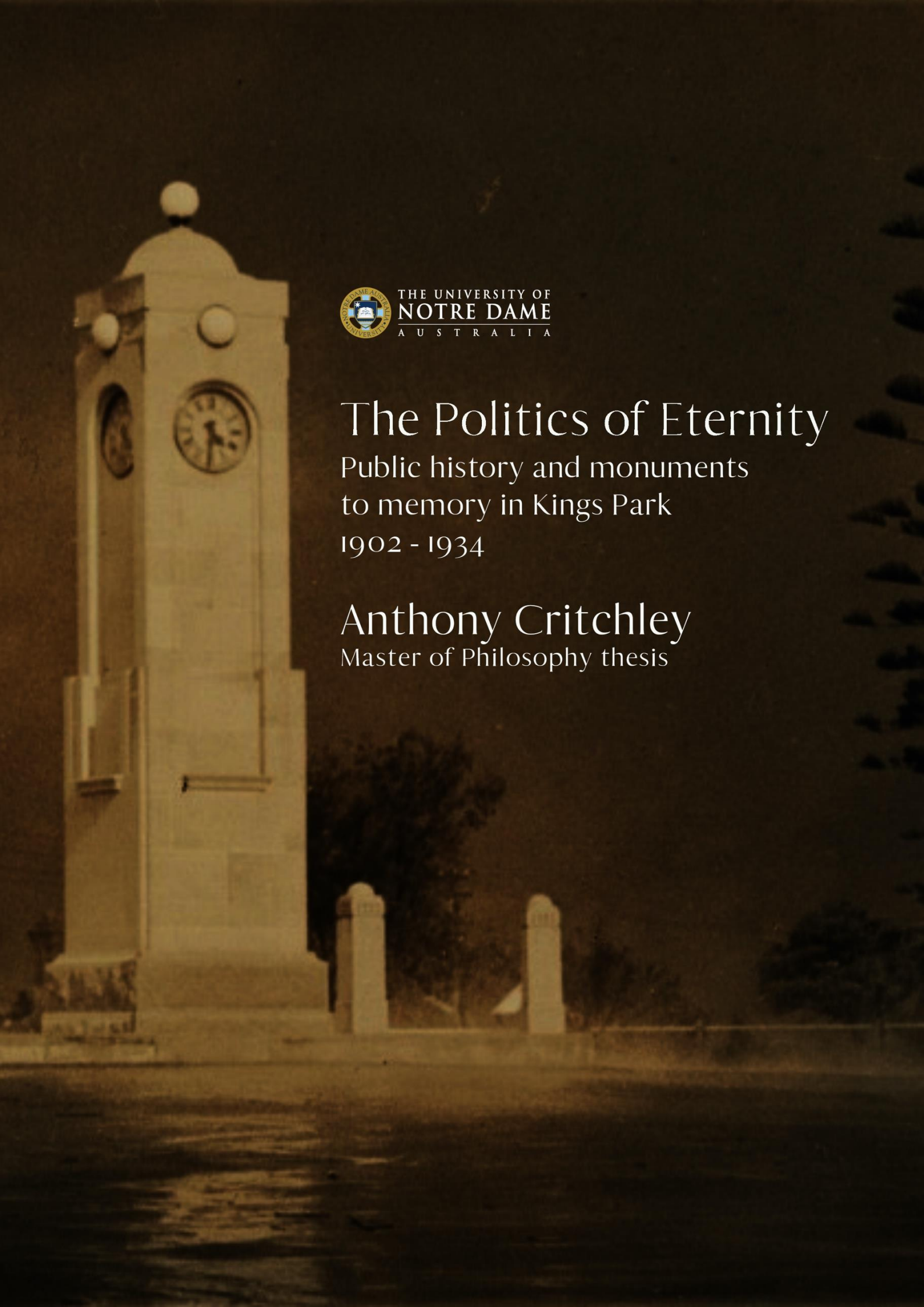
2022

# The Politics of Eternity: Public History and Monuments to Memory in Kings Park, 1902-1934

Anthony Critchley
*The University of Notre Dame Australia*



THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME AUSTRALIA

# The Politics of Eternity

## Public history and monuments to memory in Kings Park 1902 - 1934


## Anthony Critchley


Master of Philosophy thesis

# The Politics of Eternity

## Public History and Monuments to Memory in Kings Park, 1902-1934

A thesis submitted in the partial fulfilment of a

Master of Philosophy

Anthony Critchley, B.A.
The University of Notre Dame Australia
February 2022

# DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

To the best of the candidate's knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published by another person, except where due acknowledgement has been made.

This thesis is the candidate's own work and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution.

# ABSTRACT

The sacred sites of Gargatup (Mount Eliza) and Gooninup (Kennedy's Spring) were revered by Whadjuk Noongar people long before the arrival of Europeans in Western Australia. Now part of the site of Kings Park in Perth, it remains cherished by today's community for its botanic beauty and panoramic views. European traditions have replaced the Indigenous cultural heritage, most notably with the erection of war monuments, statues, and memorial plaques, amidst the herbaceous gardens and native flora. The first president of the Kings Park Board, Sir John Forrest, and his successor, Arthur Lovekin, envisioned that the Park would emulate ornate British Victorian landscapes. From 1902 to 1934, they executed a program of public history and ornamentation, transforming the parkland into Western Australia's stately memorial precinct by building the major monuments. Yet, the public's knowledge of Kings Park as a site of memory, and its contributions to the cultural heritage of Western Australia, is less understood. Further and importantly, the monuments have received little attention from historians. This thesis, then, aims to fill this research gap by increasing knowledge and understanding of Kings Park as a place of public memory. It does this by querying the symbolic intent and utility of the Kings Park memorials, and analysing the decisions made on what could and could not be included in the park.

The thesis focusses on four case studies, all constructed in the formative years of the state's development and in the aftermath of World War One: the Fallen Soldier's Memorial (1902), the Queen Victoria statue (1903), the State War Memorial (1929), and the Edith Cowan Memorial (1934). The investigation into the symbolic intent of these memorials utilises Gillian Rose's framework, the Four Sites of a Critical Methodology, with a focus on two of these sites, image, and audience. These help determine where the meanings of the image, symbol, or object concur. An in-field examination of the memorials' composition provides clues to the meaning of the memorials. The visual evidence is considered with reference to archival sources, including the Kings Park Board meetings, the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee Minutes, Hansard, City of Perth letters, newspaper articles, and photographs. These sources tell us something about community engagement with the memorials and aid the analysis of memorial inclusion or exclusion decisions.

This analysis has produced three key findings. The first is the graphical symbols of heroism and patriotism, linking duty to glory, represented by the early twentieth century memorials, and created exclusively by Perth's elite, intended to instil civic pride and loyalty to Britain. After World War One, patriotic symbolism transitioned to venerating sacrifice, not war, enabling the Perth community to focus on their war dead. Second, there is evidence that the Kings Park Board, in collaboration with

an elite few, failed to democratise the memorial building process. They chose which memorials were built in the park, how they were designed, the artists who sculpted them, and the builders who erected them. I argue that they arose almost exclusively at the wish and whim of the governing board (made up of civic, religious, and military leaders), excluded community engagement, and largely ignored public utility. There is evidence that the Kings Park Board rejected memorial building applications, which raises questions, considered in this thesis, about who had the power to make these decisions and whether they were in the public's interest. Finally, the thesis demonstrates the rich historical context that exists behind each memorial, which is an opportunity to broaden contemporary audiences' understanding of the memorials and increase their appreciation of the structures. This thesis thus contributes towards a better understanding of the significant heritage value of the memorials, which may inform any future conservation debates that rely on the elucidation of their meaning.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With special thanks to Professor Deborah Gare for her inspiration, supervision, and guidance over the past two years to bring this thesis to fruition. Your encouragement during and after completing my undergraduate degree, and your wealth of historical knowledge, has significantly influenced my academic journey for the past five years. Thank you to Dr Darren Holden for your advice and leadership, especially in the early stages of this thesis, when the direction of the research was unclear. Your confidence in my work was always reassuring.

Thank you to Dr Christine de Matos and Professor Peter Dean for their invaluable readers feedback and advice on my research proposal. To my fellow history group members and Dr Joan Wardrop, your feedback was invaluable. To the University of Notre Dame and the School of Arts and Sciences, I am grateful for the opportunity to complete this postgraduate degree. Furthermore, I wish to acknowledge the support provided by an Australian Government Research Training Program (RTP) Scholarship.

Finally, to Melanie and my family, your patience and encouragement have been outstanding.

Front Cover Image: Author Unknown, *Edith Cowan Memorial Clock*, c1934, photograph, State Library of Western Australia. BA2843/116.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# FIGURES

# INTRODUCTION

# The Public Memory of Perth

## Gargatup

Kings Park is a revered place for the Whadjuk Noongar people. The park is positioned within the complex Dreamtime traditions of the Waugal (the Great Rainbow Serpent) and its creation of sacred hills, waterways, trees, stones, and waterholes, along the Derbal Yerrigan (the Swan River).[1] The Waugal emerged from the underground waterways at the freshwater spring, now called Kennedy's Fountain, on the high ridge of Gargatup (Mount Eliza), then camped below the peak at Gooninup (the southern base of Mount Eliza).[2] The elder, Yellagonga (also written Yellowgonga), and the Mooro people occupied the land stretching from Gargatup to Moore River.[3] Of all the Indigenous elders along the Derbal, Yellagonga was the most distinguished and revered for his 'humane peaceable disposition', yet, he had 'distinguishable martial courage'.[4] When roused, he was fearless. No warrior, not even the great Yagan, dared stand before him.[5] Gargatup enabled Yellagonga to keep watch over his people and the fisheries below.[6] Goonininup was a popular place in the spring, when 'fish and game were plentiful'.[7] It was a teaching camp for young male initiates as they progressed into adulthood and prepared to marry.[8] Goonininup formed an essential part of the initiates track that extended to Busselton, the Porongurup's, and possibly further. A great celebratory feast coincided with a kangaroo hunt when the young men returned to their home groups. In Perth, this happened on Mount Eliza. Feasting, ritual fighting, the making of kangaroo cloaks, and fur strings were all part of the ceremony.[9] Men and women participated in the various kening (dances), and there were great gatherings under the moonlight, around a blazing fire, while the beedawa ceremonies (initiation of young men) took place, amongst a good deal of 'flirtations,

[1] Patricia Vinnicombe, "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza Which Includes the Old Swan Brewery Building," *Historic Environment 9,* no. 1/2 (1992): 53–62.
[2] Vinnicombe, "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza," 54; City of Joondalup, *Plants and People in Mooro Country: Noongar Plant Use in Yellagonga Regional Park,* 4th ed (Perth, WA: 2020), 9.
[3] "The Old Swan River Settlement," *Western Mail* (Perth), July 16, 1897, 46.
[4] "The Western Australian Journal," *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal,* April 20, 1833, 62.
[5] "The Western Australian Journal."
[6] "The Old Swan River Settlement."
[7] Daisy Bates, "Two Years in a Native Camp," *Daily News* (Perth), May 27, 1909, 2.
[8] Vinnicombe, "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza,"57.
[9] Vinnicombe, 58.

elopements, fights, jealousies, and the matches that were made and broken.'[10] This idyllic lifestyle was about to change after the first settlement of the Europeans.

In January 1829, the British 63rd Regiment sailed from England aboard the naval vessel *HMS Sulphur* to establish a new settlement along the Swan River.[11] They erected their tents at the camp of Yellagonga's people, opposite the spring below Gargatup, in the sacred Goonininup area, to take possession of the land in the new colony.[12] Yellagonga respected the new settlers, and they were greatly indebted to him for protecting their lives and their property.[13] In 1833, the *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* reported:

> The camp of Yellowgonga, [sic], bearing this name, originally stood beside the springs at the West end of the town, as you descend from Mount Eliza; and on this very spot did the 63d pitch their tents, when they came to take possession. So that the headquarters of the king of Mooro are now become the headquarters of the territories of the British King in Western Australia.[14]

Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Stirling realised the naval potential of the strategic position of Gargatup, overlooking the vast expanse of the future state capital, and utilised the site for protection against the potential bombardment from hostile marauders sailing upstream on the Swan River.[15] Stirling named the 65-metre sloping limestone escarpment Mount Eliza, in honour of British philanthropist and social welfare advocate Lady Eliza (Elizabeth) Darling (1798 – 1868).[16] Stirling had annexed the colony for the British, and Yellagonga and the Mooro moved north, to Galup (Lake Monger area). Gargatup became a reserve, Perth Park, then in July 1901 it was renamed *King's Park,* referring to Edward VII.[17] The Kings Park Board marked the occasion with a notation in their minute book:

> During the visit of Their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, the title of the reserve was changed to that of King's Park and formally declared by His Royal Highness and the controlling body re-gazetted on the 20 December 1901 as the King's Park Board, then consisting of the Rt. Hon. Sir John Forrest, the Hon. Sir Winthrop Hackett,

[10] Bates, "Two Years in a Native Camp."
[11] Record of services of 63rd Regiment (1 Vol.), May 1828–May 1834, National Library of Australia, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2379889889.
[12] "The Old Swan River Settlement."
[13] "The Western Australian Journal," *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal,* April 20, 1833, 62.
[14] "The Western Australian Journal."
[15] Geoffrey Bolton, *Land of Vision and Mirage: Western Australia Since 1826* (Crawley, WA: The University of Western Australia Publishing, 2007), ProQuest Ebook Central, 9.
[16] Vinnicombe, "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza," 53.
[17] "Today's Function at the Perth Park," *West Australian*, July 23, 1901, 7.

> M.L.C., the Hon. Sir George Shenton, M.L.C., B.C. Wood, M.L.A., George Temple Poole, and Arthur Lovekin.[18]

The current Kings Park name omits the possessive apostrophe, and the park is known as Kings Park & Botanic Garden. The evidence suggests that the park founders intended to name the park to honour Edward VII using the possessive apostrophe (King's Park). This is evident in the extensive use of 'King's Park' in the early twentieth century newspaper reports, in the Kings Park Board Minutes (1896 to 1932), and on the board's letterhead. The current Kings Park & Botanic Garden website suggests the name was changed in 1901 to 'Kings Park' to mark the accession of King Edward VII to the British throne; however, the site incorrectly omits the possessive apostrophe.[19]

## The Kings Park memorials

Within a hundred years, descendants of Stirling's British colony at the Swan River settlement had shaped the escarpment of Gargatup as the principal place of memory for Western Australians. Kings Park's memorials reflect the essence of the history of people's lives, their social values and experiences, the events they were involved in, and the foremost concerns of the community that built them.[20] They were established within forty years of the first Kings Park Board's appointment in 1896. The reasons for honouring and remembering these individuals with places of memory reflected the power, social, and cultural changes in Western Australia during the first four decades of the twentieth century.[21] Aside from the beautiful botanic gardens, Kings Park is a place of community history, allowing people to map the complex interrelationships between officially endorsed state historiographies, public memorials, and privately funded memorials in the civic space.[22] It is a place most concerned with Western Australia's military men and women who have died, or served, in the wars of the past 120 years, boosted by the multiplication of war memorials after World War Two and the Vietnam War. The memorials are profoundly ornamental, symbolic of an appetite for war and adventure, loyalty to the British Empire, and the power of government. In 1929, the State War Memorial became the symbolic centrepiece for the sacrifice of Western Australians, and the commemorative events that honour their service. It became an enduring legacy in its monumental form, one of permanent service to the community and to all who served. The

[18] Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932, 21 May 1916, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S1831 – cons 13631 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Kings Park Board.
[19] Government of Western Australia and Kings Park & Botanic Garden, "Memorials and History," 2022, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history#:~:text=Forrest%20named%20the%20land%20'The,VII%20to%20the%20British%20throne.
[20] Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, "Places of the Heart: Memorials, Public History and the State in Australia since 1960," *Public History Review* 15, (2008): 26, Directory of Open Access Journals, https://doaj.org/article/a1810c1c8ee943e5aaa642d99755e79b.
[21] Ashton and Hamilton, "Places of the Heart,"26.
[22] Ashton and Hamilton, 25.

memorials in the park that do not symbolise war are less understood. They are not endowed with the same commemorative reverence that accompanies war memorials and lacks historical context for contemporary audiences. This thesis gives focus to four monuments: Fallen Soldiers' Memorial, now named the South African War Memorial (1902); Queen Victoria Memorial (1903); State War Memorial (1929); and the Edith Cowan Memorial (1934), built outside the park. The other five Kings Park memorials have a lesser focus: Leake Memorial Fountain (1904), Jewish War Memorial (1920), Queen Elizabeth Shells (1921), 10th Light Horse Regiment Memorial (1921), and the Lord Forrest Memorial (1927).

The monuments reinforced the colonial link between the British Empire and the new state of Western Australia.[23] Amongst them is the stately marble statue of Queen Victoria, commanding the highest point on Mount Eliza in the picturesque formal English gardens. Her memorial was a gift to Perth by the British businessman and politician, Allen Stoneham. Sir John Forrest, an imperial loyalist, gladly accepted the gift, and for more than sixty years, Victoria was the only female person memorialised in the park. Board president, Sir William Lathlain, thought Edith Cowan's proposed memorial to be not of national significance, and, therefore, unworthy of a place in the park. The entrance to Kings Park (Fraser Avenue) is lined with a hundred metal plaques, in front of towering lemon-scented gums, remembering the outstanding citizens of Perth. They contributed to the 1929 centenary of British settlement celebrations. Amongst them are the names of past members of the Kings Park Board, including Arthur Lovekin. During his board presidency, and after 1918, the park was affirmed as Western Australia's principal place of war memorials. He created the honour avenues, a project of which he was most proud. The first consisted of a tree-lined avenue planted by relatives, with 404 commemorative metal plaques remembering the Great War dead of Western Australia, who served with the Australian Imperial Forces. Lovekin contributed significant time and money to this project in 1919, and the Avenue of Honour was later renamed Lovekin Avenue.

## The Board's control

The persuasion of a few controlled public memorialisation—how the memorials were created, their location, and whether they should be included in the park. The Kings Park Board controlled the creation and the building of the memorials or influenced their design and location. Three board presidents presided over the management of the park during the establishment period of memorialisation (1902–1934): Sir John Forrest (1896-1918); Arthur Lovekin (1918-1931); and Sir William Lathlain (1932-1936). After seven months as president, William Vincent resigned due to ill

[23] Andrew Saniga, *Making Landscape Architecture in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2013), ProQuest Ebook Central, 130.

health (1932). The history of Kings Park's memorials is also a story of the men of Perth's high society—a discourse of male authority by people with ascendency controlling the affairs of the park. The Kings Park Board (initially the Perth Park Board) and influencing committees, made up of Perth's elite men with their *modus operandi,* controlled everything in the park, achieving goals that were not necessarily in the public's interest and discriminatory towards women. The first entry in the Minute book records, by the Colonial Secretary's Office, Perth, on the 21 January 1896:

> His Excellency the Governor in Executive Council under the provisions of 'The Parks and Reserves Act 1896' (59 Vic No. 30) has been pleased to appoint the undermentioned gentlemen a board to control and manage the Perth Park. Sir John Forrest K.C.M.G J.P., The Hon. J.W. Hackett M.L.C. J.P., Lt. Col Phillips J.P., G.T. Poole J.P., A. Lovekin, B.C. Wood M.L.A. J.P.

The board's first task, a month later, was the clearing of the Banksia's on Mount Eliza, which were sold by tender to persons wishing to purchase 800 cords[24] (a stack of wood approximately 1.2 x 1.2 x 2.4 metres).[25] So began the process of clearing land for the botanic gardens and the ornamentation of the park.

The board controlled the by-laws of Kings Park, as permitted in accordance with The Parks and Reserves Act 1896; therefore, as necessitated, they could 'make, repeal, or alter' the conditions that governed the management and use of the park.[26] The by-laws were established at the board's first meeting in February 1896, setting out seventeen laws, approved by the Governor, and mostly concerned with the conduct of people in the park, discharging of firearms, selling by vendors, picnic waste, cattle on park lands, and prohibition of sports, especially playing cricket.[27] The board was not averse to penalising people for infringing the by-laws, indeed all the founding members of the first board were Justices of the Peace. Thomas Dyson 'was summoned, at the instance of the Perth Park Board', for driving through the park with a goods cart. The magistrate ruled that as a tradesman, Dyson 'had as much right to drive in the park as the owner of a car,' and since the ranger could not provide evidence that the by-law concerning this act was gazetted, he dismissed the case.[28] John Gray was charged and fined one shilling for driving his cart through the park,[29] and John Martin must have behaved quite badly; he was fined the substantial amount of £2 for his misconduct.[30] There were no by-laws or policies that specifically controlled how and which memorials might be included

[24] Minutes, 21 January 1896, Kings Park Board.
[25] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v "cord, "September 17, 2013, https://www.britannica.com/science/cord.
[26] The Parks and Reserves Act 1896, 59 Vict. No. 30 (Western Australia), 8 (1).
[27] "Perth Park Bye-Laws," *West Australian,* March 14, 1896, 3.
[28] "General News: Vehicles in the Park," *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth)*,* February 9, 1900, 8.
[29] "City Police Court," *West Australian,* February 14, 1900,7.
[30] "King's Park: Breaches of the Bye-Laws," *Daily News* (Perth)*,* October 10, 1910, 10.

in the park, and the state legislation, The Parks and Reserves Act 1896, stipulated no laws regarding memorials. Therefore, the board could act as it wished, within the constraints of each member's personal views of memorialisation.

The hill upon which Perth's principal memorial site sits, Mount Eliza, has always been a revered place for the Whadjuk-Noongar people. Therefore, it raises questions about why the ancient culture of Aboriginal people was not recognised in this space, and why there are no memorials to Aboriginal people, like the revered elder, Yellagonga. Tom Stannage observes that poorer members of society could be missed and remain hidden when the focus is restricted to successful people.[31] This observation is true for the excluded memorialisation of Kings Park's First Nations people, the Mooro, who inhabited the place before it was named the King's Park for thousands of years.[32] Patricia Vinnicombe suggests that the prominent landscape had 'totally different cultural viewpoints' for Aboriginal people and the white settlers.[33] The domination of Anglocentric memorials, and the commemoration of the sacrifice of their war dead, excludes any discernible structures acknowledging Aboriginal people. Instead, the landscape is dominated by signs of colonial heritage. Lynette Russell and Ian McNiven conclude that colonisers needed to maintain their cultural identity, in the new land inhabited by people who had a culture extremely different to their own.[34] This process involved the British settlers adopting pieces of heritage from their home country to make the colonial space more socially and culturally viable.[35] Applying their argument to Kings Park memorials, it is feasible that the space was filled with the early settlers' familiar historical meanings, built in the style of British memorial design, as if to find consolation in these associations, and subsequently dislocate Aboriginal culture.

Therefore, an immediate problem to consider in this thesis is whether these memorials had a form of meaning and utility to the community. Understanding community sentiment, acceptance, and the symbolic meaning of these memorials provides a greater understanding of Perth society's political and social environment during the first four decades of the twentieth century. The personal memorials to Queen Elizabeth, Sir John Forrest, and Edith Cowan raise issues of wealth, power, and politics in allocating valuable resources to honour individuals. These issues bring into question the

[31] Tom Stannage, "Uncovering Poverty in Australian History," *Studies in Western Australian History* no. 29 (2015): 55. https://search-informit-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=895951919929359;res=IELIND.
[32] "The Kings Park Named," *Western Mail* (Perth), July 27, 1901, 24.
[33] Vinnicombe, "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza," 53.
[34] Lynette Russell and Ian J. McNiven, "Monumental Colonialism: Megaliths and the Appropriation of Australia's Aboriginal Past," *Journal of Material Culture* 3, no. 3 (1998): 295 – 296, https://doi.org/10.1177/135918359800300302.
[35] Russell and McNiven, "Monumental Colonialism," 296.

level of benefit provided by these memorials to the rest of the community. Evidence relating to the rejection of memorial building applications raises questions about exclusion from the park, the decision-makers, and the reasoning behind those choices.[36] This evidence about the politics of exclusion risks omitting community sentiment, and the symbols that give meaning to that sentiment. There is a risk that memorials become permanent and officially representative of national, state, or local government accounts of history.[37] Therefore, hidden from view at the memorial site are the individual and collective memories of grief, mourning, joy, and appreciation that formed the basis for the design of the memorials. These community narratives add a further layer to the meaning, which may not be visually evident.

## Research Problem

While the symbolism of twentieth-century memorials is well documented, the symbolic intent and utility of Kings Park's memorials, and the inclusion and exclusion that is inherent, are not. Furthermore, there is evidence of power structures at play in the process of building the memorials. Therefore, we must consider how power plays influenced the inclusion and exclusion of the memorials and society's response to these decisions. These are issues of immediate relevance. 'After all,' Kelly Fliedner notes, 'a statue is not a reflection of the subject, but a reflection of those who erected it in the first place'.[38] Alternatively, more correctly, a reflection of how the subject was *seen by those who erected it*. Resolving these research problems of intent, utility, and political power structures are vital to understanding the meaning of Kings Parks memorials and their importance to the people who initially erected them. To resolve this problem of symbolic intent, utility and exclusion, this thesis researches the meaning and the significance of the memorial space of Mount Eliza, during the period 1902–1934, to the community that referenced the memorials with their commemorative rituals. This era corresponds with the formative years of the state's history, and the socio-political upheaval following World War One. Therefore, research is required to understand how these events impacted the community's building of memorials.[39] In addition, there is evidence of the rejection of applications for memorials to be built in the park, which raises questions about

[36] Dorothy Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden* (Cottesloe: Erickson & Taylor, 1997), 22.
[37] Ashton and Hamilton, "Places of the Heart," 25.
[38] Kelly Fliedner, "No peace in the statue wars until there is peace in the justice system," *Semaphore*, June 19, 2020, https://semaphoreart.net/No-peace-in-the-statue-wars.
[39] R.T. Appleyard, "Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth, 1850-1914," in *A New History of Western Australia,* ed. C.T. Stannage (Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 1981), 227.

who was excluded from this space, who the decision-makers were, and the reasoning behind those choices.[40]

## Aims and Significance

In order to resolve the research problem and to improve our understanding of the Kings Park memorials as a form of cultural heritage, this work aims to:

- consider the purpose, ornament, and symbolism of the Kings Park memorials, as they can be understood in local, national, and international contexts;
- determine whether the Kings Park memorials served the Perth community and offered public utility;
- and, establish the political, social, and economic factors that led to the inclusion and exclusion of the Kings Park memorials during this period.

This thesis evaluates the cultural heritage value of Kings Park as a site of public memory. The three aims improve our knowledge and understanding of Kings Park's memorials, and the spaces they occupy, as a place of cultural heritage. They consider a memorial's composition, symbolism, benefits to the community, and the events that lead to the inclusion and exclusion of memorials. This knowledge will contribute towards the contemporary debate that questions the importance of public memorials as representations of history, and their place within a modern society. The value of the commemorative precinct of Kings Park to the cultural heritage of Western Australia, and to the people of Perth, past and present, can only be understood by increasing our knowledge of the memorials on Mount Eliza. An analysis of their symbolic meaning and their utilitarian value will contribute to countering previous omissions in the current literature, particularly expanding on the research by Dorothy Erickson. Kings Park is world-renowned and a place that Western Australians are proud of. Therefore, it seems fitting that a place so significant to Western Australians requires further interpretation and understanding as to why it is significant. The preservation of the memorials and any future conservation debates will rely on, and be sensitive to, the elucidation of their cultural heritage value. Understanding Kings Park's memorials' historical and contemporary importance contributes to this cultural heritage value, which John Stevens suggests receives little

[40] Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden,* 22.

attention.[41] This thesis closes many of the research gaps in our understanding of Kings Park's war memorials and civic monuments built in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

## Method and Structure

The research for this thesis included a visual examination of the memorials in Kings Park, through extensive fieldwork photography and audits in 2020. British memorials, which impacted Perth's designs, were researched online. All the chapters consider the composition of the memorials and how the audience interpreted the meaning of this visual imagery. Interpreting the meaning of the composition begins with breaking down the composition of the visual objects, which Rose suggests requires a 'good eye' at the site of the image to examine the visible components. [42] A closer examination demands further knowledge about the artists, their style of work, and an understanding of the imagery and events that inspired their art. The research on the symbols' meaning utilises Rose's framework—the 'Four Sites of a Critical Methodology'.[43] Two sites of critical methodology were chosen, image and audience, which best determine where the meanings of the image or object concur.[44] At the site of the image and audiencing, three different aspects contributed to the evaluation of the memorials, which Rose refers to as modalities—compositional, social, and technological.[45] The composition was most important to the effect of an image—how it is seen by an audience and interpreted for visual meaning. The visual effects of the memorials' composition to the audience, which Rose refers to as a technological modality, were evaluated to understand how they were displayed, and where they were positioned, contributed to the critical understanding of the symbol's meaning. Symbols included in the design of a monument display the 'potential meaning' of the structure—an attempt to communicate something.[46] Analysing the materiality and affect—an audiences' interpretations, feelings, and sentiments, can inform both meaning and utility.

Further research was required beyond the composition of the memorial to evaluate symbolism, utility, inclusion, and exclusion—the core themes of this research. The Kings Park Board Minutes were critical to understanding the chronology of building the memorials and identifying the decisions that impacted memorialisation in Perth. Online Hansard recordings from the Parliament of Western Australia provided evidence of parliamentary proceedings and state laws concerning

[41] John Stephens, "'Remembering the Wars': Documenting Memorials and War Commemoration in Western Australia," *Journal of Architecture (London, England)* 15, no. 5 (2010): 640, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2010.519955.
[42] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials,* 4th ed. (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 57.
[43] Rose, *Visual Methodologies,* 24-25.
[44] Rose, 24-25.
[45] Rose, 24-25
[46] Rose, 137.

legislation for Kings Park. Research to understand the people who built and influenced the building of memorials came from biographical information on the Parliament of Western Australia website and the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* provided online by the Australian National University. This informative and concise information encouraged further research on their backgrounds, and authors like Frank Cowley, Peter Cowan, and Lyall Hunt were reviewed. Letters to the newspapers, opinion columns, and stories by journalists assisted with gauging the social dimensions of the composition, and audience reactions to the symbolism. Newspaper reporting by journalists on the opening ceremonies and speeches during these events often gave a full account of building the memorial, the people who contributed to its creation, and the meaning for the community, and thus were a source of material throughout the research. Similarly, journalists reporting the fundraising activities of the community, including their progression and results, provided valuable information for all the chapters. Newspaper articles were accessed mostly through the Trove website made available by the National Library of Australia and hundreds of Trove Partner organisations around Australia. The Edith Cowan Memorial Committee Minutes, letters from the Perth City Council and the National Council of Women, and the building plans for the memorial clock were informative for chapter three, made available from the State Records Office of Western Australia and the J.S Battye Library at the State Library of Western Australia.

*Chapter One: Elegies to Empire*

Chapter one will address the first aim of the thesis and consider the purpose, ornament, and symbolism of the Kings Park memorials, as they can be understood in local, national, and international contexts. It includes a case study of the creation of the Fallen Soldier's Memorial and the Queen Victoria statue, and the people who built them. The building of both these memorials represents the commencement of public memorialisation in Western Australia, the start to establish Kings Park as Perth's stately memorial domain by an elite board unwilling to democratise the creation process and involve the community. It was a trend familiar in Britain after the Boer War, which Peter Donaldson describes as 'the unchallenged right of the county elite to assume control'.[47] The chapter looks at the desire to build memorials in Perth and the designs that they emulated. It draws on the existing literature relating to symbols and symbolism of memorials in a broader context and how their interpretation influences our understanding of their meaning. Included is an examination of literature discussing British memorial traditions to understand how monuments in the United Kingdom and the British world influenced Kings Park's the design and symbolism of Kings Park's memorials. The work by Donaldson regarding British Boer War memorials provides insights

[47] Peter Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013): 13, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5vjmmh.

into how we might understand Kings Park's monument to the fallen soldiers. The composition of the statuary on the memorial plinth is examined to understand how this art provided meaning to the public during a period influenced by patriotism and heroism to the British Empire. Symbols of nobility are examined on the Queen Victoria statue to identify how a colonial community might react to such a composition.

*Chapter Two: The Utility of Great War Ornamentation*

This chapter examines the Great War memorials on the Kings Park landscape, and how the proliferation of these structures might have established the park as the principal place of war commemoration in Western Australia. It addresses the second aim: to determine whether the Kings Park memorials served the Perth community and offered public utility. It investigates the veneration of the war dead by building memorials, and how this practice in Kings Park was part of a broader Commonwealth effort, including the work of Joseph John Talbot Hobbs (famously known as Talbot Hobbs), to honour sacrifice and provide solace to relatives of the deceased who had no grave to visit.[48] A study of the State War Memorial's development establishes the extent to which the community were included in shaping the creation of the memorial, how this affected their motivation towards fundraising, the argument for utilitarian buildings, and if past and contemporary audiences gain utility from this monument.

*Chapter Three: The Politics of Exclusion*

The last chapter aims to research and investigate the politics that prevented the memorialisation of women in Kings Park with a case study of the Edith Cowan Memorial. Her memorial was excluded from the park and built outside the gates on a roundabout. The chapter follows the process of building the memorial from the inception of an idea after Cowan's death, through the barriers that might have prevented its establishment, to the final unveiling of the memorial clock. An examination of the sources will investigate if power plays and prejudices existed behind the decision to disallow the memorial in the park, and the attempts to block it from being built anywhere—unless it took the form of a utilitarian memorial. It is the story of a female-dominated Edith Cowan Memorial Committee fighting the decisions and discriminatory behaviour of some of Perth's powerful men to stop a memorial from being built in honour of a woman. The research considers Paul Wycherley's literature on the subject and conducts an extensive investigation into the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee file.

[48] John J. Taylor, *Between Duty and Design: The Architect Soldier Sir J.J. Talbot Hobbs* (Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2014), 8.

## Literature

*History of Kings Park*

This thesis builds on the accepted authoritative works on the history of Kings Park by Perth historian Dorothy Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park and Botanic Garden, Perth, Western Australia.* (1997). The idea for this research in this thesis was inspired by Erickson's suggestion that further investigation is required into the major memorials of Kings Park. Erickson's observation indicates gaps in the research of Kings Park's memorials. By her own admission, she admits that her work might be unreliable:

> A considerable amount of the detail on the memorials has been drawn from the files of the park and found to be inaccurate, being drawn from out of date or poorly researched documents. Given the volume of material available and the time frame, inconsistencies and inaccuracies will also remain in this document.[49]

The Kings Park and Botanic Garden Board commissioned Erickson's thematic report through the Department of Contract and Management Services to address heritage issues in the park. Her research provided source material for *A Joy Forever, The Story of Kings Park and Botanic Garden* (2009). The book provides its readers with a history of the park's development, information about the gardens, and an account of the objects and structures scattered amongst the botanical gardens. Erickson identified that 'controversies existed over utilitarian versus symbolic memorials' during the creation of the State War Memorial and the Edith Cowan Memorial, which raises the question of why these monuments were built in preference to utilitarian structures? [50] This research problem is analysed in more detail within this thesis, with an investigation into the symbolism and the utility of Kings Park's memorials. Erickson concluded that the developed recreational areas of the park were in constant conflict with the supporters of indigenous flora and fauna, who were seeking more respect for native species within the parkland. The desire to create a natural habitat, described by Erickson as a 'bushland garden', created a departure from the vision of the park's founder, Sir John Forrest, who wished to establish an English landscaped garden.[51] Forrest envisaged that the memorials would ornament the park and complement a Victorian landscape of lakes, lawns, and gardens, punctuated with exotic flora. Erickson argues that this vision never eventuated.[52] However, Forrest and Lovekin firmly established Kings Park as Perth's place of memory.

[49] Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden,* v.
[50] Dorothy Erickson, *A Joy Forever: The Story of Kings Park*. West Perth: Botanic Gardens & Parks Authority, 2009, 137.
[51] Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden,* v.
[52] Erickson, v.

Erickson recognised that applications for memorials in the park were refused by the Kings Park Board and singled out the Edith Cowan Memorial as an example.[53] Historian and author Peter Cowan, the grandson of Edith Cowan, dedicates five pages of his book *A Unique Position* (1978) to Edith Cowan's memorial. He said his grandmother's 'work had been extraordinarily extensive, performed against considerable odds', and the building of a monument to a woman had not been done before in Australia.[54] Paul Wycherley, a past director of Kings Park and Botanic Garden (1971–1992), investigates the proposal to build Edith Cowan's memorial and the litigation that ensued. His short book *Mrs Cowan's Clock (1997)* is a chronological account of the events that lead to the memorial's construction. His research mainly focussed on the Minutes of the Kings Park Board and the Perth City Council, an exploration of a small number of articles in Perth's newspapers, and references Peter Cowan's book. Wycherley makes no reference to researching the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee Minutes and their correspondence. The committee Minutes tells a story of the extraordinary grit displayed by these women and other women's organisations that supported the committee to establish the memorial. Closing the gap in Wycherley's research by investigating the committee Minutes and documenting their actions adds a new layer of information to the Edith Cowan memorial story. Wycherley proposed that male chauvinism and resentment of Edith Cowan's outspoken criticism might have motivated the opposition and obstruction of the memorial, though, in slight contradiction, he also suggests this may have been unlikely and only part of the explanation.[55]

Lovekin, a Kings Park Board president, journalist, and owner of the *Daily News*, published a handbook in 1925, *The King's Park, Perth, Western Australia.* Lovekin created the book for delegates of the Empire Press Conference during their visit to Western Australia. It was hoped that the visitors might experience the 'beautiful heritage' of the park at a garden party, which was cancelled due to time constraints. The book served as a substitute for their visit to the park, with illustrations and a tour guide narrative giving a description of the architecture and the landscape from the gates entrance to the Avenue of Honour. Lovekin considered Kings Park to be a domain of interest to every British subject.[56] He was personally responsible for the creation of the honour avenues and the Queen Elizabeth shells, and he granted permission for all the World War One memorials to be built in Kings Park. His war memorialisation achievements are discussed in his book. There is a sense of

[53] Erickson, 22.
[54] Peter Cowan, *A Unique Position: A Biography of Edith Dircksey Cowan, 1861-1932* (Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 1978), 281, 284.
[55] Paul Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock: The Location of the Edith Cowan Memorial* (Churchlands, WA: Edith Cowan University, 1997), 17.
[56] A. Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia* (Perth: ES Wigg & Son Ltd, 1925), 39.

self-aggrandisement about Lovekin's narrative; however, the historical images of Kings Park, and his account of the building of the memorials, provides an excellent source of primary evidence for this research. He details the ceremony to open the Avenue of Honour, extracted from the *Daily News,* detailing speeches by Lovekin, Queen Mary, Governor Sir William Ellison-Macartney, and various government ministers. His work illustrates the patriotism for the British Empire that existed in Perth, notably by eminent individuals, who had a powerful influence on the development of Kings Park. Lovekin exults in his association with Sir John Forrest. He begins his book with a photograph of the Lord Forrest statue, erected two years after Lovekin published his book—a project that he created and managed through to completion. He recalls being one of Forrest's friends in the company of Winthrop Hackett, Alexander Forrest, David Forrest, and others, who occasionally joined to meet regularly at the 'Bungalow' on Hay Street.[57] At one of these meetings in 1890, Premier Forrest, placed himself in charge of Kings Park's affairs (then known as Public Park, Mount Eliza), nominating Hackett to take the lead on the Zoological Gardens and Lovekin to take charge of the cricket ground. Forrest appointed an honorary Kings Park committee, made up of Lovekin, Hackett, Phillips, Poole, Wood and George Shenton, to manage Kings Park. Though they possessed no statutory authority, they frequently met to decide on park improvements. With the exception of Shenton, this group was formally appointed as the Kings Park Board in 1896.[58] Lovekin's account of the establishment of the first board, and his inclusion of the pictorial portraits of past and serving members of the Kings Park Board, demonstrates the powerful influence that elite males had on the governance of Kings Park, which clearly was a prestigious position to hold.

*The Aboriginal Connection*

Lovekin's book, which he refers to as 'a short history and a visit of inspection', includes no reference to the history of Kings Park before European settlement. [59] The Kings Park boards, under the presidencies of Forrest, Lovekin and Lathlain, failed to recognise and commemorate Noongar history. Every memorial that Lovekin and Forrest approved between 1902 and 1929 symbolised a tribute to the British Empire or was a reminder of the 'brave sons of the Empire who gave their lives in the cause of justice, freedom and right'.[60] Lathlain built no memorials as president of the board, though he was in command of the project to build the State War Memorial before becoming president. Erickson's *A Joy Forever* discusses 'in the beginning', the Dreamtime, and a time when Kings Park was a 'part of the land of the Whadjug tribe, a subset of the Mooro of the Bibbulmun

[57] Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia*, 9.
[58] Lovekin, 17.
[59] Lovekin, 5.
[60] Lovekin, 57.

nation'.[61] There are inaccuracies in this statement, and the term tribe is used less frequently these days, in favour of nation, community or people. According to Noongar Culture, the Whadjuk and the Bibbulmun people were one of fourteen dialectical groups within Noongar, an Aboriginal person of the southwest of Western Australia.[62] Whadjuk (spelt different ways), referred to a dialectical group corresponding to a geological location with ecological differences, and they occupied the country that is now the Perth metropolitan area.[63] The Mooro, led by the elder, Yellagonga, 'traditionally lived in extended family groups' in Whadjuk country, located to the north of the Swan River and encompassing Kings Park.[64] Archaeologist Patricia Vinnicombe's research paper, *An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza, which includes the Old Swan Brewery building* (1992), references the early settler Daisy Bates and her experience with Aboriginal people. It guided the introduction to this thesis and an understanding of the traditional Aboriginal occupation of Gargatup (Mount Eliza). She argues that the conspicuous landmark of Mount Eliza was a 'known feature from time immemorial', and Aboriginal people were living along the river banks, perhaps 120 metres below the current waterline of the Swan River, which extended out to where Rottnest Island now stands, more than 6,000 years ago, before the sediment collected on the banks of Gooninup, in the area where the old Swan Brewery site now stands.[65] Vinnicombe investigates the meaning of Mount Eliza to Aboriginal people, suggesting that the landscape might have a totally different cultural meaning for Aboriginal people and Europeans, which raises questions about the exclusion of Aboriginal culture from the park, particularly during the early period of development.

*The meaning of memorials*

John Stephens, an academic researching heritage, memorialisation, and cultural landscapes in Perth, suggested that researchers, including Ken Inglis, who had written extensively about Australian war memorials, have left Western Australian war memorials untouched.[66] He suggests little work has been done on the subject of heritage in relation to war memorials. The University of Massachusetts describes heritage as a full range of 'inherited traditions, monuments, objects and culture'.[67] 'Most important, it is the range of contemporary activities, meanings, and behaviours that we draw from

[61] Erickson, *A Joy Forever,* 16.
[62] South West Aboriginal Land & Sea Council, "Noongar," 2021, https://www.noongarculture.org.au/noongar/.
[63] South West Aboriginal Land & Sea Council, "Noongar."
[64] City of Stirling, *Mooro Nyoongar Katitjin Bidi: Mooro People's Knowledge Trail* (City of Stirling, 2018), 2, https://www.stirling.wa.gov.au/your-city/documents-and-publications/your-city/about-stirling/mooro-people-s-knowledge-trail.
[65] Vinnicombe, "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza," 53.
[66] Stephens, "Remembering the Wars," 640.
[67] UMass Amherst Center for Heritage & Society, "What is Heritage?," University of Massachusetts Amherst Campus, accessed 5 January 2022, https://www.umass.edu/chs/about/whatisheritage.html.

them.' [68] Understanding the relationship between a community and their memorials requires an investigation into the visual components of a memorial—the symbols and their symbolism, the relationships that people have with their memorials in commemorative rituals, and an exploration of the events that gave meaning to the memorials. Stephens suggests that this is the role of 'cultural biography', a 'tool to understand places and objects, and their relationship with people over time'.[69] It is a method used throughout this thesis to understand the heritage value of Kings Park's memorials and their relationships to their community. Retired landscape architect and historian, Oline Richards, has written about Western Australian war memorials and the honour avenues of the Great War in Kings Park, and Anna Froud completed her Honours thesis on the State War Memorial.[70] Though both describe the composition of memorials and the process of creating and establishing them, their research does little to explore the utility of the war monuments, that is, the benefit to the community, by citing evidence from the people who received the benefit. Richards proposes that war memorials were places where grieving takes place, by communities and individuals for the 'sacrifice of a life and the trauma of war'.[71] These places of memory enable the public to express thanks to the serving men and women, and to confirm their loyalties to the nation. This is an expression of the utility of a war memorial; however, the sentiments and feelings of the people that engage with the memorials is the evidence that is missing in Richard's research paper, *The Avenue in Peace: Honour Avenues of the Great War in Western Australia* (2003).[72] The idea of monuments having utility is a theme explored within this thesis.

Ken Inglis, regarded as Australia's eminent memorial historian, proposes that utilitarian objects such as a memorial hospital, fountain, or hall had a symbolic meaning and practical application for the community because of the services and benefits they provide to the public.[73] He categorises memorials as sacred or useful, classifying them into two distinct types, monuments, and utilities. He understands these places as sites of honour and sacredness, where relatives, friends and community honour their dead soldiers; not in a local graveyard, because the dead are buried overseas, if buried at all, but rather in a public place, in front of a monument, that gives solace as a substitute grave,

[68] UMass Amherst Center for Heritage & Society, "What is Heritage?,"
[69] Stephens, "Remembering the Wars," 641.
[70] Oline Richards, "The Avenue in Peace: Honour Avenues of the Great War in Western Australia," *Studies in Australian Garden History* 1 (2003): 109-24, https://search-informit-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/doi/abs/10.3316/ielapa.035088440894066.; Anna L. Froud, "War Memorials and Society: The Beginnings of the State War Memorial Western Australia" (Hons thesis., UWA, 1989).
[71] Richards, "The Avenue in Peace: Honour Avenues of the Great War in Western Australia," 109.
[72] Richards, 109-24.
[73] K.S Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), 131.

symbolised by a cenotaph, obelisk, cross, or draped urn.[74] Ken Inglis' epic book *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (2008) is the most comprehensive single study of memorials in Australia. He interweaves the stories of the Australian communities that designed and built their war memorials, which he refers to as 'the war memorial movement', with how they dealt with death from war, and how the communities' wartime experiences influenced memorial design. He points out that war memorials are rarely included in descriptions of the cultural landscape, and asks the question: why would over four thousand memorials not be part of the nation's culture, considering that they are public art of the country's history? [75] Inglis' research demonstrates how Australia's war memorials have evolved over time, reflecting the changing architecture, values, and sentiments of the communities that built them. Inglis dedicates four pages to discussing the Western Australian State War Memorial in a chapter entitled 'Capital Monuments': a minimal piece of writing for such a significant historical monument, and, in comparison, his research of Sydney and Melbourne memorials is much more extensive.[76]

Alex King argues that memorials that were a part of the early twentieth-century cultural landscape combined a new elevated nationalism, which was stimulated by participation in a war based on British traditional moral and political values, extending from the Victorian era.[77] His book *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (1998) focus on war memorials of the First World War, in which he considers the public symbolism of monuments, political processes, and the motivations that inspired the building of memorials. His research of British war memorials has relevance for Australian memorials because Australia followed the British trends in memorialisation. King's research into commemorative symbolism provides insights that can be applied to Kings Park's memorials. For King, the meaning of memorials is derived from the sentiment of the communities who raised funds, planned, and built the structures—evidence of the utility of war memorials to communities. Stephens proposes that the reasons for building war monuments include the refashioning of war as a symbolism of nationalism, as a response to mourning, and as a tool to alleviate grief.[78] He argues these are characteristics of public and personal commemoration and intangible feelings. Therefore, if sentiment is linked to meaning, and the sentiment is intangible, then it is possible that no conclusive definition can be made on the

[74] Inglis, *Sacred Places,* 41.
[75] Inglis, 6.
[76] Inglis, 272-275.
[77] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance,* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), ProQuest Ebook Central, 123-124.
[78] John Stephens, "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma in the Western Australian State War Memorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 37, no. 4 (2013): 470, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2010.519955.

meaning of a memorial, because of the broad private and social characteristics of commemoration.[79] Stephens concurs with King's comments on national and political influences in memorials. He suggests that memorials have been nation-building objects that are politically influenced and linked to 'national identity and mythmaking about war'.[80] In this context, private grieving becomes a public event because the personal aspects of grief, mourning and loss made way for collective national sentiment. Private commemoration gives way to a national passion for remembrance, affecting the meaning of a memorial, which may shift from the original symbolism to representing the collective sentiment of a dominant group, fuelled by politics and popularism. He argues that Anzac is essentially a complicated 'culturally coded metaphor' that resides in the Australian culture and is a part of national identity, and that war memorials provide the narrative of the communities' relationship with war.[81]

James Mayo considers the meaning of memorials to be more tangible, based on utility and social values. He suggests that each memorial has a social purpose based on a hierarchy of social values: humanitarianism, honour, service, and identity.[82] At the highest level, the symbolism of a humanitarian memorial would question the atrocities of war, propose peace, and advocate humanitarian values. Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton suggest that the meaning of memorials is often bluntly controversial, but the meanings represented by this material culture cannot be ignored, even if that meaning changes over time.[83] They describe this material culture as 'symbols through which to explore society and culture, or to analyse a memorial's political effects, aesthetic implications, or the responses it publicly elicits'.[84] A change in meaning creates new opportunities for redefining symbolism through the discovery of new meanings, to be accepted into a current culture, or it can lead to the symbolism of the memorials becoming forgotten and ignored. Historically, the academic study of most memorials in Australia is concerned with service members who have died or served with the Australian forces. War memorials were, and continue to be, a part of commemorative war rituals, particularly associated with the Anzac tradition, which preoccupies the Australian imagination.[85] Monuments honouring individuals are less understood and lack historical context, especially in how the meanings of these memorials have changed over time.[86]

[79] Stephens, "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma in the Western Australian State War Memorial," 470.
[80] Stephens, 470.
[81] Stephens, "Remembering the Wars," 640.
[82] James M. Mayo, "War Memorials as Political Memory," *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (1988): 64-65, doi:10.2307/214306.
[83] Ashton and Hamilton, "Places of the Heart," 5.
[84] Ashton and Hamilton, 4.
[85] Ashton and Hamilton, 1.
[86] Ashton and Hamilton, 3.

Literature concerning the history and symbolism of Western Australian civic memorials dedicated to prominent individuals is scarce, necessitating further research and writing.

## Conclusion

Kings Park has historical and spiritual significance to Aboriginal people, underpinned by the complex Dreamtime traditions, and the ritual ceremonies of the Mooro people who inhabited the place before the British settlers arrived. The colonialists too recognised the importance of Kings Park, firstly as a strategic military location and then as a reserve to be developed for the purpose of a public park. Within a hundred years of colonial development, the developers of Kings Park had disconnected Aboriginal people from the landscape and introduced new symbolism, which reflected and reinforced Western Australia's cultural identity with the British Empire. Formal English gardens with memorial ornamentation transformed the native bushland to resemble a grandiose British Victorian garden, which provided the British settlers with some cultural commonality to their homeland. The Kings Park Board, patriotic to the ethos of the British Empire, controlled the design and development of Kings Park, and included memorials on the landscape that characterised English memorialisation traditions. The next chapter examines how the purpose of these memorials might reflect the ideals and the aims of the Kings Park Board members, and not necessarily the needs of the public, by investigating the symbolism of Kings Park's first memorials and the utility they provided to the community.

CHAPTER ONE

# Elegies to Empire

This chapter aims to examine the purpose, ornament, and symbolism of early twentieth-century monuments in Kings Park. Memorials can provide evidence with which to understand the societies that created them, as well as the societies that changed around them. As objects, therefore, monuments enable us to explore the societies, artists and patrons who created them, just as they create understandings of those societies that do (or do not) continue to tolerate them. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan argue that 'memorials gather bits and pieces of the past and join them together in public'.[1] Memorials, they write, bring societies together, 'entering a domain beyond individual memory', which they describe as 'collective remembrance—public recollection'.[2] Daniel Sherman says that the relationship between memorials and community is rooted in the solidarity of commemoration, 'forging a consensus version of an event or connected series of events that have either disrupted the stability of a community or threatened to do so'.[3]

Deciphering the pieces of the past represented by symbols on public monuments and understanding the communities that built these structures enables the meaning of them to be revealed. Alex King claims that a memorial can only be understood by exploring the relationship between the object's symbols and the community that it represents.[4] John Stephens proposes that 'cultural biography' enables understanding of the relationships between communities and their monuments.[5] He suggests that the meanings of monuments constantly transform, being intrinsically linked to social and political change experienced by audiences over time.[6] It is possible, he argues, to determine a monument's historical significance and evolving meanings by analysing the cultural

[1] Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, "Setting the Framework," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6.
[2] Winter and Sivan, "Setting the Framework," 6.
[3] Daniel Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 7.
[4] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), ProQuest Ebook Central, 3.
[5] John Stephens, "'Remembering the Wars': Documenting Memorials and War Commemoration in Western Australia," *Journal of Architecture (London, England)* 15, no. 5 (2010): 637, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2010.519955.
[6] Stephens, "Remembering the Wars," 641.

activities associated with a memorial.[7] This method, termed 'a paradigm of enquiry' by Guy Julier, suggests that the meaning of a monument transcends its composition and form to include its social context.[8]

Events in recent years related to the tearing down of monuments demonstrate just how dramatically social and political interpretations of the past can change. Public monuments and memorials sit squarely at the centre of such revision. James Mayo proposes that because societies are pluralistic, all types of memorials can 'potentially' exist to form the community's identity, even if these memorials create indignation.[9] Robert Beckford recognises that memorials can exclude people or groups not represented or offended by their symbolism. He asks how history can be considered in a way that is inclusive and just through memorial symbolism, to provide vision and meaning for a contemporary multicultural, multi-ethnic society.[10] He favours recognising why the statues were erected in the first place and adopting a 'holistic' approach to maintaining the balance between the past and the present.[11] Sharon Heal suggests that providing historical context to memorials through exciting, rich, and diverse histories broadens a community's understanding of the past to gain a deeper appreciation of the objects.[12] These are themes relating to inclusion and exclusion, and inform our understandings of the utilitarian value of a memorial and its symbols. Memorial symbolism is directly related to utilitarian value. The benefit that an audience gains from a memorial depends on how they respond to the meaning of the memorial in relation to their interest, beliefs, and values.[13]

It is my intention within this chapter to achieve the first aim of this thesis, which is to consider the purpose, ornament, and symbolism of the Kings Parks memorials as they can be understood in local, national, and international contexts. To do so, I will analyse those monuments we might consider to be 'elegies to empire' at the end of the Victorian age—the Fallen Soldiers (1902) and Queen Victoria (1904) memorials—and interpret public intent through participation and ornamentation of their design. It is clear that both were largely exclusionary in their process of

[7] Stephens, 648.
[8] Guy Julier, "From Visual Culture to Design Culture," *Design Issues* 22, no. 1 (2006): 73, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25224031.
[9] James M. Mayo, "War Memorials as Political Memory," *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (1988): 65, https://doi.org/10.2307/214306.
[10] Aamna Mohdin and Rhi Storer, "Tributes to slave traders and colonialists removed across UK," *Guardian,* January 30, 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/29/tributes-to-slave-traders-and-colonialists-removed-across-uk.
[11] Mohdin and Storer, "Tributes to slave traders and colonialists removed across UK."
[12] Mohdin and Storer, "Tributes to slave traders and colonialists removed across UK."
[13] Angela Curran, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Aristotle and the Poetics* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), ProQuest Ebook Central, 118.

creation and often had little community engagement in their design and construction. This is the first important trend identified by my research and which continues in Chapter Two when discussing the memorials of the Great War: that Kings Park in the early twentieth century was controlled by Perth's political and social elite, and particularly by its board members. The same people controlled the proposal, design, planning and construction of the park's early monuments, which evidence suggests excluded meaningful community engagement.

## Symbols and Symbolism

Symbols are objects included in the design of a monument that gives meaning to the structure—an attempt to communicate something through visual literacy.[14] Symbols can be a metaphor, a visual language that speaks of an idea, event, person, or thing connected with its meaning.[15] Susan Petrilli and Augusto Ponzio refer to symbols as polysemic in semiotic discourse, associated with symbolic form, and diverse in culture, language, myth, and religion.[16] Charles Sanders Peirce argues that symbols are living things that grow in meaning over time.[17] Interpreting the symbols of a memorial begins with the analysis of its composition and form. Close attention to the visual elements of a memorial provides a sensory experience and response for the viewer. However, formal composition alone cannot determine the meaning of a memorial.[18] Gillian Rose says that 'visual images do not exist in a vacuum' and that analysing them in isolation neglects the interpretation of social practices and the production of the images itself.[19] The approach that Rose suggests for interpreting images is associated with social semiotics, which confronts how 'images make meaning head-on' by taking the image apart and then tracing how the symbols work in relation to broader systems of learning.[20] The process is primarily concerned with the social effects of a symbol's meaning.[21] Above all is the importance of interpreting 'reception', requiring analysis of a monument's audience in the context of 'social situations and practices'.[22] It requires an investigation of the memorial's symbols, qualities, display, production, and social significance, which, in turn, demands further knowledge of the 'site of

[14] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials,* 4th ed. (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 137.
[15] Torkild Thellefsen and Bent Sørensen, *Charles Sanders Peirce in His Own Words: 100 Years of Semiotics, Communication and Cognition,* Vol. 14 (Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2014), ProQuest Ebook Central, 359.
[16] Susan Petrilli and Augusto Ponzio, *Semiotics Unbounded: Interpretive Routes through the Open Network of Signs,* 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005): 5, https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442657113.
[17] Thellefsen and Sørensen, *Charles Sanders Peirce in His Own Words,* 359.
[18] Petrilli and Ponzio, *Semiotics Unbounded,* 8.
[19] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 57.
[20] Rose, 106.
[21] Rose, 107.
[22] Rose, 109.

production'—that is, an understanding of the social, cultural, visual, historical and political contexts that determined the purpose of the work.[23]

Decoding the meaning of a monument and its symbols requires investigation of the social processes that tie the community to the visual objects. Attaching specific symbols to the structure intends to represent an aspect of 'the life of a community'.[24] Memorials are like paintings, 'domains saturated by events of meaning-making', and their creation is a communicative act of society.[25] Social contexts that might shape memorials include writing, speech, music, movement, power relationships, and social differences.[26] It is imperative, therefore, to consider the social, cultural, political, and religious beliefs of a community to determine the original intent of a monument. Victor Margolin refers to this environment as a 'product milieu', implying complexity, when endeavouring to define the meaning of visual culture.[27] He recommends gathering the objects, the activities, the services, and the environments that fill everyday life, to examine the meaning of the imagery.[28] Rose refers to these environments as social modalities—economic, social and political events that impact the meaning of an object.[29] She suggests using social semiotic methods to research the social interactions within a community and how they relate to the visual objects.[30] The social interactions between people, and between people and visual objects, are vital to understanding the meanings of memorials.[31] The modes of social interactions by a community with memorial symbols are expressed in the medium of communicative acts like remembrance services, wreath-laying, and visitation.

The impact of a monument depends on the power of its artist, sculptor, architect, or designer to communicate a visual and symbolic message, and the degree to which the object elicits a response through socially constructed codes of recognition.[32] Rose calls this 'the power of the visual', a fusion between the subject and the visual form in which it is represented. She advises that 'there is no point in researching any aspect of the visual unless the power of the visual is acknowledged' and, therefore, its ability to generate an emotional response within the audience.[33]

---

[23] Rose, 50, 57.
[24] Clare Harrison, "Visual Social Semiotics: Understanding How Still Images Make Meaning," *Technical Communication* 50, no. 1 (2003): 46, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43090531.
[25] Norman Bryson, "Mieke Bal," in *Key Writers on Art: The Twentieth Century,* ed. Chris Murray (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), ProQuest Ebook Central, 63.
[26] Rose, *Visual Methodologies,* 136.
[27] Victor Margolin, "The Product Milieu and Social Action," in *Discovering Design: Explorations in Design Studies*, ed. Richard Buchanan and Victor Margolin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 122.
[28] Victor Margolin, "The Product Milieu and Social Action," 122.
[29] Rose, *Visual Methodologies,* 26.
[30] Rose, 137.
[31] Rose, 137.
[32] Rose, 57.
[33] Rose, 56.

Alex King suggests that symbols have the capability to elicit emotional responses that range from pious devotion to outright hostility.[34] Their effect is dependent, he argues, on the 'temper and imagination of the individual.'[35]

Victoria Welby suggests that symbols can be read across three levels: a response to the environment, the meaning conveyed by the symbol, and the far-reaching implications of the symbols.[36] Stuart Hall argues that the communication of a message by a symbol is not a linear process with a fixed meaning, and suggests that 'different audiences generate, rather than discover meaning'.[37] Here we find that the meaning of a monument and its symbols are fluid, shaped by the individuals and societies who view it. The audience, therefore, actively decodes the visual imagery of a memorial. Some, applying a familiar visual literacy, might interpret a monument's symbols as the creators intended.[38] Other audiences, and particularly over time, read new meanings. Therefore, the symbolism of a memorial is the idea that the composition of the visual objects represents other things. What these symbols mean depends on the audience's interpretation in specific contexts. An examination of the composition of the memorial's symbols, the production-intent, and the social elements that connect a community with their memorials provides the method to understand the symbolism of Kings Park's memorials to their audiences.

## Elegies to Empire

Before 1902, monuments were non-existent in Perth. It was then primarily a British community, whose members measured the city's deficiency of public monuments as contrary to the 'magnificent examples of the arts, sculpture and architecture around the world'.[39] Perth's English-speaking community had an affection for monuments, described by the *West Australian* as 'organic filaments in which the past lives again', and which were thought to serve two purposes: 'retrospective and revivifying', and 'artistic and ornamental'.[40] Locals who were familiar with the rich visual tapestry of Britain, including such landmarks as Trafalgar Square, Westminster Abbey, and St Paul's Cathedral, shared a disquiet that so little (if any) cultural material was evident in Perth.[41] Newspapers published articles about the creation of monuments abroad, usually to such heroes as Wellington, Nelson, and

[34] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain,* 10.
[35] King, 11.
[36] Petrilli and Ponzio, *Semiotics Unbounded,* 15.
[37] James Procter, *Stuart Hall* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), ProQuest Ebook Central, 59.
[38] Procter, *Stuart Hall*, 65.
[39] "Vigilans et Audaux," *West Australian,* September 5, 1900, 4.
[40] "Vigilans et Audax
," *West Australian,* October 17, 1903, 6.
[41] "Vigilans et Audax."

*Figure 1.* D. Bulmer*, Fallen Soldiers Memorial, Kings Park,* n.d. photograph, Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority, www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/o/content/view/117/.

Maine.[42] In place of local public monuments, journalists wrote tributes to firemen, 'the men who gave us the lifeboat' and the 'balloon stone'.[43] The desire to own local heroes prompted Hugh McKernan, in 1903, to suggest that a monument to Sir John Forrest was called for—fifteen years before Forrest's death. It would be, he argued, a 'conspicuous instance'.[44]

When the first public monuments were finally erected in Kings Park, they drew heavily on the heroic and historical visual culture of Britain. The most significant was the Fallen Soldiers' Memorial (Figure 1), mourning those Western Australians who were lost in the South African War, and the Queen Victoria Memorial, which was first seriously proposed a year after her death.

## The Fallen Soldiers' Memorial (South African War)

In September 1900, ten months after the first Western Australian military contingent departed for South Africa and seven months before the last contingent sailed on the *Ulstermore*, a local committee formed to build a war memorial. The establishment of the group stemmed from an inspirational public letter penned by Harold E. Petherick (the Town Clerk of the Perth City Council), in

[42] "Wellington Monument Completion," *Kalgoorlie Western Argus,* March 17, 1903, 41.; "An Imperial South African Monument," *Western Mail* (Perth*)*, May 21, 1904, 46.; "The Maine Memorial: A Very Remarkable Monument," *Western Mail* (Perth), August 27, 1904, 45.
[43] "Memorial to Firemen," *Sunday Times* (Perth)*,* January 11, 1903, 9.; "The Men Who Gave Us the Lifeboat," *Western Mail* (Perth)*,* August 6, 1904, 45.; "The Balloon Stone," S*un* (Kalgoorlie)*,* April 26, 1903, 9.
[44] Hugh McKernan, public letter to the editor, "On Monuments," *West Australian,* September 3, 1903, 9.

which he proposed a memorial in honour of the gallant and locally-revered Major Hatherley Moor, following news of the officer's death.[45] Petherick proposed that 'some fitting memorial of our hero should be established in the form (subject to the approval of the City Council) of a monument'. [46] Two days later, W.J.C. Downey (a future councillor for South Perth) gave his support to the proposal, suggesting that 'unjust it would be to honour the brave living; we must also honour the brave dead'.[47] Daniel Kenny (a member of the Perth Hospital Board) expressed pleasure with Petherick's suggestion, immediately donating a hundred shillings to a memorial fund, and saying: 'This enlightened young Englishman (Major Moor) has given to our volunteers the opportunity of showing the mettle they are made of.'[48] The parliamentarian, James Lee-Steere, thought that Petherick's proposal 'would meet with more general approval if a monument were erected not only as a memorial to Major Moor, but also to all who have lost, or may lose, their lives in this South African War', and that a committee should be formed to complete the project.[49]

The war memorial committee formed a few weeks after the publication of Petherick's letter made up of prominent Perth leaders. Peter Donaldson says that similar committees formed in Britain after the Boer War adopted a 'pre-existing hierarchical pattern'. These enabled social and military leaders to be members of numerous city committees, claiming to satisfy the desires of their communities.[50] The committee in Perth followed this precedent. Lee-Steere (appointed the committee's chairman) was regarded as a person 'without whom no respectable Perth board of directors would be complete'.[51] Other committee members included Stephen Parker (Queens Council, a former mayor and later Chief Justice), Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Alexander Campbell (Chief Staff Officer Military Forces Western Australia), Rabbi David Isaac Freedman, Justice Alfred Hensman, Edward Albert Stone (a Supreme Court Judge), Francis Arnold Moseley (a Supreme Court Registrar), and José Guillermo Hay (real estate developer and nature conservationist).[52] The committee felt it was both its 'duty and pleasure' to build a permanent public memorial in admiration of 'those brave men who have died while upholding the honour of Western Australia upon the field of battle'.[53] The *West Australian* reported that the movement to erect a memorial to

[45] Harold. E. Petherick, public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor," *West Australian,* August 25, 1900, 7.
[46] Petherick, "The Late Major Moor."
[47] W.J.C. Downey, public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor," *West Australian,* August 27, 1900, 3.
[48] Daniel Kenny, public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor," *West Australian,* August 27, 1900, 3.
[49] James Lee-Steere, public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor," *West Australian,* August 27, 1900, 3.
[50] Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War,* 11.
[51] G. C. Bolton, "Steere, Sir James George Lee (1830–1903),"in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 5 September 2021, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/steere-sir-james-george-lee-8639/text15097.
[52] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial Fund: Meeting of Committee," *West Australian*, December 1, 1900, 10.
[53] "Vigilans et Audax," *West Australian,* September 5, 1900, 4.

commemorate those 'who have lost their lives' was in keeping with the tradition of 'constant stimulus to patriotism'.[54] It added: 'This rally of the self-governing colonies round the common flag of the mother country and her daughter states is in itself an event of truly Imperial significance, and would deserve to be signalised in some enduring form.'[55] The committees' views on memorialisation typified the nineteenth century value of heroism as a 'defining feature of the soldier's faith'.[56] 'Indeed it was the soldier's duty to advance against all odds, and in the moment they triumphed even in death.' [57]

The inclusion of Hay and Campbell on the committee ensured that military knowledge guided the design. Hay, a career conversationist with an interest in urban parkland, had achieved success in the establishment of two public parks in the Blue Mountains and played a role in the creation of Sydney parks in Wentworth, Waverley, St. Leonards and central Sydney.[58] He came to Western Australia from Sydney in 1897, then upon the outbreak of the Boer War, departed to South Australia to enlist as a private in the First South Australian Mounted Rifles Contingent. In 1900, on his return to Australia, he returned to Perth and quickly established acquaintances with Perth's social and political elites. Campbell, a career soldier, distinguished in India and Egypt, was transferred to Perth in 1884, personally appointed by Lord Wolseley (then Adjutant-General to the British Forces) to take charge of the military instructional staff, and directed to encourage volunteering for the armed services in the colony of Western Australia.[59] He served as the commandant in charge of the military training camp at Karrakatta during the Boer War, and had a close public service relationship with Sir John Forrest, when he was Premier of Western Australia (1890-1901), and Federal Defence Minister (1901-1903). Forrest asked Campbell to organise, equip and despatch 1300 men to South Africa.[60] The evidence suggests that the committee was self-forming, evident by their inestimable political, military, social and legal cliques, which deemed public affirmation unnecessary. Hay and Campbell's career accomplishments and elite associations were qualification enough to join the committee. Hay, the only committee member to serve in South Africa, and a member of the local association of Boer War veterans, disregraded the views of his

[54] "Vigilans et Audax."
[55] "Vigilans et Audax."
[56] Stephen Garton, "Longing for war: nostalgia and Australian returned soldiers after the First World War," in *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory: Commemorating War*, ed. Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (New York: Routledge, 2004), 222.
[57] Garton, "Longing for war", 222.
[58] Joseph Christensen, "An Early Western Australian Conservationist: The Romantic Figure of Jose Guillermo Hay," *Early Days* 12, no. 5 (2005): 491, https://doi.org/10.3316/informit.177349602049568.
[59] "Lieut.-Colonel Campbell," *Western Mail,* February 16, 1917, 43.
[60] "Lieut.-Colonel Campbell."; "War Office Pall Mall," *The London Gazette,* March 14, 1882.

fellow returned soldiers regarding the design of the memorial.[61] The veteran's criticism of the memorial statuary suggests that Hay and Campbell were a party to the exclusionary nature of the memorial committee, which excluded public discussion in the design of the soldiers' monument.

No attempt was made by the self-elected committee to democratise the memorialisation process, nor to seek the public's endorsement of their project. They hoped that an appeal for public subscriptions would attract a generous response from the public, but lamented three months later that 'many parts of the colony had contributed nothing at all'.[62] The Fremantle *Evening Courier* commented that public attendance at the unveiling ceremony comprised the usual gathering of the 'patriotism and the intelligence of the state'[63]—notably the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Stone, who unveiled the statue, the politician and chairman of the memorial committee, Sir James Lee Steere, and, businessman and soldier, Lieutenant Colonel Percy Ricardo.[64] In his unveiling speech, Lee Steere gave an account of each of the casualties inscribed on the memorial, including name, rank, details of death, and date. He thought that 'Western Australia had reason to be proud of the national memorial, especially as it was the first of its kind that had been erected in Australia'.[65] The Chief Justice, addressing those present at the unveiling said:

> It affords me very great pleasure, indeed, to take part in this very interesting ceremony, and, from the faces that I see around me, I feel that they express evidence of the great interest that the people have taken upon this occasion. It is now some three years ago since we heard that the motherland was in trouble—or, perhaps I should say, that a cloud hung over the motherland and the call to arms echoed throughout the Empire. A deep, stern, determined spirit pervaded all the ranks. Wives gave up their husbands, mothers gave up their sons, and those brave fellows volunteered to go shoulder to shoulder with the British Empire and to do or die for their country. They left our shores amid the greatest enthusiasm of the people, and we bade them Godspeed and a safe return. We promised that they should be well looked after. They left us, and you all know with what anxiety we watched the issues of the evening and morning papers for news of them and of what was going on in South Africa-–how we read of their noble deeds, how we mourned over the terrible losses and great privations they suffered. Volunteers, there are many in your ranks who have heard the hostile sound of the cannon; who have seen the ground strewn with the dead and dying: who have heard the call to assault: who have seen a thousand bosoms bared, ready to do or die: and who have answered to the call. Although this memorial is erected in memory of your fallen comrades, remember we have not forgotten you. We have not forgotten the great services you have rendered to the Empire: we have not forgotten the great honour you have conferred upon this State, and therefore, when you look up to this monument, when your children and your children's children look up to it, you and they must remember that it is in honour of you, as well as in honour of your departed comrades. I trust, Sir James Lee-

[61] Christensen, "An Early Western Australian Conservationist," 492.
[62] "West Australian Fallen Soldiers: The Proposed Memorial," *West Australian,* September 11, 1900, 3.; "Soldiers Memorial Fund: Meeting of the Committee," *Daily News* (Perth), December 1, 1900, 3.
[63] "Farther North: Notes by Kola," *Evening Courier* (Fremantle), September 8, 1902, 3.
[64] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial: Unveiling Ceremony," *Daily News* (Perth)*,* September 6, 1902, 5.
[65] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial," *Western Mail,* September 13, 1902, 32.

> Steere, that this memorial will remain for all time-–a fit emblem of the good deeds of those in whose memory it is erected, and of the gratitude of those who have raised it.[66]

The Premier, Sir Walter Hartwell James, in his speech, hoped that the memorial 'might stimulate the higher and more noble thought of our men by sharing with the British soldier the common privations, common sacrifices, and common dangers on the plains of South Africa, had consolidated the brotherhood of the British Empire'.[67]

Soldiers were not included in the line-up of speeches. The honour of addressing the crowd belonged to the state's politicians, while a full parade of the defence forces 'supplied the military element to the ceremony that proved an attractive feature of the proceedings'.[68] It seems that a sense of public ownership for the memorial failed to emerge from a process that excluded the public from its design to completion. The laying of the monument's foundation stone on 22 July 1901 by the Duke of Cornwall and York, the future George V, when he was in Australia to open the inaugural Commonwealth parliament, set a precedent for such exclusion. Though the laying of the foundation stone—or the Duke's visit—was labelled a national event by the *Daily News*, the newspaper, then edited by Kings Park Board member Arthur Lovekin, lamented that it was unfortunate 'so few of the public would see it'.[69] As the event took place on a Monday, the working public was largely precluded from attending, limiting the audience to the wealthy elite and government officials whose attendance was part of their civic roles.

The Fallen Soldiers' Memorial, Perth's first monument, was designed by James White of Sydney and erected under the supervision of Western Australian architect, Clarence Harold Wilkinson. It followed a growing British memorialisation trend to honour all serving ranks, not just generals, after Queen Victoria's establishment of the Victoria Cross in 1856 and the memorialisation in London of all those who served in the Crimean War.[70] Monuments no longer glorified prestigious

[66] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial."
[67] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial."
[68] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial."
[69] "Fallen Soldiers' Memorial," *Daily News* (Perth), July 23, 1901, 2.
[70] Mark Connelly and Peter Donaldson, "South African War (1899-1902) Memorials in Britain: A Case Study of Memorialization in London and Kent," *War & Society* 29, no. 1 (2010): 22, DOI: 10.1179/204243410X12674422128830.; Imperial War Museum, "Crimea Guards War Memorial," accessed 20 July, 2021. https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/11608.

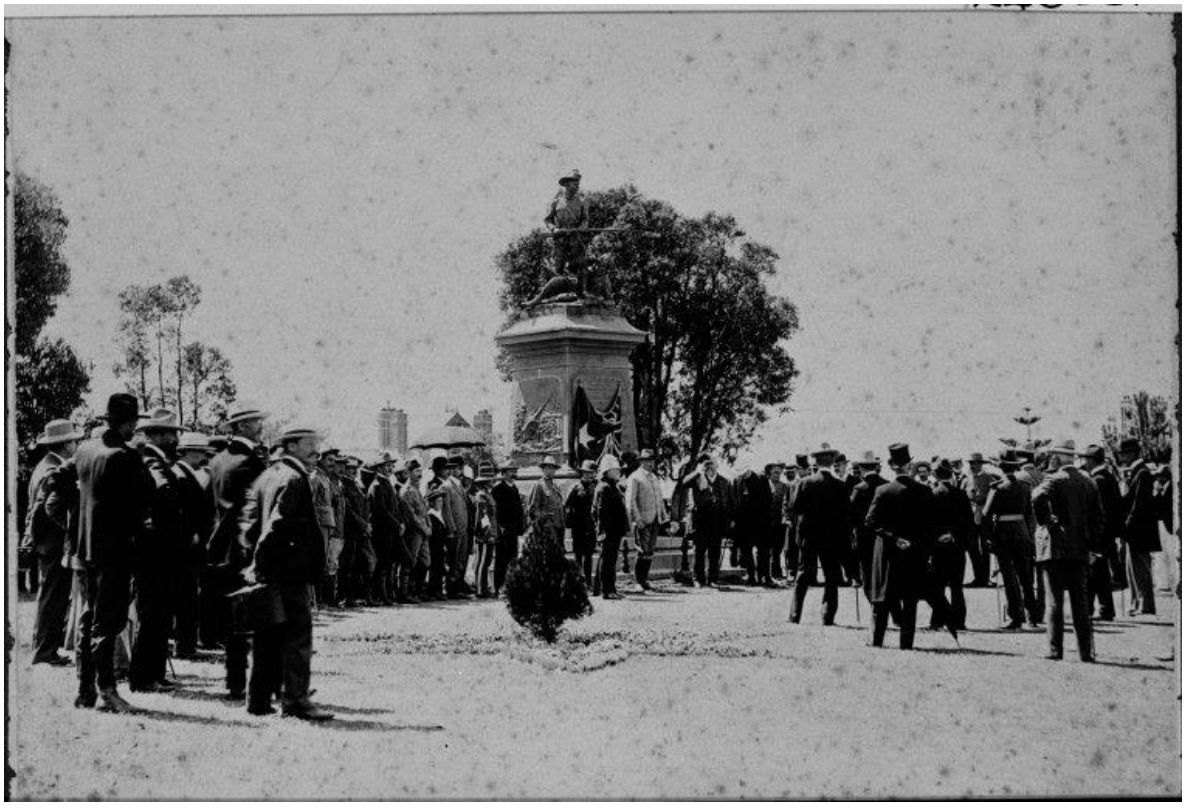


*Figure 2.* Author Unknown*, The first memorial service held at the Fallen Soldiers Memorial, Kings Park,* 25 December 1904, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 024660PD, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b2987203_001.

military leaders alone. At about this time, the word 'fallen' became a metaphor for soldiers killed in action. Later, George Mosse called this the 'cult of the fallen', which elevated soldiers to martyrs and argued that 'sacrifice was more than a duty; it was honour'.[71] At Kings Park, the site chosen at the gates, in close proximity to the new Parliament House, ensured that every park visitor would observe the memorial. Being close to the escarpment at Mount Street, it was also likely to be visible to anyone approaching from below the hill and was close also to the elite end of Perth, where gracious homes were being constructed at about the same time.[72]

When the memorial was unveiled on 6 September 1902, it featured a hammered copper statue on a plinth of freestone and granite, had six bronze plates depicting military scenes on the sides of the monument, and stood about six metres tall.[73] A Meckering granite base supports a

[71] Eugen Weber, "Reviews: George L. Mosse, Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990; vii + 264 Pp.; US $22.95," *European History Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (April 1992): 302, https://doi.org/10.1177/026569149202200211.
[72] Parliament of Western Australia, "History of the building," accessed 12 January 2022, https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/WebCMS/webcms.nsf/content/history-house-and-grounds-building-history.
[73] "A War Memorial: Our Fallen Soldiers in South Africa: The Accepted Design," *Western Mail* (Perth), June 8, 1901, 45.

Pyrmont freestone plinth—good quality oolitic stone used for its ability to be carved and chiselled.[74] An honour roll lists the names of 41 Western Australia men who died in South Africa, linking the monument to its own community. Though funereal symbols, such as crosses, are largely missing, the monument is surrounded by an iron railing that was common grave furniture in Perth at the time.[75] Instead, the monument is a celebration of valour and the imperial heroic. Perth did not have any heroes of its own in 1902, and the monument was designed to provide the community with something to revere (Figure 2). A Krupp 75-mm field gun, captured from the Boers at Bothaville, stands at the front of the memorial, symbolising the victory of the Western Australian Bushmen, as they were known in South Africa. Craig Wilcox says they were also known as the 'Imperial Bushmen'—they had widespread affection for Queen Victoria, and most regarded themselves as British and Australian.[76] The Bushmen's speciality was their natural habit of riding and shooting.[77] A war trophy, the Krupp field gun, was presented as a 'gesture of reward' to the state by the British government for participation in the war in South Africa.[78] Four *Cross Pattées* on the honour roll, similar to that used for the Victoria Cross and military orders of the Knights Templars and the Teutonic Knights, are associated with 'religion, philosophy and the military'.[79] The monument's six side panels also speak to the heroic individual, depicting several scenes in South Africa in which the Western Australian troops were engaged (Figure 3). These include Majuba Day, Paarderberg, which involved the last attack on General Cronje's position by the Empire's forces against 8000 Boers; a night attack upon a Boer convoy, portraying the Bushmen in action, and which is based on the artwork of R. Caton Woodville; the 4.7 gun at Ladysmith, a Royal Navy gun that was put to work in defence of Ladysmith, though only one Australian served with the Royal Navy in South Africa; the Bushmen dispersing the Boer train wreckers, a commonplace ambush intent on wrecking, looting

[74] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition.,* s.v. "Free-stone," 1910-1911, https://archive.org/details/encyclopaediabrit11chisrich/page/88/mode/1up?view=theater.
[75] East Perth Cemeteries, "Reading the Landscape," 2018, https://www.eastperthcemeteries.com.au/about/the-cemeteries.html.
[76] Craig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa, 1899-1902* (South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9.
[77] Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War*, 9.
[78] R.S. Billett, *War Trophies: from the First World 1914 - 1918* (East Roseville, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1999), 3-4; Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932, 5 January 1906, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S1831 – cons 13631 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Kings Park Board).
[79] Symbolsage, "What Is the Cross Pattée?: History and Meaning," accessed 8 January 2022, https://symbolsage.com/what-is-the-cross-pattee/.

and setting fire to provision trains; and, a plate depicting Australian troops entering Pretoria.[80] Most notable is the committee's decision to immortalise Major Moor's victory at Slingersfontein on one of its bronze panels. W.J.C. Downey hoped that a monument 'would help to keep green the memory of the man who led our contingent to glory', and that it might honour 'Moor's genuineness and the

*Figure 3.* Anthony Critchley, *Collection of Memorial Plaques: Fallen Soldiers' Memorial, Kings Park, Perth*, 2020, photograph, taken by the author. (Left to Right) *Major Moor Refusing to Surrender to The Boer Commander at Slingersfontein; Majuba Day, Paarderberg, The Last Attack on General Cronje's Position; A Night Attack upon a Convoy, after R. Caton Woodville; Working a 4.7 Gun Behind a Bomb-Proof Shelter at Ladysmith; Dispersing Train Wreckers; Australian Mounted, Infantry Passing Before Lord Roberts and Staff at Pretoria.*

[80] "The War," *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* (Grafton), February 27, 1900, 5.; Mitchel P. Roth, *The Encyclopedia of War Journalism 1807-2010,* 2nd ed (Amenia, N.Y: Grey House Pub., 2010), ProQuest Ebook Central, 415.; Nepean Naval and Maritime Museum, "QF 4.7-inch Gun," accessed 25 July 2021. http://www.nepeannaval.org.au/Museum/Weapons/QF%204.7-inch%20Gun.html.; Edward P. Lowry, *With the Guards' Brigade from Bloemfontein to Koomati Poort and Back* (London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1902): *245,* Project Gutenberg, 2008, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/25135.

perfect unanimity that existed between him and his men'.[81] A British career soldier who led the 1st West Australian Contingent to South Africa in 1899,[82] Moor was present at Slingersfontein when a small group of Western Australian soldiers confronted a large Boer army on 9 February 1900, where he is said to have protected his men and cared for the wounded throughout the attack, refusing to surrender.[83] He led the 1st Contingent in the capture of Pretoria, and then was fatally wounded in July 1900, while engaging in a mounted 'running fight' at Palmietfontein to catch the Boer General, Christiaan de Wet.[84] Moor was stoic in dying, refusing help for his wounds, believing that it was more important to help those less wounded than himself.[85] He was regarded as a man 'full of grit', who studied his men first and himself last.[86] After his death, Petherick wrote that 'West Australia sincerely regrets that so gallant an officer should have met with so untimely an end' and that he 'warmed all our hearts'.[87] His ability to hold back the Boers with twenty men at Westralia Hill earned appreciation for his courage and determination.[88]

*Figure 4.* Ernest Lund Mitchell, *The Fallen Soldiers Memorial Kings Park*, 1915, photographic print, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 013876PD, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b1922883_001.

Tom Collins says that 'pride is a complex emotion to define' and it can represent different qualities and behaviours, shaped by cultural beliefs and 'what one can and should be proud of'.[89] The imagery in bronze on each of the six panels vindicated the military achievements of the Western Australian Bushmen in South Africa—triumphal scenes that encouraged the community to be proud of their men. The plaque, Majuba Day, Paardeberg, illustrates the Battle at Paardeberg on the

[81] Downey, "The Late Major Moor."
[82] The Australian Boer War Memorial, "Major Hatherley Moor MID**,"** https://www.bwm.org.au/soldiers/Hatherley_Moor.php.
[83] Jim Grant, "West Australia Hill…South Africa 1900," Boer War Society of WA Inc., accessed 2 January 2022, https://www.boerwarwa.org.au/soldiers.
[84] The Australian Boer War Memorial, "Major Hatherley Moor MID**."**
[85] The Australian Boer War Memorial, "Major Hatherley Moor MID**,"**
[86] Downey, "The Late Major Moor."
[87] Petherick, "The Late Major Moor."
[88] Jim Grant, "West Australia Hill…South Africa 1900."
[89] Tom Collins, "Urban Civic Pride and the New Localism," *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers (1965)* 41, no. 2 (2016): 177, https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12113.

Modder River. It symbolises a jubilant victory on 27 February 1900 against General Pieter Cronje's Boers, following a ten-day battle.[90] Prior to the offensive, since 1881, 27 February became a national celebration in the Transvaal following the defeat of the British during the First Boer War at Majuba Hill. In February 1900, the Australians fought against the Boers in short-range combat along the Modder River's steep banks. The scene depicts the soldiers creeping along the river's edge, over huge rocks for a few miles, while the artillery fired overhead.[91] Cronje had no intention to surrender, so Lord Roberts decided to 'crush all resistance' with heavy artillery fire.[92] Louis Creswicke says, 'the anniversary of Majuba Day began in clouds. Guns very early broke into an aubade but awakened few, for there had been little sleep that night. All had dozed in their boots, ready for the worst'.[93] The merciless defeat by the British forces in 1900 caused the President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger to declare, 'the English have taken our Majuba Day away from us'.[94]

The plaque, A Night Attack upon a Convoy after R. Caton Woodville, synthesised the style of artwork synonymous with the English artist and illustrator, Richard Caton Woodville Jr. (1856 – 1927), superimposed with imagery of the Australian Bushmen. Woodville created 1800 images with the Illustrated London News, during his time with the publication.[95] The image is symbolic of 'heroic propaganda' that was prominent in newspapers in the late Victorian era.[96] Attacks on Boer convoys travelling with horse drawn vehicles and cattle were common. Anything that might support the Boers was destroyed by Lord Kitchener's army, including wagons, bullocks, mules, sheep, donkeys, ponies, and food.[97] The Bushmen's skills of riding and shooting were duplicated in the plaque, Dispersing Train Wreckers—displaying the mounted Western Australians dispersing the Boers who have wrecked a train near Bloemfontein. The Boers frequently attacked troop trains, which they considered 'lawful game', and wrecked, looted and set fire to provision trains.[98] They dynamited civilian passenger trains, robbing helpless women, including the personal belongings of nursing

[90] Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War,* 70.
[91] Louis Creswicke, *South Africa and the Transvaal War,* vol 4: from Lord Roberts' Entry into the Free State to the Battle of Karree (Project Gutenberg, 2012), 145, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38768.
[92] "The War: Fighting at Koodoosrand," *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* (Grafton), February 27, 1900, 5.
[93] Creswicke, *South Africa and the Transvaal War,* 145.
[94] Denis Judd and Keith Surridge, eds, *The Boer War: A History* (London: IB Taurus, 2013), 168.
[95] Tom Gretton, "Richard Caton Woodville (1856-1927) at the *Illustrated London News*." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 1 (2015): 90, doi:10.1353/vpr.2015.0006.
[96] Mitchel P. Roth, *The Encyclopedia of War Journalism 1807-2010*, 2nd ed, (Amenia, N.Y: Grey House Pub, 2010, ProQuest Ebook Central, 415.
[97] John McQuilton, *Australia's Communities and the Boer War* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2016), ProQuest Ebook Central, 61.
[98] Edward P. Lowry, *With the Guards' Brigade from Bloemfontein to Koomati Poort and Back* (Project Gutenberg, 2008), Chapter XV, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/25135.

sisters. The attacks disrupted the British, who were dependant on moving troops and supplies over long distances.[99]

The plaque, Australians Entering Pretoria, celebrates the victory between May and June 1900, when eleven Australian units advanced as part of the British forces from Bloemfontein, set for Pretoria. They included the 1st and 2nd Western Australian Mounted Infantry, commanded by Major Moor and Major Pilkington.[100] Their regiment commander was Colonel de Lisle. Creswicke recalls,

> 'Colonel de Lisle's sprightly Australian's, cutting across country, were chasing Boers and guns almost into the town, while the infantry with sunset were occupying the coveted positions—were handling the key of Pretoria. But the Australians, darkness or no darkness, were on the war path, nothing could stop them'.[101]

Their actions were influential for the surrender of Pretoria in June 1900. The plaque celebrates the victory parade, with the Australian mounted infantry passing before Lord Roberts in Church Square, Pretoria.

The memorial's large copper statue sought to inspire pride in the heroic individual (Figure 4). It features two soldiers: an officer, with his bayonet ready and wearing a slouch hat, who stands protectively over a fallen colleague, who clutches the officer's water flask. Like the side panels, the statue tells a story of gallantry and bravery. Its design connects classical Victorian static statuary with the innovative style of Romanticism, emphasising 'sense and emotion–not simply reason and order'.[102] It is reminiscent of political and romantic idealism produced during the French Revolution, linking to national identity and pride that continued into the twentieth century.[103] Romanticism embraced freedom, liberty, and justice, situated imprecisely between the choice of subject, exact truth, and 'a way of feeling'.[104] The sculpture, which White called 'In Defence of the Flag', won the artist the Wynne Prize from the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1902 for the best sculpture by an Australian artist.[105] It is an important work that links Russel Ward's nineteenth-century 'bush legend' to the Anzac soldiers of the twentieth.[106] Importantly, the Australian hero was no longer a British icon, but a bush soldier in a slouch hat and a citizen's military uniform. Ken Inglis suggests that the scene of an

[99] Lowry, *With the Guards' Brigade from Bloemfontein to Koomati Poort and Back*, Chapter XV.
[100] Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War*, 81.
[101] Louis Creswicke, *South Africa and the Transvaal War,* vol. 5: From the disaster at Koorn Spruit to Lord Robert's entry into Pretoria, (Project Gutenberg, 2012),188, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/41017.
[102] The Art Story, "Romanticism," 2022, https://www.theartstory.org/movement/romanticism/.
[103] The Art Story, "Romanticism."
[104] The Art Story, "Romanticism."
[105] Art Gallery of New South Wales, "James S White: In defence of the flag," accessed 20 October 2021, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/prizes/wynne/1902/20800/.
[106] Russel Braddock Ward and J. B. Hirst, *The Australian Legend: Russel Ward* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2003), ACLS Humanities EBook, 5.

officer protecting a fallen soldier was not dissimilar to six military events of valour that were recognised with Victoria Crosses during the Boer War.[107] He suggests the sculpture represents 'Australia to the rescue of Empire, and Bushman as master of horse and saviour of man'.[108] It matched the representation of Australia's Boer War soldiers elsewhere in the country: lithe, dapper, manly, typically tall, and wearing a trademark moustache, a symbol of manliness in the 1900s.[109] The fallen trooper, clutching the regimental colours, symbolised Western Australia's early-twentieth-century patriotism for the British Empire. The fighting spirit of defending the colours has a long military tradition pre-dating the Boer War. Regarded as 'Honourable Insignia', the colours were a 'rally point' during the heat of battle, pivotal to inspiring regiments to defend at any cost. To continue to fight after the death of a commander, and to face defeat with the colours intact, has inspired acts of gallantry and self-sacrifice.[110] This atmosphere of ultra-patriotism to Queen, Britain, and the flag, prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century and prompted the colony's premier, John Forrest, to emphatically support the empire's war in South Africa, linking duty to glory, and rallying recruits to fight in South Africa.[111]

The conceptualisation of heroism and patriotism informed the memorial's design. However, it generated little enthusiasm within the community, as many of the returned soldiers disagreed with its design. A thorough search of period newspapers reveals barely any civilian commentary on the design of the monument, suggesting widespread indifference to its value. For many, indifference related to their view that the Boer War was 'complicated, obscure, equivocal and ambiguous', leading to a deficiency in community support for the courageous few.[112] The Australian Boer War Memorial considered it 'an economic war with little impact on Australia; nonetheless a conflict our democratically elected colonial then national governments called for our citizens to volunteer for'.[113] Objections of returned soldiers were often forthright. One disgusted commentator, having seen the design 'selected by a unanimous vote of the committee', thought the statue of a protective commanding officer represented a fictitious scene, and the 'idea would be more clearly expressed if the flask was marked 'shypoo'—which was then slang for poor-quality liquor.[114] A military

[107] K.S Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), 51.
[108] Inglis, *Sacred Places,* 51.
[109] Inglis, 50.
[110] The Australian Army, "Colours, Standards, Guidons and Banners," accessed 12 January 2022, https://www.army.gov.au/our-heritage/traditions/colours-standards-guidons-and-banners.
[111] F. K. Crowley, *Big John Forrest 1847-1918: A Founding Father of the Commonwealth of Australia* (Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 2000), 266.
[112] Inglis, *Sacred Places,* 63-65
[113] New South Wales Lancers Memorial Museum, "The Australian Boer War Memorial," accessed 28 September 2022, https://www.bwm.org.au/index.php.
[114] Disgusted, public letter to the editor, "The Fallen Soldiers' Memorial," *West Australian,* June 14, 1901, 14.

contributor to the *West Australian* in 1901 called the scene a 'pantomime' and regretted that the committee did not take the advice of returned soldiers regarding its design. He thought they 'would have been unanimous' in its condemnation.[115] A more accurate historical representation, he added, 'would have been a simple figure of a West Australian mounted infantryman, dressed and accoutred as in the field'.[116] The writer argued that no soldier in South Africa would defend a fallen comrade in a bayonet stance while the wounded soldier drinks from a water bottle. He would probably be defending the soldier 'lying behind an adjacent rock and shooting'.[117] The *Evening Courier* in Fremantle thought that the statuary was 'an imaginary sketch'—the only colours an Australian would carry in the war was a black eye.[118] J.B. Mills, from the Second Western Australian Contingent, consulted with many returned soldiers on the design and 'failed to hear it approved by one'.[119] He thought that the 'ridiculous caricature' was typical of the imaginary military images portrayed in advertising posters and pictures, which were amusing in South Africa, and he was frustrated that despite the protests against the design, the objectors had no power against a memorial committee obstinately pursuing 'the monstrosity'.[120] Excluding the public in the proposal, design and construction of the memorial meant it had little community value on its completion. The monument reflected heroic imperial ideas prized by social leaders but reflected little of the values and truth sought by returned soldiers.

It might be argued, therefore, that the principal utility of the Fallen Soldiers' Memorial in 1902 is that it was an undertaking in civic pride, considered as important by the state's political and social leaders. Unlike the public grief that was an outcome of the Great War, the South African War was used as an opportunity to benchmark civic pride and its aesthetics. Peter Donaldson argues that 'civic pride was very much the tenor of the day, and the dead were almost incidental to the occasion'.[121] Though twentieth-century war memorials are often considered substitute graves for the fallen, and a part of the remembrance ritual for the absent dead, there were few accounts of public mourning or sorrow in Perth during the Boer War. A book of newspaper cuttings collected during the South African War by Jacques Forquharson Messer (served in the 1st Western Australian Contingent) provides little evidence of public grief.[122] Sir John Forrest, Bishop Riley, and Major

[115] "Campaigning Notes: The Fallen Soldiers' Memorial," *West Australian*, June 15, 1901, 3.
[116] "Campaigning Notes."
[117] "Campaigning Notes."
[118] "Farther North: Notes by Kola," *Evening Courier* (Fremantle), September 8, 1902, 3.
[119] J.B. Mills, public letter to the editor, "The Fallen Soldiers' Monument," *West Australian,* July 26, 1901, 7.
[120] Mills, "The Fallen Soldiers' Monument."
[121] Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 38.
[122] Manuscript of newspaper cuttings relating to WA troops in the South African War compiled by J.F. Messer, South African and Imperial Veterans Association of West Australia, 1899-1955, J.S. Battye Library of Western Australia History Collection, Call Number: ACC 926A/12 OSM.

Joseph John Talbot Hobbs attributed heroism and praise for the sacrifice of Lieutenant Anthony Forrest, Private Michael Conway, and Private Arthur Blanck (listed on the Fallen Soldier's Memorial), 'who had volunteered their services and fought so well for the British Empire', during the unveiling ceremony of a memorial brass in their honour and in the presence of relatives.[123] Expressions of patriotism, gallantry and service overshadowed sentiments of public grief. In Britain, local volunteer contingents were the leading point of interest for communities across the country and were seized on as the 'foci for civic pride'.[124] In Perth, the Bushmen were the focal point of civic pride, which the monument celebrated. When wreaths were placed on the monument on Christmas Day 1904, Colonel Ricardo acknowledged that it rendered a 'tangible expression of honour' to the fallen, who were not forgotten.[125] The following year in 'the pouring rain, large numbers of troops and the general public' attended a 'very impressive' wreath-laying ceremony, proving that the people of Perth were not remiss in remembering the dead.[126] The memorial provided the space for public commemoration, and in this function, provided utility to the public.

The meaning of the statuary as a symbol of the Bushmen offered little utilitarian value because of the indifference that existed towards the design, caused by the exclusionary process of its creation. For the social and political elite of Perth, the Fallen Soldiers' Memorial added ornamentation to Perth's landscape. It also became a centre for civic honour—a 'key symbol of community worth'—which was replaced after the enormous losses of the Great War with memorials of collective grief and commemoration.[127]

## The Queen Victoria Memorial

With the Fallen Soldiers' memorial under construction, the Kings Park Board negotiated plans for an additional monument that would honour the memory of the late Queen Victoria and her achievements. It, too, was an elegy to an empire from which the community was largely excluded. Both monuments followed the prevailing British preference of civic architects for life-like ornamental portraits in bronze and stone. While the Fallen Soldiers' statue was filled with movement in the Romantic style, Victoria's was a sober and static form to match the preferences of the late-Victorian period. It remained within the tradition of monumentalism that, since the mid-nineteenth century, had populated English public parks with effigies of illustrious aristocrats as public 'models of

[123] "Social Notes," *West Australian,* January 11, 1902, 9.
[124] Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, 76.
[125] "Honouring the Brave: An Interesting Function," *West Australian,* December 26, 1904, 2.
[126] "Honouring the Dead," *Western Mail* (Perth), December 30, 1905, 13.
[127] Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War,* 18.

virtue'.[128] Malcolm Miles argues that monuments were presented to the public as a source of stability, concealing the 'internal contradictions of society' with monuments that survived daily fluctuations of history.[129] In this way, he concludes, nineteenth-century memorial culture was a means of 'preserving social order' by projecting messages of empire and patriarchy to a society that did not question power or money.[130] Similarly, Malcolm Baker argues that static public statues are objects of 'public fame rather than private remembrance', which creates tension between audience and subject over their worthiness for 'respect and admiration'—ultimately questioning the merits of a figure's place in society.[131] Victoria's monument in Perth borrowed from historical and imperial symbols that spoke to her wealth, power and sovereignty.[132] In this sense, it is a relic of the social and political leaders who created it: daring the people to 'imitate or do better'.[133]

The Queen Victoria memorial stands on the highest hill overlooking the city of Perth, guarded by four cannons of the Crimean War. It is a symbol of nobility, marking the life of Queen Victoria and the period of her reign (Figure 5). Allen Stoneham, a wealthy British businessman, gifted the Queen Victoria monument to Western Australia, commissioning the renowned British portrait artist, Francis John Williamson, as the sculptor.[134] Stoneham's patronage emerged out of his loyalty to Queen Victoria and the hope that the presence of a memorial 'might have the effect of turning the thoughts of rising generations to the mother country'.[135] He had extensive business interests in Western Australia: he was a shareholder and Managing Director of The West Australian Goldfields Limited, which was fast expanding mining operations in the goldfields.[136] As Chairman of the Perth

[128] Malcolm Baker, "What place for public statues in the history of art?" Apollo Magazine, July 2020, https://www.apollo-magazine.com/public-statues-history-of-art-sculpture/.
[129] Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space and the City* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 1997), ProQuest Ebook Central, 38.
[130] Miles, *Art, Space and the City,* 38.
[131] Baker, "What place for public statues in the history of art?"
[132] Jack David Sargeant, "Parliament and the Crown Jewels in the English Revolution, 1641–1644," *The Historical Journal* 63, no. 4 (2020): 814, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X19000438.
[133] Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," 1874, in *Untimely Meditations,* ed. Daniel Braezeale, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), ACLS Humanities EBook, 68.
[134] "Mr. Stoneham's Gift to Australia: A Magnificent Statue," *Southern Cross Times*, January 3, 1903, 4.
[135] "Mr. Stoneham's Gift to Australia: A Magnificent Statue," 4.
[136] "The West Australian Goldfields Limited," *Western Mail* (Perth), December 9, 1893, 5.

*Figure 5.* D. Blumer, *Queen Victoria Memorial on Fraser Avenue, Kings Park*, n.d., photograph, Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/events/walks-and-tours/self-guided-walks/memorials-walk.

Tramway Company, he introduced electric trams into Kalgoorlie and Perth.[137] At the time of his donation, Stoneham was also seeking approval to extend the Colin Street tramline through Kings Park.

Official records reveal that the Kings Park Board discussed both the proposed monument and proposed tramline throughout 1902, and often simultaneously in the same meetings. It was during this period that the profitability of Stoneham's Perth tramway business fell below expectations. The West Australian Goldfields Limited operated two tramway services in Western Australia—Perth and Kalgoorlie. In 1902 the profitability of the Perth tramway operation was £22,500, in comparison to Kalgoorlie's £40,000 in the same year.[138] The *Inquirer and Commercial News* reported in February 1901 that the government of Western Australia was asked to accept, as a gift from Allen Stoneham, 'who is largely interested in mining in the state', a statue of Queen Victoria—a replica of the same sculpture displayed in London, Londonderry and Auckland, 'for which the Queen gave personal sittings'.[139] The then premier, George Throssell, accepted the offer and instructed the vice president of the Park Board, John Winthrop Hackett, to take charge of the memorial donated by Stoneham.[140] Throssell, also a wealthy Northam businessman, desired that it

[137] "Perth Tram Founder: Mr. A.H.P. Stoneham Dead: Leaves £70,000," *Daily News* (Perth) June 23, 1927, 5.
[138] "West Australian Goldfields: The Company Assets," *Kalgoorlie Miner,* October 11, 1902, 5.
[139] "A Statue of the Queen," *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth), February 22, 1901, 13.
[140] "The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift," *Kalgoorlie Miner,* June 1, 1901, 1.

be located in a prominent position.[141] After the government's acceptance of the gift, Stoneham took total control of the design from his base in London. He sent Hackett a sketch of the proposed statue and its ornamental base, so that space might be prepared for its location. In February 1902, Arthur Lovekin and Hackett were appointed by the Kings Park Board to meet with Stoneham, who was visiting from England, to select a site for the statue, and also discussed a proposal put forward to the board by Stoneham's company for a tramline to be built through Kings Park.[142]

*Figure 6.* Graeme Saunders, *Queen Victoria*, 14 April 2014, photograph, Monument Australia, https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/people/imperial/display/61024-queen-victoria-.

Donating an expensive statue to the Western Australian Government, during the same period that Stoneham was discussing running a tram line through Kings Park, raises ethical questions about transforming a gift into a business transaction for financial gain. The Carrara marble statue cost Stoneham £1500.[143] He agreed to meet additional expenses deemed necessary to raise the plinth and purchase a granite block.[144] The cost for the statue was five times the annual salary of a Kings Park senior-level gardening superintendent with staff responsibility (which was then £300 a year).[145] (Today, the average annual salary of a gardening superintendent is $70,000).[146] After

[141] "The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift," *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth), May 31, 1901, 15.
[142] Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932, 22 February 1902, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S1831 – cons 13631 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Kings Park Board).
[143] A. Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia* (Perth: ES Wigg & Son Ltd, 1925), 28.
[144] Minutes, 17 July 1903, Kings Park Board.
[145] Parliament of Western Australia, *Seventh Progress Report of the Royal Commission of the Public Service of Western Australia* (Perth: Government Printer, 1903), 8.
[146] Talent.com, "Horticulturist Average Salary in Australia 2021," accessed 6 November 2021, https://au.talent.com/salary?job=Horticulturist#:~:text=The%20average%20Horticulturist%20salary%20in,up%20to%20%2472%2C500%20per%20year.

meeting Stoneham, Hackett and Lovekin reported to the board that they had selected a site for the memorial, and had advised Stoneham that the board 'could not give the tramway company any right to lay the line'.[147] Stoneham then offered the assets of the tram lines to become the property of the board, and he would find sufficient money to pay for them, in addition to other concessions.[148] The proposal was well received by the board. In August 1902, they proposed to introduce a Private Members Bill to parliament, enabling the board to extend the Colin St tramline to the Butts (near where the State War Memorial now stands).[149] In October 1902, the Legislative Council debated the Kings Park Tramways Bill. A Point of Order was raised by Arthur George Jenkins that a similar Bill was previously rejected by the House—an amendment to the Parks and Reserves Act 1895 that attempted to allow tramways to be built in reserves. Hackett argued that the question of constructing tramways in Kings Park should be decided by the House but was defeated by the Legislative Council.[150] In February 1903, the Kings Park Board agreed to attempt another Bill, but no records have been found in Hansard relating to this proposal proceeding, and the tramway was never built.[151] Stoneham was influential in getting the backing of the board for his project. It raises suspicion about Stoneham's intentions to gift the statue. While unethical behaviour may not have been intended, perceptions matter, and it further suggests that reciprocation from the gifted memorial rendered its public utility a secondary aim.[152] Regardless of the matter regarding the tram line, the completion of the memorial proceeded, and the Queen Victoria statue arrived in Fremantle on the steamer *Ettrickdale,* freight-free from London, on 30 January 1903.[153]

Prominent local architect Joseph Herbert Eales built the monument's granite base, stairway, and surround. The use of premium materials, Carrara marble, local granite, and bronze signify the subject's importance and the expense of the memorial. Williamson included medieval symbols of British sovereignty in his design—the royal sceptre, a symbol of sovereign control dating back to William the Conqueror, and the ribbon and garter (Noble Order of the Garter), worn on Victoria's left shoulder in the medieval style in the form of a brooch on a ribbon, which is designed as a star, with St George's cross in the middle (Figure 6).[154] It signifies her most senior order of knighthood in

[147] Minutes, 27 February 1902, Kings Park Board.
[148] Minutes, 27 February 1902, Kings Park Board.; "Tramway in the King's Park: Government Assent Refused," Western Mail (Perth), April 12, 1902, 56.
[149] Minutes, 26 August 1902, Kings Park Board.
[150] 4 Parl. Deb. Legislative Council of Western Australia (Vol. XX1) (1902) cols. 1431-1437.
[151] Minutes, 9 February 1903, Kings Park Board.
[152] Patricia Illingworth, "Giving Back: Norms, Ethics, and Law in the Service of Philanthropy*," in *Giving Well: The Ethics of Philanthropy*, ed. Patricia Illingworth, Thomas Pogge, and Leif Wenar (Oxford University Press, 2011; Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011): 203, doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739073.003.0011.
[153] "Queen Victoria's Statue: Mr. Stoneham's Gift to Perth," *Daily News* (Perth)*,* January 30, 1903, 1.
[154] Historic Royal Palaces, "The Crown Jewels: The Sovereign's Sceptre and Rod," 2022, https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/the-crown-jewels/#gs.v3yv4v.; Stephanie Trigg,

the British honour system.[155] Royalty with all its ceremonial lavishness is engrained in British culture, because of long-standing historical traditions, creating public emotions linked to patriotism. David Sargeant argues that royal regalia were 'operative' symbols of power, not just decorative symbols of monarchical authority.[156] They associate wealth with power and sovereignty, because of their inestimable value, which is on public display. The sculpture includes a replica of Victoria's Honiton lace wedding veil, regarded by her as more valuable than her family jewels, and the coronation robe, bracelet, brooch, a necklace of diamonds—all exact replicas of the original items.[157] Queen Victoria's crown originally belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and the cross-bars were added when Victoria became Empress of India.[158] The same crown was placed on Victoria's coffin.[159] On each side of the plinth are bronze medallions of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.

On 17 October 1903, the Queen Victoria statue was unveiled in a patriotic, British ceremony (Figure 7). Preparations were finalised for the ceremony on 10 October 1903, but delayed because the Aberdeen granite pedestal supporting the statue had to be raised to a height of five metres, by placing a Meckering granite block underneath.[160] During this time, two derelict Crimean War 12-pounder field guns (1843) were relocated from outside the Fremantle gaol and placed in front of the memorial with two 6-pounder brass field guns (1739).[161] The ceremony was presided over by the governor, Admiral Sir Frederick Bedford, who received a royal salute on arrival with his mounted police escort. [162] Arrangements for the ceremony included a military band, contingents from the

*Shame and Honor: A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press Inc., 2012), ProQuest Ebook Central, 223.

[155] The Royal Household, "Order of the Garter," accessed 10 January 2022, https://www.royal.uk/order-garter.

[156] Sargeant, "Parliament and the Crown Jewels in the English Revolution, 1641–1644," 814.

[157] "The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift." *Kalgoorlie Miner,* June 1, 1901, 1.

[158] "The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift." *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth)*,* May 31, 1901, 15.

[159] "The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift."

[160] "The Queen Victoria Statue: Unveiling Ceremony on October 10," *West Australian,* September 24, 1903, 2.

[161] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor," *Western Mail* (Perth)*,* October 24, 1903, 43.; "Historical Guns: Relics of the Past," *Southern Cross Times,* June 27, 1903, 3.

[162] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue to Be Unveiled To-Day: Details of Arrangements," *West Australian,* October 17, 1903, 10.; "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor: An Interesting Gathering," *West Australian,* October 19, 1903, 7.

*Figure 7.* Charles Walker, *The Governor, Admiral Sir Frederick Bedford, unveils the Queen Victoria Memorial*, 17 October 1903, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: BA1200/229, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b5992548_2.

military forces, a choir, and a full parade of six hundred cadets in their new corps uniforms.[163] The statue was dressed with a Union Jack flag, around which seats were reserved for the governor, parliamentarians and their wives, judges, the Kings Park Board, church representatives, and invited guests of the board. The *West Australian* noted that 'the memorial was a distinguishing mark from the Swan River and the neighbouring country, even as far back as the Darling Ranges' and that the queen looked east on the summit of Mount Eliza.[164] Estimates of the attendance at the gala event were sketchy. One estimate suggested ten thousand people may have been there, though the *West Australian* questioned if attendance 'really reached five figures'.[165] Hackett, in his speech on behalf of the Kings Park Board, claimed that the statue symbolised the 'last great achievement of colonial expansion' during the Queen's reign, and that the city of Perth, which she looks down upon, was the 'latest effort of Imperial development'.[166] The premier, Sir Walter Hartwell James, claimed that the memorial would stand in honour of a sovereign that witnessed the great expansion of the empire,

[163] "The Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony on October 10"; "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue to Be Unveiled To-Day: Details of Arrangements."
[164] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue to Be Unveiled To-Day: Details of Arrangements."
[165] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor: An Interesting Gathering."
[166] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue," *Western Mail,* October 24, 1903, 43.

whose 'influence elevated the social and moral life of every community' with material, intellectual, and moral expansion that gave freedom to everyone within her rule.[167] The governor acknowledged that Victoria had reigned in the hearts of the British people for sixty-three years.[168]

Victoria's statue is a prime example of the existence of class hierarchy in the early twentieth century. This symbol of royal and imperial authority is embellished by its commanding physical location overlooking the city of Perth. Nobility underpinned the interactive imperial political system of the British Empire for centuries, comprising majesty, peerage, gentry, and knights. It was an honour system that reinforced the homogenous political and socio-cultural structures that defined the Empire before British dominions gained self-rule. The stateliness of the monument encapsulates David Cannadine's argument that the 'cult of imperial royalty, class, rank and status, were more important to Empire than race'.[169] This elevated form of officialdom enabled the British to govern globally by an accustomed political order that predicated inequality—a class and racial divide. Ruling elites across the British Empire, including past members of the Kings Park Board, were incorporated into the overarching imperial hierarchy, with Queen Victoria as their superior. Perth's Queen Victoria monument was created and situated prominently on the landscape to emphasise the imperial characteristics of the Queen, and existence of hierarchy within her dominion. The monument was created within an international trend to honour the late queen through public monuments. A search of the internet reveals innumerable Queen Victoria statues throughout the world. Many examples now exist of statues of Victoria in bronze, copper, marble, or stone, usually positioned in public spaces that held civic importance at the time. Mark Stocker argues that the New Zealand experience of building Queen Victoria memorials stems from the community's 'token colonial love and loyalty' for the monarch, but admits, that local politics coexisted with imperial interests.[170] The monuments are tangible objects that keep alive an 'ancient constitution', symbols that create a link to the past, shrouded in the history of Britain's rulers and historical legends. [171] Then and since, the display of royal regalia has the potential to create a cultural and political divide between those who supported the empire, and those who did not.[172] The imperial medieval honour system of bestowing peerages and knighthoods, and the public display of their associated regalia has a tradition of antipathy in

[167] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor: An Interesting Gathering."
[168] "Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor: An Interesting Gathering."
[169] David Cannadine, "Ornamentalism," *History Today* 51, 5 (2001): 12, http://search.ebscohost.com.ipacez.nd.edu.au/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=4374761&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
[170] Mark Stocker, "A Token of Their Love': Queen Victoria Memorials in New Zealand," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2016, no. 22 (2016): 1, https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.724.
[171] Jack David Sargeant, "Parliament and the Crown Jewels in the English Revolution, 1641–1644," 814.
[172] Steven Mock, *Symbols of Defeat in the Construction of National Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), ProQuest Ebook Central, 19.

Australia. York argues that Australians had a distaste for parading their 'betters', an attitude that reflected the nation's convict origins.[173] The *Sydney Tribune* noted that in the mid-nineteenth century, Australians rejected 'an attempt by the squattocracy of that time to foist on us a bunyip aristocracy.[174] The term 'bunyip aristocracy' was a response by Daniel Deniehy to William Wentworth's efforts to introduce a parliamentary upper house in the colony of New South Wales, consisting of members of colonial hereditary peerage—vehemently opposed by political and social orators in 1853.[175]

In Perth, the public was, again, largely excluded from the proposal, design, and creation of Victoria's memorial. Evidence suggests that, as a result, the object had little utility for the community upon its completion—other than ornamental purpose. The community had not created the desire for the memorial. In 1903, the newspaper *WA Record* wrote a scathing commentary on the donation of Victoria's monument, arguing that such works must be the outcome of public sentiment:

> So far Perth has escaped the public statue craze. Now, however, the pastime seems to be on a fair way to become acclimatised. According to the *West Australian's* view of the subject, effigies in 'bronze and marble are highly desirable things, as much for ornamental purposes as for forming a link between the present and the past, and for the perpetuation of noble deeds and aspirations. All of which may be very true, but it is lacking in one essential, and that is the spontaneous desire of the people. If every person who carried up to the *West Australian*'s idea of being worthy of a statue were presented with one, our chief towns might be mistaken for cemeteries; Public statues, to be of any value, should be PUBLIC in reality as well as in name. Nobody, for a moment, for instance, would dare say that a statue of the late Queen Victoria is not worthy of a place in our principal park, but the pity is that it is not a gift from the people. Monuments of this kind to the memory of the departed should represent as much the good will of the people as the good deeds of the dead. We do not want too many of them; there is just the possibility that they may become common, and consequently undervalued. The tendency is evidently that way, and it is a tendency that needs to be checked. Neither should this city encourage the practice among private individuals of making presentations of statues for our streets and public gardens. These people might very well gratify their vanity, and desire for fame by erecting them in their own back yard. If Perth decides on having statues in public places, let the citizens buy them themselves. If they don't want them they won't buy them; then the decision may very fairly be taken as the estimate of the public.[176]

[173] Barry York, "Knighthoods and Dames," Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House, 3 Nov 2015, https://www.moadoph.gov.au/blog/knighthoods-and-dames/#.
[174] "Australia wants no bunyip aristocracy," *Tribune* (Sydney), January 27, 1960, 3.
[175] York, "Knighthoods and Dames."
[176] "Random Reveries," *W.A. Record,* October 24, 1903, 9.

The *WA Record* was not alone in its concern. The monument's form was criticised by the *Truth*, suggesting it looks 'like a wedding cake with a little white sugar queen on top' (Figure 8), that the 'squat' statue is disproportionate to the majestic hills in the background.[177]

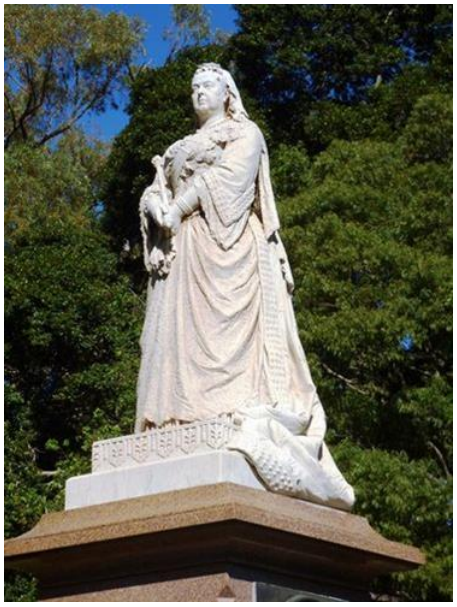


*Figure 8.* Graeme Saunders, *Queen Victoria*, 14 April 2014, photograph, Monument Australia, https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/people/imperial/display/61024-queen-victoria-.

The *Truth* defied public fearfulness to speak out against the memorial and its high-class supporters. As the *WA Record* highlighted, 'nobody, for a moment, for instance, would dare say that a statue of the late Queen Victoria is not worthy of a place in our principal park'.[178] It was unlawful to speak out against the Crown. The Criminal Code Act 1902 of Western Australia declared it was a seditious intention to excite disaffection against the Sovereign, raise discontent, or disaffection amongst His Majesty's subjects. The penalty for the crime was imprisonment with hard labour for seven years.[179] It is not surprising then that public opinion of the memorial was scarce. The scathing journalistic comments of the *Truth* poked fun at the supposed social betters, 'intending to flagellate the boodle sharks and money mongers who have been responsible for the political position in Western Australia'.[180] The comments by the *Truth* poked fun at the state's social elite, though the *WA Record* adopted a more conciliatory tone. The comments by both newspapers reveal a profound connection between the public and Kings Park, and a genuine interest in its development as public space. The major newspapers of the period were at large jingoistic in their reporting. The conservative bias of the *West Australian, Daily News,* and the *Western Mail,* reflected Lovekin and Hackett's business interests and their embrace of imperial ideology. As partner, business manager, and editor of the *West Australian,* Hackett focussed on conservative politics and rural hegemony, while his *Western Mail* prospered as 'the man on the land's bible'.[181] 'He ignored local writing and literature reflecting working-class values.'[182] Lovekin was editor and managing director of the conservative evening paper, the *Daily News* from 1894 to

[177] "Society Sidelights," *Truth* (Perth), October 17, 1903, 3.
[178] "Random Reveries," *W.A. Record,* October 24, 1903, 9.
[179] Government of Western Australia, "Criminal Code Act 1902, Chapter VII – Sedition," https://www.legislation.wa.gov.au/legislation/statutes.nsf/home.html.
[180] "Truth in W.A." *Truth* (Perth), July 25, 2.
[181] Lyall Hunt, "Hackett, Sir John Winthrop (1848–1916)," Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hackett-sir-john-winthrop-6514/text11181, accessed online 22 September 2022.
[182] Hunt, "Hackett, Sir John Winthrop (1848–1916)."

1916, then sole owner until 1926.[183] Lovekin and Hackett's newspapers reported favourably on the memorialisation of Kings Park. The *Western Mail* commented, Queen Victoria's Memorial 'will no doubt long remain to remind succeeding generations of the Queen who exercised so wide an influence during the nineteenth century, and whose reign, as was happily observed on Saturday, fairly accurately covers the entire existence of Western Australia up to the period when the State entered the Federation'. [184] In contrast the *Truth* reported, 'The magnificent view of the river and the hills beyond requires something more majestic than the dwarf figure send to Perth by an enterprising mining man, whose loyalty is bigger than his purse'. [185] Hackett and Lovekin's business interests interlocked with their association as founding members of the Kings Park Board, their relationship with the Sir John Forrest, and the elite of Perth. In this sense, Hackett and Lovekin were not neutral observers in their reporting of the events associated with Kings Park's memorials, and therefore, it is probable that the newspaper reports were biased, and reflected their interests and not necessarily the views of the community. Bobbie Oliver believes that the major newspapers reflected the thinking majority of most West Australians, being generally 'conservative in outlook, and fiercely loyal to the British Empire, of which they saw themselves as an integral part'.[186] Contrary to what was generally accepted, the *Truth* and the *WA Record* portrayed more cynical and opposing views towards the Queen Victoria Memorial and the actions of the Kings Park Board.

## Finding utility in heroes of the past

Symbols of the past can be a model for the future. In his 1874 essay 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life', Friedrich Nietzsche proposed that great people can be 'models, teachers, and comforters' to those who come after*:*

> …that which in the past was able to expand the concept 'man' and make it more beautiful must exist everlastingly, so as to be able to accomplish this everlastingly. That the great moments in the struggle of the human individual constitute a chain, that this chain unites mankind across the millennia like a range of human mountain peaks, at the summit of such a long-ago moment shall be for me still living, bright and great—that is the fundamental idea of the faith in humanity which finds expression in the demand for a *monumental* history. But it

[183] Donald Grant, "Lovekin, Arthur (1859–1931)," Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lovekin-arthur-7246/text12551, accessed online 22 September 2022.
[184] "Queen Victoria's Memorial," *Western Mail* (Perth), October 24, 1903, 43.
[185] "Society Sidelights," *Truth* (Perth), October 17, 1903, 3.
[186] Bobbie Oliver, *War and Peace in Western* Australia: *The Social and Political Impact of the Great War, 1914-1926* (Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 1995), 31.

> is precisely this demand that greatness shall be everlasting that sparks off the most fearful of struggles. For everything else that lives cries no. The monumental should not come into existence—that is the counter word.[187]

When the premier, Philip Collier, unveiled the John Forrest memorial in 1927, these were the ideas that he drew upon when hailing the legacy of Forrest: 'So we see in the life of this great son of West Australia something which ought to be an inspiration to those who are coming after'.[188] Those memorials and monuments in Kings Park that were elegies to empire—the Fallen Soldiers' memorial, the Queen Victoria memorial and, arguably, that for John Forrest—were alike insofar as each was a dedication to the heroes of the past, built when Perth yet had no heroes and no monuments. As objects, these monuments are evidence of those who were then considered heroes by Perth's social and political leaders. The Kings Park Board and the working committees that built each monument hoped to create patriotic utility in commemorating heroes of the past and creating examples for future generations. Nevertheless, contrary to that aspiration, the exclusion of the community meant the early Kings Park memorials provided minimal utility to Perth's community in the early twentieth century.

As objects of material heritage, the early Kings Park memorials have a different value for our modern society. They are important historical relics of Western Australia's past cultural and colonial heritage, reflecting nineteenth-century British socio-political structures that shaped Western Australia and continued in various post-imperialism forms.[189] Therefore, the monuments are historical markers—not role models, as Nietzsche had hoped. The idea that civic statues are inspirational is an antiquated idea based on Victorian-era memorialisation thinking, when statues in public places, dedicated to great men and their queen, symbolised heroic deeds, and virtues.

The heroes of the past, soldiers, monarchs and civic leaders, symbolised the political landscape of the Victorian-Edwardian period when power and culture change impacted the lives of Aboriginal people.[190] Brian Njoroge argues that erecting monuments and re-naming places were tools of Western dominance over colonised societies.[191] For Aboriginal people, the Kings Park memorials are a reminder of the state's association with colonialism, and the homogenous white

[187] Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," 67.
[188] "Notes and Comments," *Sunday Times* (Perth), September 4, 1927, 6.
[189] Noel Parker, *Empire and International Order,* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 96, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315579313.
[190] Crowley, *Big John Forrest 1847-1918,* 203 and 316.
[191] Brian Njoroge, "Kenyan statues must fall," 30 October 2020, https://africasacountry.com/2020/10/kenyan-statues-must-fall.

agenda that entrenched the lives and thought of colonial administrators.[192] 'Othering, or the exclusion of Indigenous people, became an element of empire-building within the framework of colonisation', argues Ronald Hyam, and created a recipe for disaster.[193] All three 'elegies to empire' in Kings Park must resonate badly with Indigenous people, yet there has not been some form of protest. Victoria was the personification of the empire itself. Australian troops in South Africa engaged in acts to extend that empire through the dispossession of others. Moreover, at home, Forrest was one of the leading advocates for the expansion of empire in Western Australia. As a member of the Commonwealth parliament after 1901, Forrest supported the *Immigration Restriction Act*, which sought to preserve Australia 'for the white man'.[194] Furthermore, according to Frank Crowley, his relationship with Aboriginal people was poor, regarding them as a public nuisance.[195]

The utility of the early Kings Park memorials, therefore, now exists in the ability to research, understand, and interpret their meaning, 'materially, symbolically, politically and culturally', in their historical and social contexts.[196] Once acceptable to past generations, these heroes of the past may no longer resonate with contemporary communities, who have discovered new meaning about their memorial's symbolism. As Timothy Snyder suggests, history gives you the distance and the ability to have perspective on the past, and where you are at now, with the past ideas 'flowing into the present'.[197] This perspective on past ideas and how they resonate with the present, led to the pulling down of the statue of slave trader Edward Colston in Bristol, England, for not being representative of the city's diverse and multicultural values.[198] This history forces you to take responsibility for what is happening in your environment. It forces you to consider, what can I do or what should I do?[199] In this sense, the heroes of the past inspire action to do better; therefore, they can act as models for change. The recent exposure of the hidden narratives of infamous individuals has resulted in numerous memorial statues becoming dislocated and defaced by groups across the world. Like many public sculptures of colonial leaders, the memorial myth of these heroes is their innocence and greatness, masqueraded by their positioning in civic spaces, which gives stature to the confirmation

[192] Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 14, doi:10.1017/CBO9780511760495.
[193] Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire,* 5-6.
[194] Crowley, *Big John Forrest 1847-1918*, 203, 316.
[195] Crowley, 298.
[196] Ashton and Hamilton, "Places of the Heart," 2.
[197] Timothy Snyder, "Timothy Snyder Speaks," video, published June 9, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eghl19elKk8.
[198] Martin Farrer, "Who was Edward Colston and why was his Bristol statue toppled?" *The Guardian,* June 8, 2020.
[199] Timothy Snyder, "Timothy Snyder Speaks."

of their presumed importance. The memorialisation of these leaders hides the darker side of their lives. It is this narrative that memorial revisionists wish to expose. Snyder argues that accepting the innocence of monuments hides 'the complications of the past and present, and forgetting entirely about the future'.[200] He describes the protection of statues worldwide as a new authoritarianism. He calls it the 'politics of eternity'—a displacement of the real challenges of the actual world with the myth of a sacred past that must be protected.[201]

Understanding that the memorials and their symbols were an expression of Australia's Britishness and place within the empire—at least as it was understood by the community's political and social leaders—is why these monuments now have value. They allow us to understand the community that went before us, even if their objects of reverence are no longer thought of as heroes. The Fallen Soldiers', Queen Victoria, and Lord Forrest memorials are symbolic of early twentieth century Western Australians being cognizant of their Australian-ness, 'as lying in the fact that they were really British', despite their national characteristics of self-government, bush folklore, sporting prowess, and 'the Australian bushman's extraordinary versatility—the capacity to do anything'.[202] The creators of these three Kings Park memorials reached for the rhetoric, ritual, and symbolism of Britishness, which ensured that they remained inclusionary to the British race (Empire). These symbols of Western Australia's past Britishness provides the yardstick to measure how mature the nation has become in validating, perpetuating, and acknowledging the nations cultural heritage origins, and distinguishing peculiarities. Darren Holden argues that 'the current social challenges that many Indigenous Australians face are a result of society's failure to recognise the stories in the shadows'.[203] Recognising the hidden meaning of memorials, and why statues were erected, enables their history to be considered as a symbol for change, in a heterogeneous way, inclusive of a multicultural, multi-ethnic society. Ken Wyatt advocates for telling the truth 'In order for us to heal the past, we need to have genuine conversations and understand the history of our nation'.[204] Wyatt is a proponent for keeping statues, adding modern commentary to a monument to explain its context and background.[205] Nathan Moran, a *Goori* man, challenges all Australians to gain

[200] Timothy Snyder, "Take it from a historian: We don't owe anything to Confederate monuments," *Guardian,* July 23, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jul/23/trump-portland-confederate-monuments-racism-history.
[201] Snyder, "Take it from a historian: We don't owe anything to Confederate monuments."
[202] James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Un-Known Nation: Australia after Empire* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2010), 12.
[203] Darren Holden, "Tearing down the past…or recasting?" City of Fremantle, 10 June 2020, https://cofremantle.wordpress.com/?s=darren.
[204] Nick Baker, "As racist statues' topple around the world, Australia is being urged to address its own monuments," *SBS News,* June 10, 2020, https://apple.news/ADQYH-DBmRiqKbTPm7z-QGw.
[205] Baker, "As racist statues topple around the world, Australia is being urged to address its own monuments."

a


*Figure 9.* Kristian Johnson, *Vandals deface statue of Queen Victoria in Leeds Park,* 2020, photograph, Leeds Live, https://www.leeds-live.co.uk/news/gallery/vandals-deface-statue-queen-victoria-18390186.

better understanding of these people represented by statues, but suggests that Australia 'is just not mature enough to commence decolonisation and wants to continue with the glorification of colonisation'.[206] Of late, memorials have received little public attention before being questioned, pulled down, or defaced.

There are memorial protesters who believe 'no amount of diversity and inclusion initiatives will suffice in lieu of the removal of the physical images which glorify white supremacy'.[207] This was the reason for toppling down the statue of the slave trader, Edward Colston, in Bristol.[208] Kenyans displayed their disapproval of imperialism in 2015 by beheading a statue of Victoria and throwing it into the brush.[209] The Queen Victoria statue in Woodhouse Moor, Leeds, was spray-painted with the words 'murderer, racist, coloniser and slave owner'(Figure 9), encouraging the Leeds City Council to conduct a cultural history review of statues in their area.[210] In Perth, Malachy John O'Connor was charged with a criminal offence for vandalising a statue of Captain James Stirling. O'Connor sprayed

[206] Baker, "As racist statues topple around the world, Australia is being urged to address its own monuments."
[207] Aamna Mohdin, "Oxford college criticised for refusal to remove Cecil Rhodes statue," *Guardian,* May 21, 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2021/may/20/cecil-rhodes-statue-will-not-be-removed-for-now-says-oxford-oriel-college.
[208] Australian Associated Press, "Senator slammed for toppled statue cheers," *Canberra Times,* June 10, 2020, https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/6788506/senator-slammed-for-toppled-statue-cheers/.
[209] "Kenya Celebrates Removal of British Queen Victoria Statue," *VOA News*, June 11, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/africa/kenya-celebrates-removal-british-queen-victoria-statue.
[210] Nathan Hyde, "Leeds MP slams vandalism and thuggery after protesters graffiti Queen Victoria statue," *Leeds Live,* June 10, 2020, https://www.leeds-live.co.uk/news/leeds-news/leeds-mp-slams-vandalism-thuggery-18393967.

*Figure 10.* Perth Live 6PR, *A statue of Captain James Stirling on Perth's Hay Street for more than 40 years*, 2020, photograph, Perth Now, https://www.perthnow.com.au/news/crime/thirty-year-old-arrested-after-perths-captain-james-stirling-statue-is-vandalised-ng-b88.

red paint on the neck and the hands of Stirling, then painted the Aboriginal flag on the commemorative plate at the base (Figure 10).[211] O'Connor defended his actions in the Perth Magistrates Court, arguing that he was frustrated by his attempts to have the statue removed, following several letters sent to the City of Perth.[212] He said 'the man behind the likeness of that statue murdered 150 Indigenous people. I just feel it is culturally insensitive that he stands outside the City of Perth library containing works about those murders that he committed, two hundred metres from the District Court of Western Australia'.[213] The Statue Review, a group of Perth art activists who advocate for moving statues similar to Stirling's to a museum, says that the statues of Stirling and John Septimus Roe are 'glorifying people who partook in ethnic cleansing'.[214] One member said, 'it never even crossed my mind: originally we thought they were invaders, not

[211] Jacob Kagi and James Carmody, "Captain James Stirling statue vandalised in Perth on eve of Black Lives Matter rally," *ABC News*, June 12, 2020, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-06-12/captain-james-stirling-statue-vandalised-before-blm-rally/12348328.
[212] Emily Moulton, "Vandal escapes fine," *Eastern Reporter*, July 9, 2020, https://archive.communitynews.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/REPORTER_STIRLING-VINCENT_09072020.pdf.
[213] Shannon Hampton, "Vandal faces the music," *Ngaarda Media*, June 27, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/NgaardaRadio/posts/vandal-faces-the-musicshannon-hampton-a-globetrotting-perth-musician-who-painted/2727417874156897/.
[214] Rachael Conaghan, "Statues Of Two Men Linked To An Aboriginal Massacre Have Been Given New Plaques By Activists," *Junkee,* September 17, 2020, https://junkee.com/perth-statue-review/271145.

murderers'.[215] As Holden suggests, 'we are perhaps better off recasting the stories of the monuments, in very meaningful and obvious ways, to recognise the precarious path we have taken'.[216] The utility that flows from this recognition of past injustices is the inclusion of previously ignored groups and the contribution that they have made to the state's history, as a 'path to reconciliation'.[217]

## Chapter Conclusions

The somewhat social ambivalence towards the Fallen Soldiers, Queen Victoria, and John Forrest memorials reflected the nominal utilitarian value of the objects to the Perth public in the early twentieth century. The public's misgivings about these memorials stemmed from the exclusion of the public from their creative processes. The memorials did not develop from the desires of the community, and, consequently, public subscriptions, when asked for, were sluggish. The community was excluded from contributing to the designs, local sculptors were not appointed, and public opinion criticised the imagery. Poor attendance at unveiling events that were usually for exclusive guests suggests that the memorials had little value beyond the Kings Park Board and its allies. The autocratic way that Perth's establishment formed the memorial committees and made decisions followed the British process of elites building heroic monuments. During the early twentieth century, Perth had no heroes to commemorate publicly. The Bushmen, Queen Victoria, and Sir John Forrest satisfied that desire for some.

[215] Gavin Butler, "Australian Activists Give Racist Statues New Plaques to Highlight Colonial Violence," *Vice World News,* September 16, 2020, https://www.vice.com/en/article/4ayez3/australian-activists-give-racist-statues-new-plaques-to-highlight-colonial-violence.
[216] Holden, "Tearing down the past…or recasting?"
[217] Holden, "Tearing down the past…or recasting?".

CHAPTER TWO

# The Great War

The unprecedented death and suffering caused by the events of the Great War shifted the form of memorialisation away from the Victorian-era triumphalism of British monuments, and towards a new representation: the 'invisible and inaudible grief' of half of Australia's families.[1] From 1914, a war memorial was no longer just a monument to the fallen and gallant, who fought with, and for, the British Empire. Past practices had memorialised 'contributions to the cause' and were generally advocated for by a social or political elite.[2] The Great War changed experiences of commemoration and mourning, and its memorials adopted an enlightened purpose that embraced a community's gratitude. Inglis describes this as an incorporation of the virtues of human service and sacrifice, in a unity of love and gratitude with the community, when the public had a greater say in memorialisation.[3] Committees formed in cities and regional towns across Australia, made up of local people contributing to the movement to build war memorials. Monuments became the statements of the bereaved, substitute graves for those who did not return, filled with pride and thanksgiving for the sacrifice of a nation's war dead.[4]

This form of remembrance is visually inescapable across Kings Park, expressed by a host of war plaques, monuments, and honour avenues. The later addition of the Court of Contemplation to the State War Memorial increases the sacrificial symbolism of the space, creating, intentionally or unintentionally, the symbol of a chalice—a Holy Grail, symbolising sacrifice, and redemption (Figure 11). The six million annual visitors to the park cannot escape the visual impact of these symbols of

[1] K.S Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), 93.
[2] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), ProQuest Ebook Central, 41.
[3] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 132-133.
[4] Inglis, 118.

*Figure 11.* Kings Park & Botanic Garden*, Aerial views of the State memorial precinct, accessed 2022, photograph, Kings Park Memorials, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history/memorials.*

sacrifice, in a domain that 'truly gives Western Australians a sense of place'.[5] This chapter considers the rise of Kings Park as a site of public commemoration of war after 1918. By appraising the war memorials as a form of visual evidence, it will understand the degree to which Western Australians placed themselves in a long reach of history in their commemoration of the war dead. By assessing the apparent utility of the war memorials, this chapter will also consider the degree to which the commemoration of Australia's war dead may even have become the most important function of the park in the 1920s. In doing so, it will resolve the second aim of this thesis, which is to determine whether the Kings Park memorials served the Perth community and offered public utility.

## The Veneration of the Fallen

The building of war memorials in Kings Park followed changing expectations elsewhere in the British Empire of war remembrance—a metamorphosis of the early eighteenth and nineteenth-century tradition of self-aggrandizing figurative heroes, which was replaced by a new custom that commemorated the sacrifice of the local soldier.[6] Patrick Allitt recalls that in Britain before the nineteenth century, monuments were built to triumphant generals and admirals, in 'a marshal kingdom with a warrior aristocracy, which honoured leaders who came home victorious, or who died

[5] Government of Western Australian and Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority, "Memorials Policy," 2016, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/about-us/information/publications-and-resources/plans-and-policies/551-memorials-policy.
[6] Laura Brandon, *Art and War* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2007), ProQuest Ebook Central, 118.

*Figure 12.* Arpingstone, *Nelson's column closeup London,* 1 October 2005, photograph, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nelsons.column.closeup.london.arp.jpg.

*Figure 13.* Robert Friedus, *The Crimea Guards Memorial,* 2011, photograph, Victorian Web, http://www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/misc/crimea/10.html.

trying'.[7] With the introduction of the Great Reform Act (1832) in Britain, and the move towards a more democratic society in the mid-nineteenth century, notable public military monuments of victory, like Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square (Figure 12), and the Duke of Marlborough's Column at Blenheim Palace, became less commonplace. The focus changed to the commemoration of the common soldier, beginning with the Crimean Guards War Memorial in 1861 (Figure 13).[8] Allitt proposes that this new form of commemoration symbolised the 'burden of duty rather than the thrill of victory'.[9] Kings Park's first war monument, the Fallen Soldiers' Memorial, followed the Victorian tradition of honouring the heroic individual, including the platform, plinth, statuary, and bronze reliefs popular with other Boer War monuments. They symbolised the death, glory, and victories of the communities' fallen local heroes. This was also true elsewhere, a reminder that Kings Park monuments were already often cast to follow British trends: in Kingston upon Hull, the Boer War monument included statuary on a plinth, depicted two soldiers in a battle scene;[10] in Manchester, the memorial contains a statue similar to that of Perth, with a soldier standing bayonet-

[7] Patrick N. Allitt, "Britain's War Memorials," video, episode 33 of The Great Tours: England, Scotland, and Wales, published 2018, https://nd.kanopy.com/video/britains-war-memorials.
[8] Allitt, "Britain's War Memorials."
[9] Allitt, "Britain's War Memorials."
[10] Imperial War Museum, "Kingston upon Hull Boer War Memorial," 2021, https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/35179.

*Figure 14.* Repton1x, *The Cenotaph at Liverpool*, 4 November 2012, photograph, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Cenotaph_at_Liverpool_(3).JPG.

ready over a fallen comrade. The difference with the statuary of the Manchester memorial is that the fallen British soldier is handing the officer a bullet cartridge to continue the fight.[11]

Monuments of the Great War changed again, employing simple designs and sombre symbolism that recognised sacrifice, not heroics. The public outpouring of sorrow for the enormity of death and suffering caused by the 'horror of industrialised warfare' led to the proliferation of British war memorials throughout the Empire, France, Belgium and Turkey.[12] The inscription on Liverpool's Cenotaph (1930) captures this collective grief: 'and the victory that day was turned into mourning unto all the people'(Figure 14).[13] Above the inscription is a bronze relief, more than nine metres long, displaying bereaved Liverpudlians at a gravesite, mourning, in 1920s period dress, laying wreaths on a grave, against the backdrop of an Imperial War Graves Commission cemetery.[14] The horizontal, altar-like design of the Liverpool memorial combined with the graveyard imagery is a reminder of the scale of tragedy impacting the families of the dead after World War One.[15] Memorials such as these provided utility to communities after 1918, giving the bereaved a place to

[11] Tameside Metropolitan Borough, "Manchester Regiment Memorials: The Anglo Boer War 1899/1902," 2021, https://www.tameside.gov.uk/MuseumsandGalleries/Manchester-Regiment-Memorials-The-Anglo-Boer-War-1.
[12] Allitt, "Britain's War Memorials."
[13] Historic England, "Liverpool Cenotaph," November 2013, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1073463.
[14] Historic England, "Liverpool Cenotaph."
[15] Historic England, "Liverpool Cenotaph."

grieve and 'to do the work of remembrance'.[16] They also became more inclusive: memorials of the Great War acknowledged the highest personal contribution a person could make to the nation, including the service of women who lost sons, husbands, and brothers. In this way, Jay Winter associate's spirituality with war memorials—that they are a means for the living to connect with the dead.[17] Inglis also understands memorials as sacred sites, being places where relatives, friends and communities find solace in a substitute grave.[18] Joy Damousi suggests the experiences of grief created a new identity for many communities—the need to renew and move forward in life without the deceased. [19]

Bart Ziino estimates that approximately 70 percent of America's war dead were returned to the United States.[20] The 'grisly work of the Americans, in the miserable weather, stench and mud' of disinterring the decomposed and unrecognisable, and the risk of loved ones wishing to open coffins of the dead, to verify the identity, or reconnect with their loved ones, was notable.[21] However, after the first losses at Gallipoli, Australians came to the realisation that they would not be reconciled with their loved ones who had died in service overseas, which was true also of the British. As Deborah Gare writes,

> The British has lost more than a million soldiers and the cost of their repatriation was insurmountable. In the face of such catastrophe, Britain's government determined that either all its war dead would be returned, or none.[22]

The Imperial War Graves Commission (now the Commonwealth War Graves Commission) was therefore established in 1917 to manage the burials and commemoration of the dead.[23] The intent was to bury the dead where they fell, marked by headstones where known, or named on memorials where remains were missing.[24] Generally, Australians were in full accord with the work of the

---

[16] Jay Winter. "Forms of kinship and remembrance in the aftermath of the Great War," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 40.
[17] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history* (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.
[18] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 41.
[19] Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss in the Great War* (Fremantle, W.A: Curtin University Books, 2004), 13.
[20] Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 2007), 83.
[21] Michael Ruane, "After World War I, U.S. families were asked if they wanted their dead brought home: Forty thousand said yes," *Washington Post*, May 30, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/05/31/world-war-i-exhumed-memorial-day/.
[22] Deborah Gare and Madison Lloyd-Jones, *When War Came to Fremantle, 1899-1945* (Fremantle: Fremantle Press, 2014), 47.
[23] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Our Story," 2021, https://www.cwgc.org/who-we-are/our-history/.
[24] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Our Story.".

Imperial War Graves Commission; however, it did not diminish the grief of families dealing with the deprivation of repatriation.[25] One Australian woman complained: 'Is there no limit to the suffering imposed on us, is it not enough to have our boys dragged from us and butchered, without being deprived of their poor remains and refused to visit their graves?…the country took him, and the country should bring him back'.[26] In an atmosphere of grief, memorials at home and abroad were substituted graves for fallen and missing soldiers.[27]

*Figure 15.* Clement Derham*, People Visiting the State War Memorial, Kings Park,* c1929, negative: black & white, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: BA1573/20, https://slwa.wa.gov.au/images/pd217/217,350PD.jpg.

In Kings Park, the State War Memorial features a prominent 'Sword of Sacrifice', set against an obelisk (Figure 15). It was a conscious reference to the idea of sacrifice, which influenced an abundance of war memorials and remembrance rituals in Australia after the Great War. Where once sacrifice meant to offer 'something valuable to God', Robert Daly argues that sacrifice became secularised—that it meant 'giving up something in order to get something else thought to be more valuable'.[28] Duty required sacrifice, as the Perth Boys School reminded its students, calling on eligible men to serve gladly and wholeheartedly when called upon by the authorities.[29] John Stephens argues that sacrifice justifies the taking of life and has parallels to the Christian ideal, in which Christ died to save the living, and that war memorials were charged with justifying slaughter

[25] Bart Ziino, *Distant Grief*, 83.
[26] Bart Ziino, 115.
[27] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 41.
[28] Robert J. Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2009), ProQuest Ebook Central, 1-2.
[29] "Boys and the War," *Daily News* (Perth), September 16, 1914, 8.

'for the greater good'.[30] The word 'sacrifice' gave nobility to the gruesome aspects of death. In this way, the commanding officer of Captain Henry Wrathall, who was killed in France in 1917, gave solace to the soldier's father, writing that Wrathall 'deliberately sacrificed his life for his men', drawing enemy fire towards himself so that his men could be saved: his sacrifice saved a thousand men.[31] The gruesome evidence of such carnage is omitted from the symbolism of Australia's war memorials and commemorative rituals. Instead, the glorification of 'sacrifice' reassures us that death ensured 'we might retain our glorious liberty'.[32]

The enormous task of establishing cemeteries and memorials in the battlefields of Europe was underway at the end of 1918, and it was evident that architectural unity existed between the Australians and the British in their memorial designs. The Kenyon Report to the Imperial War Graves Commission recommended that 'central monuments' in each cemetery on the battlefields should be 'simple, durable, dignified, and expressive of the higher feelings' with which the dead were regarded.[33] Monuments were to be capable of religious associations, but not offend any.[34] The central message of war memorials was to provide 'undying remembrance of their sacrifice', which Sir Frederic Kenyon said is the sentiment that people want to see symbolised in a monument.[35] The Imperial War Graves Commission adopted the Kenyon Report, then appointed the eminent architects Sir Edwin Lutyens, Sir Herbert Baker, and Sir Reginald Blomfield, to begin the design and construction of British memorials.[36] In March 1919, the architect and war hero Lieutenant General Sir Joseph John Talbot Hobbs attended a meeting at the Australian High Commission in London. He was appointed to take control of the selection of sites, design, and construction of Australia's war memorials in Belgium and France.[37] The principles of simplicity, durability, religious impartiality, and sacrifice symbolism, recommended by Kenyon, were applied to Talbot Hobbs' memorials on the Western Front—and to the Kings Park monument, he designed.

No war generated as many memorials on the Australian home front as the First World War. Memorial-building coincided with Australia's move towards self-determination—a transformation from the old imperial hierarchical relationship with the British Empire, to a new spirit of nationalism

[30] John Stephens, "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma in the Western Australian State War Memorial," *Journal of Australian Studies* 37, no. 4 (2013): 479, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2013.832700.
[31] "Soldiers Sacrifice," *Mount Magnet Miner and Lennonville Leader*, February 23, 1918, 2.
[32] "The Addresses," *West Australian*, November 25, 1929, 19.
[33] Lieut.-Colonel Sir Frederic Kenyon, *War Graves: How the Cemeteries Abroad Will Be Designed,* report to the Imperial War Graves Commission (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), 10.
[34] Kenyon, *War Graves How the Cemeteries Abroad Will Be Designed*, 10.
[35] Kenyon, 10.
[36] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Our Story."
[37] John J. Taylor, *Between Duty and Design: The Architect Soldier Sir J.J. Talbot Hobbs* (Crawley, Western Australia: UWA Publishing, 2014), 155.

that gave rise in the 1920s to the extensive development of Australia's capital city (Canberra), the Royal Military College, Duntroon, and the Australian War Memorial started in the 1930s and not completed until 1941.[38] Charles Bean, regarded as the driving force behind the establishment of the Australian War Memorial, wrote: 'Here is their spirit, in the heart of the land they loved; and here we guard the record which they themselves made'.[39] Bean proposed that the commemorative tone of the national war memorial should be sombre in nature, not glorifying war or victory over the enemy, and avoid 'perpetuating enmity'.[40] Inglis observed that a new term—'war memorial'—came into being, and that the expression favoured during the Boer War—'fallen'—began to fade.[41] Utilitarian and monumental memorials were planned even before the war's end and were constructed by the thousands in the 1920s. The National Register of War Memorials lists 3200 memorials to the Great War across Australia.[42] They were called Soldier Memorials and Monuments, and were frequently made of stone monoliths—cenotaphs, obelisks, and columns, which were thought to be 'simple, appropriate and lasting'.[43] The same ideals are evident in Kings Park's memorials to the Great War, which relegated the heroic nature of the Fallen Soldiers' Monument to the past.

## The Great War memorials of Kings Park

No Kings Park Board accomplished more in the memorialisation of the state's citizens than the board presided over by Arthur Lovekin during his presidency (1918-1931). The desire to establish Kings Park as Perth's place of war memory was initiated and led by Lovekin. As a proprietor of the *West Australian* and the *Daily News,* Lovekin was a wealthy man, and frequently contributed to the building funds for memorials and 'arboriculture'.[44] Alfred Chandler called him a 'psychological mixed-grill'—aloof, energetic, optimistic, not offensive or resented, detailed, clear, succinct, entrepreneurial, and a fair parliamentarian focused on the 'national interests and the rights of the individual'.[45] On Lovekin's contribution to Kings Park, Chandler reflected:

[38] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 316.
[39] Prime Minister of Australia, The Hon Scott Morrison MP, "Remarks, Australian War Memorial," 18 November 2019, https://www.pm.gov.au/media/remarks-australian-war-memorial.
[40] Australian War Memorial, "History of the Australian War Memorial," 2021, https://www.awm.gov.au/about/organisation/history.
[41] Inglis, *Sacred Places,* 118.
[42] Australian War Memorial, Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials, "First World War, 1914-18: Australia," accessed 30 November 2021, https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/map?page=0&conflict=First+World+War%2C+1914%E2%80%9318.
[43] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 118, 153.
[44] Alfred Chandler, "Men I Remember: Arthur Lovekin, A Psychological Mixed-Grill," *Sunday Times,* May 23, 1937, 8.
[45] Chandler, "Men I Remember: Arthur Lovekin, A Psychological Mixed-Grill."

> Lovekin gave so much time and thought to the preservation and improvement of that great public reserve, which is the admiration of all visitors who are taken to see its beautiful natural features and superb river vistas.[46]

Lovekin was a founding member of the Kings Park Board in 1896 and affiliated with the board for thirty-five years until his death in 1931. He supported himself and the activities of the board with a committee of notable, elite, and wealthy Western Australian businessmen, who were influential within the Perth community in the 1920s: George Temple Poole (Chairman), a founding member in 1896, architect and engineer; Lionel Tobias Boas (Secretary), Mayor of Subiaco for thirty-six years; Robert Thomson Robinson, barrister and politician; Henry Diggens Holmes, general manager of the West Australian Bank; John Nicholson, lawyer and politician; Harry Boan, politician, founder and director of the retailer, Boans Limited; William Lathlain, proprietor Economic Store, Mayor of Perth; and Kings Park Board president (1932-1936); and, James Thomas Franklin, builder, proprietor of Enterprise Steam Joinery and timber mill, and Lord Mayor of Perth.[47] Lovekin surrounded himself with a group of talented and influential men whose association with the legal, political and business communities enhanced his presidency and advanced the developments within the park.

Since 1902, the tableland of Mount Eliza has evolved to become Western Australia's memorial precinct and the principal site of war memorials for Perth. The site is home to the State War Memorial, Court of Contemplation, Flame of Remembrance, Pool of Reflection, Anzac Bluff, World War Two memorials, and over 1760 memorial plaques that front the eucalypt trees lining the honour avenues.[48] Billy Hughes' determination in 1919 that every Australian who did not return should be given 'an actual though empty grave' directly shaped the commemorative works of Kings Park, which adopted the practice of listing all names, service numbers and units of those who were killed in action.[49] More than 32,000 Western Australians, or ten percent of the state's population, enlisted for service in the Great War.[50] After repatriation, Roy Douglas said the scale of suffering experienced by entire communities affected 'combatants, civilians, national economies, and above all, human minds'.[51] The State War Memorial was unveiled in 1929, extending the memorial precinct of the park along Perth Park Road (now, Fraser Avenue), into May and Lovekin Drives. The

[46] Chandler, "Men I Remember: Arthur Lovekin, A Psychological Mixed-Grill."
[47] A. Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia* (Perth: ES Wigg & Son Ltd, 1925), 68.
[48] Government of Western Australian and Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority, "Memorials Policy."
[49] Inglis, *Sacred Pla*ces, 246.
[50] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "A Century of Population Change in Western Australia," September 2001, https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/7d12b0f6763c78caca257061001cc588/f024c642b2b659c7ca256db800731bb5!OpenDocument.; Australian War Memorial, "Enlistment statistics: First World War," 23 December 2019, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/enlistment/ww1#state.
[51] Roy Douglas, Between the Wars 1919-1939 (London: Routledge, 1992), 1.


*Figure 16.* Ernest Lund Mitchell, *Opening of the Honour Avenue, Kings Park*, 3 August 1919, negative: glass, black and white, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 013872PD, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/download/slwa_b2946658_1.jpg.

*Figure 17.* Honours Avenue Group, *Memorial Plaque for Private Leicester Innes Forbes Ledsham,* 2022, photograph, Honour Avenues Group, Kings Park, https://honouravenueskingspark.com.au/present/hap-database/1900-pte-leslie-leicester-ledsham.

magnitude of Western Australia's suffering is expressed in the 7000 names inscribed on the walls of the memorial's crypt.[52]

Arthur Lovekin, the second president of the park's board, is credited with underpinning the establishment of the war memorial precinct, though Dorothy Erickson suggests that this 'occurred through evolution rather than design'.[53] In August 1918, Lovekin submitted to the board a design for the 'Avenue of Honour'—trees planted by relatives, with commemorative name plates in the foreground, in remembrance of the soldiers of Western Australia who had 'fallen in the Empire's service'.[54] The board approved the design and graciously accepted Lovekin's offer to pay for the preparatory work along the avenue.[55] Families were required to pay a 10 shilling donation for each soldier remembered in this way, though no contractual pricing arrangements were put in place, and the name-plate contractor raised the price of commemorative plates by four shillings and sixpence.[56] Nonetheless, Lovekin defended the scheme, arguing that it had been made possible because of a

[52] Government of Western Australia and Kings Park & Botanic Garden, "State War Memorial," 2021, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history/state-war-memorial.
[53] Dorothy Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden* (Cottesloe: Erickson & Taylor, 1997), 20.
[54] Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932, 2 August 1918, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S1831 – cons 13631 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Kings Park Board).
[55] Minutes, 2 August 1918, Kings Park Board.
[56] A. Lovekin, public letter to the editor, "In Honour of the Fallen," *West Australian*, November 20, 1918, 6.; Minutes, 24 April 1919, Kings Park Board.

'substantial private donation'—he offered to pay for the preparation of the roadways, including clearing the verges and digging the holes for the planting.[57] At first, many of the planted trees were British oaks, grown from acorns supplied to John Forrest by Queen Mary in 1914.[58] Sir John Forrest had Kings Park in mind in 1914 during a visit to Windsor Park in England. He wrote to the Queen asking her to send some of the acorns from the royal oaks that fell, so they be 'migrated for the beautification of Perth'.[59] Forrest received a reply from the Queen, who recognised that she opened May Drive in Kings Park and identified Forrest as the President of the Kings Park Board.[60] She was 'willing to make an exception in this case', and granted his request.[61] The ancient royal oaks are amongst the largest and oldest in Britain, dated to planting by William the Conqueror (1028-1087).[62] The English oak is a national symbol of strength with heritage links to the British Royal Family and the Roman Emperors. Most poignant to Kings Park's memorial avenues were the acorns value as mourning jewellery during the Victorian era. The large oak trees that developed from these acorns 'symbolised a feeling of rebirth and renewal'—comforting the deceased soldiers' families and friends.[63] Four hundred oaks and plane trees were planted by relatives and friends during a tree planting ceremony. Only one oak tree survives on the corner of May and Lovekin Drive, opposite the Lord Forrest statue.[64]

The park's memorial avenue opened in August 1919, attended by 2000 people in adverse weather conditions, including the families of the dead, planting trees to commemorate the deaths of 404 soldiers (Figure 16).[65] People from regional areas were not excluded from the ceremony. One tree was given to a young girl, Olive Burnett, to plant on behalf of Mrs Ledsham of Geraldton, the mother of Private Les Ledsham (Figure 17), killed in action at Messines in 1917.[66] The board continued to receive hundreds of applications from families, who feared they had 'neglected their duty to their dead sons' by not getting applications in on time, which caused the board to find

[57] Lovekin, "In Honour of the Fallen."; Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932, 2 August 1918.
[58] A. Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia* (Perth: ES Wigg & Son Ltd, 1925), 39.
[59] Lovekin, "*The King's Park, Perth',* 39.
[60] Lovekin, "*The King's Park, Perth',* 39.
[61] Lovekin, "*The King's Park, Perth',* 39.
[62] Windsor Great Park, "The Story of Windsor Great Park," 2022, https://www.windsorgreatpark.co.uk/en/heritage/the-story-of-windsor-great-park.
[63] Jesse Brauner, "Oak," 2022, https://www.symbols.com/symbol/oak.
[64] Government of Western Australia and Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority," Honour Avenues," 2022, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history/honour-avenues.
[65] Government of Western Australia and Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority," Honour Avenues," 2021, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history/honour-avenues#:~:text=Honour%20Avenue%20plaques%20sit%20poignantly,or%20have%20no%20known%20graves
[66] Minutes, 28 August 1919, Kings Park Board.; [66] Virtual War Memorial Australia, "LEDSHAM, Leicester Innes Forbes," https://vwma.org.au/explore/people/229451.

further funds to extend the avenue.[67] Mothers with 'tears in their eyes' implored the board to provide trees for their sons, demonstrating the social and personal utility found by many at Kings Park.[68] Lovekin records that, while the board were inspecting the Honour Avenue, an elderly lady spoke to its members, recalling that her son was missing in the war and that she had no other knowledge about him: 'With tears flowing, she said: I do not know where my dear boy's body lies, but I do know his soul is here.'[69]


*Figure 18.* Highgate RSL Sub-branch, *ANZAC Bluff Commemorative Plaque,* n.d., Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials, https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/memorials/132626.

The community recognised Kings Park as the most significant location in Perth to commemorate the fallen. Returned soldier's committees bandied together and approached the board with their proposals, hoping to include their conspicuous though meaningful memorials in the park. In March 1919, the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA, now the Returned Services League) sought permission from the board to stage a reproduction of the Gallipoli landing on the escarpment of Mount Eliza. It was a reminder of the 'confusing slopes, perpendicular crags, and gorse-like scrub' of Gallipoli described by Charles Bean and traversed by more than one thousand Western Australians killed at Gallipoli.[70] Permission was refused because of the possible damage to the landscape.[71] It took almost another 60 years for the board to recognise that the resemblance of Kings Park to Ari Burnu might have commemorative utility to returned soldiers of Gallipoli. In 1974, this area below the State War Memorial was named Anzac Bluff, with a commemorative plate 'dedicated to the men of Anzac who fought and died in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915' (Figure 18).[72]

A proposal to build a monument to fallen Jewish soldiers of the Great War was presented by Rabbi David Isaac Freedman to the board in March 1919.[73] Freedman served in Gallipoli, Egypt and

[67] Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia*, 57.
[68] Lovekin, 57.
[69] Lovekin, 34.
[70] Australian War Memorial, "A Difficult Landing: Anzac Voices," 2021, https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/anzac-voices/landing.; Family History WA, "Gallipoli Dead from Western Australia - the list," August 2020, http://membership.wags.org.au/membership-mainmenu-44/wags-sub-sites/gallipoli-project/gallipoli-dead-the-list.
[71] Minutes, 27 March 1919, Kings Park Board.
[72] Australian War Memorial, Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials, "ANZAC Bluff Commemorative Plaque," accessed 19 November 2021, https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/memorials/132626.
[73] Minutes, 27 March 1919, Kings Park Board.

France as an Australian Imperial Force (AIF) chaplain, and was mentioned in despatches for meritorious action in 1917.[74] The board approved the project on 27 March.[75] Minutes fall short of recording why approval was granted, but it is likely the result of religious disharmony—the Catholic archbishop at this time refused to participate in joint religious services at which the war dead were commemorated, and Lovekin accepted that unity between the Catholic, Anglican and Jewish communities in Perth to be 'well-nigh impossible'.[76] In November 1918, Lovekin had written to the Anglican and Catholic archbishops, C.O.L. Riley and Patrick Clune (both also AIF chaplains) after attending a memorial service, regretting that the occasion did not inspire 'harmony and unity' between the churches, and hoping that 'differences, dogmas, and prejudices' could be set aside at future services to revere and respect the heroic dead.[77] Lovekin proposed a conference on the matter, and offered to approach the Kings Park Board to set aside an area for annual gatherings to accommodate 25,000 people in the form of a tiered concourse.[78] He pointed out that 'when a national memorial is raised, all names, regardless of creed, will doubtless be on it'.[79] Clune responded that a 'united religious service is impossible' and that his 'deep and honest religious conviction' prohibited his participation in joint commemorations.[80] After further discussion between the religious leaders and the board, it was determined that a combined religious service was not possible in Perth.[81]

*Figure 19.* Author Unknown*, Lt General Sir John Monash laying the foundation stone on the Western Australian Jewish War Memorial of Perth in Kings Park,* 19th December 1919, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 4788B, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b1988625_2.

A Jewish war memorial provided a place of solace that was removed from the sectarian differences of the Christian churches. Its foundation stone was laid in December 1919 by General Sir

[74] O. B. Tofler, "Freedman, David Isaac (1874–1939)," in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 11 January 2022, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/freedman-david-isaac-6242/text10745.
[75] Minutes, 27 March 1919, Kings Park Board.
[76] "Fallen Soldiers: Kings Park Memorial Services," *West Australian*, May 6, 1919, 6.
[77] "Fallen Soldiers."
[78] "Fallen Soldiers."
[79] "Fallen Soldiers."
[80] "Fallen Soldiers."
[81] "Fallen Soldiers."

John Monash (Figure 19), then Australia's most famous Jew.[82] The impressed General, 'a staunch adherent of his Religion', was pleased that members of the Jewish faith arranged the memorial to 'fallen co-religionists'.[83] The Jewish War Memorial, designed by Pietro Porcelli, displays minimal artwork along its towering column, purposely drawing the viewers' attention from the Lions of Judah at the base of the memorial, to the Star of David at the top.[84] Freedman intended the memorial to be 'simple, a sign, telling of the loyalty and devotion' of the Jewish people to king and country.[85] Two overlaid equilateral triangles form the *Magen David*, more commonly known as the Star of David, on top of a copper globe at the apex of the memorial (Figure 20). The memorial now lists the names of Western Australia's Jewish soldiers who died in both World Wars, while making a statement of gratitude to the British Empire for its 'justice and humanity' in the treatment of Jews.[86]

The Kings Park Board was selective in its design approvals, preferring impressive structures to the mediocre type. It ensured the continued stateliness of the park's memorial precinct, from the entrance through to the Honour Avenues, and tightly controlled memorial projects. Some were refused, such as the proposed monument to the fallen soldiers of the Rifle Club in January 1920,

[82] Minutes, 8 January 1920, Kings Park Board.
[83] "Jewish Memorial Service," *Westralian Judean*, November 1, 1931, 7.
[84] Erickson, A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden, 51.
[85] "Jewish Memorial: Ceremony in King's Park," *Daily News* (Perth), December 19, 1919, 7.
[86] "Unveiling and Dedication Ceremony at Jewish War Memorial, King's Park, Perth," *Sydney Jewish News*, May 8, 1953, 7.

*Figure 20.* Rosie Ritorto, *WA Jewish War Memorial*, n.d., photograph, Virtual War Memorial Australia, https://vwma.org.au/explore/memorials/2568.

whose members were encouraged to consider using the Osborne Rifle Range.[87] The Light Horse Regiment's monument, which was designed by Jack Ohiltree on the high side of Perth Park Road in 1920, was closely managed by the board through George Temple Poole.[88] When it was completed in 1921, the W*estern Mail* reported that 'another war memorial has upreared in Kings Park', commemorating the 'lead of a gallant and dashing regiment'.[89] However, it failed to win the approval of veterans, who 'expressed disappointment at the final design, which they considered unsuitable'.[90] One admirer of the regiment was surprised that the board had permitted the monument to be erected, suggesting it resembled a 'third class tombstone', and offered to 'get rid of the existing abortion' (Figure 21).[91] Acceptance of this memorial has increased over time. Each Sunday before Anzac Day, the Light Horse Regiment is 'led by an officer on horseback, wearing slouch hat with an emu plume, and parades with its vehicles for a ceremonial wreath laying' (no longer horses, now personnel carriers).[92] An application in April 1921 by the 16th Battalion of Perth

[87] Minutes, 8 January 1920, Kings Park Board.
[88] Minutes, 24 June 1920, Kings Park Board.
[89] "The Tenth Light Horse," *Western Mail* (Perth), March 17, 1921, 16.
[90] Minutes, 1 April 1921, Kings Park Board.
[91] Lover of the Digger, public letter to the editor, "Tenth Light Horse Monument," *Daily News* (Perth), March 15, 1921, 7.
[92] Remembrance Walk, "10th Light Horse Memorial,' 2022, https://remembrance.memorial/memorial/10thLightHorseMemorial.

*Figure 21.* Author Unknown, *10th Light Horse Regiment,* 14 April 2014, photograph, Monument Australia, https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/ww1/display/60960-10th-light-horse-regiment.

proposed to build a memorial to the highly decorated officer, Major Percy Black, who was described by Charles Bean as 'the greatest fighting soldier in the Australian Imperial Force'. [93] It was denied by the board, which must have been aware that the Anglican Cathedral had held a memorial to Black since 1917.[94] In May 1921, the board received an application from the Chairman of the War Trophies Sub-Committee, and former Premier, Hal Colebatch, to display a DFW CV German reconnaissance aeroplane, captured by the 10th Light Horse, next to their memorial.[95] Permission was granted for the project pending the board's acceptance of a design for a building to house the aircraft, yet no further correspondence was discussed by the board regarding the proposal.[96] In April 1922, the board refused the allocation of a field gun and a machine gun by the War Trophies Committee, which it regarded to be of insufficient value to the park.[97]

It was a busy period for the board. In May 1921, the secretary of the Kings Park Board reported that a 'fine memorial to the fallen soldiers' had been erected by the board's president,

[93] C. H. Ducker, "Black, Percy Charles (1877–1917)," in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 8 October 2021, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/black-percy-charles-5252/text8849.
[94] Minutes, 1 April 1921, Kings Park Board.; "Anglican," *The Daily News* (Perth), June 16, 1917, 3.
[95] Australian War Memorial, "German DFW CV Reconnaissance Aircraft Captured by 10th Australian Light Horse on Afule Aerodrome," 2021, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/H02541.
[96] Minutes, 13 September 1921, Kings Park Board.
[97] Minutes, 6 April 1922, Kings Park Board.

Arthur Lovekin, consisting of thirteen gun shells from HMS *Queen Elizabeth*, with the largest fifteen-inch shell adapted as a collection receptacle, with a money slot, inviting donations for the maintenance of the newly constructed Honour Avenue (Figure 22).[98] It was a small memorial in comparison to the stone structures of the South African, Jewish and 10th Light Horse memorials. Lovekin was inspired by a shell seen on display during a visit to the Glasgow railway station. He wrote to Lord Beatty, British Admiral of the Fleet, and the First Sea Lord, seeking a similar shell for Kings Park. The Admiral sent not one shell, but 13, including the largest shell weighing one and a half tons, which in wartime would have projected to a range of 25 miles.[99] The board noted Lovekin's munificence and generosity for the splendid gift.[100] Highly decorated Lieutenant General Sir Joseph John Talbot Hobbs unveiled the shell memorial in August 1921.[101]

*Figure 22.* Ernest Lund Mitchell, *The HMS Queen Elizabeth Shell Collection Box,* Kings Park, 1921, glass negative: black and white, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 013878PD, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b2947220_001.

Talbot Hobbs' next task in Kings Park was the creation of the State War Memorial.

## The State War Memorial

Yet again, the Kings Park Board faced a lack of community support for a major project, which influenced the outcomes of the State War Memorial and threatened its realisation. By the time the project began in earnest, communities across the state had already made rapid progress—and even completed—memorials that recognised the service of those from their hometowns:

> Perhaps more than any other combatant country, Australians erected memorials to commemorate those soldiers, sailors and occasionally nurses who had volunteered for war. Some memorialised the dead; others recognised both those who died and those who returned. A landscape was permanently altered as more than two thousand memorials were raised in cities, towns and suburbs across Australia. They were the ultimate expression of a community's civic values: despite its loss, memorials demonstrated that a community was united in patriotism, service and sacrifice.[102]

[98] Minutes, 26 May 1921, Kings Park Board.
[99] Lovekin, *The King's Park Perth Western Australia*, 27.
[100] Lovekin, 27.; Minutes, 30 July 1921, Kings Park Board.
[101] Minutes, 30 July 1921, Kings Park Board.
[102] Gare and Lloyd-Jones, *When War Came to Fremantle, 1899-1945,* 48.

In November 2021, the National Register of War Memorials listed 223 memorials to the Great War within Western Australia, including 46 obelisks, nine cenotaphs, and five statues.[103] Community memorials, such as those in North Fremantle, Claremont, and Toodyay, were largely completed by 1923 and had often received enthusiastic financial and other support from local governments and residents. The memorials in such communities 'symbolised the warmth of relationship—an intimacy and an immanency— between the soldiers (living and dead) and the local residents, which could be symbolised in no other way'.[104] When the premier, Sir James Mitchell, decided to proceed with a major memorial for the state, he positioned this economically and socially out of reach of the community.[105] The developers of the State War Memorial endured the challenges of local committees, while urban and regional communities, content with their local memorial, often disputed the need for a grand equivalent.[106] Stephens says the memorial's construction, from idea to completion, 'was fraught with bitter argument and disappointment'.[107] Its supporters struggled to raise funds amidst a debate over the need for a monolithic structure versus the benefits of a utilitarian memorial. Poor donations, disagreements over the form of the memorial, and the questionable need for another soldiers' memorial, stalled the project. In the end, the resolute determination of a small group of community leaders, with unrelenting tenacity against such hindrances, drove the state's memorial to completion. This, in turn, protracted the community exclusion which had been evident in the making of the Fallen Soldiers' and Queen Victoria memorials. The result, arguably, was that the state's monument had less utility to the people of Perth in the years that followed the war—as greater meaning was found in local memorials—than it does today. The monument's value, therefore, has grown, rather than weakened.

## The war memorial movement

Premier Sir James Mitchell acknowledged the importance of the many local monuments in Western Australia, but argued it was time for 'collective homage' to be made.[108] Mitchell's vision for a monument, where people from all over Western Australia would gather to commemorate,

[103] Australian War Memorial, Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials, "First World War 1914-1918: Western Australia," accessed 30 November 2021, https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/map?page=0&title=**&locality=Western+Australia%2C+Australia&bbox=-35.9068489074707%2C112.5436019897461%2C-11.845847129821777%2C130.09974670410156&lat=-23.87634801864624&lon=121.32167434692383&radius=1301&conflict=First+World+War%2C+1914%E2%80%9318.

[104] "A State War Memorial," *West Australian,* February 8, 1924, 8.

[105] Gare and Lloyd-Jones, *When War Came to Fremantle, 1899-1945,* 56.

[106] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 267.

[107] John Stephens, "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma in the Western Australian State War Memorial," 466-467.

[108] "State War Memorial," *Murchison Times*, January 25, 1924, 3.

commenced the movement to build the State War Memorial. A number of locations were considered as early as 1920,[109] though an agreement to proceed with the project was not reached between Mitchell and the state branch of the RSSILA until 2 July 1923. The premier told the veterans' delegation that he wanted to build a monument and not a utility, as this was a 'sacred matter', and the best location for the structure would be a high elevation, so that the 'worthy edifice' could be seen from all parts of the city.[110] Furthermore, he wanted 'an enduring record of the names of every man who enlisted in Western Australia' to be kept at the memorial. [111] He affirmed the need 'to bring everybody in the state' into the project, feeling confident that enough money could be raised for a perpetual imposing monument that would 'remind future generations of the sacrifices our soldiers made'.[112] In January 1924, the Premier's Department circulated a letter seeking support from interested groups and town councils and rural roads boards around the state:

> For some time past the feeling has been steadily growing in the public mind of Western Australia that the heroic deeds and sacrifices of our soldiers who fought in the Great War should be fittingly Commemorated by a Memorial which will suitably express for the people of this State as a whole, from Ravensthorpe to Wyndham, mid from South Australia to the sea, the gratitude, admiration, and respect of those who remained at home for those who went out to fight in the sacred cause of freedom.[113]

The premier noted there were war memorials everywhere except in the capital city of Perth, and that it was, therefore, time to appoint an executive committee to accomplish the work. He proposed that the Mayor of Perth would take the lead and that the project budget would be £25,000.[114] In comparison, Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance (1934) cost £250,000.[115] A heated debate ensued at the conference of metropolitan and regional delegates in February 1924 in the Perth City Council chamber to decide whether the project should proceed. Talbot Hobbs argued that the appropriate place to build a state memorial, like other cities around the world, is in the capital city, rebutting the opposition of William Charles Angwin, a past Mayor of Fremantle, that a Perth memorial was not needed. [116] Angwin complained that the people of Fremantle were raising funds for the Fremantle war memorial, and had already contributed £1000 to the North Fremantle

[109] Anna L. Froud, "War Memorials and Society: The Beginnings of the State War Memorial Western Australia" (Hons thesis., UWA, 1989), 10.
[110] "Observing Anzac Day: Deputation to the Premier," *The Daily News* (Perth), July 2, 1923, 8.
[111] "Observing Anzac Day: Deputation to the Premier," 8.
[112] "Ex-Soldiers' Desires: State War Memorial," *West Australian*, July 3, 1923, 7.
[113] "State War Memorial," *Murchison Times*, January 25, 1924, 3.
[114] "State War Memorial: Initial Meeting," *Daily News* (Perth), February 6, 1924, 8.
[115] Taylor, *Between Duty and Design,* 195.
[116] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument," *West Australian*, February 7, 1924, 6.

*Figure 23.* Veggies, *Gettysburg New York Monument,* 24 August 2018, photograph, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gettysburg_New_York_Monument_01.jpg.

soldier's memorial.[117] The Subiaco mayor said the people of his suburb 'had difficulty in securing sufficient money to build their memorial' when they had unveiled a memorial clock tower three months earlier.[118] The mayor of North Fremantle, Robert Bracks, predicted the soldiers would oppose a monument in Kings Park because the area was becoming a 'glorified cemetery'. [119] An unnamed lady attempted to refute Brack's statement; however, the premier's swift call to 'Order!' prevented her response.[120] Despite such resistance, an executive committee was formed at the meeting, which passed Archbishop Riley's motion that the memorial was to be built in Kings Park.[121]

Initially, Talbot Hobbs envisaged a monument for Kings Park that rivalled American Civil War commemoration—'a Temple of Fame'—and plans for the New York monument to the Civil War were studied (Figure 23).[122] In February 1924, the committee launched a competition seeking an award-winning design from Australian and British sculptors and architects, with lucrative cash prizes awarded.[123] A board of assessors was formed, chaired by the chief justice, Sir Robert McMillan.[124]

[117] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[118] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[119] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[120] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[121] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[122] "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[123] "State War Memorial: Committee Decisions Prizes For Designs, "*West Australian*, February 16, 1924, 8.
[124] "State War Memorial: Personnel Of Board Of Assessors," *Daily News* (Perth), March 14, 1924, 10.

The Institute of Architects opposed the move in April 1924 to extend the competition to overseas sculptors, especially when Sir Bertram Mackennal, the prestigious Australian artist living in England, wished to submit a design.[125] The architects' protest coincided with the landslide election of Philip Collier's Labor Party. The new state government was resolute in its agenda to develop the state's rural areas and construct utilities to achieve this goal.[126] From 1924 to 1929 (the period of planning and building the State War Memorial), the Collier government spent 'three times as much on railways, eight times as much on agricultural water supplies, and eleven times as much on roads and bridges' than Mitchell's government.[127] Collier's budget did not include money for monuments. With Mitchell gone, Collier presided over the war memorial committee meeting on the 28 May 1924 and informed the members he had received a letter from the Pastoralist's Association, expressing the opinion that the State Government should erect the State War Memorial.[128] Collier informed the committee that he disapproved of the idea that the government should take responsibility for the memorial, because the burden for funding would fall on the taxpayers, who had contributed so much already to their local memorials.[129] At this point, the committee decided to disband its plans for a memorial, which had raised only £14 in three months.[130] The RSSILA blamed the government for not taking the lead in gaining subscriptions, and recommended that 'no effort should be spared' to bring the proposal for a memorial to fruition, in memory of their fallen comrades who sacrificed their lives for their country.[131] The Pastoralists' Association regretted the decision and also argued for government support.[132]

## Utilitarian versus monumental

Proponents for utilitarian memorials threatened to put an end to the plans to build a state war monument. Western Australia's opposing 'prominent public men' considered Mitchell's idea for a monument to have no utility in a utilitarian age, claiming that within a few years of being built, the monument will 'pass unnoticed'.[133] Inglis suggests that utility memorials were attractive propositions to state and municipal politicians because the money donated to hospitals, roads and other public buildings was money saved by the authorities.[134] Lovekin supported the idea of a much-needed

[125] "State War Memorial: Meeting of Committee," *Daily News* (Perth), April 3, 1924, 8.
[126] David Black, "The era of labor ascendancy 1924-1947," in *A New History of Western Australia,* ed. C.T. Stannage (University of Western Australia Press, 1981),409.
[127] Black, "The era of labor ascendancy 1924-1947," 409.
[128] "The State War Memorial: Perth's Poor Response," *Kalgoorlie Miner*, May 29, 1924, 5.
[129] "The State War Memorial: Perth's Poor Response."
[130] "The State War Memorial, Perth's Poor Response."
[131] "Returned Soldier's League: State War Memorial," *West Australian*, June 7, 1924, 9.
[132] W.L. Sanderson, public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial," *West Australian*, May 30, 1924, 8.
[133] "The State War Memorial: Casualty Ward Idea Very Popular," *Magpie* (Perth), November 16, 1923, 2.
[134] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 132.

casualty ward at Perth Hospital, proposed by its chief resident medical officer and backed by returned AIF medics.[135] He affirmed: 'Yes, certainly—it is the most deserving and utilitarian I know of.'[136] It was a proposition supported by Collier in 1925, though Lovekin later fell into line with the decision of the State War Memorial Committee and a motion by Archbishop Riley, agreeing for a monument to be built in Kings Park.[137] But supporters of a utilitarian memorial regarded monuments as expensive structures that offered no practical good for the society in which they were erected. Collier dismissed them as 'unsightly piles of stone here and there'.[138] Their preference for useful memorials sought social improvement and enduring value to the community.[139] Advocates argued that 'the world has enough monuments to the dead; let commemoration be devoted to the living'.[140] Their argument rendered the ritual of mourning as unnecessary, filled with 'indulgence or unwholesome emotion.[141]

The utilitarian argument divided the views of ex-servicemen attending the Returned Soldier's Congress. One member cited the building of the Kellerberrin and Wickepin memorial hospitals, the clock tower at Subiaco, and the War Museum as inspiring utilitarian memorials.[142] Another member pointed out that anyone who noticed monuments knew they were erected in remembrance of 'splendid service for his country', and asked, 'could they hang a wreath on a hospital?' [143] Those who opposed utilitarian memorials argued that the first objective of a memorial was to achieve remembrance, and that utilitarian memorials 'evinces no real desire' to keep alive the memory of the war dead.[144] Julienne Ainsworth thought that £25,000 could be better spent on additions to Perth Hospital or the Soldiers' Home at Keane Point, or to manufacture consumables to benefit returned soldiers through employment and shareholdings in the enterprise.[145] Edith Cowan argued that the Sailors and Soldiers' Institute was a 'lasting and useful memorial', which had commenced in 1915, and the *Western Argus* perceptively argued that utilitarians failed to recognise that monuments were, themselves, useful.[146] The value to the British Empire of the monuments in

[135] "Proposed State War Memorial: The Casualty Block," *Magpie* (Perth), November 9, 1923, 1.
[136] "Proposed State War Memorial: The Casualty Block."
[137] "Hospital Finance: Deputation Seeks Increased Subsidy," *Daily News* (Perth), August 14, 1925, 12.; "State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument."
[138] "Hospital Finance: Deputation Seeks Increased Subsidy."
[139] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain,* 58.
[140] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 131.
[141] Inglis, 131.
[142] "State War Memorial: Monumental or Utilitarian?" *Daily News* (Perth), October 3, 1925, 8.
[143] "State War Memorial: Monumental or Utilitarian?"
[144] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain,* 58.
[145] Julienne Ainsworth, public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial," *West Australian*, February 14, 1924, 10.
[146] L.M.S., public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial," *West Australian*, February 14, 1924, 10.; "War Memorials," *Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie), February 26, 1924, 2.

Westminster Abbey and Whitehall, the newspaper continued, were venerated by millions, and their 'calm dignity expresses the profoundest emotions'.[147] War memorials inspired patriotism, the newspaper concluded, incentivised service to country in peace and in war, acted as reminders to the young they may be called on one day to 'fight in defence of their homeland', and therefore symbolised the need for preparedness in the event of emergencies.[148]

*Figure 24.* D. Coetzee, *John Forrest statue at Kings Park*, 21 April 2007, photograph, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Forrest_statue_at_Kings_Park.jpg.

A determined RSSILA was not prepared to let the proposal to erect a long-delayed state war memorial go cold. It launched a new campaign ten months after the previous efforts ceased, calling a meeting of well-represented 'social and commercial organisations' on 11 February 1925.[149] The president of the soldiers' league, Rabbi Freedman, stated that they 'would not rebound to the credit of the citizens if they folded their arms and took no action'.[150] Other public officials were motivated by Freedman's address. Sir William Lathlain proposed that a decision on the type of memorial was necessary to secure subscriptions. Two years earlier, he had led the ill-fated attempt to raise money for a Lord Forrest Memorial, resulting in his committee relinquishing financial responsibility to the Kings Park Board (Figure 24).[151] Lathlain was not in favour of a memorial hospital, arguing that it was the responsibility of the government to look after the sick.[152] The Perth Hospital continued its previous appeal for assistance, mentioning it was 'ten years behind the times' and needed desperate funding for a memorial casualty ward.[153] Talbot Hobbs was present at the meeting. His frustrations with the process were evident, probably exacerbated by his experiences with the first committee. 'For God's sake', he observed, 'let it be something for the

[147] "War Memorials."
[148] "War Memorials."
[149] "A Duty Delayed," *Daily News* (Perth), February 12, 1925, 3.
[150] "A Duty Delayed."
[151] Minutes, 28 May 1923, Kings Park Board.
[152] "A Duty Delayed."
[153] "Behind the Times," *West Australian*, June 19, 1924, 11.

soldiers'.[154] He proposed a cenotaph, which would have endurance and be familiar to the public.[155] He made it clear to the gathering not to raise funds through 'sweepstakes and spinning jennies', and if the funds could not be raised in an appropriate manner, then they must build a simple obelisk, raised by voluntary means.[156]

Following Talbot Hobbs' comments, the proposal to build a hospital wing was put to the vote, and 'a big majority' voted against the proposal.[157] The Lord Mayor, James Franklin, proposed 'to erect a monument as a State war memorial', which settled the utilitarian argument once and for all.[158] A new State War Memorial Committee was formed, chaired by Lathlain, and a budget of £30,000 was proposed.[159] Notable community leaders were appointed to the new committee: Franklin; Rabbi Freedman; Talbot Hobbs; Edith Cowan, Australia's first female member of parliament; Dr Athelstan Saw, also a member of parliament and medical surgeon; Samuel Elliott, a farmer and ex-politician; Mr S. Watt, manager of the RSSILA's newsletter, the *Listening Post*, and trustee of the Returned Soldier's League; Mrs Manning, president of the W.A. National Council of Women; Miss Abel, General Secretary of the Red Cross in Western Australia; James Cornell, a member of parliament; Reverend Charles Lawrence Riley, son of Archbishop Riley; and, Colonel Herbert Collett, president of the RSSILA.[160] The committee embodied political influence, architectural expertise (Talbot Hobbs), military service and a voice for returned soldiers (Freedman, Talbot Hobbs, Watt, Saw, Riley, Cornell and Collett). Cowan and Abel's experiences with the Red Cross and caring for World War One returned soldiers needing care, added a compassionate element to the committee. Within four weeks, the newspapers published a lengthy notice to the public from Lathlain appealing for donations, under the heading: 'The Great Sacrifice deserves at least a day's pay'.[161]

## Fundraising

The willingness of the public to donate to the state monument is a means by which its perceived value can be assessed. King argues that money received from memorial subscriptions was not just a 'practical necessity' to fund such a project; it was treated as 'an expression of the people at large' by the beneficiaries and by the people who subscribed to the memorial committee's requests.[162]

[154] "A Duty Delayed."
[155] "A Duty Delayed."
[156] "A Duty Delayed."
[157] "A Duty Delayed."
[158] "A Duty Delayed."
[159] "State War Memorial: The Great Sacrifice," *Daily News* (Perth), March 21, 1925, 3.
[160] "A Duty Delayed."
[161] "State War Memorial: The Great Sacrifice."
[162] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 31.

Donations allowed people, including those who did not participate directly in the war, to be part of a community.[163] In the war memorial movements that followed 1918, the value of a monument was often expressed as an amount per deceased soldier. In Perth, the State War Memorial committee measured its sum of money as shillings per soldier buried overseas, and pence per head of the population of the State.[164] The first attempt to raise money had ended with donations that totalled just £14, demonstrating the community's apathy for the proposed memorial and its advocates. It was a stark contrast to the efforts of the local municipalities and their communities that gave generously. The North Fremantle War Memorial, which opened in August 1923, raised more funds than the project required.[165] The proposed Fremantle War Memorial relied on community donations, which placed it in competition with the Kings Park project.[166]

In Perth, newspapers frequently reported the progress of fundraising for the state's memorial. It was considered prestigious to have your name and the amount donated published, and so the committee printed acknowledgements to all who donated.[167] It created curiosity, the type of inquisitiveness a person might apply to read the daily death notices in the newspapers. By mid-December 1925, Lathlain was concerned that the committee had raised only £2500 of the £30,000 required. Nevertheless, he felt confident that the government would offer assistance.[168] He discredited the cynics, whom he thought 'imagined themselves to be of superior intelligence', and he reminded them, 'with their jaundiced view of life', that the monument of stone expresses gratitude for those who served, fought, and made the supreme sacrifice.[169] There was no evidence of plans to approach and entice the wealthy business owners of the state to donate. They too, benefited from the sacrifice of the war dead. The writer of a letter signed by A. Digger said that there were twenty men in Western Australia who prospered enormously from the high value of their products during the war, and they are the ones who should find the £30,000 as a thanksgiving gesture.[170] In January 1926, the Returned Soldiers' League was 'far from satisfied with the result' in

[163] Sandrine Revet, "Remembering La Tragedia: Commemorations of the 1999 Floods in Venezuela," in *Grassroots Memorials: The Politics of Memorializing Traumatic Death*, ed. Peter Jan Margry, Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, and Carretero (New York, NY: Berghahn Books Incorporated, 2011), ProQuest Ebook Central. 209-210.
[164] Herbert B. Collett, public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial: Appeal," *West Australian*, January 6, 1926, 8.
[165] "North Memorial: Final Effort to Raise Funds," *Weekly Herald* (Fremantle), August 17, 1923, 2.; "North Fremantle Memorial: Impressive Unveiling Ceremony," *Advertiser* (Fremantle), August 31, 1923, 1.
[166] "State War Memorial: Initial Meeting," *Daily News* (Perth), February 6, 1924, 8.
[167] "State War Memorial," *West Australian*, July 11, 1928, 12.
[168] "The State War Memorial: A Final Appeal," *Daily News* (Perth), December 17, 1925, 9.
[169] "The State War Memorial: A Final Appeal."
[170] A. Digger, public letter to the editor, "The State Memorial," *Daily News* (Perth), April 30, 1925, 3.

Western Australia and appealed desperately for public support.[171] A deputation from the State Memorial Committee, led by Lathlain, approached the premier requesting a 'subsidy on a £ for £ basis'.[172] Although Collier was sympathetic, the cabinet decided against it. They refused to subsidise Perth and Fremantle's memorials. 'If the people wanted a memorial, they would erect one themselves', was their reply, noting that other towns had erected their own memorials without the government's assistance.[173]

The setbacks motivated the determination of Sir William Lathlain and Archbishop Riley to harness further community support for the project. The *Daily News* reported that Lathlain threw himself into 'every activity connected with war' with 'the zeal of a Crusader', a busy businessman and politician, who devoted endless time and energy into public duties.[174] In August 1927, the Kings Park Board and the public were startled when the 'inimitable' Lathlain used the opportunity of the unveiling of the Lord Forrest statue to make a passionate plea, in the middle of the ceremony, for funds to progress the State War Memorial.[175] The newspapers reported that he spoiled the occasion by intimating that the £3000 raised equated to ten shillings for each Western Australian soldier that died: 'The value of Westralia's gallant dead. Panned up to date, at just two crowns per head.'[176] A cold feeling descended over the crowd, compelling the premier and Lovekin to make amends to Forrest's relatives for Lathlain's distasteful opportunism.[177] The *Sunday Times'* headline 'Forrest Forgot' suggested Lathlain had committed a mortal injustice to the memory of Western Australia's greatest statesman.[178]

A 'ratty' Anglican, Archbishop Riley considered the lack of subscriptions as the state's disgrace.[179] He claimed to know of individuals who had earned more than £3000 from the war. In 1927 he lamented that he had asked one person at the cathedral for a 'fiver', who said he could not afford it, then bought a pastoral station the following week for £40,000.[180] On Anzac Day 1928, the Archbishop made a long eloquent final plea for funds. It is a 'crying shame' he said, 'the money

[171] Collett, "State War Memorial: Appeal."
[172] "Premier Surprised At Apathy of People: State War Memorial Project," *Daily News* (Perth), February 5, 1926, 8.
[173] "Perth War Memorial: Government Declines to Contribute," *Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie), March 16, 1926, 18.
[174] "Sir William Lathlain," *Daily News* (Perth), December 18, 1923, 4.
[175] "Forrest Forgot: Solemn Ceremony Spoiled," *Sunday Times* (Perth), September 4, 1927, 3.
[176] "Ad Valorem," *Listening Post* (Perth), November 18, 1927, 14.
[177] "Forrest Forgot: Solemn Ceremony Spoiled."
[178] "Forrest Forgot: Solemn Ceremony Spoiled."
[179] "War Memorial Fund: Archbishops Denunciation" *Daily News* (Perth), September 30, 1927, 1.
[180] "State War Memorial: Archbishops Indignation," *Western Mail* (Perth), October 6, 1927, 40.

*Figure 25.* Ernest Lund Mitchell, *The Economic Stores Ltd, corner of William and Hay Streets, Perth*, 1922, photograph: black and white, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: BA533/36, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b1922780_2.

should be found'.[181] Within 24 days, the public donated £2479 to the 'Archbishop's Final Appeal Fund'.[182] Chaplain Rabbi Freeman said: 'It was a wonderful appeal, and it met with a wonderful response.'[183] Following Archbishop Riley's appeal, sufficient funds came from subscriptions 'to complete the plans for the memorial'.[184] A further £3000 was needed to fund the inscriptions on the tablets of the memorial crypt. Lathlain organised a well-supported 'Tablet Fund' to cover the cost of the 10-shilling inscriptions and personally collected the funds through his Perth Economic Stores business (Figure 25).[185] The tablet fundraising continued after the opening of the memorial. Lathlain was pleased that 'clean money' funded the memorial, without the subscriptions coming from gambling and carnivals held by the Ugly Men's Association at White City, near the river.[186] The initial budget of £30,000 proposed by a spirited Lathlain was reduced to £6000 due to the lack of early community support and funding.[187] Talbot Hobbs' simple, yet 'entirely suitable for purpose' design, enabled the project to be completed, and he expected minor expenses 'to maintain the memorial in the years to come'.[188]

## From architect to unveiling

The decision to build a permanent monument in 1925 by the new committee enabled the business of the war memorial to proceed—engaging the art and business affairs of the sculptors and the architects with the vision of the planners, and seeking the advice of professional organisations.[189] King claims that memorial artists usually controlled the working process and determined the aesthetics and the quality of war memorials themselves, as there were 'professional benefits to be reaped' and reputations to be made.[190] The committee accepted the tender of the Master Builder

[181] "State War Memorial: Chaplain-General's Appeal," *West Australian*, April 26, 1928, 8.
[182] "State War Memorial: Citizens Effort," *West Australian*, May 23, 1928, 14.
[183] 'The Addresses.'
[184] "The Addresses."
[185] "State War Memorial: Tablet Fund," *West Australian*, July 24, 1928, 12.
[186] "State War Memorial: Site Chosen in King's Park," *Daily News* (Perth), September 7, 1927, 1.
[187] Taylor, *Between Duty and Design*, 195.
[188] "The Addresses."
[189] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 88.
[190] King, 88-89.

Alfred Tonkin Brine in June 1927. [191] At this point, money to pay for his tender of £3506 had not been secured from public subscriptions. There was still £300 to raise.[192] It was reported that the obelisk would stand fifteen metres high 'at the highest point of the spur along the east front of the park facing Perth'.[193] Lathlain tabled the plans to the Kings Park Board in September 1927. He was annoyed that the plans and specifications for the memorial had not been presented to the Kings Park Board previously, given that it had to accept responsibility for both the stability and the design of the structure in the park.[194]

In a memorandum to the board, Lovekin expressed his concerns that the ground near the escarpment would not safely carry the load of the monument, and suggested changes to the design, including prohibiting a light on top of the monument, which 'may tend to mislead shipping' as far away as Rottnest Island.[195] He was anxious, too, that there was a shortfall in the funds to build the structure, and sought personal guarantees from involved parties to complete the project within eighteen months of laying the foundation.[196] Despite his concerns, he was loathed to delay the ambitions of Lathlain and the war memorial committee, not wishing to place any obstacles in the way of the development. [197] He felt justified in questioning 'the erection of any structure, which may prove unsightly, be unstable, or detract from the beauties of the park'.[198] Lovekin's tone at the meeting is a reminder that he was not in favour of this project—in 1923, he had supported a memorial hospital, and contributed to Mitchell's committee regarding a proposed project.[199] Acting on Lovekin's concerns about the building foundations, the board referred the plans and the specifications of the memorial to the Government Engineer in Chief, Francis Stileman to consult on the stability of the structure at the proposed location. In his report, Stileman dismissed Lovekin's concerns about the stability of the site, suggesting there is 'no reason to anticipate any trouble'.[200] Stileman claimed the natural foundation 'was at least thirty-three percent stronger than necessary'.[201] Acting on Stileman's report, Lathlain moved, and Nicholson seconded that the work according to the plans and the specifications continue. The resolution was carried by the Board, with

[191] A.T. Brine & Sons, "West Australian Builder," 2020, https://www.atbrine.com.au/history.; "War Heroes To Be Remembered: Memorial Contract Let," *Mirror* (Perth), June 25, 1927, 3.
[192] "State War Memorial: Site Chosen in King's Park."
[193] "War Heroes To Be Remembered: Memorial Contract Let."
[194] Minutes, 2 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[195] Minutes, 2 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[196] Minutes, 2 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[197] Minutes, 2 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[198] Minutes, 2 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[199] "Proposed State War Memorial: The Casualty Block."
[200] Minutes, 20 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[201] "War Memorial: No Doubt of Stability," *West Australian*, January 6, 1928, 14.

*Figure 26.* Author Unknown, *A memorial dedicated to the members of the 1st Australian Division AIF, who died during the capture of Pozieres*, July 1916, photograph, Australian War Memorial, Accession No: A02192, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/A02192.

*Figure 27.* Author Unknown, *The memorial dedicated to the members of the 4th Australian Division at Bellenglise,* n.d., photograph, Australian War Memorial, Accession No: A02195, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/A02195.

*Figure 28.* Author Unknown, *5th Australian Division Memorial, Polygon Wood,* n.d., photograph, Remembering the Fallen, https://www.ww1cemeteries.com/bel-5th-australian-division-memorial.html.

*Figure 29.* Author Unknown, *A memorial dedicated to the members of the 3rd Australian Division, AIF at Sailly-le-Sec,* c1919. photograph, Australian War Memorial, Accession No: A02194, https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/A02194.

Lovekin and Temple Poole dissenting.[202] Lathlain had maintained that ex-servicemen wanted a 'sacred shrine' and the way was clear for the building to proceed.[203]

The State War Memorial's design incorporated a new ornamentation, with symbols that became synonymous with war memorialisation through the Western Front and Lone Pine at Gallipoli. As a soldier, Talbot Hobbs had found it demoralising to be evacuated from Gallipoli and leave behind the graves of his compatriots.[204] After the war, he was saddened by the work of a burial battalion in Ypres, which uncovered 'bundles of bones or decomposed bodies', dispelling 'the slightest vestige I have remaining of the glory of war'.[205] There was no glorification of conflict in any of the monuments he later designed. The State War Memorial had an 18-metre Mahogany Creek granite obelisk as its main feature, surrounded by a terrace and approaching steps. Beneath the obelisk, Talbot Hobbs placed an underground loggia with marble walls on which the names of the state's war dead were inscribed.[206] Its design referenced the four Western Front obelisks he created in France and Belgium (Figure 26, 27, 28 and 29).[207] The architectural historian John Taylor notes that Talbot Hobbs chose the obelisk, originally an Egyptian symbol that was later adopted by the Romans

[202] Minutes, 20 September 1927, Kings Park Board.
[203] "State War Memorial: Site Chosen in King's Park."
[204] Taylor, *Between Duty and Design*, 154.
[205] Taylor, 157.
[206] "War Memorial: What The Site Affords," *West Australian*, February 2, 1928, 18.
[207] Taylor, *Between Duty and Design*, 156.

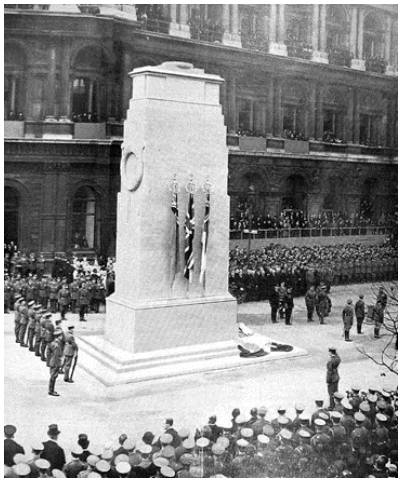


*Figure 30.* Horace Nicholls, *Photograph of the unveiling of the Whitehall Cenotaph*, 1920, photograph, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cenotaph_Unveiling,_1920.jpg.

*Figure 31.* Jmarcosny, *Washington Monument,* 1 October 2020, photograph, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Washington_Monument_with_American_flags_on_a_gorgeous_Fall_day.jpg.

for their funerary monuments, as the centrepiece for each memorial.[208] The simplicity and ancient heritage of the obelisk avoided the glorification of war, enabling visitors to focus on the commemoration of the dead.

Talbot Hobbs acknowledged that the memorials were 'perhaps not a monument of great beauty', but that it symbolised the virtues of the fallen, especially the sacrifice he had witnessed in the theatre of war.[209] For him, the design was functional, portraying 'stability of character, determination, and the endurance of the Australian soldier'.[210] Its shape favours the four-sided obelisk with elements of Lutyens' London cenotaph (Figure 30). Technically, the form of the obelisk is not as well defined as the Washington Monument (Figure 31), and its lines do not conform with those of Lutyens. The verticality of the obelisk has both secular and spiritual meaning: the upright form pointing to the heavens, with its pointed peak, speaks of the exemplary characters of the memorialised, their noble actions, deeds, and life after death. Froud argues that the obelisk is a phallus, an obviously male symbol that rendered fallen soldiers as young, virile and immortal, though Inglis is less convinced.[211] The obelisk is now commonly called a 'cenotaph', including in Western Australia, which refers to empty tombs or memorials to the dead buried elsewhere. Inglis suggests that the obelisk had greater use in Australian commemoration because of the secular nature of the

[208] Taylor, 155.
[209] "State War Memorial: Unveiling And Dedication," *Western Mail* (Perth), November 28, 1929, 27.
[210] "State War Memorial: Unveiling And Dedication."
[211] Froud, "War Memorials and Society," 31.; Inglis, *Sacred Place*s, 154.

symbol, and it satisfied committee members of all 'denominations and none'.[212] Yet the monument included elements that reminded visitors of religious spaces. The underground loggia was suggestive of a church crypt, in which tombs are kept. The large cross suggests Christian sacrifice, which Blomfield may have designed to represent a Celtic cross rather than a Christian crucifix, which is based more on the proportions of the human body.[213] Though Inglis reminds us that a cross might also hold secular meaning, this one is overlaid with a bronze sword of military sacrifice, embracing the Christian idea of self-sacrifice.[214] The design of the State War Memorial was, therefore, a modern interpretation of most ancient symbols, providing context through ritual to a grieving community (Figure 32).

This opening ceremony displayed a mark of respect for the fallen with a salute to their sacrifice. 'Present arms' was the drill command that sharply bellowed from the commanding officer of the military guard, while the Australian and the British flags draping the base of the Cenotaph were pulled away to reveal an inscription: 'Erected by the grateful citizens in remembrance of men of this State who at the call of duty gave their lives for freedom and humanity in the Great War, 1914–1918'.[215] Lathlain said the memorial honoured the 'loving memory of the men and women who paid the supreme sacrifice that we might retain our glorious liberty'.[216] Unlike the Fallen Soldiers' Memorial unveiled in 1902, this war memorial received little criticism from the returned soldiers. The process of building the State War Memorial represented a more democratic and inclusive sentiment. The nature of the memorial committee appeared to be more collaborative than the early insulated Kings Park Board. The interests of the returned soldiers were well represented by the ex-military committee members. From the development of the State War Memorial emerged a transformation in the process of memorialisation in Kings Park, however, the dissention by Lovekin and Temple Poole suggests democratic change was slow to welcome outside influence on their ideas and decisions. The returned soldiers embraced their State War Memorial. The *Listening Post* reported:

> This Memorial is symbolical of high ideals and a great achievement. In that connection I would like you to remember this—that the sailors and soldiers saw their comrades yield up their all in circumstances that will not bear relating. The survivors alone understand the immensity of the sacrifice that was then made and they are jealous that no portion of the debt due to our great men shall remain unpaid. In all reverence they have asked for this Memorial. The site and its environment are in themselves a tribute to men who had much in their lives that was beautiful, and it is possible to imagine that their spirits looking over the

[212] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 49.
[213] Jeroen Geurst, *Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2009), 46.
[214] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 150-151.
[215] "State War Memorial: Impressive Unveiling," *West Australian*, November 25, 1929, 19.
[216] "The Addresses," *West Australian*, November 25, 1929, 19.

> calm waters may commune together and say that, so long as peace prevail, the sacrifice shall not have been in vain.[217]

*Figure 32.* Edgar Walker, *State War Memorial at the time of its unveiling, Kings Park, Western Australia*, 14 November 1929, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 110424PD, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b6058433_2.

Up to 10,000 people were present at the monument's unveiling ceremony on Sunday, 24 November 1929. It had taken more than ten years after the war's end to complete the project, though this is within keeping of other state monuments in Australia.[218] Lathlain and Archbishop Riley were absent from the ceremony: Lathlain was travelling overseas, while Riley had died five months earlier.[219] The state president of the RSSLIA, Colonel Collett, acknowledged the 'wonderful effect' of the Archbishop's personal fundraising appeal, which had enabled the memorial to be 'free of debt', and without finance from the state government or Perth City Council. [220] In a turnaround, Collier's administration agreed to fund the work of 'laying out and beautifying the grounds around the memorial'.[221] Collier was present at the opening ceremony, standing with Collett and Talbot Hobbs, though he did not address the crowd.[222] The leadership and tenacity of Lathlain, Riley, Collett and Talbot Hobbs had ensured the accomplishment of the memorial.

## Chapter Conclusions

Evidence suggests that the value of the State War Memorial in Kings Park has increased in the past century. It is a site where personal experiences of war enter the public domain, and remembrance is shared between civilians and veterans. For most of the post-war decades, the State War Memorial has been the principal site for the commemoration of service and sacrifice in war. In 1929, when the first dawn service was held at the monument, 'a remarkably large' crowd is reported to have gathered, including returned soldiers, for a solemn ceremony, without addresses, as a 'quiet and

[217] "The Unveiling of the State War Memorial," *Listening Post*, December 20, 1929, 12.
[218] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 266.
[219] "A Soldiers' Champion: Colonel Collett Expresses Regret," *West Australian*, June 24, 1929, 16.
[220] "The Addresses.
[221] "The Addresses."
[222] "State War Memorial: Impressive Unveiling."

moving act of homage and remembrance'.[223] Many wreaths were placed at the foot of the memorial, from soldiers' associations, relatives of the dead and others; before the Last Post was played, the echoes of a single gunshot were heard, and then the musical notes of the Reveille sounded.[224] The following year, around 5000 stood in 'eloquent silence' at the monument's dawn service. The *Daily News* described the people who came from near and far, as standing silent and motionless, 'in spirit communion with their loved ones who had made their grand sacrifice'. [225] The *West Australian* thought the 'dead silence was almost oppressive' and that it was harder to imagine a more impressive ceremony.[226] After the 1930 dawn service was held in Kings Park, Sir James Mitchell argued that people do not forget the Anzacs.[227] John Stephens says there has been 'a memory boom', and Anzac Day has been successful in reviving the renaissance of a 'new nationalism' and 'politics of patriotism'.[228] Stephens suggests: 'As Anzac is changing to suit new generations without a direct experience of war, a more didactic aspect is forced into its rituals and ceremonies that are no less powerful vehicles for national and regional identity.'[229]

This study has demonstrated that the establishment of the State War Memorial is an expression of mourning, yet a paradigm shift has occurred, the State War Memorial has taken on a political meaning—a 'continuity between the present and the past, in establishing social cohesion, legitimising authority, and socialising populations into a common culture'.[230] It is expressed through the nation coming together on Anzac Day in a culture of nationalism expressed by national symbols, the nation's history, and the patriotic rhetoric of the nation-state—sacrifice and mateship.[231] Winter criticises the over emphasis of the political meanings of war commemoration, he argues, 'it is a failure to acknowledge or address adequately the existential function of mourning in commemoration'.[232] Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper argue, 'the politics of war memory and commemoration always has to engage with mourning and with attempts to make good the psychological and physical damage of war, and wherever people undertake the tasks of

[223] "ANZAC," *West Australian*, April 26, 1929, 19.
[224] "ANZAC."
[225] "Eloquent Service: Ceremony at Dawn," *Daily News* (Perth), April 25, 1930, 1.
[226] "At Dawn," *West Australian*, April 26, 1930, 15.
[227] "ANZAC Day: Impressive Commemoration Record Number at Afternoon Gathering Address by Premier," Northam Advertiser, April 26, 1930, 3.
[228] John R. Stephens, John R. "Circuits of Memory: The War Memory Boom in Western Australia," *Societies (Basel, Switzerland)* 2, no. 3 (2012): 89, https://doi.org/10.3390/soc2030084.
[229] John R. Stephens, 'Circuits of Memory: The War Memory Boom in Western Australia," 97.
[230] Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, eds., *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory,* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 7.
[231] Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, *Commemorating War,* 7-9.
[232] Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, *Commemorating War*, 8.

mourning and reparation, politics is always at work'.[233] As in 1930, similar attendances are still being achieved nine decades later at the State War Memorial. Thousands of people were said to have streamed into Kings Park on Anzac Day in 2019, the last uninterrupted dawn service in Perth before the Covid pandemic.[234] It is here that individuals and groups in modern societies unite to do 'the work of remembrance'.[235]

The veneration of the war dead by the Kings Park memorials, and the rapid escalation in their number, scale, and social importance in the 1920s, suggests an escalation in the importance of Kings Park in the public commemoration of war. The expanse of thousands of war memorials across the park, individual and monumental, corresponds with the magnitude of death, grief, and suffering, endured by generations of families in the Great War (and those since). They encourage individual and collective contemplation, to think about the events of war and the ramifications of taking up arms in service to one's country. The memorials connect people emotionally with the dead, in remembrance and thanksgiving for their sacrifice, in the spirit of gratefulness, for their service to their nation and to the communities that they left behind. As a substitute grave for the war dead after 1918, the Kings Park memorials had social, political, and religious utility. As places of public memory since, their presence provides continuing utility.

Capital-city monuments, like the State War Memorial, have an important role to play in Australian society. The validation of their worth was first expressed by the governments that provided spaces for the monuments, the movements that built them, and the public willingness to donate towards them, though the debate persists for utilitarian memorials providing social improvement. Kings Park's State War Memorial demonstrates the social, political, economic, and religious changes that shaped how communities commemorated war after 1918. Gone was the celebration of the heroic individual that was common to the Boer War. In its place was the honour of sacrifice. The Great War memorials in Kings Park—all of them—demonstrated to post-war communities that their dead were valued. They are now historical records of the values and the commemorative culture of the community that created them.

[233] Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, 10.
[234] James Carmody, "Anzac heroes honoured at Kings Park dawn service as Premier pays tribute to veterans," *ABC News*, April 25, 2019, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-25/perth-commemorates-anzac-day-at-kings-park/11045818.
[235] Jay Winter, "Forms of kinship and remembrance in the aftermath of the Great War", 40.

CHAPTER THREE

# The Politics of Exclusion

Edith Cowan is best known for her most celebrated achievement, which was to be the first woman elected to an Australian parliament. She won the state seat of West Perth in 1921 at the age of 59.[1] Western Australia's *Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act* 1920 enabled women to 'not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected to or sitting and voting' in state parliament.[2] Three other ladies were nominated for the state election in March 1921: Alma Constantine McCorvy (Avon), Ada May Butler (Canning), and Ada Bromham (Claremont). Except for Cowan, all were defeated by the rivals in their electorates.[3] In her maiden speech, Cowan said:

> I stand here today in the unique position of being the first woman in an Australian Parliament. I know many people think perhaps that it was not the wisest thing to do to send a woman into Parliament, and perhaps I should remind Honourable members that one of the reasons why women and men also considered it advisable to do so, was because it was felt that men need a reminder sometimes from women beside them that will make them realise all that can be done for the race and for the home. I have been sent here more from that standpoint than from any other. You Mr Speaker, are aware that everybody said when the elections began that there were three old women putting up for Parliament. I am the only old woman who got in, but then I am the only genuine one of the lot.[4]

The bold assertive tone of Cowan's speech suggests that she was not a woman to shy away from male opposition, and, indeed, she was straightforward and fearless in the presence of men of authority. She maintained that 'women sympathise and try and assist one another, more than men do'.[5] The irony of her speech in the presence of the state's powerful men plays out in the story of building the Edith Cowan Memorial—a group of women sympathised and assisted one another, determined to build Australia's first monument to a woman against an upsurge of male opposition.

[1] Parliament of Western Australia, "Edith Cowan Centenary: no fit place for a woman," https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/WebCMS/webcms.nsf/content/edith-cowan-centenary-edc100parliamentarycareer.
[2] Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1920, 11 Geo.V. No.7 (Western Australia), 2 (1).
[3] "Political Pars," *The Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, March 4, 1921, 3.
[4] 11 Parl. Deb. Legislative Assembly of Western Australia (Vol. 64), Mrs Cowan (Address In Reply), 28 July 1921.
[5] "Mrs. Cowan: The Elect of West Perth," *Daily News* (Perth), 14 March 1921, 5.

*Figure 33.* Author Unknown, *Edith Cowan, member of the Legislative Assembly for West Perth, Western Australia,* c1922, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 6004B, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b2410692_1.

## The Edith Cowan Memorial

Cowan's service to the community went well beyond the few years she spent in parliament. As a child, she witnessed considerable domestic violence in her family home, which culminated in 1876 when her father, Kenneth Brown, murdered Cowan's stepmother. She became an ardent social worker and activist well before her election, and was called 'Madame Chairwoman of a hundred committees' by the *Sunday Times*.[6] The West Australian National Council of Women noted in a letter of introduction, in 1912, her 'skill, intellect, indomitable courage' and involvement with every charity and progressive movement in Perth.[7] During the First World War, Cowan worked with the Red Cross

[6] "Peeps at People," *Sunday Times* (Perth), December 19, 1920, 2.
[7] The West Australian National Council of Women, "Introducing Mrs. Edith Cowan", 13 March 1912, State Library of Western Australia, Call Number: ACC 9587AD/46.

and other war-time charities, for which she was honoured with an appointment as an Officer in the Order of the British Empire in 1920. Hers was a life of service—a term often used to praise her tireless work with many welfare organisations. Cowan worked with the Ministering Children's League, the House of Mercy, Children's Protection Society, the Children's Court—and was the first woman to be appointed to its bench—the Karrakatta Women's Club, the Western Australian National Council of Women, and the Women's Service Guild.[8] In addition, she was appointed secretary of the advisory board of the foundation involved with the new King Edward Memorial Hospital for Women, became a Justice of the Peace, and helped establish the Royal Western Australian Historical Society.[9] Harry Phillips reminds us that although Cowan fervently pursued women's interests, she sought to do so in partnership with men.[10] Paul Wycherley suggests Cowan was perhaps better known for 'her long persistent and fearless involvement in almost every movement' that advanced the interests of women and children (Figure 33).[11]

Cowan died on 9 June 1932 in her seventieth year. She was considered a 'marvellous friend, counsellor, and confidante' to thousands of women: 'high and low, rich and poor, young and old' were affected by her generous nature, to whom she gave 'kindness, sympathy and help'.[12] Following her death, friends and colleagues sought to create a memorial that would honour her life and service to the community. That memorial, the Edith Cowan Memorial Clock, now stands outside the entrance to Fraser Avenue. Though Kings Park had become the state's principal site of public memory and commemoration, and though it honoured such other civic leaders as Queen Victoria and John Forrest, Cowan's memorial was excluded from the park. The outcome was the result of firm opposition from the Kings Park Board, whose members then included William Francis Lathlain, the board's president, P. Collier, W.A. Saw, Justice Dwyer, S.L. Kessell, R.O. Law and J. Nicholson.[13] In the wake of the announcement to exclude Cowan's memorial from the park, the board declared that no further personal monuments to individual people would be erected in the park.[14]

---

[8] "Death of Mrs. Cowan: Useful Social Career," *Western Mail* (Perth), June 16, 1932, 30.
[9] Heritage Council of Western Australia, *Register of Heritage Places Assessment Documentation: Edith Dircksey Cowan Memorial*," 5 January 2001, 4, http://inherit.stateheritage.wa.gov.au/Admin/api/file/d550380f-252c-cee9-a556-02199917e1f7.
[10] Harry C. J. Phillips, *The Voice of Edith Cowan: Australia's first woman parliamentarian 1921-1924*, (Churchlands, WA: Edith Cowan University, 1996), 17.
[11] Paul Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock: The Location of the Edith Cowan Memorial* (Churchlands, WA: Edith Cowan University, 1997), 1.
[12] "An Appreciation by Airlie," Minute Book of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 1932–1952, State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A.
[13] Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock,* 3.
[14] Dorothy Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden* (Cottesloe: Erickson & Taylor, 1997), 22.

This evidence of Cowan's exclusion from the park raises questions about the events surrounding the building of her memorial, and how the matter also led to the exclusion of others. The outcome appears to be the result of politics and prejudice, at the centre of which the Kings Park Board were firmly positioned. Importantly, the choices made in the park may give insight into the persuasion of a select few: those powerful enough to control the park and govern the experience of public memory. This chapter resolves the third aim of this thesis, which is to establish the political, social, and other factors that led to inclusion and exclusion within Kings Park memorials, by understanding the complex debate regarding Cowan's clock.

## Planning and fundraising

Community support for a Cowan memorial was split between those who favoured a utilitarian object that would symbolise her service to social welfare, and the traditionalists, who pushed for an ornamental structure in the form of a monument. Two months after her death, in August 1932, the National Council of Women convened to discuss a proposed memorial, chaired by their president, Ruby Elizabeth Pratt.[15] They agreed that a public meeting should be organised to discuss the best means to perpetuate Cowan's memory. Mrs Rutherford advised her colleagues that Cowan's relatives were opposed to a statue or picture as a memorial. Cowan's daughter, Dircksey, suggested naming a ward in her honour at King Edward Memorial Hospital, or a parliamentary walk that would be adorned with her favourite native plants.[16] Pratt recommended associating Cowan's name with 'the endowment of a bed' to Perth Hospital's cancer department to honour her affiliation with cancer treatment and the alleviation of suffering. [17] A few days later, at the opening of a new extension to King Edward Memorial Hospital, Matron Walsh recommended honouring Cowan with a labour ward to provide 'twilight sleep'—a new development in maternity technique that had gained Cowan's interest.[18] Walsh, as the nurse in charge, had a vested interest in the proposal, though she honourably considered that the erection of a utilitarian memorial would 'perpetuate in fitting fashion the memory of a very noble woman'.[19] The proposed ward would have improved the services of Perth's principal maternity hospital, ensuring that the ward would be unrestricted to patients, no matter their income status, in the spirit of Cowan's lifetime of social work.[20] Shortly afterwards, the National Council of Women instigated a public meeting on 22 September 1932, presided over by the Lord Mayor of Perth, James Franklin, that considered community proposals for

[15] "The Late Mrs Cowan: A Memorial Proposed," *West Australian*, August 30, 1932, 6.
[16] "The Late Mrs Cowan: A Memorial Proposed."
[17] "The Late Mrs Cowan: A Memorial Proposed."
[18] "The Late Mrs. E. Cowan: Memorial Suggestion," *Daily News* (Perth), September 5, 1932, 5.
[19] "The Late Mrs. E. Cowan: Memorial Suggestion."
[20] "King Edward Memorial Hospital: Women's Centenary Memorial," *West Australian*, September 9, 1932, 8.

a proposed Edith Cowan memorial.[21] During his opening address to the meeting, Franklin noted that 'Cowan was an outstanding woman' and humanitarian, and that her work benefited the entire Commonwealth.[22] Pratt had no doubt that Cowan was the 'most outstanding woman in the Commonwealth' and proposed a 'public memorial' as 'a token of gratitude' to Cowan's self-sacrificing service.[23] John Nicholson, a lawyer and long-serving member of the Legislative Council, followed Walsh's lead and moved for a twilight sleep ward named in Cowan's honour at King Edward Memorial Hospital, in consideration of her 'interest in the welfare of humanity'.[24] He stated unequivocally: 'While the late Lord Forrest was the greatest West Australian man, the honour of being the greatest West Australian woman undoubtedly belonged to Mrs Cowan.'[25] It was a powerful statement coming from a man who, as a member of the Kings Park Board, was well acquainted with the establishment of the park's memorials. During his tenure, he contributed to the plans presented at board meetings for the construction of the Lord Forrest statue and the State War Memorial. He was present when the board rejected the Keith Anderson memorial.[26]

But the proposal to honour Cowan through the women's hospital had its detractors. Ellen Le Souef (a daughter of German missionaries who was married to Albert Le Souef, Director of Perth Zoological Gardens) suggested that, as Cowan was affiliated with many organisations, favouring any one institution with a utilitarian memorial would exclude recognition of others she worked with.[27] Le Souef moved that the memorial would have 'permanent character and suggested it should take the form of a monument, to be erected in Kings Park where other great Australian pioneers are honoured'.[28] By this time, the park included the statue of Lord Forrest and the memorial fountain that honoured the former premier, George Leake.[29] The *West Australian* reported her argument as follows:

> The State War Memorial in King's Park was quoted as an inspiring recognition of great service, and as no Australian woman had as yet been honoured by having a

[21] "The Late Mrs. Cowan: Memorial Suggestions," *West Australian,* September 13, 1932, 10.
[22] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial: A Great West Australian," *West Australian,* September 23, 1932, 20.
[23] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."
[24] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."
[25] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."
[26] Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932, 16 April 1930, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S1831 – cons 13631 (hereafter cited as Minutes, Kings Park Board).; "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."
[27] State Library of Western Australia, *Le Souef Family*, in J.S. Battye Library of Western Australia History Collection, MN1391, https://slwa.wa.gov.au/pdf/mn/mn1001_1500/mn1391.pdf.
[28] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."
[29] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."

> statue erected in her memory, such would be a fitting memorial to the late Mrs Cowan.[30]

Colonel Noel Brazier represented the Dominion League of Western Australia, which was a group agitating for the creation of Western Australia as a Dominion within the British Empire.[31] He agreed that this was the most logical suggestion:

> A memorial to such an outstanding woman as Mrs Cowan should live forever, and that will be in such a position as may be seen by overseas visitors. King's Park is the honour board for the great people of Western Australia, and Mrs Cowan was unquestionably one of these. [32]

The Edith Cowan Memorial Committee was formed, comprising of fifty members, including elected joint chairpersons, the Lord Mayor, James Franklin, and the president of the National Council of Women, Ruby Elizabeth Pratt.[33] The committee overwhelmingly decided on a 'permanent and personal' memorial to honour Edith Cowan, to be built in Kings Park.[34] The Minutes noted:

> That in the view of the State and nation-wide activities of the late Mrs Cowan, in the interests of humanity, we, who are proud to look upon her as one of Australia's greatest women, urge that any memorial to her memory should be of a permanent character and preferably should take the form of a monument to be erected in King's Park where other great Australian pioneers are honoured.[35]

Mrs D. Rutherford moved the resolution, which was seconded by John Curtin, a future Prime Minister of Australia who was then the Member for Fremantle.

Fundraising commenced immediately. The Edith Cowan Memorial Committee issued a circular seeking subscription and support from the regions, urging the establishment of district committees to aid with fundraising.[36] With assistance from the Lord Mayor's staff, the committee posted 148 letters to municipalities and local governing bodies, 42 letters to the affiliates of the National Council of Women, and a letter to the Historical Society.[37] The Geraldton Municipal Council declined to support the memorial, preferring 'to keep what money they could in town', and decided

[30] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial: A Great West Australian," *West Australian,* September 23, 1932, 20.
[31] State Library of Western Australia, "Dominion League," accessed 12 January 2022, https://webarchive.slwa.wa.gov.au/federation/sec/049_domi.htm.
[32] "The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial."
[33] Minute Book of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 1932–1952, State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A. 1, (hereafter cited as Minute Book, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.)
[34] Wycherley, *Mrs Cowans Clock*, 2.
[35] Minute Book, 22 September 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[36] "The Edith Cowan Memorial: An Appeal for Subscriptions," *West Australian,* November 1, 1932, 8.
[37] Minute Book, 21 October 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.

to take no further action on the request for donations.[38] The council included representation of Cowan's hometown, Geraldton. Geraldton's disengagement from the project may have been a result of complex regional politics relating to Cowan's family, the Browns, or may simply have been an outcome of the town's attempt at economic recovery after the Depression dramatically impacted wheat and wool prices.[39] The York Municipal Council asked the Women's Institute 'to deal with it' after receiving their letter from the memorial committee.[40] The Bruce Rock Board regretted their inability to donate, suggesting the memorial committee get in touch with the Bruce Rock Country Women's Association (CWA).[41] The Upper Blackwood Road Board approved the donation of one guinea—twenty-one shillings.[42] A fundraising afternoon tea by the Nungarin Country Women's Association raised eleven shillings.[43] The Cue Road Board at the centre of the Murchison goldfields and pastoral industry donated the same amount as the Nungarin ladies—eleven shillings.[44] The printers, Dix Limited, donated 250 letterheads, and the Lord Mayor arranged for a further 200 letters to be 'mimeographed'.[45] The Edith Cowan Memorial Committee was extremely active in its fundraising: Mrs Atkinson sent out 152 letters from the Primary Producers Association; 83 letters were sent to Country Women's Associations; 64 letters of appeal were sent out within the Perth metropolitan area; and appeals for donations were made to the public through the newspapers. By the end of November 1932, subscriptions totalled £65 towards the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund, from the CWA, road boards, the Red Cross, the Primary Producers Association, and others.[46]

## The Kings Park Board rejects the proposal to build the memorial

The decision to build a memorial to Edith Cowan in Kings Park was the first attempt to memorialise a woman in Western Australia. The committee wrote to the Kings Park Board on 15 October 1932, seeking approval for the erection of a memorial archway at the park's entrance.[47] Within five days of receiving the letter, and giving no due consideration to the request, the board declined the proposal, recording in its Minutes that:

---

[38] "Local and General: The Edith Cowan Memorial," *Geraldton Guardian and Express,* October 29, 1932, 2.; Peter Cowan, *A Unique Position: A Biography of Edith Dircksey Cowan 1861-1932* (Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 1978), 23-42.
[39] Peter Cowan, *A Unique Position: A Biography of Edith Dircksey Cowan 1861-1932* (Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 1978), 32.
[40] "Municipal Council," *York Chronicle* (WA)*,* November 4, 1932, 3.
[41] "Bruce Rock Road Board," *Bruce Rock Post and Corrigin and Narembeen Guardian,* November 25, 1932, 3.
[42] "Upper Blackwood Road Board." *Nelson Advocate* (Bridgetown), November 11, 1932, 6.
[43] "Country Women's Association," *Dampier Herald,* November 10, 1932, 2.
[44] "Cue Road Board," *The Murchison Times,* November 16, 1932, 2.
[45] Minute Book, 4 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[46] "Edith Cowan Memorial Fund," *West Australian,* December 1, 1932, 14.
[47] Heritage Council of Western Australia, *Register of Heritage Places Assessment Documentation: Edith Dircksey Cowan Memorial*," 4.

> The Committee of the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund, wrote asking for approval to erect a Memorial in the Park, and suggested an archway to the entrance gates. Resolved that the Committee be advised that this Board do not approve of the proposal.[48]

The secretary of the Kings Park Board, Lionel Boas, wrote to Mrs C.M. (Minnie) Eggleston, Joint Secretary of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee:

> In reply to yours of the 15th, re the proposal to erect a memorial in Kings Park to the late Edith Cowan. I have been directed to advise you that my Board do not approve of the proposal.
>
> The Hon. John Nicholson M.L.C. O.B.E. recommended the approval of your request, but the Board have other suggestions in view re the Main gates, & are disinclined to favourably view the erection of further memorials other than National ones, within the Kings Park.[49]

The committee acknowledged receipt of the letter from the Kings Park Board, replying and thanking them for their correspondence.[50] They reaffirmed at their meetings on 4 November and 18 November that, regardless of the decision by the Kings Park Board, a monument was publicly agreed and that the executive of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee 'stand absolutely firm' on this motion.[51]

The board's opinion that the proposed memorial was not a national one was not shared by the members of the memorial committee. To them, Cowan had achieved national significance and impact. Multiple newspapers in five states reported Cowan's death, including some country towns, like the *National Advocate* in Bathurst and the *Examiner* in Launceston.[52] The *Argus* in Melbourne reported her obituary, which acknowledged the difficulties that she had experienced as a pioneer, her work to improve the lives of women, her success in gaining amendments in Parliament for women's causes, and recognition by the British Commonwealth with the Order of the British Empire for her services with the Red Cross Society.[53] Cowan had made an impact on the empire, not just Australia. M.E. Creeth's letter to the *West Australian* clarified that the need to build a national monument to Cowan was a 'reminder of what can be done by a woman' working for her country,

---

[48] Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock,* 3.
[49] Lionel Boas to Minnie Eggleston, 25 October 1932*,* Minute Book of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 1932–1952, State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A.
[50] Minute Book, 4 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[51] Minute Book, 18 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[52] "First Woman Member is Dead," *National Advocate* (Bathurst)*,* June 11, 1932, 2.; "About People," *Examiner* (Launceston)*,* June 10, 1932, 14.
[53] "Obituary: Death of First Woman M.L.A," *The Argus* (Melbourne)*,* June 10, 1932, 6.

and its people, in selfless service to all in need.[54] She contended that Cowan's unselfish work for many years built a ' better and healthier nation'; therefore, the reason for a public monument was to give freely 'to one who so freely gave to others'.[55] Mary Elizabeth Creeth, an artist and teacher who had travelled extensively throughout the United States and the British Empire, stressed 'she had not met any woman who had engaged in so much, and a leader in so many things'.[56] Ellie Le Souef, who put forward the motion for a permanent memorial in Kings Park, backed up Creeth's comments. She argued, 'Mrs Cowan worked for men as well as for women and children' and thought it essential for Great War veterans to recognise the perpetual and inspirational importance of the memorial to the community.[57] She equated the war veterans' 'ideal of service' with Cowan's 'veritable Queen of Service', and inferred that it was only fitting that if outstanding servicemen were honoured with war memorials, so too should Cowan be equally honoured with a monument. [58]

Australian war veterans supported the campaign for a memorial to Edith Cowan. The Western Australian branch of the RSSILA was 'anxious' to help the memorial committee to fundraise for the erection of a memorial, noting: 'No war worker was more outstanding in her efforts on behalf of the diggers and in her regard for men coming back from the Great War maimed and injured than the late Mrs Edith Cowan'.[59] The Digger's Diary, a column of the *Western Mail* devoted to returned soldiers, paid tribute to Cowan's work with returned service members, noting that her social welfare efforts provided a building for the men to stay.[60] In November 1932, the month following receipt of the Kings Park Board's refusal letter, Archdeacon C. L. Riley thought that the RSSILA should be identified with the project to build the memorial, and Rabbi Freedman moved the motion, seconded by Riley. The motion was carried unanimously that the best form of a memorial was a monument, and 'best calculated to serve the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the late Mrs Cowan and of making her services to the community, including ex-service men and women, an inspiration to all'. [61]

It was also argued by the memorial committee that Cowan and her memorial might be considered of international significance. The committee had contacted the director of the Bureau of Provincial Information in Victoria, British Columbia, to determine whether Cowan may have been the

[54] M. E. Creeth, public letter to the editor, "Memorial to Mrs. Cowan," *West Australian,* November 12, 1932.
[55] Creeth, "Memorial to Mrs. Cowan."
[56] Cowan, *A Unique Position*, 242.
[57] Ellie. G. Le Souef, public letter to the editor, "Edith Cowan," *West Australian,* November 17, 1932, 19.
[58] Le Souef, "Edith Cowan."
[59] "Edith Cowan Memorial," *Listening Post*, January 27, 1933, 15.
[60] "A Digger's Diary: Edith Cowan Memorial," *Western Mail* (Perth)*,* November 17, 1932, 55.
[61] "A Digger's Diary: Edith Cowan Memorial."

first female parliamentarian in the British Empire. The reply from Canada stated that Mary Ellen Smith had been elected to the parliament of British Columbia on 24 January 1918, before becoming the first female cabinet minister in March 1921, Lady Astor became the first female member of the 'Imperial House' in 1919, and Mary Irene Farley was elected to the Alberta Legislative Assembly and to its on 19 July 1921.[62] Therefore, Cowan was the third woman to become a parliamentarian within the British Dominions. She was part of an elite group of pioneering female politicians— leaders who advanced female causes by encouraging women to enter politics.

Though the Kings Park Board had refused to allow the memorial to be built within the park, an alternative site was yet to be identified.[63] The push for a utilitarian memorial continued by non-contributing organisations to the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund, who wished to benefit from the endowment of Cowan's legacy and the large sum of money donated by the public. The Lord Mayor invited the Claremont Municipal Council to assist with the memorial project. Claremont resolved that a proposed monument was not the best plan, and suggested that another type of memorial be considered 'such as the endowment of a cot at the Children's Hospital'.[64] The Harvey CWA was prepared to donate only if the memorial took 'the form of a practical interest'.[65] Similarly, the Corrigin CWA did not support a monument.[66] The Nedlands Road Board formed the view that the proposed monument was 'useless' and should be changed to a utilitarian memorial, 'in accord with the late Mrs Cowan's sentiments'.[67] The West Australian State Teachers Union expressed the unanimous opinion of its members for a practical memorial.[68] Their president, Mr Orr, was not in favour of a monument at all. At the General Committee Meeting, he seized the moment to suggest that a school benefit fund be established to build schools or a hospital as a permanent memorial.[69] Individuals and organisations were eager to use the memorialisation of Edith Cowan for their own benefit. Interest in the project reverberated throughout the community. Beryl Fisher, president of the Country Women's Association, advocated for a national monument, appealing to Perth and regional communities to donate towards a beautiful and inspirational memorial.[70] One

[62] Minute Book, 16 February 1934, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[63] "The Late Mrs. J. Cowan: The Projected Memorial," *West Australian,* November 5, 1932, 19.
[64] "Late Mrs. E Cowan: The Projected Memorial," *West Australian,* October 25, 1932, 14.
[65] "Country Women," *Harvey Murray Times,* November 18, 1932, 3.
[66] "C.W.A.," *Corrigin Broadcaster and Peoples Weekly,* November 24, 1932, 5.
[67] "Memorial to Mrs. Cowan: Proposed Form Disapproved," *West Australian,* November 2, 1932, 14.
[68] "Mrs. J. Cowan Memorial," *The West Australian,* November 9, 1932, 17.
[69] "Edith Cowan Memorial: General Committee Meeting," *Western Mail,* November 24, 1932, 30.
[70] "Memorial to Edith Cowan," *Eastern Recorder* (Kellerberrin), December 9, 1932, 4.

*Figure 34.* Author Unknown*, Kings Park Road flooded at the entrance to Kings Park,* 1932, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No: 4689B/259, https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b6589554_2.

correspondent to the *West Australian* suggested there was no reason to honour Edith Cowan with a single memorial, and proposed that many practical memorials be built to memorialise 'this noble and self-sacrificing woman'.[71] It reflected the enormous respect, honour, and appreciation that people had for Edith Cowan.

## A Kings Park circus

The board did not reverse its decision to disallow a Cowan monument in Kings Park, despite public interest and community support for the project. A special executive meeting of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee met in Perth's Municipal Chambers on 29 November 1932. Lord Mayor Franklin advised the meeting that the City's council planned to erect a safety zone in the circus opposite the Kings Park gates, and he suggested that the committee might like to consider this site as a suitable location for a memorial. A circus existed at the entrance to Kings Park without a traffic island at its centre (Figure 34), providing no definitive direction for motor vehicles. Franklin proposed a design for a clock that included a bas relief, picturing Mrs Cowan's features.[72] Members of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee 'voiced the opinions that the memorial would be a utility one as regards the clock and the lighting.'[73] The suggested form of the memorial and the idea of the location was 'carried unanimously' by the committee, and they insisted on calling it the 'Edith Cowan Memorial'.[74] The design provided a solution to the utilitarian arguments of who sought a useful memorial. Councillor Totterdell (a Master Builder, future Lord Mayor and Member of the Legislative Assembly) informed the committee that 'the suggestion of a two-faced clock was his', and therefore

[71] C.E.M, public letter to the editor, "Edith Cowan Memorial," *West Australian,* December 2, 1932, 13.
[72] Minute Book, 29 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[73] Minute Book, 29 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[74] Minute Book, 29 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.

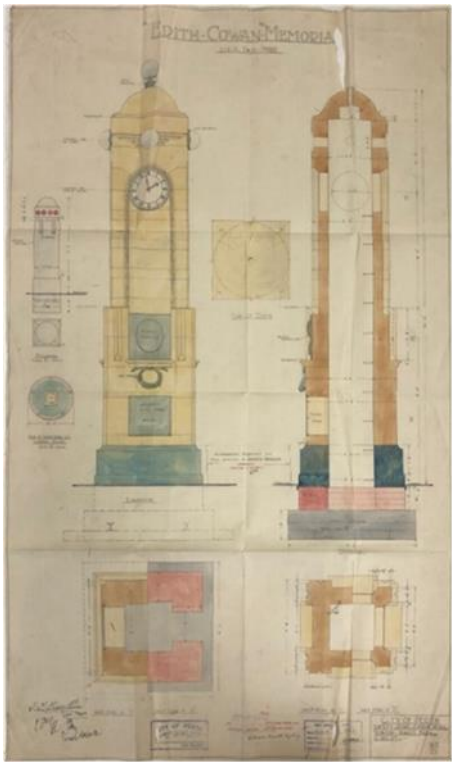



*Figure 35.* Anthony Critchley, *Plans of the Edith Cowan Memorial*, 2020, photograph, taken by the author of the City of Perth, Safety Zone & Memorial Tower, Kings Park Circus 67/21,16 June 1933, State Records Office of Western Australia. Reference code: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006

Totterdell may well be credited with the creation of the memorial design.[75] The Council's Board of Work had recommended to the Lord Mayor the suitability of the site for a proposed safety zone for pedestrians, and requested this information be conveyed to the memorial committee seeking a location for a monument.[76] The Perth City Council ' wholeheartedly' supported the committee to build the memorial clock by doing all the background work before presenting, and possibly surprising, the committee.[77] The Perth Observatory, which was located nearby to the circus in Harvest Terrace, agreed to keep the clock in working order at no cost, proposing to connect a line of electrical wire from its battery to the clock, 'manipulated by the Government Astronomer', subject to an agreement between the State Government (which controlled the Observatory) and the Perth

[75] Minute Book, 29 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[76] Minute Book, 29 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[77] Minute Book, 29 November 1932, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.

City Council.[78] The new location proposed for the Kings Park Circus was within the vicinity of parliament, as well as the Cowan home in Malcolm St, West Perth.[79]

Yet local authorities, dominated by male managers, opposed the memorial, finding a reason that might prevent the monument from being erected. Reporters from the *West Australian* were asked to leave the meeting on 17 March 1933 while issues of protest were dealt with, including objections raised again by the Kings Park Board. The *Daily News* printed a distorted conception of the monument, which caused trouble.[80] Newspapers reported further dissent: Reginald Summerhayes, the secretary of the Royal Institute of Architects, objected to the memorial's location.[81] It was the Institute's view that the 'most outstanding site for a memorial in Perth' was not appropriate for Edith Cowan's memorial, on the basis that it was a suitable space only for national memorials. Further, they argued that the design was not a thing of beauty and unworthy of the city of Perth (Figure 35).[82] The Town Planning Institute supported the Royal Institute of Architects' objections because 'it was not an inspiring piece of art'.[83] Their president, Mr Klem, said that all members agreed to protest against the erection of the memorial at the site.[84] The Town Planning Commissioner, David Davidson, expressed his displeasure that no one from the Council or the memorial committee had sought advice from him or the Town Planning Board regarding the memorial's location.[85] Davidson outlined seven points of concern relating to pedestrian and traffic safety, including concern that the monument erected on the traffic island would induce people to cross the road, and traffic travelling at 'full engine power' would endanger pedestrians.[86] He suggested relocating the memorial closer to Bellevue Terrace.[87] Davidson then wrote to the Chief Officer of the Perth Fire Brigade seeking opinion on whether a safety zone would 'constitute a danger to fast travelling fire services'.[88] His relationship with the Perth City Council and other local

[78] Indenture between the Government Observatory and The City of Perth, 1934, Observatory–Installation of Master Clock in to control clocks in Edith Cowan Memorial, King's Park Circus, State Records Office, Identifier: AU WA S675–cons752 1934/0352.
[79] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Site Near Her Old Home," *Daily News* (Perth), February 16, 1933, 1.
[80] Minute Book, 17 March 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[81] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Architects' Protest," *The West Australian,* March 13, 1933, 8.
[82] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Architects' Protest."
[83] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Another Protest Against the Site," *West Australian,* March 16, 1933, 14.
[84] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Another Protest Against the Site."
[85] "Edith Cowan Memorial: New Site Suggested," *The West Australian,* March 30, 1933, 20.
[86] "Edith Cowan Memorial: New Site Suggested."
[87] "Edith- Cowan Memorial: New Site Suggested."
[88] D.L Davidson the Chief Officer Fire Brigade, 16 May 1933, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

*Figure 36.* Anthony Critchley, *Edith Cowan Bronze Plaque, Kings Park, Perth*, 2021, taken by the author.

authorities was poor, and public servants found him 'secretive and choleric', though the Kings Park Board held him in high regard.[89]

The memorial committee prudently decided 'not to enter into any newspaper controversy' at that time.[90] Setting aside these distractions enabled them to push ahead with the business of the memorial and focus on its construction. The Lord Mayor continued to give his full support to the project and backed his Town Clerk's proposal to position it near the gates to Kings Park. He refuted the Town Planning Commissioner's suggestion that a safety island in the Fraser Avenue circus was unsafe. It was not dissimilar to Eros on the Piccadilly Circus and the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, he noted, and traffic and pedestrians moved safely at these locations.[91] Franklin said the people of Perth would be 'proud to see Edith Cowan's memorial erected in the most prominent position the city can offer'. [92] Further support came from Councillor Harold Boas and City Engineer Harold Atwell. In their view, the memorial would recognise the part women played in the development of the state; furthermore, there were widely adopted protocols around the world that governed traffic at roundabouts.[93] The National Council of Women kept up their defence against detractors in the

[89] G. C. Bolton, "Davidson, David Lomas (1893–1952)," Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 17 November 2021, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/davidson-david-lomas-9908/text17543.; "The Late Sir W. Lathlain: Services on King's Park Board," *West Australian,* November 25, 1936, 16.
[90] Minute Book, 17 March 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[91] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Lord Mayor Replies to Criticism," *Daily News* (Perth)*,* 1 April 1933.
[92] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Lord Mayor Replies to Criticism."
[93] "Edith Cowan Memorial: King's Park-road Site," *West Australian,* April 4, 1933, 20.

newspapers, defending Edith Cowan's reputation as 'a national woman' and the selection of the site.[94] M.E. Creeth, again, wrote to the editor of the *West Australian*:

> The fact that she was a woman is the greater the reason, not the lesser, that we should erect this memorial, as we have not so far publicly recognised the services of any woman in Western Australia during its first century.[95]

By August 1933, donations to the memorial fund totalled £480.[96] Designs for the clock were sought from London, the committee continued its discussions with the Perth Observatory, and local sculptors were considered for the creation of the bronze plaque of Edith Cowan (Figure 36).

Davidson was frustrated. His only remaining course of action was to seek an injunction, restraining the Perth City Council from proceeding with the works, which would effectively stop plans to build the memorial.[97] The *Daily News* said it 'is a thousand pities that such a praiseworthy object as the erection of a suitable citizen's memorial' could turn into a 'public squabble' between the authorities.[98] Davidson referred the matter to the Crown Law Department.[99] He questioned whether any site was suitable for the Edith Cowan Memorial: 'Even if the Cowan Memorial were placed on a better site, the question of public safety would remain.'[100] In a show of sarcasm, Pratt suggested that the safety zone would cause traffic to moderate their speed. In her view, slowing traffic down was 'an unconscious salute to the woman whose memory we are trying to honour'.[101] Mary Farrelly called Cowan a pioneer 'working for the good of all men, women and children in the State'.[102] Farrelly, like Cowan, was born in the Geraldton area, devoted time to social work, and was a Justice of the Peace.[103] Regardless of pending legal action, Pratt declared, 'we are going ahead'. [104] A small sub-committee was formed to consider the plaque on the memorial and the inclusion of materials by Australian sculptors and artists. [105] Lucy Silverwood, incensed by the 'weak and absurd' objections, wrote to The Lord Mayor, offering her support to the council, encouraging them to continue their good work on the 'useful and beautiful' tower clock.[106] The Edith Cowan Memorial

[94] "Memorial to Mrs. Cowan: Women Defend Site Selection," *Daily News* (Perth), March 17, 1933, 1.
[95] M.E Creeth, public letter to editor, "Edith Cowan Memorial," *West Australian,* March 18, 1933, 14.
[96] Minute Book, 21 July 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[97] "King's Park Circus Safety Zone Proposal: An Injunction Threatened," *West Australian,* May 31, 1933, 8.
[98] "The Cowan Memorial," *Daily News* (Perth), 1 June 1933.
[99] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site," *Daily News* (Perth), June 1, 1933, 12.
[100] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site."
[101] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site."
[102] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site."
[103] "Ladies in the Limelight: Mrs. Mary Farrelly, J.P," *New Call* (Perth), September 17, 1931, 8.
[104] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site."
[105] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site."
[106] Lucy Silverwood to Mr Franklin, 13 July 1933, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Fund Committee received a generous donation of £20 from an anonymous person who called themselves 'Anti-Jealousy'.[107]

## Legal action

Acting on the Town Planning Commissioner's advice, the Minister for Justice, John Willcock, threatened to take out an injunction against the Perth City Council if they constructed the safety zone in Kings Park Circus.[108] Willcock considered the zone to be a 'public nuisance'. [109] Objections were legally filed by the Town Planning Commission, the Town Planning Board, the Commissioner of Police, and four different automobile associations.[110] The memorial committee received a letter from the state government advising that it 'had decided to stand firm against the erection of a safety zone in the Kings Park Circus'.[111] The memorial committee was steadfast, recommending to the Perth City Council that one month's notice be given to the government that works would commence.[112] The council declared it had the legal right to build a memorial on a public street or thoroughfare in accordance with Section 247 of the *Municipalities Act* of 1906.[113] The council now reinforced their commitment to proceed with the construction of the safety zone, voting 'seventeen ayes and six noes' to commence in August. [114] The Lord Mayor suggested another meeting with the minister and that, if there was no resolution, 'a Supreme Court Judge be asked to act as umpire'.[115] Boas concluded that the matter should go to court and the law can decide 'who has the power to govern the city'.[116] The crown solicitor, James Leonard Walker, and the council's lawyers, Northmore, Hale, Davy and Leake, conferred with each other over the matter.[117] The memorial committee attempted to send a delegation to state parliament to discuss and resolve the arguments; however, the Minister for Works, Alex McCallum, said it was undesirable because it looked like the matter would be decided in the Perth Law Courts.[118] The opposing authorities

[107] "Edith Cowan Memorial: King's Park-road Site."
[108] "The Cowan Memorial: Objection to Safety Zone," *West Australian,* June 28, 1933, 8.
[109] "The Cowan Memorial: Objection to Safety Zone."
[110] "The Cowan Memorial: Objection to Safety Zone."
[111] Minute Book, 21 July 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[112] Minute Book, 21 July 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[113] King's Park Circus Safety Zone and Memorial: Perth City Council Meeting, 24 July 1933, 10-11, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72-cons3054 1943/0006.
[114] King's Park Circus Safety Zone and Memorial: Perth City Council Meeting, 24 July 1933, 10-11.
[115] "King's Park Circus: Safety Zone To Be Made," *West Australian,* July 25, 1933, 8.
[116] "King's Park Circus: Safety Zone To Be Made."
[117] Minute Book, 4 August 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[118] Minute Book, 18 August 1933, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.


*Figure 37.* Anthony Critchley, *King's Park Circus Experiment,* 2021, photograph, taken by the author of the "King's Park Circus Experiment," *Daily News* (Perth), September 15, 1933, State Records Office of Western Australia, Reference code: AU WA S72-cons3054 1943/0006.

appeared confident that they would prevent the memorial from proceeding. The Minister for Justice issued a writ in the Supreme Court in August 1933 seeking an injunction to stop the council from proceeding with the work.[119] The Statement of Claim 'between the Minister for Justice and City of Perth' was received by the town clerk on 13 September 1933.[120] The plaintiff claimed that the Kings Park Circus construction would constitute a public nuisance and be an unreasonable, arbitrary, and oppressive exercise by the City of Perth.[121] This did not deter the council from erecting a wood and hessian 'life-size' memorial model in the Kings Park Circus for testing purposes two days later. A picture of the model appeared on page one of the *Daily News*, sending a clear message that the council aimed to proceed with the project (Figure 37).[122]

The uncertainty about the construction of a safety zone on the Kings Park Circus opened the debate again on the utility of Cowan's memorial. King Edward Memorial Hospital seized the moment. Appealing to public sentiment during the controversy, the hospital requested that all funds raised for the Edith Cowan Memorial be redirected towards building new nurse's quarters on its site. The chairman of the Lotteries Commission, Alexander Clydesdale M.L.C., offered to match the

[119] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Memorial in Dispute," *Kalgoorlie Miner,* August 10, 1933, 4.
[120] Northmore, Hale, Davy and Leake, Barristers and Solicitors to The Town Clerk, City of Perth, 11 September 1933, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.
[121] Minister for Justice v. City of Perth (1933) M. No. 25 (SCWA) (Statement of Claim.), State Records Office of Western Australia, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.
[122] "King's Park Circus Experiment," *Daily News* (Perth), September 15, 1933, 1.

redirection of funds with £1000 from the Commission and led the public appeal for the money.[123] He disagreed with the 'mere ornament' of a memorial.[124] Pratt objected to Clydesdale's intentions. The committee held that the memorial was to honour and perpetuate the memory of Cowan, not just that of her work. Pratt suggested that the Lotteries Commission donate £1000 to the nurse's quarters regardless of receiving the memorial donations.[125] Florence Rose Burges of Mount Street, a relative of Edith Cowan, was unimpressed with Clydesdale's offer, stating that her family was 'much pained by the controversy and they hope that any funds received will be the result of direct giving'.[126] Burgess said that Edith Cowan was 'averse to gambling and it would be a sacrilege to merge any amounts of money obtained by lotteries in a memorial to her'.[127] She made a point of expressing her gratefulness to the Lord Mayor, organisers, and subscribers for their support towards a memorial. Le Souef was scathing of Clydesdale's offer:

> Mrs Cowan's memorial is not a charity; it is a recognition of the ideal of service as expressed by Woman, and as service has been, recognised in memorials to certain great men of Western Australia, so let service be similarly recognised in a memorial to a great woman of our State.[128]

Supreme Court proceedings commenced on the 30 November 1933. Justice John Patrick Dwyer heard the case presented by the Minister for Justice against the City of Perth, seeking an injunction to restrain the Council from building a safety zone in Kings Park Circus, intended to include a memorial to Edith Cowan.[129] The proceedings continued for four days, with expert submissions from various motor associations, transport companies, the police, the Town Planning Commissioner, the Lands Department, and the Main Roads Board. Their main argument was that the safety zone would become a danger to pedestrians and motor vehicle drivers and be a menace to traffic by obstructing its flow. One witness labelled the proceedings a circus in the Kings Park Circus.[130] The City of Perth opened its response with a request to dismiss the plaintiff's application if it found that the proposed safety zone did not impede traffic.[131] The first witness, John Winterbottom for the defendant, stated that a safety zone would define the circus route, and there was ample room for vehicles to pass. [132] The town clerk, William Ernest Bold, said an island had been

[123] A. Clydesdale, public letter to the editor, "Edith Cowan Memorial," *West Australian,* September 20, 1933.
[124] "Edith Cowan Memorial."
[125] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Suggested Change of Form," *West Australian,* September 21, 1933, 7.
[126] F. Rose Burges, public letter to the editor, "Edith Cowan Memorial," *The West Australian,* September 25, 1933, 10.
[127] Burges, "Edith Cowan Memorial."
[128] E.G. Le Souef, public letter to the editor, "To the Editor," *West Australian,* September 25, 1933, 10.
[129] "Safety Zone in Circus: Objection to Memorial," *Daily News* (Perth)*,* November 30, 1933, 2.
[130] "Safety Zone Dispute: Danger to Traffic," *West Australian,* December 2, 1933, 14.
[131] "Transport Bodies Object to Safety Zone in Circus," *Daily News* (Perth)*,* December 5, 1933, 5.
[132] "Safety Zone Dispute: Motoring Body's Views," *West Australian,* December 6, 1933, 15.

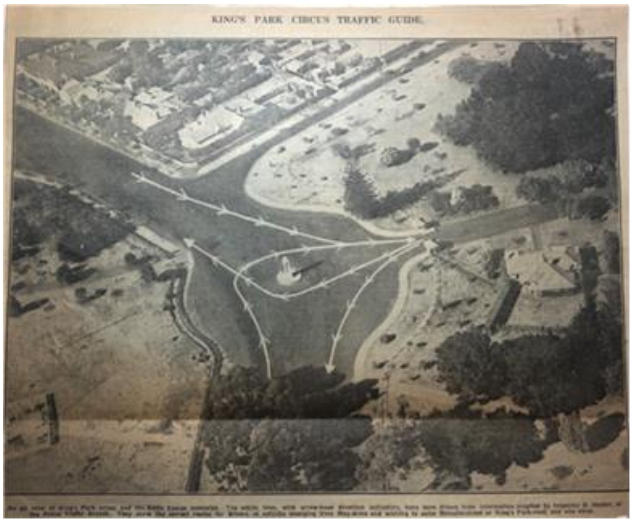



*Figure 38.* Anthony Critchley, *King's Park Circus Traffic Guide*, 2021, photograph, taken by the author of the "King's Park Circus Traffic Guide," *West Australian*, June 19, 1934, State Records Office of Western Australia, Reference code: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

proposed for the circus seven years earlier. Plans were published in the press, with no objections against the scheme.[133] Furthermore, a previous proposal considered the site a possible location for the Lord Forrest statue and the State War Memorial.[134] Justice Dwyer, presiding over the case, was regarded as 'one of the finest, most incisive minds the State had known' and was later appointed chief justice and lieutenant-governor of Western Australia.[135] Birman says that he was intolerant of obscure, confusing witnesses and ill-prepared legal teams. [136] In his summation of the case, Dwyer noted that this case had taken up a great deal of his time and was not concerned with the proposed memorial. The matter before the Court concerned the raised paving for the safety zone in the Kings Park Circus.[137] He considered the proposed works within the city's power to complete. In his judgment, Dwyer concluded the structure would not be an undue obstruction.[138] He ordered that the application for an injunction be dismissed without costs. The court upheld the powers of the City of Perth, finalising the matter and enabling the construction of the safety zone and the memorial to

[133] "Safety Zone Dispute: Motoring Body's Views."
[134] "Safety Zone Dispute: Motoring Body's Views."
[135] Jeremy Birman, "Dwyer, Sir John Patrick 1879–1966," in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 15 October 2021, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dwyer-sir-john-patrick-10082/text17789.
[136] Birman, "Dwyer, Sir John Patrick 1879–1966."
[137] Minister for Justice v. City of Perth (1933) (SCWA) (Judgement), State Records Office of Western Australia, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.
[138] Minister for Justice v. City of Perth (1933) (SCWA) (Judgement).

proceed, but the Minister for Justice would not give in.[139] Apparently, he was dissatisfied by the court order, and he appealed again to the City of Perth not to proceed as the safety zone would be dangerous to traffic and pedestrians.[140] The memorial committee effectively dismissed the last-minute plea and proceeded with its plans to finish the memorial in conjunction with the building of the safety zone by the City of Perth (Figure 38).

## The memorial clock

Plans for the construction of the memorial were finalised by the City of Perth in February 1934. The Town Clerk, William Ernest Bold, wrote to Minnie Eggleston, Secretary of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, confirming arrangements to accept a tender of £443 to build the memorial with a granite base and to include the medallion of Edith Cowan and swag (probably, the fabric covering the medallion for the unveiling) estimated to cost £64.[141] The memorial committee agreed to the Perth City Council's offer totalling £507. A sub-committee considered the inscription on the memorial, which was presented to all committee members and the family of the late Edith Cowan, who were 'unanimous in that the name on the memorial should be *Edith Dircksey Cowan*'.[142] The Cowan family agreed the unveiling of the monument should be on the anniversary of Edith Cowan's death, 9th June 1934.[143] The lieutenant-governor, Sir James Mitchell, unveiled the Edith Cowan Memorial clock tower, constructed of Donnybrook freestone and a granite base. The six-metre-high memorial included, four illuminated clock dials, each of which were lit and set into a winged background—the Assyrian symbol of protection. Each panel is beaded with a gum nut and gum leaf design. A dome surmounts the memorial with a spherical light. The inscription is on a bronze plate at the base, honouring Edith Cowan's many good works for humanity, her role as the first female member of parliament in Australia, and her life of service.[144] In a bottle within the memorial is a copy of the *West Australian* newspaper published at the time of Edith Cowan's death.[145]

[139] Northmore, Hale, Davy and Leake, Barristers and Solicitors to The Town Clerk, City of Perth, 22 September 1933, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.
[140] Minister for Justice to the Lord Mayor and the Councillors of the City of Perth, 22 December 1933, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.
[141] W.E. Bold Letter, Town Clerk, City of Perth to C.M. Eggleston, Secretary, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 23 February 1934, Minute Book of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 1932–1952, State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A.
[142] Minute Book, 6 April 1934, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[143] Minute Book, 27 April 1934, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.
[144] "The Cowan Memorial Site in King's Park Circus," *West Australian,* May 15, 1934, 14.
[145] "Edith Cowan Memorial: Meeting of the Executive," *West Australian,* April 9, 1934, 12.

The Edith Cowan Memorial is the first monument in Australia dedicated to an Australian woman.[146] Lord Mayor Franklin, an avid supporter from the beginning of the project, addressed the crowd at the unveiling ceremony:

> She has now gone to her reward, but her many friends feel that, although her memory will live in the good works she accomplished during her lifetime, some permanent memorial should be erected in the city in which she lived, as a small mark of her fellow citizens' appreciation of her good works, and of her sterling worth. May the example which she set inspire others to follow the gleam and, through self-forgetfulness, to experience the joy of a life spent in the service of others.[147]

Cowan's family was pleased with the completed works. Dircksey Cowan conveyed the gratitude of the family in a handwritten letter to Franklin, and to everyone who worked on the memorial. She thought the design chosen to be striking and distinctive, and 'its simplicity and practical usefulness makes especial personal appeal to me, also the beauty of the local Donnybrook stone'.[148] The triumph of building the Edith Cowan memorial by a group of resolute women, confirms that, the boundaries of memorialisation in public spaces extend beyond the statutory rules and regulations that govern these places. These laws are limited by the cultural and emotional relationships that a community has with their memorial and its purpose.

## The Politics of Exclusion

There is evidence to suggest that the Kings Park Board was discriminatory by excluding representations of women in the park. It was not until 1968 that the Pioneer Women's Memorial Fountain, sculptured by Margaret Priest, was opened—the first memorial women included in Kings Park.[149] Priest was the first female sculptor to have public art featured in the park. She contributed prominently to the 'artistic growth and cultural identity' of Western Australia between 1950 and 1980.[150] Reform was largely influenced by the former Perth Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Meagher, who was president of the board from 1954 to 1979.[151] He was a good friend of John Curtin, who had been a member of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee and was a keen supporter of memorialisation in Kings Park. During his presidency, he introduced new attractions to the park, including the

[146] "Cowan Memorial: Unveiling Tomorrow," *West Australian,* June 8, 1934, 20.
[147] "Cowan Memorial: Unveiling Ceremony," *West Australian,* June 11, 1934, 8.
[148] Dircksey Cowan to The Lord Mayor, J.T. Franklin, 10 June 1934, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.
[149] Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden*, 22.
[150] Holmes a Court Gallery, "Margaret Priest", 10 July 2012, http://www.holmesacourtgallery.com.au/article/margaret-priest. Kings Park and Botanic Garden, "Pioneer Women's Memorial", 2021, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/area/wa-botanic-garden/pioneer-womens-memorial.
[151] Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden,* Appendix.

*Figure 39.* Graeme Saunders, *George Leake*, 14 April 2014, photograph, Monument Australia, https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/people/government---state/display/60995-george-leake-.

*Figure 40.* Stephen Gilchrist, *Maitland Brown Memorial Plaque*, 2018, photograph, Artlink, https://www.artlink.com.au/articles/4678/surfacing-histories-memorials-and-public-art-in-pe/.

completion of the State War Memorial with a Court of Contemplation, the floral clock, and the establishment of the Pioneer Woman's Memorial fountain.[152] In 1978, Meagher's daughter, Ann Cullity, was the first woman appointed to the board and was later its tenth president.[153]

Earlier failures of the board to recognise women's social, political and community engagement date back to 1902, when Forrest was the board's president. Following George Leake's death from pneumonia in June 1902, his wife, Louisa Leake, was 'desirous of making a gift to the park, of the portion of the sum granted by the Government for a memorial to her late husband'. [154] Louisa anticipated that the grave in the East Perth Cemetery would cost £50 and therefore had a balance of £200 remaining, which she offered to the Kings Park Board to provide a marble drinking fountain for the people in the park (Figure 39).[155] The board agreed to Louisa's request. There is no mention on the memorial fountain of Louisa's donation, yet Allen Stoneham's donation of the Queen Victoria Memorial is recognised on its inscription. Similarly, in 1913, C.J. Brockman had his name and his own likeness added to Fremantle's Explorers' Monument that paid tribute to Maitland Brown (Cowan's uncle) and the explorers Frederick Panter, James Harding, and William Goldwyer. In

[152] Lenore Layman, "Meagher, Sir Thomas William (1902–1979),"in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, accessed 2 November 2021, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meagher-sir-thomas-william-11099/text19759.
[153] Erickson, *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden,* Appendix.
[154] Minutes, 21 August 1903, Kings Park Board.
[155] Minutes, 21 August 1903, Kings Park Board.

1994, a further plaque was added countering the white settlers' story of the events at La Grange, by giving an Aboriginal account of the ten to twenty Karrijarri people who were killed (Figure 40).[156]

Furthermore, the Cowan memorial was proposed shortly after the Forrest monument was completed, suggesting a clear double-standard in allowing the representation of a male individual but excluding that of a woman. Yet, as with other monuments erected in Kings Park until that time, the public was also largely removed from participation in the Forrest project. In that instance, a self-elected memorial committee was made up of a few public officials and took control of the project. Pietro Porcelli was scathing of the president of the Kings Park Board, Lovekin, who 'at any time did not inspect my work at my invitation' when the board was deciding on a suitable sculptor for the Lord Forrest memorial.[157] Their pattern of decision-making continued the undemocratic memorialisation process by the city's elite that affected the building of the Fallen Soldier's and Queen Victoria monuments, then later the State War Memorial—civic notables making decisions about community memorials.[158] Familiar names contributing to the establishment of the Lord Forrest monument, included the Lord Mayor, William Lathlain, Archbishops Riley and Clune, the premier, James Mitchell, the chief justice, Sir Edward Stone, Arthur Lovekin, the member of parliament, Ebenezer Allen, the former Perth mayor, William Loton, the former speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Timothy Quinlan, explorer and pastoralist, Francis Wittenoom, the Member for Kalgoorlie, Albert Green, and Forrest's secretary and creator of the Premier's Department, Frederic North.[159]

The membership of the board precluded participation by and acknowledgement of women for much of the early twentieth century. This was not always the way, however, as Lovekin was often sympathetic to women's issues while president. He appeared to support the inclusion of women as members of the Kings Park Tennis Club, favouring mixed membership after a protest by women in the vicinity of the park, including Helen Cowan, a daughter of Edith. This issue was resolved in 1925, when women were accepted by the club as auxiliary members.[160] Furthermore, though he was not responsible for approving memorials that honoured women as such, his funding of the Honour Avenues supported mothers and wives of the war dead. Outside of park matters,

[156] Vanessa Mills and Ben Collins, "The controversial statue that was added to, not torn down or vandalized," August 29, 2017, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-29/explorers-monument-added-to-not-torn-down-or-vandalised/8853224.
[157] "Lord Forrest Memorial, "*Leader* (Perth), April 18, 1924, 8.
[158] Peter Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), ProQuest Ebook Central, 11.
[159] "Late Lord Forrest: Proposed Memorial," *West Australian,* January 22, 1920, 8.
[160] Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock*, 18-20.

Lovekin worked with Cowan on the State Children's Act Amendment Bill in 1921, which included a fine of £100 for anyone who revealed a childhood conviction or used it against them later in life.[161] Cowan had advocated for this amendment for some time as a justice of the peace. She worked with Lovekin as the magistrate and, on many occasions, Lovekin paid police fines for women to prevent them from being imprisoned.[162] Lovekin supported Cowan, too, when she introduced the first Bill by a female member of parliament—the Administration Act Amendment Bill.[163] It is probable that the proposal to honour Cowan in the early 1930s would likely have received Lovekin's support had he still been president.

Wycherley suggests that the board was motivated by 'male chauvinism' in its obstruction of the Cowan memorial,[164] citing a history of resentment by the Kings Park Board to women—exacerbated by Cowan's outspokenness about issues that were in the public interest.[165] Following Lovekin's death in 1931, William Henry Vincent, a prominent horse racing identity and managing director of McLean Bros and Rigg Ltd, was appointed board president.[166] His reign was short-lived due to illness, and he was in the role for just a few months in 1932. Lathlain, a past Lord Mayor of Perth and chairman of the State Memorial Committee, replaced Vincent, and was Board president until his death in 1936. He had a history of forthrightness, most notably during the period of planning and fundraising for the State War Memorial. His autocratic style, evident in the uncollaborative decision to reject the Edith Cowan memorial, emphasised the magnitude of control and power of the Kings Park Board, which operated authoritatively and secretly. It is a power reflected in the self-naming of the streets of Kings Park after prominent Board members: Lovekin, Saw, Hackett, and Forrest. Despite their power and personal wealth, the board members relied on donations from the public to fund their memorial projects. When a Forrest memorial was first publicly discussed in 1918, *The Truth* declared that the apathy of 'struggling cockies (farmers), small storekeepers, and country publicans, is a scathing commentary on the miserliness of the millionaire squattocrats, and bloated land-monopolists' who benefited from Forrest's proposed memorial.'[167]

The board's management style reflected a Victorian-era elitism well into the twentieth century, which failed to democratise the decision making for many projects. Its decisions were independent of other government authorities, at times not keeping within the spirit of *The Parks and*

[161] Cowan, *A Unique Position*, 184.
[162] Cowan, 184.
[163] Cowan, 204.
[164] Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock,* 18.
[165] Wycherley, 17.
[166] "News of the Week: Mr. W H Vincent Dead," *Western Mail* (Perth)*,* April 15, 1937, 25.
[167] "Greased Pigs: Memorials and Money," *Truth* (Perth)*,* February 12, 1921, 2.

*Reserves Act 1895*, which they were bound by. Five months after the rejection of the proposed Edith Cowan memorial gates, board member William Allnutt Saw (later president from 1936 to 1949) proposed a 'Policy of the Kings Park Board'.[168] The handwritten draft noted that the 'Kings Park Board resolved to make a statement for publication in the Press defining the Policy of the Board *to control and manage* the park'. [169] Saw noted that 'irresponsible persons' have criticised work in the park without understanding the reasons for authorising the work, and reassured the public that the board would 'do all that is possible (within their limited means) to conserve, protect, maintain, and develop the Park, so that the public can visit and enjoy their goodly heritage. [170] The draft policy highlighted the secretiveness of the board's processes. It is a practice synonymous with the board's minute-taking practices, which were light on detail, neglected to record all matters discussed, and included only a limited recording of correspondence received. Approvals processes for memorial projects were random and ad hoc. Freedman's request for a Jewish War Memorial was granted after a board vote, though the decision on the location of the 10th Light Horse Memorial was left to the acting president to decide.[171] The next entry in the Minute book noted that the disappointing design of this memorial had been unveiled.[172] The Minute book entry for the rejection of the Keith Anderson memorial simply stated that 'the design was unsuitable for the park', with no further reasoning provided.[173] The Kings Park Board were not adept at keeping detailed records. The Annual Report of the Kings Park Board in 1932 made no mention of the proposed Edith Cowan memorial.[174] The public's appreciation of the maintenance of the Jewish War Memorial and the Leake Fountain were noted, along with the board's appreciation of the assistance of Davidson, the Town Planning Commissioner, an antagonist of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee.

There were no laws, rules, or guidelines to define a national, state, or local memorial, or the grounds on which they might be constructed. Approval for the erection of memorials in the park was completely at the discretion of the board. The *Parks and Reserves Act* did not include references to memorials. As a 'Board of Control', the Kings Park Board had unlimited control over the affairs of Kings Park.[175] However, it could be argued that the Board breached Section 5(1c) of the Act to otherwise improve or ornament such parks or reserves, and do all things as are calculated to adapt

[168] Policy of the Kings Park Board (Suggested), 1 March 1933, Kings Park Board matters, State Records Office, Identifier: AU WA S1832–cons5458 58.
[169] Policy of the Kings Park Board (Suggested).
[170] Policy of the Kings Park Board (Suggested).
[171] Minutes, 27 March 1919, Kings Park Board.; Minutes, 17 September 1920, Kings Park Board.
[172] Minutes, 1 April 1921, Kings Park Board.
[173] Minutes, 16 April 1930, Kings Park Board.
[174] Kings Park Board, *Annual Report*, 1 July 1933, Kings Park Board matters, State Records Office, Identifier: AU WA S1832–cons5458 58.
[175] The Parks and Reserves Act 1896, 59 Vict. No. 30 (Western Australia), 5 (1c).

such parks and reserves to the purposes of public recreation, health, and enjoyment.[176] The proposed memorial gates requested by the committee would have provided ornamentation to the park and its recreational space, to be enjoyed by the community. A legal argument on this matter would probably have been unenforceable, because of the board's unlimited general powers. To execute decisions, the Kings Park Board required a majority of votes, according to Section 11 of the Act; therefore, the members of the board were unanimous in their decision to reject the Cowan memorial.[177] The decision to exclude the Edith Cowan Memorial demonstrated the power of the board—a power play over women, and a power struggle between two opposing past Mayors of Perth, Lathlain (1918–1923, 1930–1932) and Franklin (1923–1930, 1932–1934).

## Chapter Conclusions

The board's decision in 1932 to limit memorials in Kings Park to 'national ones', and to reject the erection of a memorial to Edith Cowan, implied that her legacy and impact was not of national significance. The board's decision suggested that Cowan's lifetime of public work had been inconsequential to the Australian people, and that she was undeserving of a national monument. It was a view not shared by the community, including those with whom she served, and served with. This decision, and the choices made in the park, give insight into the influence of a select few: those in power control, or attempted to control, of the state's history. Their ascendancy persisted from Forrest to Lathlain, culminating in the rejection of the Edith Cowan Memorial and the ongoing exclusion of the representation of women.

Edith Cowan's nomination for parliament was motivated by her desire to have female voices within public life. She sought to improve the living conditions of families, and particularly of women and children, by holding men of that establishment to account. She wanted 'just a sprinkling of women' in the parliament to enact better legislation, claiming that men forgot campaign promises of social reform once elected.[178] By being included in the parliament, Cowan was able to influence the decisions and the laws that affected women and children. A 'sprinkling' of women on the Kings Park Board was needed to change its culture of male domination and to ensure the representation of women's interests.

The politics of exclusion in the early twentieth century illustrates the need to hold public authorities to account so that they represent the needs and values of the community. The public campaign by the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee to challenge the Kings Park Board and their

[176] The Parks and Reserves Act 1896, 59 Vict. No. 30 (Western Australia), 3 (1).
[177] The Parks and Reserves Act 1896, 59 Vict. No. 30 (Western Australia), 11.; Wycherley, *Mrs Cowan's Clock,* 3.
[178] "Mrs. Cowan," *The Daily News* (Perth)*,* March 14, 1921, 5.

*Figure 41.* Lyla Elliott Collection*, Members of the Women's Electoral Lobby march through Kings Park to the Edith Cowan Memorial, Western Australia,* 1977, photograph, State Library of Western Australia, Call No:BA3028/11-12, https://catalogue.slwa.wa.gov.au/search/,?b6158145%27.


*Figure 42.* Anthony Critchley, *Edith Cowan Memorial*, Perth, 2021, photograph, taken by the author.

powerful network of public officers, challenged the Board's exclusionary values and attitudes. The Edith Cowan Memorial Committee challenged the status quo. As Paul Hasluck commented, 'In those days one did not talk of publicity campaigns. One made sure of having support in the right places.'[179] My research demonstrates that the imbalance of gender within the Kings Park Board, made entirely of men until 1978, skewed decisions in favour of male attitudes. Contemporary boards and committees would do well, like the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee did, to collaboratively recognise, work with, and include the contributions of many diverse community groups, by incorporating representatives of these communities on their boards. The Edith Cowan Memorial is a symbol of social justice—exemplified by the life of Edith Cowan and the women who wanted to build the memorial. They recognised that in a fair and equal society, the rights of women mattered. The contrast between a Kings Park Board discriminating against women, and the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee seeking equity in memorialisation, suggests that the principles of social justice need to be applied to the process of building memorials to enable them to be more inclusive and fairer.

The Edith Cowan Memorial can be seen, today, from Fraser Avenue, Kings Park Road, and Malcolm Street by pedestrians and vehicle drivers. It is in a commanding position at a high point of the city, and provides utility, day and night with its illuminated clocks. The irony of the Kings Park

[179] Bobbie Oliver, *War and Peace in Western* Australia: *The Social and Political Impact of the Great War, 1914-1926* (Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 1995), 293.

*Figure 43.* Anthony Critchley, *Edith Cowan Memorial at the entrance to Kings Park*, 2021, photograph, taken by the author.

Board's refusal to have the memorial in the park is that, now, more pedestrians and vehicle occupants see Edith Cowan's memorial than any monument within the park's gates. On average, 22,000 motor vehicles pass the memorial each day.[180] The symbolism of the monument continues to motivate women's reform movements, being regularly decorated with various items to inspire, communicate, and symbolise community causes supported by women (Figures 41 and 42). Despite the antagonists' objections and legal arguments to exclude the Edith Cowan Memorial from the park, its visual presence at the entrance to Fraser Avenue enables the monument to be very much a part of Kings Park (Figure 43).

[180] Main Roads Western Australia, "Traffic Map," 2016/17, https://trafficmap.mainroads.wa.gov.au/map.

# CONCLUSION

# The Politics of Eternity

In August 1900, Harold Petherick proposed a monument to a local hero, Major Hatherley Moor, who had been killed in battle in South Africa. A committee formed, and within two years, the Fallen Soldiers' Memorial was completed—the first war monument in the state, and the second in Australia to honour the 'brave dead'.[1] It is here that we find the foundations of Kings Park as Western Australia's principal place of memory. A year later, amidst a scene of British regalia and ceremony, Governor Bedford unveiled the Queen Victoria statue. Both monuments followed Britain's gravitation towards honouring the noble and the heroic, reinforcing Western Australia's link to the British Empire and enabling the space to become culturally familiar within western traditions. In 1918, following the death of the first president of the Kings Park Board, Sir John Forrest, his long-time friend and fellow board member, Arthur Lovekin, took control of the park. In the years that followed, he positioned Kings Park as the memorial heartland of Perth: a stately domain, which honoured and continued to commemorate the sacrifice of the state's war dead. As president, Lovekin controlled, organised and negotiated the Honour Avenues, Elizabeth Shells monument, 10th Light Horse obelisk, Jewish War Memorial, Lord Forrest statue, centenary plaques, and the State War Memorial. The last, a monument designed by Talbot Hobbs, was the *pièce de resistance* of Kings Park. Lovekin involved himself in the establishment of every memorial built between 1902 and 1929. As a result, Kings Park became a symbol of sacrifice—remembering the sacrifice of the fallen and their families. Lovekin rejected several applications for memorials to be built in the park, not always recording reasons for their rejection. His successor, Sir William Lathlain, built no memorials during his tenure from 1932 to 1936, and actively disallowed Edith Cowan's memorial to be built in the park. Lathlain's management of the State War Memorial and the Lord Forrest statue was fraught with setbacks and mismanagement. Learning from these experiences, it is possible that he did not wish to endure further anguish by building new memorials during his presidency. Lathlain and Lovekin can be accredited with moving the focus of Kings Park's memorials from an imperial to a national focus during their tenure.

[1] "Harold. E. Petherick, public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor," *West Australian,* August 25, 1900, 7.

## Resolution of the research problem

In the introductory chapter of my thesis, I identified a troubling question in our scholarly understanding of Perth's social, cultural, and political history in the early twentieth century. While the symbolism of twentieth-century memorials is well documented, the symbolic intent and utility of Kings Parks memorials, and the policies of inclusion and exclusion that informed them, are not. There is evidence of power structures at play in the process of building the memorials. It has been my intention, therefore, to consider the degree to which a socially and politically powerful elite influenced the inclusion and exclusion of the memorials within the park's early decades, and the degree to which these memorials had meaning and utility for Perth and its citizens. As Dorothy Erickson and John Stephens have both suggested, little research has been completed on the symbolism, utility, and heritage value of Kings Park's memorials. Even Ken Inglis, the most significant historian of memorials in Australia, devoted little attention to the park's memorials in his exhaustive book, *Sacred Places.*

In this thesis, I have demonstrated that symbolic intent, or the intended meaning of symbols, can be understood by analysing the composition and form of the visual imagery on Kings Park's memorials. I then applied this visual evidence to broader systems of learning, which in this thesis considered the social interactions of the community with their memorials, their emotional responses, interpretation, and the events that tied the community to their memorial. My research reveals that the utility of Kings Park's memorials was mixed—while their visual language had a meaning that was understood by Perth's community and provided meaningful sites of public memory, the regular exclusion of community engagement in their design and construction reduced the likely impact of each project. Simply put, the utility of a monument was greater when there was community involvement in the decisions that brought a memorial to fruition.

Kings Park's memorials developed from the ideas, feelings and experiences of people who wished to honour and remember individuals publicly for their political, social, and military contribution to Australia. They reflect the social values and experiences of the communities which built them, evidence of the political, social, and cultural changes that occurred in Western Australia during the first four decades of the twentieth century.[2] Community engagement with Kings Park's memorials can be measured by a community's willingness to donate towards the project, participate in its planning, be involved in committees, and the extent to which a memorial space was (and still is) used for commemorative rituals. Evidence used in this thesis to interpret such engagement has

[2] Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, "Places of the Heart: Memorials, Public History and the State in Australia since 1960," *Public History Review* 15, (2008): 26, Directory of Open Access Journals, https://doaj.org/article/a1810c1c8ee943e5aaa642d99755e79b.

included personal sentiments recorded in local government and board archives, correspondence records, and contemporary newspaper reports. The evidence reveals that informal and formal power structures existed in Perth, made up largely of male elites that influenced memorialisation and memory in Kings Park. I have discovered that the park's governance was controlled entirely by the Kings Park Board, which determined inclusion and exclusion of memory, as well as the design, location, budgets, selection of artists, the appointment of architects and contractors, and arrangements for the unveiling ceremonies of each monument. The committees that were delegated responsibility for planning were made up of more powerful men: mayors, members of the legal fraternity, politicians, affluent businessmen, and high-ranking military officers. There was no attempt to democratise the process of building memorials to include the general public.

## Achieving the Aims

*Purpose, ornament, and symbolism*

The first aim of this thesis was to consider the purpose, ornament, and symbolism of the Kings Park memorials as they can be understood in local, national, and international contexts. I considered those that were built between 1902 and 1934, particularly the monuments to the Boer War, Queen Victoria, Great War, and Edith Cowan. The symbolic intent of the memorials in Kings Park is archetypical of two periods of history—the Victorian era to which the Fallen Soldiers' and Queen Victoria memorials belonged, and those that followed 1918. Those elegies to empire of the Victorian style followed nineteenth-century British traditions of ornamenting parks with memorials to complement landscaped gardens. Visual evidence on these objects, including statues and friezes, encouraged audiences to find heroes in the past and inspire heroes of the future. They filled a void in a city that, in 1902, had no monuments and no idols. As elegies to the heroes of the British Empire, their symbolism intended to promote civic pride, patriotism and loyalty to the monarchy and the Empire. The Fallen Soldiers' statuary and the pictures of war surrounding the plinth, symbolise the valour of the Bushmen who served the Empire, and the fanatical nationalism that existed, 'linking duty to glory'.[3] Monuments constructed after 1918, however, shifted in their symbols and messaging. Memorials no longer glorified war; instead, uncomplicated metaphorical symbols, such as the obelisk, cenotaph, and column, with the names of the war dead, symbolised the sacrifice of the fallen in Kings Park. The design of these monuments emulated the memorials of the British world that could be found in London and on the battlefields: often representing empty tombs that represented the absent dead.

[3] F. K. Crowley, *Big John Forrest 1847-1918: A Founding Father of the Commonwealth of Australia* (Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2000), 266.

*Public utility*

The second aim of this thesis was to determine whether the Kings Park memorials served the Perth community and offered public utility. My research suggests that war memorials in Kings Park offered greater utility than monuments to public figures such as Lord Forrest, Queen Victoria, and George Leake. Statues are a form of material culture; as markers of history, they enable us to explore past lives and provoke reflection on their ongoing relevance (or not) to modern societies. In this way, the utility of memorials can be said to have increased over time as they provide us with evidence to interpret past societies. At the time of their construction, however, many of the monuments in Kings Park were regarded with social ambivalence. Records demonstrate that the community at large did not desire them, and the public was excluded from participation in their design and construction. The fictitious symbolism generated little public utility; instead, it provided utility for those that built the memorials. The Lord Forrest monument was built by Forrest's friends and represented a Baron without an investiture. The Fallen Soldiers' statuary was regarded as a pantomime, not accurately representing the experiences of soldiers at war. That of Queen Victoria was a symbol of a monarch who ruled the state but was never present. This symbol of nobility, wealth, and sovereignty followed a generous donation by a British businessman to the Kings Park Board, with the likely intent of advancing his proposed tramline in the park. It was said to be an act of community service but was met with cool disinterest.

The war memorials of Kings Park placed Western Australians within reach of the history of the war dead. Generations of people after the Great War continued to commemorate the sacrifice and service of the war dead. Talbot Hobbs' monument has provided lasting utility by providing a place for public commemoration. His work, and those other objects arising from the Great War, demonstrate the shift in design and perspective that followed the war's end: they emphasised service and sacrifice rather than the heroic individual. The value of all Kings Park's war memorials, including the Fallen Soldier's Memorial, is their utility as places of memory, where grieving, commemoration, reflection, and thanksgiving takes place, enabling communities to pay respect.

Placed just outside the entrance to Kings Park, the Edith Cowan Memorial is a utilitarian monument that is intended to commemorate Cowan's lifetime of public service, active engagement in social welfare, and contribution to state and national politics. The monument sought to give inspiration to the community by reminding its audience of Cowan's service and charity. The clock, the lighting, and the pedestrian island built for the monument provided practical utility for passing pedestrians and motor vehicle drivers.

*Inclusion and exclusion*

The final aim of this thesis was to establish the political, social, and economic factors that led to the inclusion and exclusion of the Kings Park memorials. My research has revealed that men with status, wealth, and power during the four decades of Kings Park's history determined which memorials were included and excluded in the park. In making these decisions, they excluded the public from having democratic input into all aspects of design, building, and location. Though the public was excluded from the decision-making process, the Kings Park Board and its subcommittees were not averse to accepting donations from the public to build their memorials. The landscape of Kings Park, and the monuments that adorn this space, may well have been different if the public had been involved. Lovekin used his own wealth to fund the park's first Honour Avenue. For his contribution to the park, the roadway was later named after him, as other avenues in the park have been named for members of the Board. In a sense, they created their own memorials. Cultural, social, and emotional boundaries of parks and memorials overlap with the legal boundaries of the statutory boards and laws that control these domains. Careful consultation and inclusion in the design process, with interested parties wishing to gain utility from public monuments, is in the public's interest, and promotes consensus for memorials in public spaces. The park's board was comprised of influential white men for almost all of its history. Women were excluded from membership of the board for eight decades. Furthermore, it was seventy years before women were represented in the park in any memorial or monument form. The discriminating nature of the Kings Park Board was most evident when they rejected the proposal to build the Edith Cowan Memorial. The first attempt to build a memorial to Cowan in Kings Park was by a predominantly female committee, which faced barriers and objections from the board. Throughout the process of building the memorial, the rejection of the Kings Park Board was exacerbated by the hindrance of powerful male elites joining together to prevent the memorial from being built outside the park, or even building the memorial at all, and ultimately seeking a legal injunction to stop the project based on a fabricated claim it was dangerous. It is unacceptable to think that Lathlain's genuine reason for opposing Edith Cowan's memorial was that it fell short of national significance. In this act, Lathlain, in collaboration with the board and with the wider group of males who were opposed to the memorial, judged Cowan as not worthy of a memorial in Kings Park. I can only conclude that they felt Kings Park was not a place fit for women, whom they considered were not of 'national significance'.

## The Politics of Eternity

Mount Eliza as a place of memory represents individual contributions to the history of Western Australia, and it commemorates the service of people to the community, whether they be military or

civilian. As a whole, to consider the memorials of Kings Park as an accurate representation of the state's history would be misrepresenting history; however, individually, they provide us with glimpses of the past. Builders of monuments hope that their memorials will stand for eternity, like classical statues of Rome and ancient Greece. Sculptures created in stone and marble intend to be permanent art forms, yet, like the ancient statues, their composition and meaning slowly diminish over time. This is not true at present for Kings Park's war memorials, their meaning and utility continues to grow, as families maintain generational links with the war dead, and ceremonial commemoration rituals like Anzac Day, continue to be ingrained in the national psyche and encourage a new nationalism. Statues like the Lord Forrest and Queen Victoria memorials have little utility for a contemporary audience, other than ornamental value. They are not the centre of community rituals anymore and do not reflect society's contemporary values. No longer do they inspire people to be model citizens; in fact, they possibly have the opposite effect on people, who know and consider that the imperial aspects of their lives have no place in current society.

There were many forms of exclusion in the park in the early twentieth century, including that of gender and class. Aboriginal people were also marginalised, having been displaced from their traditional country of high significance in the nineteenth century, and then forgotten in public memory in the twentieth. The park's monuments represented the then ascendancy of white Australia and servants of empire. (Note that Forrest was admired by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, who told him, 'You and I are the only true imperialists in the British Empire'.[4]) The memorials of Queen Victoria and Forrest are evidence of the important determinants of class and imperial ideology that existed in Western Australia. The members of the Kings Park Board that created these memorials could be defined as 'ruling class', described by Bobbie Oliver as the long-established network of property-owning elite who enjoyed the support of the government, preserved their power structures, attended the same clubs and masonic fraternities, held high church office, and were crowned with a Weld Club membership for social achievement.[5] These self-appointed Board members attempted to shape the memory of Western Australia's past with defining symbolism congruent with their own ideas of class and imperial ideology, without consultation with the broader community. In the past century, Perth has developed into a multi-cultural, multi-racial society, and the monuments to Forrest and Victoria no longer reflect our community's values. They are forms of visual evidence regarding our past societies, however, which is where they retain current relevance. In recent years the appropriateness of historical monuments has been widely challenged across the world: Christopher Columbus was beheaded in Boston and

[4] Crowley, *Big John Forrest 1847-1918,* 338.
[5] Oliver, *War and Peace in Western* Australia, 17-19.

torn down with ropes in Minnesota and Virginia; thousands of people gathered to have Cecil Rhodes' statue removed from Oriel College, In Sydney, Xiaoran Shi appeared in court for spray painting 'No pride in genocide' over a statue of Captain Cook and defended her actions by arguing that 'the real crime is that nobody has been convicted for an Aboriginal death in custody. [6]

Controversial memorials, like these, places many local authorities in positions of conflict—choosing between preserving the historical record of a monument and removing objects that symbolise issues that are now understood to be harmful. For Aboriginal people and all people concerned with human rights, the monuments of Kings Park may be an issue of the past, present, and future. The dominant statues stand on sacred Aboriginal land, where Yellagonga and the Mooro people once lived. The development of Kings Park by Europeans, and the introduction of their memorials, was at the cost of displacing Aboriginal people. As we approach the second centenary of British settlement, authorities would be wise to consider the place of these statues in a contemporary society that seeks truth-telling and reconciliation. Henry Reynolds says: 'And what of truth-telling? Is there an appetite for it in contemporary Australia? Or is the need for comforting national stories too compelling? Are home truths just too difficult to accept?'[7] These are questions to consider about Kings Park's statues. Memorials around the world with British imperial symbolism and links to colonisation have been displaced, damaged, and destroyed. We can understand, then, that memorials are not static representations of history. Their meaning changes over time with the discovery of new knowledge and changing values, cultures, and viewpoints.

## Significance

Western Australians and the tourists who visit Kings Park are captivated by the spectacular views from Mount Eliza, the natural bushland, and the manicured botanic gardens. A multitude of memorials ornament the beauty of the place, which were established during the formidable years of the state's development in the first three decades of the twentieth century. This thesis contributes to the broader understanding of their heritage, since Kings Park's memorials have received little attention from historians. It has demonstrated that a rich historical context exists behind each memorial, which is an opportunity to broaden contemporary audiences' understanding of the memorials and increase their appreciation of the structures. This thesis has closed many, though not

[6] Heath Parkes-Hupton, "Xiaoran Shi: Greens staffer convicted for defacing Captain Cook statue," *News.com.au,* July 17, 2020, https://www.news.com.au/national/nsw-act/courts-law/xiaoran-shi-greens-staffer-convicted-for-defacing-captain-cook-statue/news-story/0d0f044467a11743c5ca5a66b7cd7492.
[7] Henry Reynolds, *Truth-Telling: History, Sovereignty and the Uluru Statement* (Chicago: University of New South Wales Press, 2021), Ebook Central, 11.

all, of the research gaps identified by Dorothy Erickson and John Stephens concerning the symbolism, utility, and heritage value of Kings Park's memorials. It has raised questions about the place of imperial memorials in Perth's culturally diverse society, where memorials were once acceptable, may not be acceptable to current audiences. Future research on this subject may be beneficial to the Kings Park Board and the audiences that frequent the park. The research has highlighted that the monuments are an indelible collection of visual evidence to explore and to understand the history of Perth in the early twentieth century, and, perhaps, amongst the best tangible historical assets that the state has to symbolise this period. The symbolism of the structures provides us with chronological evidence of the social and political landscape that existed in Perth and insights into an inaugural Kings Park Board that had much influence in Perth. Examining the symbolism informs us of the pivotal moments in the state's history and the events that impacted the Perth community, the influencer's motivations for building the memorials, and the power plays that existed in the state.

This research has identified that heritage value alone does not solely depend on the form and the composition of monuments. The intangible value of a monument lies in the community's relationship with its memorial. Any future conservation debates depend on the meaning of Kings Park's memorials to their audiences. Our historical and contemporary understanding of the cultural heritage value of Kings Park's memorials and the contestability of their meaning has implications for the ongoing management of these sites and for future memorials in Perth. More work is required to preserve Kings Park's cultural heritage in a way that is inclusive, that does not exclude the values of a contemporary multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society, and considers any past injustices that may exist in the symbolism of the memorials. Yellagonga and his people, the Mooro, were the traditional custodians of Gargatup, yet they are still hidden within the shadows of Kings Park's memorial precinct on Mount Eliza. An opportunity exists to tell their story with a place of memory, so that they too can become a tangible part of Perth's cultural heritage.

This thesis has contributed to the debate on public memory in Western Australia, by exploring 'the relations of power' that structure's how the public remembers the past and former leaders of the community.[8] Public commemoration in Western Australia between 1902 and 1934, was characterised by the autocratic power of an elite Kings Park Board desirous of imparting their ideas of public memory on a Perth community. They disregarded public commentary on memorial design outside of their boardroom, most often expressed in the press, and not directly to the Board.

[8] Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, eds., *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory,* (New York: Routledge, 2004), xi.

As a result, the memorialisation of Kings Park developed from 'a state centred approach', characterising the ideals of the King Park Board in statue and monumental form, and not public memory.[9] The Edith Cowan Memorial, built outside the park, is the antithesis of stately Kings Park memorialisation. It was created by, and for, the community, symbolising the public memory of Edith Cowan. Its significance is its symbolism of inclusion, as a beacon for community collaboration in memorialisation—the need for various agencies of commemoration to integrate their insights: the state, governing body, social organisations and individuals, to create sites of public memory.

[9] Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, *Commemorating War*, xii.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources

*Correspondence*

Boas, Lionel. Letter to Minnie Eggleston, 25 October 1932. Minute Book of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 1932–1952, State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A.

Bold, W.E. Letter, Town Clerk, City of Perth to C.M. Eggleston, Secretary, Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 23 February 1934. Minute Book of the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee, 1932–1952, State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A.

Cowan, Dircksey. Letter to The Lord Mayor, J.T. Franklin, 10 June 1934. "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Davidson, D.L. Letter to the Chief Officer Fire Brigade, 16 May 1933. "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Minister for Justice to the Lord Mayor and the Councillors of the City of Perth, 22 December 1933. "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Minister for Justice v. City of Perth (1933) M. No. 25 (SCWA) (Statement of Claim.). State Records Office of Western Australia, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Minister for Justice v. City of Perth (1933) (SCWA) (Judgement). State Records Office of Western Australia, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Northmore, Hale, Davy and Leake, Barristers and Solicitors to The Town Clerk, City of Perth, 11 September 1933. "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Northmore, Hale, Davy and Leake, Barristers and Solicitors to The Town Clerk, City of Perth, 22 September 1933. "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Silverwood, Lucy. Letter to Mr Franklin, 13 July 1933, "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

The West Australian National Council of Women. "Introducing Mrs. Edith Cowan", 13 March 1912. State Library of Western Australia, Call Number: ACC 9587AD/46.

*Government Records*

Australian Bureau of Statistics. “A Century of Population Change in Western Australia.” September 2001. https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/7d12b0f6763c78caca257061001cc588/f024c642b2b659c7ca256db800731bb5!OpenDocument.

Government of Western Australia. “Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1920.” https://www.legislation.wa.gov.au/legislation/statutes.nsf/law_a569_currencies.html.

Government of Western Australian and Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority. “Memorials Policy.” 2016. https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/about-us/information/publications-and-resources/plans-and-policies/551-memorials-policy.

Government of Western Australia. “Criminal Code Act 1902, Chapter VII – Sedition.” https://www.legislation.wa.gov.au/legislation/statutes.nsf/home.html.

Heritage Council of Western Australia. *Register of Heritage Places Assessment Documentation: Edith Dircksey Cowan Memorial*. 5 January 2001. http://inherit.stateheritage.wa.gov.au/Admin/api/file/d550380f-252c-cee9-a556-02199917e1f7.

Indenture between the Government Observatory and The City of Perth. 1934. Observatory–Installation of Master Clock in to control clocks in Edith Cowan Memorial, King’s Park Circus. State Records Office. Identifier: AU WA S675–cons752 1934/0352.

Kenyon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Frederic. *War Graves: How the Cemeteries Abroad Will Be Designed,* report to the Imperial War Graves Commission. London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1918.

Kings Park Board. *Annual Report.* 1 July 1933. Kings Park Board matters. State Records Office. Identifier: AU WA S1832–cons5458 58.

Parliament of Western Australia. “Hansard archives 1900s.” Accessed 10 January 2022. https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/screen1900s?OpenForm&Start=1&Count=1000&Expand=3&Seq=1.

Parliament of Western Australia. “Hansard archives 1920s.” Accessed 10 January 2022. https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/screen1920s?OpenForm&Start=1&Count=1000&Expand=2.1&Seq=3.

Parliament of Western Australia. *Seventh Progress Report of the Royal Commission of the Public Service of Western Australia.* Perth: Government Printer, 1903. https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/intranet/libpages.nsf/WebFiles/Royal+Commission+on+the+public+service+of+Western+Australia+seventh+progress+report+1903/$FILE/4137.pdf.

Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1920, 11 Geo.V. No.7 (Western Australia), 2 (1).

Policy of the Kings Park Board (Suggested). 1 March 1933. Kings Park Board matters. State Records Office. Identifier: AU WA S1832–cons5458 58.

Record of services of 63rd Regiment (1 Vol.), May 1828–May 1834. National Library of Australia. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2379889889.

State Library of Western Australia. *Le Souef Family*. In J.S. Battye Library of Western Australia History Collection. MN1391. https://slwa.wa.gov.au/pdf/mn/mn1001_1500/mn1391.pdf.

*Minutes and Proceedings*

Edith Cowan Memorial Committee. Minute Book. 1932–1952. State Library of Western Australia, Call number: ACC482A.

King's Park Circus Safety Zone and Memorial: Perth City Council Meeting, 24 July 1933. "Memorial Clock" Edith Cowan & King's Park Circus, State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S72- cons3054 1943/0006.

Minutes of the Kings Park Board 1895-1932. State Records Office of Western Australia, Identifier: AU WA S1831 – cons 13631.

*Newspapers*

"A Digger's Diary: Edith Cowan Memorial." *Western Mail* (Perth), November 17, 1932.

A. Digger. Public letter to the editor, "The State Memorial." *Daily News* (Perth), April 30, 1925.

"A Duty Delayed." *Daily News* (Perth), February 12, 1925.

"A Soldiers' Champion: Colonel Collett Expresses Regret." *West Australian*, June 24, 1929.

"A State War Memorial." *West Australian,* February 8, 1924.

"A Statue of the Queen." *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth), February 22, 1901.

"A War Memorial: Our Fallen Soldiers in South Africa: The Accepted Design." *Western Mail* (Perth), June 8, 1901.

"About People." *Examiner* (Launceston), June 10, 1932.

"Ad Valorem." *Listening Post* (Perth), November 18, 1927.

Ainsworth, Julienne. Public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial." *West Australian*, February 14, 1924.

"An Imperial South African Monument." *Western Mail* (Perth), May 21, 1904.

"Anglican." *The Daily News* (Perth), June 16, 1917.

"ANZAC." *West Australian*, April 26, 1929.

"ANZAC Day: Impressive Commemoration Record Number at Afternoon Gathering Address by Premier." Northam Advertiser, April 26, 1930.

"At Dawn." *West Australian*, April 26, 1930.

"Australia wants no bunyip aristocracy." *Tribune* (Sydney), January 27, 1960.

Bates, Daisy. “Two Years in a Native Camp.” *Daily News* (Perth)*,* May 27, 1909.

“Behind the Times.” *West Australian*, June 19, 1924.

“Boys and the War.” Daily News (Perth), September 16, 1914.

“Bruce Rock Road Board.” *Bruce Rock Post and Corrigin and Narembeen Guardian,* November 25, 1932.

Burges, F. Rose. Public letter to the editor, “Edith Cowan Memorial.” *The West Australian,* September 25, 1933.

“Campaigning Notes: The Fallen Soldiers’ Memorial.” *West Australian*, June 15, 1901.

C.E.M. Public letter to the editor, “Edith Cowan Memorial.” *West Australian,* December 2, 1932.

Chandler, Alfred. “Men I Remember: Arthur Lovekin, A Psychological Mixed-Grill.” *Sunday Times,* May 23, 1937.

“City Police Court.” *West Australian,* February 14, 1900.

Clydesdale, A. Public letter to the editor, “Edith Cowan Memorial.” *West Australian,* September 20, 1933.

Collett, Herbert B. Public letter to the editor, “State War Memorial: Appeal.” *West Australian*, January 6, 1926.

“Country Women.” *Harvey Murray Times,* November 18, 1932.

“Country Women’s Association.” *Dampier Herald,* November 10, 1932.

“Cowan Memorial: Unveiling Ceremony.” *West Australian,* June 11, 1934.

“Cowan Memorial: Unveiling Tomorrow.” *West Australian,* June 8, 1934.

Creeth, M.E. Public letter to editor, “Edith Cowan Memorial.” *West Australian,* March 18, 1933.

Creeth, M. E. Public letter to the editor, “Memorial to Mrs. Cowan.” *West Australian,* November 12, 1932.

“Cue Road Board.” *The Murchison Times,* November 16, 1932.

“C.W.A.” *Corrigin Broadcaster and Peoples Weekly,* November 24, 1932.

“Death of Mrs. Cowan: Useful Social Career.” *Western Mail* (Perth), June 16, 1932.

Disgusted. Public letter to the editor, “The Fallen Soldiers’ Memorial.” *West Australian,* June 14, 1901.

Downey, W.J.C. Public letter to the editor, “The Late Major Moor.” *West Australian,* August 27, 1900.

“Edith Cowan Memorial.” *Listening Post*, January 27, 1933.

“Edith Cowan Memorial: Another Protest Against the Site.” *West Australian,* March 16, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Architects' Protest." *West Australian,* March 13, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Controversy Over Site." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* June 1, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial Fund." *West Australian,* December 1, 1932.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: General Committee Meeting." *Western Mail,* November 24, 1932.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: King's Park-road Site." *West Australian,* April 4, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Lord Mayor Replies to Criticism." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* April 1, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Meeting of the Executive." *West Australian,* April 9, 1934.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Memorial in Dispute." *Kalgoorlie Miner,* August 10, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: New Site Suggested." *The West Australian,* March 30, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Site Near Her Old Home." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* February 16, 1933.

"Edith Cowan Memorial: Suggested Change of Form." *West Australian,* September 21, 1933.

"Eloquent Service: Ceremony at Dawn." *Daily News* (Perth), April 25, 1930.

"Ex-Soldiers' Desires: State War Memorial." *West Australian*, July 3, 1923.

"Fallen Soldiers: Kings Park Memorial Services." *West Australian*, May 6, 1919.

"Fallen Soldiers' Memorial." *Daily News* (Perth), July 23, 1901.

"Fallen Soldiers' Memorial." *Western Mail,* September 13, 1902.

"Fallen Soldiers' Memorial: Unveiling Ceremony." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* September 6, 1902.

"Fallen Soldiers' Memorial Fund: Meeting of Committee." *West Australian*, December 1, 1900.

"Farther North: Notes by Kola." *Evening Courier* (Fremantle), September 8, 1902.

"First Woman Member is Dead." *National Advocate* (Bathurst)*,* June 11, 1932.

"Forrest Forgot: Solemn Ceremony Spoiled." *Sunday Times* (Perth), September 4, 1927.

"General News: Vehicles in the Park." *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth)*,* February 9, 1900.

"Greased Pigs: Memorials and Money." *Truth* (Perth)*,* February 12, 1921.

"Historical Guns: Relics of the Past." *Southern Cross Times,* June 27, 1903.

"Honouring the Brave: An Interesting Function." *West Australian,* December 26, 1904.

"Honouring the Dead." *Western Mail* (Perth), December 30, 1905.

"Hospital Finance: Deputation Seeks Increased Subsidy." *Daily News* (Perth), August 14, 1925.

"Jewish Memorial: Ceremony in King's Park." *Daily News* (Perth), December 19, 1919.

"Jewish Memorial Service." *Westralian Judean*, November 1, 1931.

Kenny, Daniel. Public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor." *West Australian,* August 27, 1900.

"King Edward Memorial Hospital: Women's Centenary Memorial." *West Australian*, September 9, 1932.

"King's Park: Breaches of the Bye-Laws." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* October 10, 1910.

"King's Park Circus Experiment." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* September 15, 1933.

"King's Park Circus Safety Zone Proposal: An Injunction Threatened." *West Australian,* May 31, 1933.

"King's Park Circus: Safety Zone To Be Made." *West Australian,* July 25, 1933.

L.M.S. Public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial." *West Australian*, February 14, 1924.

"Ladies in the Limelight: Mrs. Mary Farrelly J.P." *New Call* (Perth), September 17, 1931.

"Late Lord Forrest: Proposed Memorial.' *West Australian,* January 22, 1920.

"Late Mrs. E Cowan: The Projected Memorial." *West Australian,* October 25, 1932.

Le Souef, E.G. Public letter to the editor, "To the Editor." *West Australian,* September 25, 1933.

Le Souef, Ellie. G. Public letter to the editor, "Edith Cowan." *West Australian*, November 17, 1932.

Lee-Steere, James. Public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor." *West Australian,* August 27, 1900.

"Lieut.-Colonel Campbell." *Western Mail,* February 16, 1917.

"Local and General: The Edith Cowan Memorial." *Geraldton Guardian and Express,* October 29, 1932.

"Lord Forrest Memorial." *Leader* (Perth), April 18, 1924.

Lovekin, A. Public letter to the editor, "In Honour of the Fallen." *West Australian*, November 20, 1918.

Lover of the Digger. Public letter to the editor, "Tenth Light Horse Monument." *Daily News* (Perth), March 15, 1921.

McKernan, Hugh. Public letter to the editor, "On Monuments," *West Australian,* September 3, 1903.

"Memorial to Firemen." *Sunday Times* (Perth)*,* January 11, 1903.

"Memorial to Edith Cowan." *Eastern Recorder* (Kellerberrin), December 9, 1932.

"Memorial to Mrs. Cowan: Proposed Form Disapproved." *West Australian,* November 2, 1932.

"Memorial to Mrs. Cowan: Women Defend Site Selection." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* March 17, 1933.

Mills, J.B. Public letter to the editor, "The Fallen Soldiers' Monument." *West Australian,* July 26, 1901.

"Mr. Stoneham's Gift to Australia: A Magnificent Statue." *Southern Cross Times*, January 3, 1903.

"Mrs. Cowan: The Elect of West Perth." *Daily News* (Perth), March 14,1921.

"Mrs. J. Cowan Memorial." *West Australian,* November 9, 1932.

"Municipal Council." *York Chronicle,* November 4, 1932.

"News of the Week: Mr. W H Vincent Dead." *Western Mail* (Perth), April 15, 1937.

"North Fremantle Memorial: Impressive Unveiling Ceremony." *Advertiser* (Fremantle), August 31, 1923.

"North Memorial: Final Effort to Raise Funds." *Weekly Herald* (Fremantle), August 17, 1923.

"Notes and Comments." *Sunday Times* (Perth), September 4, 1927.

"Obituary: Death of First Woman M.L.A." *The Argus* (Melbourne), June 10, 1932.

"Observing Anzac Day: Deputation to the Premier." *The Daily News* (Perth), July 2, 1923.

"Peeps at People." *Sunday Times* (Perth), December 19, 1920.

"Perth Park Bye-Laws." *West Australian,* March 14, 1896.

"Perth Tram Founder: Mr. A.H.P. Stoneham Dead: Leaves £70,000." *Daily News* (Perth) June 23, 1927.

"Perth War Memorial: Government Declines to Contribute." *Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie), March 16, 1926.

Petherick, Harold. E. Public letter to the editor, "The Late Major Moor." *West Australian,* August 25, 1900.

"Political Pars." *The Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette*, March 4, 1921.

"Premier Surprised at Apathy of People: State War Memorial Project." *Daily News* (Perth), February 5, 1926.

"Proposed State War Memorial: The Casualty Block." *Magpie* (Perth), November 9, 1923.

"Queen Victoria Memorial Statue." *Western Mail* (Perth), October 24, 1903.

"Queen Victoria Memorial Statue to Be Unveiled To-Day: Details of Arrangements." *West Australian,* October 17, 1903.

"Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor: An Interesting Gathering." *West Australian,* October 19, 1903.

"Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony: Speech by the Governor." *Western Mail* (Perth), October 24, 1903.

"Queen Victoria's Statue: Mr. Stoneham's Gift to Perth." *Daily News* (Perth), January 30, 1903.

"Random Reveries." *W.A. Record,* October 24, 1903.

"Returned Soldier's League: State War Memorial." *West Australian*, June 7, 1924.

"Safety Zone Dispute: Danger to Traffic." *West Australian,* December 2, 1933.

"Safety Zone Dispute: Motoring Body's Views." *West Australian,* December 6, 1933.

"Safety Zone in Circus: Objection to Memorial." *Daily News* (Perth), November 30, 1933.

Sanderson, W.L. Public letter to the editor, "State War Memorial." *West Australian*, May 30, 1924.

"Sir William Lathlain." *Daily News* (Perth), December 18, 1923.

"Social Notes." *West Australian,* January 11, 1902.

"Society Sidelights." *Truth* (Perth), October 17, 1903.

"Soldiers Memorial Fund: Meeting of the Committee." *Daily News* (Perth), December 1, 1900.

"Soldiers Sacrifice." *Mount Magnet Miner and Lennonville Leader*, February 23, 1918.

"State War Memorial." *Murchison Times*, January 25, 1924.

"State War Memorial." *West Australian*, July 11, 1928.

"State War Memorial: Archbishops Indignation." *Western Mail* (Perth), October 6, 1927.

"State War Memorial: Chaplain-General's Appeal." *West Australian*, April 26, 1928.

"State War Memorial: Citizens Effort." *West Australian*, May 23, 1928.

"State War Memorial: Committee Decisions Prizes For Designs." *West Australian*, February 16, 1924.

"State War Memorial: Impressive Unveiling." *West Australian*, November 25, 1929.

"State War Memorial: Initial Meeting." *Daily News* (Perth), February 6, 1924.

"State War Memorial: King's Park Selected As Venue For Monument." *West Australian*, February 7, 1924.

"State War Memorial: Meeting of Committee." *Daily News* (Perth), April 3, 1924.

"State War Memorial: Monumental or Utilitarian?" *Daily News* (Perth), October 3, 1925.

"State War Memorial: Personnel Of Board Of Assessors." *Daily News* (Perth), March 14, 1924.

"State War Memorial: Site Chosen in King's Park." *Daily News* (Perth), September 7, 1927.

"State War Memorial: Tablet Fund." *West Australian*, July 24, 1928.

"State War Memorial: The Great Sacrifice." *Daily News* (Perth), March 21, 1925.

"State War Memorial: Unveiling And Dedication." *Western Mail* (Perth), November 28, 1929.

"The Addresses." *West Australian*, November 25, 1929.

"The Balloon Stone." S*un* (Kalgoorlie)*,* April 26, 1903.

"The Cowan Memorial." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* June 1, 1933.

"The Edith Cowan Memorial: An Appeal for Subscriptions." *West Australian,* November 1, 1932.

"The Cowan Memorial: Objection to Safety Zone." *West Australian,* June 28, 1933.

"The Cowan Memorial Site in King's Park Circus." *West Australian,* May 15, 1934.

"The Kings Park Named." *Western Mail* (Perth)*,* July 27, 1901.

"The Late Mrs Cowan: A Memorial Proposed." *West Australian*, August 30, 1932.

"The Late Mrs. Cowan: Memorial Suggestions." *West Australian,* September 13, 1932.

"The Late Mrs. Cowan Proposed Memorial: A Great West Australian." *West Australian,* September 23, 1932.

"The Late Mrs. E. Cowan: Memorial Suggestion." *Daily News* (Perth), September 5, 1932.

"The Late Mrs. J. Cowan: The Projected Memorial." *West Australian,* November 5, 1932.

The Late Sir W. Lathlain: Services on King's Park Board." *West Australian,* November 25, 1936.

"The Maine Memorial: A Very Remarkable Monument." *Western Mail* (Perth), August 27, 1904.

"The Men Who Gave Us The Lifeboat." *Western Mail* (Perth)*,* August 6, 1904.

"The Old Swan River Settlement." *Western Mail* (Perth*),* July 16, 1897.

"The Queen Victoria Memorial Statue: Unveiling Ceremony on October 10." *West Australian,* September 24, 1903.

"The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift." *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth)*,* May 31, 1901.

"The Queen Victoria Statue: Particulars of Mr. Stoneham's Gift." *Kalgoorlie Miner,* June 1, 1901.

"The State War Memorial: A Final Appeal," *Daily News* (Perth), December 17, 1925.

"The State War Memorial: Casualty Ward Idea Very Popular." *Magpie* (Perth), November 16, 1923.

"The State War Memorial: Perth's Poor Response." *Kalgoorlie Miner*, May 29, 1924.

"The Tenth Light Horse." *Western Mail* (Perth), March 17, 1921.

"The Unveiling of the State War Memorial." *Listening Post*, December 20, 1929.

"The War: Fighting at Koodoosrand," *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* (Grafton), February 27, 1900.

"The West Australian Goldfields Limited." *Western Mail* (Perth), December 9, 1893.

"The Western Australian Journal." *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal,* April 20, 1833.

"Today's Function at the Perth Park." *West Australian*, July 23, 1901.

"Tramway in the King's Park: Government Assent Refused." Western Mail (Perth), April 12, 1902.

"Transport Bodies Object to Safety Zone in Circus." *Daily News* (Perth)*,* December 5, 1933.

"Unveiling and Dedication Ceremony at Jewish War Memorial, King's Park, Perth." *Sydney Jewish News*, May 8, 1953.

"Upper Blackwood Road Board." *Nelson Advocate* (Bridgetown), November 11, 1932.

"Vigilans et Audaux." *West Australian,* September 5, 1900.

"Vigilans et Audax." *West Australian,* October 17, 1903.

"War Heroes To Be Remembered: Memorial Contract Let." *Mirror* (Perth), June 25, 1927.

"War Memorials." *Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie), February 26, 1924.

"War Memorial Fund: Archbishops Denunciation." *Daily News* (Perth), September 30, 1927.

"War Memorial: No Doubt of Stability." *West Australian*, January 6, 1928.

"War Memorial: What The Site Affords." *West Australian*, February 2, 1928.

"War Office Pall Mall." *The London Gazette,* March 14, 1882.

"Wellington Monument Completion." *Kalgoorlie Western Argus,* March 17, 1903.

"West Australian Fallen Soldiers: The Proposed Memorial." *West Australian,* September 11, 1900.

"West Australian Goldfields: The Company Assets." *Kalgoorlie Miner,* October 11, 1902.

## Secondary Sources

*Book chapters and journal articles*

Appleyard R.T. "Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth, 1850-1914." in *A New History of Western Australia,* edited by C.T. Stannage, 211-236. Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 1981.

Ashton, Paul and Paula Hamilton. "Places of the Heart: Memorials, Public History and the State in Australia since 1960." *Public History Review* 15, (2008): 1-29. Directory of Open Access Journals. https://doaj.org/article/a1810c1c8ee943e5aaa642d99755e79b.

Black, David. "The era of labor ascendancy 1924-1947." In *A New History of Western Australia,* edited by C.T. Stannage*,* 406-440. University of Western Australia Press, 1981.

Bryson, Norman. “Mieke Bal.” In *Key Writers on Art: The Twentieth Century,* edited by Chris Murray, 62-6, Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Christensen, Joseph. “An Early Western Australian Conservationist: The Romantic Figure of Jose Guillermo Hay.” *Early Days* 12, no. 5 (2005): 488–505. https://doi.org/10.3316/informit.177349602049568.

Collins, Tom. “Urban Civic Pride and the New Localism.” *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers (1965)* 41, no. 2 (2016): 175–86. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12113.

Connelly, Mark. and Peter Donaldson. "South African War (1899-1902) Memorials in Britain: A Case Study of Memorialization in London and Kent." *War & Society* 29, no. 1 (2010): 20-46. DOI: 10.1179/204243410X12674422128830.

David Sargeant, Jack. “Parliament and the Crown Jewels in the English Revolution, 1641–1644.” *The Historical Journal* 63, no. 4 (2020): 811–35. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X19000438.

Garton, Stephen. “Longing for war: nostalgia and Australian returned soldiers after the First World War.” In *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory,* edited by Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 222-239. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Gretton, Tom. "Richard Caton Woodville (1856-1927) at the *Illustrated London News*." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 1 (2015): 87-120. doi:10.1353/vpr.2015.0006.

Harrison, Claire. “Visual Social Semiotics: Understanding How Still Images Make Meaning.” *Technical Communication* 50, no. 1 (2003): 46–60. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43090531.

Illingworth, Patricia. "Giving Back: Norms, Ethics, and Law in the Service of Philanthropy*." In *Giving Well: The Ethics of Philanthropy*, edited by Patricia Illingworth, Thomas Pogge, and Leif Wenar, 196-217. Oxford University Press, 2011. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739073.003.0011.

Julier, Guy. "From Visual Culture to Design Culture." *Design Issues* 22, no. 1 (2006): 64-76. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25224031.

Mayo, James M. "War Memorials as Political Memory." *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (1988): 62-75. doi:10.2307/214306.

Revet, Sandrine. “Remembering La Tragedia: Commemorations of the 1999 Floods in Venezuela.” In *Grassroots Memorials: The Politics of Memorializing Traumatic Death,* edited by Peter Jan Margry, Cristina Sánchez-Carretero, and Carretero, 208-225. New York, NY: Berghahn Books Incorporated, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Richards, Oline. “The Avenue in Peace: Honour Avenues of the Great War in Western Australia.” *Studies in Australian Garden History* 1 (2003): 109–24. https://search-informit-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/doi/abs/10.3316/ielapa.035088440894066.

Russell, Lynette, and Ian J McNiven. “Monumental Colonialism: Megaliths and the Appropriation of Australia’s Aboriginal Past.” *Journal of Material Culture* 3, no. 3 (1998): 283–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/135918359800300302.

Stannage, Tom. "Uncovering Poverty in Australian History." *Studies in Western Australian History* no. 29 (2015): 53-68. https://search-informit-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=895951919929359;res=IELIND.

Stephens, John. "Forgetting, Sacrifice, and Trauma in the Western Australian State War Memorial." *Journal of Australian Studies* 37, no. 4 (2013): 466-484. https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2013.832700.

Stephens, John. "'Remembering the Wars': Documenting Memorials and War Commemoration in Western Australia." *Journal of Architecture (London, England)* 15, no. 5 (2010): 637–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2010.519955.

Stephens, John R. "Circuits of Memory: The War Memory Boom in Western Australia." *Societies (Basel, Switzerland)* 2, no. 3 (2012): 84–100. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc2030084.

Stocker, Mark. "'A Token of Their Love': Queen Victoria Memorials in New Zealand." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2016, no. 22 (2016): 1-28. https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.724.

Vinnicombe, Patricia. "An Aboriginal Site Complex at the Foot of Mount Eliza Which Includes the Old Swan Brewery Building." *Historic Environment 9,* no. 1/2 (1992): 53–62. https://search-informit-org.ipacez.nd.edu.au/doi/10.3316/informit.877324634861293.

Winter, Jay. "Forms of kinship and remembrance in the aftermath of the Great War." In *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, 40-60. Cambridge U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Winter, Jay and Emmanuel Sivan. "Setting the Framework." In *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, 6-39. Cambridge U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

*Books*

Ashplant, Timothy G., Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, eds. *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

Billett, R.S. *War Trophies: from the First World 1914 – 1918.* East Roseville, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1999.

Bolton, Geoffrey. *Land of Vision and Mirage: Western Australia Since 1826*. Crawley, WA: The University of Western Australia Publishing, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Brandon, Laura*. Art and War.* London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central.

City of Joondalup. *Plants and People in Mooro Country: Noongar Plant Use in Yellagonga Regional Park.* 4th ed. Perth, WA: 2020.

Cowan, Peter. *A Unique Position: A Biography of Edith Dircksey Cowan, 1861-1932*. Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 1978.

Creswicke, Louis. *South Africa and the Transvaal War.* Vol 4: from Lord Roberts' Entry into the Free State to the Battle of Karree. Project Gutenberg, 2012, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38768.

Creswicke, Louis. *South Africa and the Transvaal War, V*ol. 5: From the disaster at Koorn Spruit to Lord Robert's entry into Pretoria. Project Gutenberg, 2012. https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/41017.

Crowley, F. K. *Big John Forrest 1847-1918: A Founding Father of the Commonwealth of Australia*. Nedlands, W.A: University of Western Australia Press, 2000.

Curran, Angela. *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Aristotle and the Poetics*. Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Curran, James. and Stuart Ward, *The Un-Known Nation: Australia after Empire.* Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2010.

Daly, Robert J. *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2009, ProQuest Ebook Central.

Donaldson, Peter. *Remembering the South African War: Britain and the Memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the Present*. Vol. 48419. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5vjmmh.

Douglas, Roy. *Between the Wars 1919-1939*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Erickson, Dorothy. *A Joy Forever: The Story of Kings Park*. West Perth: Botanic Gardens & Parks Authority, 2009.

Gare, Deborah. and Madison Lloyd-Jones, *When War Came to Fremantle, 1899 – 1945* Fremantle: Fremantle Press, 2014.

Geurst, Jeroen. *Cemeteries of the Great War by Sir Edwin Lutyens.* Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2009.

Headon, David. and Australian Parliamentary Library. *Alfred Deakin The Lives, The Legacy 1856–1919: Australia's second Prime Minister.* Braddon, ACT: Bytes N Colours, 2018.

Hyam, Ronald. *Understanding the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511760495.

Inglis, K.S. *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008.

Judd, Denis. and Keith Surridge,eds., *The Boer War: A History.* London: IB Taurus, 2013.

King, Alex. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014. Pro Quest Ebook Central.

Lovekin, A. *The King's Park Perth Western Australia.* Perth: ES Wigg & Son Ltd, 1925.

Lowry, Edward P. *With the Guards' Brigade from Bloemfontein to Koomati Poort and Back.* Project Gutenberg, 2008, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/25135.

Luckins, Tanja. *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss in the Great War*. Fremantle, W.A: Curtin University Books, 2004.

McQuilton, John. *Australia's Communities and the Boer War.* Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2016. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Miles, Malcolm. *Art, Space and the City.* Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 1997. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Mock, Steven. *Symbols of Defeat in the Construction of National Identity.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life." 1874. In *Untimely Meditations.* Edited by Daniel Braezeale. Translated by R.J. Hollingdale. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1997. ACLS Humanities EBook.

Oliver, Bobbie. *War and Peace in Western* Australia: *The Social and Political Impact of the Great War, 1914-1926*. Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 1995.

Phillips, Harry C. J. *The Voice of Edith Cowan: Australia's first woman parliamentarian 1921-1924*. Churchlands, Western Australia: Edith Cowan University, 1996.

Procter, James. *Stuart Hall*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Reynolds, Henry. *Truth-Telling: History, Sovereignty and the Uluru Statement*. Chicago: University of New South Wales Press, 2021. Ebook Central.

Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. 4th ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016.

Roth, Mitchel P. *The Encyclopedia of War Journalism 1807-2010*. 2nd ed. Amenia, N.Y: Grey House Pub., 2010.

Saniga, Andrew. Making Landscape Architecture in Australia. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2013. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Sherman, Daniel. *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Taylor, John J. *Between Duty and Design: The Architect Soldier Sir J.J. Talbot Hobbs.* Crawley, Western Australia: UWA Publishing, 2014.

Thellefsen, Torkild. and Bent Sørensen. *Charles Sanders Peirce in His Own Words: 100 Years of Semiotics, Communication and Cognition.* Vol. 14. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Trigg, Stephanie. *Shame and Honor: A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press Inc., 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Wilcox, Craig. *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa, 1899-1902*. South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history.* Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Wycherley, Paul. *Mrs Cowan's Clock: The Location of the Edith Cowan Memorial*. Churchlands, W.A: Edith Cowan University, 1997.

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

*Reports*

Erickson, Dorothy. *A Thematic History of Kings Park & Botanic Garden.* Cottesloe: Erickson & Taylor, 1997.

*Newspapers - online*

Australian Associated Press. "Senator slammed for toppled statue cheers." *Canberra Times,* June 10, 2020. https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/6788506/senator-slammed-for-toppled-statue-cheers/.

Baker, Malcolm. "What place for public statues in the history of art?" Apollo Magazine, July 2020. https://www.apollo-magazine.com/public-statues-history-of-art-sculpture/.

Baker, Nick. "As racist statues' topple around the world, Australia is being urged to address its own monuments." *SBS News,* June 10, 2020. https://apple.news/ADQYH-DBmRiqKbTPm7z-QGw.

Carmody, James. "Anzac heroes honoured at Kings Park dawn service as Premier pays tribute to veterans." *ABC News*, April 25, 2019, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-25/perth-commemorates-anzac-day-at-kings-park/11045818.

Conaghan, Rachael. "Statues Of Two Men Linked To An Aboriginal Massacre Have Been Given New Plaques By Activists." *Junkee,* September 17, 2020. https://junkee.com/perth-statue-review/271145.

Farrer, Martin. "Who was Edward Colston and why was his Bristol statue toppled?" *The Guardian,* June 8, 2020.

Fliedner, Kelly. "No peace in the statue wars until there is peace in the justice system." *Semaphore*, June 19, 2020. https://semaphoreart.net/No-peace-in-the-statue-wars.

Hampton, Shannon. "Vandal faces the music." *Ngaarda Media*, June 27, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/NgaardaRadio/posts/vandal-faces-the-musicshannon-hampton-a-globetrotting-perth-musician-who-painted/2727417874156897/.

Hyde, Nathan. "Leeds MP slams vandalism and thuggery after protesters graffiti Queen Victoria statue." *Leeds Live,* June 10, 2020. https://www.leeds-live.co.uk/news/leeds-news/leeds-mp-slams-vandalism-thuggery-18393967.

Kagi, Jacob. and James Carmody. “Captain James Stirling statue vandalised in Perth on eve of Black Lives Matter rally.” *ABC News*, June 12, 2020. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-06-12/captain-james-stirling-statue-vandalised-before-blm-rally/12348328.

“Kenya Celebrates Removal of British Queen Victoria Statue.” *VOA News*, June 11, 2020. https://www.voanews.com/africa/kenya-celebrates-removal-british-queen-victoria-statue.

Mills, Vanessa. and Ben Collins. “The controversial statue that was added to, not torn down or vandalized.” *ABC News,* August 29, 2017. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-29/explorers-monument-added-to-not-torn-down-or-vandalised/8853224.

Mohdin, Aamna. “Oxford college criticised for refusal to remove Cecil Rhodes statue.” *Guardian,* May 21, 2021. https://www.theguardian.com/education/2021/may/20/cecil-rhodes-statue-will-not-be-removed-for-now-says-oxford-oriel-college.

Mohdin, Aamna. and Rhi Storer. “Tributes to slave traders and colonialists removed across UK.” *Guardian,* January 30, 2021. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/29/tributes-to-slave-traders-and-colonialists-removed-across-uk.

Moulton, Emily. “Vandal escapes fine.” *Eastern Reporter*, July 9, 2020. https://archive.communitynews.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/REPORTER_STIRLING-VINCENT_09072020.pdf.

Parkes-Hupton, Heath. “Xiaoran Shi: Greens staffer convicted for defacing Captain Cook statue.” *News.com.au,* 17 July 2020, https://www.news.com.au/national/nsw-act/courts-law/xiaoran-shi-greens-staffer-convicted-for-defacing-captain-cook-statue/news-story/0d0f044467a11743c5ca5a66b7cd7492.

Ruane, Michael. “After World War I, U.S. families were asked if they wanted their dead brought home: Forty thousand said yes.” *Washington Post*, May 30, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/05/31/world-war-i-exhumed-memorial-day/.

Snyder, Timothy. “Take it from a historian: We don’t owe anything to Confederate monuments.” *The Guardian,* July 23, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jul/23/trump-portland-confederate-monuments-racism-history.

*Thesis*

Froud, Anna L. “War Memorials and Society: The Beginnings of the State War Memorial Western Australia.” Hons thesis., University of Western Australia, 1989.

*Websites*

A.T. Brine & Sons. “West Australian Builder.” 2020. https://www.atbrine.com.au/.

Art Gallery of New South Wales. “James S White: In defence of the flag.” Accessed 20 October 2021. https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/prizes/wynne/1902/20800/.

Australian War Memorial. “A Difficult Landing: Anzac Voices.” 2021. https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/anzac-voices/landing.

Australian War Memorial. “Enlistment statistics: First World War.” 23 December 2019. https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/enlistment/ww1#state.

Australian War Memorial. “German DFW CV Reconnaissance Aircraft Captured by 10th Australian Light Horse on Afule Aerodrome.” 2021. https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/H02541.

Australian War Memorial. “History of the Australian War Memorial.” 2021. https://www.awm.gov.au/about/organisation/history.

Australian War Memorial, Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials. “ANZAC Bluff Commemorative Plaque.” Accessed 19 November 2021. https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/memorials/132626.

Australian War Memorial, Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials. “First World War, 1914-18: Australia:” Accessed 30 November 2021. https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/map?page=0&conflict=First+World+War%2C+1914%E2%80%9318.

Australian War Memorial, Places of Pride National Register of War Memorials. “First World War 1914-1918: Western Australia.” Accessed 30 November 2021. https://placesofpride.awm.gov.au/map?page=0&title=**&locality=Western+Australia%2C+Australia&bbox=-35.9068489074707%2C112.5436019897461%2C-11.845847129821777%2C130.09974670410156&lat=-23.87634801864624&lon=121.32167434692383&radius=1301&conflict=First+World+War%2C+1914%E2%80%9318.

Birman, Jeremy. “Dwyer, Sir John Patrick 1879–1966.” Australian Dictionary of Biography. National Centre of Biography. Australian National University. Accessed 15 October 2021. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dwyer-sir-john-patrick-10082/text17789.

Bolton, G.C. “Davidson, David Lomas (1893–1952).” Australian Dictionary of Biography. National Centre of Biography. Australian National University. Accessed 17 November 2021. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/davidson-david-lomas-9908/text17543.

Bolton, G. C. “Steere, Sir James George Lee (1830–1903).” In the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Accessed 5 September 2021. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/steere-sir-james-george-lee-8639/text15097.

Jesse Brauner. “Oak.” 2022. https://www.symbols.com/symbol/oak.

Commonwealth War Graves Commission. “Our Story.” 2021. https://www.cwgc.org/who-we-are/our-history/.

Ducker, C. H. “Black, Percy Charles (1877–1917).” In the Australian Dictionary of Biography. National Centre of Biography. Australian National University. Accessed 8 October 2021. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/black-percy-charles-5252/text8849.

East Perth Cemeteries. “Reading the Landscape.” 2018. https://www.eastperthcemeteries.com.au/about/the-cemeteries.html.

Family History WA. “Gallipoli Dead from Western Australia - the list.” August 2020. http://membership.wags.org.au/membership-mainmenu-44/wags-sub-sites/gallipoli-project/gallipoli-dead-the-list.

Government of Western Australia and Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority.” Honour Avenues.” 2021, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history/honour-avenues#:~:text=Honour%20Avenue%20plaques%20sit%20poignantly,or%20have%20no%20known%20graves.

Government of Western Australia and Kings Park & Botanic Garden, “Memorials and History.” 2022. https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history#:~:text=Forrest%20named%20the%20land%20'The,VII%20to%20the%20British%20throne.

Government of Western Australia and Kings Park & Botanic Garden, “Memorials Policy.” 2022. https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/about-us/information/publications-and-resources/plans-and-policies/551-memorials-policy.

Government of Western Australia and Kings Park & Botanic Garden. “State War Memorial.” 2021. https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/visit/history/state-war-memorial.

Grant, Donald. “Lovekin, Arthur (1859–1931).” Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lovekin-arthur-7246/text12551. Accessed online 22 September 2022.

Grant, Jim. “West Australia Hill…South Africa 1900.” Boer War Society of WA Inc. Accessed 2 January 2022. https://www.boerwarwa.org.au/soldiers.

Historic England. “Liverpool Cenotaph.” November 2013. https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1073463.

Historic Royal Palaces. “The Crown Jewels: The Sovereign’s Sceptre and Rod.” 2022. https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/the-crown-jewels/#gs.v3yv4v.

Holden, Darren. “Tearing down the past…or recasting?” City of Fremantle. 10 June 2020. https://cofremantle.wordpress.com/?s=darren.

Holmes a Court Gallery. “Margaret Priest.” 10 July 2012. http://www.holmesacourtgallery.com.au/article/margaret-priest. Kings Park and Botanic Garden, “Pioneer Women’s Memorial”, 2021, https://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/kings-park/area/wa-botanic-garden/pioneer-womens-memorial.

Hunt, Lyall. “Hackett, Sir John Winthrop (1848–1916).” Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hackett-sir-john-winthrop-6514/text11181, accessed online 22 September 2022.

Imperial War Museum. “Crimea Guards War Memorial.” Accessed 20 July 2021. https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/11608.

Imperial War Museum. “Kingston upon Hull Boer War Memorial.” 2021. https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/35179.

Layman, Lenore. “Meagher, Sir Thomas William (1902–1979).” In the Australian Dictionary of Biography. National Centre of Biography. Australian National University. Accessed 2 November 2021, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meagher-sir-thomas-william-11099/text19759.

Main Roads Western Australia. “Traffic Map.” 2016/17. https://trafficmap.mainroads.wa.gov.au/map.

Nepean Naval and Maritime Museum. “QF 4.7-inch Gun.” 25 July 2021. http://www.nepeannaval.org.au/Museum/Weapons/QF%204.7-inch%20Gun.html.

New South Wales Lancers Memorial Museum. “The Australian Boer War Memorial.” Accessed 28 September 2022. https://www.bwm.org.au/index.php.

Njoroge, Brian. “Kenyan statues must fall.” 30 October 2020. https://africasacountry.com/2020/10/kenyan-statues-must-fall.

Parliament of Western Australia. “Edith Cowan Centenary: no fit place for a woman.” Accessed 11 January 2022. https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/WebCMS/webcms.nsf/content/edith-cowan-centenary-edc100parliamentarycareer.

Parliament of Western Australia. “History of the building.” Accessed 12 January 2022. https://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/WebCMS/webcms.nsf/content/history-house-and-grounds-building-history.

Prime Minister of Australia, The Hon Scott Morrison MP. “Remarks, Australian War Memorial.” 18 November 2019. https://www.pm.gov.au/media/remarks-australian-war-memorial.

Remembrance Walk. “10th Light Horse Memorial.’ 2022. https://remembrance.memorial/memorial/10thLightHorseMemorial.

South West Aboriginal Land & Sea Council. “Noongar.” 2021. https://www.noongarculture.org.au/noongar/.

State Library of Western Australia. “Dominion League.” Accessed 12 January 2022. https://webarchive.slwa.wa.gov.au/federation/sec/049_domi.htm.

Symbolsage. “What Is the Cross Pattée?: History and Meaning.” Accessed 8 January 2022. https://symbolsage.com/what-is-the-cross-pattee/.

Tameside Metropolitan Borough. “Manchester Regiment Memorials: The Anglo Boer War 1899/1902.” 2021, https://www.tameside.gov.uk/MuseumsandGalleries/Manchester-Regiment-Memorials-The-Anglo-Boer-War-1.

Talent.com. “Horticulturist Average Salary in Australia 2021.” Accessed 6 November 2021, https://au.talent.com/salary?job=Horticulturist#:~:text=The%20average%20Horticulturist%20salary%20in,up%20to%20%2472%2C500%20per%20year.

The Art Story. “Romanticism.” 2022, https://www.theartstory.org/movement/romanticism/.

The Australian Army. “Colours, Standards, Guidons and Banners.” Accessed 12 January 2022. https://www.army.gov.au/our-heritage/traditions/colours-standards-guidons-and-banners.

The Royal Household. “Order of the Garter.” Accessed 10 January 2022. https://www.royal.uk/order-garter.

Tofler, O. B. “Freedman, David Isaac (1874–1939).” In the Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Accessed 11 January 2022. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/freedman-david-isaac-6242/text10745.

UMass Amherst Center for Heritage & Society. “What is Heritage?” University of Massachusetts Amherst Campus. Accessed 5 January 2022. https://www.umass.edu/chs/about/whatisheritage.html.

Windsor Great Park. “The Story of Windsor Great Park.” 2022. https://www.windsorgreatpark.co.uk/en/heritage/the-story-of-windsor-great-park.

York, Barry. “Knighthoods and Dames.” Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House. 3 Nov 2015. https://www.moadoph.gov.au/blog/knighthoods-and-dames/#.

*Audio-Visual*

Allitt, Patrick N., “Britain’s War Memorials.” Video. Episode 33 of The Great Tours: England, Scotland, and Wales. Published 2018. https://nd.kanopy.com/video/britains-war-memorials.

Snyder, Timothy. “Timothy Snyder Speaks.” Video. Published June 9, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eghl19elKk8.