ken Inglis writes that this ascribes to her equality with her male comrades.<sup>32</sup> The perceived prestige attributed to the stone soldier also divests less visible forms of remembrance – such as honour boards and avenues of honour – of their validity as remembrance forms for Australians, including nurses.<sup>33</sup>

That some civic committees experienced difficulty naming a nurse on monuments dedicated to soldiers suggests that gender, along with a non-combatant role, offered a convenient excuse for her omission.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, just under forty-two per cent of the nation's local war memorials named only the fallen and the low mortality rate experienced by the AANS naturally excluded its presence in the majority of locations favouring this form of monument.<sup>35</sup> Kirsty Harris shows that other influences, such as a nurse's absence from her home town when a monument was being erected, also contributed to her omission from it.<sup>36</sup>

The nurse ultimately found her monumental form following World War I on the State monuments of Victoria and New South Wales (NSW): the Shrine of Remembrance and the Anzac Memorial respectively. Built in the 1930s, these edifices served as expressions of governmental gratitude for their constituency's service and sacrifice.<sup>37</sup> Based on traditional perceptions of warfare being an active and masculine undertaking, the image fostered by the nurse on these monuments is widely perceived to be passive and maternal and, in a contemporary post-feminist society, the latter is viewed as particularly unhelpful.<sup>38</sup> However,

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<sup>31</sup> K.S. Inglis and Jock Phillips, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey," in *Packaging the Past? Public Histories*, eds. John Rickard and Peter Spearritt (Carlton: Melbourne University Press and Australian Historical Studies, 1991), 187. Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 168.

<sup>32</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 177; Inglis, "Men, Women and War Memorials: Anzac Australia," in *Learning About Women: Gender, Politics and Power*, eds. J. K. Conway, S. C. Bourque and J. W. Scott (United States of America: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 37.

<sup>33</sup> Rae, *Veiled Lives*, 249; Kirsty Harris, "Work, Work, Work: Australian Army Nurses after the First World War" In *When the Soldiers Return: November 2007 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Martin Crotty. (Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2009), 187: downloaded 4 March 2011

<http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/fullText;dn=725598887294194;res=IELHSS>

<sup>34</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 177-78; Ziino, "Claiming the Dead," 156.

<sup>35</sup> This figure is calculated from data published on page 186 of Inglis and Phillips, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand" and page 601 of Inglis, *Sacred Places*. Harris, "Work, Work, Work," 188.

<sup>36</sup> Harris, "Work, Work, Work," 188.

<sup>37</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 265-66.

<sup>38</sup> Inglis, "Men, Women and War Memorials," 37; Monk, "Gender in the Landscape," 125; Speck, "Women's War Memorials and Citizenship," 131; Ana Carden-Coyne, "Gendering Death and Renewal: Classical Monuments of the First World War," *Humanities Research* 10, no. 2 (2003): 45; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 145; Eleanor Hancock, "'They Also Served': Exaggerating Women's Role in Australia's Wars," in

both monuments were built in a time when marriage and motherhood were seen by the public, and the nursing profession, as a woman's highest calling.<sup>39</sup> Paradoxically, some of the very qualities used to diminish the nurse's contribution in a war fought a century ago continue to define her role in contemporary society: the gender-neutral noun 'nurse' primarily describes 'a person who has the care of the sick or infirm,' and despite men increasingly entering the profession during the past half century, the public maintains an image of the nurse being young, white and female.<sup>40</sup> Stephen Buckle states that beliefs relating to the gendered divisions of labour during war were traditionally fostered by ancient cultures reliant on brawn rather than brains for their survival. He argues that the arbitrary 'deployment of misogyny as an explanatory notion ... [rather than] the analysis of social circumstance' fails to understand the structures and relationships operating within society.<sup>41</sup> This has implications for understanding the public image of the nurse as well as the context in which it appeared and supports the re-examination of her monumental form undertaken in this thesis.

Traditional beliefs about gender constitute just one of the many influences contributing to the public image of the nurse.<sup>42</sup> A complex concept, image changes over time in response to economic, political, cultural, material, personal and professional stimuli. Conspiring to create a multi-dimensional perception of the nurse, a prevailing stereotype is powerfully enforced by media and popular culture.<sup>43</sup> In 1869, newsmen in the colony of NSW knew what did and did not constitute a nurse and it had little to do with her clinical abilities. A year earlier, six women, hand-picked by Florence Nightingale, arrived in Australia to reform nursing practice at the (now) Sydney Hospital.<sup>44</sup> Nightingale achieved widespread fame as an imperial heroine during the Crimean War (1853-56) by bringing profound organisational change to British military hospitals. Reforming the public image of the nurse from that of the slovenly and immoral drunkard Sairey Gamp caricaturised by Charles Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*

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*Anzac's Dirty Dozen: 12 Myths of Australian Military History*, ed. Craig Stockings (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2012), 103-04.

<sup>39</sup> Anzac Memorial, *The Anzac Memorial, Hyde Park, Sydney, New South Wales*, (Sydney: Anzac Memorial Official Publications, c.1935), 13; Rosemary Donley and Mary Jean Flaherty, "Strategies for Changing Nursing's Image," in *Current Issues in Nursing*, eds. Joanne Comi McCloskey and Helen Kennedy Grace (St Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1990), 437; Fealy, "The Good Nurse," 651.

<sup>40</sup> *Macquarie Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., s.v. "Nurse."; Hallam, "From Angels to Handmaidens," 39, 40-41.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen Buckle, "The Myth of Misogyny," *Quadrant* (January-February 2013): 42, 43.

<sup>42</sup> Morteza Rezaei-Adaryani, Mahvash Salsali and Eesa Mohammadi, "Nursing Image: An Evolutionary Concept Analysis," *Contemporary Nurse* 43, no. 1 (2012): 83.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*; Kalisch and Kalisch, *The Changing Image of the Nurse*, chap. 1; Hallam, "From Angels to Handmaidens"; Fealy, "The Good Nurse."

<sup>44</sup> Judith Godden, "'A Lamentable Failure?' The Founding of Nightingale Nursing in Australia 1868-1884," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 117 (2001): 279-80.

(1843-44), a school established after the war in Nightingale's name provided young, middle-class women with a respectable vocation based on quasi-religious principles of self-sacrifice and cloistered behaviour.<sup>45</sup> A Sydney newspaper summoned the spectre of Gamp to censure one of Nightingale's envoys when she was arrested for drunkenness, conduct falling well short of the middle-class lady that she, as a nurse, was required to exemplify.<sup>46</sup> Public image represented an influential ally and an equally powerful foe.

Analysis of the public image of the nurse during and after the world wars reveals profound similarities regardless of context or country: duty and sacrifice positioned her as a noble and highly respected member of society, though the maternal image was not necessarily to the forefront in the public's perception. The *Angel of Mercy* (1854-1960s) trope, along with its derivative *Ministering Angel*, arose from Nightingale and her reforms.<sup>47</sup> The *Good Nurse* (1900-1950) embodied devotion, self-sacrifice and heroism along with a willingness to serve the medical profession.<sup>48</sup> In the USA, other tropes subsequent to war emerged: *Girl Friday* of the 1920s represented the anti-professional, good time girl – or 'flapper' – of the jazz age; with *Mother* only appearing after World War II as a strategy to restore social order and traditional gender roles following a conflict during which the nurse was portrayed as *Heroine*.<sup>49</sup> This thesis resolves the discordance evident in post-war imagery of the nurse in Australian commemoration and international scholarship by critically analysing her portrayal in commemorative windows to reveal a new image of the nurse and the first from an Australian perspective.

Stained glass already existed as a traditional memorial form for dead soldiers prior to 1914. In 1903, a large light dedicated to and bearing the features of Boer War (1899-1902) fallen, Lieutenant Keith McKellar, was dedicated in St James Church of England, King Street, Sydney.<sup>50</sup> Thousands of memorial lights are estimated to have been installed in religious

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<sup>45</sup> Ann Bradshaw, *The Nurse Apprentice, 1860-1977* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 8, 30; Judith Godden, *Lucy Osburn, a Lady Displaced* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2006), 54-55.

<sup>46</sup> Godden, *Lucy Osburn*, 168-69.

<sup>47</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, *The Changing Image of the Nurse*, 17, 49; Hallam, "From Angels to Handmaidens," 35; Chilla Bulbeck, "The Depiction of Women in Australian Monuments," *Hecate* 18, no. 2 (1992): 21; Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 44; Catherine Speck, *Painting Ghosts: Australian Women Artists in Wartime* (Fishermans Bend: Craftsman House, 2004), 27.

<sup>48</sup> Fealy, "The Good Nurse," 651.

<sup>49</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, *The Changing Image of the Nurse*, 62, 136.

<sup>50</sup> Micheal Kerney, "The Victorian Memorial Window," *Journal of Stained Glass* 31 (2007): 69; Craig Wilcox, "Our Other Unknown Soldier," *Australian Army Journal* 111, no. 2 (2006): 164. McKellar was portrayed as St George.

buildings across the nation during and after World War I.<sup>51</sup> While monuments grounded loss and commemoration primarily in the classical aesthetic, stained glass windows positioned them within a framework of medievalism.<sup>52</sup> Arthurian knights or armour-clad warrior saints were frequently used as allegorical references to recall the sacrifice of military men and they situated battle within the context of a holy crusade.<sup>53</sup> St George, the patron saint of soldiers and England, was the most popular figure to appear in Australian commemorative lights during the war, while knights became increasingly popular afterwards.<sup>54</sup> Being associated with chivalric qualities, fallen sons were accorded medieval honour and grieving families found additional comfort in Christian imagery.<sup>55</sup>

A local figure emerged in stained glass following World War I to challenge traditional religious iconography: the Australian soldier – or *Secular Saint* as Bronwyn Hughes calls him – began appearing in subject matter as artists and artisans returned to the medieval practice of reflecting profane aspects of contemporary life in their windows.<sup>56</sup> Prior to the war, local themes were rare in church windows as large numbers of lights were imported from Europe, particularly for cathedrals, and local artists adhered to traditions of their motherlands.<sup>57</sup> Following World War I, Australian firms began to gain dominance over the European industry and the subject matter of some windows began reflecting native influences.<sup>58</sup>

As well as churches, stained glass frequently formed an integral part of major public buildings erected during the nineteenth century when architects of the period understood – and their architecture accommodated – the aesthetic within their designs. As educators of Australian men who volunteered to serve their Empire, the University of Sydney – and many of the older boys' schools around the nation – also house war memorial windows, their

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<sup>51</sup> Bronwyn Eleanor Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia 1887-1927. The Art and Professional Life of William Montgomery" (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007), 185.

<sup>52</sup> Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 29.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>54</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 191, 99; David Hugh Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 181, 469, 494.

<sup>55</sup> Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory*, 198-99.

<sup>56</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 201; Lawrence Lee, George Seddon and Francis Stephens, *Stained Glass* (Balmain: Colporteur Press, 1982), 52-55.

<sup>57</sup> Beverley Sherry and D. Baglin, "Australian Themes in Stained Glass," *Heritage Australia* 2 (Spring 1983): 9-10; Beverley Sherry, "Stained Glass Treasures in Our Churches," *Heritage Australia* 9 (Summer 1990): 34-35.

<sup>58</sup> Sherry, "Stained Glass Treasures," 35.

subject matter aligning with chivalric, imperial and the emergent national values.<sup>59</sup> But the most widely-viewed scheme of commemorative windows in Australia is located in the nation's 'top landmark' and a building constructed in the first half of the twentieth century: the Hall of Memory of the AWM, Canberra.<sup>60</sup> Containing the figure of a member of the AANS, the nurse *Devotion* is the only woman used to represent any of the fifteen qualities of the AIF in stained glass.

Scholarship concerning the depiction of the army nurse in war memorial windows, whether located in churches or the AWM, is elusive. Within the international context, commemorative stained glass attracts limited interest and very little of it identifies or examines the depiction of the army nurse. William Kidd surveys Scottish parish windows installed as World War I and II memorials and reports that of the sixty-four windows located, only four contain nursing figures.<sup>61</sup> Appearing equally represented by army nurses and volunteer Red Cross auxiliaries, the noun 'nurse' is used interchangeably for the two with no differentiation between the professional and untrained realms of caregiving articulated.<sup>62</sup> Dianne Dodd identifies a commemorative window in Vancouver in her analysis of memorial forms dedicated to fallen Canadian army nurses following World War I. Appearing in a similar pose to three other lights containing a sailor, soldier and airman respectively, she concludes a degree of equality in the uniformed nurse's representation.<sup>63</sup> Katie Pickles identifies Florence Nightingale and an anonymous nurse in a war memorial window commissioned by the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, following World War I.<sup>64</sup> A British-made light with stridently British subject matter, the uniform the latter wears identifies her as a member of the Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service Reserve (QAIMNSR) rather than the New Zealand Army Nursing Service (NZANS). Bronwyn Hughes dedicates a chapter of her doctoral thesis examining the life and work of artist William Montgomery to his war memorial windows. Concluding that the majority of such lights were commissioned by the Church of England during and after World War I, the only nurse she identifies was designed

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<sup>59</sup> Beverley Sherry, "Treasures in Stained Glass at the University of Sydney," *Heritage Australia*, 6 (Spring 1987): 4; Ziino, "Claiming the Dead," 152; Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 192-93.

<sup>60</sup> David Stephens, 'Visitation' numbers at the Australian War Memorial since 1991: is this joint really jumpin'?, *Honest History*: downloaded 2 February 2016: <http://honesthistory.net.au/wp/visitation-numbers-at-the-australian-war-memorial-since-1991-is-this-joint-really-jumpin/>

<sup>61</sup> William Kidd, "'To the Lads Who Came Back': Memorial Windows and Rolls of Honour in Scotland," in *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, ed. Brian Murdoch (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004), 121.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-22.

<sup>63</sup> Dodd, "Commemorating Canadian Nurse Casualties," 66.

<sup>64</sup> Pickles, "Mapping Memories for Edith Cavell," 22.

and executed by Montgomery's protégé Mervyn 'Napier' Waller: *Devotion* at the AWM. Hughes acknowledges that by the time Waller's windows were installed in 1950, the nurse – as a serving Australian – had emerged as a socially-acceptable subject for commemorative windows across the nation.<sup>65</sup>

*Devotion's* inclusion in the AWM's scheme was more complex than Nola Anderson suggests in her account of the light's creation while Romain Fathi writes that the AIF nurse contested traditionally-held female stereotypes in the fundamentally masculine subject matter of its three windows.<sup>66</sup> Building further upon my work on Waller and the models he used for the nurse and five other figures in the lights, I challenge the prevailing understanding of her function in respect to the Hall.<sup>67</sup> Both Susan Baggett-Barham and Katie Holmes perceive *Devotion* within a maternal construct. The former views her in a positive light with the soldier acting as both catalyst to and outcome of the nurse's transformative effect as 'mother.' Holmes interprets *Devotion's* presence as destructive; the maternal image emasculating the men she stands alongside.<sup>68</sup> By interrogating many previously unexamined primary sources and architectural relationships, I reveal the artist's purpose for locating a nurse at the heart of his commemorative scheme and the multiple identities *Devotion* embodies.

Created and installed over a period spanning thirty-two years (1919-51), windows in this study are located in cathedrals, chapels and churches of the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist faiths, along with the Hall of Memory of the AWM. 'Nurse' refers to a woman who has undertaken a formal and prescribed period of instruction to become a trained nurse before, or a registered nurse (RN) following World War I.<sup>69</sup> 'Red Cross nurse' refers to a

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<sup>65</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 189, 219-20.

<sup>66</sup> Nola Anderson, *Australian War Memorial: Treasures from a Century of Collecting* (Millers Point: Murdoch Books, 2012), 6; Romain Fathi, *Représentations Muséales Du Corps Combattant De 14-18* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013): 156-59.

<sup>67</sup> Susan Kellett, "Truth and Love: The Windows of the Australian War Memorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 39, no. 2 (2015).

<sup>68</sup> Susan Baggett Barham, "Conceptualisations of Women with Australian Egalitarian Thought," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 3 (1988): 502-03; Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 44.

<sup>69</sup> The distinctions between the terminologies relates to the uniform statutory regulation of nurse training and professional registration adopted by all Australian States in the post-war years. While men trained as nurses during the period covered by this study, army regulations limited recruitment into the AANS during both wars to women only.

volunteer without a formal nursing qualification.<sup>70</sup> While the term 'light' can be used interchangeably with 'window', in this thesis it indicates one section of a larger window; for example, the West Window of the AWM's Hall of Memory is composed of five lights. A 'stained-glass window' is made of pieces of glass to which pigment, enamel or stain is applied. After being fired in a kiln, they are assembled in a matrix of lead, or any other flexible metal, to form a cohesive panel. A 'cartoon' is the accurate, full-size black and white drawing of a window from which patterns for the glass are cut and lead lines determined. A 'memorial window' refers to a light donated by an individual or family while a 'commemorative window' is commissioned by a congregation, parish or institution in memory of a collective group of service personnel. Within the Church of England – which became the Anglican Church of Australia in 1981 – a group of lay members governing a parish's finances and administrative matters adopts many different names depending on parochial influence; in this thesis I refer to such bodies uniformly as a 'parish council.' The equivalent body in a cathedral is referred to as a 'cathedral chapter.'<sup>71</sup> A 'patron' is the entity commissioning the window and can be an individual, a group or an institutional body.

The windows examined in this thesis constitute its most important primary source. Requesting public assistance in locating windows, criteria for their inclusion in my study were published in diocesan periodicals across the country or emailed to individual church parishes. I initially focussed on the Anglican, Catholic, United, Presbyterian and Lutheran Churches of Australia with an unexpected bonus being that a number of clergy from these faiths spontaneously disseminated my request to chaplains in the Australian Defence Force. Broadening my search methodology, I enlisted the support of the National Headquarters of the Returned and Services League (RSL), the Chief Nurses of various States; the Private Hospital Organisation of Queensland; the Country Women's Association, nurses' industrial organisations in Queensland, Victoria, and Western Australia (WA); and archivists of private girls' schools.<sup>72</sup> Again, the development of informal electronic networks spontaneously circulated my request into other relevant areas. Parishioners, clergy, members of the public

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<sup>70</sup> While some trained nurses worked as 'Red Cross nurses' in a voluntary capacity and the organisation also employed twenty trained nurses, known as 'Bluebirds', to work abroad during the war; they do not form a focus of this study: Melanie Oppenheimer, "Gifts for France: Australian Red Cross Nurses in France, 1916-1919," *Journal of Australian Studies* 17, no. 39 (1993): 65, 67; Rees, *The Other Anzacs*, 249-60.

<sup>71</sup> Depending on the church in which it is located, this organisational structure may be named a parish, parochial or vestry council.

<sup>72</sup> Susan Kellett, "Wanted: Stained Glass Windows Depicting Nurses," *Western Nurse* (November-December 2010): 33; Kellett, "A Window into Nursing History," *ANJ* 18, no. 6 (2011): 23; Anonymous, "Bringing the Social History of Nursing into the Light," *Queensland Nurse* 30, no. 1 (2011): 6-7.



and nurses notified me via email, mail and telephone of the location of suitable windows in churches, hospitals and the AWM. I identified three additional lights using the National Library of Australia's (NLA's) digitised database: Trove. A total of fifty-four windows commemorating or incorporating martial nursing service are located in the Australian Capital Territory, NSW, Queensland and Victoria.<sup>73</sup> Their distribution along eastern Australia reflects the initial settlement of many European craftsmen and the establishment of their firms in Melbourne, Sydney and, later, Brisbane in the late 1800s. A limitation of this study is that while my search methodology achieved broad coverage of the nation, I cannot be certain all windows commemorating nursing service were located. With increasing numbers of churches being deconsecrated and sold, along with their windows, some may have been lost to my research.<sup>74</sup>

After locating the windows, I systematically visited each site. The majority of lights relevant to my research were installed in churches built in the neo-Gothic, cruciform style of the period preceding World War II. Generally orientated following traditional European principles, their altars are aligned upon the eastern axis of the building. Considered the most significant in the building, the light behind the altar – the East Window – faces the rising sun, the traditional symbol of life's renewal.<sup>75</sup> The relevant light, along with any important artefacts, were photographed with a tripod-mounted Nikon D90 digital single lens reflex camera. A site survey of each church was also conducted with attention paid to the location of each window, the presence of other memorials within the structure and the relationship of the building to the external architectural landscape.

Two criteria determined a window's selection for analysis with timing of its execution the first. The windows were installed over a seven decade period spanning 1921 to 1994.<sup>76</sup> I necessarily limited my analysis to windows that were dedicated in the immediate post-World War periods rather than those donated several decades later by veterans of World War II. The second criterion that needed to be satisfied was the availability of primary sources in order for the individual history of each window to be revealed. Although significant cultural

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<sup>73</sup> The search methodology used by the author to locate windows cost nothing to develop or implement.

<sup>74</sup> Jennifer Clark, "The Impact of Church Closure on Australian Popular Culture," *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 1 (1996): 152, 153, 157. In some cases, windows are removed when a church is deconsecrated and placed into storage. In others, they may be incorporated into the fabric of another church in the diocese, sold or simply thrown away.

<sup>75</sup> Lee, Seddon and Stephens, *Stained Glass*, 14.

<sup>76</sup> This was determined in most cases by the dedication panel or wall plaques associated with the window.

treasures and, in many cases, extraordinary works of art, these lights also represent reliquaries refracting the ideologies of communities, committees and individuals negotiating and mediating their memories of war in glass. Parish, monastic, diocesan and community archives provided the richest source of primary data for analysis but interrogation of records soon revealed that the direct business relationship that existed between a donor and artist frequently limited archival evidence of an individual memorial light to a single notation in parish or chapter minutes.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, with three exceptions, commemorative windows became the major focus of my research. Within the Protestant context, the democratic and financial processes inherent to lay councils, along with the nature of the event they were memorialising, resulted in extended periods of documentation concerning commemorative windows in meeting minute books. This sometimes occurred over many years. Consistency in record-keeping practices was indicated by the presence of minute books in all but one location. The validity of the information they contained was supported by evidence of annual auditing processes while triangulation with other sources further verified and augmented these data. Other sources included: correspondence between patron and trade firm/artist; architectural elevations and plans; artists' sketches and cartoons; records of parish finances; diocesan and parish periodicals; photographs; material sources such as foundation stones, memorial plaques, honour boards, books of remembrance, other memorial and commemorative windows and local war memorials; local and national newspapers and periodicals; digitised service records held by the National Archives of Australia (NAA) and oral histories.<sup>78</sup> Archival practice varied from diocese to diocese and no location contained a complete record of documentation, correspondence and artwork for a window's creation. In one instance, cathedral archives proved unreliable. Necessarily expanding my search to the State Library of Victoria (SLV) and the Mitchell Library, Sydney, records of an ecclesiastical architect and two artists provided alternative sources of primary data for the light in question, stained glass specifically and war memorialisation within the religious context generally.

For the Hall of Memory, the archives of the AWM house the most comprehensive collection for the creation of a commemorative scheme of lights in Australia courtesy of the administrative requirements of the Commonwealth Government. However, much of the detail

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<sup>77</sup> Once approved, the person or family giving a private memorial window generally worked directly with the artist or trade firm. Hence, documentation relating to the light did not make its way into parish or diocesan archives but remained with the individual or family donating the window.

<sup>78</sup> All service records consulted in this thesis were sourced via the NAA's online database at <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/explore/defence/service-records/>

concerning the windows' conception and execution survives because of the warmth of the relationship that developed between its director, John Treloar, and artist, M. Napier Waller. The latter's home and studio in Ivanhoe, Victoria, along with Heritage Victoria's facilities, contain additional drawings, paintings, glass and personal ephemera that supported my analysis of the windows.<sup>79</sup> Artworks housed in the AWM, National Galleries of Australia and Victoria, National Portrait Gallery, State Galleries of NSW and South Australia (SA) and the Mitchell Library (ML), Sydney, were also valuable sources of primary data. A number of exhibitions held in the major galleries during my candidature also benefited my research. A broad and diverse range of sources tracked to many States and a variety of locations enabled me to build a story around each window as I subsequently brought their histories to light.

This thesis is divided into six chapters, five of which chronologically and thematically examine commemorative windows depicting or allegorising the army nurse. Chapter One considers how the AANS was memorialised following World War I by challenging the contention that the nurse was not the subject of significant commemoration. I revisit monumental and other material forms of remembrance: the local war memorial; and the honour board and avenue of honour respectively. The reasons some war memorials assumed the form of a soldier are dissected to reveal that gender bias had little, if anything, to do with the nurse's absence from the landscape of the local war memorial. Likewise, the financial aspect of sacrifice also worked to preclude her presence from some memorials while, in one regional city, the lure of public remembrance was not universally embraced by a community at war. Moving to the State monuments of Victoria and NSW, analysis of their sculptural elements exposes the emergent politics of commemoration undertaken by powerful male-based organisations in the 1930s. By using the monument as a primary source and re-examining its sculptural aspects, the Anzac Memorial, Sydney, reveals that rather than a maternal image, its artist – a veteran of World War I – depicted the nurse as an active and dynamic participant in war and the true Sister of the men she served alongside.

In Chapter Two, the focus shifts to stained glass. Two British windows installed by a father and a congregation respectively provide an invaluable opportunity to examine the debates and decisions surrounding the inclusion of a nurse in a memorial when her omission was so unequivocal within the civic context. The economy of sacrifice exerted a powerful influence

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<sup>79</sup> Waller's personal notebooks, journals, diaries and correspondence have never been located. Several sketchbooks are located in his home.

in both locations. In Brisbane, rituals of remembrance were adapted to benefit community and church alike while in Sydney, the egalitarian principles of collective memorialisation were fractured by a mother's grief. The parish unity that resulted revealed a unique expression of communal commemoration. This chapter also shows that following the war, the AANS emerged without a defined public identity. Nevertheless, British artisans assigned to the army nurse an allegorical identity that exalted her above all other service personnel in the windows they made. Subtle boundaries established differences between male and female service and sacrifice in stained glass and between AIF and ANZAC.

Chapter Three focusses on allegorical representations of the army nurse in two regional NSW Warriors' Chapels built in the decade following World War I. The agency of two Anglican clergymen is examined as they harnessed their own AIF experiences in an effort to breakdown sectarian barriers and create memorials of united civic pride within their respective regional communities. For one priest, the nurse – along with a range of other roles generally not embraced within the emerging narrative of civic commemoration – offered the means by which to engage ecumenically with the citizens of his diocese. For the other, the tide of commemorative spirit had turned. This chapter also examines the other side of the economy of sacrifice when self-interest and regional politics re-established their community standing as the need for communal remembrance faded. By reimagining the nurse's memory, a former army chaplain subtly repositioned sacrifice over political gain to quietly reclaim the primary purpose of his chapel and honour the memory of the men he served beside.

In Chapter Four, analysis of the windows of the AWM reveals that an artist's interpretation of his mandate was expressed in ways that a patron – or the public – could never have imagined. The nurse *Devotion* served a central role in artist Napier Waller's conception for the Hall of Memory. By subtly manipulating the men creating the Memorial, he neutralised the greatest threat to his plans: its founder Charles Bean. A man of great artistic integrity, Waller necessarily drew upon his experiences in Europe as both a combatant and artist to evolve the principles of a medieval aesthetic to the contemporary context. By reimagining a commemorative convention established by patrons and trade firms during the war, Waller made the AIF the symbol for its own sacrifice and allegorised Christ's Passion in the South, West and East Windows of the Hall of Memory. Assuming a complex series of symbolic identities related to religious and architectural relationships, *Devotion* became intimately associated with female sacrifice in many forms. This, in conjunction with the identity of the

woman he based the nurse on, ensured that the artist never named her – or others – as his models for the windows of the national war memorial.

Chapter Five examines the influences leading to Australian and British trade firms locating the army nurse as an integrated part of the armed services in commemorative lights installed following World War II. Three major windows commissioned by rural, regional and metropolitan churches in NSW include among them a Catholic parish. Congregations, clergy and artisans again looked to the past to remember the present and reveal that doctrinal differences contributed little to the overall philosophy of commemoration. A different war resulted in very different experiences for the modern army nurse when she earned her commemorative stripes in much the same manner as the AIF did a generation earlier; with a death toll that shocked a nation. With service and sacrifice staged primarily against a regional rather than imperial threat, women became an integral part of the war effort. Unlike a generation earlier, they also wielded more influence overtly – and subliminally – over decisions pertaining to subject matter in commemorative lights. As a result, the nurse experienced competition for her presence in some windows. But it was her masculine and active experiences – death in action, experience as a prisoner of war (POW) and victim of war atrocities – that privileged the army nurse’s depiction in stained glass over that of other service women.

Trade firms provided communities with a service akin to that of the stonemason’s soldier; affordable but generic.<sup>80</sup> Necessarily constrained by an apprenticeship concentrating on technical rather than creative skills, some artisans frequently focussed upon imagery readily accessible in the public domain as sources of inspiration for the lights they designed. Artists acquired a theoretical and philosophical underpinning of their *oeuvre* courtesy of a classical art education and this was reflected in windows they were commissioned to execute. The final chapter of this thesis examines how men who painted with light progressively smashed the [stained] glass ceiling of Australian commemoration with their depiction of the nurse following World War II. Starting with an analysis of the AANS in Australian newspapers and periodicals during World War II, Chapter Six shows how censorship both exploited and censured the modern nurse based on her experiences at war. Yet despite the absence of a clinical presence during conflict, the three windows studied in this chapter show the nurse

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<sup>80</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 154-57.

nursing, an activity far removed from that documented publicly. These artists pushed back the boundaries of commemoration based on their philosophical beliefs and positioned the nurse as an independent and dynamic participant in war. But one man comprehensively shattered the prevailing aesthetic of commemorative art. Drawing upon his own experiences of combat and sacrifice – and in the wake of his AWM windows – Napier Waller created a scheme of lights that subverted the dominant masculine narrative of civic memorialisation. No longer constrained by religious allegory but nevertheless using his complex symbolism, he positioned the nurse as man's ultimate symbol of redemption by portraying his own physical and emotional recovery from war in the windows of one suburban Melbourne church.

As Bart Ziino writes, the study of Australia's memorial practices 'must now probe beyond the strictly public and civic.'<sup>81</sup> Depicting the nurse in stained glass frequently shared many similarities. At other times it occurred through a stroke of luck while leadership or skill was sometimes required to ensure her presence – or conceal an identity – whether it be within an Allied or AIF context. But regardless of the war it remembered or the strategy deployed, the image she portrayed – that of the *Martial Madonna*; the allegorical Virgin Mary of the Australian armed forces – contested the prevailing narratives of remembrance from the very moment she first appeared in stained glass.

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<sup>81</sup> Ziino, "Claiming the Dead," 145.



## Chapter One

### Forgetting to remember: commemorating the Australian Army Nursing Service following World War I

This chapter examines the absence of the AANS from the iconography of local war memorials built during and after World War I. This absence has led to accusations that the wartime contribution of women – as nurses – was overlooked in the rush to build monuments celebrating the masculine contribution to war.<sup>1</sup> Catherine Speck observes that war memorials have ‘taken on landmark qualities as public sculpture’ since the war and this is supported most visibly by the entry of a bronze of the figurative group of George W. Lambert’s *Geelong Grammar School War Memorial* (2007) into the collection of the National Gallery of Australia (NGA) in the past decade.<sup>2</sup> Speck warns that as these memorials embody and perpetuate masculine achievements during conflict, they fail to recognise women – such as nurses – who also contributed in significant ways to the nation’s war effort. A sentiment echoed by others, it helps shape the public’s view of war as something that happens only to men.<sup>3</sup> Some attribute the figurative omission of the nurse from monuments to the absence of a local nurse heroine like Edith Cavell, a British civilian nurse executed as a spy by the Germans in 1915.<sup>4</sup> Kirsty Harris writes that the nurses themselves may not have pushed for public recognition given the emotional legacy some carried.<sup>5</sup>

Assigning these post-modern critiques to the figurative absence of nurses from Australia’s war memorials risks misinterpreting a memorial’s original purpose and meaning. Subsequent generations interpret war memorials in light of their own experiences, perceptions and values and herein exists a tension between past and present.<sup>6</sup> The focus on the nurse’s sculptural absence from local war memorials suggests that some now view the figurative aspect of a monument as its most significant component. By exploring the reasons many communities erected an idealised male form as an element of their war memorial, this chapter examines why the figure of a nurse was incapable

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<sup>1</sup> Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 130; Monk, "Gender in the Landscape," 124; Goodman, *Our War Nurses*, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 130; NGA: 2008.167.

<sup>3</sup> Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 130; Monk, "Gender in the Landscape," 124; Cooper, "Textual Territories": 406; Deborah Edwards, *Lyndon Dadswell 1908-1986* (Glebe: Wild & Woolley, 1992), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Goodman, *Our War Nurses*, 108-09.

<sup>5</sup> Kirsty Harris, *More Than Bombs and Bandages: Australian Army Nurses at Work in World War I* (Newport: Big Sky Publishing, 2011), 184-5.

<sup>6</sup> Hynes, "Personal Narratives and Commemoration," 206.



of serving the same monumental purpose as that of an infantryman. It also demonstrates that her service or, in a small number of cases, sacrifice, was not ignored or overlooked by the nation but simply expressed in different ways.

From the beginning of the war, members of the AANS were remembered equally alongside servicemen on a number of other memorial forms embraced across the country. By using honour boards and avenues of honour in concert with newspaper reportage and church archival data from the period, examination and analysis reveals the inclusive nature of communal commemorative practices that established the foundations for the nurse's remembrance on local monuments following the war. However, while some privileged the name of a nurse, they were not necessarily adopted in a uniform manner by every community. Other factors emerge to challenge the belief that the gender or non-combatant status of the nurse influenced her exclusion from the plaques affixed to monuments by some committees. Equally, the economy of sacrifice – financial power asserted by remembrance – could exert a commanding influence.

This chapter also considers how the frameworks of collective memory were already well under construction by the time the steel scaffolds of an iconic bridge united high above Sydney's glittering harbor in August 1930.<sup>7</sup> Despite the earlier subversive behaviour of one powerful ex-service group, four years later Sydney's Anzac Memorial housed the AANS' commemorative form, as did Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance. Re-analysis of these monuments demonstrates that the experience of their artists proved integral to how the nurse was portrayed in stone. In Sydney, and contrary to popular opinion, the army nurse was not marginalised. But despite her powerful depiction, a semantic diversion relegated her back to the prevailing image of passive maternal nurturer rather than active participant in war. In a case of 'smoke and mirrors' that lasted eight decades, reinterpretation of the art of memory reveals not only a new image of wartime nursing – the *Regimental Nurse* – but the decoy deployed to ensure that she and her stone 'Sisters' did not contest the supremacy of the idealised Anzac form.

### **Local war memorials: imagery and iconography**

In many cases, names were the most important component of a memorial when it was erected; the names of the fallen and, frequently, those who volunteered to serve. A monument's structure simply

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<sup>7</sup> Martin Terry, "Modern Destinations," in *Sydney Moderns: Art for a New World*, eds. Deborah Edwards and Denise Mimocchi (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2013), 132.

provided a location for their carriage.<sup>8</sup> Representing the physical embodiment of grief for those who had need to build them, war memorials were principally places of mourning – surrogate gravesites – and not political statements about gender relationships during war.<sup>9</sup> The absence of the nurse's figure from the local war memorial erected in towns and suburbs across Australia had much to do with the functions that its iconography needed to fulfil. Memorialisation from previous conflicts centred on bravery and heroism but the vast loss of life experienced in the industrialised warfare of World War I saw monuments shift their imagery to sacrifice as a way of helping a nation mediate its grief.<sup>10</sup> Only a handful of Australian communities mourned a nurse among the ranks of those who volunteered whereas the loss of menfolk was staggering: twenty-one women compared to 60,000 men. The vast majority of towns, cities and suburbs did not mourn a nurse while some did not even send one to war. Hence, a considerable number of memorials depicted statues of a lone soldier – there existed no room for other figures – when they became the most popular choice of memorial second only to the obelisk (Figure 1.1).<sup>11</sup> That the majority portrayed infantrymen was unsurprising.<sup>12</sup> Commencing at Gallipoli, where the infantry stormed ashore that morning of 25 April 1915, it was the infantry who endured the bulk of fighting and dying during World War I.<sup>13</sup> In order to help mediate its losses, Australia needed to remember its sacrifice in an idealised form, and for grieving communities that form needed to be male. In respect to symbolising the human cost of war, a nurse was never capable of providing the same comfort and local memorials simply denied members of the AANS form in preference to men who had 'sacrificed' their lives for their King and country in inordinately large numbers.

In representing a local community's sacrifice, the statue of a soldier, just like the funereal form of the obelisk (removed from its common context of the cemetery), fulfilled another important role and it was again one the nurse could not: he clearly defined the memorial's purpose as a place to mourn a community's war dead. The army nurse was described in terms of the feminine role of mother both in Australia and abroad during World War I and this tends to support the belief that memorialisation was structured along the gendered segregation of service and sacrifice: males, as active participants in conflict, marched away to kill or be killed while women waited at home or

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<sup>8</sup> Thomas W. Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 163; Ziino, *A Distant Grief*, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 118; Ziino, *A Distant Grief*, 137.

<sup>10</sup> Deborah Edwards, "Race, Death and Gender in the Anzac Memorial," *Art and Australia* (Winter 1991): 78; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 130.

<sup>11</sup> Edwards, "Race, Death and Gender," 78; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 130.

<sup>12</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 155.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 157; C.E.W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War 1914-18* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1929), 3: 247-67.



**Figure 1.1:** Hamilton War Memorial, Newcastle, NSW. Author's image.

nursed the wounded.<sup>14</sup> This suggests that Australian society observed a taxonomy of remembrance that was masculine-based and therefore excluded the nurse. However, the nation's citizenry embraced the memory of its nurses within its commemorative practices during and in the years immediately following the conflict. It was subsequent generations who forgot to remember the service – and sacrifice – of the AIF nurse.

### **In the name of a nurse**

While it is suggested that 'no appropriate form of memory' exists for the nurses who served in the AIF, their names appear on a number of local memorials.<sup>15</sup>

While the AANS composed approximately 0.7 per cent of the AIF, around ten per cent of the nation's local World War I memorials register the names of nurses.<sup>16</sup>

The memory of Australia's nurses was incorporated into the monumental form after the war. In addition, honour boards compiled by hospitals where nurses trained and worked, or the churches where they worshipped, provided another important site for their commemoration.<sup>17</sup> Their names can also be found on boards located in a variety of other institutions around Australia, including schools, municipal buildings and the foyers of government structures.

While many communities regarded a nurse's service as equal to a soldier's, some memorial committees nevertheless had difficulty reconciling the dichotomy between 'soldier' and 'nurse' and failed to name the women on their monuments.<sup>18</sup> However, the reasons for their omission were not always as unequivocal as the semantics of a word. The Victorian city of Ballarat established its premier memorial – an avenue of honour – in 1917 when 500 women from a local textile factory raised money to honour the men and nurses of the district who enlisted to serve abroad. Avenues

<sup>14</sup> Deborah Edwards, *'This Vital Flesh': The Sculpture of Rayner Hoff and his School* (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW, 1999), 80; Daniel Raynaud, "Convention and Contradiction: Representation of Women in Australian War Films, 1914-1918," *Australian Historical Studies* 113 (1999): 220; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 145; Margaret H. Darrow, "French Volunteer Nursing and the Myth of the War Experience in World War I," *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (1996): 84; Homes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters", 44.

<sup>15</sup> Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 130.

<sup>16</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 177.

<sup>17</sup> Harris, "Work, Work, Work," 188.

<sup>18</sup> Inglis, "Men, Women and War Memorials," 37; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 177-78.

were also planted as memorials in other States after the war. A pledge of £500 was made to plant ‘an avenue of trees from Glenelg to Keswick [in SA] in memory of soldiers, sailors and nurses who have died on active service’ in early 1919.<sup>19</sup> Ballarat’s avenue of over 3,700 trees still stretches twenty-two kilometres and remains the longest planted in Australia.<sup>20</sup> It might have been longer had the political rivalries evident among the city’s six separate municipalities not resulted in the planting of nine separate avenues of honour during the war.<sup>21</sup> In three of them, a total of sixty-seven saplings were planted in ‘memory of the nurses who had gone to the Front from Ballarat to care for the sick and wounded soldiers.’<sup>22</sup> In a fourth avenue, trees to two nurses were positioned alongside those to distinguished Australian and British Commanders for ‘Services rendered to the Nation.’<sup>23</sup>



**Figure 1.2:** A Sister’s Sacrifice. Gertrude E. Munro: tree 977, Ballarat Avenue of Honour. The Maltese Cross signifies Sister Munro’s status as one of Ballarat’s fallen. Author’s image.

At least twenty per cent of local nurses who served in the AIF are missing from Ballarat’s avenues.<sup>24</sup> The city clearly did not have a concern commemorating the service, or sacrifice, of its nurses and the absence of these names suggests that, apart from gender, other reasons for their omission existed (Figure 1.2). Sister Edith Popplewell trained at the Ballarat Hospital and enlisted in the NZANS. Unlike the families of other locals who served in allied forces, her mother, a Ballarat resident during the war when the avenues were established, failed to elect

<sup>19</sup> *Barrier Miner*, 12 February 1919, 2.

<sup>20</sup> City of Ballarat, *The Ballarat Arch of Victory & Avenue of Honour Heritage Information Guide* (Ballarat: City of Ballarat, c.2007).

<sup>21</sup> Michael Taffe, "Victoria's Avenues of Honour to the Great War Lost to the Landscape" (Honours thesis, University of Melbourne, 2006), 14.

<sup>22</sup> *Ballarat Courier*, 13 August 1917, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Sebastopol Avenue of Honour List*, c.1920, RSL: Sebastopol Sub-branch; *Ballarat North Avenue of Honour List*, 1927: Central Highlands Regional Library, Ballarat; "Souvenir of the Ballarat East Avenue of Honor," (Ballarat: Baxter & Stubbs, 1918); *Ballarat Courier*, 13 August 1917, 2; *Argus*, 13 August 1917, 9.

<sup>24</sup> As of November 2015, an ongoing survey of these honour boards has located a total of eighty-five nurses in the Ballarat area who served in the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF.

her daughter for inclusion. Interestingly, she also chose not to memorialise Edith's brother, who perished as a member of the AIF at Gallipoli, with a tree.<sup>25</sup> Thirty per cent of male parishioners listed on the Ballarat Congregational Church's honour board where the Popplewell family worshipped are also absent from the avenues. Boards located in churches of several denominations in central Ballarat indicate that between twenty and forty-five per cent of the men named on them did not have trees planted in their name in the city's avenues. Civic commemoration, at least in Ballarat, did not appeal to the entire community and while this offers another possibility for the omission of nurses' names from some Australian memorials, it also raises new questions about the willingness of families to support their local war effort by naming their men – and nurses – publicly during the conflict.

Communities began using honour boards to identify those who enlisted soon after the war began and are regarded as one of the earliest forms of memorialisation.<sup>26</sup> Often commencing as temporary artefacts capable of being updated as more men – and women – enlisted, a large number of boards were arranged alphabetically after the war when a community's involvement was finalised.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes they were regarded as works-in-progress with years and names added as the war proceeded; the NSW Department of Health's honour board was compiled in such a manner. It contained the names of many nurses, including Dorothy Cawood.<sup>28</sup> She also appeared on another at Parramatta Town Hall. Hence, a nurse's name frequently appeared in more than one context and demonstrated the multiple roles she fulfilled in her community: clinician, citizen and parishioner. Amy Bembrick featured on a parish board at the Methodist Church, Epping, and among those honouring 'Epping Men' erected at the local railway station; the latter's committee simply ignoring the semantics of war to include a nurse.<sup>29</sup> Boards also demonstrated the professional mobility of nurses; Rosa Quarterman, whose family worshipped at St John's Church of England, Toorak, featured on the honour roll incorporated into the façade of the church. She was also listed on honour boards at St Peter's, Eastern Hill, close to the (now Royal) Melbourne Hospital where she trained, as well as St Peter's Church of England close to the Ballarat Hospital where she was engaged as its

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<sup>25</sup> *Western Argus*, 8 January 1918, 16; David Holloway, "Ballarat's Avenue of Honour for the Family Historian," *Ancestor* (Summer 1991-92): 16.

<sup>26</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 101-02.

<sup>27</sup> St Jude's Anglican Church, Randwick, NSW, kept a temporary honour board on which 350 names were recorded by July 1918. The church announced that the names would be 'properly recorded' on a carved oak reredos once the war was over: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 July 1918, 6. Also see also: Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 102; Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 194-95.

<sup>28</sup> Nursing and Medical Museum, Prince Henry Hospital, Little Bay, NSW.

<sup>29</sup> I thank Darryl Lightfoot for drawing my attention to these boards. The Epping Board is now located in the Epping Arts Centre.

Matron.<sup>30</sup> Like war memorials, honour boards demonstrate the often inclusive nature of memorialisation in Australia. They signify the ease with which a nurse was integrated into the commemorative practice of established communities even though her participation in those communities may have been transitory both before and during the war.

Nurses were often distinguished from other enlistees on such boards and given special privileges. Some interpret the habit of relegating members of the nursing service to the base of boards as an ‘afterthought.’<sup>31</sup> Nothing could be further from the truth. Several privileges clearly distinguished nurses from soldiers courtesy of their gender and vocation. Frequently their professional title – ‘Sister’ or ‘Matron’ – differentiated them from the men while the courtesy of a first as well as a surname was often extended. This was economically significant when stone formed the basis of a board as chiselling of such details would have incurred extra expense. Nurses were often assigned their own area of a board and while this frequently occurred towards the base and was likely to be titled ‘Nurses’ or ‘Sisters’, it was not always the case: three ‘Nurses’ were listed alphabetically among soldiers on the honour board at St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church in Wollongong while in Scots Church, Collins Street, Melbourne, eight nurses preceded men on the board in the entrance to the church.<sup>32</sup> Conventions such as these were likewise adopted on many war memorials following the war.

In 1918, at the unveiling of an honour board at Glenmore State School in Queensland, a local Alderman stated that ‘he was very proud that its women were represented in the army nursing service. He noticed on the board [of fifteen former students] the names of two nurses.’<sup>33</sup> In private girls’ schools of the period, honour boards dedicated to alumni became rolls of nursing service: Methodist Ladies’ College (MLC), Melbourne, ensured that the service of its former students was not marginalised when it dedicated its honour board to the ‘STUDENTS of THIS COLLEGE who have in this war done honourable service as nurses AT THE FRONT.’ Amy Bembrick’s name

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<sup>30</sup> It is likely Quartermaster worshipped at St Peter’s during her training. She assumed the position of Matron at Ballarat Hospital in 1912. Harris, *More Than Bombs and Bandages*, 251; H. W Menadue, *Ballarat Base Hospital: Register of the Nurse Training School 1888 - 1988* (Ballarat: Ballarat Base Hospital Trained Nurses’ League, 1993), 102.

<sup>31</sup> Goodman, *Our War Nurses*, 108.

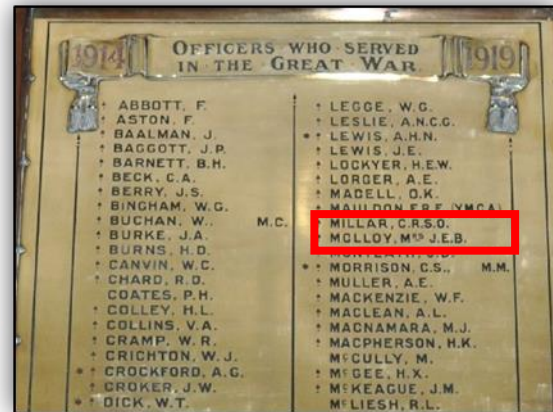
<sup>32</sup> The NSW Department of Health Board constructed during the war shows the women defined as ‘Nurse.’ Likewise, this consideration can also be seen afforded to clergymen and doctors who were indicated by the abbreviation REV and DOC respectively. Three examples of the former can be seen on the honour board at Christ Church Cathedral, Ballarat, while the latter is evident on the NSW Department of Health Board. Very rarely ‘Teacher’ is seen on an honour board in a school context. However, a professional title in combination with the other considerations extended to nurses is not often characterised in the naming of men on honour boards or war memorials.

<sup>33</sup> *Morning Bulletin*, 27 April 1918, 10.

appeared as the first of eleven names on the board at MLC, Sydney (Figure 1.3).<sup>34</sup> However, assignment of a professional title could be denied to a nurse when her pre-war occupation excluded a clinical role; Jane Molloy was employed as a clerk in the offices of the Land Titles Office, Sydney, before enlisting with the AANS. She was still differentiated from the men but simply titled ‘Mrs Molloy, J.E.B.’ on the Registrar General’s Board in the building’s foyer (Figure 1.4). This was despite promotion to Matron and being decorated for nursing service during the conflict.<sup>35</sup>



**Figure 1.3:** Honour board, MLC, Sydney. Image courtesy of Mylee Angelo.



**Figure 1.4:** Honour board (detail). Land Titles Office, Sydney. Author’s image.

While nurse’s names were differentiated from those of men, it was another class of name that was privileged above all others on the honour board, avenue and, ultimately, the civic war memorial. From the very earliest boards, many used a small Maltese cross, or sometimes a tiny crown, to indicate the fallen. In churches, a tiny cross was often used. Often a hierarchy of death developed whereby those who fell in battle were distinguished by initials or symbols indicating those ‘Killed In Action’ from those who later ‘Died of Wounds’ or perished from non-martial causes.<sup>36</sup> A nurse’s death might be couched in terms of sacrifice but it was the sacrificial battlefield death that was privileged over all others.<sup>37</sup> While it could be argued that her gender or role during the war as a non-combatant might exclude a nurse from monuments privileging only the fallen, a memorial in NSW proves this was not necessarily the case.

<sup>34</sup> I thank MLC archivists Judy Donnelly (Melbourne) and Mylee Angelo (Sydney) for alerting me to these honour boards.

<sup>35</sup> NAA: B2455, MOLLOY JANE ELIZABETH BURBRIDGE. I thank Rosemary Sempell for bringing this board to my attention.

<sup>36</sup> An example of a board using KIA and DOW can be seen at the Uniting Church in Indooroopilly, Qld. One using K and DW is located in the Ithaca Presbyterian Church, Ithaca Qld.

<sup>37</sup> Marina Larsson, "A Disenfranchised Grief: Post-War Death and Memorialisation in Australia after the First World War " *Australian Historical Studies* 40 (2009): 79.

In line with a practice to evolve on 43.5 per cent of Australian war memorials, Wentworth Falls, NSW, elected to name only its war dead.<sup>38</sup> It listed the fallen alongside their location of death and included a nurse in the tally. ‘STR [Sister] Winifred Starling’, an Australian serving with the QAIMNSR was lost ‘At Sea’ when the ship on which she was travelling was torpedoed and sunk by the Germans off the coast of Ireland in October 1918.<sup>39</sup> By marking its nurse’s death in the same manner as its men, Wentworth Falls again demonstrated the inclusive nature of memorialisation in Australia. Starling’s gender and vocation were of no consequence to this memorial committee. A non-combatant whose death was the result of hostile action, it was her sacrifice that mattered. The committee expressed this by regarding her death as being on equal terms as those of the men on their memorial (Figure 1.5). Wentworth Falls was not unique in its action; as will be shown in Chapter Two, other communities likewise recognised the sacrifice of their nurse equally alongside that of men.



**Figure 1.5:** The fallen of Wentworth Falls. This monument is unusual in that it listed a high level of detail for all of the fallen. Author’s image.

### **The ascendancy of the economy of war**

While many communities perceived sacrifice as the primary focus of their remembrance practices, sometimes mundane practicalities dictated the final form a monument took and therefore excluded the AANS by virtue of its mercifully low mortality rate. In October 1921, architects, sculptors and monumental masons were invited to submit designs to the Hurstville Soldiers, Sailors and Nurses’

<sup>38</sup> This figure is obtained from the data listed as per note 172 on page 601 of Inglis, *Sacred Places*. The figure for monuments lacking data has been excluded and the remaining data used as a representative sample to determine the percentage of monuments dedicated to the fallen only. See also: Inglis and Phillips, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand," 186; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 174.

<sup>39</sup> AWM 1DRL/0428; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1925, 10. I thank David Rodin for initial assistance with this and other NSW memorials and also to Sydney Church of England Girls’ Grammar School, Darlinghurst, archivist Prue Heath for alerting me to a memorial to Winifred Starling in the school’s chapel.



War Memorial Committee, Sydney.<sup>40</sup> But when dedicated in May 1922, the memorial bore the names of only soldiers.<sup>41</sup> Realising none of its nurses perished in the conflict, calls for names for the monument were limited to men of the district.<sup>42</sup> Monuments dedicated only to the dead resolved the issue of finding space for the many additional names of those who served.<sup>43</sup> With the money saved from carving or casting those names, a more impressive memorial could be built. This was exemplified in the experience of one church.

During the war, a timber board capable of carrying several hundred names cost approximately £16 with a sign-writer charging around one shilling and sixpence per name.<sup>44</sup> In December 1918, St James' Church of England, Phillip Street, Sydney, announced it would 'perpetuate the memory of the many brave men of the parish and the nurses who have fallen in the war by erecting an open air pulpit' along with an honour board 'naming all soldiers and nurses from the parish who have gone on active service.'<sup>45</sup> The pulpit failed to gain the support of the Archbishop but, as with most Protestant churches, its congregation embraced the honour board. In October 1919, the rector approached a Sydney Art Committee established to provide advice on war memorials.<sup>46</sup> Architect and artist William Hardy Wilson suggested 'a very simple wall panel in bronze' and recommended it be cast in England as 'there are no sculptors in Australia able to produce [such] a beautiful panel.'<sup>47</sup> It cost around £750.<sup>48</sup> This limited the board's size and carriage to the forty-two names of the fallen. Of the 250 members of the congregation who served abroad, sixteen were members of the AANS and all returned to Australia.<sup>49</sup> For 'an increased price' a larger board accommodating all who served could be cast.<sup>50</sup> However, parishioners subsequently declined the offer. The economy of sacrifice clearly privileged the male in this situation. But, while nurses were denied recognition of their service on memorial forms listing only the dead, so too were returned servicemen.

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<sup>40</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*: 14 October 1921, 7 and 26 November 1921, 14.

<sup>41</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1922, 8.

<sup>42</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February 1922, 10.

<sup>43</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 173.

<sup>44</sup> *Morning Bulletin*, 26 July 1917; Contract Book, Louis Williams' Papers (LWP), Box 47, MS10990, SLV.

<sup>45</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 December 1918, 7. See also *Monthly Church Messenger*, December 1918.

<sup>46</sup> Minutes of Special Meeting, 11 March 1920, Box 24, Item 13, St James' Parish Archives (SJPA), Sydney.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson to F.J. Wilcoxson, 14 October 1919, Rector's Correspondence 1917-1919, Box 15, Item 5, SJPA.

<sup>48</sup> Minutes of Special Meeting, 11 March 1920, Box 24, Item 13, SJPA.

<sup>49</sup> Roll of Honour, Box 71, Item 30, SJPA.

<sup>50</sup> Minutes of Special Meeting, 11 March 1920, Box 24, Item 13, SJPA. The honour board hangs in the entrance to the Church.

### **‘Sisters are Soldiers as men are’<sup>51</sup>**

Kirsty Harris suggests that the trauma of the war and the immense emotional cost of caring for its casualties may have contributed to the nurse’s absence from the nation’s commemorative landscape as she deliberately shied away from seeking a presence.<sup>52</sup> Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or Shell Shock as it was then known, affected military nurses as well as soldiers and may well be one reason some nurses did not pursue recognition in monumental form.<sup>53</sup> In addition, the Nightingale model of nurse training used in Australia inculcated in its novices a culture of humility that actively discouraged any form of self-glorification.<sup>54</sup> Nursing was perceived as a quasi-religious vocation through which hard work, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty provided its own reward.<sup>55</sup> Seeking further recognition through overt displays of memorialisation would have been perceived as the antithesis of ethical behaviour in the eyes of many nurses. This is not to suggest that the nurses were not proud of their service. In March 1919, a minor war of words erupted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* when a veteran of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion complained that imitations of the Mons Star – a decoration he declared to be a ‘coveted honour to the soldiers who fought so gallantly at Gallipoli’ – were being worn illegitimately:

Women have been seen wearing the colours, showing that it is possible for the small sum of 1/6 for any individual to purchase this honour of the Anzacs. The eligibles who did not go, and other unscrupulous beings, can parade this continent with the feeling that by wearing the coveted badge, they can blind the public to their want of courage and loyalty to and for the Empire ... the name Anzac is sacred, and must be held so for all time.<sup>56</sup>

Two returned nurses responded to the slur inherent in his accusation with one, Sister Laffin, replying sharply that:

the “women” he mentions ... are undoubtedly members of the Australian Army Nursing Service, and perhaps many of them may have seen more service than he. May I also point out that the coveted decoration is not merely for “Anzacs” but for all those serving abroad between the periods 1914–1915, including the nursing sisters ... discharged

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<sup>51</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 1919, 14.

<sup>52</sup> Harris, "Work, Work, Work," 188-89.

<sup>53</sup> J. Boivin, "New Generation of Army Nurses Won't Suffer PTSD Under General's Watch," *Nurse Week* 12, no. 6 (2005): 18.

<sup>54</sup> Bradshaw, *The Nurse Apprentice*, 18.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 30.

<sup>56</sup> W. Vaughan Edwards, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1919, 4.

nurses also receive a discharge badge issued by the Department of Defence, exactly the same as those supplied to the other ranks. Possibly there are some persons wearing the said riband who are not entitled to it, which I doubt. I am surprised that ... an ex-member of the AIF should need these facts pointed out.<sup>57</sup>

The accuser, reprimanded, offered by reply that ‘nurses are not unscrupulous beings. Sisters are soldiers, as men are,’ an apology made all the more noteworthy when he further revealed that his own sisters were members of the AANS!<sup>58</sup> This exchange suggests that, rather than retreating from their wartime experiences, some nurses, like their male counterparts, wore their service honours with pride on return to Australia, keen to publicly display their veteran status and identify with the community of returned AIF.

In Sister Laffin’s reply it is evident that she, as a returned nurse, did not identify with ‘Anzac’: she perceived that the term applied to those present at Gallipoli. After the war, newspaper reports related to Anzac Day emphasised the contribution made by the men who participated in the Gallipoli campaign. The rhetoric that was developing around 25 April primarily celebrated them and the sacrifice of the AIF in particular: the *Brisbane Courier* extolled: ‘Was not the day created by the shedding of blood of Australia’s most cherished sons for the whole nation ... the precious sacrifice of young life so freely given, so eagerly laid down.’<sup>59</sup> In 1922 The *Sydney Morning Herald* lauded ‘the deeds of those who died and lived through the epic of Gallipoli will gain enhancement as the years pass.’<sup>60</sup> The same year, Parliamentary Undersecretary Walter Marks told staff and patients at the Prince of Wales Military Hospital, Randwick, that ‘the landing of the Australians at the Dardanelles was the birth of the Australian nation’, a sentiment echoed in a speech made by Brigadier General McGlenn several miles away in Vaucluse, Sydney.<sup>61</sup> Nurses were rarely visible in these reports. When they did appear it was often in relation to their transport in cars alongside disabled soldiers. In one case, an ambiguously worded account of a parade recorded ‘about 50 cars ... containing limbless men and army nurses’ preceding the bodies of marching men.<sup>62</sup> Reports of nurses having anything but passive roles in the pageantry occasionally surfaced: in 1930, in the

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<sup>57</sup> N. A. Laffin, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 March, 1919, 10; ‘Mons Star,’ letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 March 1919, 10. Nellie Laffin was far from an ‘unscrupulous being.’ Serving on Lemnos under her maiden name of Pike, she was entitled to wear the decoration. Evidence of her marriage to Charles Laffin can be found in his service file: NAA: B2455, LAFFIN CHARLES GEORGE.

<sup>58</sup> W. Vaughan Edwards, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 1919, 14.

<sup>59</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 26 April 1919, 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 April 1922, 11.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 13.

<sup>62</sup> *Register*, 27 April 1925, 11. See also: *Western Mail*, 4 May 1917, 26; *Brisbane Courier*, 27 April 1920, 7; *Argus*, 2 April 1930, 10. No army nurses returned from World War I missing limbs.

parade led by Sir John Monash in Melbourne, '25,000 returned soldiers, naval men and a number of army nurses, who had been on active service abroad, marched through the crowded city streets.'<sup>63</sup>

Australian nurses may have felt disenfranchised from masculinity of the burgeoning Anzac identity and this offers another explanation for their reluctance to actively seek prominence in memorialisation. After the war nursing remained an internally focussed, semi-closed community subject to its own rituals and customs.<sup>64</sup> But whereas nursing bodies in other Commonwealth countries unveiled monuments to their war dead, Australia's did not. The Canadian Nurses' Association unveiled a sculpture to their forty-nine war dead in a prominent position in their nation's capital, Ottawa, in 1926.<sup>65</sup> It is telling that one small and discrete memorial lobbied for by returned sisters of the AANS was unveiled in a subterranean chamber beneath Queensland's State monument in 1932.<sup>66</sup> A plaque nestled among the many larger memorials dedicated to men, it does not call attention to itself. Like the women it commemorated, its presence was understated.

### **The State Monuments of Sydney and Melbourne**

The focus of imagery on many local memorials after World War I centred on mediating the memory of sacrifice in battle. Privileging beautiful and familiar male forms, they denied the nurse a figurative presence. The monuments in the nation's capitals were built to recognise the service as well as the sacrifice of a State's citizenry.<sup>67</sup> Compared to local war memorials, they were larger and possessed the capacity to accommodate a greater number of figures; this is where the nurse found her commemorative form. The completion of Victoria's Shrine of Remembrance and NSW's Anzac Memorial in 1934 both included the AANS. The monuments of Tasmania, SA, WA and Queensland assumed no figurative reference to service personnel. However, a bas-relief carved into the base of Queensland's monument in 1931 featured a nurse.<sup>68</sup> The national monument – the AWM in Canberra – opened in 1941 with its commemorative component – the Hall of Memory – completed eighteen years later.<sup>69</sup> It incorporated the image of an AIF nurse in its stained glass windows and is the focus of Chapter Four.

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<sup>63</sup> *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 26 April 1930, 5.

<sup>64</sup> Judith Godden, *Australia's Controversial Matron: Gwen Burbidge and Nursing Reform* (Burwood: The College of Nursing, 2011), 9.

<sup>65</sup> Kathryn McPherson, "Carving out a Past: The Canadian Nurses' Association War Memorial," *Histoire Sociale* 58 (1996): 419.

<sup>66</sup> *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 26 February 1932, 4.

<sup>67</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 266-67.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>69</sup> Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit* (St Lucia: University of Queensland, 1991), 2, 219.

The nurses in the Shrine of Remembrance and Anzac Memorial attract a degree of criticism with their depiction perceived as maternal in contrast to their contribution as active participants in war.<sup>70</sup> The maternal image is one that proved both advantageous and problematic to the AANS. Katie Holmes postulates that the maternal role was one actively fostered by the women as a strategy to desexualise themselves and 'their boys' in the highly masculinised milieu of war. Endowing them with the ability to exert authority over the men of the AIF via the power of the maternal, it facilitated their role in a male-dominated environment.<sup>71</sup> But ascribing a maternal image to the AANS also attributed to them a passivity that failed to recognise their active participation in the war.<sup>72</sup> This was evident in the words of Her Excellency Lady Munro-Ferguson who, while dedicating a nurses' honour board in SA in 1917, referred to nurses as 'substitutes for the love and devotion of far-away mothers ... bringing into the hospital those touches of home which did so much to calm the nerves of shattered soldiers.'<sup>73</sup> Sentimentality such as this shielded Australians from the reality of the injuries being suffered by the AIF, thus contributing to home-front morale. It also reflected common stereotypes held of the nurse at a time when the conflict continued in Europe.<sup>74</sup>

Another facet of Munro-Ferguson's speech that tapped directly into the maternal vein was the association with domesticity then inherent to nursing practice. Relegating the abilities of nurses at the front to those of 'happy homemakers' supported the traditionally-held belief that nursing prepared girls for the more important roles of marriage and motherhood.<sup>75</sup> One historian listed 'acquired domesticity' among the qualities that embodied the AANS.<sup>76</sup> It is telling that of the ten photographs featuring the AANS in the twelve volume *Official Histories of Australia in the War of 1914 -18*, two depict nurses performing the domestic-related activities of taking tea and doing laundry. None portray members of the AANS actively engaged in nursing sick and wounded men.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Carden-Coyne, "Gendering Death and Renewal," 45.

<sup>71</sup> Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 48; Darrow, "French Volunteer Nursing," 84; Caroline Acton, "Negotiating Injury and Masculinity in First World War Nurse's Writing," in *First World War Nursing*, eds. Alison S. Fell, and Christine E. Hallett (New York: Routledge, 2013), 128; Alison S. Fell, "Remembering the First World War Nurse in Britain and France," in *First World War Nursing*, eds. Alison S. Fell, and Christine E. Hallett (New York: Routledge, 2013), 188.

<sup>72</sup> Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 131.

<sup>73</sup> *Register*, 18 September 1917, 5.

<sup>74</sup> For the challenges faced by the AANS in the execution of their clinical duties during World War I, see Harris, *More Than Bombs and Bandages*.

<sup>75</sup> Donley and Flaherty, "Strategies for Changing Nursing's Image," 437; Fealy, "The Good Nurse," 651.

<sup>76</sup> A. G Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services 1914 -18* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1943), 3: 585; Kay Whitehead, "Concerning Images of Women in Government Offices in the Early Twentieth Century: What Difference Does Age Make?," *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 127 (2006): 39.

<sup>77</sup> Plate 4 in volume 5 and plate 684 in volume 12 show a group of nurse enjoying tea and doing their laundry respectively: C. E. W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18*, vol. 5 (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1937); C. E. W. Bean and H. S. Gullett, *Official History of Australia in the War 1914 - 18*, vol. 12 (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1923).

When viewing historical images, it is necessary to question what motivated their production.<sup>78</sup> In images showing civilian operating theatres in the early twentieth century, the nurse was depicted in auxiliary roles to the surgeon and her status defined as the *Good Nurse*, obedient and loyal to the needs of medical men while reinforcing her femininity and a future role as wife and mother. Alternatively, the *Angel of Mercy* stereotype, ushered in by Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War, still prevailed in the wake of World War I. Both images cast the nurse as self-sacrificing and devoted to her duty.<sup>79</sup> Images such as these were frequently fostered by hospital administrators and doctors, who were almost invariably men, and who perceived the nurse as ‘subordinate to the [male] physician.’<sup>80</sup> Substitute military historians for hospital administrators and the nurse was likewise viewed as subordinate to the soldier. Although the AANS and its contribution to the war were sometimes recognised, it was through the lens of masculine military attitudes and in the context of societal expectations regarding women and war. However, contrary to current scholarship, the sculptor commissioned to execute the treatment of NSW’s national war memorial clearly did not share these sentiments and he challenged them through his art.

In the 1930s, Sydney was the epicentre of Australian modernity. The streamlined, industrial-inspired aesthetic of Art Deco personified the essence of a bright new age and was embodied in the arches of a bridge spanning the metropolis’s light-filled harbour.<sup>81</sup> Modernism was everywhere and the commemoration of war was not immune to its influence. Winning a competition to design the State’s war memorial, architect C. Bruce Dellit (1898-1942) planned to adorn it with classical figures allegorising the Four Seasons and the Arts of War and Peace, a surprising vision given the building’s modernist lines. English-born artist Rayner Hoff (1894-1937) – recognised by many as the foremost sculptor in Australia at the time – envisaged a contemporary approach with the uniformed and angular figures of the armed forces dominating the monument.<sup>82</sup>

Serving as a combatant with the British forces during the war, Hoff could reflect his own experiences and ideologies in his art and he refused to glorify war.<sup>83</sup> An advocate of Vitalism, an early twentieth-century philosophy postulating life as dependent upon special energies – or life forces – that men and women shared equally, modernism was among the styles that Hoff embraced

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<sup>78</sup> Rima D. Apple, "Image or Reality? Photographs in the History of Nursing," in *Images of Nurses: Perspective from History, Art, and Literature*, ed. A. H Jones (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 41.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 56; Fealy, "The Good Nurse", 48-49.

<sup>80</sup> Apple, "Image or Reality?" 40.

<sup>81</sup> Deborah Edwards and Denise Mimmocchi, "Sydney Moderns," in *Sydney Moderns: Art for a New World*, eds. Deborah Edwards and Denise Mimmocchi (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW, 2013), 16.

<sup>82</sup> Edwards, "Race, Death and Gender," 477.

<sup>83</sup> Edwards, 'This Vital Flesh', 11, 88.

in his art.<sup>84</sup> However, Australia had difficulty accepting more extreme forms of modernism and this was exemplified by the furore erupting over William Dobell's success in the Archibald Prize of 1943 in response to his controversial portrait of Joshua Smith.<sup>85</sup> Hoff experienced his own backlash a decade earlier when his figurative groups for the east and west terraces of the Anzac Memorial – modern interpretations of what many perceived to be the crucifixion of a naked woman – resulted in their exclusion from its design.<sup>86</sup> Hoff depicted many of the nurses on the monument as the equal of servicemen. His former student, Lyndon Dadswell (1908-1986), sculptor of the internal friezes of Melbourne's classically-inspired Shrine of Remembrance, was too young to have served in the conflict. Dadswell possessed no point of reference for the work of army nurses portrayed in the Inner Shrine and his designs were necessarily informed by societal stereotypes or the directives of his patron.<sup>87</sup> His nurses did not benefit, as Hoff's did, from their artist's experience of war.

The politically powerful male-based ex-service organisation – the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (now known as the RSL and referred to henceforth) – lobbied for the monument to form the organisation's State Headquarters.<sup>88</sup> The RSL was influential in shaping powerful public discourses about the Anzac image through the culture of remembrance it helped develop in the wake of the war.<sup>89</sup> However, a women's-based organisation – the Anzac Fellowship of Women – prevailed over them. The bulk of the Memorial was deemed commemorative with only one-seventh of the structure dedicated to offices for returned men.<sup>90</sup> This ratio is significant in respect to the types and locations of sculpture on the memorial. Analysis of the works suggests that Hoff likewise divided the monument's treatment in a similar fashion with six of the seven categories of sculpture – including the omitted terrace groups – committed to the commemorative component (Figure 1.6).

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<sup>84</sup> Simon Blackburn, *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 395.

<sup>85</sup> Mary Eagle, "Dobell, Sir William (1899-1970)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton South: Carlton University Press, 1996), 14: 12; Scott Bevan, *Bill: The Life of William Dobell* (Cammeray: Simon and Schuster, 2014), 99-102.

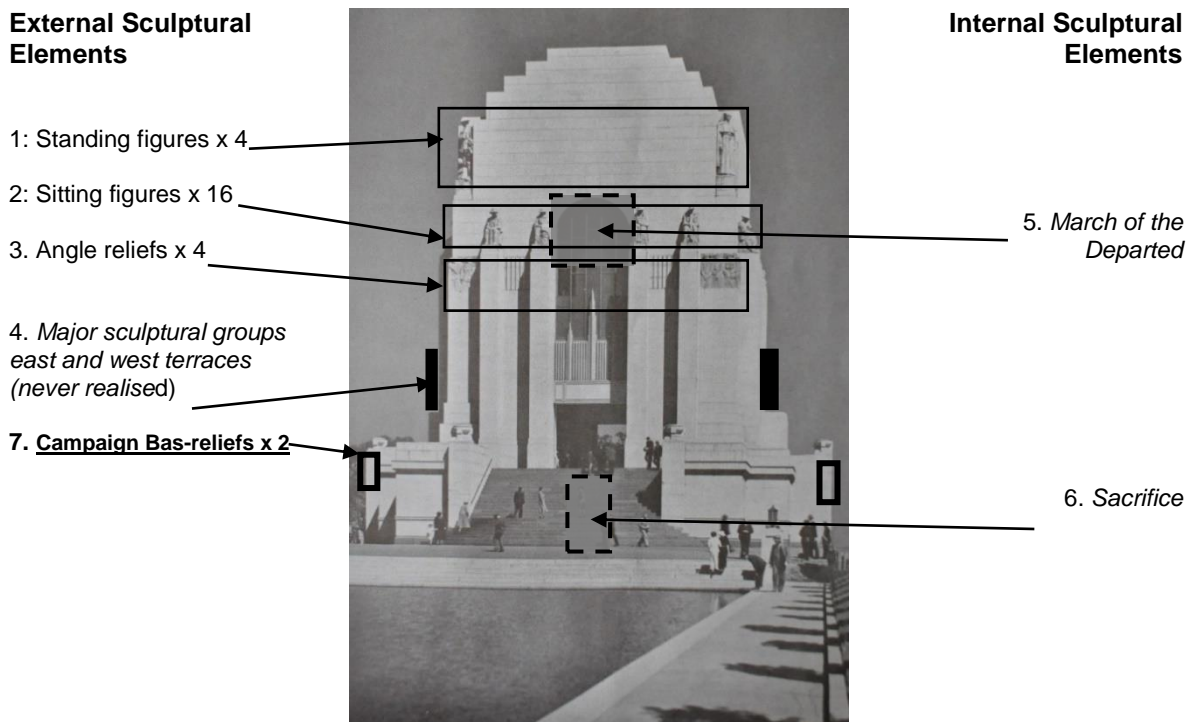
<sup>86</sup> Noel Hutchison, "Hoff, George Rayner (1894-1937)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1983), 9: 323.

<sup>87</sup> Ambrose Pratt and John Barnes, *The National War Memorial of Victoria: The Shrine of Remembrance*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: W. D. Joynt, 1936), 17; Edwards, *Lyndon Dadswell*, 10; Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 122.

<sup>88</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 288.

<sup>89</sup> Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 128.

<sup>90</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 288.



**Figure 1.6:** Sculptural components of the Anzac Memorial: Hoff’s figurative elements located in or on the commemorative component (1-6) and on the utilitarian (7, indicated in **bold font**). Author’s collection.

Comparison of the *Australian Army Medical Corps (AAMC) Frieze* in Melbourne’s Shrine of Remembrance with the *Eastern Bas-relief* on the Anzac Memorial, Sydney reveals two similar yet subtly different images of the AANS. On the former, located in the Inner Shrine, two nurses appear in its background (Figure 1.7). A wounded soldier slumps against his webbing before them. The beauty of the masculine form is preserved: injury is largely implied by his bowed and hatless head, disarray of the normally immaculate AIF uniform and the dynamics of the male stretcher bearer, medic and surgeon. The medical men block the emasculating effect of the nurses by denying them immediate access to the wounded; even the women’s gaze is directed away from him. They have no role other than placing a supportive maternal hand on the stretcher bearer’s equipment or carrying away a bowl and cloth.

The bas-reliefs on the east and west façade of the Anzac Memorial, Sydney, depict the East and West Campaigns fought by the AIF. Located over the entrances to the offices of the ex-service organisations, they comprise one seventh of the monument’s catalogue of sculptural groups. On the eastern façade, a nurse assists a doctor in the care of a wounded Digger by supporting the latter’s arm (Figure 1.8). The logistics of war mill around them. The severity of the soldier’s injury is again implied by bowed head, dishevelled uniform and the blanket covering his body. The nurse and doctor kneel alongside each other but the gaze of both is directed squarely on the wounded man.





**Figure 1.7:** Lyndon Dadswell, *AAMC Frieze*, c.1934. Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne. Author's image.



**Figure 1.8:** Rayner Hoff, *Eastern bas-relief* (detail), 1931-34. Anzac Memorial, Sydney. Author's image.

Any maternal threat the nurse poses to AIF masculinity is balanced by the surgeon assuming the primary role in the care of the soldier, the dominant form of the stretcher bearer standing over her and the overt displays of male virility around them; two warriors behind, one without his shirt, engage in the physically arduous work of war with their abdominals and biceps rippling.

In both sculptures nurses are depicted in subordinate roles to soldiers. In Sydney, at the Anzac Memorial, men assume professional and physical positions of dominance over her. In Melbourne, medical males care exclusively for the wounded and the nurses are assigned a secondary presence. However, in the former, while the doctor is located as the primary care provider, the nurse is nevertheless engaged in her clinical role of caring for her patient. She is much more than the *Good Nurse* here; the muscles in her neck strain while she expertly immobilises a damaged limb. She is part of the primary activity: care of the wounded. Both tableaux were designed to appeal to the male memory of war with soldiers the dominant players of conflict. However, despite her subordinate position, Hoff portrayed his nurse as an active participant in war. In Melbourne, Dadswell's *Good Nurse* passively supports the needs of heroic men.

### **The Anzac Memorial's *Regimental Nurse***

While Hoff was careful to conform to the expectations of those whose offices were housed within the utilitarian component of the monument, he felt no constraints to do so on its commemorative elements. Examination and analysis of three of the other five members of the AANS located in or on its façade further challenge the long-standing maternal stereotype contributing to the nurse's passive image during war.<sup>91</sup> Hoff portrayed these nurses as equal in status to their male comrades. These nurses further dispel the assertion that, as a male artist after the war, Hoff failed to publicly acknowledge the nurse's involvement in a meaningful way.<sup>92</sup>

The largest of Hoff's nurses, a 15 foot *Matron*, occupies a niche high on the north-west corner of the building (Figure 1.9).<sup>93</sup> She is equal in size and status to the Naval, Army and Flying Corps officers dwelling on its other three corners and all four stand with their backs to the building while appearing to survey the grounds below (Figure 1.9). Their positions are hauntingly familiar; four uniformed sentries standing motionless around a memorial structure with heads bowed. They resemble a catafalque guard but without inverted weapons. Catafalque guards are traditionally

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<sup>91</sup> Cooper, "Textual Territories," 412-13; Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 131.

<sup>92</sup> Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 130.

<sup>93</sup> S. Elliot Napier, ed. *The Book of the Anzac Memorial* (Sydney: Anzac Memorial Official Publications, 1934), 48.



**Figure 1.9:** Rayner Hoff, *Standing figure: Matron*, 1931-34. North-West niche, Anzac Memorial, Sydney. Author's image.

mounted by members of the armed services around memorials representing tombs during remembrance ceremonies.<sup>94</sup> While the figures on the Anzac Memorial are shown with symbols of their service rather than weapons – in the *Matron's* case a bandage in one hand and a towel in the other – their similarity to a catafalque guard is compelling. The nurse, as a woman, would never have participated in catafalque guards during World War I or the period thereafter. Hoff was making a powerful statement about her equal and eternal responsibility in guarding the memory of the men she cared for and whose sacrifice is embodied in the symbolic tomb she stands watch over.

Upon a buttress above its southern portico, another nurse sits amid fifteen males manning the Memorial's battlements (Figure 1.10). Like her matron above, this nurse also appears with head bowed but while gainfully employed in the technical task of rerolling a bandage.<sup>95</sup> The dressing recurs as a motif in Hoff's work on the Memorial and confirms the nurse's role as an active rather than passive participant in the war. Most evident in the *Eastern bas-relief*, where the doctor uses one to dress the arm of the wounded digger, the bandage becomes the symbol of the AAMC's and the AANS's involvement in the conflict in the same way the arms and armaments shown with servicemen denote theirs. Of the symbolic dualities of Australian identity evident on the monument, the masculine-feminine are the most important.<sup>96</sup> This is further revealed by the fight to take life by men being balanced by the battle to save it and which Hoff expresses primarily through the nurse in whose hands the bandage appears most frequently. Ironically, in the case of the seated nurse, the dressing is invisible from the ground. Like the *Matron*, this accords her the distinction of active participant in war rather than passive nurturer.

<sup>94</sup> Commonwealth Department of Veterans' Affairs, "Ceremonial Manual 1, Chapter 20: Vigils, Catafalque Parties and Memorial Dedication Services," downloaded 15 March 2011: [http://www.dva.gov.au/commems\\_oawg/commemorations/commemorative\\_events/organise\\_events/Documents/20.pdf](http://www.dva.gov.au/commems_oawg/commemorations/commemorative_events/organise_events/Documents/20.pdf)

<sup>95</sup> Napier, *Book of the Anzac Memorial*, 48.

<sup>96</sup> Edwards, "Race, Death and Gender," 478.

Yet another nurse is seen actively participating on the North-West corner of the monument. In an angle relief of men marching in a protective patrol around the Memorial, a nurse falls into file behind a stretcher bearer and surgeon; a lock of hair escaping from her veil betraying her gender (Figure 1.11). A nurse can also be seen marching on Daphne Mayo's (1930) bas-relief in Brisbane as the third last figure amid a column of servicemen and a gun carriage drawn by two horses (Figure 1.12).<sup>97</sup> Although the nurse appears in the background in both sculptures, she is nevertheless included amid formed bodies of marching men, an activity not undertaken by the AANS during the war, but clearly denoting the artists' intention to flag her equal status.



**Figure 1.10:** Rayner Hoff, *Sitting figures*, 1931-34. Southern portico, Anzac Memorial. Author's image.



**Figure 1.11:** Rayner Hoff, *Medical Corps Angle Relief*, 1931-1934. North-West corner, Anzac Memorial, Sydney. Author's image.



**Figure 1.12:** Daphne Mayo, *Queensland Women's War Memorial*, 1930. Anzac Square, Brisbane. Author's image.

Guarding and marching, these three nurses were portrayed as the *Regimental Nurse*, a dynamic participant in conflict who, unlike her colleague on the *Eastern bas-relief*, did not compromise the virility of servicemen by direct allusion to injury, illness or infirmity. While Hoff and Mayo recognised the right of the nurse to be portrayed alongside Australian sailors, soldiers and airmen, it

<sup>97</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 277-78.

came with a caveat. The *Regimental Nurse* relinquished her feminine association with caring by surrendering her primary role of nursing broken servicemen. In accepting the assignation of allegorical service roles – guarding and marching – she was drafted as one of the Memorial’s eternal guardians of the fallen and achieved commemorative equality with the men of the AIF and Navy.

### **The Mothers of the Race**

The allegation that the Anzac Memorial did not distinguish between nurses and mothers is inaccurate.<sup>98</sup> However, it is within the commemorative component of the Anzac Memorial that the more divisive of Hoff’s remaining two nurses is found. In contemporary scholarship, one enduring source of the army nurse’s maternal stereotype gleaned from war memorials both in Australia and abroad arises from a small, slim booklet associated with the Anzac Memorial and favouring the male-based organisations whose offices were once located in its base.<sup>99</sup> Originally cited by Ken Inglis in 1989 and widely recounted since, it describes the central feature of the ‘Army Medical Bas-relief’ in the Memorial’s Hall of Memory: ‘Here is depicted one of the noblest phases of the war – weary and wounded men tended with loving care by the Mothers of the race – here to be seen a Matron, and two of her charges sitting in contemplation and weariness (Figure 1.13).’<sup>100</sup>

The premier publication printed in conjunction with the Anzac Memorial’s opening in 1934 was an impressive tome. *The Book of the Anzac Memorial* contained contributions by luminaries such as the monument’s architect, along with war historian Charles Bean and soldier-author Leon Gellert. With photographic plates taken by the celebrated artist Harold Cazneau, it was lauded in November 1934 as a ‘fine publication, which is the only official one in connection with the Memorial.’<sup>101</sup> Hoff is listed among its contributors and it is likely that he wrote the chapter explaining the Memorial’s sculpture.<sup>102</sup> The bas-relief in question is described as the ‘figures of men and women resting after their hardships’ and forms part of his work, the *March of the Departed*.<sup>103</sup> The aforementioned booklet, which only featured a condensed guide of the monument’s symbolic elements, appears to have been released as more affordable version of the

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<sup>98</sup> Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 145.

<sup>99</sup> Inglis, "Men, Women and War Memorials," 37; Monk, "Gender in the Landscape," 125; Speck, "Women's War Memorials," 131; Carden-Coyne, "Gendering Death and Renewal," 45; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body* 145.

<sup>100</sup> Anzac Memorial, *The Anzac Memorial*, 13.

<sup>101</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November 1934, 12.

<sup>102</sup> Napier, *Book of the Anzac Memorial*, 8.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

book. It is possible that the returned servicemen's organisations housed by the Anzac Memorial published it.

The *March of the Departed* encircles the upper reaches of the Hall. Centrally-seated figures of a sailor, soldier, airman and nurse in each of its four 'corners' have two figures resting against their knees.<sup>104</sup> In the servicemen's case, these figures are their comrades although for the nurse, in the booklet, they are interpreted to be her patients. The figures in the bas-relief, like visitors to the Hall of Memory, bow their head to the most significant sculptural group of the monument which is located in its Hall of Silence below.<sup>105</sup> *Sacrifice* symbolises the expenditure of the State's manhood and portrays a dead and naked warrior whose body is borne aloft on a shield supported by his mother, wife and sister (Figure 1.14). While this is the only one of Hoff's seven figurative groups in which the nurse does not appear, her presence may be implied through the multiple identities of mother, sister and lover she represented to the men she nursed during war.<sup>106</sup>

Examination of the figures slumped against the nurse's knees above reveals that they are not 'wounded and weary men' but a doctor dressed in surgical attire and another nurse, her veil gathered behind her head and the hem of her apron and skirt brushing her shoes. Significantly, the centrally-seated nurse assumes a position of uncontested authority over two military males on an Australian World War I memorial, one of which is *Sacrifice* in the gallery below. With the politicisation of remembrance practices after the war, the 'Mothers of the Race' starts to appear as a strategically-placed piece of commemorative spin that served to distract the viewer from the nurse's position in the *March of the Departed*. While the esotericism of Hoff's other nurses was easily missed and the *Matron* on the roof could be perceived as conveniently balancing the sculptural scheme without assigning undue preference to the one of the male-based services, a nurse dominating AIF men in the heart of a capital monument was another matter entirely. In a culture of memorialisation subject to the agenda of a powerful male-based organisation intent on establishing the idealised male form, this posed a serious symbolic threat. A woman in such a position was capable of not only emasculating that ideal, but also of disrupting societal norms. Portraying a doctor as dependent upon the support of a nurse challenged authority roles evident in the military and questioned those of society at large. Defying her prevailing image as the compliant and loyal *Good Nurse*, this nurse suggested her contribution in the war was more substantial than previously acknowledged; that at the end of the war, a woman could sit on equal terms beside the nation's men and reflect upon their *Sacrifice*.

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>106</sup> Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 46.



**Figure 1.13:** Rayner Hoff, *March of the Departed* (detail), 1931-34. Hall of Memory, Anzac Memorial, Sydney. Author's image.



**Figure 1.14:** Rayner Hoff, *Sacrifice* (northern aspect showing dead soldier's sister and wife carrying infant child), 1931-34. Bronze. Hall of Silence, Anzac Memorial, Sydney. Author's image.

This was not the first time the male memory of war had come under threat in NSW. In January 1927, an executive committee of RSL, citizens and government representatives announced that the memorial previously referred to as the ‘Cenotaph’, a temporary commemorative solution until the State monument was built, would ‘be known as the Martin-Place War Memorial to Fallen Sailors, Soldiers and Nurses.’<sup>107</sup> In June, when a photograph in the *Sydney Morning Herald* revealed a large stone altar flanked at either end by a sailor and soldier, ‘Aviator’ (whose pseudonym suggested war service) enquired as to ‘why the figure of a nurse was not included in the Martin-Place memorial to the fallen sailors, soldiers and nurses?’<sup>108</sup> In August, at its dedication, ‘the Cenotaph in Martin-Place (sic) was dedicated to the memory of sailors, soldiers and nurses killed in the war’, with the State Governor congratulating the RSL ‘on the splendid monument that had been achieved mainly through its efforts.’<sup>109</sup> ‘One cannot say with what eyes posterity will regard this cenotaph’ he continued, ‘nor what ideas it will arouse in their minds.’<sup>110</sup> Certainly none related to the AANS: nothing on the monument exists to identify that the AANS contributed to the State’s war effort or that its members perished in its service. The Cenotaph’s iconography positioned the memorial as akin to a local monument. Instead of a temporary State structure recognising the contribution of all citizens equally, it privileged male martial sacrifice. In the heart of NSW’s financial district, the RSL claimed the State’s memory of war, along with its sacrifice, as the domain of men.

Perhaps this incident influenced Hoff in his treatment of the Anzac Memorial. By holding aloft the body of their dead son/brother/husband, the artist expressed women, rather than men, as forming the symbolic foundation of NSW’s *Sacrifice*. In locating the nurse in all aspects of the sculpture above, the artist recognised her contribution to the burden of the State’s service and extended to her the honour of safeguarding the memory of the men represented by the pivotal sculpture below, a number of which she had cared for in their dying moments. However, the AIF and emergent Anzac identities sought to claim *Sacrifice* as the exclusive domain of men. Exceeding her station and (honorary) rank, the nurse in the *March of the Departed* posed a clear threat to this objective and needed to be neutralised.

Matron is Latin for ‘married woman’ and implied motherhood in its use.<sup>111</sup> Reassigning the nurse to the maternal role achieved the desired outcome; while she assumed a position of authority over ‘wounded and weary men,’ hers was the authority of the maternal; passive, feminine and inherent to

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<sup>107</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 January 1927, 12; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 283.

<sup>108</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*: 11 June 1927, 18 and 15 June 1927, 16.

<sup>109</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1927, 9.

<sup>110</sup> *Examiner*, 9 August 1927, 5.

<sup>111</sup> *Macquarie Dictionary*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Matron.”



her profession. Strategically, the semantics of war could be deployed many ways in the battle for memory: to obfuscate as well as omit in the context of memorialisation. However, final examination of the sculpture reveals she is not a Matron. Unlike Dadswell in Melbourne, Hoff pinned insignia to the shoulders of his nurse's stone cape.<sup>112</sup> By assigning her the more junior and symbolic rank of 'Sister', the artist communicated most eloquently her significance to the men she served beside (Figure 1.15).<sup>113</sup>



**Figure 1.15:** Sister of the men. Rayner Hoff, *March of the Departed* (detail), 1930-34. Hall of Memory, Anzac Memorial, Sydney. Author's image.

The nurse's figurative absence from the iconography of Australia's local war memorials does not mean that her contribution to World War I was ignored or overlooked. While she provided immense comfort to the dying and wounded of battle, hers was a figure unable to ease the suffering of individuals and communities struggling with the enormous cost of war. For some populations, only the figure of an infantryman could symbolise the magnitude of their loss. Nevertheless, Australians embraced the memory of the army nurse during and after the war in other memorial forms adopted across the nation. In avenues of honour, on many honour boards and upon some local war memorials, members of the AANS were recognised in name and remembered alongside servicemen. Gender and service endowed subtle honours upon the name of a nurse that, on many memorial forms, privileged hers over those of soldiers and sailors. However, in some cases, sacrifice had economic imperatives associated with its expression and the mercifully low mortality

<sup>112</sup> In April 1916, the AANS began wearing the insignia of rank to accord them the authority of officers and the hierarchy of their profession: Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, 3: 548.

<sup>113</sup> A Sister wore two 'pips' while a Matron wore three.

rate incurred by the AANS meant that it lacked a presence on the majority of memorials honouring only the fallen. But so too did returned men in those circumstances.

The nurse found her figurative presence on the State monuments of NSW and Victoria where, unlike the single-soldiered local memorial, the size and purpose of the structures accommodated a greater range of figures. Re-examination and analysis of Sydney's Anzac Memorial invalidates claims that the nurse was marginalised in Australia's commemorative art. Ex-serviceman Rayner Hoff conceptualised and executed a sculptural treatment recognising the nurse as an active member of the AIF alongside the nation's servicemen. Although careful to conform to societal and organisational expectations of women on the returned men's offices below, it was in the realm of the dead – the heavenly reaches of the monument's commemorative component – that Hoff let his philosophical and aesthetic beliefs take flight. The *Regimental Nurse* surrendered her primary role of caring to adopt the assignment of eternally safeguarding the memory of the fallen. By doing so, she also surrendered her maternal image to become an equal and dynamic participant of war.

By the end of the 1920s, powerful influences were beginning to shape remembrance and marginalise those who did not, or could not, meet their masculine-based criteria. In NSW, the army nurse found her image omitted from the building of the temporary State monument in 1927. It was then manipulated in respect to the interpretation of the Anzac Memorial's internal elements. Words became weapons used to distract and disengage an artist's ideology from dangerous ideas of martial equality when remembrance in the public domain needed to conform to a vision that was stridently virile. While the contribution of the army nurse was embraced by Australians during and in the wake of war, the developing and dominant Anzac narrative gradually squeezed her into the recesses of the nation's collective memory. Re-examination and analysis of Australia's remembrance practices, along with the art of memory, reveals that the army nurse was not overlooked, ignored or necessarily marginalised by a nation in the wake of war. While embracing inclusion within remembrance practices during and after the war, it was the secondary barricades – the symbolism, economics and semantics of sacrifice – that subsequently confined the AANS to the shadows of Australia's commemoration.



## Chapter Two: The Martial Madonna (1919-1929)

This chapter focuses on commemorative stained glass windows donated to two Anglican churches in the decade following World War I. These lights present an important opportunity to analyse the influences leading to an individual and a community including the army nurse as an element of their commemorative windows while also building further on an ‘economy of sacrifice’ that existed following the war (Chapter One). Depicting the nurse as part of the greater AIF at St John’s Cathedral, Brisbane, offered one father the ability to express his grief and a clergyman the strategic opportunity to satisfy his own commemorative schema. Memorialisation was part of the ritual inherent to the Church of England well before the war and conflict brought with it significant societal need that challenged both. Cathedral, diocesan and parish records reveal the manner in which some senior prelates of Anglican dioceses adapted established church practice in order to respond to congregational need while positioning their churches to be the financial beneficiaries of such change. Through the St John’s window, this chapter also examines the conflated image of nursing service that prevailed in Australia during and after World War I. Popular culture and mass communication play significant roles in shaping a society’s image of who and what a nurse is at any specific point in history.<sup>1</sup> Investigation of recruitment, postal and official war art in conjunction with newspaper reportage reveals that the uniforms of the AANS and the Red Cross volunteer were indistinguishable in the eyes of many Australians and even some of the men of the AIF. This had ramifications on the commemoration of the army nurse in the immediate post-war period and continues to influence how she is viewed by some researchers in contemporary scholarship.

This chapter also examines the egalitarian nature of the commemorative window. While similarities existed between stained glass and other memorial forms, a most profound difference lay in the former’s location. Ken Inglis observes that ‘common ground’ was essential to the war memorial movement in Australia but that memorials built or situated in the religious context failed to resonate with the general community.<sup>2</sup> Bronwyn Hughes perceives churches as semi-private sites of memorialisation while Allyson Booth distinguishes a clear demarcation between the architecture of the dead and the living in respect to how society perceives each space; with a church used and

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<sup>1</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, *The Changing Image of the Nurse*, 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 129.

visited regularly by corporeal souls, it cannot achieve the exclusive status that the ethereal demand in their honour.<sup>3</sup>

The politics of commemoration must also be considered as a reason why stained glass has been overlooked as a commemorative form. A labour-intensive process, the memorial window has always represented a significant financial burden to its donor. During and after the war, thousands of memorial windows – a traditional ritual of remembrance in the Catholic and many Protestant faiths – were donated privately by affluent families in memory of beloved soldier-sons.<sup>4</sup> Contesting the egalitarian principles of the local monument that honoured all equally, a window had the potential to divide a congregation. In Neutral Bay, and despite the powerful forces moulding memory in the heart of Sydney, the Anglican Parish of St Augustine's crafted service and sacrifice into a unique expression of remembrance. Again, the nurse featured as an integral element of its subject matter when parishioners united to contest a mother's appropriation of wartime memory. Reflecting the political needs of its congregation as well as the very different contributions made by its uniformed members, the result was a commemorative light quite unlike any local monument erected in Australia when the uniforms of its Allies featured in glass.

The *Martial Madonna* emerges in Chapter Two as the female equivalent of the *Secular Saint* of Australian commemorative glass as well as a new – and Australia's first – image of the professional nurse. While a sculptor is restricted to the hues of the stone with which they work, no such limitation exists for those who paint on glass; colour and light form the fundamentals of their medium. Adept in symbolism, the stained glass artist weaves religious allegory and enigma effortlessly into their work. Analysis of the Brisbane and Neutral Bay lights reveals that two British firms independently privileged the army nurse. Drawing upon the meanings of colour, traditions of Christian art and nuances of wartime nursing image, analysis of these two windows shows that the nurse was aligned with the most important woman in Western religious history: the Virgin Mary. Only her Son occupied a higher position in the subject matter of commemorative windows of the post-war period. While the Australian soldier evolved during World War I from the warrior saints of Christianity, the army nurse suddenly appeared in contemporary form with no allegorical antecedent.

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<sup>3</sup> Allyson Booth, *Postcards from the Trenches: Negotiating the Space between Modernism and the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 127; Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 188.

<sup>4</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 185, 189.

Patrons might determine the subject matter of these windows but the firms or artists they engaged ultimately designed them and, like war, the stained glass industry was driven by men. While the army nurse found her local commemorative presence in two churches and artisans esoterically aligned her with the Virgin Mary, her depiction in glass was nevertheless subject to influences similar to those that prevailed on the State monuments of NSW and Victoria. Like the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne and the *Eastern Bas-relief* on Sydney's Anzac Memorial, the masculinity of the martial experience remained the dominant narrative with subtle strategies employed in the windows' design preserving the virility of their subject matter. But overt military symbolism in one window suggests that it was the 'AIF' and not the 'Anzac' – members of the Australian AND New Zealand Army Corps – that dominated commemorative focus in the decade following the war.

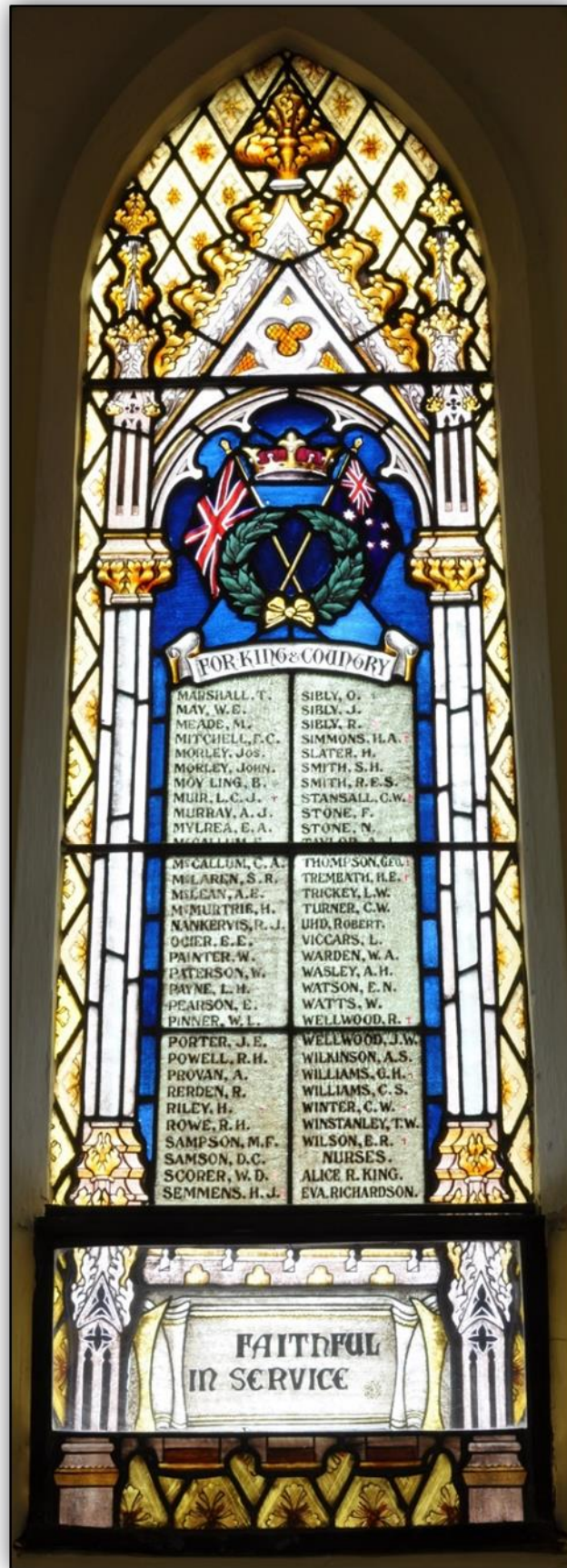
The war memorial and commemorative window share several similarities in regards to army nursing service. Like her monumental form, stained glass portraying the nurse is likewise rare; only two such lights are known to have been installed in the decade following World War I. Figures of the AIF male became more prevalent in Australian churches after the conflict and, like stone soldiers atop pedestals, windows sometimes featured a single infantryman.<sup>5</sup> This was frequently a function of church architecture; a tall, narrow lancet window best accommodated a lone figure of a soldier. Like the State monuments of NSW and Victoria, where size represented both service and sacrifice, the nurse was included in transept windows where a larger surface area and/or greater number of lights billeted more service personnel. Hence, she was included as part of the AIF community. As was the case for local war memorials, no window featuring a single figure of an army nurse appeared during the inter-war period in Australia.

The use of stained glass replicated practices other than the local memorial. Honour boards were also expressed as windows and, like paper, wood, stone, metal and opus sectile forms, these lights also featured the names of nurses.<sup>6</sup> On Sunday 27 January 1918 for example, the congregation of the Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, witnessed the unveiling of two lights inscribed with the names of uniformed members of the Church. Enlisting in 1914, all embarked on overseas service. The *Argus* reported that one window featured the names of two nurses. It is likely the families of Alice King and Eva Richardson were among those who witnessed the dedication of the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 201-02.

<sup>6</sup> Opus sectile is made using small pieces of painted mosaic tiles.

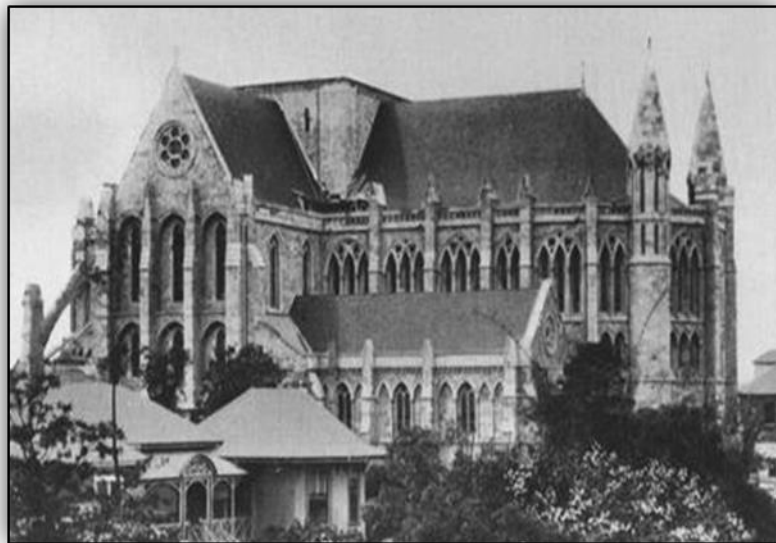


**Figure 2.1:** Brooks, Robinson & Co., *Wesley Church Honour Board Windows* (right light), 1918. Lonsdale Street, Melbourne. Author's image.

handsome lights (Figure 2.1).<sup>7</sup> Ballarat's Methodist Church also installed honour roll windows and nurses again featured among those named.<sup>8</sup> With her name honoured alongside the men on boards around the nation, it wasn't long after the war before the first memorial image of an army nurse appeared in a window of a Queensland church.

### **In the Light of Sacrifice: St John's Cathedral, Brisbane (1919-1921)**

In September 1919, the Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane, St Clair Donaldson, sat down to place a stained glass order through the Cathedral's English architect. Consecrated nine years earlier, the stone-vaulted Cathedral of St John the Evangelist possessed many windows still open to the elements and this recent donation was a welcome yet sobering one (Figure 2.2). James Clark, a wealthy local businessman, gave two lights in memory of his youngest son Arthur, who died fighting in Mesopotamia during the war.<sup>9</sup> Along with another given by a second benefactor and ordered a year earlier, they formed the upper window of the Cathedral's south transept.<sup>10</sup>



**Figure 2.2:** St John's Cathedral, c.1911. South transept with empty lancet windows. Note the rest of the lancets are also devoid of glass. Queensland State Library, image 202776.

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<sup>7</sup> *Argus*, 28 January 1918, 4.

<sup>8</sup> The church in question is now a Uniting Church and is located on the corner of Lydiard and Dana Streets. I am indebted to Bronwyn Hughes for identifying William Montgomery as the artist of these lights.

<sup>9</sup> *Brisbane Cathedral Notes*, October 1919, 20; Anglican Archives of Brisbane (henceforth AAB); NAA: B2455, CLARK A.V.

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Archbishop Donaldson to Frank Pearson dated 26 September 1919, REGIS204-Bk 59, AAB.



‘I want to order two attendant windows on each side of the Crucifixion,’ His Grace wrote:

and should be glad if you would consider for a design a group of Christian soldiers contemplating the Cross in the one and of Christian women in the other. The soldiers might represent warriors of all ages and should include a modern soldier in khaki. The women likewise might represent all ages but should include a Red Cross nurse. It will be natural, I suppose to include a figure of St George and we might also have St Martin (in memory of Armistice Day) together perhaps with the Roman Centurion of the Gospel and Joshua gazing from afar. Among the women we might have St Hilda, St Catherine, [and] St Margaret together with the Red Cross nurse.<sup>11</sup>

The demand for memorial windows from English stained glass firms following the Armistice resulted in significant delays in the production of St John’s order and its three lights were not installed until late November 1921.<sup>12</sup> ‘The whole effect is most pleasing’ reported the *Brisbane Courier*, which praised the ‘new idea in this class of work depicting sailors, soldiers, and nurses in modern uniform.’<sup>13</sup> The lower third of the right window revealed a variety of servicemen while kneeling in the foreground of the left appeared a member each of the AANS and Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD). They represented the earliest portrayal of both on a World War I commemorative form in Australia (Figure 2.3).

When James Clark offered two windows to the Cathedral, Archbishop Donaldson found himself torn.<sup>14</sup> While His Grace was responsible for a new church with many empty windows to glaze, filling two with memorial windows to a soldier who perished in the war directly contravened his policy. Ten months earlier, in November 1918 and a little under a fortnight before the Armistice was announced, Donaldson promulgated a memorandum to clergy and parishioners concerning the erection of war memorials in his Diocese’s churches: ‘It will clearly be impossible, owing to the numbers [of fallen], to allow individual memorials to be placed at will upon the wall of our Churches.’<sup>15</sup> In addition to the ubiquitous honour board, the Archbishop encouraged each parish to focus its efforts on one combined war memorial in order to beautify the church and serve: ‘(a) As a

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<sup>11</sup> Archbishop to Pearson, 26 September 1919, REGIS204-Bk 59, AAB.

<sup>12</sup> Grylls to Pearson, 14 June 1922, REGIS204-Bk 61 (with Letter 3354), AAB.

<sup>13</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 1 March, 1921, 16.

<sup>14</sup> Gall to Clark, 16 September 1919, REGIS204-Bk 43, AAB.

<sup>15</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1918, 209.

thankoffering for deliverance (if the war ends as we hope and pray and expect), and (b) As a commemoration of those whose lives have been given as the price of that deliverance.’<sup>16</sup>

Earlier in the war, the Bishops of Adelaide and Bathurst recognised the same ‘threat’ that individual commemoration posed to their churches.<sup>17</sup> A communal war memorial offered a solution to rout the influx of stone tablets the prelates anticipated, though it also denied some parishioners a traditional method of expressing sorrow for those grieving the loss of soldier-sons.<sup>18</sup> Evidenced upon the walls of many older and important churches – such as St Paul’s Cathedral, Melbourne, and St James’, Phillip St, Sydney – the memorial tablet was restricted to relatively affluent members of a parish who, in addition to the memorial, also paid a substantial fee to situate a loved one’s name within the confines of their church.<sup>19</sup> By encouraging parishioners to ‘contribute towards [a parish memorial with] ... no distinctions made, and no jealousies created’, Adelaide’s prelate evidently recognised the inequality fostered by the prevailing ritual and the destructive tensions it could foster given the collective nature of civic memorialisation. A communal parish memorial encouraged parishioners to contribute what they could to a significant structure located within the church where they worshipped. Not only did this facilitate congregational support during a difficult time but, in a similar way to the civic war memorial, the name of each soldier was intimately associated with a personally meaningful form of remembrance.

While the flexibility to accommodate the evolving rituals of wartime remembrance provided comfort to its members, it also delivered financial advantages to the Church of England. It appears that some senior clergy also recognised that an important source of revenue was



**Figure 2.3:** Burlison & Grylls, *Clark Windows* (left light), 1921. St John’s Cathedral, Brisbane. Author’s image.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Church News* (Bathurst), 1 November 1917: 10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Cathedral Chapter Minutes (1887-1927) dated 3 March 1911, CATHS030-Bk1, AAB.

being lost to them. From the beginning of the war until November 1918, Archbishop Donaldson approved only eleven memorial tablets for fallen men across the Brisbane Diocese.<sup>20</sup> With the war drawing to a close, it is unlikely that an avalanche of similar monuments threatened the aesthetics of his churches. Donaldson's November 1918 directive appears to have been associated more with the economy rather than the equity of sacrifice. Its timing strategically preceded the announcement of the Diocese's war memorial a month later. While James Clark's donation may have initially stymied the Archbishop's plans, Donaldson adapted it to form part of them.

When Clark offered his windows in 1919, the installation of memorial windows to an individual soldier in the Archbishop's church – the Cathedral – could have been perceived as an overt contravention of the latter's November 1918 directive. This explains the curious lack of a dedication to Arthur Clark, an essential component of a memorial window. A memorial window installed in St John's prior to the *Clark Windows* contains a dedication. Given in memory of Captain Sydney Bond by his family, the *Bond Window* was ordered prior to the Archbishop's War Memorial Memorandum being disseminated.<sup>21</sup> By omitting a dedication, the *Clark Windows* preserved His Grace's integrity; the Cathedral's ornately carved choir stalls remained its one combined memorial and the *Clark Windows* outwardly represented the installation of two new lights from a generous benefactor.<sup>22</sup> It appears Donaldson's intent was to use the windows high in the south transept to form a visual connection between the Cathedral and the Diocese's monument being built on the south side of the latter. This explains the presence of contemporary servicemen and nurses within them. He essentially converted a set of individual memorial windows into commemorative ones.

The previous year, in December 1918, a meeting of the Brisbane Diocesan Council resolved that a committee be formed to 'raise a permanent memorial to the Glory of God as a mark of gratitude to Him and those who have fought and died in the cause of Righteousness.'<sup>23</sup> At the end of the war, a number of Anglican dioceses elected to commemorate the fallen by incorporating elaborate Warriors' Chapels into their cathedrals as diocesan war memorials.<sup>24</sup> Rather than augment or enrich its new Cathedral, in February 1919 the Council reported its monument should take the form of a

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<sup>20</sup> By November 1918, Archbishop Donaldson had granted the following numbers of faculties (the formal administrative permission for changes or additions to the fabric of a church) for memorial tablets related to war deaths in diocesan churches: 1916 x 3; 1917 x 3; and 1918 x 5. None were granted in 1914 and 1915: REGIS204-Bk 74, AAB.

<sup>21</sup> The *Bond Window* was ordered before May 1918. Subsequent memorial windows to diocesan fallen were donated under the authority of subsequent Archbishops.

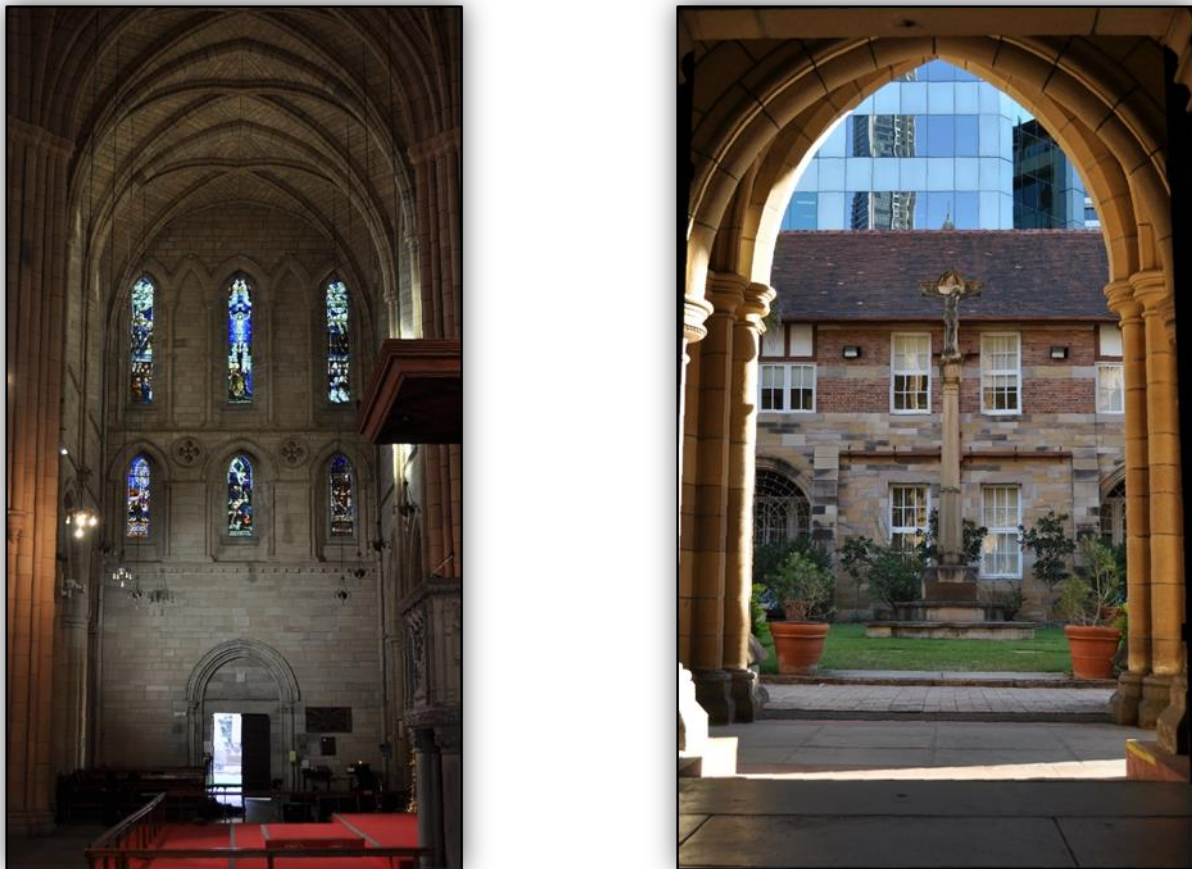
<sup>22</sup> Cathedral Chapter Minutes (1887-1927), 4 September 1918, CATHS030-Bk1, AAB.

<sup>23</sup> Diocesan Council Minutes, 5 December 1918, DCOUS244-Bk 7, AAB.

<sup>24</sup> Holden, "Anglicanism, the Visual Arts," 257.

hospital. This necessitated the purchase and replacement of the existing Pymont Hospital on the south side of the Cathedral with a new state-of-the-art, fifty-bed building.<sup>25</sup> The Archbishop duly notified clergy and parishioners that a hospital formed a worthy form of memorial. And that £50,000 needed to be raised to realise the project.<sup>26</sup>

Donaldson believed any memorial ‘should be in connection with the Cathedral as the centre of our Diocesan life ... it should be something more than an architectural adornment – something which ... would continue to impress men’s minds.’<sup>27</sup> Facing directly out onto the future hospital, the south transept windows offered that tangible connection (Figure 2.4). Construction of the Cathedral included electrical wiring so its stained glass could be illuminated from within making the subject



**Figure 2.4:** Relationship of south transept window to (St Martin’s) War Memorial Hospital. Image of hospital on right is taken from doorway shown in base of south transept (left). Author’s images.

matter of the lights visible to the general public and, eventually, patients, visitors and staff of the hospital at night. The central window of the south transept depicted the Crucifixion and was given

<sup>25</sup> Diocesan Council Minutes, 13 February 1919, DCOUS244-Bk 7, AAB.

<sup>26</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1919, 83.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

in memory of Sir Arthur Morgan, President of the Legislative Council and former State Premier.<sup>28</sup> Its themes of sacrifice and resurrection were a fitting metaphor for the trial of war and the figures of the soldiers and nurses bearing witness to the Cross in the *Clark Windows* recalled the human cost of the conflict.

The scheme for the Cathedral's stained glass was determined by the Cathedral Chapter in June 1913. Originally, the south transept lights were to depict the Pentecost.<sup>29</sup> With Lady Morgan's donation in April 1918, these lights changed to portray the Crucifixion.<sup>30</sup> While it is possible that this may have reflected the desire of the donor, it is more likely that it was the Chapter's – or Archbishop's – choice. Other churches used the Crucifixion as the subject matter for war memorial windows with Christ's service and sacrifice for mankind serving as a powerful allegory to that of a soldier's for his country.<sup>31</sup> More than just an architectural adornment, it is likely that these three lights provided the strategic and spiritual link between Cathedral and hospital that the Archbishop desired (Figure 2.4). Their purpose and location evidently appealed to James Clark: after agreeing to subscribe £150 for both windows, less than a month later he also donated £250 to the War Memorial Hospital that his son's lights eventually faced.<sup>32</sup>

The Archbishop's motive for requesting the inclusion of a nurse in the south transept lights was self-evident: nurses served and died in the war; nurses would staff the memorial that the Diocese was building; and nurses could be counted among the parishioners who would donate or help raise funds for its construction. Norma Mowbray, AANS, declared her faith Church of England on her enlistment papers and trained at the nearby Brisbane Hospital. She died of pneumonia in Heliopolis, Egypt, in January 1916, a member of the AIF.<sup>33</sup> Returned members of the AANS were associated with congregations around the Diocese: Nurses Hardcastle, Snelling, Langford and Harden at St Michael and All Angel's Church of England, located a short distance away from the Cathedral in New Farm, while Staff Nurse Walker's name appeared amid those of men on the wooden board of newly built St Augustine's War Memorial Church, Hamilton.<sup>34</sup> But Donaldson did not request a

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<sup>28</sup> Cathedral Chapter Minutes (1887-1927), 19 April 1918, CATHS030-Bk1, AAB; Rod Kirkpatrick, "Morgan, Sir Arthur," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1986), 10: 584-85.

<sup>29</sup> Cathedral Chapter Minutes (1887-1927), 19 June 1913, CATHS030-Bk1, AAB.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 196; Stephens, "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma," 479; see also Patrick Porter, "The Sacred Service: Australian Chaplains and the Great War," *War & Society* 20, no. 2 (2002): 39, 40.

<sup>32</sup> *Queenslander*, 4 October 1919, 29.

<sup>33</sup> NAA: B2455; MOWBRAY NORMA VIOLET; *Brisbane Courier*, 3 February 1916, 9. Her name appeared on the honour board and war memorial of St Andrew's Church of England, Lutwyche.

<sup>34</sup> The brass honour board of St Michael and All Angels was erected in 1925. It is currently located externally in the Columbarium at the rear of the church. St Augustine's wooden board hangs on the rear wall of its nave.

member of the AANS in the *Clark Windows*. Her appearance occurred as a matter of chance rather than intent when she was included by the window's designer, Thomas Henry Grylls (1873-1953), of Burlison & Grylls, the London-based firm that made the Cathedral's stained glass.<sup>35</sup> The Archbishop stipulated a 'Red Cross nurse' and his choice reflected the way in which many Australians identified with nursing service during the conflict.

Prior to World War I, there existed little comprehension of the difference between civilian and military practice among the nursing profession. The women of the AANS not only improvised and overcame the clinical deficiencies they faced, they established the basis of defence nursing in Australia.<sup>36</sup> However, this success was not reflected by the Australian public's ability to distinguish between the professional and auxiliary spheres of caregiving active during or after the war. With the nation's involvement in World War I, both the AANS – formed as a reserve service of the Australian medical services in 1902 – and the Red Cross, introduced to Australia by Her Excellency Lady Munro Ferguson in 1914, started asserting a public presence.<sup>37</sup> The Voluntary Aid (VA) wore a white frock, hat and apron with Red Cross affixed to its breast (Figure 2.5). She undertook a range of domestic duties as part of the organisation's contribution to the war. In one of her many roles – supporting members of the AANS in hospitals and convalescent homes across the nation – she performed basic ward work. In late 1915, VADs were spreading across metropolitan areas but, unlike the AANS, were yet to be deployed abroad. By 1916, 1250 VAs had volunteered in NSW alone and by war's end they constituted the 'public face of the Red Cross' in Australia.<sup>38</sup> From 1916, Australian VAs began serving abroad as part of the war effort.<sup>39</sup> The Red Cross, the symbol of the organisation she was affiliated with, remained an integral part of a VA's apron regardless of the duties she undertook.<sup>40</sup>

In peacetime practice, the professionally-trained nurse frequently wore a white dress and apron augmented with a long white cap, which was also known as a veil (referred to as such henceforth). Confusing the VA, in her white uniform, with a professional nurse, in her white uniform, was a distinct possibility. As a member of the AANS, the nurse wore a grey uniform, white apron, long white veil and a short scarlet shoulder cape as her ward attire (Figure 2.6). Many press reports during the war confused her with the VA and this was evident before the latter was deployed abroad

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<sup>35</sup> Pearson to Gall, 12 June 1922; Grylls to Pearson, 14 June 1922: REGIS204-Bk 61, AAB.

<sup>36</sup> Harris, *More Than Bombs and Bandages*, 3, 216.

<sup>37</sup> Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, III: 535; Melanie Oppenheimer, "The 'Imperial' Girl: Lady Helen Munro Ferguson, the Imperial Woman and Her Imperial Childhood," *Journal of Australian Studies* 34, no. 4 (2010): 521.

<sup>38</sup> Melanie Oppenheimer, *Red Cross VAs* (Riverwood: Ohio Productions, 1999), xix, 180.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-42.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

in 1916. The *West Australian* reported that ‘Red Cross Nurses in their grey costumes were cheered as they passed along the lines and up the gangway’ to board the *Orvieto* bound for the Middle East in October 1914.<sup>41</sup> In July 1915, a bemused journalist described a painting showing a ‘sweet-faced sister’ stroking the hair of a wounded soldier while Turks and Australians engaged in furious battle behind the pair. ‘What the sister is doing there, when we know none of the nurses have been allowed to land [at Gallipoli]’ was among a series of questions he raised.<sup>42</sup> He concluded the reason ‘this picturesque pair are smiling at each other ... in the midst of the battle’ was because the public found ‘ordinary scenes of battle and Red Cross work uninteresting and ugly.’<sup>43</sup> In August 1918, Captain Robert Grieve, VC, married ‘Sister Isabel Bowman ... a Red Cross nurse.’<sup>44</sup> In all three reports, the nurses described were members of the AANS or representations of them.



**Figure 2.5:** Red Cross VA. c.1917.  
AWM P0134.046.



**Figure 2.6:** The Uren sisters, AANS (c.1914-19).  
The Red Cross brassard on the right arm was likely an aesthetic consideration of the composition. AWM P10964.002.

The legislated regulation of nursing was uniformly established across the nation in the decade following the war.<sup>45</sup> Only those who undertook the prescribed period of instruction were

<sup>41</sup> *West Australian*, 18 November 1914, 7.

<sup>42</sup> *Farmer and Settler*, 27 July 1915, 8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Argus*, 8 August 1918, 6.

<sup>45</sup> Madonna Grehan, "Visioning the Future by Knowing the Past," in *Contexts in Nursing*, eds. John Daly, Sandra Speedy and Debra Jackson (Chatswood: Elsevier, 2010), 24-25.

subsequently – and legally – entitled to use the title ‘nurse.’<sup>46</sup> By World War II, the Australian public had developed the concept of the ‘registered nurse’ as the nurse associated with service nursing in Australia. But during World War I, the term ‘nurse’ possessed a generic quality; anyone who provided care or looked like one was a ‘nurse’ in the eyes of the public. Early in the war, the Army also struggled to tell the difference: in February 1915 its Director-General of Medical Services identified ‘Red Cross nurses’ able to verify their general nurse training as suitable for service abroad with the AIF.<sup>47</sup> Art of the period further conflated uniform with role identity.

### **Drawing on confusion: the art of war**

A striking Red Cross recruitment poster possibly lent further weight to the difficulty many experienced discerning an army nurse from a VA. In it, David Souter depicted a VA in a uniform very closely resembling that of the AANS (Figure 2.7). In 1903, Miss Crawford attended the Brisbane General Hospital Ball dressed as a Red Cross nurse wearing a ‘grey gown, white regulation cap and apron [with a] Red Cross brassard on [her] arm.’<sup>48</sup> Red Cross brassards formed part of the kit each AIF nurse acquired prior to embarking abroad and when worn were affixed to the left forearm (Figure 2.6).<sup>49</sup> The description of Miss Crawford’s costume matches the subject matter of Souter’s recruitment poster produced over a decade later. It suggests that the image of a ‘Red Cross nurse’ was already established within Australia prior to World War I and contributed to the public confusion that existed between the professional and auxiliary contexts of caregiving during, and after, the war.

Like those produced by the Red Cross, posters aimed at recruiting men into the AIF did not need to be accurate. In October 1915, a British-trained nurse – Edith Cavell – was executed in Belgium by a German firing squad. Found guilty of harbouring ‘fugitive British and French soldiers and Belgians of military age’ and assisting their escape, public outrage erupted across the Commonwealth in response to her killing.<sup>50</sup> Cavell afforded the Allies a powerful opportunity to aid enlistment into their forces and she quickly evolved into an imperial martyr whose shocking death at the enemy’s hands had to be avenged.<sup>51</sup> In early 1916, the Central Recruiting Committee, Melbourne, dispatched

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<sup>46</sup> See for example: *Nurses Registration Act 1924* (NSW), s 12.

<sup>47</sup> *Argus*, 16 February 1915, 7; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 1915, 9.

<sup>48</sup> *Queensland Figaro*, 4 June 1903, 17-20.

<sup>49</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 1915, 10; Jane Peek, “Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) uniform 1914-18” (Unpublished document: AWM, c.1984).

<sup>50</sup> *Mail*, 16 October 1915, 1.

<sup>51</sup> A. E Clark-Kennedy, *Edith Cavell: Pioneer and Patriot* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 233; Catherine Speck, “Edith Cavell: Martyr or Patriot,” *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 2, no. 1 (2001): 88; Katie Pickles, *Transnational Outrage: The Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 66.



among its range of recruitment posters ‘a fine picture’ depicting the nurse’s execution (Figure 2.8).<sup>52</sup> Conforming to images used in other countries for the same purpose, rather than forty-nine years of age, Cavell was portrayed by Virgil Reilly as a virginal young nurse lying slaughtered at the feet of a barbaric enemy.<sup>53</sup> Her depiction in a white uniform with a Red Cross on its breast suggested the Australian VA (Figure 2.5). Some illustrative postcards sent home by AIF soldiers coincidentally reinforced this association (Figure 2.9). While Cavell worked in a Red Cross hospital at the time of her arrest, this information was uniformly absent in early reportage of her fate in Australia which focussed on her position as the ‘head of the training school for nurses in Brussels.’<sup>54</sup> It is likely that while a growing public presence of the VA provided a convenient model for Reilly’s art, the public visibility of the atrocity he depicted further conflated the uniform and identity of the ‘Red Cross nurse’ with that of the AANS in the public’s mind. Other postcards sent from abroad sometimes featured nurses and invariably they represented members of the Red Cross in the countries where they were purchased. Their uniforms presented a similarly confusing mix of ‘nursing’ iconography to Australian audiences (Figure 2.10).

The public’s inability to differentiate between an army nurse and VA was most powerfully demonstrated in Maryborough, Queensland in 1924. ‘Figures representing the respective branches of the Services, vis., Soldier, Sailor, Airman and [a] Red Cross Nurse’ were included on the town’s war memorial.<sup>55</sup> While mistakenly identifying the Red Cross as an armed service, Maryborough also displaced the AANS from Australia’s tradition of local war memorialisation. ‘Nurse’ was, and in some quarters continues to be, applied to all uniformed women in a hospital setting during World War I.

British VAs – who wore a blue frock rather than a white one – appeared in Australian war art when official war artists recorded their memories during and after the war.<sup>56</sup> Depicted as the romantic interest of a convalescing Digger in George W. Lambert’s *Balcony of the Troopers’ Ward, 14<sup>th</sup> Australian General Hospital, Abbassia* (1919), a British VA rather than her professional counterpart is erroneously perceived as ‘diminish[ing] the advances army nurses made in reshaping

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<sup>52</sup> *Kerang New Times*, 1 February 1916, 2; Speck, "Edith Cavell," 88.

<sup>53</sup> Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 69; Diana Souhami, *Edith Cavell* (London: Quercus, 2010), 326; Speck, "Edith Cavell," 88.

<sup>54</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October 1915, 9. This report was printed contemporaneously in many other newspapers across the nation and on following days.

<sup>55</sup> *Maryborough War Memorial: Souvenir of the Unveiling Ceremony* (Maryborough: H. Bashford, c.1924): RBJ 940.467 MAR, John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

<sup>56</sup> Lambert was hospitalised at the 14<sup>th</sup> Australian General Hospital, Abbassia; Coates worked as an orderly at the Wandsworth Hospital during the war. Anne Gray, *George W Lambert Retrospective: Heroes & Icons* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2007), 147; Speck, *Painting Ghosts*, 34.



**Figure 2.7:** David Souter, *Help*, c1914-15.  
<http://www.wwi1propaganda.com/world-war-1-posters/australian-ww1-propaganda-posters?page=1>



**Figure 2.8:** Virgil Reilly, *Boys! Remember Nurse Cavell*, 1915. Poster. AWM ARTV08902.



**Figure 2.9:** Tito Corbella, *The Murder*. "Well Done" said *Kultur*, c.1917. Postcard. Author's collection.



**Figure 2.10:** J. Thiriar, *Les anges des derniers moments* (*The Angels of the Last Moments*), c.1914-1918. Postcard. Author's collection.

the masculine culture of military life.<sup>57</sup> Catherine Speck writes that George Coates' *First Australian Wounded at Gallipoli Arriving at Wandsworth Hospital, London* (1921) indicates a shift in the power status between men and 'matrons and nurses' during war.<sup>58</sup> Among the 'nurses' it portrays are two English VAs working under the imperious gaze of a QAIMNSR matron who, notebook in hand, issues orders to a junior British army nurse standing at the head of her patient's bed.<sup>59</sup> Coates recorded the subtle politics of authority operating within the feminine sphere of a British military hospital. English army nurses did not assume the responsibilities of hands-on patient care as readily as their Australian colleagues.<sup>60</sup> An Australian orderly at the hospital, the artist provided a social commentary on the feminine stratification of status within the British forces. However, the VA's active role at the bedside caring for the wounded soldier continues to position her as the 'nurse' in the public memory of some Australians.

Like Australia's war artists, London-based artisan Thomas Grylls designed the subject matter in the *Clark Windows* based on his observations and experiences of war. These manifested not only in the blue uniform of the VA but also in those of the women standing behind her professional colleague; servicewomen in naval and army attire, roles denied Australian women during the war. The *Clark Windows* reflected the British rather than the Australian understanding of war. The precision reflected in the uniform of the army nurse is not reflected in those of her male comrades. While she bears the insignia of the AANS – an embroidered cloth badge sewn onto the right sleeve of her uniform – she is the only member of the AIF to wear its insignia; the rising sun.<sup>61</sup> The symbol under which the AIF was united is strikingly absent from the collars and hats of its men; the naval officer wears the insignia of Britain's Royal Navy (Figure 2.11). Except for one awkwardly executed slouch hat, only the nurse was privileged with any formal sign of Australian identity. Apart from the Archbishop's initial letter requesting the inclusion of specific saints and figures in the lights, no additional directions were sent to London regarding any aspect of the lights or their design. Clearly, given the army nurse's appearance, someone at Burlison & Grylls possessed an accurate knowledge of the uniform and accoutrements of the AANS.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> George W. Lambert, 1919, oil and pencil on wood panel, AWM ART02815; Speck, "Edith Cavell," 86. For the generic use of the term 'nurse' for the same painting, see Gray, *George W Lambert Retrospective*, 148.

<sup>58</sup> Speck, *Painting Ghosts*, 34; Speck, "Edith Cavell," 86; George Coates, c.1915, oil on canvas, AWM ART0020.

<sup>59</sup> In his study, Coates portrayed a much more relaxed Matron. By stiffening her posture and engaging eye contact with the junior Sister, the artist raised the professional tension between the two: AWM ART50254.

<sup>60</sup> Kirsty Harris, "Red Rag to a British Bull: Australian Trained Nurses Working with British Nurses During World War One," in *Exploring the British World*, eds. K Darian-Smith, et al. (Melbourne: RMIT Publishing 2004), 127, 132.

<sup>61</sup> The brooch is painted gold in the window rather than silver as the AANS wore.

<sup>62</sup> Perhaps carrying home a photograph of an AIF nurse who ministered to him during the war or knowing a British army nurse who could discern the differences between uniforms informed a British artisan's work. This man may have been Arthur S. Walker. Training at Burlison & Grylls he served in World War I. Walker returned to work in London



**Figure 2.11:** Burlison & Grylls, *Clark & Morgan Windows*, 1921. St John's Cathedral, Brisbane. Author's image.

Ultimately, it was natural that the Archbishop request a 'nurse' in the *Clark Windows*. The Church had a tradition of celebrating women in its art with the exemplar being the Virgin Mary. Like her Son, she also represented service and sacrifice; that of a mother who raised her child to watch Him sacrificed for the good of mankind. Likewise, the army nurse fostered a maternal role within the masculine confines of war; she nursed her 'boys' only, in many cases, to surrender them back to battle where many would die, 'sacrificed' for the good of the Empire.<sup>63</sup> In an era characterised by a high maternal mortality rate, a mother's death in childbirth was also perceived as a sacrifice for the benefit of society.<sup>64</sup> Again, the connection between the death of a nurse in the service of her country and motherhood becomes evident. These metaphorical associations between St Mary and the army nurse were reinforced visually in the *Clark Windows* by the colour of the glass that Burlison & Grylls used to express the uniform worn by the AANS. Instead of grey, it was rendered in blue, the same colour as the Virgin Mary's robe.

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following the war before immigrating to Canada: "Obituary," *Journal of British Stained and Master Glass-Painters* 14, no.3 (1967): 158.

<sup>63</sup> Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 46-47.

<sup>64</sup> Val Bundrock, "Women as Mothers: Mothers through Their Own Words and the Words of Others," *Breastfeeding Review* 3, no. 1 (1995): 23.

In the central light of the south transept – the *Morgan Window* – the Virgin Mary stands at the base of the Cross clad in her robe of blue (Figure 2.11). The colour traditionally used in Western art to convey her identity since the late-Middle Ages, blue was perceived as one of the colours of Divine Light in the decorative mosaics of Eastern churches, a forerunner to stained glass.<sup>65</sup> The use of blue was directly related to the expense of the pigments used to create the colour; lapis lazuli from Afghanistan produced the striking blue of illuminated manuscripts and, courtesy of the addition of cobalt, blue represented the most expensive shade of glass produced in the late medieval period. These expensive pigments were sometimes stipulated in contracts for important components of art work, such as the Virgin's mantle.<sup>66</sup> Hence, the tradition of using blue to depict Mary's robe was continued in the modern context.

Blue is also naturally symbolic of heaven.<sup>67</sup> Other figures in the *Clark Window* were expressed in blue. The warrior saints Joan of Arc and George dominate the central part of the left and right lights respectively, their association with heaven perhaps one reason why their metallic armour was rendered blue rather than grey. The careful selection of a grey glass could have equally fulfilled the same function and still balanced the aesthetics of the scheme. The 'armour' of a mortal warrior – the helmet of the army captain – along with that of the Roman Centurion of the Gospel, located below and behind Saint George respectively, were correspondingly expressed in black and grey rather than a heavenly blue. The clothing of the non-martial female saints visible alongside St Joan are not blue. This suggests that the symbolic light of heaven was reserved not only for the Virgin Mary, but also the saints immediately associated with the conduct of war.

The small amount of grey evident in the uniform of the army nurse would not have unduly disrupted the aesthetics of the scheme given the brilliance of her white apron, veil and cuffs, the scarlet of her cape and the blue uniforms of the British VA kneeling beside and other English servicewomen standing behind her. Grylls expressed the army nurse in the heavenly light of the saints; not only is she attired in blue like the Virgin Mary but she is also a woman of war like St Joan of Arc. It would be easy to assume that this might be an idiosyncrasy of the firm or artisan making the window. However, eight years later an Anglican parish in Neutral Bay, NSW, installed a window made by another English company. The saintly light of sacrifice again featured among the uniforms that it rendered.

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<sup>65</sup> John Gage, "Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction," (Singapore: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 58.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 71, 130.

<sup>67</sup> *Colour and Meaning: Art, Science and Symbolism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 73.

### **The ‘Army Sister’ of St Augustine’s, Neutral Bay (1926-1929)**

Nestling on a road winding down to the harbour in Neutral Bay, Sydney, is a red brick church. In it shine three lights carrying the dedication: ‘to the Glory of God and in memory of those associated with St Augustine’s Church who gave their lives in the Great War 1914-1918, this window is a tribute from the parishioners.’ In 1929, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported it to be a ‘parish memorial to its fallen soldiers.’<sup>68</sup> However, the tribute emblazoned at its base subtly defined sacrifice in gender-neutral terms. Of the eighty-three parishioners of the church who served in the conflict, seventeen did not return. One among these was a nurse.

Like many Australian communities, the parishioners of St Augustine’s desired to commemorate service as well as sacrifice in its memorial. In 1929, this desire extended past a prevailing masculine narrative and embraced a woman within its imagery. This presented the parishioners of St Augustine’s with a distinctive challenge as the traditions reflected in the contemporary iconography of memorialisation provided them with little guidance in navigating such complexities. The Anzac Memorial in Hyde Park, with its abundance of nurses, was yet to be built and its temporary solution – the Cenotaph in Martin Place – lacked a nursing presence. No memorial form in Sydney depicted a member of the AANS. Unlike the *Clark Windows* in Brisbane, their subject matter influenced by an ecclesiastical schema, the St Augustine’s lights developed from the actions of a congregation negotiating the politics of memory on its own terms. The care taken in creating the image of a nurse in stained glass defied the prevailing commemorative narrative and resulted in a unique interpretation of service and sacrifice within a local context of remembrance.

St Augustine’s new church was dedicated in November 1924 and replaced an existing wooden structure.<sup>69</sup> In April 1926, the congregation eagerly awaited the arrival of its first four windows from England.<sup>70</sup> With their dedication the following September, the Parish Council finally announced its decision to install a Soldiers’ Memorial Window as an appropriate form of remembrance for the war.<sup>71</sup> A brass tablet naming the fallen was also pledged if sufficient money was raised.<sup>72</sup> Seven months later the Council realised that, as the war memorial ‘project had been under weigh [sic] for five years, unless some special effort were made’ to raise funds and complete

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<sup>68</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 1929, 7.

<sup>69</sup> T. F. McKnight, *Saint Augustine’s, 1887-1977* (Neutral Bay: D. S. Ford, Printers, 1977), 6, 10.

<sup>70</sup> Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), 28 April 1926, Sydney Diocesan Archives (SDA); The Church was dedicated on 29 November 1924: McKnight, *St Augustine’s*, 10.

<sup>71</sup> *St Augustine’s Parish Messenger*, September 1926, 2-3.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1926, 12; Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), 12 July 1926, SDA.

the task, 'it would be many years before finality was reached.'<sup>73</sup> An appeal for monies made in conjunction with the memorial's announcement harvested well under half of the previous year's takings of £27. Unsurprisingly, offertories collected at services related to Anzac Day continued to be the most lucrative.<sup>74</sup> The promised memorial tablet never eventuated and St Augustine's instead produced a paper-based roll of honour.<sup>75</sup> As occurred in the civic context, as time after the Armistice lengthened, the motivation of some parishes to complete their war memorial waned.<sup>76</sup> At St Michael and All Angels Church of England, New Farm, enthusiasm to complete its parish honour board stalled following the war. After intermittent bursts amid fading congregational interest, the rector forewent democratic process and completed it himself in 1925.<sup>77</sup>

In April 1928, and with just over half of the £290 required in hand, St Augustine's' church wardens ordered their commemorative window from London.<sup>78</sup> Heaton, Butler and Bayne received its instructions: to incorporate figures reflecting the corps and services of the parishioners who served and died abroad.<sup>79</sup> Influences for this subject matter can be attributed to two sources. The first was the *Jones Window*. Reported widely in the Australian press upon its despatch from London in 1926, its contemporary subject matter offered a striking yet pleasing contrast to the other three biblically-themed windows installed at the same time (Figure 2.12).<sup>80</sup> Trooper William Jones appeared in his light-horseman's uniform before Christ in a two-light window donated by his grieving mother. Situated against the rocky terrain of Gallipoli and with dawn lighting the night sky, the familiarity of iconic Australian flora – waratahs, golden wattle and flannel flowers – softened an image of death in an alien land and helped Amy Booth-Jones relocate her grief to a local context. Just as touching a name on a war memorial allowed the grieving to connect with the memory of a loved

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<sup>73</sup> Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), 27 April 1927, SDA.

<sup>74</sup> St Augustine's Neutral Bay, Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the Twelve Months ended March 31, 1929, Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), SDA.

<sup>75</sup> Although announced to the congregation in September 1926, Council minutes reveal it had already established and was collecting for the Parish War Memorial Fund during previous financial years: Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), SDA; McKnight, *Saint Augustine's*, 15. Roll of honour is located in the entrance to the church.

<sup>76</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 124.

<sup>77</sup> St Michael and All Angels Parish Council Minutes (1899-1920) and (1921-26), NEWFS105-8, AAB.

<sup>78</sup> Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), 23 April 1928; St Augustine's, Neutral Bay; Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the Twelve Months ended March 1929, Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), SDA.

<sup>79</sup> This correspondence has not survived. Analysis of the names listed on the parish's honour roll against the corresponding service records held by the NAA reveals that the names of those parishioners who can be located are all represented by figures of their particular corps or service in the window.

<sup>80</sup> On 12 April 1926, see reports in: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11; *Brisbane Courier*, 8; *Register*, 5; *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 7; along with *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 April 1926, 8.



Figure 2.12: Heaton, Butler and Bayne, *Jones Window*, 1926. Nave, St Augustine's, Neutral Bay. Author's image.



one in a tangible way, a mother sitting in the light of her son in Christ's care could perhaps sense his spirit while taking comfort in her faith.<sup>81</sup>

It is likely that Colonel Albert Fewtrell, parishioner at Neutral Bay and a veteran of the Western Front, was the second influence. He was an active member of the congregation of Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle, while its elaborate Warriors' Chapel was being planned and built in 1923-24. Fewtrell observed the democratic nature of remembrance that Dean Crotty instilled in its scheme of glass (Chapter Three).<sup>82</sup> Like the *Jones Window*, the Newcastle scheme received favourable press: the *Mercury* reported 'a special feature being [its] windows depicting notable incidents of the war' while the *Sydney Morning Herald* praised a 'remarkable feature of the chapel ... the thirteen windows depicting war scenes.'<sup>83</sup> Fewtrell's influence in the Neutral Bay Parish was apparent; plans for its memorial languished for many years but gained momentum with his return to the suburb in 1926 and, upon his appointment as church warden in 1928, collection of funds for its purchase surged.<sup>84</sup> Well positioned to influence the subject matter of the lights, his guidance may have been critical to managing the response of the congregation when Booth Jones ordered another war-related memorial window. This occurred at around the same time the main thrust for completing the Parish's war memorial took place.<sup>85</sup>

It was the Bishop of Adelaide who identified during the war that individual memorialisation within churches had the potential to incite jealousies and it is hard to imagine that the *Jones Window* was received with enthusiasm by all at St Augustine's.<sup>86</sup> Booth Jones allowed the belief to flourish in parish and newspaper reports associated with her son's window that he was killed or 'fell in action at Chanuk on August 1<sup>st</sup> 1919.'<sup>87</sup> That the Armistice occurred nearly nine months earlier made this a technical impossibility, as did the family death notice published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on

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<sup>81</sup> For examples of touching a war memorial see: Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory*, 35; Stephens, "Memory, Commemoration and the Meaning of a Suburban War Memorial," 253; Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 178. At St Stephen's, Gardenvale, a mother regularly sat in the pew beside her son's memorial window: Nan Phillips, *A Centenary History of St Stephen's, Gardenvale* (Gardenvale: St Stephen's, 1982), 138-39

<sup>82</sup> *Newcastle Diocesan Churchman*, 2 June 1924, 25.

<sup>83</sup> *Mercury*, 13 October 1924, 2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 October 1924, 18.

<sup>84</sup> NAA: B2455, FEWTRELL A. B. Albert Fewtrell's service as a church warden is evident on the 'Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the Twelve Months Ended March 31 1929', Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954), SDA. This the period during which the window's subject matter was determined and communicated to Heaton, Butler and Bayne.

<sup>85</sup> Booth Jones' second set of lights was dedicated at the same service as the *Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window* indicating that it was imported as part of the same cargo. It was either conceived, ordered and designed immediately prior to or at the same time as the Parish commemorative window: *Parish Messenger*, September 1929, 2.

<sup>86</sup> *Church News*, 1 November 1917, 10.

<sup>87</sup> *Parish Messenger*, August 1926, 2. See also *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 April 1926, 8, where it was stated that he 'died at Chanuk.'

22 January 1919. It reported Trooper William Jones' death from influenza in Salonica three weeks earlier.<sup>88</sup> He was subsequently buried in the British Cemetery, Chanuk.<sup>89</sup> Booth Jones' appropriation of a valorous battlefield death for William must have stung many in the congregation. The mother of Aubrey Farmer, an infantryman killed in action at Gallipoli, never learned where her son lay; his remains remained missing and his brother, a naval officer, perished three years later.<sup>90</sup> Jack Sams, a light-horseman like Jones, did not return from attempting to rescue a wounded mate at Quinn's Post. His family received some comfort when later advised that his remains had been located and afforded a Christian burial.<sup>91</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, a hierarchy sometimes developed around how a man died; the battlefield death was privileged above all others. A stained glass window had the potential to divide a community grappling with individual losses when it favoured a member whose death was subsequently crafted to meet that criterion. It is possible that Neutral Bay's parish window was primarily a political statement against one mother's appropriation of a valorous wartime death for her son rather than the declaration of patriotism it initially appears to the contemporary eye,

Early in 1929, Heaton, Butler and Bayne duly dispatched to St Augustine's a sketch of its design for the *Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window* (Figure 2.13).<sup>92</sup> This small drawing offered the Council its first glimpse of the window along with an opportunity to amend any details found wanting before physical work on the lights commenced. In general, the Council liked what it saw as the window remained remarkably true to the sketch: in the left light an artilleryman, engineer, light horseman and airman stand proud and tall, a biplane soaring in the sky above. A sailor of the *HMAS Sydney*, machine gunner, infantryman, medical officer and stretcher bearer populate the right light. In the centre, the Risen Christ hovers on a cloud above a sand-bagged dressing station reminiscent of the tomb from which He emerged following His Resurrection. Sitting immediately below is a nurse rolling a bandage. She is afforded security by Christ's presence and the fortifications of her position. Promoting the masculine image of the AIF – broad-shouldered, square-jawed, erect and armed – this window preserves the ideals of male chivalry; the servicemen form an additional barricade around the defenceless nurse. The rocky and scrubby terrain, like that in the *Jones Window*, suggests Gallipoli.

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<sup>88</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 January 1919, 12.

<sup>89</sup> NAA: B2455, JONES W. C.

<sup>90</sup> St Augustine's Roll of Honour; NAA: B2455, FARMER A; <https://www.awm.gov.au/people/rolls/R1713409/> (downloaded 24 November 2015).

<sup>91</sup> St Augustine's Roll of Honour; NAA: B2455, SAMS JACK CLIVE; AWM 1DRL/0428.

<sup>92</sup> Faculty for St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, 11 March 1929, vol. 2, Archbishop of Sydney Acts and Proceedings (1919-1930), SDA.

The Parish Council requested only a handful of changes to the window. National identity trumped religious faith when a number of holy symbols in the dedication at its base were substituted with four rising suns and two 'AIF's. Other amendments were primarily associated with the figure of the nurse.<sup>93</sup> A black and white photograph of the sketch suggests she is wearing the grey and scarlet uniform of the AANS.<sup>94</sup> On her right rather than left forearm, a Red Cross brassard substitutes for the embroidered insignia of the AANS. Another significant accoutrement was also omitted from her attire; a silver rising sun brooch affixed centrally to her collar. Despite badges being discernible on collars of the Australian engineer and artilleryman in the window, the brooch remains absent in the extant light. Rather than the insignia of the AANS, the nurse's brassard was replaced with a simple Red Cross badge and, most curiously, her shoulder cape changed to white. A white cape has never formed part of the uniform of the AANS (Figure 2.14).

The inaccuracies evident in the nurse's uniform appear unusual, particularly when viewed against the Australian servicemen in the window whose representations, apart from some minor confusion regarding collar badges on one figure, are relatively precise.<sup>95</sup> However, when the identity of the St Augustine's nurse who died is examined, the motivation for the changes becomes evident. Sister Florence 'Narrelle' Hobbes served with the QAIMNSR and perished at sea just four days shy of Australia in May 1918.<sup>96</sup> As identified in Chapter One, some communities recognised the service of citizens who served the Empire in other armies of the Commonwealth by listing their names alongside those of the AIF and Navy on their war memorials. The North Sydney Memorial of the Dead Committee announced in 1921 that its monument would 'commemorate the sacrifice of the men and nurses who gave their lives' in the war.<sup>97</sup> Sister Hobbes' name appears as the only nurse on this non-figurative memorial located not far from the church. However, while the casting of names for a memorial was a relatively straight-forward process, portraying a nurse in another nation's uniform was more equivocal. It is likely that depicting a British nurse was not an issue for the congregation; the medical officer in the right light wears the uniform and insignia of the New

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<sup>93</sup> These changes have been determined by direct comparison of the sketch (Figure 2.13) with the extant window.

<sup>94</sup> Faculty for St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, 11 March 1929, Volume 2, Archbishop of Sydney Acts and Proceedings (1919-1930), SDA.

<sup>95</sup> The author is indebted to the staff of the History, Heraldry and Technology Department at the AWM for their expertise and advice in relation to establishing the accuracy of the uniforms depicted in the extant window.

<sup>96</sup> Melanie Oppenheimer, *Oceans of Love: Narrelle - an Australian Nurse in World War I* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2006), 256.

<sup>97</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 January 1921, 10 and 3 February 1921, 6. A transcription error on the North Sydney monument lists Narrelle as 'Sister Hobbes, M.'

Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF). This suggests that another member of the parish served in an army other than the AIF.<sup>98</sup> Politics were still at play and St Augustine's sent two nurses to war.

The colour of a cape is crucial to deciphering the significance St Augustine's placed on depicting a nurse in its window. Sister Nora Gilchrist also served her Empire during World War I and, like Narrelle Hobbes, she too wore the uniform of the QAIMNSR.<sup>99</sup> Prior to leaving Sydney in December 1915, Nora worked at the Garrison Hospital, Victoria Barracks, Paddington, where she wore the uniform of the AANS.<sup>100</sup> Apart from the rising sun and AANS badge, an Australian army nurse was distinguished from a member of the QAIMNSR by her cape. The Australian army nurse wore a short scarlet cape modelled on that of the permanent nursing services of the British Army – the Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS).<sup>101</sup> Members of its reserve component – the QAIMNSR – were issued with a grey cape trimmed in a broad band of scarlet.<sup>102</sup> It is likely that, based on the absence of AANS accoutrements in the sketch, Heaton, Butler and Bayne initially conceptualised the nurse as a hybrid of the Australian and British nursing services. That this occurred from the perspective of the QAIMNS may have been influenced by the convenience the cape offered to both it and the AANS. However, expressing the nurse as an AANS-QAIMNS amalgam visually disregarded the sacrifice of Hobbes and the service of Gilchrist who, as members of the QAIMNSR, wore the grey cape trimmed with scarlet. Further complicating matters was that Gilchrist had worn the Australian uniform but did not embark as a member of the AIF; adopting the cape of the QAIMNSR was to omit the AANS and its role in the AIF entirely from an Australian commemorative window.<sup>103</sup>

Despite the challenges a uniform posed, the congregation remained resolute in honouring its nurses. The substitution of the scarlet cape with a white one – the latter being the universal colour of neutrality and purity – in the window resolved the issues of both service and sacrifice being embodied by the one figure. It assigned the nurse a generic status rather than that of a member of a specific service of a particular army. Following the dedication of the *Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window* in August 1929, the *Sydney Morning Herald* described 'a woman in the uniform of a

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<sup>98</sup> This may also explain the motivation for the depiction of the two badges – the Rising Sun and an Artillery badge – on the collar of the artilleryman in the left light; a member of the congregation may have served in an Artillery Regiment in the British Army. I have been unable to determine who the NZEF figure represents.

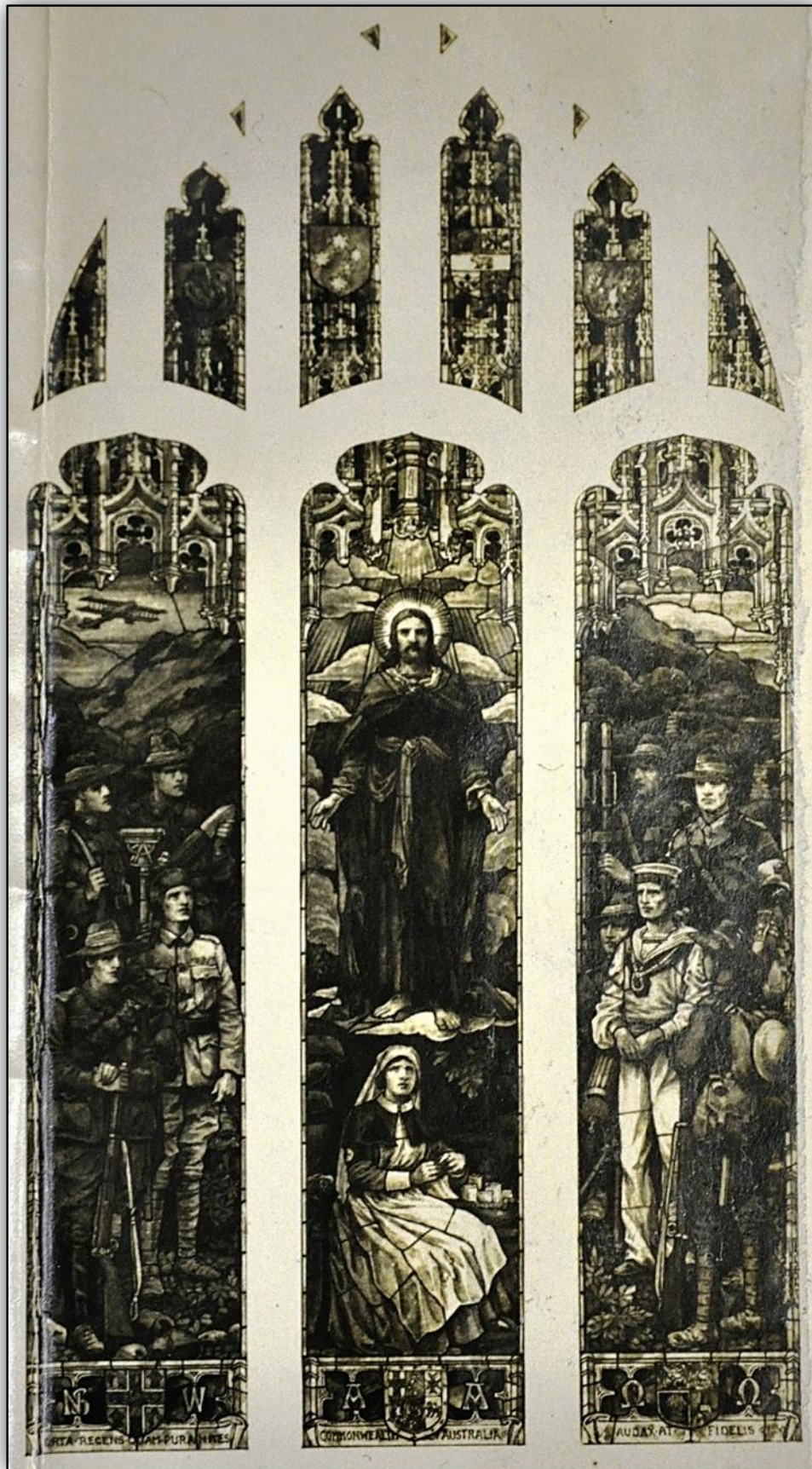
<sup>99</sup> St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, Roll of Honour; WO 399/3102, Gilchrist, Nora, National Archives, United Kingdom: downloaded 24 November 2015: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> Nora is identified by Ruth Rae as joining the AANS in *Veiled Lives*, 355.

<sup>100</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 December 1915, 5.

<sup>101</sup> Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, 3: 547.

<sup>102</sup> Juliet Piggott, *Famous Regiments: Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps* (London: Leo Cooper 1990), 47.

<sup>103</sup> No record for any service with the AIF can be located on either the AWM or the NAA databases for Gilchrist.



**Figure 2.13:** Photographer unknown, *Sketch of Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window* (by unknown Heaton Butler and Bayne artist), c.1928-29. Diocesan Faculty Register: SDA.



**Figure 2.14:** Heaton, Butler and Hayne, *St Augustine's Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window*, 1929. North transept, St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, NSW. Author's image.

member of the Australian Nursing Service' amongst the servicemen.<sup>104</sup> However, entrusted to write a detailed account of the memorial for the *Parish Messenger*, Fewtrell referred to her simply as an 'army sister.'<sup>105</sup> He avoided defining the nurse as a member of a particular service or identifying her with a specific nation. In contrast to most of the men in the window, whom he described as an 'Australian gunner', 'Australian Air Force pilot', a 'Light Horseman' or a 'sailor of HMAS "Sydney,"' he also referred to the serviceman in the uniform of the NZEF as a 'medical officer.'<sup>106</sup> Unlike the newspaper, the Colonel carefully evaded attributing nationality to any figure in the window he knew not to be wearing an Australia uniform. His description lends further support to his involvement as a primary influence in the window's subject matter.

With the coats of arms of the Australian States of the Commonwealth and a centrally-placed 'shield embodying the badges of the six sets of coats-of-arms', the *Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window* is unique in respect to the degree of patriotic sentiment imbued in its design.<sup>107</sup> While other commemorative windows installed following World War I sometimes featured such symbols of national identity – the Australian flag or the rising sun – none were as replete with them as that of St Augustine's.<sup>108</sup> By 1929, war memorialisation across the nation favoured the AIF and the AIF embodied Australia.<sup>109</sup> A New Zealander standing amid Diggers in respect to remembrance might suggest the primacy of 'Anzac' rather than 'Australia,' cautioned AWM Director John Treloar, himself as Gallipoli veteran, to one of his artists in 1938.<sup>110</sup> It appears that 'Anzac' did not always enjoy the broad commemorative meaning that it does today and the suggestion of a British nurse may have further complicated matters for St Augustine's. The uniform of its NZEF officer was effectively concealed amid those of the Australians and the substitution of religious with AIF symbolism at the time the nurse's uniform was changed suggests a strategy to exploit the patriotic nature of the window – and parish – and detract from elements subversive to the primacy of the AIF in its subject matter. Careful composition, judicious amendments to design and a measured description effectively camouflaged the identities of its non-AIF members while mediating a congregation's grief and representing all equally. Further establishing the inclusive nature of commemoration following World War I, the Parish of Neutral Bay, like the Diocese of Brisbane, overcame the limitations imposed by civic commemoration where local war memorials often accommodated the memory of a single figure of a single corps of a single service during World War

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<sup>104</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 1929, 7.

<sup>105</sup> *Parish Messenger*, September 1929, 2.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>107</sup> *Parish Messenger*, September 1929, 3.

<sup>108</sup> I thank Dr Bronwyn Hughes for debate on the features of World War I congregational windows featuring symbols of Australian identity.

<sup>109</sup> *Capricornian*, 13 January 1927, 51.

<sup>110</sup> John Treloar to Leslie Bowles, 18 May 1938, AWM315 234-005-001 01.

I: the infantryman. A transept window, like a State memorial, was capable of housing many uniformed figures but within a local context.

The army nurses of the *Clark Windows* of St John's Cathedral, Brisbane, and the *Parish Soldier's Memorial Window* of St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, share other similarities. Primarily, neither of the women are engaged in their primary function of nursing damaged or sick servicemen with both appearing as middle-class women: in Brisbane she is praying, at Neutral Bay she performs the technical task of rolling a bandage (though from a distance she appears to be sewing). Half a decade later, a nurse sitting on the south buttress of the Anzac Memorial undertook the latter (Figure 1.10). By acknowledging the nurse's active role in the war, a bandage indirectly alluded to injury without emasculating men. However, by subtly isolating martial masculinity with sandbagged walls in Neutral Bay and gender-specific windows in Brisbane, additional safeguards to martial virility were realised.

Terrain was also used in the Neutral Bay window to ensure that the presence of a member of the nursing services did not compromise her brothers-in-arms. Like the nurse, 'nature attempts to heal the wounds' of war but through regrowth and regeneration rather than nurturing and support.<sup>111</sup> Catherine Speck's analysis of the landscape of battle in World War I art reveals a masculine paradigm of destruction, physical adversity and death, a terrain from which women were excluded.<sup>112</sup> Rather than biblical figures, the contemporary subject matter of St Augustine's window visually associates man with Christ's sacrifice. The figures in the Neutral Bay lights are situated in a setting of rebirth rather than conflict; plants blossoming brightly at the base of the left light and in its shadows provide a floral analogy to Christ's resurrection. A decade after the end of the war, this not only ensured a contemporary memorial, it also preserved the masculinity of combat by portraying a regenerated rather than an active field of battle. In this context, the nurse assumed a symbolic as well as a visual presence. Signifying renewal following the environmental and human devastation of war, she delivers new life under the guise of Mother Nature and Motherhood respectively. Seated at the feet of Christ, the army sister of St Augustine's assumes an emblematic presence as the most significant mother in Christianity: the Virgin Mary.

Ken Inglis writes that the nurse was perceived as 'both more and less than "part of the army"' and nowhere was this more evident than in these two commemorative windows where service and

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<sup>111</sup> Catherine Speck, "Landscape and the Memory of War," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The Proceedings of the 32rd International Congress in the History of Art.*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press, 2009), 652.

<sup>112</sup> Speck, *Painting Ghosts*, 26-31; "Edith Cavell," 88.



sacrifice appeared subtly delineated on the basis of gender.<sup>113</sup> While this could be attributed to the dualities evident in the Church, of which man and woman is one of the most conspicuous, another similarity shared by the nurses in the windows of St John's and St Augustine's was that while both Diocese and Parish lost a nurse during the war, she died from illness rather than as the result of enemy action. The martial death hierarchy privileged servicemen: the nurse, unable to meet its criteria, was not permitted entry to its echelon. Isolated from the men beside whom she served in the windows may have also reflected the manner in which she died during the war: as a non-battle casualty.

The first depiction of a member of the AANS in a memorial form – in the left light of the *Clark Windows* of St John's Cathedral, Brisbane – occurred through happenstance rather than intent when an Archbishop requested a 'Red Cross nurse' be included in its subject matter. The AANS never established primacy as the embodiment of wartime nursing in the eyes of many Australians during or the conflict. The nation was unable to clearly distinguish between the opposing images of the professionally-trained nurse and the untrained VA. During the war, newspaper reports regularly confused the women in AANS grey for 'Red Cross nurses' as did a striking Red Cross recruitment poster of the period. This confusion persisted following the conflict and affected the memorialisation of the AANS most visibly when a local memorial committee mistakenly depicted a VA rather than an army nurse.

A change in traditional rituals of remembrance lay at the heart of the army nurse's portrayal in the two commemorative windows in which she appeared when individual memorialisation was contested within the Church of England. At St John's Cathedral, Brisbane, the flexibility shown by an Archbishop in adopting the commemorative practices of his Church supported those desired by his congregation. But they also benefitted the Cathedral financially when the potential source of income such practices represented was recognised. While creating lights that appealed to a father's need to remember his son, the Archbishop strategically used the *Clark Windows* to create a visual link to, and garner financial support for, the Diocesan war memorial. The army nurse's inclusion in a light dedicated to women recognised the sacrifice of both genders equally during the war. But it also represented a valuable opportunity to mobilise Diocesan donations in a similar fashion. While the economy of sacrifice could flex its muscle to exclude a nurse's name from a memorial in the local context, it could also open its arms and welcome her image into its embrace in the religious setting.

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<sup>113</sup> Inglis, "Men, Women and War Memorials," 37.

‘Common ground’ was indeed imperative to the stained glass window’s ability to resonate as a war memorial when the established ritual of churches conflicted with the communal commemorative practices that evolved within society during the war. It is possible that stained glass assumed a political dimension when, in some churches, it came to represent privilege rather than parity in war-related remembrance. At Neutral Bay, a privately-donated window united a congregation and resulted in a unique expression of commemorative stained glass. The action of this parish raises the notion of it as another of Jay Winter’s forms of ‘fictive kinship’, whereby small-scale ‘families of remembrance’, unrelated by genetic or matrimonial bonds, came together outside national movements to memorialise war.<sup>114</sup> The parishioners of St Augustine’s drew inspiration from a prevailing culture of local commemoration where, in many cases, citizens were named on war memorials regardless of gender or uniform worn. Allowing them to creatively shape their own vision of remembrance while negotiating parish and commemorative politics, the memorial form that resulted demonstrated a flexibility in service and sacrifice unique to the local – and national – context. Gender-neutral and accommodating Allied service, it further demonstrates the inclusive nature of remembrance that some Australian communities were capable of embracing at the closing of the decade following in the wake of World War I.

At St Augustine’s, Neutral Bay, and as on the commemorative component of the Anzac Memorial, Sydney, the technical task of rolling a bandage did not directly reference damaged servicemen and therefore avoided emasculating the men or the monument. As in the Shrine of Remembrance and the utilitarian component of the State monument of NSW, the masculinity of the men in these two windows was preserved by neutralising the nurse’s overtly feminine presence: she was isolated from the greater AIF and, in NSW, located in a battlefield resurrected from the wounds of war. However, on the stone sculptures of the State monuments of NSW and Victoria, colour was irrelevant. It cannot be coincidental that two English stained glass firms elected to express the grey uniform of the army nurse in blue glass rather than grey. The traditional and symbolic associations with the colour blue and the portrayal of the nurse in commemorative windows following World War I cannot be ignored. The member of the AANS in the *Clark Windows* of St John’s Cathedral, Brisbane, and the Army Sister of St Augustine’s, Neutral Bay, establish allegorical and visual links with the symbolism of service, sacrifice and sainthood in religious art. The most compelling of these saints, given the non-combatant status of the nurse, is the Virgin Mother – St Mary – in her robe of blue. Bronwyn Hughes describes the khaki-clad figure of the infantryman who emerged in local windows during and after World War I as the *Secular Saint* of stained glass.<sup>115</sup> These two

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<sup>114</sup> Winter, "Forms of Kinship and Remembrance," 40-41.

<sup>115</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 201.

windows reflect the army nurse as its *Martial Madonna*. Most significantly, the colour of her uniform privileged the nurse's presence by establishing an association with the saintly aura of sacrifice. Dressed in heavenly blue rather than AANS grey, the army nurse assumed the mantle of the most significant woman in Christianity when she became the *Martial Madonna* of Australian commemorative glass.

## Chapter Three

### **The Hero[in]es of Humanity: the Warriors' Chapels of Newcastle and Bathurst (1923-1930)**

Michael McKernan writes that contemporary research focussing on the field of religion and World War I needs to address the churches' response to the grief that the conflict engendered.<sup>1</sup> Within the religious context, the donation of a stained glass memorial window served as a traditional ritual for the expression of individual or family sorrow for well over half a century prior to World War I.<sup>2</sup> Its adaptation to a communal form of religious remembrance during and after the conflict conformed to practices occurring in the secular environment and, while benefitting those who mourned, the change also advantaged a church financially (Chapter Two). The construction of Warriors' (or Soldiers') Chapels, highly visible and spiritually appropriate ways for some Church of England parishes and dioceses to collectively remember the sacrifice of volunteers, met the needs of their grieving members while augmenting the assets of the church in which they were located. Chapter Three analyses the lights portraying wartime nursing service in the windows of two regional NSW Warriors' Chapels. It also provides the first examination of the influences, genesis and management contributing to the construction of the commemorative spaces in which they were contained.

Apart from housing windows acknowledging the service of the nurse during times of war, the Warriors' Chapels of Christ Church, Newcastle, and All Saints', Bathurst, shared another similarity: both were conceived by clergymen who served as chaplains in the AIF. Examining how the experiences of these two men – before, during and after the war – influenced the construction of these spaces, this chapter also considers the purposes for which they were built. The archival resources of Christ Church and All Saints' Cathedrals, along with the voluminous papers of Melbourne architect Louis Williams, provide a glimpse into how two ex-chaplains responded to the needs of their communities – and the memory of the men they vowed to defend – following the conflict. Both priests created their chapels primarily to preserve the memory of their regions' fallen but evidence suggests that they also used them to try and influence the sectarian stalemate

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<sup>1</sup> Michael McKernan, "Churches at War: Now and Then," *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 33 (2012): 70.

<sup>2</sup> Kerney, "The Victorian Memorial Window," 69.

pervading Australian society following the war.<sup>3</sup> Situating their memorials as monuments of united civic pride, they attempted to embrace the AIF's 'brotherhood of the battlefield' within the confines of their cathedrals. In Newcastle, stained glass proved central to that success; in Bathurst, it failed spectacularly.

While the individual ability of each priest was influential to his chapel's ultimate outcome, timing proved the critical factor in achieving their goals: sacrifice had a 'use-by-date.' Necessarily moving backwards and forwards in time, this chapter reveals how one ex-chaplain rode the crest of a commemorative wave and was rewarded with a community that engaged with his vision. The other found the tide rapidly turning on the collective focus of remembrance when sectarianism and self-glorification resumed the mantle of memorialisation in his diocese as parishes began turning their backs on the need to remember and got on with looking to the future. By 1924, the economy of sacrifice was starting to run dry. Memorialisation was again adapted to meet the financial needs of completing a significant structural component of a cathedral when the currency of the fallen ran out.

The two very different embodiments of the nurse in these chapels illustrate the challenges that her allegorical expression presented. A ready supply of soldier saints caused little concern when representing the men of the AIF as religious warriors: St George – the patron saint of England and soldiers – had been readily recruited into the role by the church bearing the Motherland's name since the Boer War.<sup>4</sup> Despite the death of a Victorian nurse during that conflict, no guiding precedent existed in stained glass to assist the religious representation of a woman.<sup>5</sup> The role each clergyman played in his cathedral, along with his ability to conceptualise loss to an aesthetic level, became vital when the economy of sacrifice began to falter and wealthy benefactors flexed their financial muscle. As a result, two very different visual and symbolic representations of the nurse during war evolved. At Newcastle she was allegorically associated with Christ's Crucifixion and the spiritual ideology of the man who conceived the scheme. At Bathurst, the social standing and status of the donor was fortified by the nurse's depiction as a contemporary imperial heroine. While this was at odds with the space's philosophical purpose, the values sustaining the 'brotherhood's' commemoration quietly endured thanks to the discreet determination of one former chaplain and the presence of a British rather than an Australian nurse's sacrifice during war.

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<sup>3</sup> Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War* (Marrickville: Southwood Press, 1980), 178.

<sup>4</sup> Wilcox, "Our Other Unknown Soldier," 164.

<sup>5</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 56.

## Men of God, men of war

With the Armistice on 11 November 1918, the war ended for many. For others, their work in uniform continued without respite. Bathurst's Bishop, George Merrick Long (1874-1930), was responsible for organising vocational and civil training of Australia's servicemen and nurses in preparation for their demobilisation after the war (Figure 3.1).<sup>6</sup> Transferred from the Australian Reinforcements Camp in France in October 1918, he established the AIF's Education Scheme in London.<sup>7</sup> The Commander of the Australian Forces, General Birdwood, made it 'perfectly plain that this educational organisation is not concerned in politics, sectarianism, or propaganda, but is purely designed for the benefit of the men, and ... it will not be used for any other purpose.'<sup>8</sup> Birdwood's warning was, in all likelihood, directed at the citizens and clergy of Australia.



**Figure 3.1:** Chaplain George Merrick Long, c.1918. Anglican Diocese of Bathurst Archives (ADBA), Bathurst, NSW.

During and after the war, the nation was consumed by sectarian prejudices where a man's – or woman's – faith could have ramifications on their social standing or occupational status. In June 1918, a hospital committee in Mudgee, NSW, was accused of dismissing its Matron on the grounds that she was a Roman Catholic.<sup>9</sup> Long, a liberal churchman, abhorred sectarianism. He believed it to be responsible for the propagation of barriers that limited the ability of society to fulfil its capacity for responsible citizenship. Language Long used in the years following his demobilisation suggested his experience with the AIF only strengthened this sentiment.<sup>10</sup> In 1924, and in the presence of the Governor-General, he stated that the Church needed to 'eschew the narrow and

<sup>6</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 31 December 1918, 3; Ruth Teale, "Long, George Merrick (1874-1930)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1986), 10: 134-35.

<sup>7</sup> NAA: B2455, LONG, GEORGE MERRICK.

<sup>8</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 25 October 1918, 4.

<sup>9</sup> McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 177-78; *Bathurst Times*, 7 June 1918, 4

<sup>10</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 10 October 1913, 3.

sectarian spirit... the petty persecuting vexatious suspicious spirit of sectism [sic]' if it was to meet the needs of a post-war nation.<sup>11</sup>

Like Long, others resisted the divisive influences of sectarianism and attempted to temper it with their war experiences. Horace Crotty (1887-1952) served as an AIF chaplain with the 10<sup>th</sup> Battalion where he endured the privations of war alongside the men on the Somme (Figure 3.2).<sup>12</sup> Brigadier-General Gordon Bennett commended Crotty's 'wonderful ability ... in making the spirit of the men right to go into battle' and, in many cases, the chaplain shared an intimate bond with the fallen by offering some spiritual comfort in their final moments and burying others.<sup>13</sup> Upon his return to Australia in June 1919, Crotty stressed to his congregation that the men of the AIF:



**Figure 3.2:** Horace Crotty, c.1930. ADBA, Bathurst, NSW.

were indifferent to the doctrine of rewards and punishments. They were neither enticed by the one nor cowed by the other ... And yet, in the huts or billets, when we went back, when the lights were out, or when the pipes were lit, many a time the old, old query would go round the circle. 'If man die, shall he live again?' Religion was a frequent object of discussion in those little circles. I have heard some amazing theology at these times. And, on the other hand I have heard much that would put the theologians right. The men were seldom, I believe, indifferent to the great issues of life and death. But the job had to be done, and there was little time for the 'pale cast of thought.' I would say the same about the fatalism that seemed to many to be the only religion men had in France.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 19 May 1924, 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 13 August 1919, 5 and 1 February 1928, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 29 September 1924, 4; *Young Witness*, 29 April 1919, 2; *Farmer and Settler*, 6 June 1919, 1. For other examples of Chaplains burying the fallen or providing comfort in their final moments see: McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 51, 53, 55, 60, 61.

<sup>14</sup> *Farmer and Settler*, 6 June 1919, 1.

Michael McKernan believes that fatalism, combined with the development of a generic Christian philosophy, helped soldiers 'make sense of their nightmare' on the battlefield.<sup>15</sup> Crotty's words reveal that his faith, like many men's, underwent a transformation in the trenches. He openly rejected the 'pale cast of thought' of the churchmen who shaped his earlier religious convictions for those he experienced alongside the Digger. Patrick Porter writes that '[a]lienated by the falsities expounded by their churches, [chaplains] came to identify primarily with their community at the front' rather than with their denominational hierarchies at home.<sup>16</sup> On the battlefield, the religious rivalries evident in Australian society became irrelevant to soldier and chaplain alike.<sup>17</sup> Crotty tried to communicate to his flock the enlightenment that war had brought him and made it part of his ministry through words and actions.

On the eve of the Armistice, Chaplain Horace Crotty marched into the unit Bishop Long commanded. The two men met earlier in the century when Crotty began his theological career as a resident master at Melbourne's Trinity Grammar, a school Long presided over as headmaster. The two became 'lifelong friends.'<sup>18</sup> Long and Crotty shared similarly meteoric rises through the Church of England and were enthroned as Bishops by the ages of thirty-seven and forty-one respectively.<sup>19</sup> Long's transfer of Crotty from the Western Front to London bore the hallmarks of not only an ambitious mentor looking after the interests invested in a talented protégé, but also of a friend in need of a trusted ally: Long was subsequently invalided back to Australia suffering from an unspecified 'debility' in 1919, his illness attributed to the 'stress' of his job.<sup>20</sup> He was described as being 'diminished in physical solidity and with many traces of his strenuous work in connection with the AIF' in evidence upon his return to Bathurst in 1919.<sup>21</sup>

Crotty returned to his North Sydney parish and in August 1919 was appointed Dean of Christ Church Cathedral in the regional diocese of Newcastle.<sup>22</sup> Given their personal relationship and time spent together in the AIF, it is unsurprising that Warriors' Chapels dedicated to the fallen appeared in the cathedrals of both men in the decade after the war. However, the different role each priest played in his church not only influenced his ability to engage congregation and community with his plans, it also shaped the direction the schemes of stained glass each chapel took. In particular, it

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<sup>15</sup> Michael McKernan, *Padre: Australian Chaplains in Gallipoli and France* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 90.

<sup>16</sup> Porter, "The Sacred Service," 44.

<sup>17</sup> McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 178. I am also indebted to Reverend Andrew Sempell for discussion on this aspect of ministry.

<sup>18</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 1 February 1928, 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*; Teale, "Long, George Merrick," 10:134.

<sup>20</sup> NAA: B2455, LONG, GEORGE MERRICK.

<sup>21</sup> *Western Age*, 8 July 1919, 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 13 August 1919, 5.



affected the portrayal of the army nurse when the passage of time and local politics shaped her portrayal more powerfully in Bathurst than the need to remember the service and sacrifice of war did in Newcastle.

### **Building on the memory of war**

A. P. Elkin writes that ‘the end of the [First] world war ... provided another opportunity for advancing the Cathedral building’ in Newcastle.<sup>23</sup> Other dioceses also benefitted from the advantages that the end of the conflict brought. By the 1920s, Australia’s Church of England was in the process of augmenting, completing or, in Bathurst’s case, even rebuilding some of their cathedrals. A chapel dedicated to the fallen of World War I became a commemorative feature of some of these edifices and its location in immediate proximity to a cathedral’s high altar reinforced the significance of the sacrifice of lost sons to the Church of England. In contrast to the local war memorial, a Warriors’ (or Soldiers’) Chapel served a dual purpose: while it provided parishioners with a symbolic site to remember their fallen, it also acted as a traditionally sacred space of worship intimately aligned with the Motherland.

Like local war memorials, Warriors’ Chapels relied on the generosity of communities to realise the funds for their construction.<sup>24</sup> While a local monument depended on benefactors within a discrete area – such as a suburb or a town – the finances for Warriors’ Chapels were generally garnered from a broader geographical area. Parishes within a diocese – their clergy and congregations – were responsible for raising the money for their construction along with the fittings and furnishings they contained. These commemorative chapels also became reliquaries of memory in which the sacred and the profane settled comfortably beside each other; artefacts brought back from the front became the holy relics of modern Christian martyrs who sacrificed themselves in Christ’s image at Gallipoli, in the Middle East or on the Western Front.<sup>25</sup> In Ballarat in October 1917, four months after the first 500 trees were planted in the city’s extensive avenue of honour, a parish church – St Peter’s Church of England, Sturt Street – laid the bluestone foundations for a ‘Chapel of St George’ as its soldiers’ memorial.<sup>26</sup> In 1920, St Saviour’s, Goulburn, NSW, began creating its ‘Soldiers’ Memorial Chapel of St Michael and St George’ by enriching an existing area of the Cathedral.<sup>27</sup> The Diocese of Perth elected to extend St George’s Cathedral by adding a ‘Soldiers’ Chapel’ in

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<sup>23</sup> A. P. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle: A History* (Glebe: Australasian Medical Publishing Company, 1955), 549.

<sup>24</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 123-24.

<sup>25</sup> All Saints’ used an oak bookrest unearthed by shellfire from an old church on the Somme to carry its Book of Remembrance: *Newcastle Diocesan Churchman*: November 1924, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Foundation stone, St Peter’s Anglican Church, Sturt Street, Ballarat.

<sup>27</sup> *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 14 November 1922, 4.

1923.<sup>28</sup> By the time Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle, consecrated its ‘Warriors’ Chapel’ in 1924, the term had established currency in Australia and All Saints’, Bathurst, completed its in 1927.<sup>29</sup>

In March 1920, Bishop Long recommended that, due to shifting foundations making extensions to the existing Bathurst Cathedral an impossibility, an entirely new structure be built as ‘a great memorial to the men who fell, and the men who served, and of the Great Victory.’<sup>30</sup> Its plans included a ‘Warriors’ Chapel.’<sup>31</sup> Likewise, in January 1921, Dean Crotty proposed to integrate his Diocese’s war memorial into Christ Church, the cathedral still under construction on a hill overlooking the rolling surf in Newcastle.<sup>32</sup> Named in honour of a combatant of Heaven – the Archangel Michael – his ‘Warriors’ Chapel’ was to be enriched with marble flooring, panelling and ‘a Book of Gold inscribed with the names of the Soldiers who fell in the Great War.’<sup>33</sup>

While the motives for building their chapels lay in a need for Long and Crotty to remember men who perished in the war and meet the spiritual needs of those who mourned them, in economic terms they also provided their dioceses with an opportunity to supplement the substantial costs of building a cathedral in the post-war period. Along with the prelates of Brisbane and Adelaide, Long had earlier recognised the changing needs of his parishioners in respect to memorialising martial loss (Chapter Two). He likewise adopted a communal approach to remembrance; one substantial parish memorial to the fallen and to which all could contribute rather than individual monuments in his churches.<sup>34</sup> A new cathedral containing a Warriors’ Chapel was an ambitious way of achieving his aim. Chapels of the size and scope both priests envisaged demanded suitable schemes of stained glass to convey their purpose as well as provide motivation for benefactors to donate windows. The Chapels of Christ Church and All Saints’ needed thirteen and eleven lights respectively.<sup>35</sup> While many similarities between the two schemes existed, it was the very different experiences and roles of Long and Crotty, along with the environmental, social and personal influences each was subject

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<sup>28</sup> *Daily News*, May 19, 1923, 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miner’s Advocate*, 27 September 1924, 7; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 October 1927, 10. A search for “Warriors Chapel” in the NLA’s Trove database on 6 September 2015 revealed the term was first used by the Australian press in 1923 in connection to the Newcastle structure.

<sup>30</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 2 March 1920, 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Church News*, 1 November 1925, 26.

<sup>32</sup> Building of the Cathedral commenced in 1885: Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, 549; Cathedral Council Minutes, 12 January 1921, AB7829a, Anglican Diocese of Newcastle Archives (ADNA).

<sup>33</sup> Cathedral Council Minutes, 12 January 1921, AB7829a, ADNA.

<sup>34</sup> *Church News*, 1 November 1917, 10; *Church Chronicle* (Brisbane), 1 November 1918, 209.

<sup>35</sup> The Warriors’ Chapel in All Saints’ Cathedral contains twelve lights. Its west window was an existing light relocated from the Old Cathedral into the new building.

to, that resulted in the radically different conceptions of wartime nursing that emerged in the windows of their commemorative chapels.

### Riding the crest of a commemorative wave: Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle (1923-24)



**Figure 3.3:** Proposed Warriors' Chapel, Christ Church Cathedral, and Mr and Mrs Hudson Berkeley. *Newcastle Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 27 September 1923.

Drought stymied the plans of both clergymen to undertake their chapel projects with any haste and this ultimately advantaged the resource-rich port of Newcastle over the pastorally-reliant regional city of Bathurst.<sup>36</sup> Crotty was the first to receive substantial donations from three wealthy sponsors in February 1923. The Berkeley family donated a total of £9000 to build the Chapel while £500 each from two other prominent families provided additional financial foundations for its development (Figure 3.3).<sup>37</sup>

Two things attracted benefactors to donate a window: the subject matter to be embodied in each light and its cost. Crotty started work on a scheme immediately after plans for Newcastle's chapel were finalised and he conceived a 'story of effort and sacrifice of the War in the light of an offering to Christ.'<sup>38</sup> Crotty, like Archbishop Donaldson in Brisbane, used martial sacrifice as a dominant theme but expanded the concept beyond the battlefield. Encompassing several facets of Australian society not commonly recognised in war memorialisation, the windows embodied what the nation offered Christ in war: 'the sacrifice of mother and son, the associated and attendant ministries of doctor, priest, and nurse, the comradeship of man to man in the trenches – as a contribution to the world's better life.'<sup>39</sup> Crotty also allocated two lights to the home service of men and women, thereby engaging the local community with the scheme. The remaining windows combined religious themes, such as Peace

<sup>36</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 213; Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, 549.

<sup>37</sup> Cathedral Council Minutes, 23 February 1923, AB7829a, ADNA; *Newcastle Diocesan Churchman*, August 1923, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Crotty, 1 June 1923: Newcastle Cathedral Diocesan Memorial (The Warriors' Chapel): A6137(IV), ADNA.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

and The Glorified Christ, the latter located in the all-important East Window immediately above the Chapel's altar.<sup>40</sup>

In most cases, Crotty selected a saint or biblical figure to reflect the aspect of sacrifice or effort being embodied in a light: for the *Doctor*, Saint Luke, the patron saint of doctors and for the *Mother*, the Virgin Mary, patron saint of mothers.<sup>41</sup> Sacrifice was presented via the traditional allegorical mode in stained glass. In some cases, the Dean was at a loss to envisage an appropriate identity and relied on Walter Tower, principal of the British firm of Kempe & Co., for advice. The *Nurse* was one such light. Tower suggested 'a Saint representative of womanly sympathy for the suffering,' and he initially considered St Elizabeth of Hungary, one of the patron saints of nurses, as an appropriate candidate.<sup>42</sup> But he instead advocated St Veronica as 'essentially a suitable figure to show as Patroness of Nurses' (Figure 3.4).<sup>43</sup> Tower assured Crotty that she 'would be shown with the handkerchief having Our Lord's face delineated upon it.'<sup>44</sup> The Dean agreed, perceiving St Veronica to 'fitly typify the womanly pity and the ministry of healing performed by the splendid woman of the nursing service.'<sup>45</sup>

St Veronica is believed to be the woman who, as Christ made His way to Calvary, wiped His face with a cloth when He collapsed under the cross's weight. In doing so the image of His face was transferred to it.<sup>46</sup> Not only was man's sacrifice symbolised by the reference to the Crucifixion, a metaphor for nursing became evident through the act of washing Christ's face. Historically, nursing is inextricably associated with practices involving cleanliness of the body.<sup>47</sup> Patient hygiene, the routine 'bed sponge' long undertaken as an important morning ritual in Australian nursing practice, was performed by members of the AANS after a serviceman's admission to a hospital during the war and it provided benefits to both patient and nurse alike.<sup>48</sup> Soldiers found this aspect of care 'intensely therapeutic.'<sup>49</sup> For members of the AANS, undertaking this primary component of care

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Tower to Crotty, 30 July 1923, A6137 (IV), ADNA; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 467-69.

<sup>42</sup> Tower to Crotty, 30 July 1923, A6137 (IV), ADNA.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Christ Church Cathedral, *The Warriors Chapel (Chapel of St Michael): its history and meaning* (Newcastle: Davis & Cannington, 1924), 12.

<sup>46</sup> Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 433-34; Peter Murray, Linda Murray and Tom Devonshire Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 635.

<sup>47</sup> Zane Robinson Wolf, "Nurses' Work: The Sacred and the Profane," *Holistic Nursing Perspective* 1, no. 1 (1986): 32-33.

<sup>48</sup> Harris, *More Than Bombs and Bandages*, 108.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 3.4:** C. E. Kempe & Co, *Nurse* (St Veronica), 1924. South Wall, Christ Church Cathedral, Warriors' Chapel, Newcastle. Author's image.

provided the opportunity to inspect and assess aspects of their patients' physical and emotional condition. Depending on the reason for his admission, a nurse might check a man's skin for additional lacerations and abrasions that needed dressing, assess his joints for their range of movement, evaluate his comprehension of simple commands or gauge his degree of pain. A cloth in the hands of St Veronica offered a far more powerful allegory for the work and proficiency of the army nurse than that of a bandage being rolled by an army sister in the window at St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, or a nurse seated on the southern buttress of the future Anzac Memorial in Hyde Park (Chapters Two and One respectively).

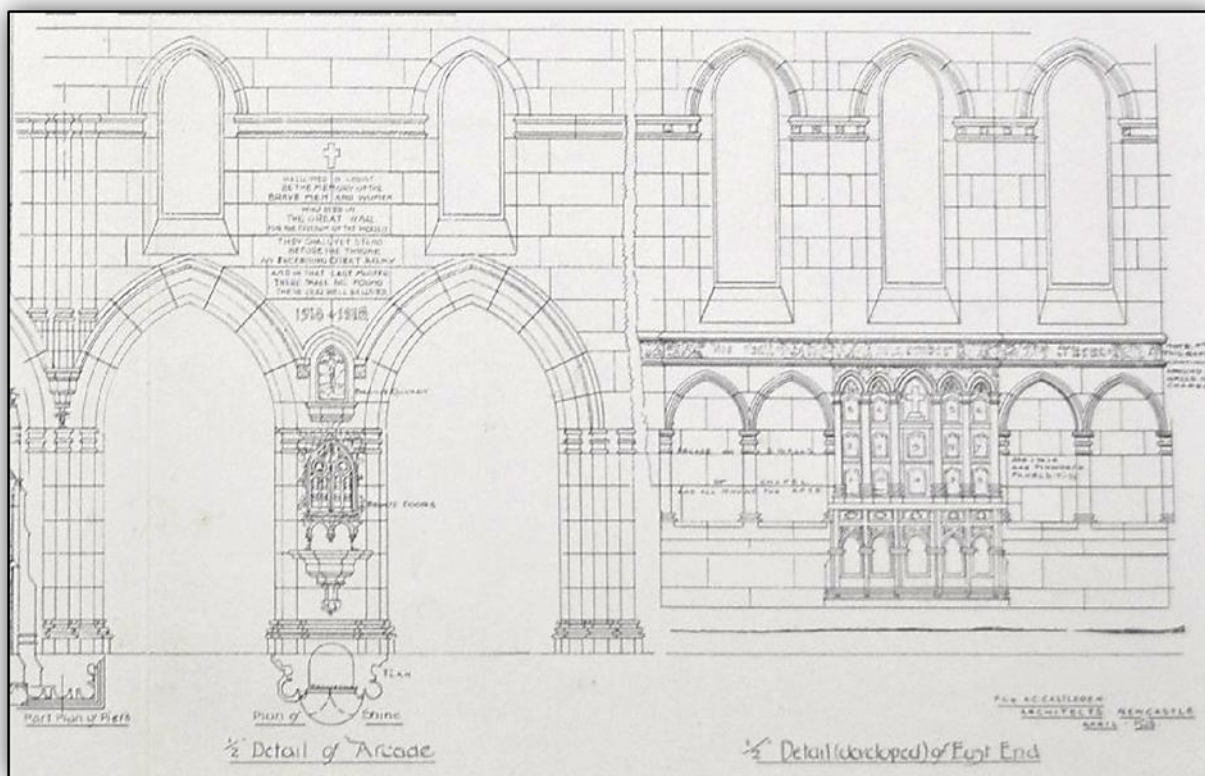
Tower recognised an unusual feature of the Warriors' Chapel which had the potential to disrupt the cohesion of the proposed scheme and privilege certain windows and martial virtues. The Chapel's position in the north-east corner of the Cathedral necessitated a variation in height of its southern windows. The architects shortened these four lights in order to accommodate the arches of the arcade into the Chapel from the Cathedral's ambulatory (Figure 3.5). In order to maintain the unity of the scheme, Crotty approved Tower's proposal that the dominant figure in all fifteen windows be of identical height. To compensate for the additional length of the lights of the apse and northern wall, a medallion of glass was inserted at their base and, in the north windows, subject matter related to the AIF were depicted in miniature.<sup>50</sup> In the case of the *Doctor*, 'a typical scene representing the work of the Doctors and the Red Cross at the Front' was shown.<sup>51</sup>

Crotty also recognised the privileges with which the north windows were endowed: not only were they larger, they were immediately apparent when entering the Chapel from the Cathedral. He allocated to these windows subject matter addressing male service and sacrifice: the *Warrior*, *Doctor* and *Stretcher Bearer*. The *Nurse* was assigned to the smaller southern lights where the presence of the *Mother* and *Home Service (Women)*, depicting St Mary and St Martha carrying spinning accessories respectively, embedded her in the maternal and domestic contexts. While society's prevailing image of the nurse offers the most likely explanation for her segregation from her male counterparts, the Dean's perception of the army nurse provides another.

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<sup>50</sup> Tower to Crotty, 30 July 1923, A6137 (IV), ADNA.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 3.5:** Architects' elevations for Christ Church Warriors' Chapel: FG & AC Castleden, Arcade (left) and Apse (right), 1923. A6137 (IV), AAN.

Crotty's request that Tower incorporate a Red Cross into this light suggests that he, despite his AIF service and like many other Australians, was unable to distinguish between the army nurse and VA (Chapter Two).<sup>52</sup> The latter wore the symbol of the organisation she volunteered for: a plain Red Cross on a white background. Above St Veronica's left shoulder appears the Red Cross and garlanded around it in a ribbon appear the initials AAMC. On her right sleeve an AIF nurse wore a badge whose Red Cross – enclosed in the Service's banner – was wreathed in laurel leaves and capped by the King's crown. (Figure 3.6). Crotty was not the only chaplain who experienced difficulty recognising that the AANS existed as its own entity during the war. Writing of his AIF service, Chaplain Kenneth Henderson recalled VAs and the 'stripes on their grey sleeves.'<sup>53</sup> The uniform he referred to was that of the AANS with the stripes indicating a nurse's seniority before honorary rank was introduced in 1916.<sup>54</sup> Crotty referred to 'nurse' only in the generic sense with the term 'Australian Army Nursing Service' absent from correspondence, circulars or newspaper

<sup>52</sup> Tower to Crotty, 30 July 1923, A6137 (IV), ADNA.

<sup>53</sup> Kenneth T. Henderson, *Khaki and Cassock* (Melbourne: Melville & Mullen, 1919), 96-97.

<sup>54</sup> Jane Peek, "Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS) uniform 1914-18" (Unpublished document: AWM, c1984).



**Figure 3.6:** Stylised insignia in *Nurse* (left) and sleeve badge of the AANS (right), AWM 15374. Author's images.

reports he wrote.<sup>55</sup> His request to Tower that the medallion of the *Doctor* also recognise the work of 'the Red Cross at the Front', along with his segregation of the *Nurse* from the servicemen, may have occurred because Crotty genuinely believed the army nurse was a member of the Red Cross rather than the AIF.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, he strove to legitimise her service by aligning it with the AAMC in order to include the *Nurse* in his scheme.

With the subject matter for the scheme settled, next on the Dean's agenda came the appeal for the Chapels' furniture and fittings. Launched on 12 June 1923, Crotty ensured, where possible, that every component was imbued with symbolic meaning. One pivotal part was the Book of Gold.<sup>57</sup> Set in a Shrine of Remembrance, the cover of this golden tome was wrought in precious metal studded with gems from personal jewellery donated by the women of the Diocese.<sup>58</sup> This, perhaps more than anything, linked the sacrifice of mothers, sisters, sweethearts and wives of the region most intimately to the memory of the men they mourned. The Book of Gold contained the names of the 1000 Diocesan men who died and, eventually, it rested in the Shrine upon a second book recognising the names of the 20,000 New South Welshmen (and nurses) who perished in the war.<sup>59</sup> Religious affiliation held no agency in the memorial that Crotty was building in Newcastle.

<sup>55</sup> Crotty only ever referred to 'nursing service' and 'nurses of the Australian Imperial Force.'

<sup>56</sup> Tower to Crotty, 30 July 1923, A6137 (IV), ADNA.

<sup>57</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 12 June 1923, 4.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*; *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 22 September 1924, 4.

<sup>59</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 27 September 1924, 7.



To furnish a chapel of the scope and on a scale he envisaged, the Dean needed to attract financial support, particularly for its windows. The thirteen lights, costing £100 each landed from England, comprised a significant financial as well as decorative component of the Chapel.<sup>60</sup> Crotty appealed directly to individuals, families, parishes and the leading industries of Newcastle to gift one or more lights ‘thus linking the memorial more intimately with the life and interest of the city and district.’<sup>61</sup> He stressed that

[t]he erection of a building such as this is an important event in the architectural life of the city, and, besides [being] ... a very noble war memorial, will be an adornment and an object of pride for the city itself, and will attract visitors, particularly those thousands whose dear ones will be recorded there by name from all parts of the surrounding districts.’<sup>62</sup>

Crotty positioned his Warriors’ Chapel as the region’s premier war memorial, a monument to inspire all to engage with his vision. While his association of community, industry and an inter-denominational spirit within Christ Church’s war memorial reflects a strategy for raising money through the holistic engagement of the region, a public battle for the stewardship of memory in the wake of the war was being waged. His chapel was a grand chapel, paved with marble, panelled in exquisitely carved stone and timber, illuminated by jewelled windows, a repository for a golden tome and the relics of war. Crotty’s expectation that those ‘thousands’ who would visit the war memorial clearly extended to those associated with the 20,000 names of the State’s fallen recorded within it. Over a decade before the Anzac Memorial was dedicated in Sydney, Crotty was locating his church – the Church of England – as a principal guardian of memory for NSW’s men and nurses, regardless of faith. Following the completion of his chapel in 1924, he further expanded upon its significance by embracing within it the national consciousness of war:

the Warrior’s Chapel is more than a beautiful addition to a great Christian temple. It is a memorial of something in our own Australian history which the Church, at least, will not forget, nor let Australia forget. It commemorates the 60,000 Australians who died for us on the battlefields of the Great War.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners’ Advocate*, 12 June 1923, 4.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners’ Advocate*: 22 September 1924, 4.

When he launched his appeal, Crotty stated that the region's men had died in 'the great brotherhood of sacrifice in which they were all joined.'<sup>64</sup> No individual memorials to soldiers were permitted in his Warriors' Chapel for '[i]n their death they were not divided, nor must they be in their Memorial.'<sup>65</sup> His egalitarian sentiments, along with a non-denominational book of remembrance, assured returned men in the area that their ex-AIF Dean had maintained the ideology of the 'brotherhood of the battlefield.' For Newcastle's mining industry, a stained glass window in a Cathedral offered a tangible and enduring memorial to its fallen in a respected location. Miners, like many Australian men, left their workplace to serve in the war. The skills of some were utilised during the conflict when they conducted underground warfare and participated, most spectacularly, with other Allied forces in the detonation of a chain of geographical features across the Western Front in December 1917.<sup>66</sup> Local churchman Colonel Alfred Fewtrell initially commanded the Australian Mining Company in France.<sup>67</sup> Representative of a significant segment of the region's returned men who wished to see their colleagues remembered, his experience at Newcastle prepared him for his role negotiating Neutral Bay's commemorative window three years later (Chapter Two).

Newcastle's mining industry subscribed to three of the thirteen lights in the Church of England's Warriors' Chapel. A colliery company donated, unsurprisingly, the window in which a local miner was depicted emerging from a mine: *Home Service (Men)*.<sup>68</sup> Two other firms contributed, along with South Maitland Railways, to the *Stretcher Bearer*, its contemporary themes of 'human love, service and friendship' embodied in the light's medallion by 'stretcher bearers attending to the wounded on the field of battle.'<sup>69</sup> However, the Northern District Colliery Company, which gave in excess of £217, wished to donate a second window in addition to *Home Service (Men)*. Curiously, for an industry so heavily infused with masculinity, and when *St George*, the patron saint of soldiers, remained available for donation, it chose a light imbued with the feminine ideals of caring. The mining men of Newcastle claimed the memory of the *Nurse*.

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<sup>64</sup> Crotty, "Newcastle Cathedral Diocesan Memorial," ADNA.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> C.E.W Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914 -18* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1933), 4: 60.

<sup>67</sup> Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War*, 3: 924 n6.

<sup>68</sup> This window was donated by the Northern District Colliery Companies, a group consisting of the following: Caledonian Collieries, Ltd; Newcastle-Wallsend Coal Co., Ltd; Pacific Coal Coy., Ltd; Scottish Australian Coal Coy., Ltd; Abermain-Seaham Collieries, Ltd; New Lambton Land and Coal Co., Ltd; Excelsior Collieries and Coke Works, Ltd; William Laidley & Co., Ltd; Newcastle Coal Mining Co., Ltd; Wickham and Bullock Coal Mining Co., Ltd; Andrew Sneddon, Ltd; Stockton Borehole Collieries, Ltd; South Greta Collieries, Ltd; Central Greta Colliery, Ltd; Messers. Hough & Jeffries; Messers. F. & H. Langwill; & Mr. James Rutley. Christ Church Cathedral, *The Warriors Chapel*.

<sup>69</sup> This window was donated by: South Maitland Railways, Ltd; East Greta Coal Mining Co., Ltd; and Hebburn, Ltd (Per Mr C. Earp, CBE): *ibid.*; Tower to Crotty, 30 July 1923; A6137 (IV), ADNA.

St George is not only the patron saint of soldiers, he is also that of England and personifies Christian chivalry.<sup>70</sup> Traditionally shown slaying a dragon – a symbol of the enemy – George became the most popular of the warrior saints to allegorically represent the sacrifice of military men in stained glass during and after the war.<sup>71</sup> The miners' rejection of *St George* may have been associated with their dismissal of notions of honour and chivalry related to the impersonal nature of death in the mechanised war in which many fought. However, the influence of faith cannot be discounted. Crotty's words and actions provided returned men of many faiths with a means by which to remember fallen brothers, particularly when, for Catholics, the foundation stone of their most significant church in the city – Sacred Heart, Hamilton – was yet to be laid.<sup>72</sup> However, *St George* – who enjoyed a strong affiliation with Anglicans by being the patron saint of England – may well have been perceived as an unsuitable figure to universally remember men of Protestant and Catholic faiths.<sup>73</sup> The Archangel *St Michael* represented another popular warrior saint who was acceptable to both; however, this window was already donated.<sup>74</sup> The *Nurse* offered the Colliery a suitable compromise. The AANS's participation in the war provided a direct and relevant link to the conflict; if the AIF was a brotherhood then its women were 'the true sisters of the fighting [men].'<sup>75</sup> St Veronica, who features in the *Stations of the Cross* – a devotion undertaken by both Protestants and Catholics alike – provided a suitable liturgical commonality.<sup>76</sup> During the war the Australian army nurse tended to the sick, wounded and dying while afterwards she helped to heal the faith by bridging the divide between service and sacrifice as well as religion and remembrance in one regional city.

Dean Crotty's time in uniform became an important part of his ministry in the years following the war. Deeply affected by his experiences in France, a desire to support the grief of Anglican and non-Anglicans alike in his Newcastle Diocese reflected the generic Christian philosophy practiced by the men of the AIF. Part of Crotty's ideology was a sacrosanct equality in memory that echoed that of a soldier's sacrifice for his country and, from this, he would not be swayed. Even as 1924 drew to an end and benefactors for the two remaining windows of his Warriors' Chapel proved difficult to attract, Newcastle's Dean held his position and ensured that no individual soldier was

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<sup>70</sup> Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 181, 469; Giles Morgan, *St George: Knight, Martyr, Patron Saint and Dragonslayer* (New Jersey: Chartwell Books, 2006), 93.

<sup>71</sup> Morgan, *St George*, 21. Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia 1887-1927," 191.

<sup>72</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 19 September 1928, 9.

<sup>73</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 200.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> H. S. Gullett, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1923), 7: 645.

<sup>76</sup> Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 433.

honoured by donors.<sup>77</sup> However, at Bathurst, upholding ecumenical equality proved almost impossible when time signalled an end to collective grief and sectarian tensions again influenced the rituals of sorrow.

### **The tide of remembrance turns: All Saints' Cathedral, Bathurst (1920-1927)**

The second half of this chapter examines how, by the mid-1920s, individual memorial practices began reasserting their dominance over collective commemoration within the Church of England. They exerted a powerful influence upon the memory of the nurse in stained glass. Subject matter reflecting religious symbolism vied with that embodying historical reality in the lights of the Warriors' Chapel at All Saints' Cathedral, Bathurst. The depiction of Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell as Bathurst's *Heroes of Humanity* was more a statement of their donor's status and standing in the regional community than a reflection of the philosophical purpose of the space that the windows occupied (Figure 3.7). The economy of sacrifice was spent and, as the 1930s dawned, a new Bishop was left to resurrect the memory of the men who he watched die on the field of battle.

Bishop Long had been the first to locate his war memorial as an edifice of united civic substance when, in March 1920, he announced a new cathedral as forming 'the noblest possible monument in the City of Bathurst, and the project should enlist the sympathy and support of all who take pride in the city.'<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, he was unable to exploit the commemorative momentum generated after the beloved commander of the Anzacs, General Birdwood, laid its foundation stone the following month.<sup>79</sup> Without a viable donor for the main body of the Cathedral, the project languished for half a decade. Long was forced to wait until January 1925 for a wealthy benefactor to promise £6900 for the new Cathedral and then a further five months for another to give £2000 to construct its Warriors' Chapel.<sup>80</sup> He could, at last, commence construction but with fewer funds than Crotty was endowed to build his commemorative space alone.

While Horace Crotty attended to his scheme of windows with military-like precision, the Bishop of Bathurst wasted valuable time vacillating. Long commenced fundraising for his Warriors' Chapel in November 1925 but without first determining a scheme of glass for his Chapel's windows. Finally, on the advice of his Melbourne-based architect, Louis Williams (1890-1980), he engaged English-

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<sup>77</sup> The regions doctors gave *St Luke* and the Red Cross the Chapel's East Window. Christ Church Cathedral, *The Warriors Chapel*.

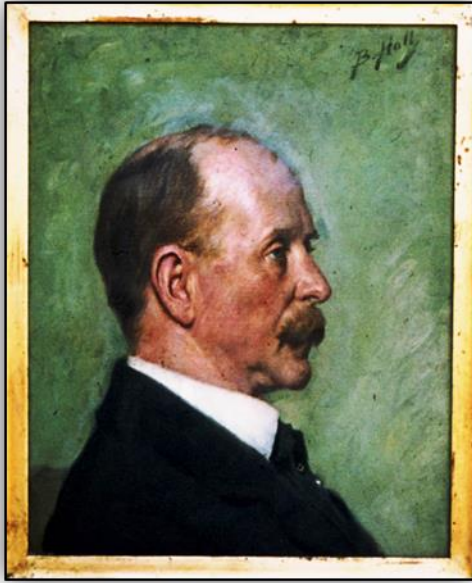
<sup>78</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 2 March 1920, 3.

<sup>79</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 24 April 1920, 2.

<sup>80</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 27 January 1925, 2; *Church News*, 1 June 1925, 18.



Figure 3.7: Norman St Clair Carter, *Heroes of Humanity*, 1930. Warriors' Chapel, All Saints' Cathedral, Bathurst. Author's image.



**Figure 3.8:** L. Bernard Hall, *William Montgomery*, 1910. Private Collection.

born William Montgomery (1850-1927), an academy-educated artist and a Trustee of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, to design and execute the Chapel's glass (Figure 3.8).<sup>81</sup> In January 1926, Montgomery sent the Bishop an extensive list of saints from which to select his subject matter. Six months elapsed before the architect received Long's choices with the latter blaming the artist, unreasonably, for delays experienced in the selection process.<sup>82</sup>

Long drew upon the idea of 'Heroes' as a theme for his lights. This appeared entirely appropriate for a chapel dedicated to fallen warriors. It also differentiated

Bathurst's scheme from Newcastle's and, given the number of martyrs and aesthetes attributed as patron saints of soldiers, it was one that sacrifice could be woven seamlessly through, particularly given the Bishop's declaration the Chapel was given in 'abiding honor [sic] of those who gave their lives at the Great War.'<sup>83</sup> However, his scheme could, at best, be described as disjointed and vague. Of the five sets of 'Heroes' he proposed – those of: *Love; Truth; the Lonely Way; Social Science; and Battle* – only one had an overt association with the war and the men the Chapel commemorated. Of the eleven lights in the scheme, he elected subject matter for only three.

Like Crotty, Long also adopted a symbolic Book of Gold to hold the names of those of the Bathurst region who perished in the war and, on occasion, wrote to Newcastle for advice regarding it.<sup>84</sup> Sacrifice was stated in denominationally- and gender-neutral terms on a cover wrought from old gold donated by Bathurst's parishioners: 'TO THE MEMORY OF THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO DIED IN THE GREAT WAR FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE WORLD.'<sup>85</sup> Three of the nurses recognised as dying during the war were born in the Diocese of Bathurst and though all expressed their faith as Church of England, their next of kin resided outside of the Diocese at the

<sup>81</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 31, 122, 82-83.

<sup>82</sup> Long to Williams, 7 June 1926, LWP, Box 35, MS10990, SLV.

<sup>83</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 27 January 1925, 2. Depending on the hagiographer consulted, Saints George, [H]Adrian, Ignatius Loyola, James the Great, Joan of Arc, Martin St Tours, Maurice, Oswald and Sebastian are among those named as patron saints of soldiers: John J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 469; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 469.

<sup>84</sup> Long to Williams, 22 March 1926, LWP, Box 35, MS10990, SLV.

<sup>85</sup> Inscription upon the Book of Gold, Cenotaph, Warriors' Chapel, All Saints' Cathedral, Bathurst.

time of their deaths.<sup>86</sup> If relatives of Ruby Dickinson, Mary Stafford and Ada Thompson still lived in the district and appealed for their inclusion in the Book of Gold, they were unsuccessful; it contained only the names of men.<sup>87</sup> Prior to leaving for a visit to Sydney in January 1925, and in accordance with his non-sectarian sentiments, Long announced that the golden volume would hold ‘the names of all those who died and who served’ from the region.<sup>88</sup> A little over a week later, another notice amended that only ‘members of the Church of England who enlisted from the Diocese’ would be included in the gilt tome.<sup>89</sup> Norman Suttor, a wealthy pastoralist and powerful lay member of the Church, swiftly usurped the Bishop’s authority: faith had become an imperative for inclusion in the Church of England’s war memorial at Bathurst.<sup>90</sup>

In Newcastle and within four months of his appeal being launched, Crotty had attracted donors for ten of his chapel’s thirteen windows; benefactors knew the subject matter they were subscribing to and how much a light cost. At Bathurst and without an established scheme, Long waited impatiently for interest from parishioners, community or industry while time ticked on. Stained glass windows, along with the cenotaph, represented the more expensive furnishings within the Chapel and an urgent call for both made during 1926 went unheeded.<sup>91</sup> Bathurst’s Cathedral Chapter finally contributed two lights as a war memorial window in early 1927.<sup>92</sup> The *Heroes of Love* and the *Battle* were given in March by the women and the children of the Diocese respectively but on their Bishop’s direction.<sup>93</sup> By early April 1927, all windows were pledged. The rapid donation of the four remaining lights suggests Long actively courted two wealthy parishioners – Suttor and local widow Bella Whitney – to complete his scheme. However, its subject matter still remained unsettled.

The Bishop’s tardiness in settling the subject matter for his chapel perhaps reflected a man who did not possess the ability – or the confidence – to conceptualise his thoughts to an allegorical level as had Newcastle’s Dean. More likely though, he was distracted by other tasks and the residual effects

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<sup>86</sup> Ruby Dickinson was born in Forbes, Mary Stafford in Nyngan and Ada Thompson in Dubbo. All three towns fall within the Diocese of Bathurst and are listed in its Book of Gold. NAA: B2455, DICKINSON, R.; NAA: B2455, STAFFORD M. F.; NAA: B2455, THOMPSON A. M.; Rees, *The Other Anzacs*, 316-19.

<sup>87</sup> Harris, "Work, Work, Work," 188.

<sup>88</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 27 January 1925, 2.

<sup>89</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 5 February 1925, 2.

<sup>90</sup> *Cathedral Supplement: Bathurst Church News*, 1 June 1925.

<sup>91</sup> Diocese of Bathurst, *Year Book of the Diocese of Bathurst 1926* (Sydney, 1926), 48. The ADBA does not hold a complete set of the *Church News* for 1926. Therefore, the exact date for Long’s call for support for the donation of windows cannot be ascertained.

<sup>92</sup> Talk of a ‘War Memorial Window’ occurs in correspondence between Williams and Long, 20 January 1927, and Williams and Montgomery, 2 February 1927: LWP, Box 35, MS10990, SLV. However, talk ‘that one window at least will be given in the Chapel, ie – one two-light window with the figures to be St George and St Michael’ was first raised with Montgomery by Williams on 20 August 1926: William Montgomery’s Papers (WMP), MS15414, SLV.

<sup>93</sup> *Church News*, 1 March 1927; Long to Williams, 4 March 1927, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV.

of war. Unlike a Dean, the Bishop's role as head of a diocese necessitated absences from his cathedral as he tended to matters in his parishes and Long undertook the responsibilities of his office earnestly. He regularly conducted demanding visits to outlying parishes that were spread over a large area of central NSW.<sup>94</sup> Despite the persisting effects of ill health from his time in the AIF, he set himself a gruelling schedule. Long commenced a number of initiatives aimed at reforming or establishing educational opportunities for children, youth, laity and members of the clergy in his diocese and, in what was arguably his greatest legacy, he worked tirelessly on developing a new constitution for the Church of England. Following the latter's acceptance at the Church Synod in April 1927, he appeared 'better than he has been in some time though [was] still far from well.'<sup>95</sup> He immediately undertook a month's complete rest.<sup>96</sup> It was only following his return to work in June 1927 – three-and-a-half months before the consecration of his cathedral – that a scheme for its Warriors' Chapel was finally settled upon.<sup>97</sup> Long's absences, his focus on other matters and persisting ill health allowed wealthy parishioners to advance their agendas over his in respect to the ideology of remembrance.

For artist and architect, the All Saints' commission was one plagued by indecision, frustration and unreasonable demands from the Bishop. In late April 1927, Montgomery dispatched to Long the names of ten candidates for the *Heroes of Humanity* (formally the *Heroes of Social Science*). The artist remarked sourly to Williams that as there 'are hundreds of "Heroes of Humanity", I might go on making sketches without having the luck to hit upon the ones he had in mind.'<sup>98</sup> Montgomery was well aware that Long needed considerable time – and guidance – in selecting his *Heroes*. 'I think he must have had [the *Humanity* names] about ten days ago', lamented artist to architect, and 'some time ago I sent him several names for the [*Lonely Way*] window, with like result.'<sup>99</sup> The *Heroes of Battle* (Saints George and Michael) and *Love* (Crucifixion) were settled by mid-1926 and, following the installation of the former in June 1927, Long let fly with a torrent of thinly-veiled abuse about the 'vapid and characterless' appearance of St George (Figure 3.9).<sup>100</sup> Expressing 'anxiety' about the remaining nine lights to Williams, he had only a fortnight earlier finally settled upon Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary as his *Heroes of Humanity*.<sup>101</sup> Examination of the life of the latter reveals the significance she held in the Chapel's scheme.

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<sup>94</sup> Evidence of Long's frequent visits to his country parishes is evident in the newspapers of Bathurst Diocese before and after his return from London. See, for example, *Bathurst Times*, 1 May 1917, 2.

<sup>95</sup> Teale, "Long, George Merrick," 10:135; *Dubbo Liberal and Macquarie Advocate*, 29 April 1927, 8.

<sup>96</sup> *Dubbo Liberal and Macquarie Advocate*, 29 April 1927, 8.

<sup>97</sup> May Montgomery to Williams, 16 June 1927, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV.

<sup>98</sup> Montgomery to Williams, 29 April 1927, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Long to Williams, 29 June 1927, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*; Montgomery to Williams, 29 April 1927, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV.



Montgomery's intent in suggesting her was clearly the association with nurses and therefore, in the broadest of terms, she represented the contribution they made to the welfare of society; to humanity. However, her location in the scheme linked her more intimately with the Chapel's purpose as a World War I memorial.



**Figure 3.9:** William Montgomery, *The Heroes of Battle* (detail), 1927. All Saints' Cathedral, Warriors' Chapel, Bathurst. Author's image.

St Elizabeth of Hungary was the daughter of a thirteenth century king. Widowed early and dying at the age of twenty-four, the latter years of her austere life were spent enduring privations and punishments while working in the hospitals she built; she essentially sacrificed her life to care for the sick and poor.<sup>102</sup> St Elizabeth was to occupy the position to the left of Archangel Michael.<sup>103</sup> While St Michael is the patron saint of sick people, a role that suggests an immediate reason for Elizabeth's location beside him, the Archangel's presence in the Warriors' Chapel was related to his

<sup>102</sup> Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 143; Murray, Murray and Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, 174.

<sup>103</sup> May Montgomery to Long, 16 June, [1927], LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV; Cathedral Council, *All Saints Cathedral Bathurst N.S.W. Handbook* (Sydney: Cathedral Council, 1927).

other patronal identity; that aligned with soldiers.<sup>104</sup> Like Michael and George, St Elizabeth of Hungary became an allegorical reference to the war; she represented the women who cared for the men of conflict: the army nurses. Some hagiographers further define her as the patron saint of nursing service.<sup>105</sup> In the context of the All Saints' commission, this suggests the practice of nursing by an organised body of women. The medieval saint can be interpreted as representative of the AANS and both Montgomery and Long had motive for nominating and selecting St Elizabeth of Hungary as a *Hero of Humanity*. As Director of Education for the AIF, Long's mandate was not limited to men; members of the AANS also benefited from the courses his unit established and administered before and after the Armistice. For Montgomery, the association may have been personal.

While executing hundreds of stained glass windows throughout his career, including dozens as war memorials, this appears to be the only light Montgomery ever proposed featuring St Elizabeth of Hungary.<sup>106</sup> Montgomery's beloved son 'Mont', an infantry sergeant with the 21<sup>st</sup> Battalion, died in a Casualty Clearing Station (CCS) in France during the fading months of the war.<sup>107</sup> Mont was previously hospitalised during the conflict and spoke with reverence of the nurses who cared for him in his letters home.<sup>108</sup> The specific presence of an artist who assisted with the All Saints' commission offers another explanation for St Elizabeth's appearance in the Bathurst scheme.

Following a bout of illness in 1926, Montgomery contracted artist Mervyn Napier Waller to assist the company and the latter executed the cartoon of St George.<sup>109</sup> Waller had much in common with Mont; both men shared a common love of art and were contemporaries at the National Gallery Art School, Melbourne. Waller occasionally featured in correspondence between Mont and his father during the war and, as an artilleryman on the Western Front, was wounded when struck in the right shoulder by a projectile during the Battle of Bullecourt in May 1917.<sup>110</sup> He was evacuated to the 22nd (American) General Hospital where doctors and nurses waged an ongoing battle to save his life. Enduring fever generated by infection borne from the infamous mud of the Western Front, Waller underwent four operations to preserve his right arm before surgeons amputated the limb at

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<sup>104</sup> Saint Michael is also the patron saint of cemeteries, florists and radiologists. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 469.

<sup>105</sup> Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 602.

<sup>106</sup> Bronwyn Hughes to Susan Kellett, email, 14 November 2013.

<sup>107</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 121.

<sup>108</sup> William 'Mont' Montgomery to May Montgomery, 1 May 1917, WMP, File 4, Box 27, MS15414, SLV.

<sup>109</sup> Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 218.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 207; Montgomery to Mont, 15 August 1918, WMP, Box 2, File 1, MS15414; Mont to Montgomery, 2 December 1915, MS15414, File 2, Box 27, SLV.

the shoulder during a life-threatening haemorrhage.<sup>111</sup> Almost immediately, the right-handed artist started learning to draw again using his left. Remarkably, following his repatriation home, he started exhibiting in 1918. Receiving critical acclaim in Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart and Adelaide, he was described as the ‘Soldier’ or ‘Digger’ artist, a nod to both his status as a returned man and the subject matter of much of his art of this period (Figure 3.10).<sup>112</sup> Soon after Waller realised that ‘I was working rather on too small a scale ... [and from an] interest in mural works I think I naturally diverted to stained glass and mosaic media.’<sup>113</sup>

Peter Stanley shows that for a father mourning the loss of a soldier son, contact after the war with men who shared his child’s experience of the conflict served as a therapeutic link to the dead.<sup>114</sup> A father could vicariously experience an extension of the paternal role by offering emotional and economic support to these men in the years following their return to civilian life and this provided a further conduit to the dead through which grief could be mediated and important memories created.<sup>115</sup> Mont was receiving a classical art education before the war and planned on joining his father’s studio when he completed his studies.<sup>116</sup> It is possible that Waller’s employment provided benefits to the aging artist other than those directly related to his business, with the former indirectly influencing the master’s work. Waller, like



**Figure 3.10:** M. Napier Waller, c.1930s. A rare and informal photograph of Waller in which, uncharacteristically, he did not conceal evidence of his missing limb. Heritage Victoria.

Mont, held the women of the nursing services in the highest regard; as will be shown in Chapters Four and Six, the army nurse emerged as a central element in the most important stained glass commission of his career and similarly featured in several of his commemorative windows after

<sup>111</sup> *Advertiser*, 10 October 1919, 11; ‘The Chaplain’, undated, AWM PR87/007; [M. Napier] Waller, *War Sketches on the Somme Front* (Melbourne: Edward A. Vidler, 1918).

<sup>112</sup> *Argus*, 8 August 1918, 5, 25; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1918, 12; *Register*, 8 October 1919, 10.

<sup>113</sup> M. Napier Waller, interview by Hazel de Burg 1965, 1987775, NLA.

<sup>114</sup> Peter Stanley, *Men of Mont St Quentin: Between Victory and Death* (Carlton North: Scribe Publications, 2009), 163, 200-02.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> I am indebted to Bronwyn Hughes for sharing this information with me.

World War II. It is possible that St Elizabeth of Hungary appeared among Montgomery's list of heroes as a result of Waller's quiet influence during the period of the All Saints' commission.

During the war Bathurst's Bishop pronounced that community commemoration was to be adopted for the fallen and this had facilitated the building of a new cathedral following it. However, half a decade later, and in a diocese covering 90,000 square miles, harnessing the necessary interest and financial support to complete its war memorial proved almost impossible.<sup>117</sup> By the mid-1920s, other dioceses and parishes were experiencing similar problems albeit on a smaller scale. Crotty had difficulty garnering individual donations from late-1923 and benefactors for the last of his thirteen Newcastle windows were not found until 1925.<sup>118</sup> St Michael and All Angels', New Farm, struggled to complete its honour board that same year and St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, limped along with financing its commemorative window. But raising the enthusiasm or money within a parish was not insurmountable, particularly for the latter where a champion such as Colonel Albert Fewtrell led the charge (Chapter Two).<sup>119</sup> Long again recognised the needs of his community had changed and amended his earlier directive: 'commemoration need not be for a fallen soldier, any dear one may thus be remembered' within the Warrior's Chapel.<sup>120</sup> Subsequently, he was rewarded with a steady supply of modest furnishings and donations in the name of fallen soldiers and individual parishioners.<sup>121</sup> However, control of his stained glass scheme rapidly diminished as powerful donors seized the opportunity to infuse personal status and local politics into the windows they donated. Ultimately, this betrayed the memory of the AIF nurse to that of her imperial peers.

Norman Suttor initially donated the monument representing the very heart of the Warriors' Chapel; its cenotaph. He changed the direction of his beneficence in February 1927 and instead promised the *Heroes of the Lonely Way* in memory of his pioneering grandparents, George and Sarah Suttor.<sup>122</sup> Local widow, Bella Whitney, subscribed to the *Heroes of Humanity* two months later in memory of her husband, Frank Whitney, a partner of the coach company Cobb and Co.<sup>123</sup> She, like Suttor, was also a powerful pastoralist and devout Anglican. While a window located in a cathedral provided the memory of a loved one with the gravitas and prestige that a small parish church could not, it does not explain a woman of such wealth's sudden desire to memorialise her husband thirty-three years after his death, particularly when the original Cathedral could have provided that

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<sup>117</sup> *Church News Cathedral Supplement*, 1 June 1925.

<sup>118</sup> *Newcastle Diocesan Churchman*, September 1923, 7; Christ Church Cathedral, *Warriors Chapel*.

<sup>119</sup> St Augustine's Council Minute Book (1921-54), 27 April 1927, SDA.

<sup>120</sup> *Church News*, 1 May 1927, 16.

<sup>121</sup> Chairs (£2 each) and their kneelers (3s 9d) for the Chapel proved popular. See also July, August and September issues of *Church News*, 1927.

<sup>122</sup> Long to Williams, 24 February 1927, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV; *Bathurst National Advocate*, February 1, 1930.

<sup>123</sup> *Wild Ride: The Rise and Fall of Cobb and Co.* (Camberwell: Viking 2007), 84, 87, 142, 223.

opportunity. It is probable that Long appealed to Bella's generosity by playing regional politics. The Cathedral's symbolic East Window was pledged to the memory of James Rutherford and his wife by their children.<sup>124</sup> Rutherford was Whitney's business partner and Bella undertook acrimonious legal proceedings against him over the coach business – and prevailed – following her husband's death.<sup>125</sup> As the matriarch of one of the most influential families in the district, Bella's bestowment to her prominent husband represented an equally commanding statement as that made by the Rutherford children. Long's inability to determine the subject matter for his scheme resulted in Bella using her considerable financial influence to dictate the form her lights took, particularly when those given by the equally wealthy and influential Suttors set a precedent she was only too willing to follow.

Stained glass has been produced across many historical periods with each era contributing its own spiritual and cultural expectations about what its subject matter embodies. Virginia Chieffo Raguin writes that the priorities of the patron are reflected in windows that they commission or donate.<sup>126</sup> Long originally envisaged Saints Abraham and Christopher as the *Heroes of the Lonely Way* but Suttors desired Captain James Cook and Australian explorer William Wentworth.<sup>127</sup> Cook and Wentworth expressed an artistic trend to emerge in stained glass during the nineteenth century whereby some patrons elected contemporary and historic role models rather than theological figures to convey their own personal values and ideals.<sup>128</sup> According to Hilary Carey, in the second half of the nineteenth century, 'Australian Anglicans, as citizens of the Empire and her churches, participated in the process of religious imperialism.'<sup>129</sup> This appears to have been more evident in rural areas where the preservation of High Church doctrine and anti-Catholic influences were driven by wealthy landowners – like the Suttors and Whitneys – who remained more closely aligned to Mother England than their urban counterparts.<sup>130</sup> Cook and Wentworth associated Suttors' pioneering grandparents, and by default himself, with the deeds of important British and Australian heroes rather than the esoteric symbolism of religious figures. Suttors, a 'quiet yet forcible man', aligned himself closely with Bathurst's Bishop who acknowledged of the pastoralist that:<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Long to Williams, 28 December 1926, LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV; *Molong Express and Western District Advertiser*, 12 November 1927, 8.

<sup>125</sup> Everingham, *Wild Ride*, chap. 18.

<sup>126</sup> Raguin and Higgins, *The History of Stained Glass*, 9.

<sup>127</sup> Long to Williams, 7 June 1926 and May Montgomery to Williams, 16 June [1927], LWP, MS10990, Box 35, SLV.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>129</sup> Hilary M Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Australia* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 84.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-87.

<sup>131</sup> *Church News*, 1 April 1928, 7.

there was not a plan of building at the Cathedral ... that I did not fully discuss with him before I made my decision. Every detail of furnishing in the Cathedral in wood, brick, stone or glass he and I worked over together until we came to a common mind.<sup>132</sup>

It is unlikely that Long offered much resistance to Suttor's expectations regarding the subject matter of his donation, particularly given the dearth of donors for windows, the forceful nature of his friend and his considerable local – and financial – influence.

### **The Unknown of All Saints' Cathedral (1928-1930)**

With Suttor's donation of the *Heroes of the Lonely Way*, the loose thematic cohesion of Long's stained glass scheme unravelled rapidly. Artist William Montgomery, in poor health prior to accepting the All Saints' commission, died unexpectedly in early July 1927.<sup>133</sup> Bathurst's Warriors' Chapel was dedicated in October 1927 with only five of its eleven lights installed.<sup>134</sup> Horace Crotty was enthroned as All Saint's new Bishop in April 1928 after George Merrick Long was elected Bishop of Newcastle earlier that year (Figure 3.11).<sup>135</sup> Bishop Crotty now had another Warriors' Chapel to complete. In February 1929 Louis Williams provided him with the name of an artist for consideration: M. Napier Waller.<sup>136</sup> Waller, who had recently worked on another of the architect's projects as a muralist, was emerging as a talent in stained glass after completing one of Montgomery's commissions in Melbourne the previous year.<sup>137</sup> But Crotty had already contacted Sydney artist Norman St Clair Carter. He advised the architect that he was 'awaiting some cartoons from [Carter] ... I am favourably disposed towards him personally and feel he is a real artist.'<sup>138</sup> Carter received the commission.

Bishop Crotty found himself faced with two affluent patrons determined to depict non-theological figures in their windows; Suttor's had been publicly pre-ordained by Long after the Cathedral's consecration and Bella, upon learning of it, had ample time to consider her options in relation to her husband's lights.<sup>139</sup> She, like Suttor, evidently wished her husband's memory to be associated with

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<sup>132</sup> Long, cited in *ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 1927, 16.

<sup>134</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 October 1927, 10.

<sup>135</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 1 February 1928, 6; *Church News*, 1 March 1928, 3.

<sup>136</sup> Williams to Crotty, 22 February 1929, LWP, MS10990, Box 33, SLV.

<sup>137</sup> Williams to Canon Wheeler, 8 December 1928, LWP, MS10990, Box 23, SLV. The window at The University of Melbourne was the *Stevens Window*: Hughes, "Designing Stained Glass for Australia," 238-39, 242-43.

<sup>138</sup> Crotty to Williams, 22 February 1929, LWP, MS10990, Box 33, SLV.

<sup>139</sup> Cathedral Council, *All Saint's Cathedral Handbook*, 33, 35.



**Figure 3.11:** Horace Crotty's consecration as Bishop of Bathurst. St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, 2 April 1928. From left: Bishops Long and Crotty, Dr Radford. NLA.pic-vn6266341.

an important British figure who reflected her ideals and community standing rather those of a Church intent on memorialising a war that was rapidly retreating into the past. Edith Cavell was commemorated by Australia's elite, urban, middle-class women as an act of imperial identity in post-colonial society during the conflict.<sup>140</sup> While Bathurst's middle-class were equally active in perpetuating the executed English nurse's memory during the conflict, it is unlikely that Bella was swayed by such activities a decade later.<sup>141</sup> Cavell and Florence Nightingale's depictions were almost certainly a public expression of her husband's and, by default her, unshakable 'Britishness.'<sup>142</sup> While both nurses boasted a link to war, more critically they established a clear connection with British respectability through overt imperial symbolism that esoteric religious allegory never could. The *Heroes of Humanity*, like those of the *Lonely Way*, embodied self-glorification rather than community grief. War had lost its currency in the religious context: the economy of sacrifice was spent at Bathurst.

<sup>140</sup> Pickles, *Transnational Outrage*, 165.

<sup>141</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March 1916, 10.

<sup>142</sup> While Bella fostered the belief that Frank was an 'Englishman by birth', a contemporary family source suggests that he originated from Canada: *Church News*, 1 March 1930, 13; <http://immigrationplace.com.au/story/frank-whitney/> downloaded 24 January 2016. Bella is credited with being descended from European royalty though another contemporary family source contests this claim by stating that her grandmother came to Australia as a convict: Everingham, *Wild Ride*, 84; with kind thanks to Father Peter King for sharing his family's history, telephone conversation, 10 January 2014.

Crotty dedicated the six remaining lights of the Warriors' Chapel prior to his departure for the Lambeth Conference at Evensong on 2 February 1930.<sup>143</sup> By now, peace was over a decade old. Eighteen months earlier, a '[Warriors'] chapel rich in memory to the honour of life poured forth for God, for King, and for Country' was dedicated with much ecclesiastical and military ritual.<sup>144</sup> Bathurst old-boy and founder of the AWM in Canberra, Captain C. E. W. Bean, read a message from Field Marshal Birdwood.<sup>145</sup> The word 'sacrifice' featured throughout the sermons delivered that day. However, Crotty now declared that the six new lights were 'designed to do honor [sic] to the great outstanding types of heroic life and character' with the term 'sacrifice' noticeably absent from their dedication.<sup>146</sup> Long's original conception of a series of heroes was obvious although its integration into a cohesive scheme dedicated to the 'abiding honor [sic] of those who gave their lives at the Great War' was not.<sup>147</sup> Crotty's measured influence again prevailed as it had at Newcastle; Captain Cook remained a feature of the *Heroes of the Lonely Way* but a change to its second light revealed a community-focussed group of generic pioneers which most of the congregation could identify with via their own family heritage. The new Bishop personally selected St Paul and (the Anglican) St Cranmer – a Champion of the Reformation – as the remaining *Heroes of Truth*. Both these sets of heroes were described, in addition to their heroic nature, as having 'great souls' and being 'great hearted', men 'who broke though' and 'blaze[d] for us the heritage we enjoy to-day,' whether by land or by sea. They were an 'emancipator' or 'martyr,' descriptions that conveyed an active role by the males portrayed but removed from the arena of battle.<sup>148</sup>

Crotty also made reference to the *Heroes of Humanity*: 'Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell ... are, I think, rightly both types of that "good heroic womanhood" for which we must thank God.'<sup>149</sup> No further explanation for their selection was given other than '[f]or among the heroes of human love and pity, women, most surely must be given the primacy.'<sup>150</sup> It is possible that, in his choice of words – 'primacy' in particular – Crotty revealed his hand in Bella's subject matter. The British nurses, while embodying contemporary incarnations of their patron saint, St Elizabeth of Hungary, satisfied the vanities of their patron but Cavell provided an added bonus of being the only figure in the scheme to participate in the war. Carter depicted both nurses actively involved in the roles for

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<sup>143</sup> The Lambeth Conference is a regular meeting of Bishops of the Church of England held in England every ten years.

<sup>144</sup> "The Form and Order of the Consecration of the Cathedral Church of All Saints in Bathurst and the Dedication of the Chapel of St Michael & St George (The Warriors' Chapel)," ADBA; *Church News*: 1 December 1927, 15 and 1 March 1930, 13.

<sup>145</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 October 1927, 10.

<sup>146</sup> *Bathurst National Advocate*, 1 February 1930.

<sup>147</sup> *Bathurst Times*, 27 January 1925, 2.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*



which they were renowned; Nightingale famously patrolling her Scutari wards by lamplight and Cavell heroically assisting a soldier to escape (Figure 3.7).

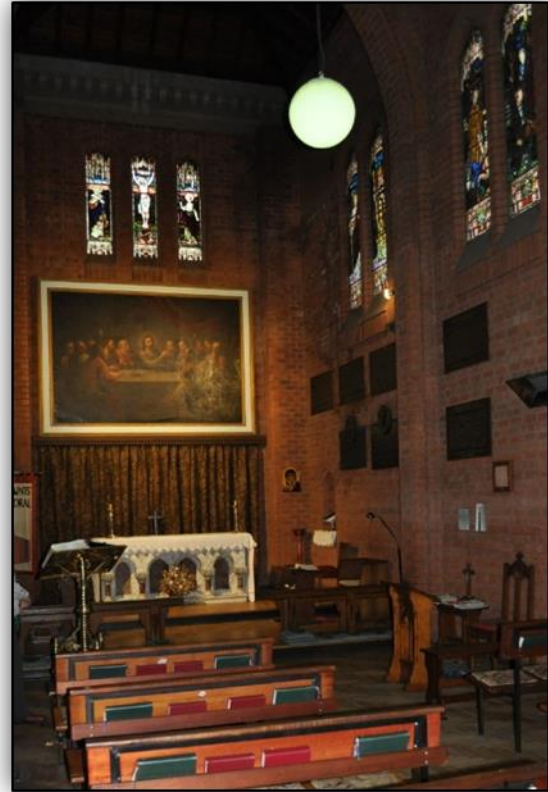
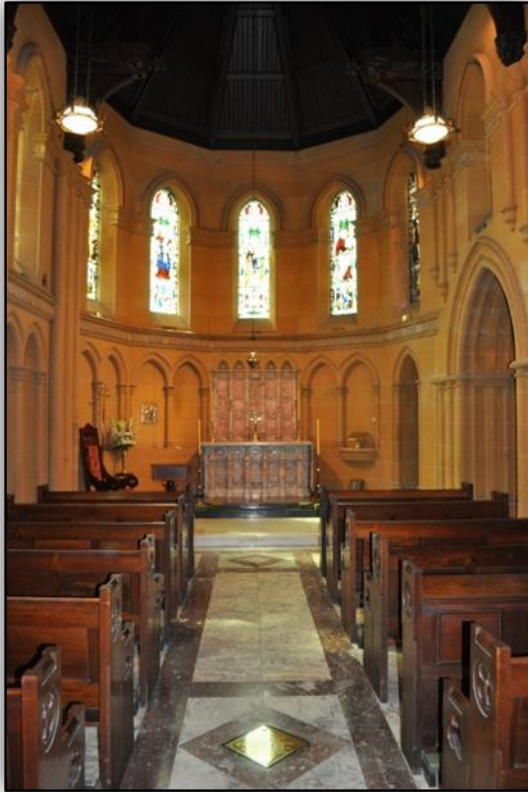
Cavell's escapee dwarfs his famous saviour. Bareheaded and wearing a uniform similar in style to that of the AIF, his tunic was stripped of any insignia identifying the army for which he fought. The British nurse indicates freedom along a garden path by pointing towards the altar at the east end of the chapel, the symbolic site of rebirth and life. But both she and her accomplice face west, the euphemistic location of the fallen and sometimes referred to as such by Crotty in correspondence.<sup>151</sup> In a chapel built to represent Bathurst's war dead and in a uniform signifying no specific nation, Cavell's escapee might serve as son, brother or husband to anyone who visited the space to mourn; an 'unknown' in a chapel dedicated to fallen warriors. Perhaps that was why the Bishop could not bring himself to refer to the nurses as the *Heroines of Humanity*, despite the 'primacy' which they were to be accorded. In a period where the differentiation of gender was accorded in society – school mistress, actress, authoress, nurse – and in the absence of a stated male focus, one can be forgiven for mistaking Cavell's escapee as the *Hero of Humanity* rather than his hero[ine]. Perhaps that was the very thing that Chaplain Crotty, AIF, intended.

By the mid-1920s, the tide of community remembrance had turned. The positions of two ex-AIF chaplains, along with their personal experiences and abilities, proved influential to the success of the Warriors' Chapels they built (Figures 3.12). However, timing was a critical factor and it affected the portrayal of the nurse in stained glass powerfully when memorialisation of the individual regained agency in the religious context. At Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle, the consistent presence of its Dean, his ability to communicate the purpose of his chapel at an aesthetic level and ability to engage with both returned men and community alike were instrumental in the success of his chapel. But the generosity of affluent benefactors early in the decade was perhaps most decisive and resulted in Horace Crotty creating the most exquisite of the four Warriors' Chapel to appear in Church of England cathedrals following World War I.

The scheme of glass Crotty designed included many facets of remembrance not recognised in the civic landscape of commemoration; the mother, the home front, the doctor, priest and nurse. Most importantly, these windows, along with a non-denominational Book of Remembrance, facilitated a regional community's engagement in a memorial of local significance in what was clearly an

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<sup>151</sup> When writing to fellow AIF veterans to donate to a window to their fallen mates, Crotty used the phrase 'in memory of their comrades who went West' as an allegorical reference to death. See: Crotty to Returned Men, 11 August 1924, A6137(IV), ADNA.



**Figures 3.12:** Warriors' Chapels. The Neo-Gothic splendour of Crotty's in Newcastle (left) and the restrained austerity of Long's in Bathurst. Author's images.

ecumenical gesture of commemoration. Analysis reveals that while Crotty remembered the *Nurse* among his lights, like many Australians, he was unable to distinguish between the spheres of professional caregiving and voluntary service. The Dean, in his role in the AIF's Education Services, was involved with the AANS through its demobilisation training and it appears that a Red Cross embellished on the sleeve of a grey uniform embedded a powerful association with an auxiliary association in his memory. Nevertheless, the *Nurse* still prevailed as a symbol of wartime service in the commemorative chapel he built.

For Bishop Long in Bathurst, the identity of nursing service became subject to the ideology of a powerful patron when he lost control of his scheme of windows. Financially constrained in the ability to commence his chapel, the tide had turned from community-focussed back to individual memorialisation by the time he finally started building in 1925. Long's initial inability to conceptualise sacrifice, along with his position within his Cathedral and the legacy left by war, further permitted others to appropriate and undermine the religious equality he desired in commemoration. While Nightingale and Cavell represented nurses related to battle, their primary purpose as subject matter was to assert the social status of a donor rather than the philosophy for which the Chapel was built. At Bathurst, the economy of sacrifice had reached its use-by-date.

Horace Crotty remained resolute in his commitment to the ‘brotherhood of the battlefield.’ Despite influential donors, his hallmark of community involvement was apparent in the completion of Long’s Bathurst scheme. The substitution of generic pioneers for William Wentworth as *Heroes of the Lonely Way* presented subject matter that many of his congregation could engage with through their own living memory. But it was those who should be given primacy – the *Heroes of Humanity*: nurse Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell – who provided him the opportunity to insinuate, as he had at Newcastle, the presence of a contemporary serviceman. Bella Whitney may have asserted her Britishness through the lights she donated but a *Hero[ine] of Humanity* facilitated an AIF chaplain representing sacrifice through the presence of a single unknown soldier in the lights of All Saints’ Cathedral, Bathurst.

## Chapter Four: The Spirit of *Devotion* (1937-1950)

Chapter Four focuses on *Devotion*, the AIF nurse who appears in the most frequently viewed scheme of commemorative windows in Australia; those of the Hall of Memory, Canberra (Figure 4.1). Misconception has long surrounded the provenance of the windows of the AWM. While the history of the institution, along with the art collection it houses, remains an enduring source of curiosity to scholars, its stained-glass has been ignored as the subject of active academic inquiry.<sup>1</sup> This chapter examines the windows' centrality as the jewels in the nation's commemorative crown by focussing on the development and symbolism of one of its fifteen lights; that of *Devotion*. Her inclusion reveals the agenda of a man whose experience of war necessarily informed his art. M. Napier Waller, a former combatant of the Western Front and one of the nation's most successful artists of his time, was commissioned to execute these windows two decades after the war. They were completed in the aftermath of World War II. Analysis reveals his extraordinary talent and an ability to instil covert symbolism into subject matter that reflected his ideology while also meeting that of his patron. In doing so, this chapter shatters one of the most enduring of the Memorial's misconceptions; that the Hall of Memory represents a secular space. Unknown to the men creating the AWM, Waller secretly wove Christ's Passion into the windows of its Hall of Memory.

The records held in the Memorial's Campbell archives and Mitchell Annex provide the most comprehensive record of the creation of a commemorative scheme in Australia. Correspondence between



**Figure 4.1:** M. Napier Waller, *Devotion*, 1950. South Window, Hall of Memory, AWM. Author's image.

<sup>1</sup> Julie Kimber and Maggie Nolan, "Editorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 39, no. 2 (2015): 123. Exceptions to this lack of scholarship include: Anderson, *Australian War Memorial*, 5-6. Fathi, *Représentations Muséales Du Corps Combattant*, 156-58; Kellett, "Truth and Love."

patron and artist, architectural elevations, sketches, designs, cartoons, contracts, glass orders, bills of lading and a range of other documents and ephemera provide a rich and unique body of primary sources with which to work. They facilitate a previously unattainable level of analysis and understanding of the debates and controversies that surrounded the inclusion of a nurse in a memorial of such significance. Waller wanted a nurse in the windows and her location in the Hall was critical in his conception for the scheme. But he faced one major obstacle to achieving his goal: AWM founder Charles Bean. By sparking a war of words that contested the masculinity of the windows, the artist strategically divided the men who created the Memorial and, in doing so, he succeeded in positioning *Devotion* as the centre of sacrifice in its Hall of Memory.

The second part of this chapter examines why *Devotion's* location was so important to Waller's plans. Widely-read, he drew inspiration for his art from classical and biblical sources as well as his artist-wife's theosophical beliefs. Waller was also influenced by the socialist writings of William Morris, along with the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement.<sup>2</sup> Examination and analysis of the artist's earlier works on canvas and glass not only establish the importance of women to his *oeuvre*, it also reveals an artist for whom integrity was paramount. Waller successfully subverted the ideologies of his patron by reverting to the traditions of his art. He used contemporary figures as symbols of their own sacrifice and infused them with medieval iconography. *Devotion* reinforced his message through the use of complex allegory drawn from traditional and alternative sources.

Finally, the misconception that the windows contain generic figures of the AIF is also shattered. A professional artist, Waller used the model as a necessary step in his art and readily named those who sat for him. The fact that he never did so for the windows of the AWM was completely out of character and only added to the mystique that grew around them.<sup>3</sup> *Devotion*, like other faces in the lights, was based on a person of significance in the artist's life. But of all the secrets and symbols that the Waller included in the windows, *Devotion's* identity was the most dangerous. As a result, he took her name with him to the grave.

### **Lighting the way: the genesis of the windows in the Hall of Memory**

Charles Bean first conceived of the idea of a national memorial to Australians who fought in the Great War while serving as a correspondent during the conflict.<sup>4</sup> His work put him in contact with

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<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Draffin, *The Art of Napier Waller* (South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1978), 4.

<sup>3</sup> Kellett, "Truth and Love," 88.

<sup>4</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 9.

Sir Henry Gullett, a fellow correspondent, and Gallipoli veteran John Treloar. This triumvirate established and developed the institution that became known as the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.<sup>5</sup> Treloar replaced Gullett as its second director in 1920 and became the driving force behind the treatment of the Hall of Memory.<sup>6</sup> While State monuments such as the Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne, and the Anzac Memorial, Sydney, relied on a single medium – sculpture – to help convey the sacredness and solemnity of their central chambers, Treloar envisaged the Hall of Memory on a much grander scale. He was determined to integrate three media – stained glass, mosaic and sculpture – to define it as the centrepiece of Australian commemoration.<sup>7</sup> The Director's interest in the windows was initially roused in 1929 when informed by a colleague from the Imperial War Graves Commission, London, of stained glass being donated by the Governments of the Empire to a battlefield chapel in France.<sup>8</sup> As originally planned, the windows in the Hall consisted of three large lunettes – semi-circular windows – set high in its east, south and west walls.<sup>9</sup>

The Hall of Memory served two major philosophical functions. Initially meant to house the names of over 62 000 fallen from World War I, it proved too small for the purpose. Neither could the courtyard leading to it accommodate members of the public on Anzac Days.<sup>10</sup> The names of the fallen were subsequently relocated to the Memorial's cloisters and the commemorative services to its front lawn with the Hall emerging as the nation's Shrine of Remembrance. It also served as the terminus for a significant and symbolic vista. The AWM was located on the most important of the three axes upon which architect Walter Burley Griffin plotted the national capital: the Land Axis.<sup>11</sup> As one of only two buildings situated on opposing ends of this axis, it faced the Provisional Parliament House (now referred to as Old Parliament House and referred to henceforth) with the area between the two creating an impressive vista (Figure 4.2).<sup>12</sup> Plans to locate a zoological gardens and Canberra's Roman Catholic Cathedral directly between the two buildings led to the integrity of the panorama being contested in 1928.<sup>13</sup> With the unveiling of a commemorative stone

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<sup>5</sup> Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 103; McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 26.

<sup>6</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 67.

<sup>7</sup> In the Board of Management Meeting held on 26 October 1948, Treloar admitted responsibility for the initial concept of commissioning two artists in the treatment of the Hall, AWM170 1/63.

<sup>8</sup> These windows were for the Chapel of Notre Dame de Lorette, Vimy Ridge: Murphy to Treloar, 6 July 1929, AWM 932/5/20.

<sup>9</sup> Architectural elevations, Sodersteen & Crust, 10 December 1929, AWM93 2/2/20; AWM170 1/37.

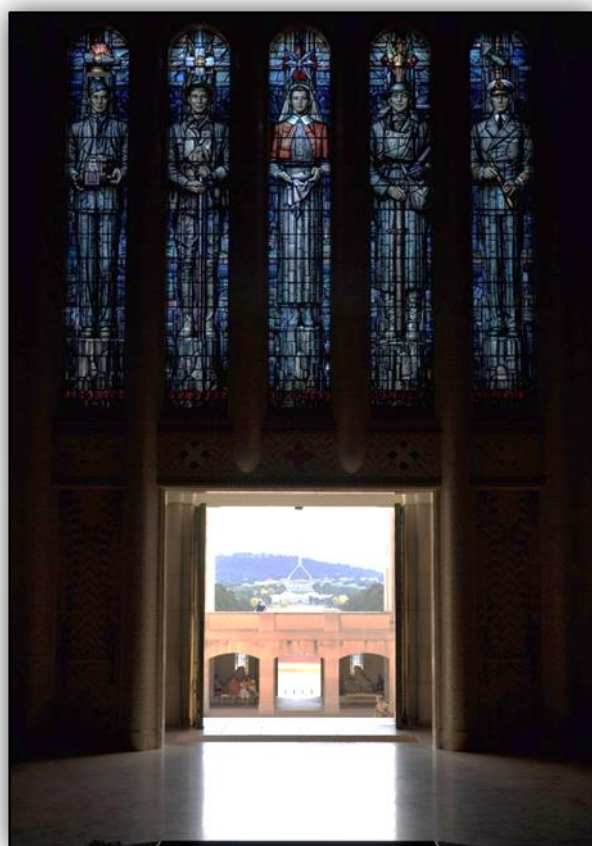
<sup>10</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 97-98, 102, 86-87; AWM170 1/1.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson, *Australian War Memorial*, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Today this vista is known as the *Parliament House Vista*. Godden Mackay Logan., Australian Commonwealth Government, "CH101 Commemorative Area," in *Australian War Memorial Heritage Register* (Australian Commonwealth Government: Canberra, 2008), 4, downloaded September 2011 from <http://www.awm.gov.au/sites/default/files/AWMHeritageRegisterSept2011.pdf>; Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 104.

<sup>13</sup> *West Australian*, 25 April 1928, 9.

marking the AWM's future site on Anzac Day 1929, its significance in the vista was confirmed: 'the [AWM's] site is at the foot of Mt Ainslie which terminates the vista from Parliament House. The memorial will, by reason of its position, always remain an outstanding feature of the scene.'<sup>14</sup> The symbolic association of the pairing was evident: the seriousness of parliamentary process juxtaposed with the solemnity of the nation's sacrifice.<sup>15</sup> A master of symbolic meaning, the significance of this axis, the vista it created and the architectural footprint of the AWM – a cruciform – would not be lost on Waller in his treatment of the Hall's internal elements.<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 4.2:** Symbolic view. Parliamentary Vista as seen from the Hall of Memory. Author's image.

In December 1937, Waller and sculptor Leslie Bowles met with Sir Henry, a member of the Memorial's Art Committee, at its offices then located in the Exhibition Building, Melbourne. The two artists had been offered the opportunity to submit proposals for the treatment of the Hall of Memory.<sup>17</sup> For Waller, by now a forty-four year old specialising in murals, mosaic and stained

<sup>14</sup> *Chronicle*, 2 May 1929, 17.

<sup>15</sup> Duncan Marshall et al., "Parliament House Vista Area Heritage Management Plan," eds. Parliament House Vista Area Heritage Management Plan (Canberra: National Capital Authority, 2009), 1: 55.

<sup>16</sup> Anderson, *Australian War Memorial*, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Treloar to Gullett, 18 December 1938, AWM315 234/005/001 01.

glass, this represented his second professional association with the AWM. In 1926, and likely at the behest of L. Bernard Hall, a founding member of the Art Committee and the artist's former art master at the National Gallery Art School, Melbourne. Waller had been invited to submit design work for a minor project.<sup>18</sup> Waller and Bowles subsequently threw themselves into the Hall of Memory project. They were given three months, access to a one-eighth scale model of the interior of the Hall, and a budget of £15,000 with which to formulate their concepts for the treatment.<sup>19</sup>

By late February 1938, Treloar expressed concern to Bean that he was yet to receive any concrete proposals and intimated that 'we will be in a most difficult position if Bowles and Waller cannot satisfy the Board.'<sup>20</sup> The artists, while working on the scale model of the Hall, had struck problems with lighting.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, tensions between members of the Art Committee and the plain-speaking Bowles were evident.<sup>22</sup> Initial proposals were at last submitted in June. Waller's concepts for the lunette windows described a largely restrained scheme of blue glass using very little ruby or gold. His subject matter was symbolic: rising suns in the East and West Windows superimposed with a pelican and its young and a lion symbolising *Charity* and *Strength* respectively. A Southern Cross formed the background of the South Window with black swans flying across it.<sup>23</sup> Elements of this scheme reflected tracery components of the *Pioneers' Window* (1935) Waller executed for the Wesley Church, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne. However, by the end of July, Waller began to radically modify his design.<sup>24</sup> This was likely influenced by Bean and Gullett's persistent push for realism in the Hall's treatment in concert with the lighting issues.

While Treloar, like the rest of the triumvirate, possessed no formal art training, he did demonstrate a pragmatic approach to the Hall's treatment and encouraged the artists to follow their instincts in relation to the expression of their art.<sup>25</sup> He cautioned Gullett prior to his initial meeting with Waller

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<sup>18</sup> Waller submitted designs for a Certificate of Appreciation to be awarded to donors to the Memorial's collection. Rejected as unsuitable, he subsequently declined an invitation to resubmit: AWM170 1/5 and 1/14.

<sup>19</sup> Treloar to Artists, 12 January 1938, AWM315 234/005/001 01.

<sup>20</sup> Treloar to Bean, 23 February 1938, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>21</sup> Bowles to Treloar, 21 February 1938, AWM315 234/005/001/01. At some point soon after, the scale model of the Hall of Memory – which measured six foot square – was moved from the Memorial's Melbourne offices to Waller's home in Ivanhoe. Treloar was reluctant to leave the model outside at the offices because he wished to 'hide it from the curious [public]' and maintain the secrecy surrounding the Hall's design. However, the artists needed to study the effect of light and shadow on the interior of the model and by relocating it to Ivanhoe and orientating it to the sun, they maintained the confidentiality Treloar required. Waller and Bowles worked on the model for two years: Treloar to Maxted, 15 February 1938, AWM315 234/005/001 01; *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 1, 1950, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Hall died in 1935. The Art Committee subsequently consisted of Bean, Gullett and the Director.

<sup>23</sup> Treloar to Bean, 14 June 1938, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665. All these motifs were subsequently incorporated into the windows or dome in the Hall of Memory.

<sup>24</sup> Treloar to Gullett and Bean, 26 July 1938, AWM315 234/005/001.

<sup>25</sup> Anne-Marie Condé, "John Treloar, Official War Art and the Australian War Memorial," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 3 (2007): 452, 460.



and Bowles that they ‘not be asked to work to any definite instructions [as] the best results will be obtained if they are given great freedom.’<sup>26</sup> But Gullett and Bean had other ideas with the latter pressing for ‘plain simple realistic figures of say an infantryman and a light horseman’, particularly in the sculpture and mosaics.<sup>27</sup> This relentless pressure to avoid anything ‘symbolical’ led to the tension with Bowles and a meeting between him, Bean, Gullett and Waller ‘cleared the air somewhat’ in late February 1938.<sup>28</sup> Soon after, Treloar thought it prudent to warn the artists that his colleagues ‘probably told you that they favour realism rather than symbolism.’<sup>29</sup>

While Bean and Gullett’s push for realism was no doubt influenced by the precedent set by the contemporary sculptural components of the Shrine of Remembrance and Anzac Memorial, Bean in particular was distrustful of the modern styles that he witnessed in the British and Canadian war art collections. He preferred a traditional approach that conveyed accurately what artists had witnessed at the front. For Bean, the art within the Memorial’s collection needed to stand not only as a record of the experiences of the AIF during the war but also a memorial to its efforts.<sup>30</sup> Treloar warned Waller and Bowles in August that ‘bearing in mind that all concerned hesitate to adopt anything symbolical, it may be difficult to think of a suitable treatment.’<sup>31</sup>

By September 1938 Waller was considering changing each lunette into six tall rectangular lights and a conceptual sketch by the artist from late October suggested figures in the towering windows (Figure 4.3).<sup>32</sup> In February 1939 he advised Treloar of a new idea. Planning to depict specific qualities embodied by the AIF in the Great War, Waller included a list of thirteen potential ‘labels’ for the lights.<sup>33</sup> A month later he revealed that these qualities should be represented by the figures of fifteen soldiers – Australian Diggers – as a ‘streak of affectation may result from a use of great names from the past.’<sup>34</sup> While Waller’s aesthetic when a younger artist mirrored classical and religious influences, maturation saw his *oeuvre* embrace contemporary life for inspiration and this was reflected in his subject matter for the Hall’s windows.<sup>35</sup> To achieve this concept, the architectural plans for the windows needed to be changed. Waller’s initial idea for the new scheme

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<sup>26</sup> Treloar to Gullett, 18 December 1937, AWM315 234/005/001/01.

<sup>27</sup> Extracts of letters from Bean to Treloar, 17 February 1938; Gullett to Treloar, 18 February 1938: AWM315 234/005/001/ 01.

<sup>28</sup> Bowles to Treloar, 21 February 1938; Treloar to Artists, 17 August 1938: AWM315 234/005/001/ 01.

<sup>29</sup> Treloar to Waller (for information Bowles), 26 February 1938, AWM315 234/005/001/ 01.

<sup>30</sup> Condé, "John Treloar," 457.

<sup>31</sup> Treloar to Artists, 19 August 1938, AWM315 234/005/001 01.

<sup>32</sup> Treloar to Artists, 15 September 1938; Waller’s quote, 27 October 1938: AWM315 234/005/001 01.

<sup>33</sup> Waller to Treloar, 5 February 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 01.

<sup>34</sup> Artist’s proposal, mid-March 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665. The Art Committee Meeting this proposal was prepared for was held at Waller’s studio between 2-3:30pm on 28 March 1939. The members of the AWM’s Board of Management were also invited to attend. See Treloar to Board Members, 21 March 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>35</sup> Terence Lane (family friend of Napier and Lorna Waller) interview by author, 10 April 2013.

resulted in a ‘tremendous’ increase in the area and cost of stained glass. Alarmed, he recognised the revised expanse meant the budget for all three media was no longer achievable. He recommended that ‘it would be better to sacrifice the mosaic if necessary, rather than the glass,’ before a more economical arrangement was realised.<sup>36</sup>

Treloar, after viewing Waller’s conceptual sketches, requested a quote for the work, something he had not done for the symbolic designs. At £3500, this represented £5 per square foot, £2 per square foot less than Waller’s studio fee at the time.<sup>37</sup> The Memorial’s Board accepted the new proposal for the windows although economies had to be made in less important aspects of the Hall’s decoration in order to accommodate the extra cost.<sup>38</sup> The next priority became settling on the fifteen qualities to be depicted in the lights and, in some instances, this proved to be no easy task; the men vacillated between ‘Tradition’, ‘Inheritance’, ‘Breeding’, and ‘Innateness’ before ultimately settling on *Ancestry* in late 1945.<sup>39</sup> However, the first quality to create tension among Bean, Gullett and Treloar involved the inclusion of a nurse, the semantics around the quality she should embody and the position she should would occupy in the scheme of glass.



**Figure 4.3:** M. Napier Waller, *Waller’s Sketch*, 1938. Pencil on paper. AWM315 234/005/001 01.

<sup>36</sup> Waller to Treloar, 28 October 1938, AWM315 234/005/001 01; Treloar to Waller, 7 March 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>37</sup> Treloar to Waller, 7 March 1939; Waller to AWM, 8 March 1939: AWM315 234/005/001 02; Heyes to Chairman of Board of Management, 30 May 1940: AWM315 234/005/012. It is not clear whether this cheaper price per square foot represented a discount, the money saved by the economy of scale for a scheme of this size, or the financial stability the work represented to Waller.

<sup>38</sup> Treloar to Board Members, 21 March 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>39</sup> For early debate regarding *Ancestry*, see correspondence between 30 May and 17 July 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02; Treloar to Waller, 9 December 1945, AWM315 234/005/003.

### **‘One unimportant suggestion’: manipulating the men of the Memorial<sup>40</sup>**

In mid-March 1939, Waller sent to the AWM an amended list of qualities as part of the artists’ formal proposal for the windows. A number of these contained alternative terms to those he had already suggested. For the central light in the South Window he offered ‘Prudence or DEVOTION (female)’ as possible replacements for his original quality of ‘Judgement’.<sup>41</sup> The capitalisation of ‘Devotion’ and the assignation of gender – the only alternative to be expressed in this manner – betrayed the artist’s preference: this quality should represent the AANS, the only women to serve in the AIF. Clearly Waller hoped that the power of suggestion would influence the men’s selection to include a nurse.

On 3 April 1939, Waller wrote directly to Bean and requested help in formulating a definitive list of qualities: ‘I know in your own work you have expressed an appreciation of the psychology of the “Digger”’ he wrote, referring to Bean’s immense and ongoing work on the history of the war, and ‘your opinions on the subject matter for the windows ... would be a most valuable help.’<sup>42</sup> Strategically, the artist included a list of qualities differing from those in the formal proposal. For the South Window, rather than ‘Devotion’, he used the exceedingly feminine quality of ‘Gentleness?’<sup>43</sup> Waller’s earlier description to the Art Committee that the scheme’s ‘suggested idea intends to make use of the digger himself as a symbol expressing the subject matter’ likely reinforced in Bean’s mind the idea that the windows were essentially masculine in nature.<sup>44</sup> The historian replied to the artist immediately. It was perhaps unsurprising that only qualities embodying male attributes featured on Bean’s list.<sup>45</sup>

A week later Waller responded:

Many thanks for your list of subject matter. All the qualities are perfectly descriptive ... When writing to Major Treloar I enclosed your list and made one unimportant suggestion that “Fidelity” might be changed to “Devotion”, with the idea of including one female figure as a nurse. The idea may not be worth considering any further.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Waller to Bean, 14 April 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>41</sup> Artists’ brief, mid-March 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>42</sup> Waller to Bean, 3 April 1939, AWM 383DRL 6673/665.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> “HALL OF MEMORY, INTERIOR,” prepared for Art Committee Meeting held at Waller’s Studio, 27 March 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>45</sup> Bean to Waller, 8 April 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>46</sup> Waller to Bean, 14 April 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

Waller had not, as he led Bean to believe, written to Treloar. He did so the following day. Enclosing the historian's list, he wrote 'the only suggestion I would make on Dr Bean's list, and it is not important, is that Devotion might be used instead of Fidelity; so that a figure of a nurse could be used in one light.'<sup>47</sup> Treloar responded immediately to the artist's letter. Writing to Bean, he expressed disappointment that a nurse was omitted from the latter's qualities, particularly as Waller had 'in one of his lists included 'Devotion' to be represented by the figure of a woman.'<sup>48</sup> Treloar, who later reflected that it was 'perhaps temerity' to question Bean's decisions, nevertheless requested that the historian reconsider his list and then inform him 'what quality would you strike out to allow this substitution to be made?'<sup>49</sup>

Treloar and his artist perceived a nurse's inclusion a *fait accompli* for, in the absence of Bean's assent, they pressed ahead with plans for the windows assuming *Devotion's* presence. Waller justified a nurse's inclusion from an artistic perspective. He earlier expressed concerns to Treloar about a 'persisting dark mass in that part of the window where I would decide that the point or centre of illumination should be' and a scarlet cape added the needed splash of colour 'which should be shuffled into the middle light of the South Bay'.<sup>50</sup> Treloar perceived *Devotion's* inclusion more holistically with her presence representative of Australian women in general and he believed a nurse's omission opened the Memorial to potential criticism.<sup>51</sup> The Director now realised the scope of the windows needed to be broadened. Until this point the lights were populated by soldiers and this reflected the bias of the men shaping the Memorial; all were veterans of the army. With the inclusion of *Devotion*, Treloar was forced to acknowledge the sacrifice of the other arms of the services. He admitted to Waller that '[i]f the army nurse is introduced into the windows the question will arise whether you should also try to include the sailor and the airman.'<sup>52</sup> He intimated that 'it might be alright for us to brush aside these relatively small services but the men who belonged to them would feel their omission.'<sup>53</sup>

Bean was resistant to change if it directly conflicted with ideas he initiated, a trait Treloar was well aware of and it took the historian more than two weeks to respond to the Director's request to reconsider the inclusion of a nurse.<sup>54</sup> He likewise recognised the need to represent the Navy and

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<sup>47</sup> Waller to Treloar, 15 April 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>48</sup> Treloar to Bean, 18 April 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>49</sup> Treloar to Gullett, 30 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02; Treloar to Bean, 18 April 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>50</sup> Waller to Treloar, 30 November 1938 and 22 April 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02; Treloar to Bean, 18 April 1939; AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>51</sup> Treloar to Waller, 18 April 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02; Treloar to Bean, 18 April 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>52</sup> Treloar to Waller, 18 April 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 210.

flying corps – along with a light-horseman – as qualities. He also conceded that a woman ‘might be shown’ in the South Window but in a lateral rather than central light and instead of ‘Devotion’ he assigned her ‘Tenderness: care for the sick and devotion to fallen mates.’<sup>55</sup> While pleased that Waller now had a nurse to work with, Treloar was far from enamoured with either the word or location Bean selected. Writing again to his colleague, he requested permission to give Waller free rein in arranging the qualities within each window when establishing the optimal design. He repeated his request a month later when no response from Bean was forthcoming.<sup>56</sup>

Treloar believed Bean selected ‘Tenderness’ because of its gendered association with the feminine.<sup>57</sup> Bowles validated this by supporting ‘Devotion’ as the better term. The sculptor reminded him that the ‘motto of the French Army is Courage and Devotion’, thereby drawing a direct association with a masculine connotation of the word that ‘Tenderness’ clearly lacked.<sup>58</sup> While a soldier, like a nurse, could be devoted to duty, it was impossible to associate the Digger with tenderness in his duty to wage war with bullet or bayonet. Treloar later admitted: ‘I did not like tenderness’ and moved swiftly to change it when the opportunity arose.<sup>59</sup> That chance presented itself a few days later when Gullett enthused ‘I certainly like the nurse idea’ but also admitted to preferring ‘Devotion’ over ‘Tenderness’.<sup>60</sup>

Sir Henry openly admired the AANS, declaring that words could not describe the:

... splendid band of Australian Nursing Sisters who ... greeted the battered men from the front as they reached the hospital and nursed them back to strength, or softened the close of their soldier-life. No womanhood has ever presented a richer association of feminine tenderness and sheer capacity. They were true sisters of the fighting sons of Australian pioneers.<sup>61</sup>

While Gullett clearly perceived the virtues of the AANS in terms of the feminine quality of tenderness, like Treloar, Bowles and Waller, he believed ‘Devotion’ to be the better term in regards to the masculine context of the Hall.

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<sup>55</sup> Bean to Treloar, 2 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>56</sup> Treloar to Bean, 6 May and 6 June 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>57</sup> Treloar to Gullett, 30 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 01.

<sup>58</sup> Bowles to Treloar, 15 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>59</sup> Treloar to Gullett, 30 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>60</sup> Gullett to Treloar, 10 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>61</sup> Gullett, *Official History of Australia in the War*, 7: 645.

The Director seized upon Sir Henry's support. Writing again to Bean, he quoted Gullett verbatim and demanded to know: '[d]o you agree with the amendments which Sir Henry has suggested?'<sup>62</sup> He invited Bean to 'thrash out' any differences with Gullett.<sup>63</sup> Either way, he wished to be advised of the historian's intended actions by the following Monday at the latest.<sup>64</sup> Treloar was losing patience and further formal communication between the three men on this matter did not occur. A fortnight later, Treloar advised Waller that 'Devotion' was to be substituted for 'Tenderness' but the grouping of the south window remained unchanged; the nurse was still relegated to a side light.<sup>65</sup> It appears that Treloar, with Gullett and the artists' support, over-rode Bean and elected 'Devotion' as the better term.

General Sir Harry Chauvel, former commander of the Australian Light-Horse, approved the oil and pencil studies of the windows at Waller's Ivanhoe studio in January 1941. *Devotion* occupied the central light in the South Window (Figure 4.4).<sup>66</sup> Evidently, in the intervening months, the order of the South Window's lights was rearranged and Bean was either not informed or offered no further objection to the change. Through the art of gentle manipulation, Waller usurped Bean's control of the Hall and achieved his goal of positioning a nurse centrally in the South Window of the Hall of Memory. The defining battle of the windows of the AWM had been waged and won. This experience taught Waller the Memorial's rules of engagement and they were to influence the way he created the subject matter for the windows or, more specifically, the complex symbolism he hid in them. *Devotion* formed an integral part of his plan.

### **Breaking the stained glass ceiling: depicting the Modern Woman**

Waller's commitment to include a nurse in his scheme of glass aligned with his experiences after the loss of his right arm during World War I (Chapter Three). The colour of a cape offered a potent reminder of a world removed from the mud and monochrome of a soldier's life on the Western

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<sup>62</sup> Treloar to Bean, 12 May 1939, AWM38 3DRL 6673/665.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Treloar to Waller, 30 May 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>66</sup> Chauvel was a member of the AWM's Board of Management. While Treloar was away serving in World War II, Bean included figures from that conflict in the windows. Chauvel's pointed assessment that 'in some of his symbolic figures Mr Waller is ... giving a prominence to the Australian Air Force which it did not enjoy in the last War,' suggests that the General's involvement in the approval process may have been strategic: Treloar did not agree with Bean's changes. Chauvel's displeasure supported the Director's agenda to change the windows back to being a 1<sup>st</sup> AIF memorial. See Chauvel to Heyes, 29 January 1941, AWM315 234/005/001 03. Also approved were AWM ART94015 and ART94016: the studies for the East and West Windows.

Front. Perhaps, as his contemporary Mont Montgomery had during the war, Waller awoke in a hospital bed in France to see ‘a vision in grey & red & spotless white flitting round [his] bed’ and she likewise motivated him ‘to take an interest in things again.’<sup>67</sup> The ‘value of the red cape’ afforded by a nurse could be as therapeutic as the care she provided and as important as the ‘centre of illumination’ she embodied to her artist-patient over two decades later in the nation’s Shrine of Remembrance.<sup>68</sup> However, in the 1941 study of the window, very little of the scarlet cape, so important to the artist’s argument for her inclusion, featured (Figure 4.4).

For Waller, women played an important part in his art. Appearing in many of his major public works executed prior to the AWM commission, they formed the focus or elements of his subject matter and he always treated them with dignity and respect.<sup>69</sup> Serving as both inspiration and icon, sometimes their inclusion in his windows held great personal significance. Waller entered a portrait of his artist-wife Christian for the 1932 Archibald Prize.<sup>70</sup> Using this painting as the study for a church window in regional NSW a year earlier, he portrayed Christian as *St Mary Magdalene* (Figure 4.5).<sup>71</sup> Comparison of his canvas with the stippling of the pigment on the Magdalene’s neck and face reveals that though he stylised some of her features, this is indeed the same woman. Unlike the pious and demure biblical woman portrayed in many stained glass windows, Mary Magdalene engages the viewer boldly with her sultry gaze. Waller depicted his wife as the ‘modern woman.’

Emerging from the aftermath of war, the modern woman is most readily identified as the ‘flapper’ of the jazz age. Epitomised as both the ‘best and worst of modernity,’ a number of factors contributed to her development including: the first wave of feminism; the writings of Marie Stopes, through which women developed more of an awareness of their right to sexual happiness and contraception; the mobility of young women from the domestic to the work space; and even the home sewing machine and paper dress pattern with their capacity to provide women of all ages and classes with fashions that previously exceeded their means.<sup>72</sup> Artists were an important part of this

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<sup>67</sup> William ‘Mont’ Montgomery to May Montgomery, 1 May 1917, WMP, MS15414, Box 27, File 4, SLV.

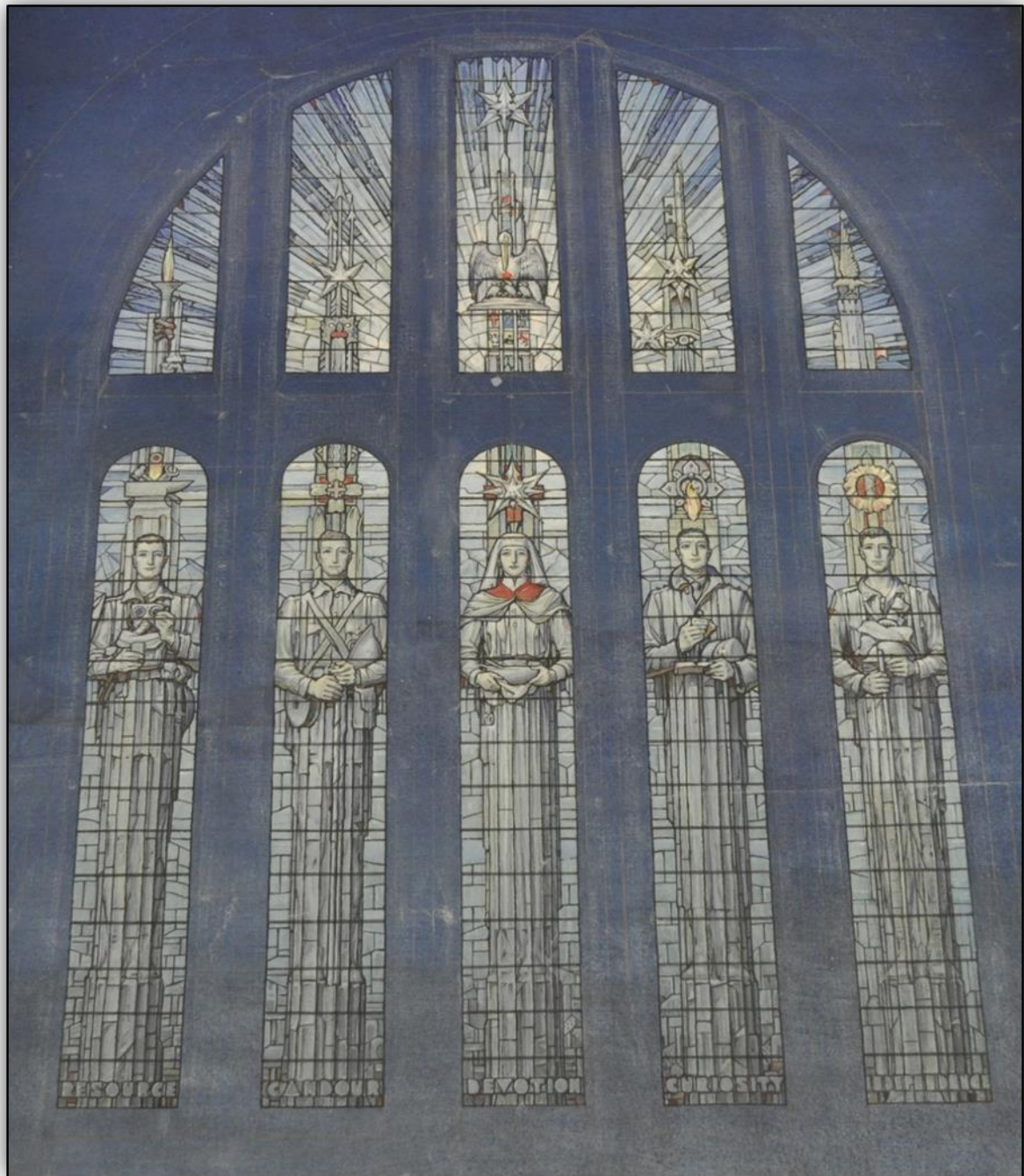
<sup>68</sup> Waller to Treloar, 30 November 1938 and 22 April 1939: AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example: *The Pastoral Pursuits of Australia* (aka the Menzies Hotel Mural) 1927, State Gallery of SA; *Better to conserve life’s gifts is to conserve them and ensure a fearless future*, 1928 (Mural), T. & G. Building, Collins Street, Melbourne; *The Five Lamps of Knowledge*, 1931 (Mosaic), University of Western Australia; *I’ll put a girdle round about the earth*, 1933 (Mosaic), Collins Street, Melbourne; and *The Myer Mural Hall*, 1935 (Murals), Myer, Bourke Street Store, Melbourne.

<sup>70</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 6 February 1932, 18.

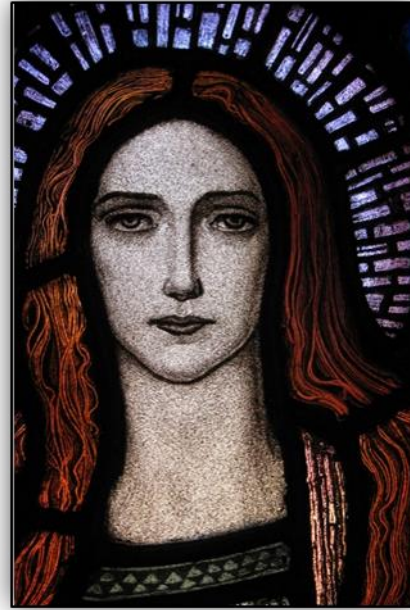
<sup>71</sup> I am indebted to Bronwyn Hughes for sharing her discovery and images with me.

<sup>72</sup> David Carter, “‘Esprit De Nation’ and Popular Modernity,” *History Australia* 3 (2008): 74.14-74.18; Rosemary Campbell, *Heroes & Lovers: A Question of National Identity* (Allen & Unwin: North Sydney, 1989), 9, 20-22; Janet McCalman, *Sex and Suffering: Women’s Health and a Women’s Hospital* (Melbourne University Press: Carlton, 1999), 153-54; Catriona Moore, “Modern Woman: Full Throttle,” in *Sydney Moderns: Art for a New World*, ed. Deborah Edwards and Denise Mimocchi (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW, 2013), 86.



**Figure 4.4:** M. Napier Waller, *Study for South Window* (detail), 1941. AWM ART94014.





**Figure 4.5:** The faces of Christian. M. Napier Waller: *Christian Waller with Baldur, Siren and Ursine at Fairy Hills* (detail), 1932. NGA: 84.845 (left); and *St Mary Magdalene* (detail), 1931. All Saints', Canowindra. Image courtesy of Bronwyn Hughes (right).

societal change. By presenting images of Australian woman on magazine covers and in advertisements as fashionable, independent and, within the constructs of the time, uninhibited individuals, they challenged the prevailing discourses of femininity. Artists provided new ways for women – and society – to view women through popular culture as well as more traditional art forms.<sup>73</sup>

As a professional artist in her own right, Christian exemplified the modern woman. By portraying her as Mary Magdalene, Waller may have been making a statement about the nexus between his wife's life and her art; she was also a stained glass artist and influenced by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.<sup>74</sup> The stance of the figure shares similarities with Dante Gabriel Rossetti's 1877 canvas, *Astarte Syriaca*, a particular favourite of Christian's.<sup>75</sup> The Magdalene light occurs amongst three Waller executed for All Saints', Canowindra, following his and his wife's return from Europe in 1930. He appears to have been 'finding his feet' in respect to technique and style and this is

<sup>73</sup> Robert Holden, "Sydney Ure Smith and the Artists of the Home," in *Sydney Moderns: Art for a New World*, ed. Deborah Edwards and Denise Mimmocchi (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW, 2013), 104; Catriona Moore, "Modern Woman," 86.

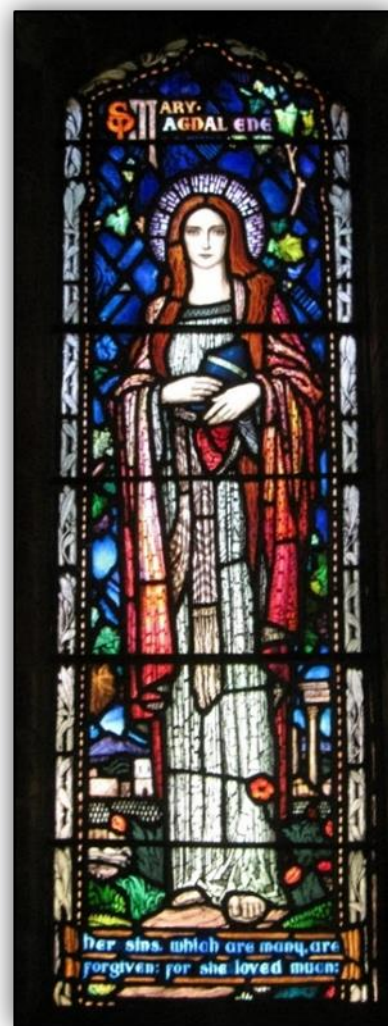
<sup>74</sup> Caroline Miley, "Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass," in *The Art of Christian Waller*, ed. David Thomas (Bendigo: Bendigo Art Gallery, 1992), 44; Nicholas Draffin, "Waller, Mervyn Napier," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1990), 12: 367.

<sup>75</sup> Miley, "Towards the Light," 44. *Astarte Syriaca* portrays the Syrian goddess of Love: like Rossetti's model – William Morris' wife Jane – Waller portrayed Christian in a frontal pose looking directly at the viewer with her left foot forward and left shoulder elevated.

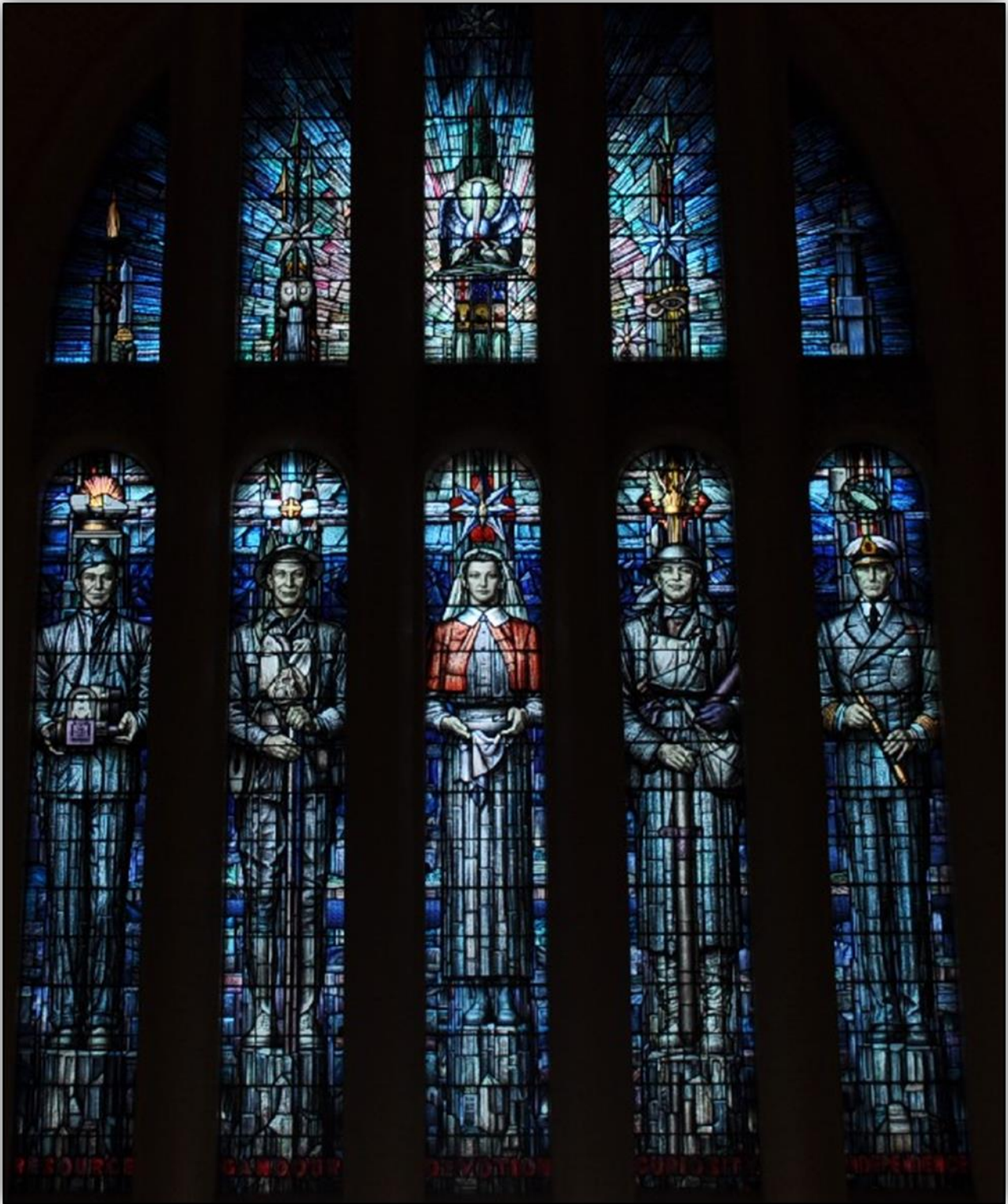
validated by the fact that they were never included in his catalogue of works. Unlike his other two windows in the church featuring male saints in profile or standing obliquely to the viewer, the frontal stance of the Magdalene presented a composition harmonising with the architectural space in which she was located; the long, narrow lancet window (Figure 4.6). This light also predicted the rectilinear structure that typifies the lower component of much of his later figurative work and likewise complemented the vertical planes of the lancet form. Within a developmental sense, *St Mary Magdalene* represented the genesis of an artistic style that found its apogee in the windows of the Hall of Memory two decades later.

Waller portrayed *Devotion* with the same degree of respect that he always accorded to women. In the 1941 study, the nurse's plinth is the same height as the men's. In the window, the artist raised it so that she still stood shoulder-to-shoulder with her fourteen male colleagues despite being shorter in stature. Creating visual consistency in the scheme, it also sent a clear message about how Waller regarded *Devotion*: she was the men's equal. Waller further demonstrated this egalitarianism by rendering his nurse in the same manner as the males: she appears to 'squeeze' into the window, the opening barely accommodating her elbows and forearms. This gives the impression that, like the men around her, she is larger than life. It also conveys a sense of power and presence. Rather than appearing coy or demure, *Devotion* looks the viewer directly in the eye. She is the only Australian army nurse to be accorded her own light in the immediate post-war periods. Waller also portrayed *Devotion* as the Modern Woman (Figures 4.4 and 4.7).

The texture of *Devotion's* cape indicates it is made of wool while the silhouette of the insignia formed by the lead lines of the epaulettes on her shoulders reveals her designation as a 'Sister', the



**Figure 4.6:** M. Napier Waller, *St Mary Magdalene*, 1931. All Saints', Canowindra. Image: Bronwyn Hughes.



**Figure 4.7:** M. Napier Waller, South Window: *Resource; Candour; Devotion; Curiosity; & Independence*, 1950. Hall of Memory. Author's image.

equivalent of a lieutenant had she been male.<sup>76</sup> Low-heeled shoes are suited to ward work. She is well groomed with short, tidy nails and hair constrained by an unstarched veil that falls in soft folds to frame her face. Her appearance is professional and practical and conveys the same sense of confidence and reliability as those of the men around her. Carrying a bowl containing dressing equipment and with a snowy towel fanning from her fingertips, the artist depicted her with left foot slightly forward. She is unafraid to meet the trials of war or the challenges remembrance brings. *Devotion* did not surrender her vocation to preserve the masculinity of the Hall of Memory.

Nevertheless, Katie Holmes proposes that *Devotion*'s presence emasculates the men around her. With 'pan and cloth, she would minister to her patient's most fundamental and intimate needs', thereby rendering them 'weak, powerless, castrated.'<sup>77</sup> *Devotion* does not carry a pan; the receptacle is too small and shallow for that purpose and a nurse would *not* use a pan to carry supplies for the dressing of wounds. However, a nurse engaged in the act of nursing could emasculate healthy men by inferring weakness and infirmity. It was only fitting then that Waller provided *Devotion* with a casualty to tend to.

With chin raised in defiance, *Endurance* is a 'wounded soldier with a broken "shard of war"' (Figure 4.8).<sup>78</sup> Holding a fractured bayonet apparently extracted from his thorax – its tip is stained with blood – and with additional bayonet tips insinuated upon his uniform and flying toward him above, *Endurance* appears as a modern day incarnation of St Sebastian, the warrior saint slain with arrows.<sup>79</sup> Lyndon Dadswell and Rayner Hoff implied injury in and on the State monuments of Victoria and NSW respectively by disarray of the normally immaculate AIF uniform and, in the case of the latter, bandaged limb; there exists no evidence of blood rendered on stone. Waller depicted *Endurance* in a similar fashion; bare chested



**Figure 4.8:** M. Napier Waller, *Endurance* (detail), 1949. East Window. Author's image.

<sup>76</sup> In April 1916, the AANS began wearing the insignia of rank to accord them the authority of officers. Rather than military rank, it denoted the hierarchy of their profession: Butler, *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services*, 3: 548.

<sup>78</sup> Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 44.

<sup>78</sup> Waller to Treloar, 8 September 1950, AWM315 235/005/003.

<sup>79</sup> Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 392.

and with left arm bound in crepe, but a scarlet flash of blood oozing through the dressing on the lower left of his chest betrays a mortality not often glimpsed on a war memorial. Suggesting a pneumothorax – the dreaded ‘sucking chest wound’ in the vernacular of the contemporary Digger – *Endurance* might continue to wage war but he could only endure if he succumbed to the ministrations of the medical system and the women who would fight to save his life. *Devotion’s* presence was more than merely decorative; she formed an active part of Waller’s gallery of martial saints.

### **Resurrecting the memory of war**

Waller, like Bean, perceived the task of commemorating Australia’s war dead as sacred duty and he envisaged the treatment of the Hall on similar grounds. It appears that he did not share Bean’s personal belief that it should be a secular space and that Christian iconography could not satisfactorily express the loss of men.<sup>80</sup> Like many soldiers, Waller shunned the sectarian sentiments that remained evident in Australian society after the war and an admission that he was ‘not a professing Christian’ may have had more to do with a refusal to conform to the hypocrisies of faith that the battlefield revealed than a denial of religion *per se*.<sup>81</sup> While embracing classical, Christian and theosophical influences in his art, he also followed the philosophical beliefs of the Arts and Crafts Movement’s William Morris who espoused that an artist’s social responsibilities should be implicit in his work.<sup>82</sup> Morris and his circle of artists revolutionised the art of stained glass by advocating and practising a return to principles of medieval design rather than slavishly replicating the era’s Gothic Revival windows.<sup>83</sup> Waller thus believed art ‘should convey ... something of the artist’s own personal social philosophy of human ideals and ... a belief in the permanency of our traditions.’<sup>84</sup> Christianity was one of the traditions Waller turned to for the windows of the AWM.

Ken Inglis observes that the church spire high in the West Window above *Ancestry* is the only evidence of Christianity evident in the Hall’s treatment. He also acknowledges that decoding the symbolism inherent in Waller’s work is not always as easy as recognising the imagery depicted

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<sup>80</sup> Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 103.

<sup>81</sup> Draffin, *The Art of Napier Waller*, 4; Waller to Norman Carter, 5 January 1953, Mitchel Library (ML) MSS 471/1, Sydney.

<sup>82</sup> Christopher Wood, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Phoenix Illustrated, 1981), 10; Pamela Todd, *William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Home* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 8; Draffin, *The Art of Napier Waller*, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Peter H. Hoffenberg, "Landscape, Memory and the Australian War Experience," *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 153.

<sup>84</sup> Waller interview.

within it.<sup>85</sup> From the moment that he and Bowles submitted their artists' brief, Waller described the 'cathedral like' atmosphere he planned to impart in the Hall of Memory.<sup>86</sup> Metaphorically associating secular with religious, the artist drew inspiration from the cruciform footprint that the AWM shared with traditional church design and the customs of his professional forebears. Stained glass is the art of Christianity and during his year abroad in 1929, Waller visited churches and cathedrals in England, France and Italy. There he witnessed the medieval pictographic window.<sup>87</sup> These lights acted as visual bibles when, in an age of illiteracy, subjects from the Old and New Testaments found favour as illustrative devices that explained key religious events to the masses.<sup>88</sup> Bean had, in his demands for realism and his resistance to *Devotion*, tried to assert strict levels of control similar to those exercised by the holy fathers of the past. Artists of the Middle-Ages had little freedom to freely express their abilities in the windows they made; but Waller did.<sup>89</sup> He took the traditions of his artistic forefathers and, using the principles of medieval design espoused by Morris, applied them to the modern context.

Waller created a pictographic scheme telling the story of Australia's contribution to the war. He located the campaigns fought by the AIF in the East and West Windows and crowned each with the rising sun – the emblem under which the force battled – to signify the rising and setting of the celestial body and the dualities of life and death inherent to war. A light-horseman and Anzac veteran in the East Window, along with snippets of eastern architecture beneath their feet, related the early part of the war (Figure 4.9). The mud dripping from the hem of *Patriotism's* greatcoat and boots in the West Window signified the Western Front. Waller located himself in this window: *Chivalry* is a self-portrait of the artist (Figure 4.10).<sup>90</sup> The artist's complex symbolism appeared to update the traditional commemorative window by using Australians rather than Christ as overt symbols of their own sacrifice. However, as this was a story about the sacrifice for the greater good of humanity, there existed only one event Waller could logically follow: the Crucifixion. *Devotion* played a central role in his plans.

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<sup>85</sup> K.S. Inglis, "The Anzac Tradition (1965)," in *Anzac Remembered: Selected Writings of K.S. Inglis*, ed. John Lack (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1998), 41; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 373; Inglis, "A Sacred Place," 116.

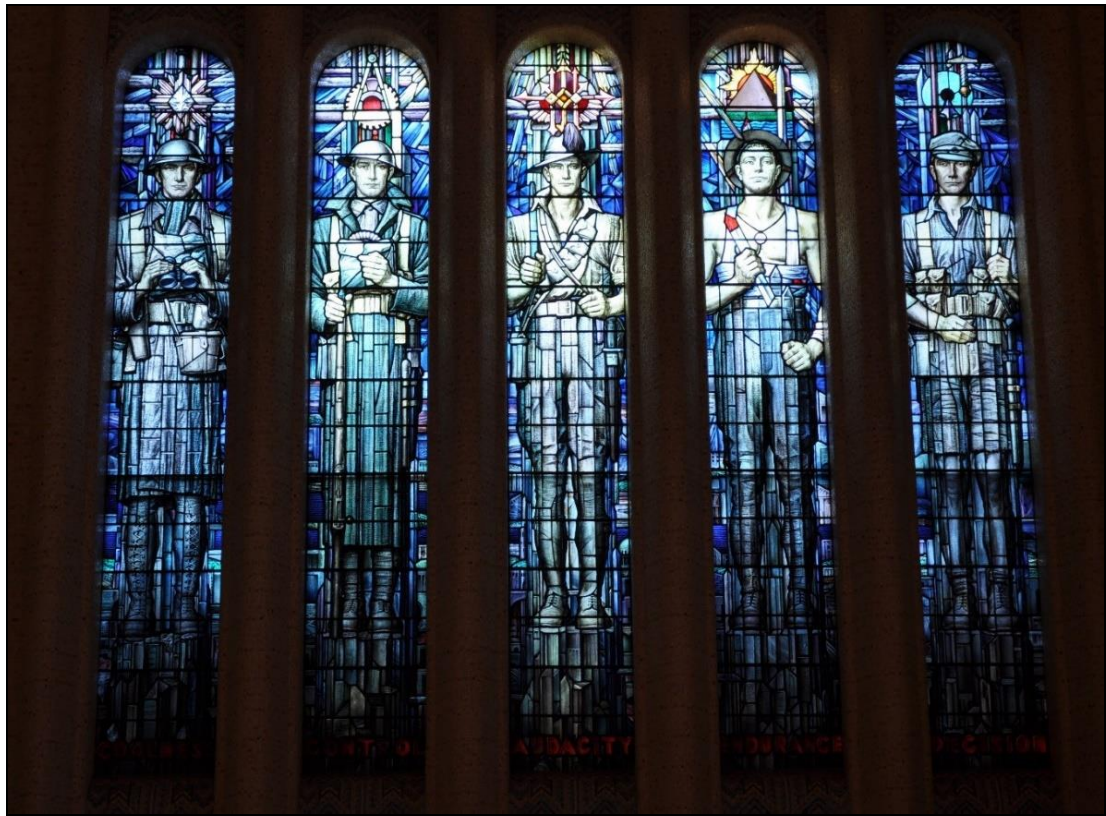
<sup>86</sup> Artists' brief [March 1939], AWM38 3DRL 6673, Item 665; Waller to Treloar, 8 September 1950, AWM315 234/005/003; Waller to Carter, (received) 28 November 1951, ML MS471/1.

<sup>87</sup> Lee, Seddon and Stephens, *Stained Glass*, 12, 27-32.

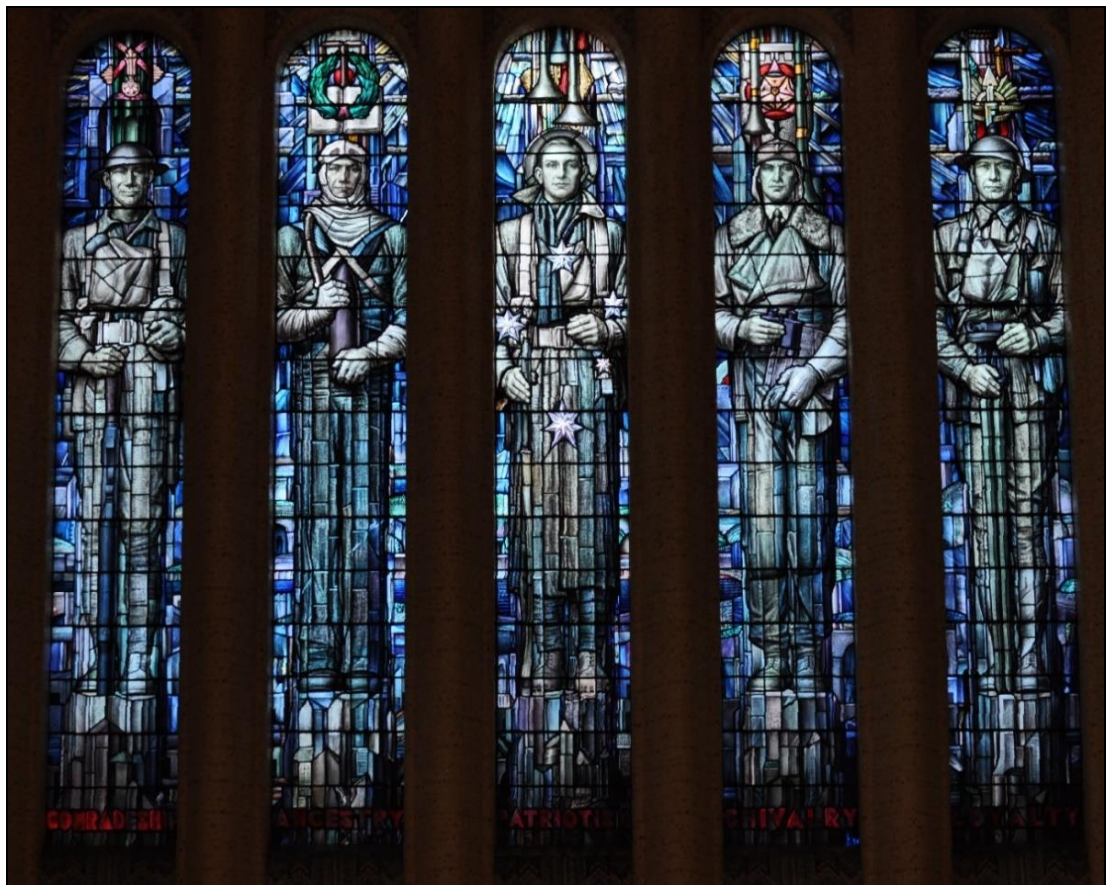
<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 27, 32.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-25.

<sup>90</sup> Kellett, "Truth and Love," 130-31, 137.



**Figure 4.9:** M. Napier Waller, East Window. From left: *Coolness; Control, Audacity; Endurance; & Decision*, 1949. Hall of Memory. Author's image.



**Figure 4.10:** N. Napier Waller, West Window. From left: *Comradeship; Ancestry; Patriotism; Chivalry; & Loyalty*, 1950. Hall of Memory, AWM. Author's image.

The most striking element of the central light in the transom above the nurse is the symbol for Charity. Nested on the Australian Arms, a ‘pelican feeds her young from her bleeding breast’ explained Waller to Treloar after the windows were installed in 1950 (Figure 4.6).<sup>91</sup> Contemporary conclusions drawn from the pairing of the bird with the nurse demonstrate a direct link to motherhood; the AANS willingly sacrificed its lifeblood for those in its care.<sup>92</sup> Charity, like Faith and Hope, is one of the seven feminine Virtues and she provided a convenient corollary for *Devotion*. In earlier times, Charity was attributed symbols such as flames or a heart but from the Renaissance, the pelican assumed significance in artistic representations of the theological virtue.<sup>93</sup> But before this, the bird was best known as a Christian symbol of Christ and the pelican surrendering her blood for its young was an allegory for His Crucifixion.<sup>94</sup> Waller strategically omitted the bird’s halo – the definitive sign of Christ’s holiness – in his initial design for the South Window (Figure 4.4). It is possible that he did not want to arouse suspicion with an overtly religious device, particularly with Bean and especially as the battle over *Devotion* and the centrality of her location had just been won. By 1947, the feminine relationship between the symbolism of Charity and the army nurse was well established so that the addition of a nimbus to the bird in the window’s cartoon appears to have escaped notice or comment.

In the context of the Crucifixion, the ‘pelican in her piety’ (or ‘redemption through self-sacrifice’) is sometimes shown nesting upon the Cross.<sup>95</sup> The column against which *Devotion* stands is unique in respect to the others in the scheme. While many behind the servicemen suggest the streamlined muzzles, barrels, hilts and handles of armaments and arms, once past the symbols above each figure’s head, all taper into the transoms above. *Devotion*’s does not. The nurse’s column, while likewise rectilinear in form, maintains consistency in shape until *after* the nesting pelican in the lunette. Hers is the only light in which this occurs. Rather than the industrialised Art Deco impression of metal, a central core filled with eucalyptus leaves and gumnuts insinuates the organic form of wood. Waller’s careful placement of lead lines suggests the crossbar of a Latin cross emerging from the body of the Red Cross. The South Window, with its Aurora Australis and Southern Cross, represents the Australian military effort during the war: serviceman and nurse; Navy and Army (and Flying Corps); and officer and enlisted man were all embodied within its five

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<sup>91</sup> Waller to Treloar, 8 September 1950, AWM315 234/005/003.

<sup>92</sup> Cooper, "Textual Territories," 403; Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 44.

<sup>93</sup> George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), 101; John Murray, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art* (Bury St Edmunds: John Murray, 1996), 64.

<sup>94</sup> J.E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, 2nd ed. (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2002), 252; Hilarie Cornwell and James Cornwell, *Saints, Signs and Symbols*, 3rd ed. (New York: Moorehouse Publishing, 2009), 119; Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 23 & 101

<sup>95</sup> Lee, Seddon and Stephens, *Stained Glass*, 37; Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 101; Murray, Murray and Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, 65; Murray, *Hall's Dictionary*, 86.



lights.<sup>96</sup> For an artist who had lived war and experienced his own profound loss, realistic figures of service personnel alone were never going to suffice. Waller emphasised Australia's sacrifice in the war as akin to that of Christ's but secretly, within the boundaries of his own philosophical beliefs. In doing so, he quietly subverted Bean's mandate on a monumental scale.

While it might be easy to dismiss such symbolism as mere coincidence, the window Waller executed in 1935 for the Wesley Church, Melbourne, suggests it was a conscious act. As referred to earlier in this chapter, the biblically-themed *Pioneers' Window* contained in the quatrefoil tracery of its apex a pelican: *Charity*. The Melbourne bird was, essentially, the same pelican that appeared above *Devotion* but with spatial limitations necessarily imposed by a quatrefoil and executed with a modernist approach (Figure 4.11). A professional artist, Waller did not adapt subject matter from window to window to save time and financially benefit his studio as trade firms frequently did.<sup>97</sup> His lights were original works of art. This made his reuse of *Charity* from the *Pioneers Window* completely irregular.



**Figure 4.11:** Waller's pelicans: *Charity* in *Pioneers' Window*, 1935. South transept, Wesley Church, Melbourne (left); and *Devotion* (transom detail), 1950. Hall of Memory, AWM. Author's images.

Examination of *Charity* reveals what appear to be the rays of a rising sun insinuated within the lead lines of its masonry halo. It is unlikely that Waller was aware of the impending AWM commission

<sup>96</sup> Kellett, "Truth and Love," 131.

<sup>97</sup> Early in his career, Waller used one specific profile from a 1929 painting in two subsequent interstate commissions for a window and mosaic. The Wesley pelican is the only example located in which he adapted a cartoon from one window for use another.

when he executed this light in celebration of 100 years of Methodism in Victoria.<sup>98</sup> Facing an allegorical biblical window commemorating 1500 Victorian and Tasmanian Methodists who died during World War I, the rising sun radiating from the bird's head was possibly a reference to the significance of war in a memorial encompassing the centenary of Faith.<sup>99</sup> There was likely a personal dimension to it; Waller declared himself Methodist on his AIF enlistment.<sup>100</sup> While religious symbolism appears to have been part of Waller's plans for the windows from the very first concepts and designs he produced for the Hall – the pelican was referenced in the 1938 lunettes he presented to Treloar – it is unlikely he was making a sectarian statement. It is more probable that he was covertly establishing a direct association with the Christian meaning of the Memorial's window. He was also 'reusing' his subject matter as the medieval artist did.<sup>101</sup>

Waller went further; it appears that he embedded the Resurrection and Ascension in the West and East Windows respectively. The transom light above *Patriotism* contains a lion and crown with the former another representation of Christ and a symbol of His Resurrection.<sup>102</sup> In the broadest sense, the crown is emblematic of success and, within Christian art, symbolic of martyrdom in the context of victory.<sup>103</sup> While this represented the AIF and its part in winning the war, Waller's presence in this window suggests a second more intimate meaning. Layering meaning upon meaning, the artist aligned his own sacrifice – the loss of his right arm – and artistic resurrection with that of a soldier saint; the standard of St George, who was resurrected several times from the dead during his life, appears in the transom above *Chivalry's* head.<sup>104</sup> In the East Window, Waller depicted an eagle above the centrally-located light-horseman *Audacity*. In Christian art, the eagle presents yet another symbol of Christ along with that of His Ascension.<sup>105</sup> It would not have been lost on Waller that Gallipoli – the event that gave birth to a nation – coincided with the most symbolic of windows in a religious scheme: the East Window.

These windows support the emerging argument that religious tradition contributed more to the remembrance practices that developed following World War I than the historiography of Australian

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<sup>98</sup> *Methodist*, 8 December 1935, 2.

<sup>99</sup> Wesley Church, *Welcome to the Wesley Church: A Guide* (Melbourne: Wesley Church, c.2010). The war memorial window is: Brooks Robinson & Co., *The Stoning of St Stephen*, c.1920.

<sup>100</sup> NAA: B2455, WALLER MERVYN NAPIER.

<sup>101</sup> Lee, Seddon and Stephens, *Stained Glass*, 26.

<sup>102</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 21; Cornwell and Cornwell, *Saints, Signs and Symbols*, 122; Murray, Murray and Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, 314; Murray, *Hall's Dictionary*, 193.

<sup>103</sup> Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, 72; Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 166; Murray, *Hall's Dictionary*, 78-79.

<sup>104</sup> Morgan, *St George*, 20; Murray, *Hall's Dictionary*, 137.

<sup>105</sup> Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, 92; Cornwell and Cornwell, *Saints, Signs and Symbols*, 117; Murray, Murray and Jones, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, 160; Murray, *Hall's Dictionary*, 109.

commemoration currently recognises.<sup>106</sup> Waller witnessed the vanities of patronage firsthand during the Warriors' Chapel commission at All Saint's Cathedral, Bathurst, in 1927 (Chapter Three). It provided valuable experience and the presence of contemporary incarnations of the warrior saints Sebastian and George, along with the themes of Christ's Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension, suggest that he may have been creating his own Warriors' Chapel in the Hall of Memory. The presence of the Virgin Mary in the South (Crucifixion) Window strengthens this argument.

### **The many aspects of *Devotion***

*Charity* was another of the reasons why *Devotion's* location in the South Window was critical to Waller's scheme; she too played a role in the religious aspect of his symbolism. The artist used a series of subtle signs to attribute *Devotion* with the status of the Virgin Mary in the South Window. Unlike *Charity*, he did not need to hide her halo; the veil of the nurse provided a convenient allegory to a nimbus while the absence of the nurse's white apron – despite *Devotion's* obvious intention to engage in clinical work – allowed Waller to use blue glass instead of grey for her uniform.<sup>107</sup> The spotless towel that drapes from *Devotion's* fingers is associated not only with the hygiene practices performed by a nurse, it also becomes a symbol of purity ascribed to the Virgin Mary.<sup>108</sup> The star immediately above *Devotion's* head is the only one not contained in the transom window above and it, like all stars of the Southern Cross, contains the requisite seven points (Figures 4.1 & 4.7). However, the heavy stippling of pigment on its upper point in the extant window does not equate with an absence of shading on *Devotion's* cartoon (Figure 4.12).

Comparison of the symbols above the heads of the other qualities with their cartoons reveals the stippling and shading to be the same. By subduing the upper point in the final phase of the window's manufacture, Waller emphasised the rest of the star and presented the illusion of it being six-pointed. Within the Theosophical doctrine, a 'six-pointed star refers to the six Forces or Powers of Nature... all synthesized by the seventh, or the central point in the star. All these... emanate from the Heavenly or Celestial Virgin, the Great Mother in all religions.'<sup>109</sup> Unlike the other stars in this Southern Cross, the one immediately above the nurse's head contains a central point, a seventh that

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<sup>106</sup> Frank Bongiorno, "A Many-Sided Nature: Historical Reflections on Anzac and Religion," *St Mark's Review* 231, no. 1 (2015): 45.

<sup>107</sup> Without close examination of the windows, determining the exact type and colour of glass Waller used for *Devotion's* uniform is difficult. From photographs, it appears that he used a mix of light and medium-light blues. Extensive orders of glass from London reveal a small amount of grey and grey-purple glass with the bulk of Waller's orders containing large quantities of blue-hued glass. See correspondence related to glass orders in AWM315 234/005/013.

<sup>108</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 182.

<sup>109</sup> H. P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*, 3rd ed. (London: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1893-1897), 1: 236.

crosses its lower border as if flying, like a comet, from its heart. It points to a *Martial Madonna* below.

Located centrally to all fifteen lights, *Devotion* – in her red cape and as a *Martial Madonna* – balanced the scheme. However, her significance extended past the aesthetic and religious heart of the South Window. Waller located *Devotion* on the metaphorical centre of both Griffin’s Land Axis and the Parliamentary Vista’s entrance into the Hall of Memory (Figure 4.2). This direct link with the nation’s government was made more explicit by the presence of the Australian Arms in the transom above. *Devotion* also represented the heart of sacrifice externally to the Hall for when viewed from the opposing end of the Vista – from Old Parliament House – additional symbolism is revealed. Politicians who emerged from Old Parliament House faced the South Window.

Although the distance is too great for any detail

other than the shape of the five windows to be discerned, they nevertheless looked directly into the faces of those they committed to war: man and nurse; officer and enlisted man; and Navy, Army and, by the time the windows were installed, Air Force.

It was Treloar who believed that ‘a nurse would represent the Australian women.’<sup>110</sup> While Hoff used mother, sister and wife to support the State’s burden of *Sacrifice* in Sydney’s Anzac Memorial, Waller needed only a single figure: *Devotion*. For the army nurse, negotiating the complex roles of ‘mother’, ‘sister’ or ‘lover’ in the imaginings of a soldier-patient was an integral part of his relationship with her.<sup>111</sup> With her boys, her brothers-in-arms or the men of the AIF standing either side of her, Waller used the multiple identities of *Devotion* to embody the sacrifice made by the nation’s women.



**Figure 4.12:** M. Napier Waller, *Cartoon: Devotion* (detail), c.1947. AWM ART94044.005.

<sup>110</sup> Treloar to Waller, 18 April 1939, AWM315 234/005/001 02.

<sup>111</sup> Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 46.

### **Keeping secrets: the woman in the window**

During World War II, work on the windows fell into abeyance. The Memorial's Board of Management intended the treatment of the Hall of Memory to progress but, with Treloar away serving in the conflict, the impetus for the project faltered and by January 1943 it had ground to a halt.<sup>112</sup> The Director returned from active service in 1944 to find himself faced with two challenges. Bean had substituted six of the qualities in the windows with figures of the current conflict, thus diluting what Treloar saw as their primary purpose: commemorating the AIF's sacrifice in World War I. The Director subsequently convinced the Board to return the windows to their original purpose and commit the mosaics on the four walls between the lights as its memorial to World War II.<sup>113</sup> Secondly, he had to contend with an artist who, although still committed to the project, took another three years to coax back into completing his work on the windows.<sup>114</sup> By the time Waller began the final phase of the window's scheme in 1947, *Devotion* had assumed an identity of her own.

Several factors influenced Waller's reluctance to recommit to the windows. Post-war inflation contributed significant financial pressure to a contract signed during the war and will be examined further in Chapter Six. That he sold his Canberra-based kiln – used to fire the painted glass to fix pigment, enamel or stain permanently to its surface – when the Memorial work fell dormant only seems to confirm that economic issues lay at the heart of Waller's apathy; he had to keep his studio running.<sup>115</sup> However, selling the second kiln also facilitated his ability to remain in Melbourne. Although Waller believed that architectural art should be completed in conditions as near as possible to those in which it would be viewed and had always intended to construct the windows in Canberra, he never accepted Treloar's offer to assist with the purchase of a new kiln.<sup>116</sup> By 1947, the artist also had complex domestic issues to negotiate and confining himself to Melbourne was the only way to effectively manage these and his financial problems.

Caroline Miley observes in Christian Waller's stained glass windows, the 'influence of her husband's style sometimes becomes evident, particularly in work of the mid-1940s.'<sup>117</sup> By this time Christian was chronically ill and losing commissions to less-accomplished artists due to her failure

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<sup>112</sup> Finance Committee Agenda, 13 January 1942, AWM315 234/005/001 04; Bazley to Works Director, Department of the Interior, 7 January 1943, AWM315 234/005/012.

<sup>113</sup> AWM170, 1/57.

<sup>114</sup> Treloar to Bowles, 8 March 1947, AWM315 234/005/003.

<sup>115</sup> Treloar (file notes), 3 May 1944, AWM315 234/005/001 04.

<sup>116</sup> Waller interview; Treloar (file notes), 3 May 1944, AWM315 234/005/001 04.

<sup>117</sup> Miley, "Towards the Light," 47.

to complete work within a reasonable time.<sup>118</sup> Waller admitted to Treloar in early 1947 that he hoped 'to be completely free to at last plunge into the continuous work on the [Memorial] windows. Some of my wife's very long delayed work has kept me tied up recently – I feel her illness and mind may be relieved when this work is cleared from her.'<sup>119</sup> Evidently Waller was completing at least some of his wife's work for her during this time. Christian's health provided a compelling excuse for the artist to remain in Melbourne.

Waller had another source of income to help keep his studio afloat and it contributed significantly to his domestic issues. In 1932, he was appointed a senior art master at the Working Men's College (now the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) in what was hailed 'one of the most successful appointments' ever made by the institution.<sup>120</sup> Four years later he met Lorna Reyburn (1912-1997), a confident, impetuous and fashionable twenty-four year old New Zealander who enrolled in his mural painting course during a two month holiday to Melbourne.<sup>121</sup> The daughter of an indulgent Auckland dentist and socially-ambitious mother, Miss Reyburn attended finishing school in Paris before enrolling at the Slade School of Art in London in 1929. A course in drawing was curtailed to six months when a dalliance with an unsuitable suitor led to her being bundled back home by her mother in 1930.<sup>122</sup> Waller and Lorna soon embarked upon an affair which, when discovered by Christian, led to the Wallers subsequent and relatively short-lived estrangement.<sup>123</sup> Lorna provides another reason for Waller confining himself to his Melbourne studio.

If Christian expected her husband's young lover to be a temporary distraction, then she was mistaken. The months turned into years and years into decades as Waller and Lorna's relationship continued. Lorna later became Waller's assistant on the Hall of Memory project with the Officer-in-Charge of the job commenting that 'it would be well nigh impossible for Mr Waller to carry on without her.'<sup>124</sup> Lorna 'happily sacrificed her artistic talent for Napier, her devotion to him enabled him to keep working until his death.'<sup>125</sup> However, her sacrifice for Waller extended well past her artistic talent. Christian died in 1954 and by the time Lorna and Waller wed in 1958, they were aged forty-six and sixty-five years respectively. In waiting to be with the man whom she loved, she also surrendered the opportunity to have a family of her own and years of living her life as 'the other woman' left an indelible mark on the need to maintain the secrecy of their affair. In an interview

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Waller to Treloar, 20 March 1947, AWM315 234/005/005/01.

<sup>120</sup> Australasian, 5 March 1932, 14.

<sup>121</sup> *Auckland Star*, 18 March 1936, 12; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 November 1937, 24;

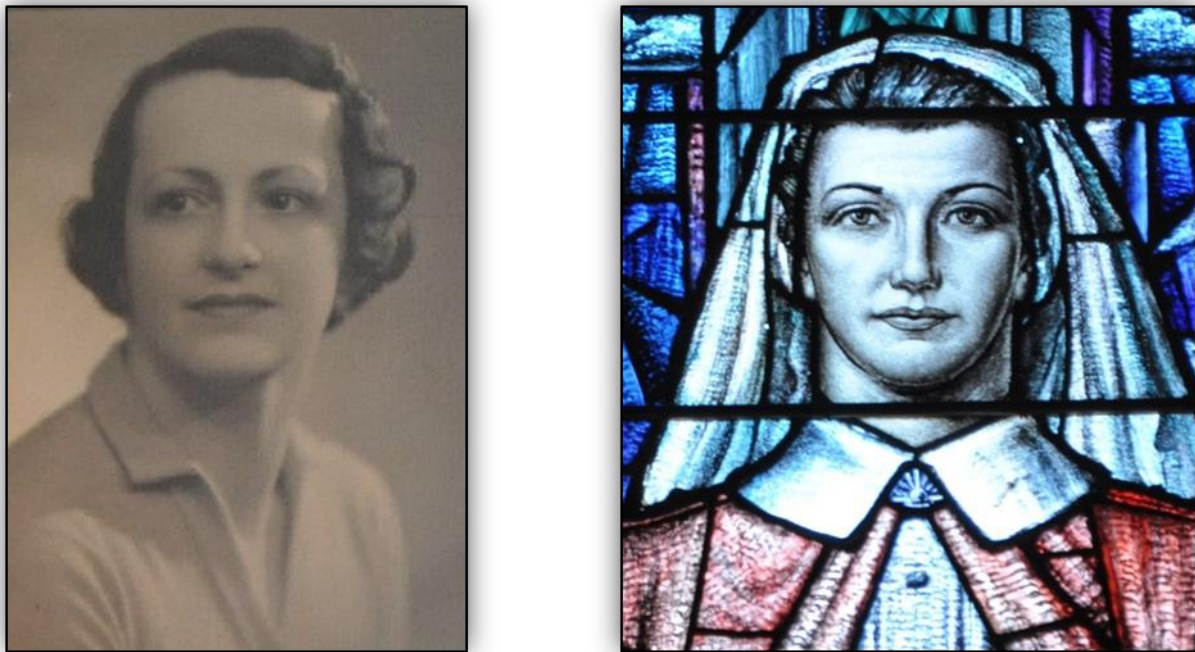
<sup>122</sup> *Auckland Star*, 29 July 1929, 10 and 25 February 1930, 4; Lane interview.

<sup>123</sup> Lane interview.

<sup>124</sup> Baglin to Director, 9 July 1954, AWM315 234/005/024.

<sup>125</sup> Terence Lane, "The Napier Waller House, Fairy Hills," *Heidelberg Historian* 192, (June 1999): 4.

given in 1990, Lorna presented the illusion that she ‘moved into [her husband’s] house as a young bride in 1958.’<sup>126</sup> It was perhaps cognisant of Waller to depict her as the nurse in the South Window; her portrayal as *Devotion* also suggests the significant personal sacrifice she made for him (Figure 4.13).



**Figure 4.13:** The face of *Devotion*. Lorna Reyburn (left), c.1937, photographer unknown, Heritage Victoria. *Devotion* (detail, right), 1950, M. Napier Waller. South Window, Hall of Memory, AWM. Author’s image.

Waller was in his mid-fifties when he portrayed Lorna as *Devotion* in the cartoon for the South Window. His affair with Lorna was more than a decade old but Christian never divorced her husband. It is suggested that this was because, as a fellow artist, she did not want to deprive Waller of his home and studio.<sup>127</sup> However, divorce would have divested *both* artists of their working environment through the sale of their property and it is likely neither wanted to separate. Christian spent 1939 in America pursuing her spiritual beliefs before returning to their Crown Road estate in 1940.<sup>128</sup> While in New York she helped her husband source materials for the Memorial commission by visiting New York glass merchants.<sup>129</sup> Waller may have modelled *Devotion* on his lover but the star he placed immediately *above* her head represented not only a powerful icon of nationality, it also symbolised the Celestial Virgin of Theosophy. Waller allegorised Christian in spiritual form in the Hall of Memory. Unlike the identity of *Devotion*, this star remained constant in the scheme from

<sup>126</sup> Heidelberg, 14 March 1990, 14. Lorna was seventy-eight years old at the time of the interview.

<sup>127</sup> Tracey Smith, "Creative Partnerships: Artistic Relationships within the Australian House Museum" (PhD thesis, The University of Melbourne, 2006), 59.

<sup>128</sup> Miley, "Towards the Light: Christian Waller's Stained Glass," 28.

<sup>129</sup> Blenheim to Waller, 12 December 1939, AWM315 235/005/013.

its first studies executed in 1941, the year after his wife returned to him. The brevity of the Waller's separation combined with the continuing influence of Christian in Waller's art, and his in hers, suggests that their relationship was far more complex than previously understood.

*Devotion* was not the first time Waller had used Lorna as his model or portrayed her as the Virgin Mary. In 1938 she appeared as a thoroughly modern Madonna wearing a bias-cut gown and sporting an elfin coiffure in an Adelaide church. She cradled the infant Christ in her arms.<sup>130</sup> Waller must have realised the risk he was taking in Canberra. While depicting his mistress as the Virgin Mary in a church tucked away in suburban SA was a relatively safe if sacrilegious undertaking, using her as the model for the AANS in the national's premier commemorative space went well beyond the pale. The Hall of Memory was conceived as Australia's temple to its war dead and the sacred nature of the space ensured that outrage and scandal would have erupted had *Devotion's* relationship to her artist become known. And yet Waller was supremely confident in his ability. Christian's depiction as Mary Magdalene in a church where she also executed windows and Lorna's portrayal in the Hall on a project where she too was known to the patron suggest that for Waller, proving himself capable of subterfuge of this nature was part of the challenge of such commissions; that no one ever identified his models validated his worth as an artist to the extent that he never felt the need to share his accomplishments with anyone.

In 1959, Lorna Waller sat beside her husband in front of the Hall of Memory as part of the official party for its opening ceremony. The Wallers did not dally in Canberra. A four-and-a-half hour journey from Melbourne by plane, they arrived in time for the 3pm ceremony then flew home again that evening.<sup>131</sup> Time had marched on and despite Lorna being two decades older than when her husband idealised her youthful features, Waller appears to have taken no chance of anyone lingering any longer than necessary over his muse. Of the five men who initially collaborated on the Hall of Memory – Bean, Gullett, Treloar, Bowles and Waller – only two survived to see it completed. A photograph taken that day shows Bean at the microphone (Figure 4.14). With hands crossed solemnly in front of him and dressed in a dark suit, he resembles a mourner at a funeral. At the far left of the photograph, his face partially obscured, sits Waller. Lorna is on his left. Originally positioned on the other side of the official party, the Wallers were moved late in the planning to sit behind Mr and Mrs Bean.<sup>132</sup> Given the absence of old friends on a day laden with immense

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<sup>130</sup> The church is St Bartholomew's Anglican Church, Norwood. The drape of the fabric in the study and cartoon for this window reveals it to be a bias-cut gown.

<sup>131</sup> Baglin to Director, 13 May 1959, AWM315 275/032/001.

<sup>132</sup> Official Seating Plan, 24 May 1959, AWM315 275/032/001.





**Figure 4.14:** Opening Ceremony, Hall of Memory. Photographer unknown, 24 May 1959. AWM 135632.

significance, the long association between patron and artist likely offered comfort to the Memorial's aging founder. It is unlikely that Bean knew he stood united with his missing colleagues in the lights of the nation's shrine; Waller modelled *Control*, *Coolness* and *Endurance* in the Hall's East Window on Bean, Gullett and Treloar respectively (Figure 4.9).<sup>133</sup>

Seven months earlier, Bean wrote to Waller to congratulate him upon the completion of his work. The mammoth undertaking of the Hall's mosaics, unimpeded by war, was completed in less time than the windows. The historian wrote:

The Board of Management of the Australia War Memorial has asked me to express to you its congratulations on the completion of your work of nearly thirty [sic] years on the Hall of Memory of this Memorial, and its warmest thanks and admiration not only for

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<sup>133</sup> Kellett, *Truth and Love*, 135-36.

your magnificent achievement but for your spirit of devotion without which this could never have been attained.<sup>134</sup>

While devotion was the quality that divided the men valorising the memory of their fallen comrades two decades earlier, it was also the virtue that united them in the brotherhood that only those who have experienced war can understand: devotion to duty; to mates; and to country. The two veterans shared another bond. Both devoted significant parts of their lives to sustaining the memory of the sacrifice of a nation; Bean in the creation, evolution and development of the AWM – his life’s work – and Waller through the most significant commission in his career: the Hall of Memory consumed quarter of his life and became, arguably, his *magnum opus*.

The inclusion of a nurse in the windows of the AWM influenced the form that they took; without *Devotion* the men of the Navy and Flying Corps – along with a light-horseman – may well have felt their omission from the national memory of World War I. Yet her creation and development was not without issue. It reveals a simple complexity faced by a small committee of returned men when deciding whether the image of a nurse should be included in the national commemoration of war: a name. This was no different to that tackled by local committees when determining if a nurse should be inscribed upon their memorial; it often boiled down to the gendered semantics of war.<sup>135</sup> For Bean, his war was the war of the Digger and after months of unrelenting ‘symbolical’ demands in the treatment of the Hall, an artist strategically played the triumvirate against each other to usurp the historian’s control of the Hall’s treatment. A name – *Devotion* – preserved the masculinity of the scheme while accommodating the very feminine presence of a nurse. Waller achieved all of his goals. He got his nurse along with his ‘symbolical’ design.

Waller was an expert of metaphor and allegory and a master who could paint with light. Using the AWM’s architectural design, its geographic location and the medieval and contemporary traditions of his art, he wove an intricate symbolic design into a commission which conformed to the realism that his patron demanded. Waller held true to his professional ideology and applied principles from the Middle-Ages to the modern context. But he also instilled his own ideals into his work and they inescapably echoed his life’s experiences. Women were an important part of his *oeuvre*. The respect he attributed to the army nurse by portraying her as the men’s equal was unsurprising; she represented a powerful presence in his life after his wounding at Bullecourt and the subsequent and

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<sup>134</sup> Bean to Waller, 6 September 1958, AWM38 3DRL 6673/666. No evidence was located to suggest Waller’s association with the Hall of Memory’s treatment prior to 1937. Bean may have been including the design work the artist undertook for the AWM in 1927 as part of his contract.

<sup>135</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 178-79.

devastating loss of his right arm. But while her centrality could be seen as convenient, given the arguments both he and Treloar used to support her inclusion in the scheme, the additional identities Waller imbued her with were not.

By allegorising the South Window as the Crucifixion, the artist positioned *Devotion* as the metaphoric Virgin Mary – a *Martial Madonna* – at the base of an indigenous Cross. While the windows in Brisbane and Neutral Bay (Chapter Two) suggested the army nurse in a similar context, they also contested her primacy as the Madonna. The scheme in St John's Cathedral already contained the Virgin Mary while St Augustine's depicted the Ascension, an event in which St Mary did not feature. While *Devotion* remains the only army nurse to be assigned her own light in a post-war commemorative window in Australia, she also stands alone as the ultimate symbol of feminine sacrifice for the nation's women following World War I. However, it is *Devotion's* true identity that offers a most intriguing insight into an aspect of female loss that the triumvirate, and the nation, could never have imagined: a woman who waited patiently for the man who she loved, but from beyond the bounds of convention.

## Chapter Five

### **‘May God comfort the mothers of those brave girls:’ the trade windows of World War II <sup>1</sup> (1946-1950)**

During the final year of World War II, ninety per cent of Australians indicated that they preferred the utilitarian mode of memorialisation – parks, council offices, the ubiquitous regional swimming pool – rather than the monumental forms built by the previous generation in response to World War I. This was a trend also reflected in the British context.<sup>2</sup> Some believed existing memorials should be augmented as sites of remembrance while, by 1947, over half of those canvassed expressed their desire that the war not be memorialised at all.<sup>3</sup> Ken Inglis writes that, in many cases, communities ‘across the country already had their sites of commemoration, created during the Great War, which could go on being used’ to remember those killed in the current conflict.<sup>4</sup> This chapter reveals that while the fundamental change evident in civic commemoration was not necessarily reflected in stained glass, change nevertheless manifested in its subject matter. It affected the army nurse's portrayal in a profound manner.

The way the army nurse was depicted in commemorative windows following World War II changed when the nurse was awarded a central rather than peripheral presence alongside servicemen in the lights in which she appeared. Napier Waller's *Devotion* at the AWM did not influence this change. John Treloar's tight control over information relating to the Hall of Memory meant its windows only became public knowledge after their installation in 1950 and, by then, the three lights examined in this chapter had been dedicated or their design resolved. The non-combatant status of the army nurse did not prevent her dying like the Australian serviceman during this war and the location in which she died – the South West Pacific Area (SWPA) – was of major significance. As a direct result of battle, or its repercussions, the nurse crossed into the no [wo]man's land of battle and earned her commemorative stripes in much the same manner as the AIF had during World War I: through baptism of fire; the shedding of blood; a casualty rate that shocked the nation; and,

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<sup>1</sup> W.M. Sharp, letter to the editor, *Argus*, 25 September 1945, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 334; Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 221.

<sup>3</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 334.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

ultimately, the authenticity of her war experience. This endowed the army nurse with an emergent public image that situated her as the preeminent symbol of feminine sacrifice just as the infantryman became associated with masculine martial loss after the previous conflict. Enhanced by changes occurring to the status, agency and visibility of women in church communities and society in general, the subject matter of commemorative windows that some congregations commissioned differed markedly from that created a generation earlier.

The three windows examined in this chapter were selected for their location and chronology. Installed in a rural, a regional and a metropolitan church in NSW, all were commissioned within nineteen months of the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific. This was a period which, unlike that following World War I, was characterised by an active and enduring public consciousness for those among the ranks of the AANS 'who gave their lives in this war.'<sup>5</sup> Unlike the civic monuments and stained glass memorials of the previous generation, the position or prestige attributed to the nurse in these three lights reflected the sentiment that she was among those Australians who died in the immediate defence of their own country rather than that of Mother England. The design and execution of these windows – two by a local and one by an English trade company – facilitates the identification of stylistic and commemorative commonalities and differences shared by artisans and patrons alike. It also provides a comparison not possible for post-World War I windows examined in the previous chapters; that between the commemorative practices in the Church of England and Catholic contexts.

Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian records from both world wars examined in concert with local sources, including windows from World War I and official war art of World War II, inform this chapter. Analysis reveals that rather than developing new forms of remembrance, patrons and artisans in all three locations relied on established ritual and turned to the past to celebrate martial service and mediate its associated loss in their lights. Members of the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF, and others with experience of that war, exerted their presence as senior and influential members of church councils, grieving donors or senior clergy. The thought of the likenesses of sons, daughters, parishioners – or even the echo of their younger selves – in the windows they commissioned offered great appeal and comfort. They, along with their artisans, extended or reinterpreted local or official aesthetics from the previous or recent war to reflect the experiences of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF and Australian Military Force (AMF), Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) and the AANS in these lights. Their interpretations created an alternative space for the disenfranchised of the conflict; those whose memory found no footing within the dominant civic narrative of the ascendant Anzac

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<sup>5</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 December 1945, 13.

identity. Servicewomen in particular, whose presence in uniform during World War II changed the face of the armed forces in Australia, benefited from the more egalitarian rituals of remembrance evident in some Australian churches. Stained glass refracted a democracy in commemoration not accepted in the civic context.

### **A different country and a very different conflict**

During World War I, Australian servicemen fought on faraway battlefields in defence of a distant Empire and ‘as far as Australia was concerned, [it] was a man’s war.’<sup>6</sup> This claim was justified: of the 333,000 members of the AIF, the AANS represented only a small fraction of the force. However, the nature of Australia’s war experience and the face of its defence forces changed during World War II when the Australian mainland came under attack from the Japanese and enemy invasion became a very real threat. The AANS were joined by other women’s services when manpower shortages saw members of Australia’s female population reluctantly granted entry into the male bastions of the naval, armed and air forces during the conflict.

In 1939, and in response to Australia’s alignment with Britain in the war against Germany, the 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF was raised. Initially, the AANS were again the only women permitted to enlist under the rising sun and, by 1940, just under thirty-one per cent of Australia’s registered nurses had volunteered to serve abroad.<sup>7</sup> Those from the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF remarked that they were ‘openly envious of the trim and becoming uniforms’ worn by the next generation of army nurse.<sup>8</sup> Ground-sweeping grey skirts, ‘thick cloth frocks with heavy flowing capes and bonnets with floating tails’ were replaced with tailored and functional outdoor and indoor (or ward) uniforms reflecting fashion trends and advances in clinical science.<sup>9</sup> Lipstick, rouge and face powder were even permitted ‘in moderation.’<sup>10</sup> The veil and cape remained integral to the ‘grey and scarlet’ uniform with the former, when environmental conditions allowed, rigidly starched and uniformly folded to create a double edge, or tiered effect, to its fall. The first contingent of the AANS embarked with the men of the 6<sup>th</sup> Division for the Middle East in January 1940.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> AWM 170 1/57.

<sup>7</sup> Jan Bassett, *Guns and Brooches: Australian Army Nursing from the Boer War to the Gulf War* (Melbourne: Oxford, 1992), 112, 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Courier Mail*, 20 January 1940, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 20 January 1940, 18; C. Bates, "Looking Closely: Material and Visual Approaches to the Nurse's Uniform," *Nursing History Review* 18 (2010): 175, 79-80.

<sup>10</sup> *West Australian*, 18 January 1940, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, 114.

Within a year of the declaration of hostilities, the War Cabinet dismissed notions of women playing any official role in the war using uniform, social difficulties and creation of industrial precedents disadvantaging men as reasons justifying their exclusion.<sup>12</sup> It reluctantly approved the temporary formation of the Women's Australian Auxiliary Air Force (WAAAF) in February 1941 when a range of enlistment strategies failed to attract men to positions as telegraph operators in the RAAF.<sup>13</sup> Cabinet clearly believed the shortage of male enlistees was a temporary and surmountable issue despite the RAN reporting similar recruitment problems.<sup>14</sup> The Women's Royal Australian Navy Service (WRANS) was subsequently approved in April 1941.<sup>15</sup>

It took Prime Ministerial leadership to recognise the potential that the female workforce offered to the Australian war effort. In June 1941 the War Cabinet, apprised of the reality of manpower shortages, was offered a solution by Prime Minister Robert Menzies who had witnessed the effectiveness of mobilising women in Britain.<sup>16</sup> The formation of the Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS), along with the expansion of the WAAAF, was approved in August 1941. Their primary purpose was to release men to fight and thereby offset the deficiencies in recruiting able-bodied men.<sup>17</sup> Now fully-fledged members of the nation's defence forces and deemed capable of undertaking a range of roles previously performed by men, servicewomen undertook duties such as signalling, wireless telegraphy, flight rigging, anti-aircraft spotting, cartography, mechanics and logistics as well as more domestically-orientated tasks such as cooking, stewarding and laundry.<sup>18</sup> Prior to the outbreak of war in the SWPA, 3,600 enlisted in the Women's Services.<sup>19</sup> However, without the permission of the War Cabinet, they were unable to serve abroad.<sup>20</sup>

Australia's traditional allegiance with Britain was tested in December 1941. Within months of assuming leadership of the country, Prime Minister John Curtin aligned his nation's forces with the United States of America following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour. Challenging the authority of his British counterpart, Winston Churchill, Curtin redirected the 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF's 7<sup>th</sup> Division from British interests to the defence of Australia after the growing enemy threat in the islands to its

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Hasluck, *Australia in the War of 1939-1945: The Government and the People 1939-1942*: (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952), 1: 401.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 403-04.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 405.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, n 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 406.

<sup>17</sup> Patsy Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1984), 250-51.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 18, 22-24.

<sup>19</sup> Paul Hasluck, *Australia in the War of 1939-1945: The Government and the People 1942-1945* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1970), 2: 222.

<sup>20</sup> Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, 1: 406.

north culminated in the bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942.<sup>21</sup> A little over twelve months later, the number of women in uniform numbered 40,260.<sup>22</sup> The AANS had been joined by the Royal Australian Air Force Nursing Service (RAAFNS) in July 1940 and the Royal Australian Naval Nursing Service (RANNS) was formed in October 1942.<sup>23</sup> With manpower shortages still an issue, Red Cross VADs once again mobilised with the outbreak of war. They were transferred to the army in December 1942 to establish the Australian Army Medical Women's Service (AAMWS).<sup>24</sup> The first of the Women's Services to serve outside Australia, the AAMWS was working in hospitals in New Guinea from July 1943 and in late 1944, with the threat to Australia diminishing, it was joined by 500 AWAS.<sup>25</sup>

The Australian servicewoman displayed the same degree of patriotism and devotion to duty as the nurse and non-battle mortalities claimed members from the ranks of both.<sup>26</sup> With the arrival of war in Australia's north and the presence of the nurse on hospital ships and in units deployed to the SWPA, the realities of modern warfare no longer discriminated between genders as had been the case a generation earlier. After the cessation of hostilities in 1945, the AANS emerged battle-scarred and with a greater commemorative presence than it had following World War I.

### **Dying like a man: the authenticity of her voice**

'FIRST AIF NURSE KILLED IN ACTION.'<sup>27</sup> A week after the Japanese attack on Darwin, the nation awoke to read that Sister Margaret de Mestre died when the 2/1<sup>st</sup> Australian Hospital Ship (AHS) *Manunda* was bombed during the attack (Figure 5.1). Many newspapers announced her death using the epitaph previously reserved for the Australian serviceman – killed in action – and in doing so situated her within the masculine sphere of battle: de Mestre died like a man in defence of her country. By late March, her death was reframed within the context of being an unfortunate casualty. 'I like to think that the damage done to the *Manunda* in the raid on February 19 was

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<sup>21</sup> Geoffrey Serle, "Curtin, John (1885-1945)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1993), 13: 554.

<sup>22</sup> Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, II: 269.

<sup>23</sup> Gay Halstead, *Story of the RAAF Nursing Service 1940 - 1990* (Metung: Nungurner Press, 1994), vii; Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War*, 184.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 195, 269.

<sup>26</sup> *West Australian*, 31 December 1948, 18.

<sup>27</sup> See all dated 26 February 1942: *Argus*, 1; *Cairns Post*, 4; *Courier Mail*, 1; *Mercury*, 2; *Advertiser*, 5; *Queensland Times*, 5. Margaret de Mestre continues to be remembered with a small shrine located within St Margaret's Anglican Church, Bellington, NSW. Thank you to Reverend Stephen Davis for alerting me to her memorial.



caused by its proximity to other shipping,' Matron Clara Shumack stated.<sup>28</sup> This was validated by an officer who explained that being the largest vessel present, the enemy could have sunk the hospital ship had they so desired.<sup>29</sup> While this may have reflected genuinely held sentiments, it also appeared considerable public concern regarding the enemy's intentions concerning the Geneva Conventions.



**Figure 5.1:** Sister Margaret de Mestre, third from left. c.1941, AMW P01081.005.

With over 18,000 Australian servicemen taken POW following the fall of Singapore four days prior to Darwin's bombing, Japan's status as a non-signatory of the 1929 Conventions fuelled public speculation and anxiety regarding its intent towards those whom it captured.<sup>30</sup> The *Manunda* was marked in accordance with the conventions; the vessel's hull and upper deck created the white background against which the symbolic Red Cross was emblazoned to signify its protected status as a medical transport (Figure 5.2).<sup>31</sup> The 1929 Conventions included a new one addressing the humane treatment and protection of combatants taken POW by belligerents.<sup>32</sup> The perception that Japan intended to honour the Geneva Conventions was crucial to the morale of the nation.<sup>33</sup> De

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<sup>28</sup> See all dated 28 March 1942: *Examiner*, 4; *Mercury*, 4; *Queensland Times*, 6. *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 30 March 1942, 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Examiner*, 28 March 1942, 4; *Mercury*, 28 March 1942.

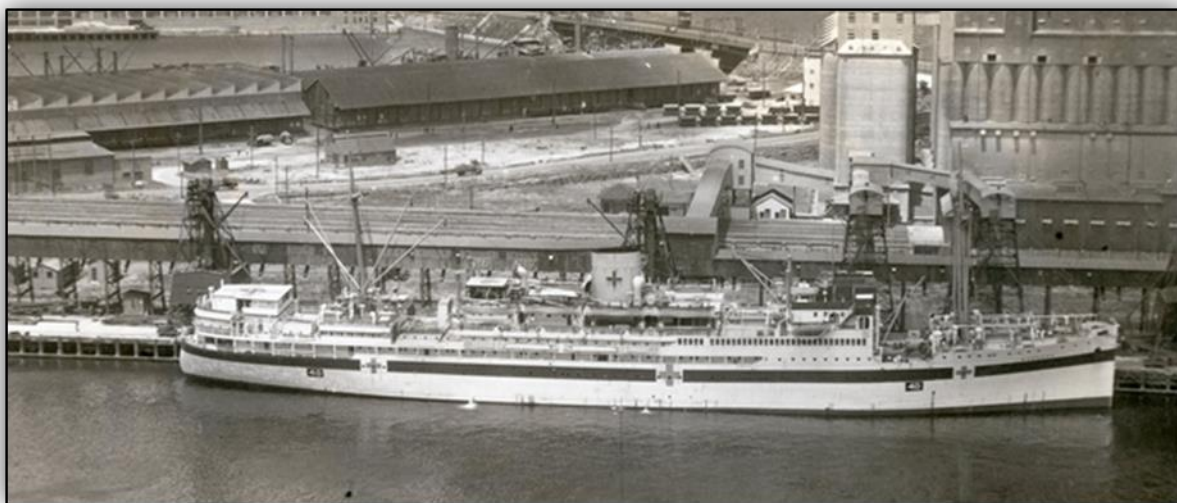
<sup>30</sup> See all dated 21 February 1942: *Argus*, 1; *Examiner*, 1; *West Australian*, 5.

<sup>31</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), "Article 19" of the *Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field*. (ICRC: Geneva, 1929), updated 21 December 2015: <https://www.icrc.org/en>

<sup>32</sup> ICRC, "Article Two" of the *Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War* (ICRC: Geneva, 1929), updated 21 December 2015: <https://www.icrc.org/en>

<sup>33</sup> IRCC, "State Signatories" of the 1906 and 1929 Geneva Conventions, updated 21 December 2015: <https://www.icrc.org/en>

Mestre's nursing colleagues offered a glimmer of hope when they 'expressed the same opinion as those who came from Singapore recently that the Japanese will respect the Red Cross.'<sup>34</sup>



**Figure 5.2:** 2/1<sup>st</sup> AHS *Manunda*, 1941. AWM: 303578.

Within postmodern discourses of conflict, media increasingly challenge existing archetypes of war. Women emerge as 'new speaking subjects' as their roles change and expand in proximity to battle.<sup>35</sup> This suggests the legitimisation of female experiences and opinions traditionally denied them during World War I when knowledge gleaned remote from the front line was perceived to lack authenticity and credibility.<sup>36</sup> The nurses of the *Manunda* had, like a small number during World War I, experienced enemy attack and likewise performed their duties in a 'cool manner ... while under fire.'<sup>37</sup> However, the death of one of their colleagues validated their credibility and authenticity as members of the army by locating them in the heat of battle alongside its men.<sup>38</sup> World War II involved the nurse intimately in the war zone and subsequently bestowed upon her the privilege of speaking to the Australian public on matters exceeding a nurse's traditional caregiving role. Matron Shumack's opinions addressed the location and legitimacy of targets which, although carefully prefaced by 'I think' rather than 'I know,' represented a trespass of the nurse into the masculine sphere of war. While the voice of the army nurse helped soothe the concerns of the Australian public, by the end of 1942, worrying reports that the Japanese were bombing Allied health facilities in New Guinea began to emerge.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Mercury*, 28 March 1942, 4, *Queensland Times*, 28 March 1942, 6, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 30 March 1942, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Miriam Cooke, "Wo-Man, Retelling the War Myth," in *Gendering War Talk*, ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 178, 79, 200.

<sup>36</sup> Margaret R. Higonnet, "Not So Quiet in No-Woman's-Land," *ibid.*, 206.

<sup>37</sup> For examples of 1<sup>st</sup> AIF nurses who were involved in attacks upon the CCSs and hospitals see: Rae, *Veiled Lives*, 275-81; *Mercury*, 28 March 1942, 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Mercury*, 28 March 1942, 4.

<sup>39</sup> *Courier Mail*, 10 December 1942, 1.

In the early hours of 14 May 1943 and off the coast of south-east Queensland, a Japanese submarine torpedoed and sank the illuminated 2/3<sup>rd</sup> AHS *Centaur*.<sup>40</sup> The vessel took eleven of its twelve members of the AANS, 255 men and the fragile belief that the enemy would respect the protection afforded by the Red Cross with it.<sup>41</sup> Maritime atrocities involving nurses and other women had offered Allied nations propaganda value since World War I. The *Llandoverly Castle*, a Canadian hospital ship sunk by a German U-boat in 1918, counted fourteen nursing sisters amongst its fatalities.<sup>42</sup> Their deaths were used to promote the sale of victory bonds in the closing months of the war: a poster depicted a soldier cradling the lifeless body of a Red Cross VA in one arm while shaking his fist at German submariners strafing him with machine-gun fire from the conning tower of their vessel (Figure 5.3). During World War II, British female citizens involved in enemy attack at sea also offered propaganda value but as ‘selfless, feminine patriots and role models for all British women’ as part of their war effort.<sup>43</sup> In both wars, these women were cast effortlessly as passive, self-sacrificing nurturers and, as such, did not intrude into the politically-contested sphere of warfare.<sup>44</sup>

In Australia it was members of the AANS to whom the propagandists turned. The *Centaur* nurses were immediately pressed into service again when their memory was used to ‘bring home the ruthless character of the war being waged by Japan.’<sup>45</sup> Within a month of the attack, and on Curtin’s orders, a poster distributed to workplaces across the nation implored Australians to ‘...*AVENGE THE NURSES*’ (Figure 5.4)<sup>46</sup> While its purpose was identical to that of the World War I Canadian poster – the enlistment of financial rather than human resources for the war – its subject matter reflected profound changes to the public image of the army nurse from that of the previous conflict. It was not the passive body of a dead nurse that the artist Bob Whitmore used to rally the Australian public but rather a member of the AANS actively striving to remove a male survivor from danger.

Although elements of the poster’s artwork were clearly stylised, it was nevertheless an accurate representation of events based on a nurse’s testimony. Naval Intelligence announced in June 1943

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<sup>40</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, 19 May 1923, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, 167.

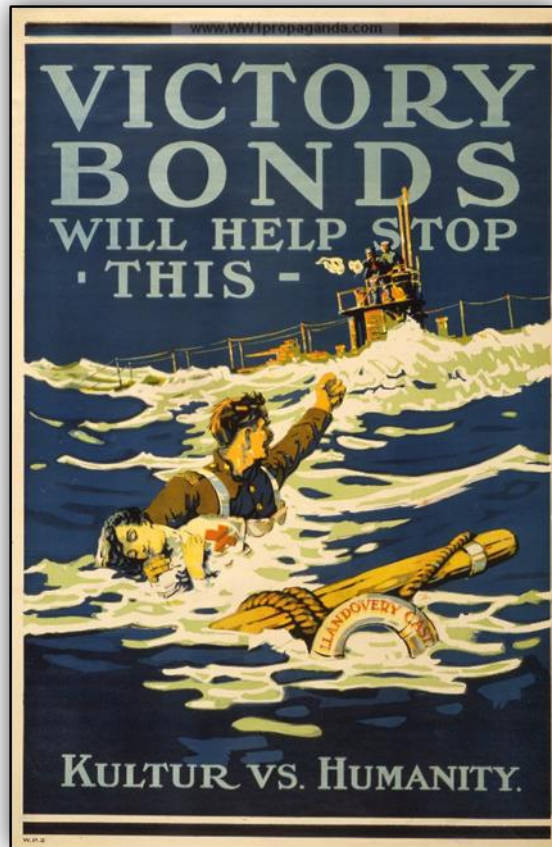
<sup>42</sup> Dodd, "Commemorating Canadian Nurse Casualties," 57.

<sup>43</sup> AWM ARTV09088; G.H. Bennett, "Women and the Battle of the Atlantic 1939-45: Contemporary Texts, Propaganda and Life Writing," in *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Angela K. Smith (Manchester: MUP, 2004), 119.

<sup>44</sup> Bennett, *Women and the Battle of the Atlantic*, 118.

<sup>45</sup> *Argus*, 26 May 1943, 5; *Western Mail*, 27 May 1943, 46.

<sup>46</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miner’s Advocate*, 19 June 1943, 3; *Mail*, 19 June 1943, 2; *Sunday Mail*, 20 June 1943, 6.



**Figure 5.3:** Artist unknown (c.1918). *Victory Bonds Will Help Stop This – Kultur Vs Humanity*. Poster. Imperial War Museum: Art IWM Pst 12375.



**Figure 5.4:** Bob Whitmore (1943). *Work. Save. Fight and So Avenge the Nurses!* Poster. AWM: ARTV09088.

that it had ‘accepted the version of the only surviving nurse of the hospital ship Centaur, Sister Savage’ of the vessel’s sinking.<sup>47</sup> Army and Merchant Navy personnel likewise survived the attack but it was Savage who emerged as the nation’s hero(ine) when newspapers reported how, while awaiting rescue, she took charge of the situation, rationed a meagre amount of existing provisions, provided basic nursing care by bathing survivors’ burns with salt water, rubbed their feet to promote circulation and sustained morale by leading the men in prayer.<sup>48</sup> The Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, suggested she be made a saint and this is how Savage was portrayed; although the ship sinks ablaze behind them, the serviceman’s face, unlike hers, is lit by a golden aura emanating from the reflected halo-like glow of her hair.<sup>49</sup> The artist preserved the masculinity of the survivor by using his broad muscular shoulders to shield the heroic and near-naked nurse from the bulk of the burning vessel. Losing ‘most of her clothes’ in the sinking, the bare shoulders of Savage also implied the sacrifice of feminine modesty to the nurse’s greater duty of rescuing and treating an injured serviceman.<sup>50</sup>

The families of seventy-one members of the AANS realised two other traditionally masculine consequences of war when daughters were listed as ‘missing’ or ‘missing, believed prisoner of war’ following the fall of Rabaul and Singapore in late 1941. With the Japanese surrender in August 1945, army sources officially reported that thirty-eight members of the AANS were being held in POW camps; six nurses in Japan and thirty-two in Sumatra, though the exact location of the latter could not be established. Forty-one nurses remained unaccounted for.<sup>51</sup> On 14 September 1945, the front page of Tasmania’s *Advocate* quoted ABC radio: ‘the Australian people must be warned that they would hear a shocking story of the massacre of Australian nurses by the Japanese’ but that ‘the story was being withheld.’<sup>52</sup> Two days later, the front page of the *Sydney Morning Herald* revealed the previously unimaginable: the 1942 massacre of Australian army nurses on Banka Island, Sumatra.<sup>53</sup> On the days following, newspapers across the nation untangled the fates of the forty-one nurses who could not be located. Of the sixty-five who embarked aboard the *Vyner Brooke* prior to the fall of Singapore, twenty-one were summarily executed – machine-gunned in the back – after swimming ashore and surrendering as POWs to the Japanese following the sinking of the ship. The only survivor of the atrocity, Vivian Bullwinkel, feigned death and later escaped into the jungle where she cared for an injured soldier. The pair eventually surrendered and she endured the rest of

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<sup>47</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners’ Advocate*, 21 June 1943, 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miner’s Advocate*, 24 May 1943, 3; *Catholic Weekly*, 27 May 1943, 1.

<sup>49</sup> *Argus*, 25 May 1943, 12.

<sup>50</sup> *Daily Advertiser* (Wagga Wagga), 19 May 1943, 1.

<sup>51</sup> *Daily News*, 22 August 1945, 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Advocate*, 14 September 1945, 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 September 1945, 1.

the war as a prisoner along with thirty-one other members of the AANS who were captured elsewhere on the island. In addition to those executed, twelve nurses were officially presumed drowned in the sinking. Like thousands of Australian servicemen, eight members of the AANS subsequently died as captives in POW camps, unable to endure three-and-a-half years of malnutrition and their captor's brutal neglect.<sup>54</sup> Of the sixty-five nurses captured, only twenty-four returned home.

The Australian public was quick to honour their dead nurses. Calls for memorials started in earnest in September 1945 and gained momentum after the fates of those missing were revealed. With the sinking of the *Centaur* in 1943, the focus of Australians was pragmatic and generally centred on the war effort; some citizens raised money to replace equipment lost on the *Centaur* while the Cenotaph in Sydney's Martin Place and the Edith Cavell Monument in Melbourne offered existing locations to pay homage to nurses who perished in the attack.<sup>55</sup> Associations with Cavell were perhaps inevitable, particularly as the Banka Island massacre offered imagery analogous to that of the World War I 'martyr' being gunned down by a ruthless enemy. However, they were sparse in comparison to those made during and after the previous war.<sup>56</sup> Changes in Australian society during the interwar years saw women from all levels of society, rather than just the well-to-do, involve themselves in contributing to the commemorative agenda. Army Nurses' Memorial Funds were quickly established in capital cities across the nation with the *Australian Women's Weekly* advising its national readership that 'money raised by the appeal[s] will go to establish a memorial in each State according to the form decided by the nurses themselves.'<sup>57</sup> In NSW, nurses voted 1700 to 600 for the creation of their own club in Sydney and the Premier opened the War Nurses Memorial Appeal to raise £50,000 to build it in January 1946.<sup>58</sup> Newspapers in regional areas regularly reported local fund-raising activities for the Appeal.<sup>59</sup> With the purchase of property symbolically overlooking the Anzac Memorial in Hyde Park in 1948, the nurse continued to occupy a powerful position in the population's collective memory during the post-war period.<sup>60</sup> This was augmented in October 1946

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<sup>54</sup> Goodman, *Our War Nurses*, 158-59.

<sup>55</sup> *Alexandra and Yea Standard and Yarrick, Gobur, Thornton and Acheron Express*, 21 May 1943, 3; *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, 28 May 1943: 3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1943, 11; *Argus*, 22 May 1943, 10.

<sup>56</sup> W.C.H. Prosser, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 September 1945; L.W. Nott, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September 1945; William C. Woodland, letter to the editor, *West Australian*, 22 February 1946.

<sup>57</sup> *Australian Women's Weekly*, 27 October 1945, 10.

<sup>58</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 1945, 6; *Broadcaster*, 16 January 1946, 2.

<sup>59</sup> Balls, dances, button days and bowling tournaments, along with donations from local clubs, were some of the many ways communities raised money for the NSW War Nurses' Memorial: *Cootamundra Herald*, 9 April 1946, 2, 3; *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*: 26 June 1946, 6; and 29 November 1946, 8; *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, 11 February 1947, 1; *Singleton Argus*, 3 March 1947, 4; *Riverina Herald*: 18 February 1948, 1; and 6 March 1948, 5;

<sup>60</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 May 1948, 4.

when Bullwinkel was named the only woman alongside fourteen servicemen called to give evidence against the Japanese at the International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo.<sup>61</sup> The legitimacy of the experience and voice of the army nurse was again validated by her involvement in an event of such gravity.

Given the public recognition and respect afforded to Savage and Bullwinkel, Eleanor Hancock writes, surprisingly, of an 'absence of female heroines from the national story' in regards to Australia's military history.<sup>62</sup> Christina Twomey identifies that commemoration of Australia's nurse POWs has been overlooked by researchers.<sup>63</sup> This may be due to the contemporary misperception that the nation again failed to memorialise its nurses as it did its men following World War II. Ken Inglis identifies only a dozen or so utilitarian forms dedicated to members of the AANS in the immediate post-war period while Chilla Bulbeck concludes that many of these – rose gardens, libraries and such – nurture life and as such are fitting memorials to the women they commemorate.<sup>64</sup> It was amid the active remembrance of nursing sacrifice following World War II that three windows featuring the army nurse were conceived by congregations or clergy in rural and regional NSW and Sydney. Change in the way the way the army nurse was commemorated in glass was evident from the very first post-World War II light in which she appeared.

### **A sanctuary for the marginalised of memorialisation**

Holy Trinity Church of England, Glen Innes, a town located on the sapphire fields of north eastern NSW, contained no stained glass at the end of World War II.<sup>65</sup> Mrs Georgina Russell, a local widow who lost her son during World War I, commenced discussions with its Parish Council during 1944 to remedy the situation.<sup>66</sup> In January 1946, she offered £300 towards an East Window.<sup>67</sup> The *Glen Innes Examiner* announced the beneficence of 'a parishioner who will for the time remain anonymous' along with an appeal to raise additional funds for a memorial window so that the 'work may be a worthy offering to the men who have laid down their lives to the service of their

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<sup>61</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 3 October 1946, 3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 October 1946, 5 and 7 March 1947, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Hancock, "They Also Served," 103.

<sup>63</sup> Christina Twomey, "Australian Nurse Pows," *Australian Historical Studies* 124 (2004): 258.

<sup>64</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 346-48; Bulbeck, "The Depiction of Women," 21.

<sup>65</sup> Zoe Boyd-Law, John Mathew and Robert Chappell, *History of the Holy Trinity Church Glen Innes* (Glen Innes: Holy Trinity Anglican Church, c.1994), 13-14.

<sup>66</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (April 1943-September 1955), 10 August 1944, Land of the Beardies History House Museum and Research Centre (LBHHMRC), Glen Innes, NSW. A memorial tablet to 'Pte Charles Gilbert Russell' is located on the left wall of the Church's Sanctuary.

<sup>67</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (April 1943-September 1955), 10 January 1946, LBHHMRC; *Glen Innes Examiner*, 16 February 1946, 2.

country.<sup>68</sup> Given her bereavement during World War I and the timing of her donation, it is likely that Russell exerted considerable influence over what the window would reflect. In March, £7 was spent to bring a man from the Sydney-based firm of John Ashwin and Company (henceforth Ashwin & Co.) to measure up and give advice on the window.<sup>69</sup>

While much of the commemorative stained glass considered in Chapters Two and Three was designed and manufactured in England, the interwar years saw the local industry flourish. This occurred primarily along the east coast of Australia where the majority of the men who brought the art from Europe in the mid-1800s settled.<sup>70</sup> Local windows offered advantages over the imported product. In many cases, patrons could liaise closely with the firm executing their lights and delays, risks and costs involved in sea freightage were avoided as were substantial import tariffs.<sup>71</sup> In 1946, several Sydney firms produced stained glass, the largest being Ashwin & Co. Trading out of premises in Haymarket, its artisans worked amid the hustle and bustle of the city's fruit and vegetable markets and Chinatown.<sup>72</sup>

Founder John Ashwin died in 1920 and command of the company passed to Polish immigrant John Radecki (1866-1955). The first stained glass artist trained in Australia, he was appointed as the company's chief designer in 1910 and made partner by 1918.<sup>73</sup> Radecki was eighty-one years old at the time of the Holy Trinity commission and Ashwin & Co. remained a force to be reckoned with in the highly competitive Sydney industry. Its salesmen travelled regional and rural NSW offering churches attractive incentives to use the firm. Two lights for the price of one or the promise of a free window as the final light to be installed in a church should a clergyman promise his scheme to the company ensured Ashwin & Co. dominated ecclesiastical stained glass in many areas of the State.<sup>74</sup> Holy Trinity's was not the first commemorative window that the firm installed in Glen Innes. In 1920 the town's Presbyterian community dedicated a new church and it contained a window 'erected by the congregation to the memory of the men who fought in the Great War'

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<sup>68</sup> *Glen Innes Examiner*, 16 February 1946, 2.

<sup>69</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (April 1943-September 1955), 14 March 1946, LBHHMRC.

<sup>70</sup> Beverly Sherry and Douglass Baglin, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass* (Sydney: Murray Child, 1991), 15.

<sup>71</sup> Tariffs ranged from twenty to just under thirty-eight per cent of a window's cost: *Customs Tariff Act 1933* (Cth) No 27 of 1933, div XVI(b).

<sup>72</sup> *Catholic Press*, 5 August 1915, 29; Ainslie Baker, "Saints are Real People," *Australian Women's Weekly*, 7 September 1946, 26-27.

<sup>73</sup> Sherry and Baglin, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass*, 15; *Catholic Press*, 1 December 1910, 42; and 29 August 1918, 36.

<sup>74</sup> Elizabeth Handel (wife of stained glass artisan Philip Handel) interview by Susan Kellett, 24 February 2011.





**Figure 5.5:** John Ashwin (1920) *Soldiers' Memorial Window*, Glen Innes Uniting Church. Author's image.

(Figure 5.5).<sup>75</sup> A khaki-clad and hatless Digger stood furred in the luxuriant folds of an Australian flag, a shell casing and spent cartridges scattered by his right foot. Behind him, collapsed masonry, a burning building and smoke billowed into a night sky softly lit by traces of an approaching dawn. This was a window proclaiming national identity in both its creation and content.<sup>76</sup>

Glen Innes provides a microcosm in which to observe the differing communities of commemoration at play in Australian society following World War I. In February 1924, the town unveiled the *Glen Innes and District's Soldiers' Memorial* (Figure 5.6).<sup>77</sup> At the entrance to Anzac Park stood a set of vehicular and pedestrian gates and mounted on the front and rear faces of their four cenotaph-like pillars were bronze plaques listing the names of the region's volunteers. Two months later, the Presbyterian Church's Women's Guild installed a marble honour board below its *Soldiers' Window* and of the 120 names it carried, all but five appeared on the gates.<sup>78</sup> The name of the congregation's only member of the AANS – Mary Hutton – nestled amid five of her kinfolk on the honour board and was one of those absent from the park gates. Likewise, the names of nurses listed on other church honour boards in the town were also missing.<sup>79</sup> While some memorial committees failed to recognise the service of nurses as akin to that of men on their memorials, the form of Glen Innes' monument seemed particularly relevant to their absence.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Glen Innes Examiner*, 9 December 1920, 1.

<sup>76</sup> My thanks to Kevin Little for identifying this window's designer.

<sup>77</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 22 February 1924, 9.

<sup>78</sup> A.W. Cameron, *The Cameron Memorial Uniting Church, Glen Innes, and its origins* (Unpublished manuscript: 2000), 97. LBHHMRC.

<sup>79</sup> Holy Trinity Church of England and the Methodist Church. The latter is now housed in the Land of the Beardies History House and Research Centre, Glen Innes.

<sup>80</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 178.



**Figure 5.6:** Glen Innes and District Soldiers' Memorial, 1924. Author's image.

The name of a nurse in a place of spiritual healing local to a commemorative plot of ground served as a metaphor for her position aboard a hospital ship removed from the landscape of battle at Gallipoli. The gates formed a symbolic entrance to a park named in honour of Australia's defining engagement in the war. The faces of their commemorative pillars were as inaccessible to members of the AANS as the terrain of the iconic landing. This was contested ground, a discrete parcel of land representing the arena that gave birth to the nation and, like the event that it symbolised, reserved for men. However, ideologies and biases privileging martial manliness at a civic level did not necessarily pervade an entire community. Differing commemorative agendas operated and co-existed within two defined spaces in Glen Innes. The religious context gave name to the memory of those marginalised from the emergent and powerful Anzac narrative prevailing in its civic environment. While the community dallied over the form its World War II memorial should take, its Church of England took matters in hand. Raising the bar in Australian remembrance, it and an elderly stained glass artisan challenged traditional and emerging trends of commemoration in Australia when they located a nurse as a member of Australia's armed forces on a SWPA battlefield.

### **One of the boys: Holy Trinity, Glen Innes (1946)**

Neither Parish Council nor artisan needed to look far for inspiration for Holy Trinity's window; it shares elements of the Presbyterian's *Soldiers' Window* (Figure 5.5). Additionally, the next

generation of Australian services, along with the locations in which they fought and died, provided new opportunities to encapsulate memory. Being an East Window, Christ's presence was essential and His Crucifixion was again used as an allegory for the death of servicemen. It, like the contemporary service figures portrayed in the *Clark Windows* (1921), St John's Cathedral, Brisbane, appear in all three windows examined in this chapter.

Radecki used landscape effectively at Glen Innes (Figure 5.7). An arid background conveyed the barren expanse of the Middle East while lush, tropical foliage in the foreground suggested the SWPA. Two waratahs – the floral emblem of NSW – appear in the lower right of the window. In the absence of the flag – a feature of many World War I windows in which the Digger featured – this flora served as a signifier of Australian as well as State identity. It counterpoised the scarlet cape in the opposite panel while acting as an indigenous allegory for the Flanders Poppy of World War I, a powerful symbol of remembrance. Like the Presbyterian window, Radecki portrayed battlefield elements in the background: collapsed masonry, a burning building and smoke billowing into the sky above but, by adding the wreckage of a plane and parachuting its occupant into the foreground, he cleverly united both the desert and jungle campaigns and their combatants. In doing so, he established a new precedent in commemoration when he depicted a member of the AANS alongside Australian servicemen on a battlefield of the SWPA. In August 1946, the cartoon for the window was displayed in the church hall and parishioners were invited to pass comment upon it.<sup>81</sup> Being accepted without major alteration indicates that the Council – and primary benefactor – did not object to the nurse's location.

Unlike the windows of World War I in which the nurse appeared, at Glen Innes she was not relegated to a separate light from the men, safely sequestered away behind sand bags in a dressing station or protected by Christ's immediate presence. She stands beside a sailor, several soldiers and an airman as an integral part of the Australian forces and, like *Devotion* in the Hall of Memory, her scarlet cape draws the viewer's eye to her dominant position in the left light. The Holy Trinity nurse, like her professional forebear at St Augustine's, Neutral Bay, arose due to the agency of the Church's community. However, with many factors keeping army nurses fresh in the memory of New South Welshmen following the war, the death of the daughter of a Glen Innes resident may have also influenced the decision to portray a nurse in this window.

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<sup>81</sup> *Glen Innes Examiner*, 13 August 1946, 4.



Figure 5.7: John Radecki, *Holy Trinity War Memorial Window*, 1946. Glen Innes. Author's image.

Verdun Sheah, a member of the RAAFNS, was killed in a plane crash in Rabaul in November 1945.<sup>82</sup> As an Anglican in a small town such as Glen Innes, her father was likely a member of Holy Trinity's congregation.<sup>83</sup> If this influenced it to include a nurse in the subject matter of the window, the decision to portray her as a member of the AANS rather than in the white dress and royal blue shoulder cape of the RAAFNS was unsurprising. Several factors contributed to the uniform of the AANS dominating that of the other nursing services in the collective memory of the Australian public after the war.<sup>84</sup>

### A uniform colour of sacrifice

The army employed the greater number of nurses during World War II: 3,477 women compared to 616 in the RAAFNS and eighty-two in the RANNS.<sup>85</sup> The numerical superiority of the AANS was reflected publicly in the print media. With formation of the Women's Services, some newspapers and periodicals ran pictorials identifying their uniforms (Figure 5.8). The nurse's ward uniform they depicted was inevitably that of the army whether identified in the caption accompanying black and white newsprint or by the colour of its grey and scarlet on the cover the *Australian Women's*



**Figure 5.8:** The outdoors uniform of the AANS and RAAFNS are shown first and third from the left with the ward uniform of the former in between. C. F. Beauvais, *Uniforms worn by our Women's Services* (detail). *Argus*, 3 April 1943.

<sup>82</sup> *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*: 20 November 1945, 2; 7 December 1945, 2; Halstead, *Story of the RAAF Nursing Service*, 413.

<sup>83</sup> NSW Government, "Entry 13460" of Deaths registered in the District of Glen Innes" (NSW Births, Deaths and Marriages: 6 June 1951).

<sup>84</sup> Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War*, 177, 84; Halstead, *Story of the RAAF Nursing Service*, vii; *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 22, 1943, 3.

<sup>85</sup> Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War*, 377; Bassett, *Guns and Brooches*, 112.

*Weekly*.<sup>86</sup> Illustrations of the latter were heavily stylised to attract the attention of its fashion-conscious female readership.<sup>87</sup> In her trim and tailored grey and scarlet, the army nurse appeared exceedingly chic but such images provided little assistance in differentiating the uniforms worn by service nurses in grainy newspaper images (Figure 5.9).

Colour was also a powerful force in the AWM's Christmas anthologies published during and after the war. Its initial edition – *Active Service: with Australia in the Middle East* (1941) – proved immensely popular with the Australian public and, by May 1942, headed Sydney's best seller list. Separate volumes for each of the three services were released the following Christmas.<sup>88</sup> Unlike the RAN and RAAF, the Army editions regularly featured images of its nurses and they generally appeared in their scarlet capes.<sup>89</sup> During the previous war, the army nurse competed with the Red Cross nurse for her public identity. However, during World War II, the grey and scarlet of the AANS gained ascendancy as the preeminent image of Australia's wartime nurse.

Clothing plays a critical part in the identification of men and women by assigning 'culturally appropriate gender roles to the wearer' and, as a public form of attire, the uniform acts to signify the institution its wearer represents, creates group identity and imparts authority and status.<sup>90</sup>



**Figure 5.9:** Nurses marching: the AANS of the 9<sup>th</sup> Division in the Middle East (left) and rank and file of the RAAFNS in a post-war parade in Melbourne. AWM 050163 (*Australasian*, 3 April 1943, 22) and SLV H99.201/921 (*Argus*, 30 November 1945, 13.) respectively.

<sup>86</sup> *Australian Women's Weekly*, 13 January 1945; *Argus*: 19 July 1941, 1; and April 3, 1943, 8. *Western Mail*, 25 February 1943, 6.

<sup>87</sup> Speck, *Painting Ghosts*, 126-27.

<sup>88</sup> *Advertiser*, 3 January 1942, 12; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1942, 6.

<sup>89</sup> An audit of all AWM Christmas books published during the war reveals colour plates portraying members of the AANS wearing their indoors (ward) uniform of grey dress and scarlet cape in the 1941, 1942 and 1945 wartime editions of the army volumes. The 1943 RAAF volume was the only one of the other two services to contain a colour plate of a member of their nursing services and, as a Matron-in-Chief, she was dressed in the outdoors uniform.

<sup>90</sup> Lucy Noakes, "'Playing at Being Soldiers?': British Women and Military Uniforms in the First World War," in *British Popular Culture and the First World War*, ed. Jessica Meyer, *History of Warfare* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 123, 24; Bates, "Looking Closely," 172.

Traditionally perceived as an irrefutable symbol of masculinity, the formal and informal adoption of khaki by women during World War I challenged traditional beliefs related to manhood and war and created tensions.<sup>91</sup> These were evident in respect to the War Council's resistance to the formation of the Women's Service's in 1940.<sup>92</sup> As Lucy Noakes writes: 'For men, the [khaki] uniform operated as a straightforward symbol of their loyalty to the nation, their service and, ultimately, their sacrifice.'<sup>93</sup> In New Guinea, the AANS was initially issued khaki boiler suits to wear between 6pm and 6am as a preventative measure against contracting malaria until the introduction of a more practical grey 'safari suit.' A small group of nurses was issued male khaki trousers and shirt – jungle greens – prior to embarkation from Australia (Figure 5.10). Rather than resentment, Mary Carseldine, AANS, experienced confusion, then humour, in respect to her traditionally masculine attire when startled Diggers initially misplaced her for one of their ranks.<sup>94</sup>



**Figure 5.10:** Jungle greens, c.1942. Mary Carseldine, AANS, and 'Scottie.' Image reproduced with kind permission of Mary Headrick.

Lucy Noakes suggests that the vast losses of men during World War I, particularly those whose bodies remained unaccounted for, imparted a religious significance to the khaki uniform.<sup>95</sup> Providing a powerful metaphor for the absence of Christ's body from His tomb, the bodies of servicemen that never returned to their families may have influenced the emergence of the soldier as a powerful icon in stained glass after World War I. The number of Australian army nurses who were similarly unaccounted for or buried abroad after World War II could have provided a similar association, particularly when those who re-emerged after the conflict revealed the fates of those who did not and whose bodies remained lost. In a letter to Adelaide's *Advertiser* in September

<sup>91</sup> Noakes, "'Playing at Being Soldiers?'," 125, 126; Jan Bassett, "Ready to Serve: Australian Women and the Great War," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 2 (1983): 13; Catherine Speck, "Power Dressing: Women in the Military," *Australian Journal of Art* 14, no. 2 (1999): 150.

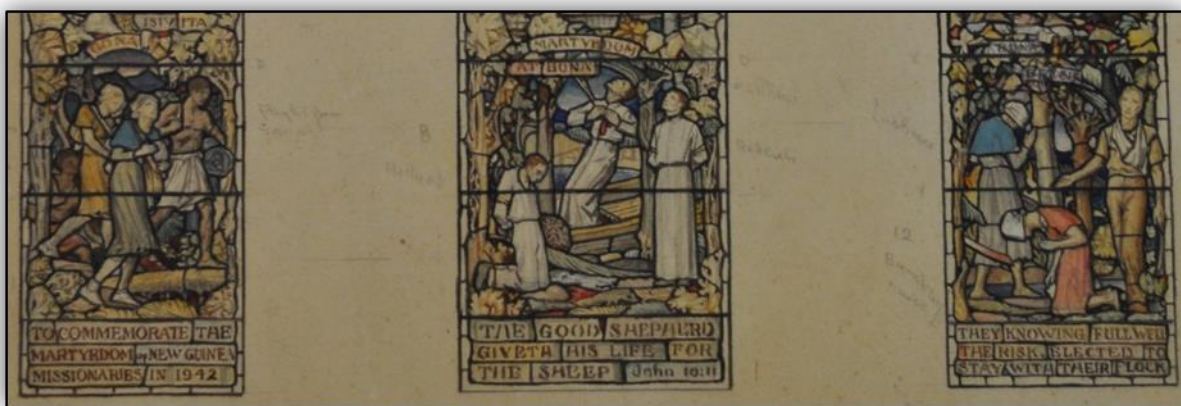
<sup>92</sup> Hasluck, *The Government and the People 1939-1942*, 1: 401.

<sup>93</sup> Noakes, "'Playing at Being Soldiers?'," 142.

<sup>94</sup> Mary Headrick (nee Carseldine, former member of the AANS, World War II) interview with author, 20 May 2011.

<sup>95</sup> Noakes, "'Playing at Being Soldiers?'," 124.

1945, E. H. Huddleston envisioned '[b]odies of angels of mercy floating in a sea and lying on a foreign beach mangled by bullets.'<sup>96</sup> His latter words evoke the fate of an earlier generation of Australian men at the Gallipoli landing. While the numerical superiority of the AANS ensured the visual dominance of the army nurse in Australia during the war, it was her masculine experiences of conflict: death as a consequence of enemy action; victim of war crimes; and internment, along with her suffering as a POW, that embedded her in that generation's commemorative memory. Just as the uniform of the infantryman became associated with male sacrifice during and after World War I, the uniform of the AANS likewise represented nursing sacrifice following World War II (Figure 5.11).



**Figure 5.11:** M. Napier Waller, *Centenary Memorial Window: design and extant window (details)*, 1946. Notations on the design (above) identify May Hayman in the left light and Margaret Brenchley in the right. Design courtesy of Heritage Victoria and Author's image respectively.



The AANS's scarlet shoulder cape became a potent signifier of a war-related death for members of the profession. May Hayman, a Church of England missionary nurse working in New Guinea during the war, was executed along with seven of her colleagues by the Japanese during 1942.

<sup>96</sup> *Advertiser*, 20 September 1945, 6.



Collectively, they remain known and celebrated by the Anglican Church as the New Guinea Martyrs.<sup>97</sup> In Melbourne, Canberra and Brisbane, Napier Waller and fellow artist William Bustard portrayed May in a short red shoulder cape.<sup>98</sup> In his *Centenary Memorial Window* (1946) for St Peter's Church of England, Eastern Hill, Waller initially depicted her and fellow nurse, Margery Brenchley, in grey uniforms with sky-blue shoulder capes.<sup>99</sup> A change in the latter to red arose following feedback from his patron and can be partially explained by the significance of the colour within Christian symbolism; it is aligned with martyred saints.<sup>100</sup> However, the addition of a white collar not evident on the sky-blue cape suggests that the alteration was necessary, not for liturgical reasons, but to accommodate collective preference of how the death of a nurse at the hands of the Japanese should be represented: though not a member of the AANS, May Hayman was portrayed resembling one. The scarlet shoulder cape of the army nurse became an icon of professional sacrifice and the key to deciphering Radecki's artistic influence for the AANS.

### **A matter of perspective: St Augustine's, Merewether (1947)**

After sixteen months of waiting for the artisan initially engaged to commence work on its commemorative window, the parish council of St Augustine's, Merewether, grew impatient.<sup>101</sup> At £315, Ashwin & Co. was £15 dearer. But with a pledge that the large three-light window for the north transept of the church would be installed by Christmas, its tender was accepted in July 1947.<sup>102</sup> Located in a coastal suburb of Newcastle, St Augustine's was subject to a broader range of societal influences courtesy of its position within the seat of a regional diocese. The nurse – as a woman – competed with a greater public awareness of female service during the war. Despite this, the religious space continued to afford her with a position of prestige while also accommodating others who were disenfranchised in name and form from the prevailing rituals of civic remembrance.

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<sup>97</sup> For the story of the New Guinea Martyrs, see: Dorothea Tomkins and Brian Hughes, *The Road from Gona* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1969).

<sup>98</sup> For an account of Hayman's execution, see: *ibid.*, 45. The windows are: M. Napier Waller, *Centennial* (aka *New Guinea Martyrs*) *Memorial Window*, 1946, St Peter's Anglican Church, Eastern Hill; William Bustard/Exton & Co, *Te Deum Window*, 1948, St Augustine's Anglican War Memorial Church, Hamilton; and William Bustard/Exton & Co, *Sister Hayman Window*, 1949, St John's Anglican Church, Reid.

<sup>99</sup> Notations made by Waller on his design identify all of the New Guinea Martyrs in his artwork; Heritage Victoria, Melbourne.

<sup>100</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 152.

<sup>101</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (1938-1947), 26 March 1946 and 26 March 1947, St Augustine's Parish Office, Merewether (SAPOM), Newcastle, NSW. The tardy artisan was Alfred Handel; he had earlier executed the window in the opposite transept and was therefore the council's first choice of firm.

<sup>102</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (1938-1947), 9 July 1947, SAPOM.

As had been the case at Glen Innes, a memorial from the previous war provided inspiration for Merewether's window while women in the parish again exerted considerable financial influence upon the Church's commemorative agenda. The scheme of stained glass in the Warriors' Chapel of nearby Christ Church Cathedral provided inspiration for the subject matter of these lights. The miner and soldier in its medallions, along with the female allegorical figures honouring the *Nurse*, *Home Service (Women)* and *Mother*, were translated to their contemporary equivalents of the AANS, WRANS, AWAS, WAAAF and a praying woman respectively (Chapter Three). At Christ Church, *Stretcher Bearer*, represented 'human love ... and friendship.'<sup>103</sup> At Merewether, this transmuted to the relationship of brothers Roy and Eric Anderson in whose memory the left light was donated. The former, a merchant seaman, perished when the ship on which he was serving was torpedoed in 1943.<sup>104</sup> A new addition, a 'fuzzy-wuzzy angel', the indigenous Papuan beloved of the Australian servicemen for their support in New Guinea, stood benignly between the soldier and airman (Figure 5.12).

The religious space, and stained glass in particular, again emerges as a location in which the memory of those disenfranchised from the preeminent commemorative narrative could reside. In 1943, Australians were informed that 'When the story of this war can be told, the free peoples of the world will be given some inkling of their debt to the men and the ships of the Merchant Navy.'<sup>105</sup> But despite the role played and the losses it sustained in both World Wars, Australia's Merchant Navy was largely omitted from civic commemoration following both conflicts.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, the Women's Services were also overlooked in the nation's response to commemorating World War II.<sup>107</sup> At Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance, a modernist sculpture commissioned for its forecourt offered ample scope to include nurse, servicewoman and merchant sailor amid the six figures holding aloft a dead comrade draped in the Australian flag.<sup>108</sup> That all were depicted as male Navy, Army and Air Force personnel suggests that the burden of war in Victoria was carried exclusively by its servicemen. However, commemoration of marginalised populations was evident in stained glass. St Augustine's embodied the memory of the Merchant Navy and the Women's Services of World War II in name and form respectively just as the *Clark Windows* (1921) had, albeit

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<sup>103</sup> Crotty, 1 June 1923, Diocesan Memorial flyer; Walter Tower to Dean (Crotty), 30 July 1923, A6137(IV), ADNA.

<sup>104</sup> *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 22 December 1947, 3; *Newcastle Sun*, 20 March 1943, 2. Extensive research has failed to learn how Eric died though a man by that name was buried from St Augustine's, Merewether, six-and-a-half-years earlier: *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 27 August 1936, 13.

<sup>105</sup> G. Hermon Gill, "The Merchantmen Do Their Best," in *HMAS Mk II*, ed. G. Hermon Gill (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1943), 50.

<sup>106</sup> Michael McKernan, *The Strength of a Nation* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2006), 386.

<sup>107</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 348.

<sup>108</sup> Scates, *A Place to Remember*, 175.



Figure 5.12: John Radecki, *St Augustine's Memorial Window*, 1947. Merewether, NSW. Author's image.

inaccurately, in Brisbane after World War I (Chapter One).<sup>109</sup> And like its namesake in Neutral Bay, St Augustine's introduced a member of another country into their memorial: the Papuan male.

The surprising number of servicewomen evident in St Augustine's window can be attributed in part to the social and political changes occurring in the religious context during the interwar period. The two remaining lights were financed as congregational offerings and dedicated in gender-neutral terms 'in memory of those who lost their lives' and as a 'thankoffering for Victory for the Safety of Australia and for the Return of those who served in World War II.'<sup>110</sup> The first half of the twentieth century is viewed as the 'golden age of community-based women's organisations' with the female-run church auxiliary a major player in this movement.<sup>111</sup> The middle to upper-class philanthropic churchwomen of the colonial period were replaced by those with a growing social awareness that extended beyond their own self-interests.<sup>112</sup> Church auxiliaries were never stronger than in country communities. While they fulfilled a social role in a parish's life and men still led their councils, it was often the women's group which flexed a church's financial muscle. The auxiliary, in many cases, raised the money needed to construct, improve and maintain church buildings.<sup>113</sup> At Merewether, this included funding for its war memorial window.

On 6 March 1946, the Rector's wife moved that the St Augustine's Women's Guild 'finance the balance of the Memorial Window,' with its members subsequently voting to meet the associated cost of its appeal.<sup>114</sup> Having raised the significant sum of around £218, it is probable that the Guild voiced their desire that the war work of their daughters, sisters and female relatives or friends be recognised within it.<sup>115</sup> However, the most powerful influence was likely the region's loss of three members of the AANS during World War II and all were victims of the Banka Island massacre.<sup>116</sup> The symbolism imbued in the right light suggests an association with death; while all service

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<sup>109</sup> The Clark Windows depict a sou'wester-clad figure of a World War I merchant seaman along with British servicewoman. Additionally, a window dedicated after World War II depicted a sailor at the wheel of his ship in St Nicholas' Mariner's Chapel, Williamstown, as a tribute to 'merchant navy men who died during the war: *Argus*, 13 December 1947, 44.

<sup>110</sup> Dedication of central and right lights, St Augustine's, Merewether.

<sup>111</sup> Carey, *Believing in Australia*, 123.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 128-31.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 111, 26, 27.

<sup>114</sup> St Augustine's Women's Guild Minute Book (January 1945-October 1953), 6 March 1946 and 2 April 1946, SAPOM.

<sup>115</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (1938-1947), September 1947, SAPOM.

<sup>116</sup> The three nurses were: Mary McGlade, Wallalong; Ada 'Joyce' Bridges, Scone; and Mona Tait, Newcastle. *Newcastle Herald*, 27 February 1993, 43. The face of the nurse in the Merewether light was executed as a portrait. Similarities between it and her service photograph suggest it to be Mona Tait. However, in the absence of evidence confirming the figure's identity (correspondence between the Parish Council and Ashwin & Co. or a proven link with the Merewether Parish between her (or her family), this cannot be asserted with confidence.

personnel are located in the SWPA, the palm frond of martyrdom is most prominent in the upper third of the light containing the nurse.<sup>117</sup>

While the assignment of women to their own light at St Augustine's harks back to the segregation of the nurse from sailors and soldiers in the World War I windows, this more than likely reflected the Anderson's donation of the left light in memory of their sons. The nurse was privileged over both the servicemen and servicewomen at Merewether with her size and prominence being akin to that of the holy women in the central light. She appears as if one of the Three Marys of the Cross – the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and the Other Mary – courtesy of one woman crouching at Christ's feet. Yet inaccuracies evident in her uniform – an overly long veil, cape and hemline – raise problematic questions given the public visibility of the AANS during the war. Ironically, given its preoccupation with accuracy, it appears that the AWM was an unintentional source for the errors Radecki made in relation to his nurses' attire at Merewether and Glen Innes.



**Figure 5.13:** Ivor Hele, *Sister (Millie McKittrick)*, 1941. Oil on canvas. AWM ART28253.

The first volume of the AWM's Christmas books contained a colour plate of Ivor Hele's *Sister* (1941).<sup>118</sup> The relaxed atmosphere the official war artist conveyed in his portrait of Emilie 'Millie' McKittrick, AANS, belied the formality of its construction (Figure 5.13). McKittrick appears posed in accord with the sharp lines and angles of her stiffly starched and carefully folded veil. Her headwear signified the rigid discipline, ritual and proficiency inherent to her profession. Likewise hallmarks of an efficient fighting force, it validated the authority of the military uniform in which her feminine body was covered.

The tin helmet Millie held, along with a drab khaki background, served as allegories for the men she cared for along with the risks the nurses shared alongside them in the Middle East. Clad in her

<sup>117</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 36.

<sup>118</sup> Ivor Hele, "Sister" in *Active Service: With Australia in the Middle East*, eds. F. J. Howard, K. Black and F. Hodgkinson (Canberra: The Board of Management of the Australian War Memorial, 1941), 26.

grey and scarlet ‘armour’ of war with her veil creating a halo of light and eyes cast heavenward, Millie resembles a modern day St Joan of Arc.<sup>119</sup>

Readily available in the best-selling *Active Service: with Australia in the Middle East*, it is likely that Radecki used *Sister* as his reference for the nurse’s uniform at Glen Innes and Merewether. Without a formal art education, artisans sometimes relied on existing sources for their subject matter. Alternatively, a patron might direct a firm to use a well-known art work as the basis for their window; for example, *The Light of the World* (1851-53) by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood’s Holman Hunt appears frequently in churches across the nation. At Merewether, the body-hugging nature of the nurse’s cape provides the first clue that Radecki referenced Hele’s portrait of McKittrick.

No epaulettes and insignia appear on either the stained glass or the canvas cape. Hele painted McKittrick in 1941 and the AANS was not granted military rank until 1943.<sup>120</sup> Leaning Millie in towards the viewer, the artist introduced depth into his portrait by foreshortening his model’s torso. This caused her cape to crease against her forearms and lowered its hem towards her waist. Radecki, not recognising the technique, took the bottom of the nurse’s cape and veil in respect to her waistline literally. At Glen Innes, this did not pose an issue as the nurse, like McKittrick, appears to be leaning forward. However, at Merewether the nurse is standing and Radecki’s error of perspective becomes evident. The helmet Millie holds is the closest element to the viewer. It assumes the dimensions of a bedpan in the hand of the St Augustine’s nurse. The latter’s hemline is longer, her stockings non-regulation – Hele did not paint beyond McKittrick’s thighs – and her veil, like that of her colleague in Glen Innes, is overly generous in length. Again, an error based on Radecki’s misinterpretation of perspective.

The window’s cartoon was not provided for the Merewether parishioners’ approval and this reflected normal practice whereby the design only was presented to the patron for review. Certainly, within the context of commemorative windows, this research reveals that some patrons expected a higher degree of control over the entire design process when the cartoon became subject to congregational or committee approval. This validates the democratic nature of commemoration enacted in some religious settings – and the AWM – following the war. However, at Merewether,

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<sup>119</sup> Linda Nochlin writes that Joan of Arc is rarely portrayed on canvas in the battle stance of a man. Her eyes cast heavenward is one of the conventions of her depiction: *Representing Women* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 46; Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints*, 603.

<sup>120</sup> Allan S. Walker, *Medical Services of the RAN and RAAF, Australia in the War of 1939-1945* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1961), 4: 463.

the Parish Council simply ‘expressed satisfaction at the design’ and proceeded with the window’s execution without further delay.<sup>121</sup> No adverse comments were made and no changes to the design noted. The inaccuracies in the nurse’s uniform were unsurprising; it is likely that some Council members served in the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF and the memory they retained of a nurse, if any, would be based on that war and perhaps the striking colour of a cape rather than the cut of her uniform. The patron also failed to note an inaccuracy in the portrayal of a woman in the last of the windows analysed in this chapter. While not pertaining to the nurse, it had a profound effect upon the privilege afforded to her in the only Catholic window located in this study.

### **A ‘truly National, tinglingly Australian window’: Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Randwick (1946-1950)<sup>122</sup>**

In late August 1946, Father James Power of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Randwick (OLSHR), decided to fill two ‘old, drab, dead make-shift leadlights’ in the transepts of his church with ‘lovely, flashing, living, stained glass as memorials; one to ‘our ‘R’wick parishioners who were Killed in the war’ and the other ‘of Randwick’s gratitude to God for his protection during the war.’<sup>123</sup> The memory of Gallipoli radiated from the very centre of Australian Catholicism to influence OLSHR’s acquisition. The final window of this chapter reveals that faith proved no barrier to the egalitarian commemorative practices being increasingly embraced in glass by churches across the nation and the army nurse reassumed her mantle of *Martial Madonna* within the Catholic context in post-war Sydney.

John Radecki at Ashwin & Co. swiftly offered his services for the Randwick commission; however, John Hardman and Company (henceforth Hardman & Co.), the Birmingham firm that had earlier executed the Church’s East Window, was Power’s choice.<sup>124</sup> The *Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Window* cost the Parish an extraordinary £2,500 landed in Australia in 1928 (Figure 5.14).<sup>125</sup> Despite the advantages of locally-made windows, the Catholic Church across Australia continued to source many of its lights from England and Hardman & Co. was frequently a preferred supplier, particularly in Sydney where St Mary’s Cathedral was filled with the firm’s work.<sup>126</sup> Neither cost –

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<sup>121</sup> Parochial Council Minutes (1947-1953), 10 September 1947, SAPOM.

<sup>122</sup> Father James Power to John Hardman Studios, letter sent 17 March 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, Australian Archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (AAMSH), Kensington, Sydney, NSW.

<sup>123</sup> *Randwick Catholic Church Record*, October 1946, 2; Power to Reverend Father Provincial, 4 September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/2, AAMSH.

<sup>124</sup> Power to Reverend Father Provincial, 4 September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/2, AAMSH.

<sup>125</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1928, 4.

<sup>126</sup> Danute Illuminata Giedraityte, "Stained and Painted Glass in the Sydney Area c. 1830-c.1920" (Masters thesis, University of Sydney, 1982), 70-82.

£840 British pounds per window exclusive of import tariffs – nor a three-year delay as the British firm gave preference to ‘the many windows damaged by bombs in [our] country’ during the war deterred the priest in his quest for what he believed to be the best.<sup>127</sup> Ashwin & Co. were subsequently offered a contract for £345 to install the lights following their arrival in Australia in 1950.<sup>128</sup>

Power was a man with little in the way of aesthetic ability: ‘practical work-a-day parish life does not educate in the ways of the arts’ he lamented and he struggled to conceive subject matter for the windows.<sup>129</sup> Unlike the Church of England, where a parish council of lay members was relied upon to manage a congregational offering such as this, no equivalent structure existed in the Catholic Church; the priest spoke for God and made material judgements on His behalf. Power launched his ‘War Memorial Windows’ Appeal in September 1946 and approached the Benedictine and Sacred Heart nuns for ideas on whether ‘some distinctive Australian setting be represented and how’ for the window in the south transept.<sup>130</sup> While the Resurrection had earlier emerged as its theme following advice from a religious superior, the indigenous floral arbours Hardman & Co. used to frame the windows likely arose from the women whose convents were set in well-tended gardens on expansive grounds.<sup>131</sup> Symbolic of the ‘distinctive Australian setting’ he sought, wildflowers formed a distinctive feminine contribution to the window: for generations women across the nation have provided flowers to adorn their churches.<sup>132</sup> Australian natives served a fitting liturgical and commemorative purpose; their germination in response to the destruction of bushfire provided a powerful analogy to the Resurrection in the same way that the Flanders Poppy did through its appearance following the devastation of battle on the Western Front during World War I.<sup>133</sup>

In March 1947, Power wrote to Hardman & Co. explaining, in great detail, the subject matter and structure of his commemorative windows. Like Radecki’s lights, elements of the South Window (henceforth the *Resurrection Window*) were derived from the works of others and the nuns, in

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<sup>127</sup> Patrick Feeney to Power, 29 March 1947 and 10 January 1949: Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>128</sup> J. Westwell to S.G. Hirst, 8 November 1949, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>129</sup> Power to Mother Prioress, 15 September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>130</sup> J. F. McMahon, *Randwick Catholic Church Centenary* (Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1985), 68; Power to Mother Prioress, 15 September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>131</sup> Power to Reverend Father Provincial, 4 September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/2; Sermon (Power’s notes), September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH; *Catholic Press*, 12 May 1932, 16-17; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 18 March 1893, 28.

<sup>132</sup> At St Augustine’s, Neutral Bay, the mother of Trooper William Jones, 1<sup>st</sup> AIF, adorned his window with waratah, wattle and flannel flowers: see figure 2.12.

<sup>133</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, 111.



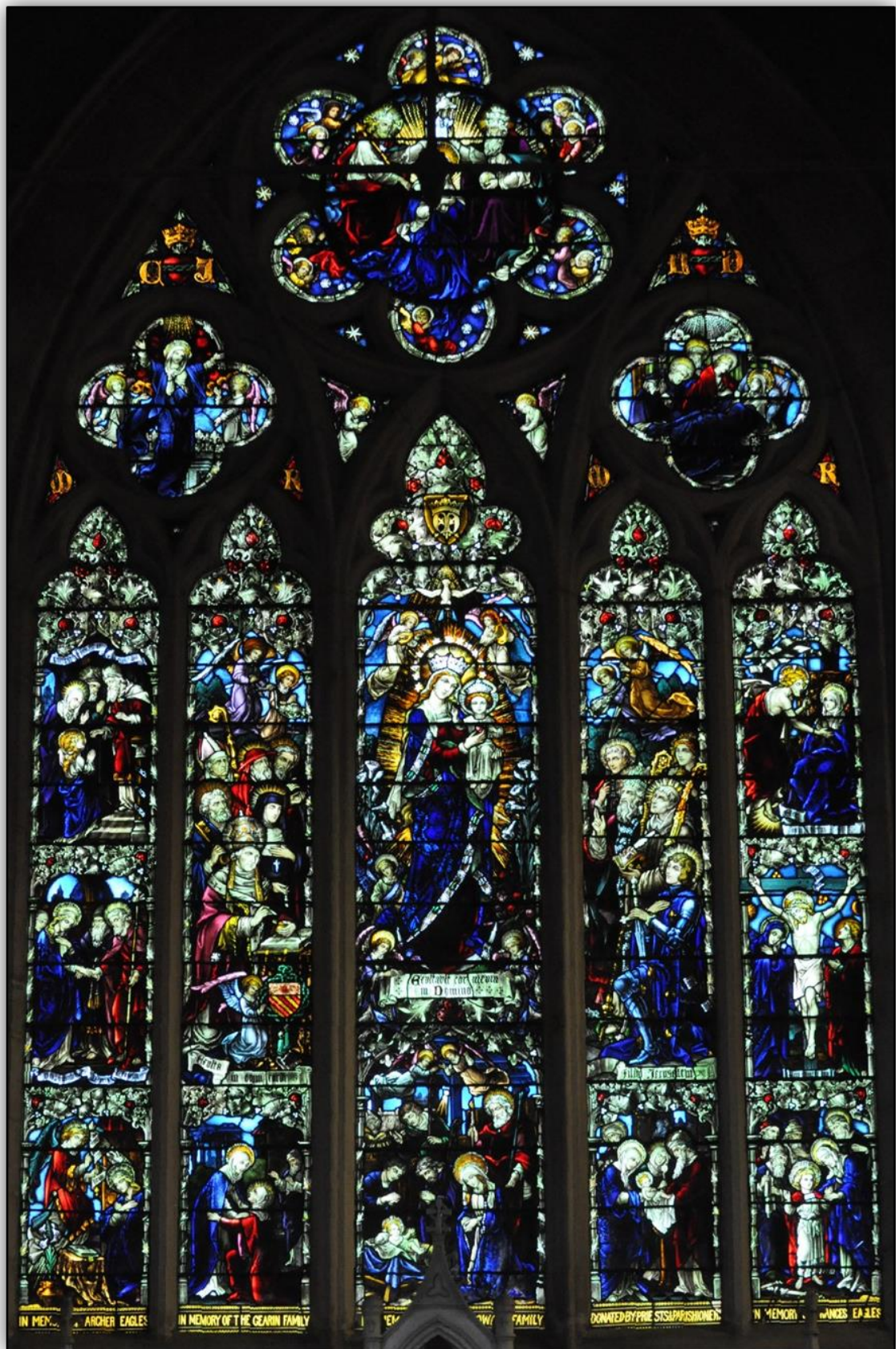


Figure 5.14: Hardman & Co, *Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Window*, 1928. Author's image.



Figure 5.15: Hardman & Co., *OLSHR Resurrection Window*, 1950. Author's image.



**Figure 5.16:** Hardman & Co., *Benson Window* (detail), 1921. St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney. Author's image, with the kind permission of the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney

whose convents 'art ... in its most beautiful and spiritual expression is such a tradition,' may again have been the influence (Figure 5.15).<sup>134</sup> The figure of the Virgin Mary in the hexafoil of the *Resurrection Window* was based on Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Immaculate Conception* (c.1665) and its angels on the early Renaissance artwork of Fra. Angelico.<sup>135</sup> Power emphasised that the wattle, waratah and flannel 'flowers mean a lot to us', and instructed the firm to 'weave and wind' them into the window to divide religious subject matter from service personnel, war graves and the Australian and Papal flags.<sup>136</sup> This provided Navy, Army and Air Force with a commemorative

presence though Catholic dogma dictated that the window's dominant theme must be liturgical. Figures of the Australian forces were therefore assigned to the *predellas* in the lower third of each light where, in a war cemetery filled with white crosses, they witnessed the Crucifixion. Subsequent amendments to its design in July 1947 reveal the intimate involvement of Cardinal Norman Gilroy, Archbishop of Sydney. The inclusion of service personnel may have resulted because of his direct influence.

His Eminence's initial interest in the windows arose in March 1947 after he granted Power permission to spend parish funds; the Randwick congregation raised the astonishing amount of £1,600 in four months.<sup>137</sup> Unusually for Australia's Papal representative, Gilroy maintained a close interest in the design of the commemorative windows.<sup>138</sup> His own church – St Mary's Cathedral – contained several secular images relating to World War I. Donated by and depicting a grieving family, a window in a side chapel portrayed the likeness of two officers in uniform (Figure 5.16).<sup>139</sup> In the arcade opposite, George W. Lambert's sculpture of a dead infantryman, his gaiters and boots

<sup>134</sup> Power to Mother Prioress, 15 September 1946, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>135</sup> Power to John Hardman Studios, 17 March 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>136</sup> Power to John Hardman Studios, 17 March 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>137</sup> Power to Monsignor Toohey, 22 February 1947; Archbishop of Sydney to Power, 6 March 1947, Series 49/058, Randwick Parish Correspondence, Sydney Archdiocesan Archives.

<sup>138</sup> Power to John Hardman Studios, 21 July 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>139</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 8 September 1921, 15.

clotted with mud, rested in eternal slumber.<sup>140</sup> Prior to receiving his call to the Church, Gilroy was denied familial consent to enlist in the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF. Instead he worked as a telegraphist on a ship carrying troops to the Middle East and was moored off Gallipoli the morning of 25 April 1915. These experiences led him to develop ‘an affectionate respect for Australian servicemen’ and may explain his involvement in the Randwick windows.<sup>141</sup> Given Father Power’s lack of artistic ability, it was likely that Gilroy introduced the initial idea for the contemporary service figures.

The inclusion of the nurse and servicewomen was possibly influenced by factors located within the Church and immediately adjacent to it. The patronal saint of OLSHR was a woman: the Virgin Mary. Her story, told pictorially in the large East Window, was celebrated throughout the Church with feminine service and sacrifice an overt element of its religious life (Figure 5.14).

Additionally, the Church was located a short walk from the bustling Randwick Repatriation Hospital. Established as a military hospital during World War I, by 1919 the ‘Randwick Repat’ had expanded to rival the number of beds of the Sydney and Royal Prince Alfred Hospitals combined.<sup>142</sup> The distinctive scarlet capes of the AANS, along with the men of the AIF, formed an integral part of the suburb’s heritage and the establishment of the Women’s Services during World War II further normalised a female martial presence in the suburb. Power requested that an ‘Australian Soldier, Sailor, Airman, with two or three of the Service Girls, including a Red Cross Nurse’ appear in the *Resurrection Window*.<sup>143</sup> A young curate during World War I, his use of the term ‘Red Cross Nurse’ suggests that Power, like many Australians, was unable to distinguish the difference between members of the AANS and Red Cross VADs. The World War I vernacular persisted in some quarters of society although it had all but disappeared from the next generation of the press.<sup>144</sup> After reviewing the designs with His Eminence, Power’s feedback to Hardman & Co. included considerable amendments to the artwork along with one to his terminology: ‘We think it would be better to have only one army nurse’ he wrote, indicating that two members of the AANS were originally depicted in the design; one was subsequently replaced with ‘a girl in the Australian Kaki [sic] (Figure 5.17).’<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> George W. Lambert, *Recumbent figure of a soldier (Unknown Soldier)*, 1928-30. Sculpture: bronze.

<sup>141</sup> T.P. Boland, "Gilroy, Sir Norman Thomas (1896-1977)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 14: 275-76.

<sup>142</sup> *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 11 July 1915, 7; *Northern Star*, 9 January 1919, 5.

<sup>143</sup> Power to John Hardman Studios, letter sent 17 March 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>144</sup> A rare instance occurred on 12 July 1941, 22, when the *Australasian* published an image of two members of the AANS dressed in cape and veil titled ‘RED CROSS NURSES – women for whom the civilised world takes off its hat.’

<sup>145</sup> Power to John Hardman Studios, 21 July 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.



**Figure 5.17:** Hardman & Co., *Resurrection Window* (predellas), 1950. Author's image.

Cardinal Gilroy directed the secular headstones in the battlefield cemetery behind the Crucified Christ be replaced with plain wooden crosses, as was requested in Power's initial brief.<sup>146</sup> The firm took great pains to explain the latter were a temporary measure prior to the erection of the Commonwealth's standard white headstones over graves of its war dead and provided photographic evidence to validate the accuracy of their art.<sup>147</sup> 'The stones would be without meaning,' countered Father Power:

Though only temporary... they mark the graves of most of our Australian boys who were killed in the Pacific Islands. They will have no other mark. For most bereaved parents in Australia the crosses symbolise the war graves of their dear ones.<sup>148</sup>

Like the Anglicans, the memory of the Parish's war dead was located in the SWPA. However, unlike the Anglicans, a Cardinal rather than a council was a powerful arbitrator of memory in the Catholic context.

The senior service – the Navy – was given the honour of bearing the Australian flag and a Digger carried the Papal ensign. However, the figure of the nurse was privileged over her comrades by a deft flick or two of an artisan's brush; a tiny cross, invisible to the naked eye, was painted on the right side of her cape (Figure 5.18). It conferred upon her a degree of saintliness, a level of holiness denied the other servicemen and women positioned alongside her and in the panel opposite. It also aligned her intimately with the Virgin Mary courtesy of a curious inconsistency in the aura of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart's halo.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> John Hardman Studios to Power, 13 August 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH.

<sup>148</sup> Power to John Hardman Studios, 24 September 1947, Box 0421/Randwick/1, AAMSH

The Virgin Mary's halo is traditionally decorated in an elaborate manner and, in the Catholic context, is sometimes crowned with twelve stars symbolic of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>149</sup> Hardman & Co. applied this convention uniformly to her figure in all panels of Randwick's East Window along with the *predellas* and hexafoils of its two commemorative ones.<sup>150</sup> The firm had a tendency to paint the aura that her halo contained gold.<sup>151</sup> Despite the twenty-two years separating their manufacture from that of the East Window, this convention was again respected in both memorials. But in the *Resurrection Window's* right light, the halo of the Virgin Mary is unadorned while its aura reflected the blood shed by her son at His crucifixion (Figure 5.19).



**Figure 5.18:** Hardman & Co., *Resurrection Window* (detail), 1950. Author's image.

Unlike Mary Magdalene, the Virgin and the Other Mary were not present at the Resurrection so Hardman & Co. portrayed them looking at a tree separating two crosses on a hill representing Calvary – the site of Christ's Crucifixion.<sup>152</sup> The *Tree of Jesse* is a symbolic representation of the family of Christ which bears fruit with the blood of his Crucifixion. This can be seen collected in golden chalices by seraphim in the central *predella* panel below.<sup>153</sup> Thus, by the tree forming an allegory for the Crucifixion, the Virgin Mary watches her son's death rather than His Resurrection and the blood-red aura forms the direct link to His family tree of which she is the matriarch.

One of the ways Hardman & Co. traditionally portrayed Our Lady of the Sacred Heart at Her Son's Crucifixion was with hands clasped and face turned towards Him showing 'composure and contained pain.'<sup>154</sup> The army nurse in the *predella* reflects this stance intimately. Like all representations of the Virgin Mary in the English windows at Randwick, the nurse is fair headed. While the cross on her cape could be interpreted as a contemporary reference to Faith, the first of

<sup>149</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 149; Mathé Sheppard, "The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company under the Leadership of John Hardman Powell from 1867 to 1895" (PhD, University of Birmingham, 2007), I: 103. The limitation of space artisans faced in the smaller panels of the East Window was resolved by using dots rather than stars to convey the required radiance of Mary's halo.

<sup>150</sup> A hexafoil is the six-petalled fenestration in the tracery above the main lights of the window.

<sup>151</sup> Sheppard, "The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company," I: 100.

<sup>152</sup> Mary Magdalene is sometimes depicted in red in church windows. In this window she holds a red robe. The third Mary, also absent from the Resurrection, gazes at the tree like the Virgin Mary.

<sup>153</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 39.

<sup>154</sup> Sheppard, "The Stained Glass of John Hardman and Company," I: 43.

the Theological Virtues, the other servicewomen in the predellas bear no evidence of Hope and Charity; an anchor or heart respectively.<sup>155</sup> Her cross leans in a similar fashion to the two crucifixes separated by the *Tree of Jesse*.



**Figure 5.19:** Hardman & Co., *Resurrection Window* (detail), 1950. Author's image.

The cross on the nurse's red cape represented the third and central cross at Calvary, the one upon which Christ died.<sup>156</sup> Someone at Hardman & Co. evidently held an immense respect for the army nurse. Perhaps one of its men experienced the ministrations of the scarlet-caped members of the British, Australian or New Zealand forces during the wars or was aware of the contribution nurses made to the comfort of a loved one during his final hours. By deliberately interconnecting colour and religious symbolism in this window, its designer constructed a complex enigma and made a powerful statement about feminine service and sacrifice during war. Just as a mother watched the anguish of her son as He was crucified, the plain red aura of the Virgin Mary intimately linked the nurse as witness to mankind's suffering during war. The colour of the latter's cape reflected the

<sup>155</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 101.

<sup>156</sup> The four Gospels describing the Crucifixion share a number of commonalities with the three crosses at Calvary being one. It is not uncommon for them to be used in artworks of or related to the Crucifixion. *Ibid.*, 88.

shedding of Christ's blood and allegorised the nurse as a contemporary Virgin Mary in the predella of the *Resurrection Window*.

By locating the subject matter of their windows within the SWPA, Australian and British artisans reflected the immediate threat posed to Australia during World War II. This also represented the space in which members of the AANS died: killed in action on ships; slain by the Japanese upon their surrender and starved, neglected to death or subjected to brutality during internment as POWs. The desire of Australians to recognise the sacrifice of their army nurse was shaped most powerfully by experiences which engaged her intimately in the masculine sphere of battle and its associated outcomes. The death of the army nurse, along with her ability to work coolly under fire, survive a sinking or endure a POW camp endowed members of the AANS with the authentic voice of battle and enabled them to address the Australian public about war-related matters; and the nation listened. As a result, and unlike following World War I, the public call to remember its nurses alongside its men was clear and persistent. Just as the infantryman came to represent the Anzac of civic remembrance, in stained glass the uniform of the AANS prevailed for those who carried the burden of loss for the nation's nursing profession. Just like the serviceman, the nurse was included in the memory of the defence of her country.

The prominence and privilege afforded to the nurse in each window represented a major departure from the lights of World War I where location was used to marginalise her contribution to the war. Unlike the previous conflict, women exerted influence upon these congregational memorials in very overt ways as they emerged as political arbitrators of remembrance. Imperial role models were no longer relevant to the Australian post-war landscape; Ellen Savage and Vivian Bullwinkel filled Cavell's shoes effortlessly. However, it was the memory of war dead colleagues which influenced subject matter of windows funded by women or where a female presence was an accepted part of the local community.<sup>157</sup> In the case of the latter, the privilege accorded to the nurse continued a tradition established by English firms following World War I where colour created an allegorical link with the Virgin Mary. In this case the relationship was a complex one embedded in subtleties of design and symbolism which may, like Waller, have reflected the considerable talent and personal desire of a man who wished to quietly subvert the ideology of his patron or recognise debt of care from the war. A link to the Virgin Mary is also suggested in Radecki's windows. The nurse is dressed in blue rather than grey and holds a snowy white cloth; while representing purity, a spotless

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<sup>157</sup> Several windows to Edith Cavell were installed in the post-war period as private memorials.



towel is also a Christian symbol associated with the Virgin Mary.<sup>158</sup> These three windows continued the imported and local tradition of portraying the army nurse as the *Martial Madonna*.

Finally, the religious space continued to emerge as one in which the wartime memory of those alienated from the powerful public narrative of commemoration could reside. Representing the extension of an established ritual of memory, all three churches looked to the past for inspiration. The size of these lights accommodated a range of figures following World War II; not all were service personnel. Stained glass within a congregational setting, whether managed by an Anglican Dean, parish council or Catholic priest, reveals the propensity to visibly honour those to whom public commemoration offered no space: mothers of those who fought and died; servicewomen; the merchant sailor; and fuzzy-wuzzy angel. Commemorative glass offered some communities an alternative narrative within democratic and supportive structures not bound by the rigid politics of civic remembrance or inflexible masculinity of the AIF and Anzac identities.

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<sup>158</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 182.

## Chapter Six: Telling the truth: the artists' windows of World War II.

(1945-1951)

This chapter analyses the depiction of the army nurse in three windows made by professional artists within six years of World War II ending. These lights contrast profoundly with those made by the trade firms. Rather than an integrated yet static member of the Australian forces, Norman St Clair Carter and M. Napier Waller portrayed the nurse as an active participant of war. Shown tending to the sick and wounded in the jungle of the SWPA, amid the destruction of bomb-ravaged London and on the wards of a military hospital, the nurse progressively assumed more authority and prestige in stained glass.

These windows were at odds with the image of the nurse fed to the nation's public during the war. Analysis of photographs published in Australian newspapers and periodicals during the conflict reveal that the army nurse was presented in a number of guises that did not equate with the role she performed in uniform. Marginalising her contribution during the war, she was presented as both a privileged member of the forces and a figure of authority with no real purpose. This was never more evident than during a retreat of Australian militia in a hostile terrain devoid of women. As a consequence, a new model of wartime carer emerged to fill the void in Australia's press. Re-establishing the Anzac legend in the jungle of New Guinea, Damian Parer's Kokoda footage introduced the Papuan male to the nation's public. The latter quickly assumed the martial mantle of compassion and self-sacrifice while carrying Australia's wounded to safety. Unlike the nurse, he neither contested the masculinity of Australia's fighting men during the war nor their commemorative memory after it.

These three windows demonstrate that, regardless of the identities presented by the media during World War II, the nurse commemorated within them remained inextricably associated with the provision of hands-on care. This chapter examines the factors that influenced Carter and Waller to portray her as the *Caregiver* – actively nursing Australian servicemen – in their windows. In doing so, the artists challenged the boundaries of commemoration by showing a nurse intimately engaged in the performance of war. Waller, in particular, stripped important emblems of masculinity from

servicemen and juxtaposed woman as both their victim and redeemer. By replacing valour and victory with atonement and penitence, other perspectives of compassion and care-giving found refuge in stained glass. The light of Anzac shone just as brightly in his final scheme of contemporary commemorative windows but with a candour seldom, if ever, seen in civic memorialisation.

Examination of Waller's two of World War II windows undertaken in this chapter contributes further scholarship to the historiography of the Hall of Memory's scheme. Executed while Waller completed its lights, the subject matter of all three commissions became inextricably intertwined as the burden of portraying the national memory of war rested heavily on the artist's shoulders. With the inescapable effects of another conflict overwhelming his professional life, Waller battled to honour his contract with the AWM. Chapter Four revealed that *Devotion* embodied many identities in addition to that of the AIF nurse. Analysis of the nurses in the windows of two Melbourne churches shows that they too embodied multiple identities and privileged the women on whom they were modelled as well as a segment of the community omitted from the Anzac legend. Waller was an acclaimed and successful artist but he was equally a master of subversion in the subtlest sense of the art. He manipulated subject matter to suit his agenda rather than that of his patrons as he moved relentlessly towards telling his truth of war in the windows that they commissioned.

### **Nursing an image of the AANS at war (1939-1945)**

Just how did the Australian public view its army nurses during World War II? The image of nursing, defined by Philip and Beatrice Kalisch as 'the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that people have of nurses and nursing' is formed by many factors.<sup>1</sup> The iconography presented by popular culture and mass media, with their broad reach and links to social awareness, public opinion and stereotyping, are particularly powerful in this process.<sup>2</sup> During World War II in Australia, the nurse did not feature in campaigns such as those designed to attract women into the auxiliary services of the Navy, Army and Air Force.<sup>3</sup> There was simply no need as volunteers for the AANS 'far exceeded requirements' for service abroad.<sup>4</sup> As a consequence, Australians could not form an idealised image of their army nurse from such promotions. Recruitment art produced in other countries during World War I contributed to the army nurse's *Angel of Mercy* image within

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<sup>1</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, *The Changing Image of the Nurse*, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth Ford, "Lesbians and Loose Women: Female Sexuality and the Women's Services During World War II," eds. Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Walker, *Medical Services of the RAN and RAAF*, 4: 428.

contemporary scholarship.<sup>5</sup> However, as shown in Chapter Two, its subject matter invariably portrayed a Red Cross nurse and, in Australia, this was a VA rather than a professionally-trained nurse.<sup>6</sup> As such, the visual image of the ministering angel is one that cannot be applied with any confidence to the members of the AANS during World War I. Afterwards, the most publicly visible representations of the AANS – Rayner Hoff’s sculptures on the Anzac Memorial, Hyde Park – presented the army nurse to the Sydney populace as a professional service woman rather than *Good Nurse* to the male military hierarchy. This was not lost on elements of society that acted to subvert her agency (Chapter Two). Perhaps coming closest to the *Angel of Mercy* trope in the Australian context of war was *Centaur* survivor Sister Savage; she was depicted as a radiant aquatic saint in one propaganda poster during 1943 (Chapter Five).

Photography was the primary medium through which the Australian public viewed its army nurse during World War II and her participation was more publicly documented than during the previous conflict. Members of the AANS continued the tradition established by the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF and posed for studio portraits in their uniforms before embarking for service abroad. Thumbnail images of these portraits sometimes appeared in regional newspapers or the society pages of those with a larger circulation as families proudly announced a daughter’s patriotism to immediate and extended communities. Photography was now integral to newspapers and periodicals while cinema newsreels provided another medium by which to regularly view the war and its participants.<sup>7</sup> Official sources – the Department of Information (DoI), the Military History Section and service photographers – along with those working for newspapers at home, generated countless images of the men and women of the Australian forces during the war.<sup>8</sup> Press photographers and cinematographers were not accredited to work in theatres of combat abroad and with the *National Security Act* forbidding publication of photographs without appropriate authority, editors necessarily relied upon censored photographs and footage from the DoI once the 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF embarked.<sup>9</sup> With the censor invariably male and frequently a veteran of World War I, much of the imagery inherent to photographs of the nurse appears driven by masculine perceptions of her along with the politics of censorship.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Kalisch and Kalisch, *The Changing Image of the Nurse*, 49.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid; Holmes, "Day Mothers and Night Sisters," 44.

<sup>7</sup> Boris Trbic, "'The Nightmare of Their Choice': Photographic Dispatches from the Frontline," *Screen Education*, no. 42 (2006): 24.

<sup>8</sup> Prue Torney-Parlicki, "'Grave Security Obligations: The Australian Government's Refusal to Accredite Newspaper Photographers to Combat Areas During the Second World War," *War and Society* 16, no. 1 (1998): 105.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid; *National Security (General) Regulations 1939* (Cth) Statutory Rules No. 37, reg 19.

<sup>10</sup> John Hilvert, *Blue Pencil Warriors* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1984), 42.



**Figure 6.1:** *One of the Girls*. *Advocate*, 23 June 1943, 5. (A9357001, SLV).

From the very start of the conflict, and in hundreds of photographs in newspapers across Australia, the nurse appeared as a member of an elite group of young, mobile women whose company all but excluded those not immediately dependent on her care or subject to her clinical authority. She was portrayed as *One of the Girls* (Figure 6.1). This image reinforced the profession's culture of that of a semi-closed community and validated the public's perception of the nurse occupying a cloistered space in society, even during war.<sup>11</sup> Members of the AANS shown messing, socialising and relaxing together offered Australians a rare glimpse into the private life of the nurse while validating the bonds of military mateship within a feminine context. These images reveal many

dimensions embedded within the nurse's military experience.<sup>12</sup> Three of them – the *Professional Traveller*, *Regimental Nurse* and *Competent Clinician* – extended imagery from the previous war and also confronted contemporary expectations regarding her role. In some cases the nurse's wartime experiences directly influenced the way the press was able to portray her.

As *Professional Traveller*, the nurse accompanied Australia's soldiers on active service and was portrayed as both a *privileged passenger* and *tourist* in the process. The space the nurse occupied on troopships and trains reinforced her standing as middle-class.<sup>13</sup> Photographed gazing down from handrails and gangways or watching men of the 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF board from an upper deck of the vessel they shared, height was used to suggest her position as a *Privileged Passenger* on ships.<sup>14</sup> Later in the war, an unusually intimate photograph revealed the weary nurse sharing her supper with colleagues on a troop train before retiring for the night (Figure 6.2).



**Figure 6.2:** *Professional Traveller: Privileged Passenger*. *Western Mail*, 26 July 1945.

<sup>11</sup> Godden, *Australia's Controversial Matron*, 9; McCalman, *Sex and Suffering*, 151.

<sup>12</sup> Images located on the NLA's Trove database via keyword searches conducted 3-6 November 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Julia Hallam, *Nursing the Image: Media, Culture and Professional Identity* (London: Routledge, 2000), 25.

<sup>14</sup> *News*, 12 February 1940, 15; *Australasian*, 17 February 1940, 18.

The new generation of army nurse shared the same curiosity for the local surroundings as her 1<sup>st</sup> AIF forebear and, with the arrival of the nurse in the Middle East, the *Tourist* soon emerged in the nation's newspapers. Bare-headed, laughing and with their ward uniform hitched-up around their knees, nurses astride donkeys in Gaza (Figure 6.3) expressed a freedom and exuberance far removed from formally-attired and sedate Sisters riding side-saddle on camels during the previous war.<sup>15</sup> Exemplifying the modern woman, and the common sense for which her profession was renowned, the nurse travelled with her Sisters, seeing the sights in a foreign land.<sup>16</sup> Initial imagery of the *Professional Traveller* adhered to the censorship policy of Prime Minister Robert Menzies who perceived its cornerstone as keeping the nation's morale high while denying the enemy information.<sup>17</sup> Extending the golden age of interwar travel, the nurse spun a vicarious thread of glamour into the public's visual experience of going to and experiencing war.



**Figure 6.3:** *Professional Traveller: Tourist*. Damien Parer, Nurses riding donkeys on Gaza Beach. *Chronicle*: 10 June 1940, 6. (AWM 001590).

The military aspect of being on active service was embodied by the *Regimental Nurse*. Just as Hoff's stone nurses on the Anzac Memorial adopted male military behaviour in 1934, their modern incarnation followed suit. Unheard of – or unseen – a generation earlier, the *Regimental Nurse* manifested in two distinct ways. The first – *On Parade* – appeared in late December 1940 when the front page of Adelaide's *News* published a photo of stern-faced nurses marching in formation outside Australian Headquarters in Palestine (Figure 6.4). Its caption declared that the 'Australian

<sup>15</sup> *Mercury*, 10 June 1940, 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Western Mail*: 11 December 1941; 22 and 7 January 1943, 14.

<sup>17</sup> Hilvert, *Blue Pencil Warriors*, 17, 54.

girls can march as well as regular soldiers.<sup>18</sup> Positioning the efforts of the nurse alongside that of her 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF brothers occurred with being *Operationally Prepared*. Australians read that the nurse rose at 0630 hours and was, like the men, subject to daily infantry training and discipline.<sup>19</sup> Undertaking ‘respirator drill for defence against gas,’ nurses standing to attention in steel helmets and gas masks presented a surreal image of war and its realities (Figure 6.5).<sup>20</sup> Involved in withdrawals from Greece and Singapore, the dangers the nurse shared alongside servicemen were conveyed by the presence of the steel helmet in associated photographs. Whether in the Middle East, Europe or the SWPA, she was shown wearing or holding one when the press wished to convey her actual or potential exposure to peril.<sup>21</sup>



**Figure 6.4:** *Regimental Nurse: On Parade.* Gaza Ridge. *News:* 27 December, 1940, (AWM004105).



**Figure 6.5:** *Regimental Nurse: Operationally Prepared.* Nurses of the 2/1<sup>st</sup> CCS, Gaza. Frank Hurley, 1940, *Australasian:* 12 July 1941, 23 (AWM 004106).

Following the disappearance of nurses during the Fall of Singapore, both the *Professional Traveller* and *Regimental Nurse* had their wings clipped. The latter was largely limited to parade duty in military pageantry held in State capitals at home.<sup>22</sup> The censorship policies of Prime Minister John Curtin focussed not only on home front morale but also on preserving Australia’s reputation in the

<sup>18</sup> *News*, 27 December 1940, 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Courier Mail*, 15 March 1940, 14. This story was reported widely by other newspapers across the nation. Nurses who read it must have chuckled: the reporter clearly had little knowledge of the demands of hospital shift work and, for most nurses, rising at 0630 hours meant a sleep-in.

<sup>20</sup> *Australasian*, 12 July 1941, 23.

<sup>21</sup> A truckload a truckload of helmeted Sisters, ‘some wounded by German dive bombers,’ was photographed being transported dockside during the Allied withdrawal from Greece: *ibid*. In Melbourne, a group of smartly-uniformed nurses smiling broadly, grasping helmets and striding confidently towards the camera were photographed following their withdrawal from Singapore: *Argus*, 13 March 1942, 6. In November 1942, and after being withdrawn twice during the Japanese threat, nurses were shown arriving back into New Guinea carrying steel helmets: *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 28 November 1942, 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Argus*: 29 September 1942, 1 and 6 May 1944, 11; *Australasian*: 3 October 1942, 14 and 3 April 1943, 12; *Courier Mail*, 5 May 1945, 3.

eyes of its allies and enemies alike.<sup>23</sup> Nurses wandering unescorted in a foreign land or being involved in the prosecution of war might have led to perceptions that Australia was not doing enough to protect its women or safeguard their femininity. Subsequent images of the nurse tending flower beds planted around tented wards, doing laundry and undertaking other domestic activities helped neutralise any overtly masculine overtones to her service.<sup>24</sup> Her country may have required her to go to war but it was equally important that qualities inherent to making the nurse a good wife and mother be upheld.

Her third dimension, the *Competent Clinician*, located the nurse within the professional environment of health facilities on land or at sea, within Australia or abroad. Australians at home watched what Catherine Speck calls the nurse's 'elevation in status from ministering angels to members of the armed forces' as clinical and environmental conditions in the SWPA brought about dramatic changes in her appearance.<sup>25</sup> By mid-1943, the public were learning that the AANS needed to adopt the grey safari suit as an anti-malaria strategy.<sup>26</sup> However, the ever-practical nurse had recognised the disadvantages of working in a starched uniform when navigating a rigging of guy



**Figure 6.6:** Pared-back AANS uniform. This photo was taken in 1943 but not published until 1945. *Australasian*, 16 June 1945, 16.

ropes and mosquito nets in busy and sometimes tented tropical hospitals in the SWPA. DoI photographs of neat and precisely-aligned beds containing healthy-looking soldiers did not convey the reality of over-flowing wards where patients were nursed on stretchers placed under those occupying the beds above.<sup>27</sup> Starching was abandoned soon after the arrival of the 2/9<sup>th</sup> Australian General Hospital's (AGH's) nurses in Port Moresby. Important professional signifiers – such as collar and cuffs – were discarded while the veil was cut in half and worn as a headscarf in order to facilitate economy of effort while on and off duty (Figure 6.6).<sup>28</sup> Despite hard work and long hours under frequently arduous conditions, the nurse was seldom shown nursing in her primary role as

<sup>23</sup> Hilvert, *Blue Pencil Warriors*, 141-43.

<sup>24</sup> *Australian Women's Weekly*: 24 April 1943, 17 and 4 December 1943, 9.

<sup>25</sup> Speck, *Painting Ghosts*, 27.

<sup>26</sup> *Mail*, 22 May 1943, 11.

<sup>27</sup> For an image of a New Guinea ward, see *Australasian*, 16 June 1945, 16-17. Headrick interview; see also Joan Crouch, *A Special Kind of Service* (Chippendale: Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1986), 70.

<sup>28</sup> Maintaining laundered and starched veil, collar and cuffs was also a virtual impossibility in the humidity of New Guinea: Mary Headrick interview; see also Crouch, *A Special Kind of Service*, 63.



*Caregiver*. She was more frequently depicted as *Sister-in-Charge*. The latter, who occupied a position of clinical authority or expertise and was frequently shown in the company of other nurses or apparently fit, pyjama-clad males, did not deliver hands-on care. Curiously, while this did not reveal evidence of combat through physical compromise or mutilation, it did sometimes attribute to the serviceman an infantile status (Figure 6.7).<sup>29</sup>

Initially, prior to the embarkation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF, photographs of members of the AANS nursing soldiers in local camps were published.<sup>30</sup> Afterwards, and in the absence of images of nurses nursing servicemen, a photograph taken at Ingleburn Camp in 1939 of a nurse bandaging a soldier's arm continued to be used until at least December 1941.<sup>31</sup> Occasionally, photographs of nurses tending to civilians in Northern Australia or a native child in the SWPA surfaced.<sup>32</sup> Up until 1945, only one image of a deployed nurse providing hands-on care to a soldier has been located. Published in several sources from late 1942, it shows a member of the AANS gently washing the face of a healthy convalescing patient who grins bemusedly at the camera from his hospital bed (Figure 6.8).<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 6.7:** *Competent Clinician: Sister-in-Charge*. *Argus*, 16 January 1943, 3. (Argus Newspaper Collection of Photographs, H99.201/954, SLV).



**Figure 6.8:** *Competent Clinician: Caregiver*. *Australian Women's Weekly*, 28 November 1942, 17.

<sup>29</sup> *Mercury*, 5 August 1942, 1; *Australasian*, 16 January 1943, 3.

<sup>30</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1939, 21; *News*, 6 February 1940, 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 27 December 1939, 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Australasian*, 12 July 1941, 3 and 3 July 1943, 5; *Central Queensland Herald*, 8 April 1943, 7.

<sup>33</sup> See also: *Farmer and Settler*, 12 July 1943, 14.

Censorship was the likely the reason for the *Caregiver's* sudden appearance and equally abrupt reassignment to obscurity. Images of wounded soldiers – albeit convalescing ones – had the potential to undermine recruitment, along with the public's confidence in its troops and support for the war.<sup>34</sup> The *Control of Photography Order* expressly forbade the photography of 'any hospital or station at which casualties, whether civil or otherwise, are treated, any ambulance or convoy of injured persons, or any injured persons' without formal written authorisation in pursuance of the Regulation 19 of the *National Security (General) Regulation*.<sup>35</sup> When sanctioned, photographs relating to health facilities invariably showed male patients as hale and hearty. These images not only reassured the public of the continuing strength of the nation's soldiers, they also presented wards as akin to barracks; well-ordered places of male mateship and bonding rather than locations where the violence of war was evidenced. Gwynedd Hunter-Payne writes that the suppression of trauma in the Australian press also affected the visibility of those providing care within military hospitals at home.<sup>36</sup> With the nurse a potent signifier of damaged men, censorship had profound implications upon the press's ability to show her practising in her primary role abroad during the war. As a result, *Caregiver* all but disappeared from Australian print media during World War II. This void was filled after a battle called Kokoda in the latter part of 1942 but it was not by the AANS.

### **The angels of Kokoda**

In the third year of the war a powerful masculine model of compassion emerged in print. The Papuan male – the 'fuzzy-wuzzy angel' – entered the hearts and minds of the Australian public.<sup>37</sup> Photographs of war-injured were seldom published before 18 September 1942. Then, photographic stills from the latter part of official war correspondent Damian Parer's (1912-1944) newsreel *Kokoda front line* (1942), began appearing in newspapers.<sup>38</sup> Described by the *Argus* as containing 'graphic pictures of wounded carried out of the battle line in New Guinea after heavy jungle clashes with the Japanese,' Australian Diggers were shown being borne on makeshift stretchers along steep, mountainous paths by native bearers (Figure 6.9). Parer's images were infused with a gritty spontaneity that communicated the reality of jungle warfare: men gaunt with the strain of battle

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<sup>34</sup> Torney-Parlicki, "'Grave Security Obligations'" 112.

<sup>35</sup> *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 19 August 1941, no. 165, 1827-28.

<sup>36</sup> Gwynedd Hunter-Payne, *Proper Care: Heidelberg Repatriation Hospital 1940s-1990s* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 15.

<sup>37</sup> My father, a man of the 2<sup>nd</sup> AIF who served in New Guinea, always referred to the Papuans as Fuzzy-Wuzzy Angels. See also: Niall Brennan, *Damien Parer: Cameraman* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 123.

<sup>38</sup> *Kokoda front line* was playing in the major capital cities by mid-1942: *Courier Mail*, 18 September 1942, 7; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 September 1942, 7; *Argus*, 22 September 1942, 6.

fighting their way through a tangle of hostile terrain.<sup>39</sup> His immensely popular and critically acclaimed work became part of the enduring Anzac legacy.<sup>40</sup>



**Figure 6.9:** Damian Parer, *Kokoda front line*, 1942. Photographic still. *Argus*, 18 September 1942, 1 (AWM 013255).

The success of Parer's *oeuvre* may have been assisted by its subtle symbolism that evoked the past. The Australians arduous trek across the Owen Stanley's was rich in analogies to the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF. Men followed metaphorically in the footsteps of their martial predecessors: Kokoda's steep, inhospitable terrain and its treacherous mud were akin to that of Gallipoli and the Western Front respectively. The echo of the constant threat to wounded being carried to safety along gullies by a man and his donkey rang in the commitment of Papuan men transporting Australia's war-injured up and down precarious mountain tracks by improvised means. Like Gallipoli, terrain emerged as both a substitute enemy and sacred ground to which women were again excluded. Men battled the environment and the elements together with mateship emerging the victor. The censor, rather than perceiving the men in these images as a national liability, located a spent force and its wounded as the heroic heirs to the Anzac spirit. They also communicated eloquently to the Australian public the immediate threat an advancing enemy presented. Editors greeted Parer's stills and subsequent photographs with enthusiasm and published them widely.

<sup>39</sup> See the final minutes of Damian Parer, *Kokoda front line!* (DOI: Cinesound Review No 568, 1942), digitised newsreel, AWM F01582.

<sup>40</sup> Neil McDonald, "Parer, Damian Peter (1912-1944)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 15: 567.

Parer was well aware of the power of his work to connect with the past. ‘These jungle hardships make me think of what our men must have endured in the mud and slush of the French winters in the last war,’ he wrote in late 1942.<sup>41</sup> ‘As far as film is concerned ... it should be possible to follow, in a faltering way, in [Will] Dyson’s footsteps’ he mused, referring to the war artist’s 1917 Somme sketchbook.<sup>42</sup> A subsequent Cinesound newsreel – *Frontline at Salamaua* (1943) – again featured wounded being carried along jungle tracks by loyal Papuans while tenacious mud sucked at the feet of gaunt-faced servicemen.<sup>43</sup> In it, a tall blinded soldier being assisted across a stream by a mate remains, arguably, the defining image of Australia’s involvement in the SWPA: draped in a ground sheet, eyes swathed in bandages, arm in a sling and a cigarette drooping laconically from his lips, Private William Johnson appears as a wounded knight encapsulating the nobility of the Sons of Anzac.<sup>44</sup>

Parer’s authority allowed him to show the wounded. He made *Nurses in New Guinea* the same year.<sup>45</sup> Filmed at the 2/9<sup>th</sup> AGH, Port Moresby, members of the AANS move purposefully amid beds carrying large, covered dressing trays. Touch and eye contact wordlessly communicate reassurance and comfort to Australian and native men hospitalised with a range of wounds as nurses skilfully perform care. Parer captured *Caregiver* in all her glory. However, *Nurses in New Guinea* was not a stand-alone newsreel, nor did it feature in *Assault on Salamaua*. It may have appeared in other cinema-based war footage but, if so, it did not receive the public acclaim of the aforementioned films.<sup>46</sup> In August 1943, and while Waller’s windows at the AWM languished in limbo, the front page of Hobart’s *Mercury* redefined the quality the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF nurse would become associated with in the national memorial seven years later. Publishing a photo of native bearers transporting a wounded Digger to a hospital located four days away, its one-word banner simply read ‘DEVOTION’ (Figure 6.10).



**Figure 6.10:** “Devotion.”  
*Mercury*, 27 August 1943.

<sup>41</sup> Damian Parer, "Shooting the War," *SALT: Australian Army Journal* 5, no. 10 (1943): 5.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>43</sup> This image can also be seen in Damian Parer, *Assault on Salamaua* (Dol: silent footage, 1943), digitised newsreel, AWM F01866.

<sup>44</sup> AWM 127971.

<sup>45</sup> Damian Parer, *Nurses in New Guinea* (Dol: silent footage, 1943), AWM F01817.

<sup>46</sup> McDonald, "Parer, Damian Peter (1912-1944)," 15: 567.

### **Painting with light after the pall of war**

It is perhaps surprising that, given the absence of *Caregiver* from the public gaze during World War II, three windows commissioned between 1946 and 1950 portrayed the nurse intimately involved in the care of its wounded. Probably not as unexpected, given the propensity for stained glass to act as a conduit for those whose memory could not be channelled through civic commemorative discourses, was the appearance of the Papuan male in stained glass. In John Radecki's commemorative light at St Augustine's, Merewether, he appeared behind the male military grouping (Figure 5.12). Static and subordinate, the fuzzy-wuzzy angel did not contest the presence or the primacy of the Anzac legacy. However, Waller positioned the Papuan male as an active participant in war, the allegorical Good Samaritan of battle, in both of his World War II commemorative lights featuring service personnel.<sup>47</sup>

The churches in which these three windows were installed shared other similarities. All enjoyed levels of affluence which made raising funds or finding benefactors for their commemorative lights a relatively easy affair. The Presbyterian Church of St Andrew in the Canberra suburb of Barton was the national church of the faith. In Melbourne, the Anglican Parish of St Peter's, Eastern Hill, served the parliamentary fringe of the city's central business district while St Stephen's Church of England, Gardenvale, was located adjacent to the fashionable beachside suburb of Brighton. As such, an architect or rector could recommend or commission an artist with certainty that their higher fees would be accommodated.

Stained glass artists Norman Carter (1875-1963) and Napier Waller were colleagues (Figure 6.11). The senior by eighteen years, Carter appears to have started writing to Waller after both entered portraits for the 1932 Archibald Prize.<sup>48</sup> Waller spent time with the older artist in his studio at 76 Pitt Street, Sydney, at the end of 1938, and the two men subsequently exchanged pleasantries and artistic advice via post until Carter's death in 1963.<sup>49</sup> Waller maintained a polite distance, sometimes taking years to respond to Carter's letters, and frequently filled them with gentle flattery for the aging artist. Unlike the competitive and often cut-throat world of the trade firms, Australia's stained glass artists shared one of apparent collegiality: with one artist per State on the eastern seaboard, they could afford to be magnanimous.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Other stained glass artists also referenced the fuzzy-wuzzy angel in their war windows.

<sup>48</sup> *Brisbane Courier*, 6 February 1932, 6; Herbert E. Badham, *A Study of Australian Art* (Sydney: Currawong Publishing Co, 1949), 103.

<sup>49</sup> Waller to Carter, 18 January 1939, ML MSS471/1. This visit appears to have coincided with Waller's visit to the AWM's Sydney-based architect in late 1938 to negotiate the change of the Hall of Memory's windows from lunettes to their extant design: AWM 170 1/39.

<sup>50</sup> ML MSS471/1. Brisbane stained glass artist William 'Bill' Bustard was also part of this coterie.

Carter had, like Waller, received a classical art education in Victoria.<sup>51</sup> Unlike Waller, he was first indentured to the firm of Hughes, Rogers & Co., Melbourne, after the 1890s depression robbed his family of their comfortable middle-class existence. After completing his trade he moved to Sydney with his family but, on the advice and with the support of artist Hugh Ramsay, he returned to Melbourne and enrolled in full-time studies at the National Gallery Art School, Melbourne.<sup>52</sup> Whereas Waller thrived under L. Bernard Hall's tutorage, Carter did not. Finding Hall 'a cold though capable man [who] chilled me to the marrow,' he left to continue his studies at the Melbourne Art School under E. Phillips

Fox.<sup>53</sup> Stained glass supported him and a growing family until Carter established himself as a portraitist in Sydney and it remained a favourite medium for the rest of his life.<sup>54</sup> Unlike Waller, Carter did not maintain a glass studio. While he designed and generally painted his windows, he relied on firms to cut, fire and assemble them.<sup>55</sup> This was likely due to an inability to identify with the aggressive masculinities of the factory floor he experienced as an apprentice, a lack of funds following completion of his formal art studies and his dominant identity as a portraitist.

Patrons who commissioned an artist for their stained glass did so knowing they were engaging a professional with a philosophical as well as applied knowledge of their art. Yet artists frequently experienced prescriptive interference when designing and executing a window, more so than for other media on which they might practise. Patrons, despite their hindrance in this process, nevertheless expected something 'special' from their artist. The variation-on-a-theme designs frequently churned out by the firms – the equivalent of the generic stonemasons' soldier for the



**Figure 6.11:** Harold Cazneaux, *Norman St Clair Carter*, 1924. Photograph. nla.pic-an2383946-2-v.

<sup>51</sup> Frances Lindsay, "Carter, Norman St Clair," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1979), 7: 584.

<sup>52</sup> ML MSS471/5.

<sup>53</sup> Carter to Fred Coldwell-Smith, 26 November 1957, ML MSS600.

<sup>54</sup> ML MSS471/5 and Carter to Fred Coldwell-Smith, 26 September 1954, ML MSS600.

<sup>55</sup> Initially he used Tarrant & Co.: Stained Glass Works, Sydney, until the death of its principal in 1929. He then used Standard Glass Studios, Concord, until his death in 1963: ML MSS471/5. While able to cut glass, Waller also relied on artisans to cut and lead his glass.

local World War I war memorial – were the very thing they wished to avoid.<sup>56</sup> For Carter and Waller, World War II offered a new way of exploring remembrance in stained glass. As shown in Chapter Five, the Crucifixion – the basis of the Christian belief in rebirth and redemption – remained the traditional way to express congregational grief within the ritual of the World War II commemorative window. The death of the nurse at the hands of the enemy and her experiences in POW camps meant female sacrifice now needed to be accommodated within the symbolism of what were previously male domains of war. As a result, both artists found a way to animate the army nurse from static bystander to an active and integral participant in war in the windows they created.

### **A Father's grief: St Andrew's, Barton (1946-48)**

With the resumption of peace in 1945, and like the AWM, St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Barton, contained an incomplete commemorative space for the previous war. Reverend John Walker was tasked to build the Presbyterians' national church in 1926 and was appointed its first minister twelve months later.<sup>57</sup> Walker had, like Horace Crotty and George Merrick Long, served as an AIF chaplain during World War I and he too incorporated a Warriors' Chapel into the church that he raised (Chapter Three). Like his Anglican brothers, he also shunned sectarian biases. In 1928 Walker announced that while the Chapel formed a 'Presbyterian memorial to all soldiers who suffered and died in the cause of liberty ... [it] embraces all denominations like the army of which its members were units.'<sup>58</sup> Walker's wartime ministry was limited to men in the Ballarat Camp when, in 1917 and for 'one voyage only', the sixty-one year-old padre served as a troopship chaplain.<sup>59</sup> Despite never seeing battle, its scars remained with him for the rest of his life. The head of a patriotic family, five of his children donned the khaki or grey and scarlet of the AIF. Three of his four sons were killed in action.<sup>60</sup> St Andrew's Warriors' Chapel embodied a father's grief as well as that of his faith.

The Great Depression of the 1930s brought St Andrew's construction to a halt and in 1942 the debt remaining on the partially-built Church amounted to a substantial £17,000.<sup>61</sup> The emotional significance of its Warriors' Chapel meant that, like those at Newcastle and Bathurst, the space was located close to the Church's high altar and so it was structurally complete when the build was

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<sup>56</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 154-55.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Withycombe, "Walker, John (1855-1941)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1990), 12: 363.

<sup>58</sup> *Canberra Times*, 12 July 1928, 1.

<sup>59</sup> NAA: B2455, WALKER JOHN.

<sup>60</sup> Withycombe, "Walker, John (1855-1941)," 12: 363.

<sup>61</sup> *New South Wales Presbyterian*, April 29, 1942, 16.

suspended. However, Walker never saw it in its splendour. In 1941, when he died, the Chapel was furnished in a piecemeal fashion and its four massive lights and tracery lay dormant, their plain diamond quarries gently spilling light into the sacred but unornamented space below.<sup>62</sup>

When completion of the St Andrew's Warriors' Chapel recommenced in June 1945, the religious barricades breached in some churches after the previous conflict had been refortified. Sacrifice was reclaimed as the prerogative of a faith rather than the experience of men who had witnessed its meaning on the battlefield. Sectarian tensions demanded that the memory of a second generation of Presbyterian war dead be accommodated.<sup>63</sup> As the faith's national house of worship, the engagement of an artist rather than a trade firm to execute the commemorative window for its south transept aligned the space's importance with that of the Hall of Memory where Waller was undertaking its scheme of fifteen lights. Carter was commissioned to execute the Chapel's window.

It is unlikely that Carter relied heavily upon the 'excellent design' that the St Andrew's Session (the equivalent of a parish council) sent him in April 1946.<sup>64</sup> Finding this a particularly vexing aspect of working with glass, the artist believed that 'if I made it [the window] like the drawings [patrons supply] I would be damned.'<sup>65</sup> Carter resented the meetings, disturbances and infractions patrons imposed upon him over their windows; they distracted him from the joy of the medium.<sup>66</sup> He diplomatically reassured the Session that 'certain alterations' to its design were required and submitted a draft of his window to them in March 1947. Subject to amendments, a design followed two months later and was subsequently approved (Figure 6.12).<sup>67</sup> However, variations between his design and the extant window suggest that, for Carter, disturbances and infractions were a feature of this commission.

Carter's design recognised the two major theatres in which Australians fought and died. The absence of architecture evocative of the Middle East in the window, along with the two men in desert attire in the right lights, reveals the primary appeal of the SWPA to the Session. Aspects of the medical grouping in the lower left of the window appear inspired by Parer's Kokoda imagery, though a number of subsequent revisions to the design diminished some of the symbolism Carter intended to convey. Ironically, these amendments established the nurse as the exemplar of martial

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 1. Images of the Church prior to the completion of the Warriors' Chapel show the south window glazed with leaded quarries (diamonds) of opaque glass.

<sup>63</sup> *New South Wales Presbyterian*, 10 December 1948, 14

<sup>64</sup> Session Minutes (October 1926-October 1952), 23 April 1946, St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Barton (SAPCB).

<sup>65</sup> Carter to Fred Coldwell-Smith, 13 October 1953, ML MSS 600.

<sup>66</sup> Carter to Coldwell-Smith: 31 October 1953; 2 December 1954; and 3 August 1958, ML MSS 600.

<sup>67</sup> Session Minutes (October 1926-October 1952), 18 March 1947 and 30 May 1947, SAPCB.



caregiving during World War II, a public image not supported in photographs published during the conflict.

In the central left light, a soldier crouches to grasp the handles of a stretcher upon which a wounded colleague sits. A Regimental Medical Officer (RMO) rests his hand on the shoulder of the latter (Figure 6.13). Made of bamboo and a blanket, the improvised nature of the stretcher referenced the loyalty and bravery of the Papuan men who carried Australia's wounded. Carter was not averse to the inclusion of the native bearer in his commemorative lights as a sketch for another of his windows shows a fuzzy-wuzzy angel kneeling in its right light (Figure 6.14). Subsequent amendments to the St Andrew's design saw the stretcher changed to an army issue model and the serviceman carrying it assigned the status of medic rather than that of mate; the Red Cross brassard was reassigned from the RMO to him and the former 'promoted' a senior staff officer. This change offers an insight into the politics of commemorative glass at St Andrew's.

In November 1947, and with work underway on the lights, the Canberra Executive of the Presbyterian Church ordered the St Andrew's Board of Management to halt progress on its window.<sup>68</sup> Sentimentality was best avoided when the Church still owed a considerable debt on St Andrew's. Disappointment ensued and a national appeal was arranged.<sup>69</sup> Doctor Mervyn Holmes, who had earlier stepped forward to guarantee the window's £1,350, plus installation, now provided the funds to placate Church hierarchy.<sup>70</sup> Holmes, a church elder, decorated World War I veteran and staff officer during the more recent conflict, had earlier announced the theme of the window: 'the Risen Christ ... and a verse from [*O Valiant Hearts*,' a popular World War I hymn that featured in the dedications of the Newcastle and Bathurst Warriors' Chapels two decades earlier.<sup>71</sup> It is likely that the changes to the stretcher and medic were influenced by the authority imbued by Holmes' generosity. These would have been based on his memories as a young doctor – an RMO – in the trenches rather than those of a medical advisor – and senior staff officer – on General Macarthur's headquarters during World War II.<sup>72</sup> It is likely the officer standing behind the wounded man represents Holmes and his generosity in facilitating the window's execution.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Board of Management Minutes (September 1945-March 1949), 11 and 24 November 1947, SAPCB.

<sup>69</sup> Board of Management Minutes (September 1945-March 1949), 11 November 1947 and 4 December 1947, SAPCB.

<sup>70</sup> Board of Management Minutes (September 1945-March 1949), 12 August 1947 and 4 December 1947, SAPCB.

<sup>71</sup> Board of Management Minutes (September 1945-March 1949), 27 September 1945, SAPCB; *Canberra Times*, 19 November 1947, 2; Order of Service: Dedication of the Chapel of St Michael (Warriors' Chapel), Newcastle Cathedral: A6137(IV), ADNA; "Form and Order of the Consecration of the Cathedral Church of All Saints in Bathurst and the Dedication of the Chapel of St Michael & St George (The Warriors' Chapel)", 51, ADBA.

<sup>72</sup> *Canberra Times*, 6 February 1965, 12.

<sup>73</sup> Additionally, the colour of the gorget patches the figure wears on his collar and his hat band is that associated with the Medical Corps.

An iconic image to emerge from World War II was that of a bare-chested soldier, his lower torso covered by a blanket and his cigarette being lit by a Salvation Army officer (Figure 6.15). Appearing in *Kokoda front line*, it was also published as a photographic still and has since been interpreted as a deliberate evocation of Christ's Descent from the Cross by the staunchly Catholic Parer.<sup>74</sup> For an artist well-versed in the language of religious allegory, this symbolism would have been self-evident to Carter. In the artist's design, the bare-chested soldier sitting on a stretcher, his lower torso covered by a blanket, appears derivative of Parer's Descended Christ. This reference was subsequently fortified in the window with the addition of hair commensurate to that of the latter. By extending the soldier's left arm, Carter bisected the form of the senior staff officer standing behind and established the wounded man as its focus. By reaching out to the Risen Christ in the sky above, Carter's Descended Christ indicates his own ascent to heaven. Whereas most commemorative windows depicted the Crucifixion as the allegorical reference to man's suffering and sacrifice during war, the artist combined elements of the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension into one sweeping tableau.

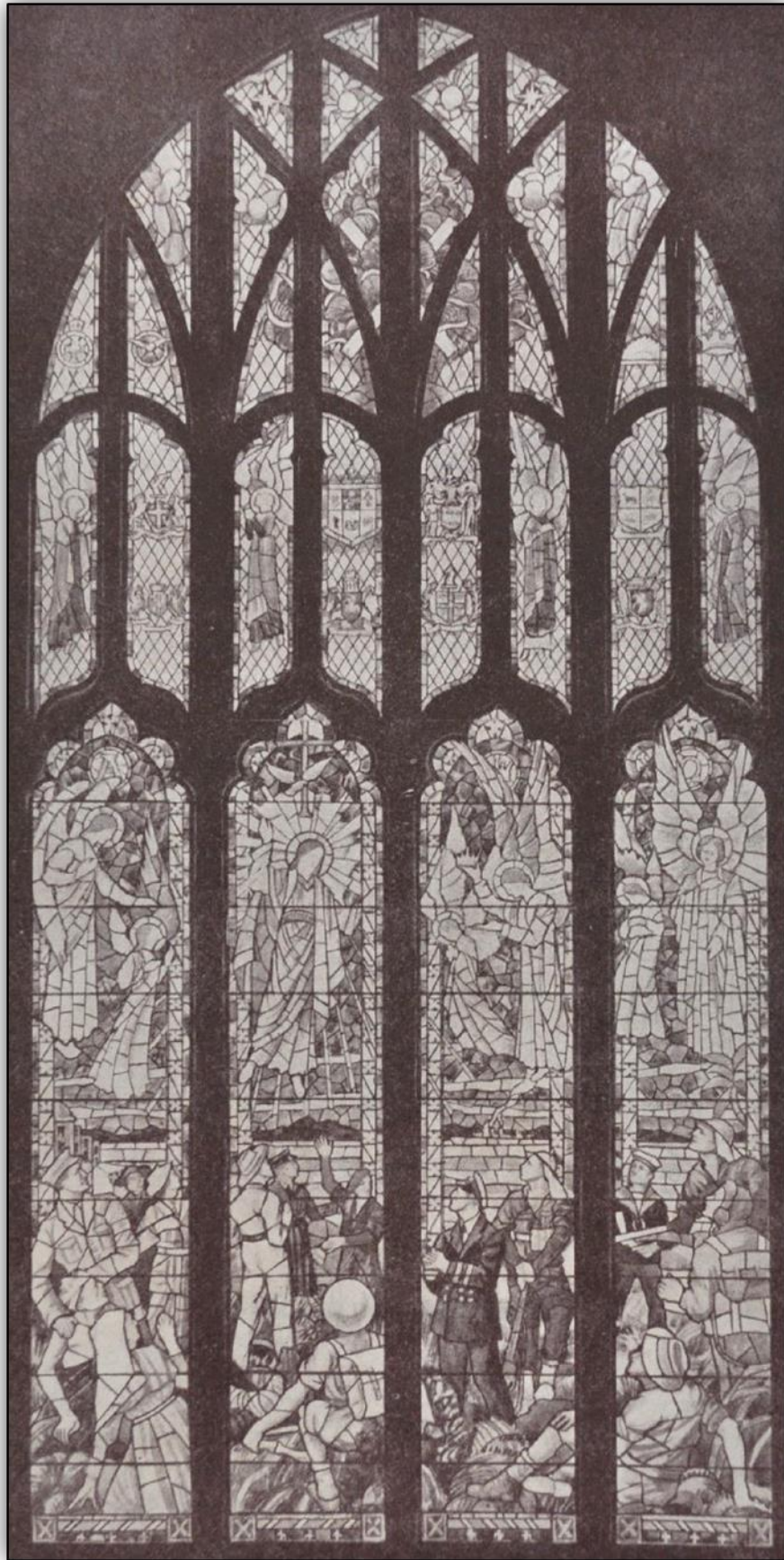
While European influences were still recognised as prevailing in architectural design and art across the nation at the beginning of the 1940s, Carter belonged to a select group of Australian artists who 'energetically advocated the use of Australian themes ... in murals, stained glass' and other applications of their art.<sup>75</sup> As a fervent disciple of the local art world, he was Life Vice-President of the Society of Artists and maintained correspondence and spent time with a wide range of his colleagues.<sup>76</sup> The absence of stigmata on the Risen Christ's hands and feet suggests a literal rather than religious rebirth of man. Perhaps Carter was acknowledging the resurrection of Anzac in the legacy of a fellow artist's work.

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<sup>74</sup> *Daily News*, 25 September 1942, 5; Neil McDonald, *War Cameraman: The Story of Damien Parer* (Port Melbourne: Lothian, 1994), 157, 158.

<sup>75</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 1940, 9. Australia's other stained glass artists, Napier Waller and William Bustard, were also recognised in this grouping.

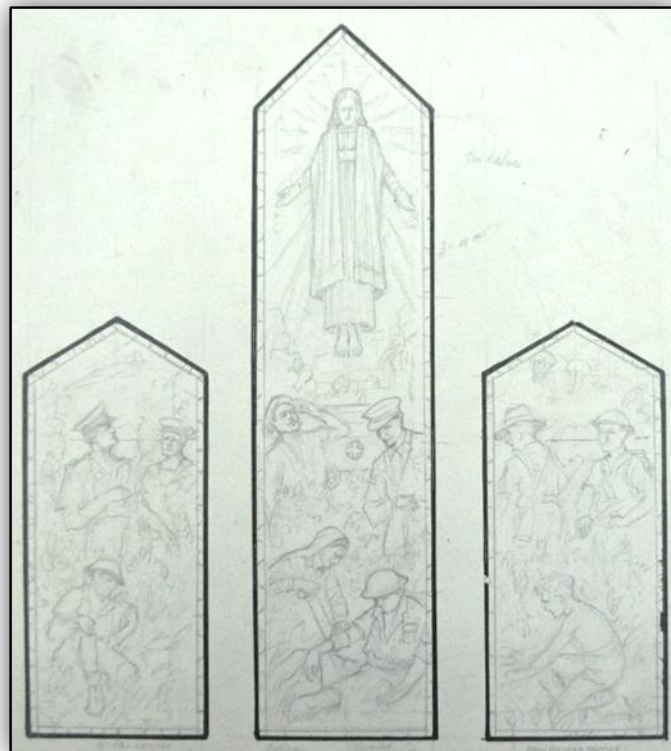
<sup>76</sup> Badham, *A Study of Australian Art*, 103. ML MSS471/1 reveals correspondence from a veritable who's-who of the Australian art world.



**Figure 6.12:** Norman St Clair Carter, Design of Memorial Window for St Andrew's Warriors' Chapel (detail), 1947. Fundraising pamphlet, Author's personal collection.



**Figure 6.13:** Norman St Clair Carter, *St Andrew's Warriors' Chapel Memorial Window* (detail), 1948. Stained glass. Author's image.



**Figure 6.14:** Norman St Clair Carter, Conceptual sketch for commemorative light, undated. Location not known. Pencil on paper. ML PX\*D 230, Item 23.



**Figure 6.15:** Damian Parer, *Kokoda front line*, 1942. Photographic still. *Daily News*, 25 September 1942, 5 (AWM 013287).

The nurse benefited enormously from the amendments to the design. Like Rayner Hoff's 1<sup>st</sup> AIF nurse in the bas-relief on the eastern façade of Sydney's Anzac Memorial, the RMO initially occupied a position of medical superiority over her through his direct contact with the patient and position of clinical and physical dominance. This was an image of the AANS which, like the fuller skirt of her uniform, was recycled directly from World War I. The RMO's promotion to staff officer removed him from a clinical field role to an administrative one within headquarters and repositioned the nurse as principal care provider in the jungle setting. She assumed the role of *Sister-in-Charge* with the hands-on *Caregiver* alluded to by the dressings recently applied to her patient's wounds before being awe-struck by Christ's appearance in the sky above.

Carter used the nurse for an additional purpose. She fulfilled the role of an allegorical Virgin Mary but in a more complex manner than previously undertaken in commemorative windows. Following his Descent from the Cross, several books of the New Testament refer to Christ's body being wrapped in linen.<sup>77</sup> In religious art He is commonly portrayed sitting or lying during the entombment process and in the presence of the Three Marys of the Cross.<sup>78</sup> Bandages became substitutes for linen wrappings and the nurse and two servicewomen – who appear in design and window respectively – symbolised the religious women. Additionally, the Virgin Mary shown

<sup>77</sup> Matthew 27:59; Mark: 15:46; Luke: 23:53; John 19:40.

<sup>78</sup> Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 93.

grieving beside the body of her son, the *Pietà*, was suggested by nurse's proximity to her patient.<sup>79</sup> While allegorising the nurse as the Mother of Christ was nothing new, extending the period of the Crucifixion past that of the immediate death of Christ and involving her in it was. Carter had given the 'stone soldier' of stained glass a thorough shaking. Down south in Melbourne, Waller sent it smashing to the ground.

### **Devoted to his cause: St Peter's, Eastern Hill (1946-49)**

In December 1946, and while Carter was designing the St Andrew's lights, Waller was approached to execute a commemorative window for St Peter's Church of England, Eastern Hill, Melbourne.<sup>80</sup> Vicar Farnham Maynard, a supporter of the arts, commissioned another window soon after Waller completed the Church's *Centenary Memorial Window* that same year (Figure 6.16, see also figure 5.11).<sup>81</sup> It was felt that having its two large transept windows 'executed by the same artist for best artistic effect and the need to commence the Memorial not too long after the events commemorated' was in the best interests of all concerned.<sup>82</sup> Waller accepted the commission but cautioned Maynard that, with his work on the AWM about to recommence in earnest, he would be unable to undertake the window until 1948-49, a condition the Vicar accepted without hesitation.<sup>83</sup>

During the war, and with the treatment of the Hall of Memory in abeyance, Waller accepted private commissions to make ends meet. In October 1945, and following the completion of St Peter's *Centenary Memorial Window*, he informed the Director of the AWM, John Treloar, that he was completing the last of these commissions and would accept no new work. However, sixteen months later, and after Treloar finally coaxed his artist back onto the Memorial's windows, Waller continued to quietly accept private work.<sup>84</sup> St Peter's *War Memorial Window*, along with four other commissions executed contemporaneously with that of the AWM, financed Waller's studio and augmented the completion of the Hall of Memory lights in the period following World War II.

Post-war inflation made the artist's 1940 contract with the AWM impossible to honour. Waller's fee per square foot doubled and while the glass for the Hall of Memory was purchased during the

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

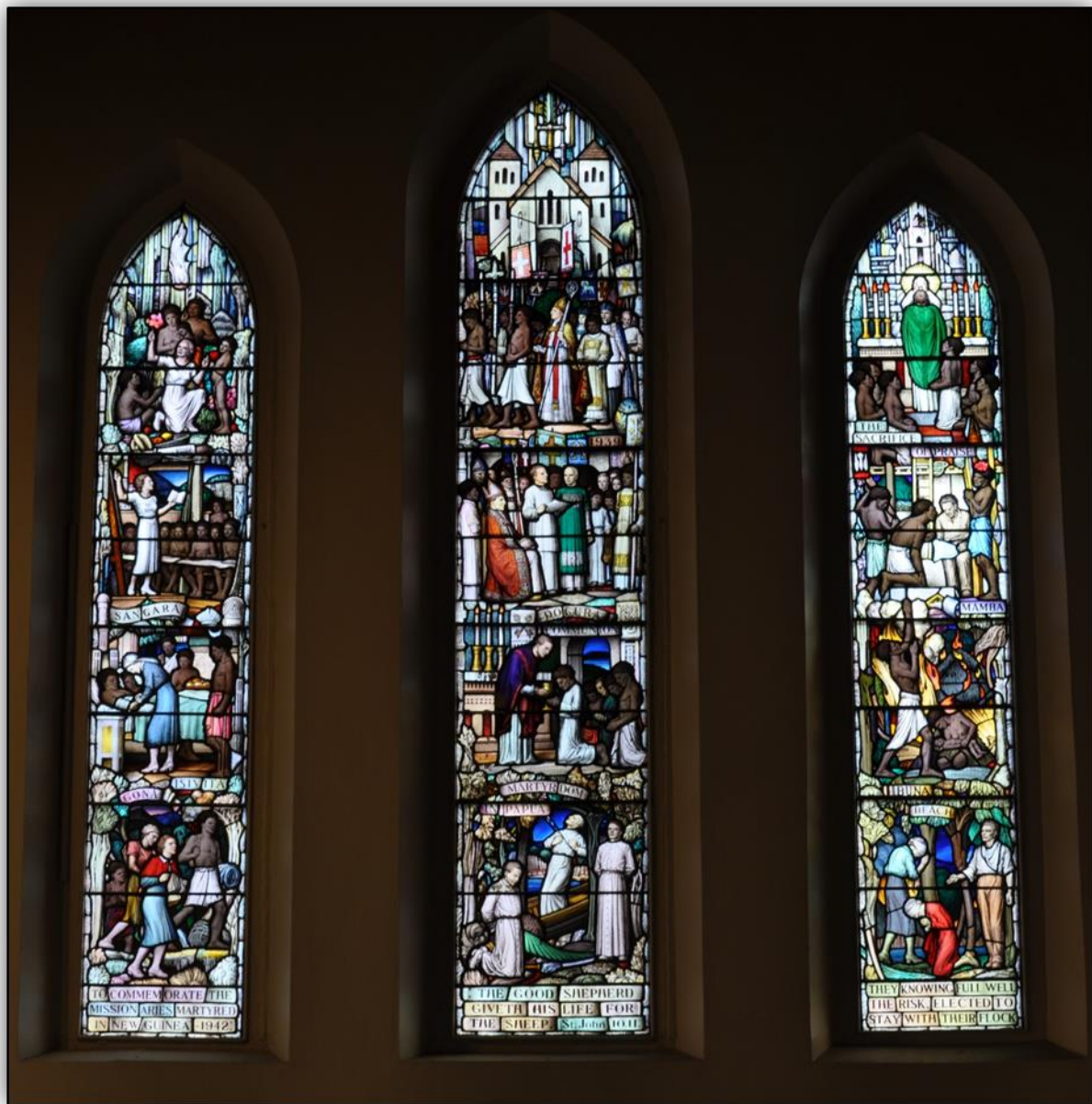
<sup>80</sup> Farnham Maynard to Waller, 12 December 1946, St Peter's Anglican Church Archives (SPACA), Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* Albert B. McPherson, "Maynard, Farnham Edward (1882-1973)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. John Ritchie (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 15: 340.

<sup>82</sup> Vestry Minutes (1946-1960), 10 December 1946, SPACA.

<sup>83</sup> Waller to Maynard, [11] April 1947; Maynard to Waller, 15 April 1947, Correspondence, SPACA.

<sup>84</sup> File note (Treloar), 12 October 1945; Treloar to Leslie Bowles, 8 March 1947: AWM315 234/005/005/01.



**Figure 6.16:** M. Napier Waller, *Centenary Memorial Window*, 1946. North transept, St Peter's Eastern Hill. Also known as the *New Guinea Martyrs' Window*. Author's image.

conflict, cartoons still needed to be designed, lead purchased and a glass cutter, leader and glazier employed to progress the windows to installation.<sup>85</sup> Only two days of an eighty-hour week were spent working on the Hall's windows; the rest of the time Waller committed to generating an income.<sup>86</sup> The artist had resigned from the Melbourne Working Men's College in late 1937 – no doubt to commit time to the AWM commission – and caring for a chronically ill wife further contributed to his financial burdens.<sup>87</sup> Finally, in February 1949 and with St Peter's *War Memorial Window* installed, the artist reluctantly wrote to Treloar requesting a variation to his contract. Waller was physically and emotionally spent. The Memorial's Board agreed to his request but, subject to government bureaucracy, the issue took over two years to resolve. His relentless schedule continued until April 1951 when, eleven months after its windows were installed, the AWM finally paid him an additional £3135.<sup>88</sup> Private commissions continued to keep him and the Memorial scheme, afloat. Eastern Hill's *War Memorial Window* was the second of these commissions.<sup>89</sup>

Vicar Maynard had a clear conception of what he wanted expressed in a window intended to commemorate those from his Parish who fell in the war. He instructed Waller to 'depict servants of God from different centuries, selected because of the different ways in which they served... treated in twelve panels ... and that each should not only show some saint or hero, but show him in action of a characteristic kind.'<sup>90</sup> He kept in regular contact with Waller, exchanging ideas for the lights via letters and meetings until design work formally commenced in June 1948. A colour drawing of the window was presented to Council following month.<sup>91</sup> At this time, Waller was also painting the lights of the West Window of the Hall of Memory.<sup>92</sup> Analysis of the St Peter's window reveals that its central lower panel is, like the West Window, replete with dualities and allegory that relate not only to the religious context, but also to the artist's life. The nurse again featured as an integral part of both.

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<sup>85</sup> Contract between AWM and Napier Waller, 29 August 1940, AWM315 234/005/013. Like Carter, Waller only designed and painted his windows. As professional artists, cutting and leading glass were not an effective use of their time, more so given Waller's disability but the latter could cut glass if required.

<sup>86</sup> Walter Beaumont to Treloar, 26 May 1948, AWM315 234/005/007; Waller to Treloar, 17 October 1948 and 10 February 1949: AWM315 234/005/003.

<sup>87</sup> *Age*, 23 November 1937, 10. Maynard frequently enquired about Mrs Waller's health and her 'progress towards recovery' in correspondence with Waller: Maynard to Waller, 12 December 1946 and 7 April 1947: Correspondence, SPACA.

<sup>88</sup> The windows were installed in May 1950. Waller wrote to Treloar acknowledging receipt of the cheque and thanking him for his help in April the following year. Anderson to Waller, 19 May 1950; Waller to Treloar, 9 April 1951: AWM315 234/005/003.

<sup>89</sup> Draffin, *The Art of Napier Waller*, 12. *The Crucifixion*, at St John's Church of England, Heidelberg, was created first. Waller refers to 'A long standing promise' to the priest of St John's to prepare a sketch for the Crucifixion in his correspondence with Maynard. See Waller to Maynard: (11) April 1947, Correspondence, SPACA.

<sup>90</sup> Maynard to Waller, 12 December 1946, Correspondence, SPACA.

<sup>91</sup> Vestry Minutes (1946-1960), 8 June and 13 July 1948, SPACA.

<sup>92</sup> Correspondence between Waller and Treloar discussing the complexities of colour and light reveal that the West Window was executed between September 1947 and October 1948: AWM315 234/005/003.



### Art imitates life ... again

Waller executed the first memorial form in Australia where a military nurse was depicted as an independent *Caregiver*. However, her patient was not a serviceman. Under a night sky and amongst the chaos of war, she cares for a stricken civilian (Figure 6.17).<sup>93</sup> In the cartoon, the nurse's veil is gathered behind her head. This was a practice Waller likely observed while in hospital in France during 1917 but one not easily achieved with the stiffly-starched veil of World War II.<sup>94</sup> Blacking out the tail of the nurse's headwear in the window changed it to the modified veil worn by military nurses, including the RAAFNS, in New Guinea (Figure 6.18).<sup>95</sup> Dressed in a smoke-stained uniform and with St Paul's Cathedral, London, silhouetted before a blazing night sky, this panel – commemorating the RAAF – should have contained the first depiction of an Air Force nurse on a memorial form. However, it is not the royal blue of the RAAFNS cape that the devoted nurse used to cushion her patient's head but one of AANS scarlet. It appears that Waller drew on his own experience of war and simply, like the greater Australian public, associated the army nurse as the paradigm of nursing service during World War II (Chapter Five).

Further analysis of this panel reveals significant parallels with the lights of the AWM. Like the windows of the Hall of Memory, a nurse was located as a central focus and, like *Devotion*, Waller allegorised her as the Virgin Mary. The artist divided the lights into pictorial panels portraying stories of significant Anglican saints from ancient times to church heroes of the recent past. The Crucifixion occupied the central half of the central light. The Other Mary, clad in red, kneels at the base of the Cross while Mary Magdalene, in violet robes, stands behind.<sup>96</sup> The Mother of Christ is curiously absent from this scene although her presence is implied by a blue background falling – with rivulets of Christ's blood – like a curtain of rain around him.<sup>97</sup> Like Carter, Waller introduced complexity into the allegory with which he framed the army nurse's presence as the Virgin Mary by also extending the period following the Crucifixion. When Treloar advised the Melbourne-based artist of the dedication of Carter's *St Andrew's Warriors' Chapel Memorial*

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<sup>93</sup> *Australian Church Quarterly*, 30 September 1949, 4.

<sup>94</sup> Rayner Hoff's internal bas-relief of the nurse resting against the seated Sister's knees in Sydney's Anzac Memorial also wears her veil tethered behind her head.

<sup>95</sup> RAAF Directorate of Public Relations, *Victory Roll: The Royal Australian Air Force in Its Sixth Year of War* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1954), 50.

<sup>96</sup> Violet is another colour sometimes associated with Mary Magdalene in her role as a penitent: Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 152.

<sup>97</sup> Unusually for an Anglican window, the Crucifixion shows blood issuing from Christ's wounds. This reflects the High Church and conservative influences of St Peter's at the time. I am grateful to the Reverend Andrew Sempell for his advice on this matter.

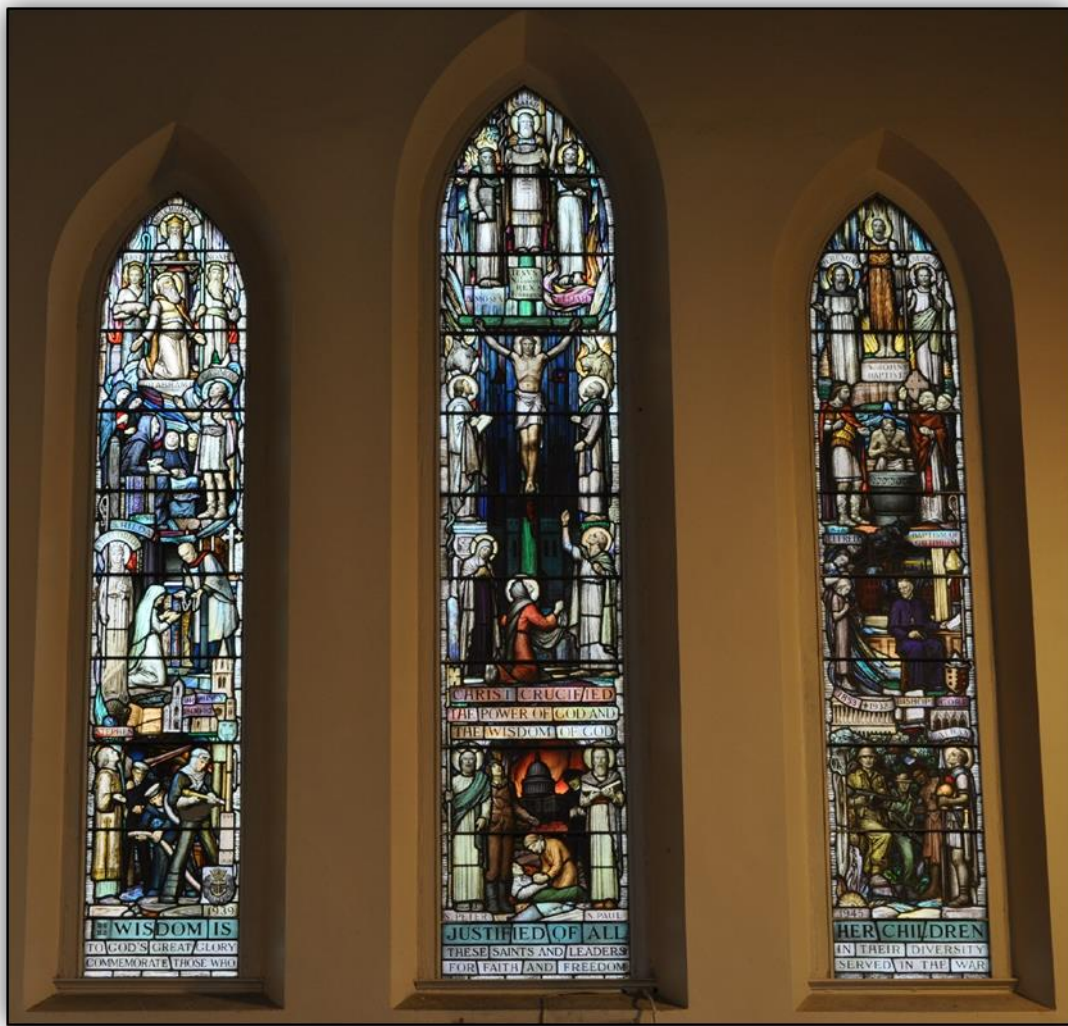


Figure 6.17: M. Napier Waller, *St Peter's War Memorial Window*, 1949. Author's image.

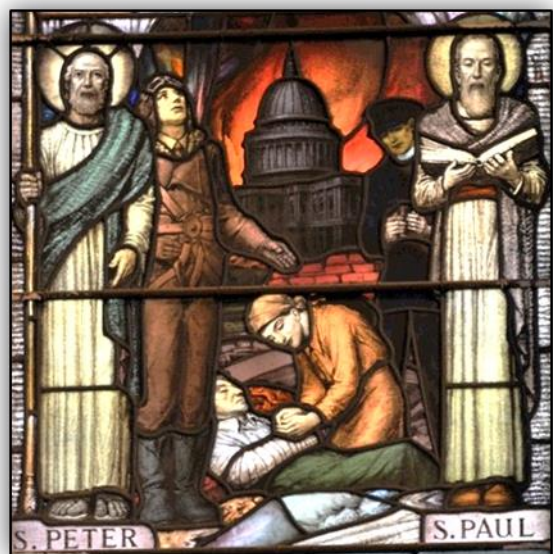
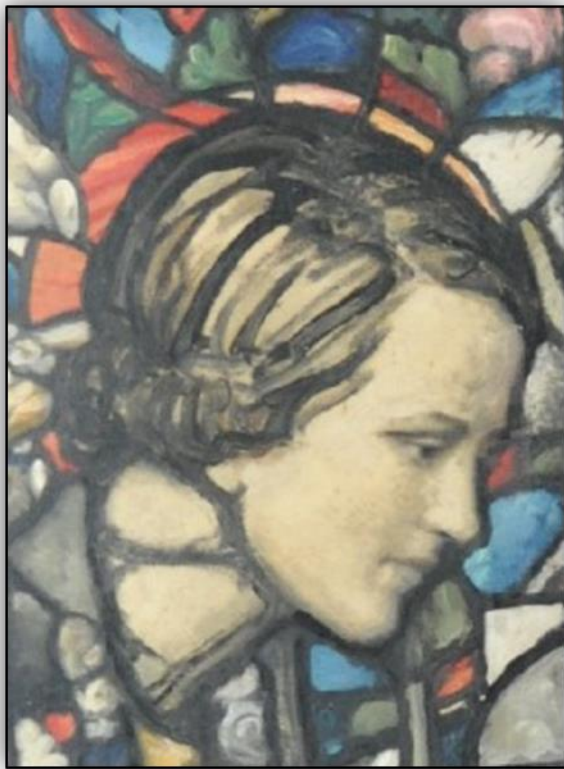


Figure 6.18: M. Napier Waller, *Cartoon of St Peter's War Memorial Window* (detail), 1948 (left) and extant window (detail), 1949 (right). Note the changes not only to the nurse's veil but also the RAAF chaplain who is holding a stretcher in the cartoon and a bible in the light. Heritage Victoria and author's image respectively.

*Window* in November 1948, the design for St Peter's was already settled.<sup>98</sup> The two artists conceived their designs independently of each other.

Waller also used bandages to represent the linen used to wrap Christ's body. In addition to a nurse tending to the wounded, the artist also suggested the Virgin Mary lamenting over the body of her Son. To further reinforce these associations, Waller used another biblical reference. Following the Crucifixion, a period of great unrest occurred: 'the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake and the rocks rent.'<sup>99</sup> Waller used London to situate the RAAF's contribution within the Battle of Britain and he used a significant edifice of the Church of England as the allegorical temple. During the Blitz, London quaked under the onslaught of German bombs and St Paul's Cathedral survived but was rent by their blast.<sup>100</sup>



**figure 6.19:** Napier Waller, *Head of Lorna Reyburn, as if from stained glass Window* (detail), undated. Oil on board. Napier Waller House.

While the nurse offered Waller the means to present the different ways in which Australians served in the war as well as weave religious meaning into sacrifice, the St Peter's commission again gave him an opportunity for his art to imitate his life. Sometime before 1946, he painted the profile of his young lover in the style of a stained glass window (Figure 6.19).<sup>101</sup> He used this work as the study for the panel showing a missionary nurse tending to a patient in the *Centennial Memorial Window* (Figure 6.16, left light, third panel). By making minor changes to its perspective and the stance of the nurse, he used Lorna Reyburn again for the nurse in the *War Memorial Window*. In the cartoon, she bandages the right arm of a youthful male.

<sup>98</sup> Treloar to Waller, 19 November 1948, AWM315 234/005/003; Vestry Minutes (1946-1960); 9 November 1948, SPACA.

<sup>99</sup> Matthew 27:51-27:52.

<sup>100</sup> *Circular Head Chronicle*, 26 March 1941, 4.

<sup>101</sup> Napier Waller, *Head of Lorna Reyburn, as if from stained glass Window*, undated. Oil on board. Inventory of works at Waller House, May 1998, PL-HE/03/0023, Heritage Victoria.

Waller had a propensity to position himself, along with his missing right arm, in his art.<sup>102</sup> This suggests that the artist once more used himself as the model for the man in this window. His substitution of the RAAF with the Army in lieu of the conventional seniority of the services in these panels established a thematic link with the first of the Hall of Memory windows the artist was completing in Canberra; the West Window containing his self-portrait *Chivalry*.<sup>103</sup> During what was undeniably a period of unrelenting financial, physical and emotional stress for Waller, the nurse represented his salvation. This panel also reflected the degree of intimacy he shared with Lorna; her stylish apartment, where the couple conducted romantic liaisons, was located a very short stroll from St Peter's.<sup>104</sup>

### **In the light of battle: St Stephen's, Gardenvale (1950-51)**

The final window analysed in this study appears in the last scheme Waller executed using contemporary service personnel as his subject matter. It shared similarities with other commemorative stained glass in that those overlooked by the civic narrative of war found sanctuary in its lights. However, Waller's scheme also deviated in one significant way. Whereas other windows used aspects of Christ's Passion as an allegory for the sacrifice made by the armed forces, at St Stephen's Church of England, Gardenvale, the lights of its Warriors' Chapel instead reflected man's need for penitence. In particular, they depicted servicemen as fragile, vulnerable souls and women as both their victims and redeemers. The artist again portrayed the nurse as *Caregiver*, an active participant of the conflict. In doing so, the soldier was stripped of his masculinity to make her the central focus of the tableau's subject matter. Waller returned to his life experiences, both as combatant and veteran, and used the nurse to esoterically reflect the physical and emotional recovery from his wounds of war.

In March 1928, the foundation stone of a new St Stephen's Church was laid.<sup>105</sup> Built in the modified Gothic style, 'everything about it is simple and in good taste' enthused the fortuitously-named Bishop Stephen who consecrated the church four months later.<sup>106</sup> It was a satisfying yet sobering year for architect Louis Williams. In Bathurst, the first stage of his regional cathedral of All Saints' was all but complete and in coming months it, along with its Warriors' Chapel, would also be consecrated (Chapter Two). However, the artist with whom he shared a long and

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<sup>102</sup> Kellett, "Truth and Love," 136-38.

<sup>103</sup> The traditional seniority of the services is Navy, Army and Air Force.

<sup>104</sup> Lorna's apartment was located in Spring Street: Lane interview.

<sup>105</sup> *Argus*, 12 March 1928, 13.

<sup>106</sup> *Argus*, 16 July 1928, 9; *Prahran Telegraph*, 20 July 1928, 2.

collaborative history – William Montgomery – had died the previous year and Williams began recommending Napier and Christian Waller to his clients following their return from Europe in 1930. The couple began accepting commissions almost immediately.<sup>107</sup> It was unsurprising then, that when the first windows for St Stephen’s were commissioned two decades later, a Waller was its Council’s choice of artist.

In October 1950, and with the windows in the Hall of Memory finally installed, Waller was a spent man. ‘Lately I have been working a bit too much with work on the glass easels and now find my “Shassis” (sic) refuses to support me any longer,’ he confided to Carter.<sup>108</sup> But there was no extended respite for the artist. Earlier that year, while painting the final figures for the AWM’s South Window, Waller accepted the last of his five supplementary commissions: St Stephen’s, Gardenvale.<sup>109</sup> Williams’ plan of the Church included a side chapel and in April 1947 the Vicar received an offer to enrich the space ‘as a memorial to those who served in both world wars.’<sup>110</sup> In all likelihood, this suggestion arose from Tom Bell, a member of the congregation whose only child was killed in action against the Japanese at Tarakan in May 1945. With a dedication reading ‘This Chapel is his Memorial,’ a framed and fading portrait of John Stanton Bell still hangs on its south wall where his parents placed it over six decades ago (Figure 6.20).



**Figure 6.20:** John Stanton Bell, c.1939. Warriors’ Chapel, St Stephen’s, Gardenvale.

<sup>107</sup> The windows were for All Saints’ Church of England, Canowindra, NSW. Williams also supervised architectural renovations to St Peter’s, Eastern Hill, prior to Waller being awarded commissions there: MS10990, SLV.

<sup>108</sup> Waller to Carter, 27 October 1950, ML MSS471/1.

<sup>109</sup> Waller to Treloar, 16 February 1950, AWM315 234/005/003; Vestry Minute Book (February 1947-February 1956), 3 February 1950, St Stephen’s Anglican Church Vestry (SSACV), Gardenvale, Melbourne.

<sup>110</sup> Vestry Minute Book (February 1947-February 1956), 1 May 1947, SSACV.

Bell assumed many of the responsibilities required to transform the existing space into a Warriors' Chapel. Carving the colour patches of the Parish's fallen into the ends of the pews, he also organised the flooring and lighting for the space and working groups invariably included his name. Along with his wife Agnes, Bell made significant donations to the fabric to the Chapel – including its ornate vellum-paged, illuminated Warriors' Book – and he pricked the conscience of the congregation to do the same.<sup>111</sup> Bell even grew the white flowers for the Chapel's altar with gladiolus a favourite bloom.<sup>112</sup> He poured his grief into the Chapel in a similar manner to that of fellow Melbournian Garry Roberts who, following the loss of his son during World War I, poured his into scrapbooking memories of his child.<sup>113</sup> While the Chapel represented a labour of love to Bell and provided comfort to him and his wife for the rest of their lives, donating a window in her son's memory was the privilege of John's mother.<sup>114</sup>

Like the Hall of Memory, Waller again cast back to his medieval roots in creating a pictorial scheme while likewise subverting the narrative that the Parish Council believed it was commissioning. The artist divided the subject matter of the Chapel's six stained glass windows into two parts: their borders and central panels (Figure 6.21). The border of each light was filled with expressive and monochromatic figures with three windows each portraying scenes from the Old and New Testament respectively.<sup>115</sup> Buttressed at either end by a window showing the Creation of Man and Christ in His Glory respectively, the four lights in between equally addressed the male and female experience of war. Men of World War I, along with those of the Navy, Army and Air Force from the more recent conflict, were located in two windows at the far end of the Chapel. Paradoxically, this represented the beginning of the scheme as the congregation enters the Chapel from its rear. The AANS, a Red Cross worker and two panels showing a mother with her children at home and abroad were placed near the altar. On Bell's urging, a description of the scheme was rewritten by the Rector soon after Waller presented his proposal to the Parish Council in July 1950.<sup>116</sup> Comparing the Rector's descriptions with the extant lights reveals subtle changes Waller made to the scheme.

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<sup>111</sup> Dedication at the rear of the *St Stephen's Warriors' Book*; Vestry Minute Book (February 1947-February 1956), 9 February 1948 – 17 January 1952, SSACV.

<sup>112</sup> Phillips, *A Centenary History*, 138.

<sup>113</sup> Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2004), chap 1.

<sup>114</sup> *St Stephen's Parish Paper*, February 1951, 3.

<sup>115</sup> The composition of the St John window (c.1930) in the Louis Williams designed church of All Saints', Canowindra, NSW, contains a similar border. I thank Bronwyn Hughes for providing me with the images of these windows for my analysis.

<sup>116</sup> Vestry Minute Book (February 1947-February 1956), 20 July 1950, SSACV.



**Figure 6.21:** M. Napier Waller, *St Stephen's Warrior's Chapel Scheme*, 1951. The scheme is read from the far right of the male service (upper) lights to the far left of the female service (lower) lights. Author's images.



Rather than depicting ‘a Papuan supporting a wounded Australian in the New Guinea fighting,’ the upper panel of the *John Stanton Bell Window* portrays an idealised vision of a beloved child’s death.<sup>117</sup> Collapsed into the arms of a fuzzy-wuzzy angel, John Bell struggles to place his hand to his heart in a final gesture of patriotism to the country he died defending.<sup>118</sup> By belying the brutality of a battlefield loss, this window would have comforted a mother struggling to resolve the violent and imagined death of her only child. For the rest of her life, Agnes sat in the pew beside her son’s likeness, taking solace in the light of his memorial. The Navy and Air Force window beside it remained the gift of an anonymous benefactor and it was only following the passing of his wife that Tom Bell revealed himself to be its donor. Dedicated to Agnes, the memory of those he cherished most – wife and son – continued to illuminate the darkness of Tom’s grief in the Chapel he helped create.<sup>119</sup> After Bell’s death, his name joined hers on the plaque beneath their son’s window.

The Papuan was depicted as a dynamic figure in John Bell’s panel; he is not just supporting the dying soldier but engages with him on a personal level. Despite the jungle behind being ablaze with battle, and like that of the caped nurse in the *People of the Parish Window* to the left, the Papuan’s gaze is firmly on the man he is caring for. Waller captured both the action and the essence of the loyalty and compassion shown by these men during the war. He legitimised their right to be remembered as active participants in the Australian war effort. The colour of the skirt worn by the native man provides a direct association with the cape of the AANS and the role he fulfilled in assisting a nation’s wounded and dying in a terrain where its women could not.

St Stephen’s Council was evidently unafraid to tackle mortality in this window. Whereas sculpture had the propensity to allegorise death with ‘soldiers who appeared to be sleeping rather than dead’, there was no mistaking the fate of the man in the foreground of the lower panel, a tableau from World War I.<sup>120</sup> Body slung over four strands of barbed wire, legs crumpled beneath him and drops of blood issuing from his head, this Digger was very clearly dead. Perhaps there was no other way the incredible statistic of only one parishioner to perish from the sixty who volunteered from St Stephen’s could be expressed.<sup>121</sup> Behind, with right hand clenched into a fist, a familiar face from the West Window of the Hall of Memory advances into battle.<sup>122</sup> Another self-portrait and a scene,

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.; Vicar, ‘The Windows in the Warriors’ Chapel’ (c.1950): SSACV.

<sup>118</sup> Comparison of the image in the window with the photograph reveals the latter to be the Bell’s son.

<sup>119</sup> Phillips, *A Centenary History*, 138-39.

<sup>120</sup> Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, 154.

<sup>121</sup> Of the volunteers named in the *St Stephen’s Warriors’ Book*, no fewer than eight parishioners perished during World War I: two were killed in action and six died of wounds. The fates of twelve cannot be ascertained but forty men returned to Australia. As the *Warriors’ Book* was compiled after World War II, it is likely that the parents of those who fell had themselves passed away and the memory of the fate of their sons died with them.

<sup>122</sup> The soldier’s face shares similarities with that of *Chivalry* in the West Window of the Hall of Memory at the AWM.



in all likelihood, straight from Waller's memory: Bullecourt at around noon on Saturday, 12 May 1917, when the blast shown at the top left corner of the panel drove a projectile into his right shoulder and subsequently cost him his arm.<sup>123</sup> The same blast echoes through to the window alongside where a woman, infant in arms and face etched with terror, flees with her children into the countryside. Again, memories of the Western Front likely informed the artist's brush.

If Waller muted portrayals of death in the *John Stanton Bell Window*, his ability to shock manifested in the window to its right, the first contemporary light seen upon entering the Chapel. The artist's use of light and dark at its centre draws the viewer's gaze to the pale body of a naked infant lying among the blasted and blackened ruins of a building. Lurching for a moment, the mind quickly resolves that this is, in fact, a doll disarticulated by the destruction of war. Engendering a persisting sense of disquiet as the rest of the windows are examined in detail, it becomes apparent these are not memorials lauding man's valour and victory, but rather reminders of his need for redemption and atonement. An airman in flying suit and parachute harness steadies himself against the doorframe as he gazes down at the shattered home at his feet. The church behind holds a passing resemblance to Cologne Cathedral, the German edifice that withstood the Allied bombing of the city during the war. Underneath, a naval padre in the heat of battle is unable to reach the fire hose which will quench the flames consuming his vessel. A sailor behind, oblivious to his mortal peril, continues to load a gun and wage war. Like the Digger in arms of the fuzzy-wuzzy angel, they are both doomed. Comparing these servicemen to those in his *St Peter's War Memorial Window*, Eastern Hill, reveals that Waller directly contested the accepted imagery of commemoration in his Gardenvale lights by making Australian servicemen the casualties and aggressors of war (Figure 6.22). These were the lights bordered by the Old Testament narrative in which acts of evil and hatred were balanced with the mercy, power and purpose of God.<sup>124</sup>

The windows at the other end of the Chapel addressed the feminine contribution to and experience of war. In them woman was depicted as both the victim of man's violence and his redemptive force. The upper light of the *League of Service and Friendship and the Women who Served at Home Window* shows 'a Home with the children feeling keenly their mother's anxiety for a father serving far away' (Figure 6.23).<sup>125</sup> Waller addressed feminine sacrifice in terms of the loss endured by wife and mother. He integrated both identities into the one figure; the wife of the soldier and the mother

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<sup>123</sup> AWM PR87/007.

<sup>124</sup> Vicar, 'Windows in the Warriors' Chapel,' (c.1950).

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

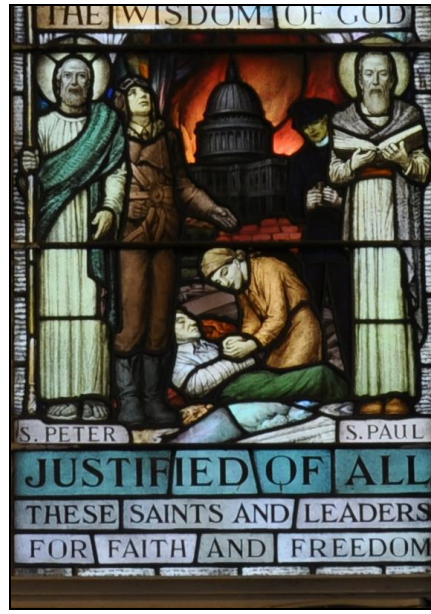
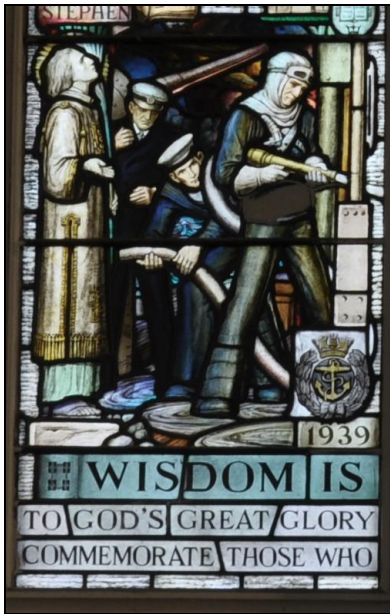


Figure 6.22: Comparison of the imagery in Waller's St Peter's, Eastern Hill, 1948 (above), and St Stephen's, Gardenvale, 1951 (below), World War II RAN, RAAF and Army panels. Author's images.





Figure 6.23: M. Napier Waller, *League of Service and Friendship and the Women for who Served at Home Window*, 1951. Author's image

of his children. The loss and sacrifice of those who nurtured, cared for and loved the serviceman – his family – was a population broadly omitted from commemoration within the civic context after the wars in Australia. The RSL made overtures to have the sacrifice of the State's women recognised within the Shrine of Remembrance prior to its construction in 1927 but its intention was never realised.<sup>126</sup> As the mothers and wives of the men who perished passed on, their memories and commemorative actions faded from the public view, replaced by the powerful, masculine-driven Anzac imperative.<sup>127</sup> In NSW, at Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle, stained glass gave a mother's sacrifice a place to be remembered in Dean Crotty's allegorical scheme (Chapter Three).<sup>128</sup> A quarter of a decade later, a kneeling woman in John Radecki's Merewether commission acknowledged the sacrifice of women (Chapter Five, figure 5.12). In general though, the loss of wife and mother passed unacknowledged.

Waller incorporated the sacrifice of both and also included that of children. The envelope their mother clasps holds one of the keys to deciphering this light. From the Rector's description it is easy to assume a wife's anxiety being generated by a letter she is reading from her husband at war, but the envelope appears sealed. Waller seamlessly wove a narrative of the familial loss sustained during both wars into this panel by taking familiar objects and imbuing them with veiled meaning. The parish church in the background not only refers to the spiritual strength her faith will provide during this trying time, it also forms an allegory for the role undertaken by local priests in delivering the telegram informing families of a loved one's loss during World War I. A white rug lies draped across the mother's lap but the presence of a clear blue sky and leafy tree denies the presence of Melbourne's colder months. It is another symbol of death: an empty shroud for the husband she will never bury. As for the previous conflict, Australia's war dead were not returned home for burial but interred in the country where they fell. Rather than 'feeling keenly their mother's anxiety', these children have arrived home from school to find their mother grieving the loss of their father.<sup>129</sup> To confirm his message, and in a tangle of thread beside the widow's sewing basket below, Waller simply wrote 'died' (Figure 6.24).

It must be considered that much of the allegory Waller embedded in this scheme went unrecognised by his patron, particularly in light of the final damning clue that contradicts the documented version of the previously-discussed panel. After undertaking a similar act of artistic subversion in the

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<sup>126</sup> Scates, *A Place to Remember*, 139.

<sup>127</sup> Luckins, *The Gates of Memory*, 195, 201.

<sup>128</sup> The *Mother* light in Christ Church Cathedral's Warriors' Chapel, Newcastle.

<sup>129</sup> The children appear to be wearing school uniform: the daughter in a tunic and the son has the straps of his knapsack over his shoulders.



**Figure 6.24:** M. Napier Waller, *League of Service and Friendship and the Women for Served at Home Window* (detail), 1951. Author's image.

windows of the AWM, he knew that an audience would see in the glass what they believed was there as long as it was close enough to the original brief not to arouse suspicion. Waller had experienced war. He endured his own personal sacrifice and the St Stephen's commission came at the end of another. Stretching thirteen years and, interrupted by a second conflict with its economic ramifications, the AWM had pushed him to financial and physical breaking point. It is possible that, with work on the mosaics in the Hall of Memory about to commence and the theme of war consuming his life for so long, Waller felt compelled to tell his 'truth' in these lights rather than valorising it yet again. So, very quietly and with great skill, he told it in the windows at Gardenvale. However, there was one truth which he left uncontested; the memory of the women who cared for him during and after his battles.

### **The 'shattered Anzac' of Australian stained glass<sup>130</sup>**

Waller clearly held enormous respect for the nurse. Despite servicewomen appearing in his other media during the war, only the nurse was included in the subject matter of the sacred art of Christianity: stained glass.<sup>131</sup> Additionally, *Devotion* remained the only depiction of an army nurse to be assigned her own light in a post-war commemorative scheme. As in his earlier window at St Peter's, Waller again depicted the nurse as *Caregiver* (Figure 6.25). However, this time he comprehensively smashed the stained glass ceiling of the Australian commemorative landscape. The artist portrayed two members of the AANS tending to servicemen in a hospital ward. In doing

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<sup>130</sup> With acknowledgement to Marina Larsson for appropriating the title of her book: *Shattered Anzacs: Living with the Scars of War* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press 2009).

<sup>131</sup> Servicewomen appeared in artworks Waller published in the *Australasian* during World War II.



Figure 6.25: M. Napier Waller, *People of the Parish Window* (detail), 1951. Author's image.

so, the artist stripped the soldiers of their traditional emblems of martial virility to make the nurse, and her actions, the focus of the panel.

In the foreground, intent upon her work and consulting documentation, one nurse bends to retrieve what appears to be a phial of medication from a bedside locker. Her bed-bound patient waits while his temperature is taken. In the background, a caped colleague assists another man. It is unclear what she is doing – attending a wound, repositioning or feeding him perhaps – but her entire focus is on her charge. Waller removed all masculine emblems of war; weapons, uniforms or the bandages awarded for battle wounds, and substituted them for a set of blue service pyjamas and bed linen. He reinforced this emasculation by using the body of the first nurse to fragment those of the two patients; visually, they are not whole men and their presence in hospital beds further suggests their physical compromise. These are women who, like the Red Cross worker in the panel adjacent, pick up the pieces of war. Whereas the latter brought relief to a population within a shattered landscape of conflict, the nurse – as *Caregiver* – reconstructed man physically after battle. However, the artist made a subtler point in this panel. Women also rebuilt him emotionally.

Curiously, and despite no nurse from St Stephen's serving in the 1<sup>st</sup> AIF, Waller included a woman in a World War I uniform in this light.<sup>132</sup> Wearing an upright collar and unstarched veil, her plainly parted hair not only resembled the style worn by many nurses of the era, it was also the manner in which he painted Christian as *St Mary Magdalene* at All Saints, Canowindra (Figure 4.5). Returning to a habit he commenced in 1931, Waller referenced the women whom he loved in this window. The caped figure's eyebrows, cheekbones, mouth, nose, chin and facial shape all resemble the way he portrayed his wife, whether on canvas or glass. This was a youthful 'Chris', the woman who cared for him when he returned from war.<sup>133</sup> Her features can be observed again in the bottom left border of the *League of Service and Friendship and the Women for Served at Home Window* (Figure 6.23). The Rector's description states this is Christ assisting the Good Samaritan but it is not; a woman, her hair tied at the nape of her neck, gazes directly down into the eyes of a man she renders care to.<sup>134</sup> Waller stippled her jawline and neck so, from a distance and at first glance, she appears as the bearded Christ. He also severed the man's right arm with the lateral border of the glass and, by painting a tiny penis resting upon his loincloth, this light became only the second war memorial in Australia to show male genitalia.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> *Warriors' Book*, St Stephen's Anglican Church, Gardenvale.

<sup>133</sup> Waller refers to his wife as 'Chris' in his World War I diary: AWM PR87/007.

<sup>134</sup> Vicar, 'Windows in the Warriors' Chapel,' (c.1950).

<sup>135</sup> The other is Rayner Hoff's *Sacrifice* in the Anzac Memorial, Sydney: Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 296.

The larger of the two nurses was again modelled on the portrait of Lorna (Figure 6.19). The embodiment of the modern woman, she adopts the fashionable styling of the 1940s; a shorter hemline, curls, lipstick and what appears to be an earring.<sup>136</sup> Reading these panels, it becomes evident that Waller is the man in the 'Good Samaritan' panel and those in the beds. Lorna was the dominant influence in his physical life at the time of the Gardenvale scheme and she covers his body with hers in the latter light. One of the bolder of the artist's images, it nevertheless communicates esoterically and with eloquence how their relationship fulfilled his needs, especially given the emasculatory effect his wife's gaze appears to provoke. Yet it is the representation of Christian which is most illuminating from a contemporary understanding of war and commemoration. Perhaps, by obscuring his face and, uncharacteristically, concealing his right arm in the panel showing the AANS, Waller was acknowledging the trauma this period of his life represented. For an artist stripped of his intrinsic ability to create, the future must have been terrifying. Returning to Australia, his recovery continued with the assistance of his wife. Much of the mythology around Waller implies that he miraculously rehabilitated himself after the loss of his arm. This would have been impossible. As Marina Larsson shows, the murky side of the Anzac legend – the men who returned physically, mentally and medically at odds with the emergent and masculine image of the returned soldier – was airbrushed, along with those who cared for them, from the collective memory of the nation.<sup>137</sup> David Thomas and Caroline Jordan go as far as acknowledging Christian's financial support in her husband's rehabilitation.<sup>138</sup> However, without her committed support in all aspects of her husband's life, Waller's recovery would not have been as rapid – or successful – even with the remarkable drive and extraordinary talent he possessed.

Like *Devotion* in Canberra, Waller again conflated the symbolism of the nurse in the lights of St Stephen's and embraced populations ignored in mainstream Australian commemoration: the men who returned forever changed and those who committed their lives to caring for – or loving – them, regardless of the prevailing circumstances. But the artist made one final and powerful point in the Gardenvale scheme: the *Martial Madonna* again represented all Australian women. The New Testament iconography bordering each panel told the story of God's love and glory and Waller related this to his subject matter regarding women during war. He juxtaposed biblical maternity – the Annunciation and Mary the Mother – with the AANS and the female Good Samaritan with the grieving widow to make nurse and mother indivisible in regards to Australia's commemoration of the wars.

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<sup>136</sup> An earring would not have been tolerated in the AANS.

<sup>137</sup> Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs*, 265.

<sup>138</sup> David Thomas and Caroline Jordan, "Chronology," in *The Art of Christian Waller*, ed. David Thomas (Bendigo: Bendigo Art Gallery, 1992), 15.



During World War II, the censor controlled the image of the army nurse seen by the Australian public. Content and composition of photographs showing the nurse were influenced primarily by the perceptions of men and prevailing censorship policies shaped by political imperatives and events occurring within the operational theatres. Early in the war, the nurse epitomised the modern woman who travelled the world and shouldered the prosecution of war alongside her brothers-in-arms. Her disappearance during the Fall of Singapore saw a return to imagery asserting traditional expectations associated with domesticity and motherhood. While the latter worked to enforce the masculinity of the army, both supported an overwhelming absence of photographs depicting the *Caregiver*: the nurse nursing sick and wounded soldiers, for the greater part of the war. While marginalising the effort of the nurse, these strategies protected recruitment, supported morale at home and created a void that Parer's fuzzy-wuzzy angels filled in the hearts and minds of the Australian public.

Yet despite the public image of the *Caregiver* being overshadowed by that of the Papuan male of the Kokoda campaign, the nurse was portrayed as an active participant in the Australian forces in the commemorative windows of Norman St Clair Carter and M. Napier Waller. While patrons who commissioned these lights no doubt encouraged the inclusion of women in their memorials, it is unlikely they prescribed how the nurse should be portrayed. Rather than the static figure shown in the trade firms' lights, it was the ideology of both artists and the experiences of Waller that influenced her depiction as a dynamic participant in war. The figure of the army nurse and her involvement in the SWPA afforded an additional degree of complexity to be woven into the religious symbolism and contemporary meaning of their art. Moving beyond the Crucifixion as a congregation's standard allegorical reference for the service and sacrifice of its military members, Carter and Waller differentiated their work from the variation-on-a-theme commemorative windows churned out by artisanal firms. By extending the period past Christ's death, rather than simply witnessing His Passion, two of these windows also depicted His mother – the Virgin Mary – actively involved in mourning her Son. Carter and Waller condensed grief to the commonest denominator known to humanity when they used stained glass to also fill a major void of memory of civic remembrance; the sacrifice made by Australian mothers during war.

But for Waller, whose ideology embraced an artist's responsibility to society as being implicit in his art, integrity meant everything. Examination of two World War II windows reveal a subtle but subversive march towards a truth that the establishment could not, or would not, recognise. His are not the valorous males depicted in the Hall of Memory or those shown on a multitude of war memorials around the nation. The servicemen at Gardenvale represent a reality of war and the other

side of the Anzac legend: men who die in a tangle of barbed war; destroy as comprehensively as they defend; or return forever broken – physically, medically or mentally – to wives and loved ones who bear the burden, rather than the benefit, of a heroic homecoming. Waller knew only too well that sacrifice did not end with a bullet or a telegram and that it was not confined to men – or women – in uniform.

To Waller, the impulse to portray the nurse went further than honouring her as the *Martial Madonna*. She became a powerful motif representing his immediate and extended recovery from the wounds of war. By World War II, other servicewomen could have equally offered him the same opportunity. And yet, unlike other media on which the artist worked, he only ever relied on a member of the AANS for the female figures in commemorative windows depicting service personnel. Waller never forgot the loyalty and devotion of the army nurse and his windows suggest an abiding respect for those who cared for him before and after the devastating loss of his arm. The portrayal of the women whom he loved in the guise of the nurse also suggests an equivalent respect for Christian – and later Lorna – in his immediate and ongoing physical and emotional recovery in the years following his repatriation home. But regardless of the personal symbolism he embedded in it, Waller's St Stephen's window, with its absence of sentimentality and focus on the essence of the profession, remained the high water mark of the nurse's commemoration in the period immediately following both world wars. By portraying her caring for 'her boys', Waller cemented the nurse's image as the *Martial Madonna* of Australia's stained glass memory of war.



## **Conclusion: Looking back into the light**

**(1919-1951)**

The army nurse's portrayal in Australia's commemorative windows following World Wars I and II was subject to structural and socio-political influences as well as the philosophical and experiential penchants of the men who created them. Whereas a lone infantryman atop a local war memorial allegorised collective grief for the many men that a region mourned, a sacred building – whether consecrated formally by a faith or sanctified in secret by an artist – provided space for a range of figures. The windows of some Australian churches and the Hall of Memory, AWM, Canberra, accommodated expressions of service and sacrifice that were more nuanced and multidimensional than those upon a local or, in some cases, State monument. Some parishes and committees embraced democratic processes that welcomed the nurse – and a range of other service personnel – onto a textual parade ground that accommodated an intimacy and equality in collective remembrance that contested and sometimes subverted agendas of remembrance in the broader local or national contexts. Stained glass offered sanctuary to those on the fringes of Australia's collective memory of war.

Within the religious context, the politics of remembrance affected stained glass profoundly. Primarily, the religious ritual of the memorial window was modified to meet the needs of communities in mourning during and after World War I. The English windows of St John's Cathedral, Brisbane (1921), and St Augustine's, Neutral Bay (1929), reflected the loss of a nurse as well as of soldiers and sailors from their respective diocese and parish. Collective equality rather than personal status in sorrowing became the motivating influence behind the latter's commemorative window but, in Brisbane, the image of a nurse helped advance the finances of a diocese. An unpalatable reality emerging from this thesis is that an economy of sacrifice traded on the memory of the dead along with the grief of those who mourned them. The funds required to construct and furnish chapels and churches – even a hospital – outstripped the more modest amounts involved in installing a simple commemorative window or even a local war memorial. Members of regional or outlying parishes had little likelihood of ever seeing or using the facilities they were expected to bear the cost of building. Ultimately, and unlike a commemorative window (or local war memorial), distance rendered these monuments of little practical use to the bereaved and they became symbolic expressions of church prestige. Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of

this was the opportunity lost to the nation's faiths. Although they made much of man's sacrifice during the war as a metaphor for Christ's in his Passion, they could have learned considerably from clergy who underwent the battlefield experience. But the ecumenical leadership of ex-AIF chaplains like George Merrick Long, Horace Crotty and John Walker fell upon deaf ears; ultimately, Australia's Churches were impatient to return to the insularity of denominational conflict as the memory of war retreated and the economy of sacrifice was spent.

The gendered semantics of war – the complexity of a name – emerges as a second powerful political force mediating the nurse's inclusion in memorialisation. Whether on a local, State or national platform, it held considerable sway in the ability of committees and communities to resolve the space a nurse occupied in the prosecution of war and, subsequently, practices adopted to commemorate her contribution. For M. Napier Waller, a man who had witnessed war and experienced its ultimate reality, the AWM, Canberra, became his personal battlefield as he fought for a nurse – and her image – to form the axis of sacrifice in the nation's commemorative crown. By drawing upon significant architectural and geographical relationships and the traditions of his medieval forebears, Waller subverted the desires of his patron. He created a complex religious scheme depicting the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension of the AIF while depicting nurse *Devotion* as the modern woman and an active participant. He allegorised her as both the mother of the nation and the most powerful and significant woman in Christianity: the Virgin Mary.

Australia's *Martial Madonna* emerged when, unlike the *Secular Saint*, she appeared without precedent following World War I.<sup>1</sup> Artisans and artists, the men who designed and executed these lights, used medieval traditions of colour and symbolism to create a contemporary Virgin Mary in cape and veil. While the *Martial Madonna* embeds the army nurse in the maternal trope, it aligns her with the image publicly associated with her profession at the time these windows were created. Rather than detracting from the contribution of the nurse, this relationship reveals the considerable reverence afforded to her by the men making these windows; in the religious context there existed no greater symbol of female service and sacrifice with only Christ occupying a higher place within the hierarchy of heaven. Other biblical women with whom the nurse might have been symbolically aligned existed, female saints who did not contest primacy of their warrior brethren in the Christian chain of command. St Veronica in Newcastle and William Montgomery's never-realised St Elizabeth of Hungary at Bathurst offered two such examples.<sup>2</sup> However, the *Martial Madonna*

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<sup>1</sup> Burlison & Grylls, *Clark Windows*, 1921. St John's Anglican Cathedral, Brisbane.

<sup>2</sup> Kempe & Co, Nurse, 1924. Warriors' Chapel: Christ Church Anglican Cathedral; and All Saints Anglican Cathedral (1927) respectively.

prevailed and the army nurse was again privileged following World War II when she was again allegorised as the Virgin Mary in a greater number of commemorative windows.

During World War II, events in the SWPA saw the army nurse included in experiences that, a generation earlier, had been the sole domain of men. Her death in action and at the hands of her Japanese captors along with internment as a POW involved the army nurse intimately in the defence of her country rather than that of a distant empire. Whereas her memorialisation was muted following World War I, public calls for appropriate forms of remembrance for Australia's fallen nurses were immediate and persistent in the years following the resumption of peace in 1945. More windows featuring the army nurse were installed following World War II and they again reflected her loss in many parishes. However, they also signified the increased agency of women in their respective church communities as the modern woman of post-war Australia asserted her presence.

Sacrifice signalled the nurse's transformation from passive bystander to integrated member of Australia's forces in commemorative windows installed by both Protestant and Catholic parishes following World War II. While artisans contributed to this change, they frequently borrowed or reworked subject matter from other windows, or artists, in order to satisfy the demands of their patrons. While she appeared shoulder-to-shoulder with servicemen on the battlefield or as a significant figure in their windows, she was nevertheless portrayed as a static participant in war. The most significant contribution to the nurse's commemoration in stained glass was made by Australian artists – academy-educated professionals who elected to paint on glass. Drawing on their theoretical and personal ideologies, Norman St Clair Carter and Napier Waller extended imagery previously limited to masculine martial sacrifice – the Crucifixion – and included the nurse as an active and vital participant in war. Allegorising her again as the Virgin Mary, both artists situated a *Martial Madonna* – a mourning mother to the crucified Christ and hands-on nurse to wounded men – in their windows. This occurred despite an absence of press imagery to support the latter's persona during the war. However, in Waller's final scheme depicting contemporary service personnel, he withdrew from overtly religious allegory and quietly created a subversive commentary on the reality of war and man's need to atone for, rather than valourise, armed conflict and its sacrifice. Caring for emasculated servicemen, the army nurse emerged as the beacon of salvation in a world where untrammelled martial masculinity created utter devastation. Nurse, as woman creates the destructive force through her physiological imperative and woman, as nurse redeems it through her care and compassion.

While primarily investigating depiction of the army nurse in stained glass windows commissioned between 1919 and 1950, this thesis has also pointed to the need for new research about war memorialisation within the religious context and challenged current beliefs pertaining to the windows of the AWM. It raises a number of avenues worthy of further inquiry. The Hall of Memory scheme is multi-layered and has secrets still to be surrendered: the identities of the remaining eight figures; *Independence* appears to be Waller's colleague and friend, fellow artist Norman MacGeorge while the cartoon for *Loyalty* – who stands beside *Chivalry* – suggests it may be the artist's younger brother, also an artilleryman on the Western Front. A detailed hagiography of the allegorical personas of the remaining twelve qualities provides further scope for investigation and analysis.<sup>3</sup> However, with parish churches of many denominations disappearing from Australia's urban, regional and rural landscapes, the most pressing need is a study of Australia's commemorative lights; those windows installed as congregational memorials after the wars. Analysis and understanding of how these smaller communities depicted martial masculinity within the context of stained glass across the scope of two World Wars would add an important chapter to the historiography of commemoration, art, and an industry fast fading into the past. Finally, in regards to World War I in particular: the term 'Red Cross nurse' or 'nurse' in historical sources should be regarded as a generic term for a woman in a nurse-like uniform until validated by other data differentiating her as a professionally trained nurse or an untrained Red Cross VA. This has important implications for the historiography of the Australian nursing profession and its – and the public's – understanding of the work nurses do and their contribution to society.

This thesis supports Bart Ziino's observation that examining the values and practices of smaller populations operating within Australia's larger civic communities needs a greater understanding of their agency within the nation's commemorative landscape.<sup>4</sup> Like the care she provided to Australia's servicemen and, later, servicewomen, the army nurse's remembrance generally did not occur under a broad public gaze of civic commemoration. It seems fitting that a profession arising from the reforms made by a military nurse during the Crimean War and developed along the demands of a quasi-religious discipline should find its commemorative presence in the windows of Australia's sacred spaces and its icon in the Virgin Mary. After World War I, Australian needed to find a collective space and symbolic way of expressing memory. Conforming to common sorrow but also the financial realities of grief, the figure of a nurse was precluded from local monuments when the male cost of war was immense. However, smaller communities operating within the religious context, along with the architecture containing them, accommodated the memory of a

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<sup>3</sup> *Devotion* is St Mary, *Chivalry* appears aligned with St George and *Endurance* with St Sebastian.

<sup>4</sup> Ziino, "Claiming the Dead", 145, 159.

nurse – their nurse – with an intimacy and flexibility not possible within the broader scope of remembrance. A recipient of her care, a man who painted with light, drew the lines illuminating her commemoration in post-war Australia most brightly by ensuring she remained central to the country's memory of war in its national monument; Napier Waller shattered the stained glass ceiling of the nation's remembrance practices.

Somewhere on the Western Front during World War I, a member of the AIF died and a mother subsequently learned that she had lost her son. Like thousands of other mothers who made the supreme sacrifice, she went to her grave without the comfort of ever knowing where her boy lay. In 1993 his remains were removed from a battlefield cemetery and reinterred in the heart of the nation's commemorative crown: the Hall of Memory, AWM, Canberra. 'We do not know this Australian's name and we never will' eulogised Prime Minister Paul Keating of a soldier who 'honours the memory of all those men and women who laid down their lives for Australia.'<sup>5</sup> Fifteen silent sentinels, their identities also unknown, oversaw the burial of their colleague that day; one among them was a woman. From 1921, and over a period of three decades she moved steadily from a public sphere of commemorative invisibility to one of passivity and then centrality in the remembrance practices of Australia's religious spaces. After nearly half a century of war and its catastrophic effects, she realised her agency as man's redemptive force. And while her son continues to serve his country as Australia's Unknown Soldier, she continues to shine as 'all of them. And one of us:' Australia's *Martial Madonna*, the allegorical mother of a nation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Paul J. Keating, *Eulogy* (AWM: Canberra, 11 November 1993), downloaded on 1 march 2016 from <https://www.awm.gov.au/talks-speeches/keating-remembrance-day-1993/>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



## Bibliography

Primary sources and the facilities that hold them are arranged alphabetically according to the State in which they are located. As the most important primary source, 'Stained glass windows' are listed first with archives and institutions following in alphabetical order. Following the Australian Capital Territory, 'Artworks' form the second category of primary source.

Windows and Artworks are listed in the chronology in which they were executed. All windows identified by my search methodology as depicting, commemorating or memorialising nurses associated with war – including Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell – are listed as they contributed to my understanding and analysis of the thesis topic. They are indicated by the bold font of their title.

At the SLV, the Louis William's Papers were originally accessioned into its catalogue several decades ago. Since my last field trip to the library in September 2013, the voluminous contents of Box 35 have been re-catalogued. Hence, referencing in this thesis reflects the collection prior to its re-cataloguing. The William Montgomery Papers had not been formally accessioned into the library's collection at the time of my research; I am grateful to the institution and Dr Bronwyn Hughes for access to the relevant documents for my analysis. For archives where no formal registry exists, sources are identified as per their title, physical description and location in the building/campus.

Many, many more churches, public buildings and war memorials were visited and windows, honour boards and artworks viewed than are shown within this bibliography. Only those with a direct relationship to my analysis or that contributed significantly to my understanding are listed.

## Primary Sources:

### Australian Capital Territory

#### **Stained Glass Windows:**

- Norman Carter, *St Andrew's Warriors' Chapel Window*, 1948. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Barton;
- William Bustard, *Sister May Hayman Window*, 1949. St John's Anglican Church, Reid;
- M. Napier Waller, East Window: *Coolness; Control, Audacity; Endurance; & Decision*, 1949. Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial;
- M. Napier Waller, West Window: *Comradeship; Ancestry; Patriotism; Chivalry; & Loyalty*, 1950, Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial;
- M. Napier Waller, South Window: *Resource; Candour; Devotion; Curiosity; & Independence*, 1950. Hall of Memory, Australian War Memorial;
- Martin van der Toorn, *War Memorial Window (World War II)*, c.1980s. Canberra Uniting Church, Manuka.

#### **Australian War Memorial:**

##### *Documentary Sources*

- AWM 1DRL/0428: Australian and Red Cross Society Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau Files, 1914-18 War: Nurse Winifred Starling;
- AWM27 623/19: Official Opening of the Australian War Memorial Canberra, 11 Nov 1941;
- AWM27 623/23: Australian War Memorial, Canberra - Hall of Memory. Governor-General's address at the dedication, 24 May 1959;
- AWM38 3DRL 6673/643: [Official History, 1914-18 War: Records of Charles E W Bean, Official Historian] Papers, 1927;
- AWM38 3DRL 6673/665: [Official History, 1914-18 War: Records of Charles E W Bean, Official Historian] Papers, 1924-59;
- AWM38 3DRL 6673/666: [Official History, 1914-18 War: Records of Charles E W Bean, Official Historian] Papers, 1924-59;
- AWM93 2/5/20: Buildings and Accommodation - AWM Canberra. Stained glass windows, AWM Canberra;

AWM93 2/5/25/4: Official programme and order of ceremonies;

AWM93 2/5/28: Buildings and Accommodation - AWM Canberra. Treatment of Hall of Memory;

AWM93 2/5/28/2: Insurance of lives of Artists commissioned to carry out proposals for treatment of Hall of Memory;

AWM93 50/4/2/162: War of 1939-45. Application for appointment as Official War Artist: Lt W Beaumont;

AWM170 1/2-1/3: Minutes of Australian War Memorial Committee, Jun 1918 - Jan 1925;

AWM170 1/4-1/70: Australian War Memorial. Board of Management Meetings, 1925 – 1952, minutes and agendas;

AWM170 4/1: Agenda and minutes of Australian War Museum [Memorial] Art Committee - Feb 1921 - Jul 1927, and Feb 1941;

AWM170 4/2-4/16: Australian War Memorial. Meetings of Art Committee, 1941 - 1950 - agendas and minutes;

AWM315  
234/005/001 01-  
234/005/001 04: Building AWM - Hall of Memory - Proposals for treatment general (4 files);

AWM315  
234/005/003: Building AWM - Hall of Memory - Stained glass windows for Hall of Memory (Execution and installation);

AWM315  
234/005/005 01: Building AWM - Hall of Memory - Mosaic work for the Hall of Memory;

AWM315  
234/005/007: Work done by Mr Beaumont for Hall of Memory;

AWM315  
234/005/012: Financial adjustments with Mr Waller;

AWM315  
234/005/013: Building AWM - Hall of Memory: Purchase of glass for stained glass windows in the Hall of Memory;

AWM315  
234/005/024: Building AWM - Hall of Memory - Employment of staff for assisting Mr Waller [Napier Waller and his staff], general correspondence;

AWM315  
234/005/031: Lighting for Hall of Memory;

AWM315  
Ceremonies - Official opening of Hall of Memory 24 May 1959 -

275/032/001: General arrangements;  
AWM315 ABC recordings of Hall of Memory ceremony 1959 (24th May);  
747/002/006:  
AWM377 6: Records of John Linton Treloar; and  
PR87/007: Diary and letters of Mervyn Napier Waller 1916-1917.

*Artworks:*

ART90181: M. Napier Waller, Design for Hall of Memory Window, 1938.  
Drawing, oil with pencil and sgraffito on canvas.  
ART90182: M. Napier Waller, Design for Hall of Memory Window, 1938.  
Painting, oil with pencil on canvas.  
ART94014: M. Napier Waller, 1941, Study for Hall of Memory, South window,  
oil and pencil on canvas;  
ART94015: M. Napier Waller, 941, Study for Hall of Memory, East window, oil  
and pencil on canvas;  
ART94016: M. Napier Waller, 1941, Study for Hall of Memory, West window,  
oil and pencil on canvas; and  
ART94044.001-016: : M. Napier Waller, 1947-1948, Cartoons for 16 lights in Hall of  
Memory (including *Eagerness*: not realised); charcoal, black  
ink and pencil on paper.

*Film*

F01055: Parer, Damien, *Nurses in Camp*. DoI: actuality footage, 1940.  
Digitised 35mm black and white film;  
F01582: Parer, Damien, *Kokoda front line!* DoI: newsreel, 1942. Digitised  
35mm black and white film;  
F01621: Parer, Damien, *Front line at Salamaua*. DoI/Movietone: newsreel,  
1943. Digitised 35mm black and white film;  
F01817: Parer, Damien, *Nurses in New Guinea*. DoI: actuality footage, 1943.  
Digitised 35mm black and white film; and  
F01866: Parer, Damien, *Assault on Salamaua*. DoI: actuality footage, 1943.  
Digitised 35mm black and white film.

**National Archives of Australia, Parkes:**

NAA: A292, C19735: Department of Works: Australian War Memorial: Stained Glass Windows.

**National Library of Australia:**

nla.obj-214272137: Norman Carter interviewed by Hazel de Berg in the Hazel de Berg collection [sound recording]. 1962;

nla.obj-214466094: Napier Waller interviewed by Hazel de Berg in the Hazel de Berg collection [sound recording]. 1963;

2120039; BIOG & [Biographical cuttings on M. Napier Waller, artist, containing one or  
2129361; BIOG: more cuttings from newspapers or journals];

2125099; BIOG: [Biographical cuttings on Mervyn Napier Waller, stained glass and  
mural artist, containing one or more cuttings from  
newspapers or journals]; and

2215942; MS 5236: Papers of Bustard family, [manuscript].

**National Gallery of Australia:**

NGA 79.2149. A-C: M. Napier Waller, *I'll put a girdle round about the earth*, 1933.  
Painting: oil on canvas (Cartoons: Newspaper House  
Mosaic);

NGA 84.845: M. Napier Waller, *Christian Waller with Baldur, Undine and Siren  
at Fairy Hills*, 1932. Painting: oil and tempera on canvas  
mounted on composition board;

NGA 86.2258: M. Napier Waller, *The Man in Black* (undesigned proof), 1925.  
Print: ink; paper linocut, printed in black ink from one block;

NGA 2008.167: George W. Lambert, [cast of] *Geelong Grammar School War  
Memorial*, 2008. Sculpture: bronze; and

Exhibition: *Sydney Long: The Spirit of the Land*. 17 August-11 November 2012.

**National Portrait Gallery:**

1999.73: M. Napier Waller, *Margaret Anderson*, 1942. Portrait: pastel on  
paper;

2008.22: Harold Cazneaux, *Rayner Hoff*, 1928. Portrait: gelatin silver  
photograph; and

Exhibition: *Paris to Monaro: Pleasures from the studio of Hilda Rix Nicholas*.

31 May-11 August 2013.

**St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Barton:**

Presbytery Office:	Board of Management Minutes (April 1942-September 1945); Board of Management Minutes (September 1945-March 1949); Session Minutes (October 1926-October 1952); Various folders of documentary ephemera;
Church entrance:	Portraits of Ministers of the Canberra Parish; and
Warriors' Chapel:	Various memorials, honour boards and plaques.

**Other primary sources:**

Parliamentary Vista: observed from Parliament House and AWM perspectives.  
Australian Service Nurses' National Memorial, Anzac Parade, Canberra

**New South Wales**

**Stained Glass Windows:**

Percy Bacon & Bros., *McKellar Window*, 1903. St James' Anglican Church, Phillip Street, Sydney;

Percy Bacon & Bros., *(Boer) War Memorial Window*, 1903. St James' Anglican Church, Phillip Street, Sydney;

John Ashwin, *Soldiers' Memorial Window*, 1920. Glen Innes Uniting Church, Glen Innes;

Hardman & Co., *Benson Window*, 1921. St Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Sydney;

Kempe & Co., *Warriors' Chapel Scheme*, 1924. Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, Newcastle;

William Montgomery, *Heroes of Battle and Love*, 1927. Warriors' Chapel, All Saints' Anglican Cathedral, Bathurst;

Heaton, Butler & Bayne, *Jones Window*, 1926. St Augustine's Anglican Church, Neutral Bay;

Hardman & Co., *Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Window*, 1928. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Randwick;

Heaton, Butler & Bayne, *Parish Soldiers' Memorial Window*, 1929. St Augustine's Anglican Church, Neutral Bay;

Norman Carter, *Heroes of the Lonely Way, Truth and **Humanity***, 1930. Warriors' Chapel, All Saints' Anglican Cathedral, Bathurst;

M. Napier Waller, *St Mary Magdalene*, 1931. All Saints' Anglican Church, Canowindra;

William Bustard, *Bishop Long Window*, 1933. Bishops' Walk, Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, Newcastle;

Creator unknown (possibly Alfred Handel), *May Hayman Window*, c.1947, St Alban's Anglican Church, Epping;

John Radecki, *War Memorial Window* (World War II), 1946. Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Glen Innes;

Ashwin & Co., *Sister Clarke Memorial Window*, c.1946-50. St James' Anglican Church, Rylestone;

John Radecki, *Memorial Window* (World War II), 1947. St Augustine's Anglican Church, Merewether, Newcastle;

Philip Handel, *St George Honour Board Windows*, 1949. Scone Uniting Church, Scone;

M. Napier Waller, *Ransome Tovey Wyatt Window*, 1950. St Saviour's Anglican Cathedral, Goulburn;

Mathieson & Gibbs, *Finch Memorial Window*, 1946. St John's Anglican Church, Moolong;

Hardman & Co., *Resurrection Window*, 1950. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Randwick;

Norman Carter, *Sisters Florence Salmon and Winifred Davis and Matron Elizabeth Hunter, AANS, Memorial Window*, c.1946. War Memorial Hospital Waverley, Waverley;

Kevin Little, *Bishop Stephen Window*, c.1960s. Bishops' Walk, Christ Church Anglican Cathedral, Newcastle;

David Saunders, *War Memorial Window* (World War II), 1960. St Stephen's Anglican Church, Willoughby;

Martin van der Toorn, *War Memorial Window* (World War II), 1965. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Woollongong;

Kevin Little, *J. M. Toot (Florence Nightingale) Window*, c.1966. Dubbo Base Hospital, Dubbo;

Martin van der Toorn, *RSL War Memorial Window* (World War II), 1971. St John's Anglican Church, Taree;

Martin van der Toorn, *RSL War Memorial Window* (World War II), c.1972. St Matthias Anglican Church, Denman;

Martin van der Toorn, *War Memorial Window* (World War II), St Peter's Church, Hamilton, Newcastle;

Philip Handal, *RANNS, AANS & RAAFNS Window*, 1989. Chapel, RSL Veterans' Retirement Village, Colaroy Plateau;

Creator unknown, *Florence Nightingale Window*, c.1989. Chapel, Casino and District Memorial Hospital;

Philip Handal, *RANNS, AANS & RAAFNS Window*, 1994. Nurses' War Memorial Chapel, former Prince Alfred Hospital site, Little Bay.

### **Artworks and exhibitions:**

George W. Lambert, Recumbent figure of a soldier (Unknown soldier), 1928-30. Sculpture: bronze. St Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Sydney;

Exhibitions: *Sydney Moderns: Art for a New World*. Art Gallery of NSW: 6 July-7 October 2013; and  
*Mad through the Darkness: Australian Artists and the Great War*. Art Gallery of NSW: 25 April-27 October 2015.

### **Anglican Diocese of Bathurst:**

Diocesan safe: Acts of the Bishop: faculties, consecrations, etc (1909-1934);  
Diocesan photographs and other ephemera;

Diocesan Storeroom (upstairs in William Street): Bishop-in-council (May 1925-October 1927);  
Registrar's correspondence (1927-1929); and  
Various boxes (unmarked) of Cathedral and Diocesan ephemera.

### **Anglican Diocese of Newcastle Archives:**

A5359(iii): Cathedral Correspondence;  
A6137(IV): Christ Church Cathedral Warriors' Chapel;  
A8854(ix): Nursing Staff book (1915-1973);  
AB7829a: Minute Book of (Christ Church) Cathedral Council;  
B7842: Parochial Minute Book;  
St Augustine's, Box 2 Vestry Correspondence;  
Merewether: BM 10-Receipts & Expenditure 1942-1945; and



**Australian Archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, Kensington**

Box 0421/Randwick: Randwick Stained Glass Window 1921-1949.

**Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney Archives:**

Series 49/058: Randwick Correspondence.

**King, Reverend Father Peter, E. S., papers from his personal archive:**

Memoir Notes: John Franklin Duthie Cargill (16 March 1908-08 May 1982), headed  
NX59844 A. Cpl Cargill... dated 1945.

**Land of the Beardies History House Museum and Research Centre, Glen Innes:**

Cameron Memorial

Presbyterian Church: Committee of Management Minute Book (1909-1929);

Card Index: Local residents;

Holy Trinity Church

of England: Parochial Council Minutes (April 1943-September 1955); and

Holy Trinity Church

of England: Register of Services.

**Mitchell Library, Sydney:**

A 5052-A 5312: Papers of the Whitney Pastoral Co., Coombing Park, Carcoar,  
N.S.W., 1875-1945

ML MSS1764:

MLMSS 9588: Whitney Pastoral Company further records and King family papers,  
ca. 1835-ca. 1994:

Pictorial material of Norman Carter: Stained glass designs;

ML MSS 31: Sydney Ure Smith papers and biographical notes, 1901-1949;

ML MSS. 471: Papers [manuscript]: [Carter, Norman St. Clair, 1875-1963](#);

ML MSS.600: Letters [manuscript]. [Carter, Norman St. Clair, 1875-1963](#);

PXD 1046 incl boxes John Ashwin & Co. design drawings and cartoons for stained glass

& folders: windows (chiefly by J. Radecki) and photographs; and  
V1 / Chu / 2: Design for (War Memorial) stained glass window by Norman Carter;

**Presbyterian Archives of Australia, Surrey Hills:**

04/272: Wollongong Committee of Management Minutes 1962-1968; and  
Wollongong Financial Records 1964-1977.

**St Augustine's Anglican Church, Merewether, Newcastle:**

Parish Office: Parochial Council Minutes 1938 – 1947; and  
Women's Guild Minute Book, January 1945 – October 1953.

**St James' Anglican Church, Phillip Street, Sydney:**

Parish Archives: Parish Minute Book (1851-1920)  
Box 15: Rector's Correspondence (1917-1919)  
Box 24: Memorials  
Box 71: Parish Groups (on active service)

Church: Parish honour board  
Memorial to Staff Nurse Ruby Dickinson from comrades in  
the AANS.

**Sydney Diocesan Archives:**

Archdiocese of  
Sydney: Volume 2: Archbishop of Sydney Acts and Proceedings (1919-  
1930); and  
Neutral Bay: Parish Council Minutes (December 1921-April 1954).

**Other material sources:**

Cathedrals, churches  
and chapels: St Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Sydney;  
St Stephen's Uniting Church, Sydney;  
All Saints' Anglican Cathedral and Warriors' Chapel,  
Bathurst;  
Christ Church Anglican Cathedral and Warriors' Chapel,  
Newcastle;  
St Saviour's Anglican Cathedral and Warriors' Chapel,  
Goulburn;

Glen Innes, Uniting Church, Glen Innes;  
Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Glen Innes;  
Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Randwick;  
St Augustine's Anglican Church, Neutral Bay;  
St Margaret's of Scotland Anglican Church, Bellingen;

Hospitals and

Schools:

Sydney Hospital;  
Methodist Ladies College, Burwood;  
Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School,  
Darlinghurst;

War memorials and  
monuments:

Anzac Memorial, Hyde Park;  
Cenotaph, Martin Place;  
Honour board: Land Titles Office, Sydney;  
Honour board: Nursing Medical Museum, Prince Henry  
Hospital, Little Bay;  
War Memorial Gates and Park, Glen Innes;  
War Memorial, Hamilton;  
War Memorial, North Sydney;  
War Memorial, Wentworth Falls.

## **Queensland**

### **Stained glass windows**

Burlison & Grylls, *Bond Window*, 1918. Apse, St John's Anglican Cathedral, Brisbane;  
Burlison & Grylls, *Clark Windows*, 1921. South transept, St John's Anglican Cathedral,  
Brisbane;  
Burlison & Grylls, *Morgan Window*, 1921. South transept, St John's Anglican Cathedral,  
Brisbane;  
William Bustard, *War Memorial Window*, 1922. Soldiers' Memorial Hall, RSL offices,  
Ipswich;  
Creator unknown, *RAN, Army, RAAF & AANS Emblem Windows*, c.1935. Indooroopilly  
Uniting Church, Indooroopilly.  
Creator unknown, *Sister McInnes Memorial Window*, 1941. Ithaca Presbyterian Church,  
Ithaca;

William Bustard, *Te Deum Window*, 1948. St Augustine's (Anglican) War Memorial Church, Hamilton;

William Bustard, *WRANS, WRAAF, WRAAC, Nursing Services Windows*, c.1950s. St Augustine's (Anglican) War Memorial Church, Hamilton;

William Bustard, *Florence Nightingale Window*, c.1951. South transept, St John's Anglican Cathedral, Brisbane;

William Bustard, *Edith Cavell Window*, c.1951. South transept, St John's Anglican Cathedral, Brisbane;

William Bustard, *New Guinea Martyrs' Window*, c.1951. South transept, St John's Anglican Cathedral, Brisbane;

William Bustard, *Sister Margaret Brenchley Window*, 1956. Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Fortitude Valley;

Oliver Cowley, *Armed Forces Window (World War II)*, 1970. St Paul's Anglican Cathedral, Rockhampton;

Oliver Cowley, *War Memorial Window*, 1970. St Peter's Anglican Church, Maroochydoore.

## Artworks

Exhibition: *William Bustard: Painting with Light*. Museum of Brisbane, 19 June 2015-31 January 2016.

## Anglican Archives of Brisbane

CATHS030-Bk 1: Minute Book Cathedral Chapter (March 1887-Dec 1927);

DCOUS244-Bk 7: Minute Books Diocesan Council;

HAMIS063-4: Lasting (WWI) Memorial;

HAMIS063-6: Parish Council Minute Books;

HAMIS063-9: Correspondence;

NEWFS105-6: Parish Papers;

NEWFS105-7: Account Books;

NEWFS105-8: Parish Council Minute Books;

NEWFS105-9: Parish Council Annual Reports;

REGIS203-Bk 43: Correspondence Letter Book C (March-Dec 1919);

REGIS203-Bk 44: Correspondence Letter Book D (Dec 1919-Oct 1920);

REGIS203-Bk 45: Correspondence Letter Book E (Oct 1920-July 1921);

REGIS203-Bk 46: Correspondence Letter Book F (July 1921-May 1922);

REGIS203-Bk 47: Correspondence Letter Book D (May 1922-Feb 1923);

- REGIS203-Bk 59: Correspondence Letter Books;  
 REGIS203-Bk 61: Correspondence Letter Book (Oct 1921-Sept 1923);  
 REGIS203-Bk 62: Correspondence Letter Book (Oct 1923-April 1924); and  
 REGIS204-Bk 74: Diocesan Register.

### **John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland**

- OM84-08: James Clark Papers 1893-1912; and  
 RBJ 940.467MAR: Maryborough War Memorial: souvenir of the unveiling ceremony.

### **Other material sources**

- War Memorials                                      State War Memorial, Anzac Square;  
  
    Queensland Women's War Memorial Anzac Square.

## **South Australia**

### **Stained Glass Windows**

- M. Napier Waller, *C. E. Wall (Nativity) Window*, St Bartholomew's Anglican Church, Norwood;  
 Cedar Prest, *RAANC Window*, 1989. Chapel, Daw Park Repatriation Hospital, Daw Park;  
 Cedar Prest, *AANS Windows*, c.1990s. Queen Elizabeth II Hospital, Woodville.

### **Artworks**

- M. Napier Waller, *The Pastoral Pursuits of Australia*, 1927. (Menziess Hotel) Mural: oil on canvas. State Gallery of South Australia: 875P15b a-e.

### **Other material sources**

- War memorials and  
 monuments:                                      South Australian National War Memorial (Rayner Hoff, 1932).

## **Victoria**

### **Stained Glass Windows:**

- William Montgomery, *Nurse Edith Cavell*, 1918. All Saints' Anglican Church, Newtown;  
 Brooks, Robinson & Co., *Sister Gladys Ella Cain Window*, 1918. Wesley Church, Lonsdale St, Melbourne;

Brooks, Robinson & Co., *Honour Board Windows*, 1918. Wesley Church, Lonsdale St, Melbourne;

William Montgomery, *Honour board Windows*, c.1920. Ballarat Uniting Church, cnr Lydiard and Dana Streets, Ballarat;

Creator unknown, *War Memorial Window* (Florence Nightingale), c. 1920s. Bentleigh Uniting Church, Bentleigh;

M. Napier Waller, *Pioneers' Window*, 1935. Wesley Church, Lonsdale St, Melbourne;

Christian Waller, *St Hilda*, 1935. St James' Old Cathedral, King St, Melbourne;

M. Napier Waller, *Centenary Memorial Window*, 1946. St Peter's Anglican Church, Eastern Hill;

Christian Waller, *Lomax and Duke (Florence Nightingale) Memorial Window*, 1948. St Mark's Anglican Church, Camberwell;

M. Napier Waller, *War Memorial Window*, 1949. St Peter's Anglican Church, Eastern Hill;

Mathieson & Gibson, *Sister O'Donnell Window*, c.1950. St Paul's Anglican Church, Myrtleford;

M. Napier Waller, *Warriors' Chapel Scheme*, 1951. St Stephen's, Gardenvale;

M. Napier Waller, *Transfiguration (War Memorial) Window*, 1952. St Mark's Anglican Church, Camberwell;

Mathieson & Gibson, *Sister Mona Tait Window*, 1953. Warrnambool Hospital, Warrnambool;

Ninian Compter, *Wife of Walter (Edith Cavell) Memorial Window*, 1958. St Mark's Anglican Church, Camberwell;

Alan Sumner, *War Memorial Window* (World War I), c.1960s. Queen's College Chapel, Melbourne University, Melbourne. (This depiction of the nurse shares elements of uniform worn by both AANS and the Red Cross);

Alan Sumner, *War Memorial Windows*, c.1960s. St Luke's Anglican Church, Frankston;

J. Whippell, Mowbray & Co. Pty Ltd, *Mirams (Florence Nightingale) Memorial Window*, St Peter's Anglican Church, Brighton Beach;

Joseph Stansfield, *Sister Holyhoke Window*, c.1962. St Peter's Anglican Church, Ocean Grove.

Joseph Stansfield, *New Guinea Martyrs Window*, 1972. St Mark's Anglican Church, Camberwell;

Joseph Stansfield, *New Guinea Martyrs Window*, c.1972. St Stephen's Anglican Church,

Portland; and  
Allison MacMillan, *Duckboard Stained Glass Scheme*, 1990s. Heidelberg Repatriation  
Hospital, Bell St, Heidelberg.

### **Artworks and exhibitions:**

L. Bernard Hall, *William Montgomery*, 1910. Oil on canvas. Private Collection;  
M. Napier Waller, *Melbourne Town Hall Murals* (design only), 1926-27;  
M. Napier Waller, *Better than to squander life's gifts is to conserve them and ensure a  
fearless life*, 1928. (T & G Building) Mural, Collins Street, Melbourne;  
M. Napier Waller, *The Crucifixion*, 1929. Altarpiece, All Saints' Anglican Church, Newtown.  
ce;  
M. Napier Waller, *I'll put a girdle around the earth*, 1933. (Newspaper House) Mosaic.  
Collins Street, Melbourne;  
M. Napier Waller, *Christ, St Stephen, St John the Divine*, 1961. St Stephen's Anglican  
Church, Gardenvale. Altarpiece;  
Exhibition: *WWI: Love and Sorrow*, Melbourne Museum. Duration of the World War I  
Centenary.

### **Heritage Victoria Offices\* and Archaeological Facility# (Abbotsford)**

PL-HE/03/0023\* (Folder of documentation relating to) Napier Waller House, Ivanhoe;  
Abbotsford# Cartoons, designs, sketches and artwork from Napier Waller House,  
Ivanhoe: all holdings viewed

### **Napier Waller House, Crown Road, Ivanhoe**

House: Artworks, books, ephemera and contents of sideboard  
drawers in lounge room;  
Painting studio: Artist's equipment including workbench, kiln, brushes,  
artwork, glass samples and other ephemera;  
Drawing studio: Architectural structure and relationship to main house and  
environment; and  
Gardens: Architectural relationship of house and studio to urban  
landscape.

### **National Archives of Australia, North Melbourne:**

NAA: B73, C14939: Waller, Mervyn Napier; no 20178 [Widow - Lorna M Waller].

**State Library of Victoria:**

- MS 10549: Papers, 1894-1935. [manuscript]: L. Bernard Hall 1859-1935;
- MS 10990: Records, 1905-ca. 1973. [manuscript]: Louis Reginald Williams 1890-1980:  
Boxes 5, 8-10, 23, 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 46, 47,56, 59, 61, 64,  
71, 74, 99, 104, 105, 110,112, 113, 116.
- MS 15414: Records, [manuscript]: William Montgomery:  
Boxes 2, 27

**St Peter's Anglican Church, Eastern Hill:**

- Diocesan safe: Churchwardens' Correspondence;  
Photo album, 1936;  
Service Register (November 1943-July 1978);  
Vestry Minutes (1939-1946);  
Vestry Minutes (1946-1960); and
- Parish Office Correspondence between M. Napier Waller and Vicar  
Maynard.

**St Stephen's Anglican Church Vestry, Gardenvale:**

- Vestry: Vestry Minute Book (February 1933-January 1947);  
Vestry Minute Book (February 1947-February 1956);  
'Windows of the Warriors' Chapel' document (c.1950);
- Nave: Warriors' Book; and
- Warriors' Chapel: Memorial plaques, photographic portrait and documents  
(framed and unframed).

**Other material sources:**

- Cathedrals, churches  
and chapels: St James' (Old Cathedral) Anglican Church, King Street;  
Wesley Uniting Church, Melbourne;  
Ballarat Uniting Church, Ballarat;  
St John's Anglican Church, Toorak;  
St Peter's Anglican Church, Ballarat;  
St Peter's Anglican Church, Eastern Hill; and  
St Stephen's Anglican Church, Gardenvale and Warriors'



Chapel.  
Miscellaneous: Dana Street Primary School; Ballarat;  
War Memorials and Avenue of Honour, Ballarat;  
miscellaneous: RSL rooms: Sebastopol sub-branch;  
Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne.

### **Western Australia:**

St George's Anglican Cathedral and Soldiers' Chapel; and  
State War Memorial, Kings Park (1929).

### **Websites:**

Australian War Memorial: <https://www.awm.gov.au/>  
Department of Veterans' Affairs: <http://dva.gov.au/>  
Honest History: <http://honesthistory.net.au/>  
Immigration Place Australia: <http://immigrationplace.com.au/>  
Imperial War Museum, United Kingdom: <http://www.iwm.org.uk>  
International Committee of the Red Cross: <https://www.icrc.org/>  
National Archives of Australia: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>  
National Archives, United Kingdom: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>  
National Library of Australia (Trove): <http://trove.nla.gov.au/>

### **Interviews:**

**Lyn Smith, RN:** 23 February 2011:

Lyn, who is now retired, manages the Medical and Nursing Museum at the former Prince Alfred Hospital at Little Bay, Sydney. Lyn shared her memories of training under members of the AANS in the years immediately following World War II and how, based on aspects of how they wore their uniform, members of the AANS defined themselves from other members of nursing staff.

**Elizabeth Handel:** 24 February 2011,

Widow of artisan Philip Handel. Elizabeth shared her memories of the history of the family business – Philip took over from his father Alfred – along with the local history of the Sydney trade firms and her husband's struggle to establish himself following his father's death.

**Mary Headrick (nee Carseldine, AANS):** 20 May 2011

Member of the AANS during World War II. Served extensively through the SWPA and was among the first service nurses into Changi to care for the Australian POWs following the cessation of hostilities. Mary shared her memories of the uniform of the AANS, the challenges of caring for it on active service, other female-specific aspects of service and the reality of caring for patients in tropical hospitals during the war.

**Robert Winther:** 24 June 2011:

Veteran Liaison Officer, Heidelberg Repatriation Hospital, Heidelberg. Robert administered the commissioning, execution and installation of the Duckboard stained glass scheme at the hospital. Robert's memories provided a valuable comparison between a contemporary government commission and that of the AWM.

**Kay Benger (nee Adams):** 17 November 2011:

Former parishioner of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Wollongong, as a teenager, Kay designed the subject matter for its War Memorial Window. Kay recalled her memories of the influences for her design and of working with Sydney artisan Martin van der Toorn.

**Kevin Little:** 24 November 2011-present:

Third generation glass worker. Worked under Norman Carter as an apprentice in the firm of Standard Glass Co (Concord) prior to taking over the family-run leadlight business and establishing a stained glass studio. Technical consultant on my thesis.

**Terence Lane:** 10 April 2013:

Art curator (retired) from the NGV and family friend of Napier and Lorna Waller. Terence grew up in the vicinity of the Waller's estate and, as a boy, got to know the artist and his wife when he knocked on their door and requested Napier look at some art he had drawn. Remained a life-long friend of the couple until their deaths. Terence shared his memories of the Wallers and aspects of Napier's art.

### **Newspapers, magazines and local periodicals:**

(Church publications held by the parish\* or diocesan^ archive)

*Advertiser* (Adelaide);

*Alexandra and Yea Standard and Yarck, Gobur, Thornton and Acheron Express;*

*Argus* (Melbourne);

*Art in Australia* (Sydney);

*Auckland Star* (New Zealand);

*Australasian* (Melbourne);

*Australian Church Quarterly*<sup>^</sup> (Melbourne);

*Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney);

*Australian Women's Weekly*;

*Ballarat Courier*;

*Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill);

*Bathurst National Advocate*;

*Bathurst Times*;

*Brisbane Cathedral Notes*<sup>^</sup>;

*Brisbane Courier*;

*Broadcaster* (Fairfield, NSW);

*Canberra Times*;

*Capricornian* (Rockhampton);

*Catholic Press* (Sydney);

*Central Queensland Herald* (Rockhampton);

*Chronicle* (Adelaide);

*Church Chronicle*<sup>^</sup> (Brisbane);

*Church of England Messenger*<sup>^</sup> (Melbourne);

*Church News*\* (Bathurst);

*Circular Head Chronicle* (Stanley);

*Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* (Canberra);

*Cootamundra Herald*;

*Courier Mail* (Brisbane);

*Daily Advertiser* (Wagga Wagga);

*Daily News* (Perth);

*Dubbo Liberal and Macquarie Advocate*;

*Echo*\* (Canberra);

*Examiner* (Launceston);

*Farmer and Settler* (Sydney);

*Freeman's Journal* (Sydney);

*Glen Innes Examiner*;

*Goulburn Evening Penny Post*;

*Kerang New Times*;

*Mail* (Adelaide);

*Mercury* (Hobart);

*Methodist* (Sydney);

*Monthly Church Messenger*\* (St James', Phillip St, Sydney);

*Moolong Express and Western District Advertiser*;

*Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton);

*Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*;

*Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*;

*Newcastle Diocesan Churchman*<sup>^</sup>;

*Newcastle Herald*;

*Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*;

*News* (Adelaide);

*New South Wales Presbyterian*\*<sup>^</sup>;

*Prahan Telegraph*;  
*Queensland Figaro* (Brisbane);  
*Queensland Times* (Ipswich);  
*Queenslander* (Brisbane);  
*Randwick Catholic Church Record*<sup>^</sup>;  
*Register* (Adelaide);  
*Riverina Herald* (Echuca);  
*Singleton Argus*;  
*St Augustine's Parish Messenger*\* (Neutral Bay);  
*St Stephen's Parish Paper*\* (Gardenvale);  
*Sunday Mail* (Brisbane);  
*Sunday Times* (Sydney);  
*Sydney Morning Herald*;  
*Townsville Daily Bulletin*;  
*West Australian* (Perth);  
*Western Age* (Dubbo);  
*Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie);  
*Western Mail* (Perth);  
*Wollongong Presbyterian*\*; and  
*Young Witness* (Young).

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Anonymous. "Bringing the Social History of Nursing into the Light." *Queensland Nurse* 30, no. 1 (2011): 6-7.

Anonymous. "Obituary." *Journal of British Stained and Master Glass-Painters* 14, no.3, (1967): 158.

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